The Enlightened Curriculum:
Liberal Education in Eighteenth-Century British Schools

Terrence O. Moore, Jr.

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH

This dissertation is submitted as a work of original scholarship. The research was conducted by me over a period of four years and the writing is entirely my own.

Terrence O. Moore, Jr.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses three important aspects of intellectual and cultural history: the history of Enlightenment, the history of education, and the history of the formation of a British national identity. The culture of the English-speaking Enlightenment serves as the intellectual background of education reform in Britain. Eighteenth-century British moralists defined their age against the previous century of religious wars, of idle disputation in the academy, of a lack of concern for the useful and polite arts, and in turn favoured toleration, politeness, and commerce. New ideas of moral and social improvement manifested themselves in the creation of a new ideal type of individual: someone who was neither the warrior nor priest nor courtier of old, nor the industrialist of the future, but in a sense all of these combined and deprived of their most extreme features. The enlightened individual was, to use Locke's quartet of values, virtuous, industrious, polite, and learned. In order to ensure the ascendancy of this type of individual, and to form moral and polite individuals who would be "happy in themselves and useful to others," enlightened thinkers turned their attention to moulding the rising generation through education.

The influence of this philosophical discussion on the changes in the British school curriculum over the course of the eighteenth century constitutes the overarching theme of my study. I trace the philosophical demand for education reform that began with Locke and continued through the Scottish moral philosophers to its actual impact on schools and the subjects of study. Using works of educational theory, schoolmaster treatises, private diaries, and school textbooks, I show how enlightened pedagogues cultivated the Lockean and Scottish aims of education by developing the corresponding "branches" of the liberal arts. Each branch of education was meant to form a part of the young mind: the sense, the taste, the imagination, the passions, and the reason. In order of difficulty, these branches were elementary reading; English prose, poetry, and oratory; biography and history; and the classical languages. The images of virtue and politeness that teachers attempted to impress upon young minds, I have found, were drawn not only from classical texts but from the great works of the Enlightenment. My chapter on childhood reading shows how the Aesopian fable was appropriated to teach children the most essential character traits needed to survive and prosper in an uncertain world. My chapter on the study of English discusses the inculcation of polite manners and conversation and the improvement of the taste through reading one of the favourite and most accessible texts of the eighteenth-century, Addison and Steele's Spectator. Two related chapters explore the study of biography and history. Educators canonised certain enlightened heroes such as Alfred the Great, Newton, Locke, and Addison, who conformed to Locke's idea of a balanced human character and thereby served as models for youth to emulate. Moreover, the advance of commerce, manners, and learning in the modern world was studied through extracts and compilations from the histories of Hume and Robertson. The retention of the classics despite sustained questioning of their utility further reveals enlightened educators' attempts to balance the human character, by providing modern, commercial society with timeless standards of taste and virtue. Taken together, the liberal arts in schools formed an essential part of a distinctive enlightened moral culture in Britain. While my dissertation has been confined to England and Scotland, I plan to extend my future research to the American and Irish contexts in order to show that the making of the curriculum in schools contributed significantly to the formation of a British national identity in the eighteenth century.
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CHAPTER I

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

Doctrina vires promovet insitas,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant:
Utcunque defecere mores,
Dedecorant bene nata culpa.1

The history of the liberal education of children and youth in eighteenth-century Britain amounts to a history of enlightened British moral culture in miniature. In other words, eighteenth-century British parents, philosophers, men of letters, and teachers, those hands-on moralists, sought to pass on to the next generation the prevailing mores of their society: their political and social ideas and assumptions, their beliefs and values, their preferences and dislikes, in short, the complex array of thoughts, attitudes, language, and customs that enable people to understand and to act in, the world in which they find themselves. Common sense suggests that all societies do the same. Since much might be learned about a society from the way that it attempts to educate its youngest members, historians in particular have turned to education as a source which "touches upon nearly all aspects of a particular society."2 This is no recent insight. Eighteenth-century thinkers understood that every society, whether ancient or modern, whether "civilised" or "savage," seeks to perpetuate itself through a particular way of bringing up youth. That favourite of philosopher-moralists living on the periphery of British civilisation, Benjamin Franklin, illustrated this point with an amusing story:

The little value Indians set on what we prize so highly under the name of Learning appears from a pleasant passage that happened some years since at a Treaty between one of our Colonies and the Six Nations; when every thing had been settled to the Satisfaction of both sides, and nothing remained but a mutual exchange of civilities, the English Commissioners told the Indians, they had in their Country a College for the instruction of Youth who were there taught various languages, Arts, and Sciences; that there was a particular foundation in favour of the Indians to defray the expense of the Education of any of their sons who should desire to take the Benefit of it. And now if the Indians would accept of the Offer, the English would take half a dozen of their brightest lads and bring them up in the Best manner; The Indians after consulting on the proposal replied that it was remembered some of their Youths had formerly been educated in that College, but it had been observed for a long time after they returned to their Friends, they were absolutely good for nothing being neither acquainted with the true methods of killing deer, catching Beaver or surprizing an enemy. The Proposition however, they looked on as a mark of the kindness and good will of the English to the Indian Nations which merited a grateful return; and therefore if the English Gentlemen would send a dozen or two of their children to Onondago the great Council would take care of their Education, bring them up in really what was the best manner and make men of them.3
Common sense to the contrary, education does not always provide a mirror image of society. Educational institutions and curricula can remain impervious to changes in the society, particularly when teachers either have a vested interest in the old ways of doing things or have little experience beyond the school. Someone who learns Latin grammar in school, goes to the university to learn yet more Latin, and then becomes a master of a school with more boys than he can adequately control, much less teach to appreciate the sublime passages of Virgil, is unlikely to innovate. This was essentially John Locke's criticism against schoolmasters' addiction to "old custom," though with remarkably less appreciation for the harsh realities of a life of schoolteaching, that launched a sustained and sometimes heated attack on the outworn teaching methods and curriculum of British grammar schools. Even when there exists a desire for change in educational practice on the part of parents, teachers, or students themselves, however, educational institutions often prove singularly intractable. On the other hand, education can depart from its normally conservative course whenever those who become teachers are motivated by a cause or ideology that does not reflect the prevailing views of the rest of society. For this reason, radicals throughout history have either become teachers or given serious thought to changing humankind by changing the way people are educated. In the eighteenth century, Rousseau's *Emile* became a handbook for radicals throughout Europe who were discontented with the emergence of a bourgeois, consumer, and largely urban society. Just so, Paulo Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* serves teachers today who champion those purportedly left behind by that very society.4

Notwithstanding the pitfalls of attempting to generalise about the needs or demands of a society by studying its education,5 the thesis of this dissertation is that the reformed liberal-arts curriculum of eighteenth-century British schools did become a chief agency of the prevailing ethos of the society, what I shall call enlightened moral culture. The changes taking place in eighteenth-century culture and society led British educators to attempt to form youth's character in such a way that amidst these changes they could become both "happy in themselves and useful to others." The schools and their curricula became an essential part of this humane project because they were not stubbornly resistant to improvement nor reformed by men given to utopian visions of changing the world. The pace of eighteenth-century British school reform in fact corresponded to a tempered spirit of "improvement" in an age that was neither self-satisfied and prone to inertia nor intent upon "chimerical projects in church and state." For this reason, perhaps, historians of education have preferred the burst of energy in school foundations by private efforts in the Tudor-Stuart period or the massive take-over of education by the state in the nineteenth century.6 But whereas eighteenth-century education might not appear so glamorous institutionally, intellectually it does no disservice to the flowering of thought and culture that we now refer to as the Enlightenment.
The rubric of enlightened moral culture refers to the attempt by members of the upper and middle classes of eighteenth-century Britain to adjust their ideas and behaviour to the striking developments taking place in politics, economics, social relations, and cultural forms. Enlightened Britons hoped to take advantage of the opportunities offered by a changing political and social order without falling prey to its dangers. They were convinced that they lived in far better times than had their seventeenth-century forbears and for the most part looked to the future with hope. Yet their every thought and deed betrayed an uneasiness and an awareness that political, social, and indeed individual stability rested upon not altogether settled foundations. In nothing was this mixture of optimism and uneasiness more apparent than in the education they provided for their children. Each of these developments must be examined in turn.

The politics of the decades following the Revolution of 1688-9 contrasted significantly with the upheavals of the previous century as manifested in the Gunpowder Plot, the Civil War and Interregnum, the Popish Plot, the Exclusion Crisis, and the Revolution itself. Consequently, a significant cooling of the atmosphere took place in political ideology. Despite their radically different departures in the conceptions of monarchy, most Whigs and Tories managed to accommodate their political ideas to the Revolution Settlement and, later, the Hanoverian succession. Tories, whose theory of order was founded on the twin principles of direct divine ordination and indefeasible hereditary succession, learned to live under the half-truth that James II had abdicated the throne until such time had passed that the more appealing doctrine of prescription became plausible. Whigs, for their part, articulated their theory of liberty by appealing more often to an "ancient constitution" that limited the English Crown through the representation of property-holders in Parliament than to the more radical contractarian ideas that had aimed at the exclusion of James II from the throne. Both Tories and Whigs sought to uphold a stable political and social order in which men of property could exercise authority and enjoy the fruits of their wealth. Both were relieved that the agitated question of a Catholic successor had been resolved. Both in their rhetoric deplored the divisiveness of partisan politics.

Nonetheless, political stability remained a fond hope. Once the threat of a Catholic on the throne was removed, the rivalries between Whigs and Tories resurfaced during the reigns of William III and Anne, and were supplemented and often overshadowed by the divisions between Court and Country. The Country element in the House of Commons opposed the wars with the French and the growth of the complex financial and administrative system and the standing army that those wars entailed. To preserve the independence of Parliament from
the executive’s increase in power and wealth, the Country element countered with Place Bills and, more successfully, the Triennial Act, requiring a general election every three years. As a result, the twelve general elections that took place between 1689 and 1715, in which boroughs were frequently contested, put the nation in a state of constant political agitation.9 Besides opposition to the war, the mounting religious disputes under Anne, with Tories making repeated attacks on occasional conformity, added fuel to the "rage of party" that characterised her reign. These disputes between Whig and Tory and between Court and Country were fought out in the pulpit, the clubs, and the newspapers, thus creating a climate of political uncertainty and division.

To be sure, the persistent threat of political instability, aggravated by the memories of the previous century's turmoil, evoked several responses. In Parliament, political stability found its inglorious but indefatigable champion in Robert Walpole. Walpole’s political arts, his use of Crown patronage, his decision to remain in the House of Commons, his winning over of a number of Country gentlemen, as well as his policies, peace abroad and prosperity at home, were considerably successful in establishing a "Whig supremacy" under the first two Georges.10 Social developments also aided stability. The very frequency of elections under William III and Anne drove up their costs to such an extent that only the increasingly wealthy and secure landed elite could afford them.11 Once elections were unaffordable, the Septennial Act of 1716 ensured that there would be fewer of them, thus further securing the Whig oligarchy.12 In terms of political ideology, Court Whigs eventually promulgated the idea that Britain enjoyed a "balanced constitution" unlike any other in Europe.13 In their view, politics should be the effort to maintain the balance of King, Lords, and Commons in order to secure Britons’ liberty and property from either the mob or an arbitrary despot. This balance was preserved by "skillfully adjusting and adapting their policies to the political strength of the landed, commercial, moneyed, professional and religious interests in the State."14 What worked in theory did not always prevail in practice, however. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the excise crisis, the fall of Walpole, the succession of ministries under George III, the Gordon Riots, and the loss of the American colonies hardly made the eighteenth century a period of political quietude. The inability of the political world itself to guarantee tranquillity led to the growth of an extra-parliamentary "politics of culture” that had its roots in the Restoration, flowered during the reign of Anne, and reached its height in the Scottish Enlightenment. Cultural politicians, as we shall see, believed that securing the constitutional windfall of the Glorious Revolution and Protestant Succession depended upon an understanding of Britain's true interests.15

The fundamental interest was commerce. While the English "genius" had long been identified with trade and navigation, the eighteenth century found further reasons to harness national progress to the growth of material wealth. Not least of these was the promise
contained in the "doctrine of the doux commerce." In this theory, the "crisis" of early modern Europe, manifested in prolonged wars of shocking brutality and chronic instability within nations, might be resolved were men and nations to act according to their "interests" rather than their "passions." Although not originally confined to economic concerns, the term "interests" gradually began to refer primarily, if not exclusively, to money-making in individuals and commercial enterprise in nations. In the case of the former, Johnson put it most succinctly: "There are few ways in which a man can be more innocently employed than in getting money." In the case of the latter, the Scottish historian William Robertson testified to the effects of the growth of commerce over time:

Commerce tends to wear off those prejudices which maintain distinction and animosity between nations. It softens and polishes the manners of men. It unites them, by one of the strongest of all ties, the desire of supplying their mutual wants. It disposes them to peace, by establishing in every state an order of citizens bound by their interest to be the guardians of publick tranquillity. As soon as the commercial spirit begins to acquire vigour, and to gain an ascendant in any society, we discover a new genius in its policy, its alliances, its wars, and its negociations. . . . In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners, which occupy and distinguish polished nations.

Commerce offered what early modern Europeans so much longed for and so often lacked: prudence, sobriety, diligence, and resourcefulness in the individual; peace, co-operation, stability, and predictability in the relations among nations.

Commerce also raised the prospect of substantially improving the material condition of the vast majority of people in the society. The problem of poor relief, normally attended to by the church and local landlords, might be solved by increased consumer spending on products that required the work of many hands. Indeed, just such a consumer revolution took place in eighteenth-century Britain. Due to a variety of factors, an increasing number of families could afford "not just the necessities but the decencies of life." This consumer demand resulted in more work and higher wages for the labouring classes, which in turn made them into consumers in their own right. This "benign circle" of higher wages and increased consumption was fuelled by the social emulation of the various ranks in society. The upper gentry and wealthy financiers emulated the nobility. The middling ranks emulated the upper gentry. Shopkeepers dressed and acted like urban professionals. Servants posed as masters. The overall effect of the consumer revolution was celebrated most famously by the Apostle of modern commerce, Adam Smith:

Observe the accommodation of the most common artificer or day-labourer in a civilized and thriving country, and you will perceive that the number of people of whose industry a part, though but a small part, has been employed in procuring him this accommodation, exceeds all
computation. The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day-labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labour of a great multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the wool-comber or carder, the dyer, the scribbler, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts in order to complete even this homely production. How many merchants and carriers, besides, must have been employed in transporting the materials from some of those workmen to others who often live in a very distant part of the country! How much commerce and navigation in particular, how many ship-builders, sailors, sail-makers, rope-makers, must have been employed in order to bring together the different drugs made use of by the dyer, which often come from the remotest corners of the world! What a variety of labour too is necessary in order to produce the tools of the meanest of those workmen?23

We might add to Smith's account that the common day-labourer was ready to change his coat for a more fashionable one whenever his budget permitted. The spirit of class rivalry, often described as a madness, was not confined to the material aspects of human life. Indeed, social emulation sparked a desire to acquire the manners and knowledge over which the well-born had formerly possessed a monopoly. As Professor Plumb observes, the attainment of leisure and modest affluence in a rising social class has usually stimulated the desire for "self-improvement."24 In eighteenth-century Britain, all orders of society seemed to be on the rise. Not surprisingly, the intense demand for social betterment extended to the care of children.25

Despite the obvious advantages of consumer-driven commerce and the apparent rising prosperity of Britain, certain worries remained. The older belief held that nations and individuals flourished by exercising habits of abstemiousness and self-abnegation, and by postponing rather than gratifying pleasures. This "Protestant ethic" described by Weber had tremendous resonance in the eighteenth century. Not everyone shared Hume's confidence that the luxury of a society increased its industry.26 The lesson generally drawn from classical history was that after a period of plenty a nation declined

from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth, to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals; till by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else, that is valuable, sinks gradually again into it's [sic] original barbarism.27

The increasing prosperity of mid-eighteenth-century Britain often gave rise to doubts that the upward trend could long continue and to calls to restore the older habits of discipline. The Anglican clergyman "Estimate" Brown warned that in its third stage of development, the stage Britain was then experiencing, commerce "brings in Superfluity and vast Wealth; begets Avarice, gross Luxury, or effeminate Refinement among the higher Ranks, together
with general Loss of Principle." The worst of effects of this refinement, a weakened "national Spirit of Defence," would leave Britain open to the insults and invasions of her enemies. Britain was heading down the same path taken by "degenerate and declining Rome."28

Such apprehensions were not confined to marginal moralists and professional prophets. In late eighteenth-century Scotland, where the analysis of commerce reached its highest pitch, the attitude towards the very wealth that had brought pre-Union Scottish society out of poverty was a marked ambivalence. Although no eighteenth-century Scot could fail to appreciate the benefits of commerce, echoes of a Stoic Christianity in Hugh Blair and of a civic humanism in Adam Ferguson cautioned against the "corruption incident to Polished Nations."29 The greatest corruption, according to Ferguson, was the growth of luxury unchecked by virtue. Adam Smith, too, had reservations. To be sure, Smith dismissed alarmist pamphlets such as Brown's which attempted to demonstrate "that the wealth of the nation was fast declining, that the country was depopulated, agriculture neglected, manufacturers decaying, and trade undone."30 Yet his was not an unqualified endorsement of a Mandevillian version of commercial society, in which every bankruptcy, every extravagance, every crime, every private vice paradoxically worked to the public benefit.31 Smith's confidence in commercial society owed to his assessment of human beings' natural desire "of bettering our condition." This calm desire, though occasionally overcome by the violent "passion for present enjoyment," compelled individuals to augment their fortune by saving more than they spent.32 The "wealth of nations" rested upon a modified frugality that allowed people to live within their means, coupled with a sustained rise in their personal industry that enabled them to increase those means:

The uniform, constant, and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which publick and national, as well as private opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progress of things toward improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government, and of the greatest errors of administration.33

Smith's confidence evaporated considerably, however, when he contemplated the potentially deleterious effects of commerce on the human mind. The progress of the division of labour, according to Smith, caused that same day-labourer in the smart coat to spend his life "in performing a few simple operations." Without the need or opportunity of exerting his understanding, he "generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become."

The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any
just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country, he is altogether incapable of judging; and unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. . . . His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues.34

Unfortunately, in a commercial society the bulk of the population would lie in such a state of mental torpor unless the government made some provision for education. Otherwise, the people were liable to "the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition" and to "the interested complaints of faction and sedition."35 Although it will not be our purpose to examine the popular instruction that Smith had in mind, similar fears of the effects of commerce influenced the education of the upper and middling ranks of the society.

What appeared to Smith as natural in the individual, from the perspective of those individuals themselves, had to be taught. As much as moralists feared national decline, families feared bankruptcy, whether brought on by bad investments, economic downturn, or personal extravagance. In the new world of commerce, bankruptcy was "that most dreadful of Humane Conditions," whereby "Plenty, Credit, Cheerfulness, full Hopes, and easy Possessions, are in an Instant turned into penury, faint Aspects, Diffidence, Sorrow, and Misery."36 This was no idle fear. T. S. Ashton has published the number of business failures in England in the years 1732-1799.37 Between 1732 and 1766, the figure never fell below 164 and got as high as 291. After 1767, the number annually exceeded 300 and reached 662 in 1778, 697 in 1788, and 1256 in 1793. Economic crises were out of the hands of individuals, but the habits of prudence and industry could be learned. Drawing on personal letters of the period, Margaret Hunt has captured the worries of parents and guardians from the "middling ranks" of society. Of particular concern were the perils of social emulation. According to Hunt, parents understood the value of acquiring an air of gentility in a "hierarchical, status-oriented society." The middling ranks enjoyed, too, the fruits of wealth in their own right. But a balance must be struck between niggardliness and extravagance:

The problem, of course, was how to summon up the self-discipline to keep emulative impulses firmly oriented toward the demands of business, reputation (especially credit-worthiness), and a reasonable degree of ease, while avoiding having them degenerate into efforts to imitate the ruinous habits of the naughtier nobility. Youth, that age when self-discipline is at its weakest and the desire to impress at its height, was indeed a dangerous time.38

The costs of social emulation and luxury similarly required self-discipline on the part of the upper reaches of society. The perceived plight of the upper gentry was personified in Smollett's character of Mr. Baynard.39 Youthful excesses, a contested election, and an ill-
chosen wife who only sought to outdo her richer neighbours, could involve a once secure gentlemen in increasing debt. Whatever remained of the estate would surely be wasted by a puny son who had been long pampered by his mamma. Worse still, a country gentleman might "be sucked deeper and deeper into the vortex of extravagance and dissipation, [by] leading what is called a fashionable life in town."

Accompanying the rise of commerce and another source of considerable unease in early eighteenth-century Britain was the unparalleled growth of cities, and particularly "the City." Although nine-tenths of British men and women did not live in London, the metropolis dominated the cultural landscape, and its manifold offerings served as a model of what to pursue and what to avoid for all other provincial cities. Like its classical counterparts Athens and still more Rome, London dictated not only laws to the provinces but, perhaps more importantly, tastes and manners. Since parents and schoolmasters knew that youth were extremely likely to be drawn to London for extended periods in pursuit of either work or pleasure, it would only be a slight exaggeration to say that education in eighteenth-century Britain was a preparation for life in London. That life, of which Johnson and three-quarters of a million others were never tired, presented both great opportunities and great dangers. Foremost, there was work to be had in London. The metropolis offered more jobs and wages that were fifty per cent higher than could be found elsewhere. It was the centre of finance and exchange as well as the seat of government and the English legal profession. London traders set the styles that provincial merchants eagerly followed. London streets were a hubbub of industry, in the eighteenth-century sense of the term. Admiring the "secret concatenation" of London society, Johnson exulted that "by a thousand unheeded and evanescent kinds of business, are the multitudes of this city preserved from idleness, and consequently from want." When not at work, eighteenth-century Londoners were busy enjoying themselves, pursuing and patronising the forms of high culture that had been shaped by the court in times past. Circulating libraries and bookstores catered to men's and women's reading tastes. Galleries and concerts opened their eyes and ears to the latest accomplishments in the artistic world. Coffee shops promised intelligent conversation or, failing that, the run on all the daily newspapers.

Yet London was not only life; it was death. The astounding population growth owed to migration from the provinces rather than to natural increase. Defoe lamented the fate of the "black Throng" of London urchins, many of whom "perish young, and dye miserable, before they may be said to look into Life; some are starv'd with Hunger, some with Cold, many are found frozen in the Streets and Fields, some drowned before they are old enough to be hang'd." Nor was London a particularly clean or sweet-smelling place. Imported French fragrances perhaps had more utility than strict moralists accredited them in their capacity of covering up the odour of cesspools and bad hygiene. London was the scene of
urban discontent. The people rioted for gin and for Wilkes and against imported cloth and Catholics. Not only crime but the personal "histories" of great criminals flourished in the popular press, invariably drawing attention to deficiencies in their education. Whenever the criminal was a parricide, a perverse Lockean justice triumphed.46 The pleasures of London did not engage exclusively the taste and intellect, but also the appetites and passions. Those who did not fancy useful and agreeable conversation at a coffee house found many a boon companion in alehouses and gambling parlours. Just beyond the doors of polite mixed company young men sported with prostitutes. Outside of the more sophisticated pleasure gardens of Vauxhall, the cultural offerings included bull- and bear-baiting, cockfights, and, worst of all, female boxing. Through this disparate and relentless assault on the tastes and manners of eighteenth-century Britons the modern city changed the very meaning of culture. No longer that which was grown in the ground, with its obvious dependence on God and Nature, culture became that which was created solely by human effort. "God made the country, and man made the town," according to Cowper, who was by no means expressing his approval. Admitting this to be so, what would man make of the city, Jerusalem or Babylon? The eighteenth-century mind, neither fervently pious, nor romantic, nor hedonist, began to understand that London—the modern city—fit neither of these two archetypes, but shared a substantial mixture of both.

What to twentieth-century urbanites must appear as a platitude, the eighteenth-century mind found, to say the least, disconcerting. The verdict was still out on what effects the modern city would have on the human character. To be sure, the city called forth talents and interests in the individual that lay dormant in the country or small town. At the same time, the illimitable variety of the city threatened to fragment the human persona into multiple personae lacking any sense of direction and purpose. In such a mental state, vice might too often prevail over virtue. Moreover, the great size of cities permitted an anonymity that could easily undermine personal responsibility. Anonymity elicited in some the desire of notoriety. Thus, James Boswell's life in London became one of sheer theatrics. He played the ruffian, the English gentleman, the military officer that he failed to become, the man of pleasure, the man of letters. Boswell alternated between the pleasures of travelling in London incognito and the pains of hungering after elusive fame.47 But even Boswell, who found fame at last by Johnsonising London, does not encapsulate the personal disorientation brought about by the modern city. For the obscure and desolate do not usually have their chroniclers. A better representative of urban dissolution is Richard Savage, whose ruin enabled Boswell's own Johnson to pierce the veil of obscurity:

In this Manner were passed those Days and those Nights, which Nature had enabled him to have employed in elevated Speculations, useful Studies, or pleasing Conversation. On a Bulk, in a Cellar, or in a Glass-house among Thieves and Beggars, was to be found the Author of the Wanderer, the Man of exalted Sentiments, extensive Views and
curious Observations, the man whose Remarks on Life might have assisted the Statesman, whose Ideas of Virtue might have enlightened the Moralist, whose Eloquence might have influenced Senates, and whose Delicacy might have polished Courts.48

The verdict on the city in the case of Richard Savage was one of wasted potential all around. The city ruined the man and failed to profit by his talents. This constant threat of urban life was perhaps expressed more forcefully and felt more deeply in the artless worries of parents and guardians:

The more I see of [Philly] & observe wt a ready Tincture his sociable Temper takes from the company he frequents, & how great a Hazard he would run of being linked in with some giddy & extravagant youths the more I dread his settlement in a large Town.49

The Moral Culture of Enlightenment

In this climate of uncertainty and unease, public writers in the early decades of the eighteenth century were convinced that Britain was awash with immorality. In 1698 Defoe wrote that "immorality is without doubt the present reigning distemper of the nation."50 Ten years later Swift placed greater emphasis on moral culture than political institutions in maintaining national stability: "Few states are ruined by any defect in their institution, but generally by the corruption of manners, against which the best institution is no long security, and without which a very ill one may subsist or flourish."51 By "corruption of manners" moral writers meant everything from cursing, to prostitution and gaming, to the importation of French fashions, to stockjobbing and political graft. With the notorious exception of the rogue philosopher Mandeville, most thinkers, clergymen, and public officials agreed that the nation was sunk in debauchery and on the brink of ruin. The question was what to do about it. Two methods suggested themselves which we might label the direct and the indirect methods of moralising. The direct method is best represented by the valiant personal efforts of one Thomas Powell, mayor of Deal:

As soon as he was sworn in as mayor in August 1703, he started a campaign against the wicked by giving orders and going around himself to see that they were obeyed. On his first Sunday in office he put a seaman in the stocks for profane swearing; he caught a prostitute, brought her to the whipping post, and had her given twenty lashes; he heard that "five and twenty such like characters left the town, taking the road to Canterbury and Chatham, uttering the most fearful oaths and vowing vengeance on me for what I was doing." At church that day the congregation had sung part of the seventy-fifth Psalm, "and at particular verses which were very appropriate to certain persons present, I stood up, spreading my hands, pointing round the church to some whose ill lives I knew as well as their conversations, which this psalm most peculiarly hinted at." "Some people said I was mad."52
Powell's methods found their institutionalisation in royal proclamations from William and Mary and later Anne, the activities of the various Societies for the Reformation of Manners, and constant blasts against immorality from the pulpit and popular press. To a more practical moral projector like Defoe, however, these "cobweb laws" were but "baubles and banterers, the laughter of the lewd party" and had no effect on the improvement of manners. A more subtle method of recovering men and women "out of that desperate State of Vice and Folly into which the Age is fallen" was attempted by Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and their cohorts in the pages of the *Spectator*. Foregoing the direct method of moralising, the *Spectator* proposed "to enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality," in other words, to amuse men and women out of their vices and to instruct them in the advantages and pleasures of practising the virtues. Since education reformers adopted this same spirit of enlightened instruction, it will be worthwhile to explore the origins and nature of this approach to public moralising.

If moral thinkers are to be judged only by their philosophical originality, then the *Spectator* authors were not particularly impressive. For this reason, no philosopher today would take even Addison seriously. Yet if they are to be evaluated according to their ability to capture a certain contemporary mood and to set the terms of moral discussion for a century, then the *Spectator* must rank among the great philosophical achievements of modern times. At least this was the general opinion in the eighteenth century. Like any writer who seeks to win converts rather than plumb the depths of thought, the *Spectator* authors disclaimed originality in favour of dissemination:

> It was said of Socrates, that he brought Philosophy down from Heaven, to inhabit among Men; and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables, and in Coffee-Houses.

This public discussion had its roots in Restoration latitudinarianism, took on a Lockean epistemology, and was put forth by Whig politicians of culture. In the first instance, spectatorial morality continued the tradition of the latitudinarian Church's attempt to "replace prophetic by sociable religiosity" in order to stifle the religious "enthusiasm" that had supposedly caused the English Civil War. The psychological cause of such enthusiasm was explored by John Locke in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. The actual mental mechanism that gave rise to fanaticism or enthusiasm in the individual was the association of ideas, which we shall consider below. The particular associations that the individual mind made were derived from the surrounding company:
Thus the measure of what is everywhere called and esteemed Vertue and Vice is this approbation or dislike, praise or blame, which by a secret and tacit consent establishes itself in the several Societies, Tribes and Clubs of men in the world; whereby several actions come to find Credit or Disgrace among them, according to the Judgment, Maxims or Fashions of the place.58

Whenever "virtue" in one society or club entailed opposing the "vice" of another, the result was civil strife.

It was precisely the fear of civil strife during the turbulent reign of Anne that led Court Whigs to fashion a harmonising politics of culture. The Spectator's solution to the problem of political and social faction was to have recourse to the very source of faction, company. The trick was, in the words of a later admirer of Addison, to "extend the sphere."59 That is, each partial view of British interests should be expanded by becoming acquainted with other, different, partial views. Should the various and competing factions in Britain actually come together, each would discover in the others similar interests and a common humanity. These different factions were personified in the pages of the Spectator by the members of the "Club" which met periodically throughout the papers. The Club consisted of Sir Roger de Coverly, a landed, Tory gentleman; Sir Andrew Freeport, a successful merchant; Captain Sentry, a once-victorious naval captain; Will Honeycomb, a Restoration-style courtier and fop; as well as a lawyer and a clergyman.60 Besides the members of the Club, the Spectator presented throughout its pages "a range of characters who were victims of their own moral incompleteness."61 In these characters readers of the Spectator were supposed to see themselves in order to correct their own faults and limitations and to improve upon their tastes and pleasures. Further, they were supposed to see others and be impressed by the sheer variety of humanity that constituted a modern, liberal, commercial society. Like the character of Mr. Spectator, the modern personality should be a constant observer of self and others. This observation would teach the individual what manners and morals to cultivate so as to live amicably among his fellows. This learned behaviour was summarised in the word "politeness." The term usually referred to its opposite. To be impolite was to be narrow, a "pedant" of any kind who could not think or act outside his professional and social sphere.62

It would not be unfair to ask whether polite morality worked: whether the Spectator taught men and women to live more peacefully and happily together, to understand the changes taking place in culture and society, to adjust their behaviour to the demands of the modern age. Many contemporaries thought so. Diarists weighed their own conduct against the moral lessons of the Spectator as they had done with the Whole Duty of Man a generation before:

Read the 38th Spectator, was extremely pleased because I felt everything I read [in] it was designed against the fault that I find myself extremely guilty of, and that is a too great desire and love of applause
in things which are in themselves the least commendable. I have continually a desire of pleasing in my eye and this gives birth and life to every pursuit or engagement, whatever I do carries an air of affectation along with it.63

Assuredly one sign of eighteenth-century Britons' estimation of polite moral culture was the eagerness with which they passed on this social education to their children. The fourth chapter of this dissertation is devoted to that dissemination of politeness among youth, and the figure of Addison will make a number of appearances.

As important as Addison was for eighteenth-century education, whether of adults or youth, the moral curriculum was not written entirely in the language of spectatorial politeness. For that reason I have chosen the historiographical term "enlightened" rather than the contemporary usage of "polite" to describe the efforts of school reformers. But that term itself carries its own historiographical baggage. "Enlightenment" has become an overworked and often misapplied historical term.64 Since one of the purposes of this study is to define more clearly this term, or at least to explain what a certain type of local philosophe did in the act of "enlightening," a full discussion of Enlightenment at this juncture would be premature. It must be said at the outset, however, that this research rests upon a growing body of scholarship concerning what might be called the "English-speaking Enlightenment."65 The Enlightenment in all of its phases and contexts might be reduced to two statements. "First, by definition the Enlightenment consisted of those who believed that the present age was in some sense more enlightened than the past, that people had become better able to understand the universe. Second, Enlightened people believed that this understanding was best achieved through the use of the natural faculties of the human mind, and not by reliance on either revelation or mystical illumination."66 In addition, one might want to add that enlightened thinkers pursued freedom "in its many forms--freedom from arbitrary power, freedom of speech, freedom of trade, freedom to realise one's talents, freedom of aesthetic response, freedom, in a word, of moral man to make his own way in the world."67 Within this broad definition, the Enlightenment in England, Scotland, and America, differed significantly from that of the sceptical French philosophes who believed that freedom must be obtained by opposing established institutions and in particular the Church, as expressed in Voltaire's slogan of écrasez l'infâme. Speaking of England, but in terms that could be applied to Scotland and America, Roy Porter characterises Enlightenment as the effort to "produce a society where individuals could pursue life, liberty, wealth and happiness, but which nevertheless possessed the stable solidarity needed to preclude self-destructive anarchy."68 To this end, the English Enlightenment mind did not perceive the world, as did the French, as the struggle between contending opposites, but in terms of comprehension and harmonisation: "individual and society, trade and gentility, conscience and self-love, science and religion. . ."69
Enlightened literati in Britain, through the various agencies of moral culture, the home, educational establishments, the church, and the press, sought to maintain this balance in society through the creation of a balanced human character. This ideal type could pursue a commercial career while maintaining his civic virtue, engage in scientific inquiry while adhering to his faith, indulge in both the social and private forms of leisure when not attending to business, in short, participate in all the active and pleasurable “scenes of life” without becoming dangerously addicted to any one of them. The enlightened individual was neither the classical hero, the Christian saint, nor the Renaissance courtier of old, nor the industrialist of the coming century, but rather a combination of all of these, deprived of their most extreme features, and therefore rendered happier in himself and more useful and pleasant to others.

Lockean Pedagogy

Public moralists, whether enlightened or not, require a receptive audience. Otherwise they are only so many Jeremiahs crying in the wilderness. We have already suggested some of the reasons why eighteenth-century adults eagerly followed the amusing and instructive advice of polite moralists. Likewise, they brought up their children in this moral culture. John Locke became the architect of moral instruction in the home and, unwittingly, in the school. Others would complete the work, and add to the original edifice. But Locke himself was writing in the context of a European-wide transformation of family relations and attitudes towards childhood. Over the course of the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, parents became more emotionally attached to their children and the once aloof and patriarchal attitudes of parents were overcome by the "growth of affect." One important cause of this change was the greater chance of surviving childhood. High rates of infant and child mortality during the early modern period had prevented parents from becoming "too attached to something that was regarded as a probable loss." Another factor was certainly the development of a cult of childhood innocence which found an institutional home in the Port-Royal. Rather than the child's essential sinfulness which had to be repressed, seventeenth-century French clerics dwelled upon Christ's childhood and command that we must "be as little children" to gain salvation. Changing economic and social structures allowed for greater individual autonomy and softened the relations between husbands and wives and between parents and children. The patriarchal model of the extended household, resting on the unquestioning submission of family members to the father as sole landowner and lawgiver, gradually gave way to the nuclear family in which members were joined together by ties of mutual affection. This waning of patriarchalism can be seen even in the domains
traditionally dominated by the old values, such as the teaching of the classical languages. Consider this student translation from act one, scene one, of Terence's Adelphi:

He indeed in my opinion is grossly mistaken, who supposes that the authority of a Father over his children, which is procured by rigour is more weighty or durable, than that which is procured by friendship... He who performs his duty thro' fear of punishment, only takes care of his behaviour as long as he supposes it will be known; if he hopes that it will be kept secret, again he returns to his natural way. He who performs his duty heartily, whom you gain by favour: he wishes to make a suitable return: he will be the same in your absence as in your presence. This is the duty of a Father, rather to accustom a son to do what is right of his own accord, than under the fear of another. This is the difference between a father & a master, let him who cannot do this confess that he knows nothing about the management of children.75

Because they were closer to their children than had been parents in the past, and because they understood that the old methods of authoritarian discipline were unworkable in the modern world, eighteenth-century parents sought an education for their children that placed a premium on cultivating habits of self-discipline and the character traits which would secure their fortune in life better than could a sure inheritance.

Parents and public moralists were receptive, in short, to the idea that "of all the Men we meet with, Nine Parts of Ten are what they are, Good or Evil, useful or not, by their Education. 'Tis that which makes the great Difference in Mankind."76 This was the pedagogy put forth by John Locke and his followers. Locke's theory of human understanding held that human beings possess no "innate ideas," and he cited the example of children eighteen times to prove his point.77 In Locke's view, rather than having an innate understanding of truth and beauty, individuals' ideas of the world are formed in childhood according to their exposure to certain stimuli received by the mind simultaneously, a process he called the "association of ideas."78 Simple elements which have no natural relation to each other, but are joined by social customs, become connected in the individual's imagination. Once an association is made, it is almost impossible to break. Locke cited the seemingly innocuous examples of grown men who had an unreasonable fear of the dark stemming from childhood or could only dance well with a certain piece of furniture in the room. More harmful associations in the imagination, however, caused the individual to indulge in pernicious pursuits, which were themselves habit-forming. Since the first impressions are the most lasting, Locke considered the child's mind as "white Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases."79 Acquiring a false association in childhood, if unchecked, led by degrees to a course of ruin in adulthood, both to oneself and to others. False associations were even more formidable when they spread to society at large. Locke considered most if not all the errors in politics and religion founded on "education, custom,
and the constant din of . . . party." Locke considered the child's mind, therefore, as the most important battleground in the conflict between reason and error:

Those who have children, or the charge of their education, would think it worth their while diligently to watch, and carefully to prevent the undue connexion of ideas in the minds of young people. This is the time most susceptible of lasting impressions.80

Heeding Locke's warning, eighteenth-century educators were absorbed with the problems presented by the association of ideas. Explaining the theory of association, the Aberdonian moral philosopher David Fordyce employed negative examples: a miser who thinks happiness consists in riches and forgets all ties of humanity, a young gentleman exposed to flattery who ends up wasting his family's fortune, a young woman who takes an early delight in her person and is eventually relieved of her virtue by a deceiver.81 These stock scenarios employed in moral and pedagogical literature throughout the century reveal the apprehension that, since the child's mind is like blank paper it is, in Roger L'Estrange's phrase, "ready Indifferently for any Impression, Good or Bad . . . to Write Saint, or Devil upon't."82 The only true association was happiness with virtue.83 Taken out of its eighteenth-century or its British context, the Lockean theory of association would seem to provide much hope for the upbringing of individual children and the progress of humanity.84 Yet Lockean pedagogy only exacerbated the fears of parents and moralists who continued to view the world at large as a fallen or vicious place.

This uneasiness on the part of those concerned with children was likewise manifest in the philosophical discussion of human nature. Many of the leading philosophers of the day were educational theorists for good reasons. The question of whether man is essentially good or evil, when combined with empirical methods, led to the search for a natural state before the influences of society altered the human character, thus either to "natural man" or to the child. The views of these educationist-philosophers can be broken down into three different images of the child.85 First, the older Augustinian view held that the child was innately corrupt. Consequently, the only way to teach the child was by "the most ruthless repression of his will and his total subordination to his parents, schoolmasters and others in authority over him."86 This view carried with it Biblical authority and the weight of tradition, and thus retained force in the eighteenth-century, especially in Calvinist circles. Indeed, empirical observations of childhood were often used as evidence of original sin. Directly opposite was the view that children, and hence mankind, were essentially good. In this school were to be found Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and their followers in the British context, as well as Rousseau and a host of others on the Continent. This conception of human nature held that mankind had been endowed by the Creator with certain moral faculties. Chief among these was a moral sense. The moral sense, which subsequent thinkers such as Fordyce and Witherspoon simply labelled conscience, acted as an internal monitor of human conduct. It
assigned praise to actions that were inherently good and blame to those that were inherently vicious. One's own and others' actions and words were constantly under this moral surveillance. The moral sense operated like a reflex, prior to any thought or calculation. Therefore one's conduct did not simply rely on a rational calculation of pleasures and pains or rewards and punishments. One pursued virtue and avoided vice because nature compelled one to do so. It is not hard to perceive that such a view of a more or less benevolent mankind would have tremendous ramifications for political and social structures. If human beings are good, they do not require harsh external restraints to keep them in line. The middle, or educationist, position worked out by Locke we have already treated in some detail.

This rigid separation of views broke down in practice. Though thinkers recognised the distinctions, they were not always consistent in maintaining them, especially when addressing education. Charles Rollin, probably the most widely read educational theorist in Europe and America after Locke, held to a doctrine of original sin. Yet he still spoke of children's relative innocence when compared to their corrupt parents, an innocence which could be preserved with a proper education.87 Aside from the alluring passages in the introduction and conclusion of his educational treatise, Locke portrayed if not a complete depravity, at least an extremely troublesome nature in children.88 The two Scottish philosophers Turnbull and Fordyce are even more difficult to pin down, since they employed both moral sense theory and Lockean associationism indiscriminately. Turnbull asserted unequivocally that mankind is equipped with a "moral furniture" for improvement, even for "moral perfection."89 When having to explain the source of vice in the world, however, he reverted to the educationist position:

If any errors or vices once enter amongst mankind, they will spread in consequence of the influence of information and example, and of the docility and pliability of young minds; or their readiness to imbibe ideas from others, and to be easily moulded, by education and custom.90

Ideas of either a fallen man or an essentially good human nature migrated towards the middle, Lockean position when thinkers either advocated education reform or explained the causes of the spread of vice. Only Rousseau allowed his student to develop "naturally," though he had to take Emile away from his parents and into the country, and to keep a constant watch over him, to do so safely.

While the Lockean view of the pliability of human nature prevailed in eighteenth-century education, practising educators followed Shaftesbury and the Scottish moral philosophers in placing greater weight on other principles of the child's mind than had Locke. In his Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke stressed the importance of reason in children:
It will perhaps be wondered that I mention Reasoning with Children: And yet I cannot but think that the true Way of Dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do Language; and, if I mis-observe not, they love to be treated as Rational Creatures sooner than is imagined. 'Tis a Pride should be cherished in them and as much as can be, made the greatest instrument to turn them by.91

Subsequent educational theorists, however, preferred to elicit and educate other faculties of the child's nature. They concentrated their efforts on forming and balancing the taste, the imagination, the passions and affections. No enlightened educator, of course, would have denied the importance of creating a reasonable human being. But the unmistakable shift of emphasis owed to several post-Lockean developments in philosophy, society, and moral culture.92 Locke's own philosophy did a great deal to generate this shift in British moral philosophers. Although Locke himself adhered to the moral truths revealed in divine law, his theory of mind had far too relativistic tendencies for his pupil Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury's theory of the moral sense and its aesthetic ally was further elaborated by Hutcheson, who confronted not only the difficulties posed by Hobbes and Locke, but had seen how reason could be tainted in the hands of that quirkiest of hedonist philosophers, Bernard Mandeville. From Hutcheson the two most important post-Lockean educational philosophers, namely, George Turnbull and David Fordyce, derived their view of the human mind.93 In addition to these philosophical stirrings, the declining value of reason in ordering human life coincided with the growth of commerce and cities, as we have seen. If reason could hardly order the lives of adults, a fortiori was it ineffective in governing the behaviour of children and youth.

The following chapters will detail the different strategies that educators employed in order to balance and direct the minds of youth. These strategies were necessarily connected to the particular branches of study in the curriculum, as each branch was thought to appeal to different faculties of the young mind. Yet it will be necessary to have some prior conception of how educators viewed the mind as a whole and the vocabulary they employed to describe it. This is no academic exercise. The advertisement of most every textbook in the eighteenth century contained some terse statement of how it would elevate the taste, correct the fancy, entertain the imagination, tame the passions, polish the manners, form the judgment, and encourage the understanding, or some similar combination of phrases. One must resist the temptation to dismiss these statements as mere collections of synonyms which the editors themselves did not understand. In fact, these cryptic formulae were shorthand for a complicated intellectual process of educating the human mind. Since eighteenth-century pedagogy focused upon the mind, as opposed to what today might be called the "personality," the anatomy of the mind must be charted before the operation can be understood.94
The human mind was seen to have been composed generally of three levels of "faculties" or "principles." The lower faculties were the senses and appetites. Senses responded to external stimuli without reflection. A sense saw something or felt something or heard something. An appetite was a natural craving for that which sustained life, as for food or warmth, and obviously was intimately connected with the senses. Both the senses and appetites were governed largely by pleasure and pain. Moral philosophers complicated the issue by adding other senses, however. The moral sense meant just what its name implied, a faculty that responded favourably or unfavourably to a given moral situation prior to any thought. Similarly, the "taste" responded to beauties or deformities in nature, art, and society based upon the pleasure or pain it received from them. As we shall see, the moral sense and the taste were closely allied.

The middle level of faculties had a large constituency, principally the memory, the imagination, and the passions. The memory, of course, supplied the mind with experiences from the past, whether of a sensual or intellectual nature. The imagination accomplished or failed to accomplish several tasks. Drawing upon memory, it could recall objects without their being immediately present, impressions that the senses had taken in previously. It was also that faculty of mind identified with Locke's principle of the association of ideas. The imagination associated things not necessarily connected by nature, such as the book and the rod, prestige and a special colour of ribbon, happiness and riches, when continually exposed to them by society and custom. The imagination was not always so dependent on external stimuli, however. The imagination could create entirely new images by combining impressions. One could imagine the head of a man on the body of a horse, for example, without ever having seen it. When the imagination made false associations on a whim, it was often called by the more derogatory term of the "fancy." Another, more positive, fanciful aspect of the imagination was that it insisted on being entertained and constantly sought all forms of novelty. Like the senses and appetites, the imagination sought pleasure, but of a more complicated variety.

By "passions," moral philosophers referred to a range of desires, proclivities, and motive forces, such as ambition, benevolence, anger, and lust, in both individuals and societies. The passions were taken to be "the main hinges of life and manners, and the great sources of our happiness or misery."

"The whole of moral culture," said Fordyce in a revealing phrase, depended "on giving a right direction to the leading passions, and duly proportioning them to the value of the objects or goods pursued, under what name soever they may appear." Far more important than the finest imagination or the most tenacious memory, according to Turnbull, was an "absolute command of our passions." The three most important and therefore most dangerous passions, or more dramatically, "the three fatal Baits, which allure the bulk of mankind, and draw them into infinite misery and misfortune in the present life,
and often into utter destruction at last," were "Ambition, Covetousness, and Love of Pleasure." This in fact was the old language. Increasingly, moral philosophers assigned no particular tendency towards virtue or vice in these passions. Ambition could lead one to laudable actions. The desire to provide material comfort to oneself and one's family could find its expression in worthwhile industry. The love of pleasure might seek polite company and refined leisure. The task for the virtuous and happy individual was to find the golden mean in each individual passion and to effect "the balance of the whole system."

The highest faculty of mind was the reason, or the understanding. The reason was essentially a moral entity. It distinguished between right and wrong. Reason could discern abstract truths and work out ideas independently of custom. Reason ought to have presided over the other faculties of the mind. Yet for those who followed Locke, there existed no "innate" ideas in the mind, so reason depended substantially on the way ideas had come to it through the imagination. Even those bothered by Lockean epistemology agreed that the reason had a very weak voice in this rowdy assembly of the mind. Reason could not be relied upon to controvert moral relativism. To confront this dilemma, as we shall see in the following chapters, educators attempted to cultivate certain natural principles of the mind, to ripen them into a moral and aesthetic "judgment." In other words, reason formed alliances with the lesser faculties, such as the taste, in order to give a moral direction to the whole mind. These various faculties existed in all human beings, but to a greater or lesser extent according to age, education, and, unfortunately, sex. With the advance of age, the individual mind ascended from the lower to the higher faculties. The child was almost entirely a creature of sense; the imagination and passions predominated in youth; and, if all went well, the adult lived according to reason. Designed to prepare future clergy, lawyers, merchants, and statesmen for their "stations" in a dynamic society of ambitious individuals, schools should adjust their discipline accordingly:

Young Men, whose Passions are not a little unruly, give small Hopes of their ever being considerable; the Fire of Youth will of Course abate, and is a Fault, if it be a Fault, that mends every Day; but surely, unless a Man has Fire in Youth, he can hardly have Warmth in Old age. We must therefore be very cautious, least while we think to regulate the Passions, we should quite extinguish them, which is putting out the Light of the Soul; for to be without Passion, or to be hurried away with it, makes a Man equally blind. The extraordinary Severity used in most of our Schools has this fatal Effect, it breaks the Spring of the Mind, and most certainly destroys more good Genius's than it can possibly improve.

In response to the challenge of Lockean associationism as fertilised by Scottish moral philosophy, moral pedagogues devised two strategies which worked in tandem, and might be considered the negative and positive aspects of liberal education. The initial effort was to form in the mind of children a negative propensity that rejected false images of happiness.
To this end, George Turnbull, though one of the foremost aestheticists in education, cautioned against the dangerous passions a free imagination would unleash in children:

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The best masters in morals, and the arts of education, have recommended beginning rather by forming our aversion, than by encouraging our admiration, or advised to work rather by weaning our passion from false goods, than by engaging our affections in the warm admiration and pursuit of any good, however true and substantial.
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Only by forming this "aversion" in youth, could one live as an adult according to a true "inward" liberty in a corrupt and superficial world. This Stoical notion of liberty rested upon a "habit of calling appearances of pleasure and good to a severe trial."¹⁰⁰ The other, positive aspect of education consisted in establishing in the young mind what David Fordyce called "counter-Associations."¹⁰¹ Combining Locke's view of the curiosity of children and Hutcheson's principle of the moral sense, Fordyce insisted that children, as young "spectators," were naturally interested in the moral features of personal relations, fictional and historical characters, and adventures. I shall reproduce Fordyce's advice on this subject at length, as it shows the extent to which every aspect of the child's life was moralised as well as the way the image of the spectator was applied to education:

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[The child] is a daily Spectator of the Behaviour and actions of the Family. From these he forms some Notion of their Characters and Passions. His Contests with his Brothers and Sisters inflame his own Passions, and make him more attentive to their Conduct. Instantly he approves or condemns, loves or dislikes. . . . Nor is he indifferent about the Figure he bears in his own Eye. His Actions and Affections often pass in review before the judging Faculty, which impartially acquits or condemns them as they deserve either. . . . The Consequence is Self-Complacency and Joy, or Remorse and Shame. Not only Actions, but even Features and Air of the Countenance suggest moral Qualities to the young Spectator, and impress him with Affection or Dislike. And as he loves or hates, he becomes more or less interested in the Fortunes of others. As soon, therefore, as he begins to show a Taste for moral Objects, to enquire concerning Characters, and listen to Stories and Adventures, I would gratify this new Appetite . . . and supply him with abundant Materials to exercise the moral Principles of his Nature. For this purpose, Children should be furnished with plain, simple Stories from Life, or Fragments of History selected with Discretion, well-contrived Tales, and Fables which have an easy, clear, and useful Moral.¹⁰²
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Childhood reading, then, was intended to serve moral purposes. This reading took place in the home and at school. Parents and schoolmasters sought moral literature that would prepare children and youth to resist the temptations of the world and teach them to actualise their moral potential. Consequently, educators in the eighteenth century expended considerable effort on a moral curriculum that would accomplish the twofold task of preventing false associations and forming just ones in the young mind, a task Fordyce considered "the great Art or Engine of moral Culture."¹⁰³ Presenting moral images to young minds that would teach them to love virtue and abhor vice, written in a language that would
develop their taste and power of expression, this, in a nutshell, was the English-speaking Enlightenment's definition of liberal education.

The means by which these moral images were presented to youth was also crucial. One false association that Locke especially hoped to undo was that between the book and the rod. As much as anything else, Locke criticised schoolmasters for trying to force children to learn and beating them when they failed to. Recourse to the rod was both cruel and ineffective. For what the great brutes104 of education failed to understand was the true nature of the child:

We naturally ... even from our Cradles, love Liberty, and have therefore an aversion to many Things, for no other Reason, but because they are injoyn'd us. I have always had a Fancy, that Learning might be made a Play and Recreation to Children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were propos'd to them as a thing of Honour, Credit, Delight and Recreation, or as a Reward for doing something else; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it.105

Locke advocated what psychologists today call the "principle of minimal sufficiency."106 Although the child possessed no innate ideas, there were certain appetites and principles of his nature to which educators could appeal. Children loved to play and they should be led to take delight in what "is of Advantage to them."107 Alternating between physical and mental exercises would "make their Lives and Improvement pleasant in a continued train of Recreations, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved, and refresh'd." But children did not always require parental supervision. By carefully observing their children at free play, parents could "discover their Natural Tempers ... Inclinations, and Aptitudes" and accordingly choose for them a "Course of Life" and suitable employment. Mental exercise found its ally in the child's own curiosity.108 This "Appetite after Knowledge" should be encouraged in children by answering their many questions and explaining things in a way suitable to their capacities. Children took delight in learning new things and in the variety of the world. In one of his most memorable passages, Locke compared children to travellers in a strange land: "all the things they meet with, are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us: And happy are they who meet with civil People, that will comply with their Ignorance, and help them to get out of it."109 These very questions of children were often more suggestive than the "Discourses of Men who talk in a road, according to the Notions they have borrowed, and the Prejudices of their Education."110 Locke also considered children keenly susceptible to esteem and disgrace, "the most powerful Incentives to the Mind, when once it is brought to relish them."111 Therefore, parents and guardians should "caress and commend them, when they do well; shew a cold and neglectful Countenance to them upon doing ill."112 As David Fordyce later put it, the child's love of praise and aversion to blame made him "a fit subject of culture."113 Praise requires an audience. The love of praise combined with youth's propensities to associate and to emulate others made company the
deciding factor in their education, just as it determined what counted for virtue and vice among adults:

Having named Company, I am almost ready to throw away my Pen, and trouble you no farther on this Subject. For since that does more than all Precepts, Rules and Instructions, methinks 'tis almost wholly in vain to make a long Discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose.  

Company came in many forms: the company of parents, the company of schoolfellows, the company of servants, the "low company" of poets and rogues, the company of religious and political factions. No sort of company was entirely safe and most forms of it were positively dangerous. Children's love of praise, then, issued the same challenge to educators as did the association of ideas. Environment was nearly everything.

The principles of the human mind and the means of educating the child corresponded closely to the enlightened aims of education. Eighteenth-century educators sought to mould the faculties of the young mind in order to create balance in the human character. That balance found its expression in the complementary purposes of education. Locke set forth the aims of education as virtue, wisdom, good-breeding, and learning. These qualities, though distinct, were necessarily interrelated. Virtue in part meant piety, or "a true notion of God, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all Things, from whom we receive all our Good, who loves us, and gives us all Things." This true notion of God led one to love and reverence Him but not to inquire too much into the nature of "a Being which all must acknowledge incomprehensible." Those who overindulged their curiosity in these matters ran into either superstition or atheism, "making God like themselves . . . or none at all." As we shall see throughout this study, enlightened educators advocated this middle way in religious belief. They sought to discourage in youth the growth of the religious passions of either enthusiasm (Puritanism) or superstition (Catholicism) on the one hand and indifference or outright scepticism on the other. Instead, they showed youth the "coincidence between the duties of piety and politeness." Virtue, it will be guessed, also consisted in large part in the avoidance of vice. Besides rational piety and an aversion to vice, Locke also had the classical virtues in mind, particularly, liberality, justice, truthfulness, and courage, "the Guard and Support of the other Virtues." As expounded in later moral philosophy, the individual attained virtue by finding the mean in each of his various passions. Courage, for example, navigated the straits of fear and foolhardiness. Similarly, the virtuous individual learned to balance the social and the private passions. The difficulties in trying to effect a rapprochement between Christian and classical virtues will be readily perceived and we shall follow them throughout this study. On this account,
curricular reformers followed not only Locke and the British moralists, but also the pedagogy of Charles Rollin.\textsuperscript{124}

Locke defined wisdom as "a man's managing his business ably and with foresight in this world."\textsuperscript{125} Because such knowledge was above the comprehension of a child and mainly "the product of a good natural Temper, application of Mind, and Experience," he hardly treated it at this juncture. Elsewhere in his Some Thoughts, Locke dwelled on the character traits of industry and prudence and the necessity of inculcating "Vigour, Activity, and Industry" in the child in order to prepare him for the world.\textsuperscript{126} Locke was not addressing a bourgeois audience but was concerned specifically with "the Gentleman's Calling. For if those of that Rank are by their Education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into Order."\textsuperscript{127} Yet it was precisely in their ability to manage their inherited fortunes with prudence and industry that gentlemen's sons so often failed. As E. J. Hundert has pointed out, Locke "laid down the proposition that labor was the distinctly human agency by means of which man improved the natural and social world." Further, Locke "held industriousness itself rather than social position as the lever to virtue and success."\textsuperscript{128} This insistence, predictably, would be appropriated by educational theorists, polite moralists, preachers, and, most of all, parents of the middle and upper classes.

Good breeding might be given its eighteenth-century name, politeness. Locke in both his own life and educational theory shunned impolite behaviour, and wrote as warmly on this subject as on virtue and industry.\textsuperscript{129} Unlike the ill-mannered, polite people were those who avoided both a "sheepish Bashfulness" and a "mis-becoming Negligence and Disrespect in our Carriage" by following one rule: "Not to think meanly of our selves and not to think meanly of others."\textsuperscript{130} Because human beings pursue happiness, and, we might add, because they are sociable, they seek to be around other people who are pleasant, even more than those who are outstanding for virtue or useful to them. By pleasurable, Locke meant those who put us at ease, who please us by their manners and conversation. However much the regulation of politeness seems to smack of courtesy books, Locke's theory of company had important philosophical implications, as we have seen.

Finally, learning was an indispensable requirement for a gentleman. Yet Locke sought to put book-learning, especially when centred on the classics, in its proper place. Though custom held up learning as "that alone, which is thought on, when People talk of Education," Locke intended to render it "subservient . . . to greater Qualities."\textsuperscript{131} In criticising the standard practices of the grammar schools and private tutors, Locke's tone was often quite harsh.
Our Education fits us rather for the University, than the World. . . . Reason, if consulted with, would advise that their Children's time should be spent in acquiring, what might be useful to them when they come to be Men; rather than to have their Heads stuff'd with a deal of trash, a great part wherof they usually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them, they are only the worse for.  

Nevertheless, Locke considered “a Gentleman’s more serious Employment . . . to be Study.” To this end, he devoted a fourth of his treatise to a suitable curriculum, and treated a gentleman’s reading in other tracts and letters. Even Latin was “absolutely necessary to a Gentleman.”

Locke’s fourfold aims of education, consisting in virtue, industry, politeness, and learning, provided education reformers in the eighteenth century a standard by which to improve the school curriculum. The subjects or “branches” of knowledge which were to have a place in the curriculum had to satisfy one or more of these aims of education. The curriculum as a whole was meant to sustain a balance of the human mind which neatly corresponded to these aims. Were any faculty of the human mind neglected, the result would be a diminished and perhaps dangerous individual. These partial characters found their stereotypes in the periodical literature of the day, which resonated throughout educational texts. Too much learning, at the expense of virtue and politeness, made one a pedant, and unfit for the social duties or pleasures of the world. An undue emphasis on politeness, without regard for virtue, learning, and industry in one’s calling, rendered one a fop and flatterer. Attention solely to one's own affairs was the part of a miser. Even virtue, alone, was insufficient. Without politeness, the virtuous individual was not “amiable”; without wisdom and prudence, a potential victim of the sharpers of this world; without learning, something of a philistine who would have nothing to do in old age. In their seemingly endless discussions over the “utility” of the liberal arts, enlightened educators invariably based their advocacy of a given subject on these Lockean aims of education and their related principles of mind.

The elaboration of Lockean pedagogy can best be seen in David Fordyce’s Dialogues Concerning Education (1745), after the works of Locke and Charles Rollin, probably the most influential theoretical treatment of education in the eighteenth century. Fordyce modelled his Dialogues on Philip Doddridge’s Dissenting Academy at Northampton where he attended before taking up the Philosophy chair at Marischal College, Aberdeen. The characters are students at an ideal academy who discuss different questions in education at the evening meetings of their "Philosophical Club." Particularly bothersome is the problem of the association of ideas, which they address in two lengthy dialogues. Each of the characters advocates a different aspect of education suited to his temperament. The
theologically-minded Hiero dwells on the religious training of youth. The austere Constant offers a rigorous philosophical education. The borderline fop Eugenio concentrates on the aesthetic and social forms of politeness. Sophron constantly harps upon the superiority of the ancients. Although each of these characters argues with the others to support his position, no one offers a full answer to the proposed questions. Rather, it is the function of the dialogue to arrive at a more comprehensive view of education, and the narrator Simplicius along with the assistant master Philander more often reconcile the different positions than take any one side. The overall lesson of the Dialogues is that individual branches of education might develop one part of the human mind, but a only a combined approach can "train a reasonable Creature for a serious, active, useful and contented Life here, and an eternal, happy Existence hereafter."\textsuperscript{137}

In order to train young minds to love virtue and abhor vice, to prepare youth for the challenges of a dynamic commercial society, to make boys and girls\textsuperscript{138} sociable men and women, and to advance the improvement of the arts and sciences, philosophers, schoolmasters, polite journalists, and textbook editors combined their efforts to form what I shall call the enlightened curriculum. This curriculum was not an exact blueprint that every school followed in the way that one could know in nineteenth-century France what every schoolboy was reading at any given moment of the day. Moreover, there were tensions in this curriculum as there were arguments among the characters in Fordyce's Dialogues. Nonetheless, in the latter half of the century a recognisable liberal-arts curriculum emerged which fulfilled the Lockean aims of education, one much more sophisticated than the course of study Locke himself had put forth. This curriculum was different from the exclusively classical course of study that students had undergone at the beginning of the century, and the change was appreciated at the time. Furthermore, this curriculum lasted well into the nineteenth, and parts of it into the first half of our own century.\textsuperscript{139} In large part, the establishment of national curricula in nineteenth-century Europe and America depended on this earlier period of discussion and experimentation.\textsuperscript{140} This study will show how this curriculum was formed as an effect of Enlightenment, indeed as the most logical and necessary task in what has been called the "Enlightenment project."

1 Horace, *Odes*, bk. 4, ode 4. Lord Lytton's translation:
Still training speeds the inborn vigour's growth;
Sound culture is the armour of the breast.
Where fails the moral lore,
Vice disennobles even the noblest born.


3 Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 9 May 1753, in Benjamin Franklin, *Writings* (New York, 1987), 471-2. Franklin subsequently published this same account in a slightly altered form in "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North-America" (1783), beginning, "Savages we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think the Perfection of Civility; they think the same of theirs." Ibid., 969-70.

4 *Partisan Review* (Summer 1998): 371. This issue, dedicated to "Education and Integration: Europe and America," is an indication that many of the issues explored in this dissertation are still very much alive.

5 "Conventional histories of education are filled with generalizations about relationships between education and social structure. It has been a common practice, for example, to attach a class label to an educational institution, which is then held to respond to the 'needs' or 'demands' of a particular social class. Who determines these needs, or whether, if such needs exist, the institution in fact responds to them, is left unclear." Talbott, 135.

6 The authoritative history of school foundations is Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1966). Lawrence Stone's many works on and related to education tend to focus on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The works on education in the nineteenth century, which occasionally begin with the closing decades of the eighteenth, are too numerous to cite here. Though ultimately concerned with Oxford and Cambridge, Sheldon Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture* (London, 1976), is an extremely valuable source on the relationship between education and culture in the eighteenth century. Other eighteenth-century histories of education will be discussed in the following chapter. That the older historiography still has its adherents can be seen in the following summary: "While little practical reform in education was achieved during the eighteenth century, projects and proposals were numerous and discontent accelerated in its closing decades. . . Secondary education for boys took the form of grammar and public schools dominated by an increasingly irrelevant classics curriculum and characterized, especially in top public boarding schools like Eton, by harsh and brutalizing regimes." Graham Richards, *Mental Machinery: The Origins and Consequences of Psychological Ideas*; Part 1: 1600-1850 (London, 1992), 212.

7 What Locke said of the individual might be applied to the eighteenth century as a whole: "the chief, if not only spur to human industry and action is uneasiness." An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, ed. John W. Yolton, 2 vols. (London, 1965), 2.20.6.


16 The following is based upon Albert O. Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph, 20th anniv. ed. (Princeton, 1997).


21 Ibid., 19.


30 Smith, Wealth of Nations, 1:344. Smith further stated that not all such pamphlets could be attributed to party motives. The following analysis of Smith's place in the luxury debate is taken from Donald Winch, Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834 (Cambridge, 1996), ch. 3.


33 Ibid., 1:343.

34 Ibid., 2:782. Italics added. See below on balance. Here the imbalance is that of industry driving out virtue, politeness, and learning. The significance of book 5 and the connection between the Wealth of Nations and Smith's moral philosophy is, of course, a larger subject than can be canvassed here. Simply put, I am not in the camp of those who wish to minimalise Smith's misgivings.

35 Ibid., 2:788.

36 The Spectator, no. 428.


39 Tobias Smollett, The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker (London, 1771), Matt Bramble to Dr. Lewis, 30 Sept. I have used a Routledge edition of 1895.


41 The following is drawn principally from Roy Porter, London: A Social History (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), chs. 6-7; Arthur J. Weitzman, "Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City?" Journal


43 Brewer, Pleasures, ch. 1.

44 Daniel Defoe, Some Considerations on... Seamen (London, 1728), 44. Quoted in Byrd, 20-1.


46 Although not a London example, the account of "the Suffolk Paricide," Charles Drew, was typical of the genre: "there was very little care taken of the son's education; who was a compleat well made youth, and the nearer he approach'd manhood, the finer was his appearance, and the more his person was admir'd. But as to his natural capacity, it was dull and mean; and his mind being uncultivated, and no education given him, as he grew up, he became sordid and perverse in his temper." Scots Magazine 2 (1740): 145.


49 Job Orton to Mrs. Mercy Doddridge, 1 November 1752. "Philly" was Philip Doddridge. Quoted in Hunt, Middling Sort, 64.


51 Ibid., 7.

52 Ibid., 104.

53 Ibid., 28-9. Here Bahlman quotes from Defoe's An Essay upon Projects (London, 1697), 249. Bahlman's study is concerned with these very baubles and banters.

54 Spectator, no. 10.

55 Ibid.


57 Pocock's phrase, ibid.


59 James Madison, The Federalist, no. 10.

60 The characters are introduced in no. 2.

61 Klein, "Whig Moralists," 226. I agree with Klein's assessment that the contrast between Coverly and Freeport was not a simple replacement of landed with commercial values, that in fact each character suffered from his own type of partiality.


65 The historiographical question has been whether there was a single, all-embracing Enlightenment as that provided by Peter Gay, or whether Enlightenment took place in national contexts. The most relevant works are Roy Porter, "The Enlightenment in England," and Nicholas Phillipson, "The Scottish Enlightenment," in The Enlightenment in National Context, ed. R. Porter and M. Teich (Cambridge, 1981); and Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America (Oxford, 1976). Eventually, I should like to restore some degree of synthesis to the various Enlightenments of Atlantic culture. Therefore Clive and Bailyn's "England's Cultural Provinces" still appears relevant. For the attempt to reconstitute the "Atlantic dimension" of British history in the eighteenth century, see J. G. A. Pocock, "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject," American Historical Review 87 (1982): 311-336, esp. 329-31 and 318-9 on the problems of nomenclature. I prefer the more precise Churchillian phrase to a notion of "Atlantic" culture, which has lately come to mean any country with an Atlantic seaport, whether in Europe or Africa, or "Britain," which usually carries with it an insular connotation.


Egalitarian Family: Structure and Political Practice

See until 1750. Aries, 71, 70, 69, 68. Historians of childhood agree that decline in the rate of mortality was an important factor in changing attitudes, but that these attitudes preceded the decline. Stone (59) does not find these mortality rates falling until 1750.

See Aries, 108-12.

Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, ch. 6. A complete discussion of the exact causes of these changes would have to extend to the development of "romantic marriage" and the changing relationships between masters and servants, which I shall not undertake here. After a review of some of Stone's work, Trumbach (123) has concluded that these changes are more easily described than explained.


Locke, Education, §1. For Locke's writing of Some Thoughts Concerning Education and its reception in Britain and on the Continent, see Axtell's introductory essays in Educational Writings. The work went through twenty-six British printings between 1693 and 1800. It reached the public through other sources as well, such as the Budgell papers on education in the Spectator and a literary attempt to implement Lockean pedagogy in Richardson's Pamela.

Essay, book 1. "Savages" are his other leading example.

Essay, 2.23, "Of the Association of Ideas."

Education, §216.

Essay, 2.23.8.


"Moral Philosophy is 'The science of MANNERS or DUTY; which it traces from man's nature and condition, and shews to terminate in his happiness.' In other words, it is 'The knowledge of our DUTY and FELICITY'; or, 'The art of being VIRTUOUS and HAPPY.'" David Fordyce, "Moral Philosophy," in Encyclopædia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1771), 270.


See Margaret J. M. Ezell, "John Locke's Images of Childhood," in Eighteenth Century Studies 17 (1983-4): 139-55. See also Stone, Family, Sex and Marriage, 254-6. Neither Ezell nor Stone discuss the moral sense philosophers in Britain. Though not as logically consistent as Rousseau and at times having their feet in both the Lockean and Rousseauist camps, I am convinced they were of greater influence. A fourth view, the biological, held that the child's character was determined at conception and therefore that education and upbringing were of no importance. This view was a minority opinion and is irrelevant for our purposes.

Stone, ibid., 255.


See Education, §§20, 132, and 139 for references to "Adam's children," and §§55, 104-5 on "the love of dominion." John Dunn quotes these passages at length in claiming that Locke maintained a view of the "passions of a corrupt human nature." The Political Thought of John Locke: An Historical Account of the Argument of the Two Treatises of Government (Cambridge, 1969), 245-6. For the opposing view, based on the statements from §1 and §216, see James Tully, An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts (Cambridge, 1993), 67, 231, 232, and 311. Nathan Tarcov offers a close analysis of the text in
arguing against original sin but seems to recognise the ambiguity. Locke's Education for Liberty (Chicago, 1984). My view on Locke is that he was ambiguous, perhaps purposely. But as with Rollin, even those committed to a doctrine of original sin could become Lockean in their function as educational advocates. Gailhard, for example, writing before Locke, exhibited an even greater tension: "The inward principle being naturally corrupt, and the will and affections deprav'd and prone to evil, if these natural dispositions be strengthened with evil practice, and become habitual, all that will not only be settled and confirmed, but also it will become inveterate and past remedy, without God's special grace." Nonetheless, "Let Nature be what it will, it may be changed by education." Quoted in George C. Brauer, Jr., The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanship Education in England, 1660-1775 (New York, 1959), 27; Axtell, 114n.

89 George Turnbull, Observations upon Liberal Education (London, 1742), 90-5.
90 Ibid., 92.
91 Education, §81.
93 Paul Wood, who has treated the careers of both Turnbull and Fordyce more extensively than anyone, tries to modify Hutcheson's reputation as the seminal thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment and claims at least as much originality on the part of Turnbull. The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century (Aberdeen, 1993), esp. 47-9. Be that as it may, the relative neglect of Turnbull's philosophy is understandable. In the first place, his writing set new standards of verbosity and redundancy. Secondly, his Observations upon Liberal Education was almost purely a compilation of Locke, Rollin, et al. There is almost nothing that cannot be found in it that pertained to the many issues we shall encounter (home vs. school, the balance of the passions, emulation, etc.), though I have not always taken the trouble to wade through that maddening text.
94 The difficulty of providing the necessary synthesis here owes to the fact that the meanings of taste, judgment, the passions, imagination, and reason were the source of intense debate among philosophers, and shifted over the course of the century. My analysis is predominantly based upon the moral philosophy and pedagogy of David Fordyce and the rhetorical theory of Blair. These thinkers influenced educational theory and practice more directly than Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, or even Gerard at the school level, although certainly their debates were of enormous importance. See David Fordyce, Dialogues, esp. 1:280-300; idem, "Moral Philosophy" in Encyclopaedia Britannica, esp. 299-302; Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783; reprint of 1819 ed., Delmar, NY, 1993), chs. 1-5.
95 "Moral Philosophy," 301.
96 Liberal Education, 185.
97 James Burgh, Thoughts on Education, Tending Chiefly to Recommend to the Attention of the Public, Some Particulars Relating to that Subject; which Are Not Generally Considered with the Regard Their Importance Deserves (Edinburgh, 1747), 13.
98 Fordyce, "Moral Philosophy," 274. Two other terms often coupled with the passions confuse the matter still further, but reflect their rehabilitation, namely, the appetites and the affections. "Passions and affections" were never entirely synonymous. Passions included those fixations of mind that were the defect of a more laudable sentiment, such as jealousy for love, ambition for honour, or greed for economy and industry. Appetites, however, remained closer to the attachments of sense: gluttony as an advanced form of hunger, folly as a refinement on the desire for pleasing others. Conquerors had passions; fops and flatterers had appetites. The passions, unlike the appetites, were capable of being harnessed for long-term projects. Fordyce also conflated the "passions and affections" and called the various forms of benevolence the "social passions." Still, it was realised that the passions had no direction of their own, and could effect either good or great harm.
99 Spectator, no. 408.
100 George Turnbull, Liberal Education, 137. The forming of an "aversion" in early childhood corresponds to Constant's part in Fordyce, Dialogues, 1:303-8.
101 Fordyce, Dialogues, 1:287.
102 Ibid., 1:203-4.
103 Ibid., 1:270.
The schoolmaster with the greatest reputation for beating was Westminster's Richard Busby, a figure vilified by such Lockean schoolmasters as John Clarke. Locke, however, never mentioned his former headmaster by name and, as one of Busby's "white boys," might even have approved of his teaching. See Axtell, 21-7.

Locke, Education, §148. See also the longer discussion, §§43-54.

"This states that a child will internalize a certain way of acting if there is just enough pressure to get him to behave in this new way, but not enough so that he feels he was forced to do so." Henry Gleitman, Psychology, 4th ed. (New York and London, 1995), 551. Indeed, Locke's remedy for weaning children from an overindulgence in recreation was to force them to play and make them think it a duty. Education, §128-9.

Education, §108.

Ibid., §§118-21.

Ibid., §120. The analogy of the traveller was replaced by that of the "spectator" in post-Addisonian theorists. See Fordyce above and "Moral Philosophy," 271.

Ibid.

Ibid., §§56-61, 119.

Ibid., §57.

Fordyce, "Moral Philosophy," 271. Particular emphasis should be put on this article not only because Fordyce was one of the most authoritative educational philosophers, but also because youth themselves would have read it as an introduction to moral philosophy. See its appearance in Dodsley's famous Preceptor.

Locke, Education, §70. This statement introduces the home vs. school dilemma, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Ibid., §134.

Ibid., §136.


Ibid., §110.

Ibid.

Ibid., §139.

Ibid., §115.


Ibid., 272 and passim.

Charles Rollin was probably the most influential theorist and practising pedagogue in eighteenth-century Europe. The current neglect of his popular historical and educational writings is a measure of how far we remain from the spirit what contemporaries themselves considered enlightened. Compared to Thucydides and Xenophon in his own time, the latter by no less a thinker than Montesquieu, and included by Voltaire in his "temple of taste," nevertheless Peter Gay mentions Rollin only twice in his lengthy history of the Enlightenment, as essentially medieval in his thinking and wholly derivative of Bossuet. To be sure, his historical causality was unashamedly providential, as we shall see in the chapter on history. His De la Manière d'Enseigner et d'Étudier les Belles Lettres par Rapport à l'Esprit et au Cœur, first published in 1726, remained for Nisard in 1861 "in educational matters . . . the only book--or rather it is the book." According to Villemain in 1838, "in educational matters, no progress has been made since Rollin." These are significant testimonials coming from French pedagogues who were not ignorant of Rousseau. Nor were generations of British and American admirers any less enthusiastic, as this four volume work remained in print from its first English edition of 1734 until the turn of our own century. Since those schoolmasters in Britain who wrote formal treatises were noticeably indebted to his discussion of learning, virtue, piety, and taste; since his treatment of rhetoric highlighted the oratorical pedagogy of Cicero and Quintilian; since his histories and methods of studying history led the age through the classical historians; and since his Belles Lettres more than any other work of the period attempted to reconcile ancient, Christian, and modern ideas of learning, Rollin's educational ideas must be taken as authoritative.

Rollin's Belles Lettres was published as The Method of Teaching and Studying The Belles Lettres, or An Introduction to The Languages, Poetry, Rhetoric, History, Moral Philosophy, Physicks, &c with Reflections on Taste; and Instructions with regards to the Eloquence of the Pulpit, the Bar, and the Stage (London, 1734). See H. C. Barnard, The French Tradition in Education: Ramus to Mme Necker de Saussure (Cambridge, 1922), esp. 218. For his popularity in America, see Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America (New York, 1976), 39, 120; David Lundberg and Henry F. May, "The Enlightened Reader in America," American Quarterly 28 (1976): 266, 271, and graph. The most recent full-length treatment of Rollin is Albert Charles Gaudin's 1939 Ph.D. thesis at Columbia, The Educational Views of Charles Rollin, although Georges

125 *Education*, §140.
126 Ibid., §94. In this passage addressing the qualifications of a tutor, Locke contrasted the normal insistence on a child's learning with the attainments of "good Breeding, Knowledge of the World, Vertue, Industry, and a love of Reputation."
127 Ibid., "The Epistle Dedicatory."
129 *Education*, §141-6. Locke loathed the style of scholastic disputation he encountered in his youth at Oxford. See Axtell, 18, 32. This point was recognised in the eighteenth century, and Locke's own politeness was held up as a model for youth. See ch. 5 on the making of the enlightened hero.
130 Ibid., §141. Locke continued this critique of bad manners by treating the problems of natural roughness, contempt, censoriousness, raillery, contradiction, captiousness, excess of ceremony, and interruption. The difficulty of defining politeness by anything other than impolite behaviour was recognised by contemporaries, who often referred to it as the *je ne sais quoi* which pleases others.
131 Ibid., §147.
132 Ibid., §94.
133 Ibid., §147-195. See also "Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman, 1703," and "Of Study," in Axtell, 397-422.
134 Ibid., §164.
135 Although the term "influential" is admittedly unsteady and certainly unquantifiable, I base this opinion not only on the number of reprints of the *Dialogues* but on the frequency with which school textbook editors quoted Fordyce in their prefaces. Two other sources suggest the relative weight of Fordyce and other theorists. John Ash, himself a schoolmaster and grammarian, compiled and partially wrote a book in which Locke, Rollin, the *Spectator*, Quintilian, Milton, Fordyce, and Chesterfield, in roughly that order, were the main voices. *Sentiments on Education, Collected from the Best Writers; Properly Methodized, and Interspersed with Occasional Observations* (London, 1777). Benjamin Franklin quite deliberately selected what he considered the most adaptable parts of the British educational discussion for his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*. Mistaking Fordyce for Francis Hutcheson, he identified the authors quoted as Milton, Locke, Fordyce, Obadiah Walker, Rollin, and George Turnbull, in that order. Franklin, *Writings*, 323-44.
136 *Dialogues* 8 and 10.
137 *Dialogues*, 1:199.
138 I shall focus on boys. Insofar as the educational schemes of boys and girls were explicitly interrelated, however, it will be both necessary and rewarding to make occasional observations on female education.
139 See J. H. Plumb, "Commercialization of Leisure," 284, on his own study of Addison at school as a model of thought and style.
140 As Victor Cousin said of France but which applies equally to Britain, in submitting everything to critical examination, the eighteenth century "made of education at first a problem, then a science, finally an art; hence pedagogy." Quoted in A. V. Judges, "Educational Ideas, Practice, and Institutions," in *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge, 1965), 8:143.
CHAPTER II
SCHOOLS, SCHOOLMASTERS, AND TEXTBOOKS

EDUCATION, the instructing children, and youth in general, in such branches of knowledge and polite exercises, as are suitable to their genius and station.

The principal aim of parents should be, to know what sphere of life their children are designed to act in; what education is really suitable to them; what will be the consequences of neglecting that; and what chance a superior education will give them, for their advancement in the world. Their chief study should be to give their children such a degree of knowledge, as will qualify them to fill some certain post or station in life: in short, to fit them for an employment suited to their condition and capacity, such as will make them happy in themselves and useful to society.

In deciding what type of education suited their sons' "genius and station," eighteenth-century British parents were confronted with curricular and institutional variety. This variety suited, as it had resulted from, their diverse notions concerning what sorts of studies would best guarantee their sons' happiness, advancement in the world, and usefulness to society. The range of options, of course, considerably improved the farther one ascended the social ladder. Admittedly, some regions were better provided with schools than others. Nor can the changes in school provision in Britain over the course of the century be regarded as tending towards either uniform improvement or decline, as individual schools rose and fell according to the quality of masters, the interest or neglect of town corporations, and a myriad of other local social and economic factors. No generalisation of the state of education, then, can sufficiently recreate the circumstances faced by any given set of parents living in a particular place at a particular time and on a particular income. Indeed, what the former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, "Tip" O'Neal, said of politics could be applied equally to our topic: "all education is local." Nonetheless, a thumbnail sketch of the educational institutions in Britain during this period, as well as a look at some individual teaching efforts, will indicate the variety of settings in which the reformed liberal arts curriculum was developed.

Schools

First, there were the endowed grammar schools of England. These schools had been established by private philanthropy under the Tudors and Stuarts to teach boys of all social ranks Latin and Greek when a knowledge of the classics was the only route to the university and the professions. Besides the sons of the various lower and middling ranks who hoped to advance themselves through their education, grammar schools also attracted the sons of the local gentry and occasionally the nobility, since education in the classics well suited a life of
leisure. Had not the noblest Romans, after all, been gentlemen farmers? Over the course of the seventeenth century, critics began to challenge the usefulness of the classics and thereby these establishments for both gentlemen and those destined for trade and the military. When in the eighteenth century the public grew even less attached to the utility of the classical languages and positively repulsed by the brutal methods used to teach them, the grammar schools responded, or failed to respond, in several ways.

One response was to become, if anything, more classical. Eton edged out Westminster as England's most fashionable grammar school, partly due to the attention of George III, but as well through the cultivation of those aspects of classical education that Locke most despised: Latin themes, orations, and, especially, verse composition. As other grammar schools sought to establish themselves as enclaves for the well-born, usually under former ushers or students of Eton, they followed the Etonian curriculum. Thus, the "great schools," later known as "public schools," distinguished themselves from the other endowed grammars. Nonetheless, this common view of the ultra-classical curriculum of the great schools is probably overstated, since it assumes the uncontested and universal influence of Eton. On becoming Headmaster of Shrewsbury School in 1798, Samuel Butler maintained a correspondence with his own former headmaster at Rugby, Thomas James (h.m., 1780-94). Or rather, Dr. James issued a series of personal and professional directives to a young man he thought of as a son. To be sure, classics were foremost in James's mind. Yet he gave significant attention to many of the subjects and books that constituted a broader liberal arts education. He recommended the teaching of the histories of Greece, Rome, and England, and included the reading of Watts's *Scripture History* and Goldsmith's *Roman and English histories* as a part of the weekly regimen in the fifth and sixth forms. At that same level, he called for English themes to be alternated with English translations from the Latin. "Always have, in all forms, at least one English exercise a week. Mind the spelling." Milton's poetry should be read from Vicesimus Knox's *Elegant Extracts*. Furthermore, a subscription should be taken from the boys to form a library:

Buy "Knox's Elegant Extracts in Poetry--in Prose--and of Epistles; L'Emprière's Classical and Historical Dictionary; Johnson's Dictionary (in 2 vols., 8vo); with Beauties of Pope (in 2 vols., 12mo, 7s.); Beauties of Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians (2 vols., 12mo, 7s.); Beauties of Adventurer, Connoisseur, Rambler, and Idler (2 vols., 7s.)."

Other prominent schoolmasters at leading great schools showed similar interest in modern subjects and methods of instruction. Earlier in the century the master of Shrewsbury offered "private instruction in the languages, history, geography, and in the use of globes." As headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, the playwright James Townley (h.m., 1760-78), introduced geography and placed new emphasis on the writing of English. At St. Paul's,
George Thicknesse (h.m., 1748-69), rather than treating the boys "like bricks of the school-house, all moulded into one form," attempted to suit each child's education to his temper and capacities. In practice, Thicknesse's approach meant recognising that "some boys had no talent for the acquisition of the dead languages, and that a Master must be content with their elementary instruction, as the cane and the birch would not alter nature." These notable inroads into the monopoly of classical languages and widespread use of the rod at leading great schools must revise our notions of an inflexible Etonian orthodoxy.

What could spell success at Eton and certain other elite great schools, however, more likely meant failure in the provinces. Some provincial schoolmasters anticipated the misinterpretation of Lord Chancellor Eldon's ruling in the Leeds Grammar School case of 1805, that grammar school foundations permitted only instruction in the classical languages, and thus refused to teach newer subjects. While their enrolments dwindled, they continued to draw their salaries. Under the headmaster Charles Lee, the Bristol Grammar School saw its numbers steadily reduced from around a hundred in 1764 to none in 1811, when Lee finally died. The grammar schools of Maldon, Higham Ferrers, Nottingham, and Abingdon had a similar fate. Under more responsive masters or town corporations, however, new subjects could be introduced and the classics rejuvenated. In a statistical survey of eighteenth-century grammar school foundation records, Richard S. Tompson has shown that the grammar schools, while not hotbeds of reform, nevertheless "had the flexibility needed to make changes [in the curriculum], if such changes were forced on them by enlightened trustees or utility minded parents." A total of 162 such changes out of an estimated 700 grammar schools in England have been verified as having occurred in the eighteenth century, with an additional 260 changes appearing in the Brougham Charity Commission reports of 1818-37 whose exact date cannot be determined. These curricular additions included the subjects of English, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, French, geography, history, and bookkeeping. Furthermore, new school foundations, while fewer in number than in the preceding centuries, mark the trend of expanding the grammar school curriculum. Of the schools established before 1600 in fourteen select counties, 155 out of 177, or 87.6%, provided only for classical training in their foundation documents. During the seventeenth century, 42 out of 121 foundations, or 34.7%, explicitly included English with grammar instruction. Out of the 36 grammar schools founded in the eighteenth century, 29, or 80.5%, provided for a combined curriculum.

Individual school histories show that the newer subjects were combined with the classics in various ways. At the Manchester Grammar School, the usher William Purnell seems to have begun to teach modern literature after 1727, when he commenced building up an impressive school library from a holiday fund. Purnell's modernising tendencies co-existed in uneasy tension with the master Henry Brooke's preference for the classics.
After 1749 when Purnell assumed the headmastership, a happier division of labour emerged, with Purnell introducing modern authors into his teaching and his assistant Charles Lawson concentrating on classics and mathematics. A more typical approach to the introduction of modern subjects was found at Tonbridge School, where Thomas Knox succeeded his illustrious father, Vicesimus:

"The foundation boys receive a classical education in Latin and Greek, and, if required, Hebrew. This is all the instruction I consider them to be entitled to under the foundation; but they are also taught English, reading, writing, arithmetic, and the various branches of mathematics, at a charge of one guinea a quarter... The foundation boys are taught with the boarders: I make no distinction whatever, either in or out of school hours, but encourage them to mix together."24

While less industrious schoolmasters used the foundation statutes to stick to the classics, drive off most or all of their students and continue to draw a salary, perhaps combining it with a curacy or two, others found a way to charge extra fees and attract more affluent boarders. Despite Knox's pains at Tonbridge to acknowledge no distinctions between the foundation and fee-paying students, additions to a school's curriculum did not always work to the benefit of those who most needed education gratis. Such a well-endowed "gentlemen's school" could afford to keep the classics as the staple and offer newer subjects as optional and expensive treats. The reverse was true of poorer and rural schools. At Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, Rev. Wilfred Troutbeck (h.m., 1758-87) was forced to teach English and rudimentary subjects free of charge to boys living within the parish and, to support his meagre salary, Latin and Greek for fees to boys from without. His impoverished successor's attempts in the early nineteenth century to charge fees for writing and accounts led to a prolonged lawsuit which reduced student numbers from 50 in 1811, to 21 in 1828, despite a growing population in the parish. Individual school histories and more general accounts, especially Tompson's, have shown that provincial English grammar schools did not remain impregnable bastions of the classics. Yet failed innovations in education during much of the twentieth century should give us pause before we equate the entrance of modern subjects with "enlightenment" in the eighteenth. English and its allied subjects could be taught either as worthy studies in themselves or as minimal and instrumental acquisitions, "skills" in today's parlance. It will be for the subsequent chapters to determine how English, biography, and history could improve rather than undermine liberal education.

The falling number of classical endowments must be contrasted with the increase of non-classical foundations in the eighteenth century. The Charity Commission found 1105 of the latter that were still in operation in 1818-37. Most of these were charity schools, established with or without the help of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. As important as these schools were in educating the poor and in revealing the mores of the middle and upper classes, they will not be considered in this study. In addition to useful
skills, charity school pupils were taught to read the Bible, sing hymns, and not to lie.29 A liberal education on the other hand was reserved to those who were or one day would be free from economic hardship and thus able to pursue a refined leisure.

Other loci of a changing curriculum, dissenting schools, cannot be so easily quantified as either grammar or charity schools, since they attracted no permanent endowments. The aggressively modern and diverse curricula of the Dissenting Academies has been well documented.30 Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the dissenting schools. There is perhaps good reason for this neglect besides the indifference of historians of dissent.31 Of the well-known teachers in dissenting schools, only William Foot of Bristol seems to have written anything approaching a formal treatise on education.32 To be sure, some dissenting schoolmasters wrote textbooks, principally on grammar.33 Significantly, late in the century Elizear Cogan published a defence of classical education in order to attract the children of dissenters to his own classical school.34 But their pedagogical compositions paled in comparison to their sermons and religious tracts. The efforts of dissenting schoolmasters, then, seem not to have contributed to the development of an enlightened curriculum in Britain as much as might be expected. Nonetheless, much of the work in the Dissenting Academies spilled over into the schools. We have already seen that David Fordyce's Dialogues Concerning Education, drew upon the author's experience under Philip Doddridge at Northampton. The emphasis of those academies on the study of English and elocution, modern languages, and modern history, if they did not cause directly, ran parallel to changes in the school curriculum.35 Certainly Joseph Priestley's works were well known and favourably received outside dissenting circles, and perhaps some of his lectures at the Warrington Academy were adapted for younger minds.36 Two others connected with the Warrington Academy made definite contributions to the school curriculum. The physician and social reformer Thomas Percival compiled a hodgepodge of moral advice, drawn from natural analogy and the writings of Rollin, Xenophon, and others, which went through several editions in its own right and became the subject of compilation by other textbook authors.37 Even more successful was The Speaker, a collection of speeches and soliloquies from overwhelmingly English authors edited by William Enfield, lecturer in Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Warrington. In response to pirate editions of this textbook, the printer Joseph Johnson claimed his to be the only "genuine and complete edition."

The masters of non-denominational private schools that took the name of "academies" were more forthcoming on the substance of their curricula. They had to be. Whereas the dissenting schools and academies found students in the sons of an existing population of non-conformists excluded from the universities, private academies appealed to parents not legally excluded from anything, but simply disenchanted with the educational regime of grammar schools and the supremacy of the classical curriculum. Existing predominantly in
and around London, these academies competed with each other for scholars. Each therefore depended on a well-defined "plan" to convince parents that its offerings would enlist their son's "genius" and thereby prepare him successfully for his chosen profession. The curricula of the private academies were even more diverse than those of the dissenting schools and academies. Corresponding to the professions to which students aspired, the academies were divided into five streams of education: the Grammar School teaching Latin, Greek, and philosophy; the Naval School—navigation, astronomy, and mathematics; the Military School—fortifications, gunnery, mathematics, natural philosophy; the Commercial School—merchants' accounts, shorthand, commercial arithmetic, correspondence, and legal practice; the Technical School—mathematics, natural philosophy, surveying, gauging, architecture, ship-building, etc.38 Most academies did not offer all five streams, and some were devoted to training for a single profession. What interests us is not the whole of this comprehensive system, but the grammar school within the academy and its teaching of what today would be called a "common core" of liberal arts subjects that most academies required of all students. Consisting in the study of literary classics in both ancient and modern languages, with less time supposedly wasted on the rules of grammar, the liberal arts were not simply outside subjects, but central to the educational enterprise of forming the "gentleman, scholar and the man of business."39 Academy masters underlined the importance of a liberal education for the sons of an aspiring middle class. Martin Clare, founder of the successful Soho-Square Academy, later attended by the sons of Boswell and Burke, recommended the reading of both the Latin and English classics in order to give the young man "that elegance and good sense, which distinguish one man from another, and are absolutely requisite for all, that hope to be considerable in the world."40 A later headmaster of Soho-Square, William Barrow (h.m., 1780?–1800), insisted on the importance of liberal studies in guarding youth from harmful associations of ideas and enabling them to attain a skilful management of the passions, an easy and polite address, the habits of industry, and an understanding of the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion.41 As founder and headmaster of the Kensington Academy, James Elphinston taught history and philosophy in order to mature "head and heart, taste and talent, soul and body together, into the scholar, the gentleman, the peer; the citizen, the patriot, the subject; the member of Christ, the child of God, and the inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."42 If anything, masters of academies did not lack a broad scope.

Eighteenth-century Scottish schools experienced a curricular renovation similar to that of their English counterparts. Unfortunately, what must be considered as a truly British phenomenon, following the Act of Union of 1707, is usually lost in separate histories of English and Scottish education. The following chapters will not distinguish a Scottish from an English liberal-arts school curriculum, notwithstanding the real contrasts in university education, since in both pedagogical literature and textbooks few differences were
encountered when crossing the Tweed in either direction. To be sure, Scottish schoolmasters preferred Ruddiman's Latin grammar to the various adaptations of Lily and were more likely to assign Buchanan's *Psalms*. Scottish anthologies included selections of Ossian and Home's *Douglas*. From these occasional differences, however, one could hardly argue for either a distinctively English or Scottish trend in curricular reform. Yet the structural similarities and differences must be taken into account.

Much like the English great schools, the grammar schools of the larger Scottish burghs did not alter their classical curriculum to any significant degree. This traditionalism, however, depended on the abundance of English "feeder" schools that taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and on post-elementary private schools that offered languages and commercial subjects. Both of these types of smaller schools were supported financially by burgh councils. The grammar schools allowed time in their schedules, both during the week and over longer holidays, for students to attend them. In the smaller burghs, non-classical subjects appeared within the grammar schools, taught either by the principal or assistant masters, as early as the 1720s. The intent was not to replace Latin and Greek, but to supplement them with other "principal part[s] of a gentleman's education," especially geography, mathematics, and English taught "after the modern way." The meaning of the "modern way" or the "new method" was never thoroughly explained. It probably meant the grammatical and literary study of certain English texts on the model of Latin instruction, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. At any rate, the new method was important enough for the councillors of Ayr to fire the English master in 1738 for not knowing it and those of Irvine to hire a master to teach it in 1746. With the widespread demand for the new subjects of English, history, geography, mathematics and the like, impoverished schoolmasters found a way to augment their salaries by charging fees for these subjects.

More thoroughgoing reform was achieved with the reorganisation of the Ayr burgh school into an academy in 1746. Under three and later four masters, the school offered instruction in three departments: classical languages, English, and theoretical and applied "scientific" subjects. Although it is not clear in the earlier period whether set streams existed for students as in the English academies, by 1794 the town council expected students to complete English and classical studies before graduating to the scientific courses. Thus, the "academy" functioned more like a combined English and Latin school, with a follow-on course of scientific and practical subjects lasting about two years. Though most useful for boys destined for trade, these technical subjects might precede university studies. The Ayr academy serviced not only the local population but drew pupils from England, Ireland, the East and West Indies, and colonial America. Similar academies were set up in Dundee, Inverness, Elgin and Fortrose, Annan, and Dumfries.
A contemporary opinion taken from the Statistical Account in the 1790s might serve as a summary of the state of education in the rural lowland parishes of Scotland:

Some of our farmers (i.e. tenants, smallholders) have been favoured with a liberal education. A few of them have been instructed in the rudiments of the Latin tongue. Almost all of them have been taught writing and arithmetic, as well as to read the English language with understanding and ease...50

The Scottish Parliamentary Act of 1696 requiring local heritors to provide a school in every parish continued the trend of making Scotland one of the most literate societies in the West by offering its inhabitants near universal schooling, at least in the lowlands.51 In the less fortunate parishes this schooling did not reach much beyond the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic and therefore cannot be considered liberal. Yet insofar as the able poor required Latin to attend university, it was often preserved in the rural parishes, or when lost, much regretted.52 Certainly the case of Robert Burns, the most famous product of the parish system, shows that the "new method" of learning English could extend beyond the attainment of a halting literacy.53 In general, the Scottish schools and academies were able to provide both a liberal and practical education for aspiring youth, "in short, every thing necessary to prepare the young student for the university, as well as to qualify the man of business for acting his part well in any ordinary occupation."54

Sending their sons to school was not the only option for eighteenth-century parents. For those who could afford it, hiring a domestic tutor often seemed preferable to exposing their sons to what appeared as the corruption, brutality, and disorder of the leading great schools.55 The choice between public and private education was an old question even in the time of Quintilian, whom schoolmasters invariably invoked as an authority, and is still very much alive today.56 The way this ongoing debate was cast in the eighteenth century had organisational and curricular ramifications for enlightened school reformers. For our purposes, the home vs. school debate will kill two birds with one stone. First, the terms of it will suggest the curriculum followed by boys educated privately at home. Indeed, these students are the hardest of all to track, since individual tutors could more easily adopt their own "plan." Short of hundreds of individual biographies, it is difficult to know whether Lord Bute's desires for his son were general:

It is not Greek and Latin that I am most anxious about, 'tis the formation of the heart--the instilling into the tender ductile plant, noble, generous sentiments, real religion, moral virtue, enthusiasm for our country, its laws and liberties.57
Nonetheless, from a few select instances of individual tuition, from the terms of the public-private debate, and from the school texts written "for the use of schools as well as private gentlemen," it should be possible to label the innovations in the curriculum not only school, but school-age, reforms. Second, the public-private contest reveals important motives for changes in the school curriculum. Too often these changes have been represented as concessions to a rising bourgeoisie in pursuit of material gain and insisting on a more practical education for their sons. This is half of the story, but only half. The century began with Locke asking why young gentlemen who would inherit property and become neither scholars nor churchmen should be sent to schools only to waste their youth learning dead languages. Whatever the truth in Hans's calculations, some landed parents took Locke's criticism to heart. And it was precisely the turning away of the nobility and upper gentry from schools that schoolmasters sought most to stem. Whatever their more selfless motives might have been, they knew the success or failure to attract at least some sons of the upper reaches of society could make or break a school. They not only brought boarding and course fees. They also brought gentility. Insofar as parents of the lower gentry and merchant classes intended their sons to form "connections" by mixing with the right sort at school, the attraction of a few illustrious names was crucial.

The various arguments of both sides in the public-private debate had long been established, and the advocates of each admitted some advantages in the opposite system as well as inconveniences in their own. Locke introduced the question as a difficult choice:

For you will be ready to say, What shall I do with my Son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young Master; and if I send him abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of Rudeness and Vice, which is so every where in fashion?

The decision turned upon the interpretation and relative ordering of the Lockean aims of education. For Locke and other proponents of domestic tuition, the most important considerations were the child's virtue and manners. As the above statement indicates, virtue was very much on the defensive. In the minds of worried parents, the common amusements of largely unsupervised public schoolboys, whether raiding orchards, breaking the windows of the school and local buildings, or sexual promiscuity, formed vicious habits in youth that would lead to their undoing in manhood. Nor did schools promise much in return for running such a great risk: "you must confess, that you have a strange value for words . . . to hazard your Son's Innocence and Vertue, for a little Greek and Latin." Their conversation, too, would be polluted in "a mixed Herd of unruly Boys." Whatever "assurance" they might attain in the shifting arts and vulgar language of schoolboys could hardly be considered the
"civil Conversation" and "genteel Carriage" of a gentleman and man of business. Locke invited a comparison that would be repeated in the periodical press:

Take a Boy from the top of a Grammar-School, and one of the same Age, bred as he should be, in his Father's Family, and bring them into good Company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly Carriage, and address himself with the more becoming Assurance to Strangers. Here I imagine the School-boy's Confidence will either fail or discredit him: And if it be such as fits him only for the Conversation of Boys, he were better be without it.61

Virtue and politeness, then, were to be obtained by keeping the young lad out of the rough-and-tumble, vicious world of schoolboys and introducing him into the most polite of adult company.

The schoolmasters returned with their own account of how youth's virtue and manners were corrupted.62 Parents themselves were not wholly exonerated from this charge. According to Rollin, parents were not sufficiently circumspect with their children. Their loose talk of splendid equipages and carriages gave youth false associations of luxury and happiness, to which classical models of virtue were a welcome remedy.63 But chiefly the corruption of youth could be attributed to servants living in the home. A child could not always be kept under the eye of a parent or tutor. Unavoidably, "he will often associate with menial servants, from whose example he will not only catch meanness of spirit, but vice and vulgarity."64 Yet even when a severe restraint was maintained at home, the child was in no less danger of an eventual fall. No one could be completely protected from the examples of vice in the world. And these examples would cause the child's heart

to beat with impatience for emancipation from that restraint which must be removed at the approach of manhood. Then will his passions break forth with additional violence, as the waters of a stream which have been long confined. In the course of my own experience, I have known young men nearly ruined at the university, who attributed their wrong conduct to the immoderate restraint of a domestic education. The sweets of liberty never before tasted, and the allurements of vice never before withstood, become too powerful for resistance at an age when the passions are strong, reason immature, and experience entirely deficient.65

In this view, virtue must be tested by increments. Nor were the schoolmasters willing to concede that youth formed better manners in the home. A public school cured youth of that bashfulness which prevented a man from acting his part in society. The school pupil "will more readily acquire an activity and openness of temper, which are very necessary to a young man who would make a figure in business, and put himself in a capacity of serving the public or his friends."66
The argument over virtue and manners produced a stalemate. The strength of the schoolmasters' case, as a result, depended on the ability of schools to secure the two other Lockean ends of education: industry and learning. Schoolmasters remained within the Lockean spirit of a reformed discipline by looking for ways to induce a young pupil to work hard besides beating him. Locke, as we have seen, used praise as one means. Yet the praise of a single tutor, even when augmented by the child's curiosity, was not enough. Therefore, they spared no words in showing the efficacy of Quintilian's great principle of emulation:

Emulation could not be excited without rivals; and without emulation, instruction will often be a tedious, and a fruitless, labour. It is this which warms the passions on the side of all that is excellent, and often counterbalances the weight of temptations to vice and idleness. The boy of an ingenious mind, who stands at the head of his class, ranks, in the microcosm of a school, as a hero, and his feelings are scarcely less elevated. He will spare no pains to maintain his honourable post; and his competitors, if they have spirit, will be no less assiduous to supplant him by generous exertions. No severity, no painful confinement, no harsh menaces, will be necessary. Emulation will effect, in the best manner, the most valuable purposes; and at the same time cause, in the bosom of the scholar, a pleasure truly enviable. View him in his seat, turning his lexicon with the greatest alacrity; and then survey the pupil in the closet, who, with languid eye, is poring, in solitude, over a lesson which he naturally considers as the bane of his enjoyment; and concerning which he feels no other wish, than how to dispatch it as soon as he can with impunity. It is true, a private tutor may do good by praise; but what is solitary praise to the glory of standing in a distinguished post of honour, the envy and admiration of a whole school?67

Schoolmasters developed various ways of encouraging this "natural" emulation. For a particularly noteworthy composition or translation by one pupil, the entire class might be awarded a half or a whole holiday. The physical arrangement of the schoolroom was intended to reinforce youth's desire to compete. Students were arranged in "places" from the best to the worst performing. The boy at the head of the class was called "the dux," the boy at the bottom, at least privately, "the fool." To reward industry and expose idleness, masters asked students to explain points of grammar and construe passages orally in the order of their seating. Thus Alexander Adam, the rector of Edinburgh High School, wrote to himself while inspecting Mr. Christison's class: "no boy could explain this rule, from the fool to Hinton Spalding 7th from the top."68 Pupils moved forward or backward according to their ability to answer questions orally. The disadvantages of this practice were realised by Walter Scott, who entered a class for which he was behind in years and preparation. Since it required a long while for even a clever boy to move up the ranks,

in the meanwhile he is necessarily led to be the associate and companion of those inferior spirits with whom he is placed for the system of precedence [and] though it does not limit the general intercourse among the boys has nevertheless the effect of throwing them into clubs and coteries according to the vicinity of the seats they hold. A boy of good talents, therefore, placed even for a time among
his inferiors especially if they be also his elders, learns to participate in their pursuits and objects of ambition which are usually very distinct from the acquisition of learning and it will be well if he does not also imitate them in that indifference which is contented with hustling over a lesson so as to avoid punishment without affecting superiority or aiming at reward.69

Notwithstanding Scott's perceptive comments, the general opinion was that emulation encouraged industry. Perhaps it worked all too well. Schoolmasters had to assure parents that the rivalry among pupils would not deteriorate into a "narrow envy." Indeed, another supposed advantage that schools had over private education thwarted the growth of a selfish temperament: the chance for youth to cultivate lasting friendships. Whereas boys brought up only in the home would expect from the world the same compliance given them by parents and tutors, schoolboys learned "to live on an equality with others."70 Admittedly, great care had to be taken to prevent boyhood associations from degenerating into hooliganism. But under an exemplary master and with the right sort of instruction to encourage virtue, especially the reading of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, youth would learn that only the virtuous could form friendships worthy of that name.71 These friendships would also be of great advantage in later life, both to one's own interest and the public good.

The question remains for what intellectual achievements the palms of merit were to be awarded. The eighteenth-century discussion over the actual subjects which constituted the educational aim of learning can only be adequately treated in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. Yet it should be clear that the rivalry between school and home education sharpened the schoolmasters' awareness of the aims of a liberal education and the means of achieving them. This heightened awareness led them to teach those subjects and texts which the public-private debate identified as important. As in the Rome of Cicero and Quintilian, the emulation that schools uniquely engendered made the practice of oratory an essential component of the curriculum. Adhering to the Roman model of school education also put virtue on a more active footing than simply the avoidance of vice. The contests of schools served as preparation for careers of public service "in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the senate." Despite this advantage of schools over the home, alert schoolmasters realised that private tutelage could more adequately introduce a young man into polite society. To compensate for this apparent lack, they sought texts, especially from the periodical press, that gave youth "an acquaintance with modern life and manners."72 Nonetheless, too early an introduction into society combined with an overweening affection for novelty and pomp threatened virtue more than the childish pranks of schoolboys. On this account, schoolmasters made the legitimate claim that the study of ancient heroes and poets stood as a necessary corrective to the vice and bad taste found in much of modern culture. They need only show that studying them in their original languages did not signify merely a "fondness for words." Thus the redefining of the need for classical education in a utilitarian and polite
age was no small part of achieving a curriculum suitable to the balanced human character that eighteenth-century Britons thought essential to preserving their constitution and morals.

Other options for the education of youth emerged from the public-private debate. First, a child's individual "genius" must be consulted. While boys of a "lively turn" would flourish in schools, those of a "milder disposition" should be kept at home. Nor did youth invariably follow the same plan throughout their education. A boy might be kept at home or educated in a small, private school until his morals were thought secure enough to hazard entering a public school. Many privately educated boys attended an endowed school only in their last year or two before university in an attempt to attain a much coveted scholarship granted through grammar-school competitions. Furthermore, the idea that smaller schools offered the instructional advantages of both the home and the larger public schools while avoiding the worst defects of either system appealed to the eighteenth-century love of balance. James Barclay, rector of the highly esteemed grammar school of Dalkeith, summarised this view:

The best method of education seems, after all, to lie betwixt both extremes, and is that which is neither too publick nor too private, where there is a sufficient number of boys to encourage emulation, and no such numbers as are apt to occasion disorder; where they could all dwell in the same house, eat at the same table, be a check one upon another, and be ever under the master's eye.

There might have been as many as two hundred private schools at any given time in England and perhaps a thousand over the course of the century. Some of the more fashionable ones, such as Marylebone School, attained a very high reputation. Randolph Trumbach has shown that in the eighteenth century aristocratic families with traditions of attending the great public schools often preferred the superior moral environment of these private schools. Though Lord Dartmouth and his father had both gone to Westminster, for example, Dartmouth sent none of his eight sons there. Instead, he took pains to find smaller schools such as the Cheam Academy, where masters were as concerned with morality as booklearning. The Cheam School under William Gilpin undoubtedly offered one of the most innovative approaches to education to be found in the eighteenth or any other century. Gilpin understood the purpose of his school to be a sort of middle ground "between a school to qualify for business, and the public school, in which classical learning only is attended to." He also insisted that good habits be formed early in youth "to fight in the causes of virtue and good manners." To this end, Gilpin framed a code of laws for the whole school, outlining the punishments for specific violations and providing for appeal against harsh judgments and student-jury trials in doubtful cases. Boys kept small shops to get hands-on practice in the world of exchange but were held to regulations of the just price. They also cultivated garden plots over which the older boys had full rights of ownership. Graduating
students willed their property to the younger boys who had helped them. Some of them built up considerable "estates" which could be leased or sold. The truly Lockean check on overextension required that any uncultivated property be given "to those who would make better use of it."79 In his teaching Gilpin placed more emphasis on English than Latin in a curriculum that also included Greek, arithmetic, geography, religious instruction, drawing, and dancing.

The decision of where to send children to be educated was no easier in the eighteenth century than it is in the twentieth. There were plenty of bad schools and ignorant or brutal schoolmasters. Nonetheless, many cities and larger towns offered a variety of institutional and curricular options for the discerning parent. Nor were the country schools invariably without resources. Whether from necessity, or for pecuniary advantage, or out of a spirit of reform, improving schoolmasters adapted the structure of their schools and offered an expanded curriculum to meet the needs of the age and the desires of parents.

Schoolmasters

Not to name the school or masters of men illustrious for literature, is a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished.80

Some schoolmasters did not wait on the literary success of their pupils and the judicious attention of the literary biographer to attain a place for themselves in the republic of letters. The liberal-arts curriculum of the schools was refashioned by men who prided themselves on being well-versed in the literature and improving spirit of the age. Many of them considered themselves to be and had the ambitions of men of letters. At the same time, they were compelled to take up their pens as a matter of basic survival. Practising schoolmasters realised that many attractive "systems" of education were being circulated by philosophers, literary men, and popular pundits. While the attention given to education was appreciated, and some of the new ideas were valuable, schoolmasters had to retake the helm lest chimerical methods be forced upon them:

For the names and abilities of Milton, Locke, Rousseau, and of others who have written on education, I entertain all the respect which is due to them. Their systems are plausible, and truly ingenious. The world has long placed them high in the ranks of fame, and with respect to their general merit as writers they indisputably deserve their honours. But, when they wrote on education, they fell into the common error of those who attend to speculation more than to practice. In the warmth of the innovating and reforming spirit, they censure modes of treatment which are right, they recommend methods which really cannot be reduced to practice, and which, if they could, would be useless or pernicious.81
Historians likewise have long been under the same awe of the great educational projectors. Certainly, the educational works of Milton, Locke, and Rousseau, which have been published in numerous editions since the time of their writing, are not only pedagogical tracts but great achievements of literature and philosophy, and shed light on the other works of these towering figures. Nonetheless, we should expect historians to make the distinction between theory and practice that philosophers purposely fail to. While Locke's dictates on education reverberated throughout the century, they had to be adapted and amended for use in the classroom, and the degree to which they were implemented varied considerably. The treatises of schoolmasters therefore offer a more reliable guide to the effects of Enlightenment on the practice of eighteenth-century schools than the sweeping calls for reform on the part of the great luminaries. Not only did schoolmasters dwell on the subjects and textbooks used in schools, they were also sensitive to the capabilities of youth at each stage of their intellectual development. Unfortunately, only a small number of schoolmasters wrote formal treatises on education. But those who did were well known for their teaching, and their books usually went through several editions. Indeed, schoolmasters often commented on the treatises of their predecessors, either to confirm or confute the practice in question. In keeping with Johnson's testimony to the importance of schoolmasters, we shall not only name them, but detail the lives of a few who were highly regarded in their time and offer particular insights into the nature of enlightened educational reform.

John Clarke (1687-1734) was undoubtedly the most Lockean of reforming schoolmasters. His origins are obscure, but he probably received his education in a private academy in Edinburgh. He left Edinburgh without a degree and became an usher for a time in Nottingham. From there he moved to York, where he kept a private school until he was elected headmaster of the grammar school of Hull in 1716 on the recommendation of "several persons of distinction." From that time this thirty year-old, occasionally conforming dissenter used the Hull grammar school as a forum for implementing Lockean ideas of education. In his Essay on the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools, he invoked "that great Master of the Art of Education" on nearly every aspect of the curriculum and school discipline and in so doing tested the adaptability of Locke's private education for gentlemen to the school setting. Following Locke, Clarke expressly tried to effect a balance between the educational aims of learning and virtue in order to ward off the dangerous effects of religious enthusiasm. Besides his popular teaching manual, Clarke's most notable and controversial contribution to the curriculum was a series of Latin classics with English translations, which will be discussed in the chapter on the classics. It is significant that Clarke, like Locke before him, did not intend to do away with Latin since it remained "the common Language of the learned World." Yet in Clarke's opinion, the proportion of the curriculum that the ancient languages occupied and the methods of learning them should be
changed to suit the abilities of schoolboys and to reflect the needs of modern society. Despite his success, or notoriety, as a reforming schoolmaster, Clarke's own teaching suffered from his multifarious activities. Besides his systematic translating of Latin school texts from the easiest to the most difficult, Clarke entered heavily into contemporary debates on human nature vis-à-vis the Deity. Deriving most of his thought from Locke, Clarke held that individuals are led to virtue by the rational calculation of pleasure and pain. The system of both worldly and eternal rewards and punishments given by God, according to Clarke, appeal to mankind's self-interest. With this view of theological utilitarianism, Clarke opposed the ideas of William Wollaston, Francis Hutcheson, and Arthur Ashley Sykes, and became a familiar if not an original moral philosopher of the period. Engaged in these literary projects, tired of the "cumbersome employment" of teaching school, saddened by the death of two of his sons, and perhaps put out with the town corporation for failing to make £500 worth of repairs on the master's house adjacent the school, Clarke left Hull in 1733 with his wife and three remaining children for Gloucester, where his brother-in-law was a successful printer. The latter's own Gloucester Journal indicated that Clarke "had laid down the Profession of School teaching, being without any Thoughts of ever taking it up again, being weary of so fatiguing an Employment that left him but little Time for the Study and the Use of his Pen." Yet school reform never left his sights. Clarke managed to publish A New Grammar of the Latin Tongue and A Dissertation on the Usefulness of Translations of Classic Authors in 1733. He continued to churn out his editions of the Latin classics and in two of them announced his intention provide more of these "helps" for schools so that "we may soon see such a Revolution in our Schools as will greatly tend to the Advancement of Learning and Virtue amongst us." His early death in 1734 at the age of 48 prevented these further efforts. The press at Gloucester, at first under the direction of his brother-in-law, continued to publish his works throughout the century.

Using the translations of John Clarke and Lockean methods of discipline James Barclay established his reputation as one of the leading schoolmasters in Scotland. Barclay taught privately in Edinburgh until 1742 when he was appointed as a master in the Edinburgh High School. A newspaper advertisement shows that Barclay taught part of the expanded curriculum he outlined in his Treatise on Education while at the High School:

Mr. Barclay begins the Rudiments class October next. Such as enter then continue with him four years: in which time besides grammar and the Latin authors commonly read, he proposes, if the parents incline, to give them some knowledge of mythology, Roman antiquities, geography and Ancient History. Nor are these instructions to interfere with the learned languages, as they are given at a separate hour betwixt four and five, when the Latin exercises are over.
Barclay succeeded the eminent rector of the Dalkeith Grammar School, John Love, on the latter's death in 1750. Barclay continued there until his own death in 1765, maintaining the reputation of probably the best grammar school in Scotland apart from the Edinburgh High School. One of his students described Barclay's experimentation with alternative means of discipline and easier ways of learning Latin:

He seldom whipped but when in a passion, substituting different degrees of shame according to the offence,—viz., setting them on the floor with their breeches down; making them crawl round the school, which he called licking the dust; or putting them naked to bed in a play afternoon, and carrying off their clothes. This method soon rendered him exceedingly popular, both with parents and children, and contributed not a little to the flourishing of his school. He was indeed showy, and carried on the boys fast by means of translations, which were then in high request. His manners were very kind and pleasing, but he chiefly excelled in a sort of intuition into the character and genius of boys, in which he was seldom mistaken. His mode of punishing trespassers proved, however, more beneficial to himself than to his pupils. Ere long shame, which had at first wrought wonders, lost its terrors and became matter of ridicule to the wilder lads, some of whom took a comfortable nap on a play afternoon.90

Another memorialist indicated that when Barclay realised his softer methods were being abused, he forgot his own rules and gave the "stupid or hardened" pupils "a hearty flogging."91

Understanding a child's "character and genius," for which Barclay was praised, concerned more than the methods of discipline in an eighteenth-century context. It meant the ability to discover the calling for which a child's talents were particularly suited. Often such a judgment would contradict parents' own aspirations for their sons. For every one boy who had an inclination for the learned languages, according to Barclay, twenty would never read the classics "with any tolerable taste." Nonetheless, those without such abilities could become useful members of society: "Such as have no genius for philosophy or polite learning, commonly enjoy a superior degree of health and courage, or possess such a turn for trade and business, as is sufficient to distinguish them in the more active scenes of life."92 Barclay, like Clarke, represents those schoolmasters in the middle of the eighteenth century who gained prominence by their willingness to try new teaching methods and to introduce new subjects into the curriculum. Although they were not particularly attached to classical learning, they conceded that these languages were "the particular province of the publick teachers," and, accordingly, sought means of teaching them that agreed with students of even moderate abilities.93 Barclay's methods contrasted markedly with those of his predecessor. John Love (1695-1750) was an unflinching classicist of high repute, though probably not so severe in his teaching methods as the schoolmaster in Roderick Random, written by his former pupil Tobias Smollett.94 Love entered into an intense controversy over the relative
merits of Johnston and Buchanan as Latin poets and translators of the Psalms. He also defended his friend Thomas Ruddiman against critics of his Latin grammar, principally those who would make it more accessible to youth.95 Barclay on the other hand, besides his Treatise, composed both Latin and Greek grammars which made those languages plain to "the capacities of children."96 Contemporaries recognised the trade-offs involved in the changed methods of teaching. What youth gained in taste, they lost in erudition.97 Yet if teachers are to be judged by their students' evaluation, Barclay must rank among the great schoolmasters of the age. For upwards of forty years after his death, his former pupils, including Lord Melville and Lord Chancellor Loughborough, met under the name of "Barclay's Scholars" in order to "pay tribute" to their late master's memory and "to talk over their youthful exploits."98 At one such meeting a poem was read concluding with the lines

Then let us as friends ever hail one another,
A school-fellow surely should be like a brother;
To the memory of Barclay a bumper we'll drink,
Who taught us with honour to act and to think.99

Scotland found a teacher of both erudition and manners in George Chapman. Chapman represents those reforming schoolmasters in the second half of the eighteenth who were less enamoured with the educational theories of John Locke, at least as espoused by some of his followers. This is not to say that they ever questioned the Lockean aims of education or the need to correct the worst abuses of school discipline. Yet they strongly disagreed with those who went much further than Clarke and Barclay in seeking to dismantle the classical curriculum altogether and to replace it with more utilitarian and, in their minds, superficial learning.100 George Chapman (1723-1806) was the only son of George Chapman and Helen Stewart, who occupied a farm under Lord Banff in Alvah, county of Banff.101 Chapman attended the local parish school, then under George Robertson, later rector of the Banff grammar school. In 1737 Chapman took second place in a competition for bursaries and thereby entered King's College, Aberdeen. There he studied principally Greek and philosophy, the latter under Alexander Rait. During the vacations Chapman tutored in the family of a local gentleman whose influence gained him the mastership of the parish school of Alvah while he continued his course in Aberdeen. He was given a substitute to enable him to finish his studies, and after graduating M.A. in 1741 became an assistant at Dalkeith under John Love. On the recommendation of his friend and patron George Stewart, Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh University, Chapman became joint master of the grammar school of Dumfries in 1747, and sole rector three years later when Robert Trotter resigned due to infirmity. Chapman served as rector until 1774 and continued to teach privately in Dumfries until 1801.
Chapman’s reputation owed largely to the successful performance of his students during the annual visitations by members of the local presbytery and civil magistrates. As his reputation grew, Chapman attracted a small gallery of parish teachers and divinity students to his school. The former came to learn better ways of inculcating the classical languages. The latter hoped to attain a more critical knowledge of Latin and Greek than they had received in their own school education. The heartier of these observers joined him for his morning walks between four and six along the banks of the Nith, which were opportunities for both exercise and conversation. Besides discussing literary matters, Chapman entered into their plans for future establishment in schools or in the church. Chapman’s educational efforts extended beyond the school, particularly in his attention to “the fair sex.” After school hours, Chapman taught a number of young ladies English grammar, geography, French, and the principles of natural philosophy:

This gradually diffused so general a taste for reading and literary conversation, that the gentlemen were said to study in order to qualify themselves for conversation with the ladies; and it is certain, that Lord Kaimes, who was undoubtedly the most competent judge, used to declare, that in no place which his official duty in the circuits or assises called him to visit, was he more delighted, than with the manners and conversation of the Dumfrisian ladies.102

Chapman employed many of the same teaching methods with the ladies that he did in the school: the exchange of letters, the writing of historical and moral compositions, and the translation of Latin into English and vice versa.

In his teaching, Chapman implemented enlightened ideas of childhood and discipline. He was careful to study the "genius" of each pupil:

By this uncommon attention to the capacities, tempers, and particular propensities of the youth, all were kept employed, and exercised in what they could be made to understand; the slow prevented from alienation and despondency, and the quick animated to a more active exertion.

Beyond their improvement in classical learning, Chapman attended to the morals and manners of his students. Regularly one boy read a portion of an English periodical or an historical or biographical work to the rest of the class, "both for the improvement in the language and orthography, in which they were regularly exercised, and as a means of observation and reflection on characters and manners."103 Whenever he perceived the appearance of "a vicious propensity" in one of the boys, especially when at play, Chapman himself read from one of the books in the school library a passage expiating on the offence, yet without pointing directly to the offender:

and several afterwards acknowledged, that they had secretly shed tears of remorse, and their hearts burned with gratitude for the delicate means

53
which, in a more advanced stage of their education, they discovered he had used for their amendment.104

Chapman's curriculum was no less enlightened. Shortly after his arrival in Dumfries, he began to work on his "plan" of education. During the quarter century that it took for this plan to reach publication, and even afterwards, he invited "inspection, suggestion, and corrections" from almost every man of letters in Scotland and several from England and America, including

Dr. Robertson, Dr. Carlisle, Dr. Blair, Dr. Beattie, Dr. Blacklock, Dr. Stewart; --Lord Kaimes, Lord Hailes, Lord Monboddo, late Marquis of Stormont, Earl of Buchan, Bishop Lowth, Bishop Horsley, and almost every literary character of distinction in Scotland, and many in England and America, among them General Washington and John Adams.105

He continued to revise and update this plan, published as *A Treatise on Education*, throughout the century.106 It will not be necessary to go into the details of Chapman's curriculum now since we shall have recourse to it throughout this study. One interesting feature of his treatise worth considering was an extensive appendix of reviews on other educational tracts and treatises. Ostensibly for the perusal of parents lacking the time to read all of these books themselves, these reviews indicate an ongoing discussion among practising schoolmasters on the means of improving the school curriculum and teaching methods. Among the reviews was one on a book entitled *Liberal Education* by Vicesimus Knox, whose "stile is so accurate and so elegant, that it may be said to be truly attic."107

Vicesimus Knox's views on liberal education must be given considerable weight since the moral and educational writings of "the learned and ingenious Dr. Knox" gained the applause not only of fellow schoolmasters, but of the reading public throughout the English-speaking world. Vicesimus Knox was born on 8 December 1752 and was the only son of Ann Wall and the Rev. Vicesimus Knox. The elder Vicesimus was a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, afterwards a master at Merchant Taylors' School, and finally headmaster of Tonbridge School.108 Vicesimus secundus was educated at home by his father until he entered Merchant Taylors' at the age of fourteen. In 1771 he matriculated to St. John's and graduated B.A. 1775, M.A. 1779. Known early on for his Latin verse, in his latter years at Oxford he began to compose English essays. Before leaving there he sent an anonymous manuscript of a volume's worth of *Essays, Moral and Literary* to the publisher Charles Dilly, with the invitation to publish or destroy them as he thought fit. The publisher consulted Dr. Johnson, who praised the essays highly and predicted the future fame of the author. Dilly accordingly published a volume of the *Essays*, which were eventually extended to three and translated into several European languages.109 Although in the first number "On Essay Writing" and throughout the collection Knox praised Addison as one of the great benefactors
of mankind, his style was closer to that of Johnson. A large number of the Essays dealt with the topics of education and youth, such as "Classical Learning Vindicated," "Family Disagreements the Frequent Cause of Immoral Conduct," and "On the Best Method of Exciting Literary Genius in Boys who Possess It," and thus guided the public discussion on education as much as his later writings.

Several factors converged to cause Knox to become a schoolmaster, despite the remonstrance of those who feared such a calling would interfere with his literary pursuits. His own moral and intellectual interests seem already to have pointed in that direction, as can be seen in the essays. An "attachment to an accomplished, and excellent lady," the daughter of the Tonbridge physician Thomas Miller, likewise caused him to vacate his Oxford fellowship. Finally, his father resigned as headmaster of Tonbridge School in 1778 due to failing health and died the next year. The younger Knox became headmaster in that same year. Under him, the number of students at the school, which had fallen to 28 under his tired and ailing father, rose to the eighties and remained at this level until the French Revolution. From his salary, the fees of boarders, and the royalties of his writings, Knox was able to live in gentlemanly fashion. A student wrote his father in 1781:

Mr. Knox of Tunbridge has a new coach just come out spick and span with a pair of long-tail greys. Is not this quite the thing? My aunt says "Lor' sir, a schoolmaster's is a vastly fine trade." In that same year Knox published Liberal Education, a work that gained as much public attention as the Essays, and whose specifics we shall consider at length in the following chapters. We shall not attend however the most controversial part of the work, a 65-page censure of the English universities which commenced a minor pamphlet war. Indeed, the sluggish state of Oxford and Cambridge, that we know from the shorter treatments by Gibbon and Adam Smith, contemporaries often discovered in the writings of Knox. The popularity in America of the Essays, Liberal Education, and other works led the University of Philadelphia (later Pennsylvania) to confer on Knox the degree of Doctor by Diploma, despite the fact that he had been no friend to the revolutionaries. Knox continued to write essays, and as rector of Runwell and Ramsden-Crays, Essex and minister of the parochial chapelry of Shipborne, Kent he became one of the foremost preachers of the age. His principal later contributions to educational questions, aside from the tract Personal Nobility, were his editions of Elegant Extracts in prose and poetry and Elegant Epistles. In 1821, the year of his death, while a bill was pending in Parliament which would have provided for the instruction of poorer scholars in writing, reading, and arithmetic out of the funds dedicated to classical instruction, Knox offered a final defence of classical education in a tract popularly entitled Degradation of the Grammar Schools.
Just as Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* governed education reform through the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, Knox's *Liberal Education* did the same in the last decades of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. At least three other schoolmasters who published highly regarded formal treatises owed much of their thinking to Knox and at many junctures simply ratified what he had said. These schoolmasters were George Croft, master of the Beverley grammar school; William Milns, master of the City Commercial School; and William Barrow, head of the Academy at Soho Square. As we would expect, especially from the last two authors who kept academies, not every schoolmaster followed Knox to the letter. Rather, what developed in the liberal arts curriculum was a useful and dynamic tension between the Lockean and neo-classical strains of education reform. The extent to which either English and modern subjects or classical languages predominated in the curriculum depended upon the local circumstances and the preferences of schoolmasters. As we shall see throughout this study, the overall effect of teaching both the ancients and moderns created a balance in the curriculum that paralleled the balance that educators hoped to secure in the human character.

**Textbooks**

He that opens an Academy, it is supposed, must do something to prove his fitness for the office, which he undertakes; and to attract notice and pupils. To the publication of a grammar of our own, or of one of the learned, languages; or a translation of some popular work from French or German literature, to an edition with notes of some celebrated author, or a collection of instructive essays or elegant extracts from works more voluminous and expensive; to a new system of pronunciation or of spelling; or a new guide to Arithmetick or Geography; to these publications, and such as these, recourse has frequently been had, as commodious and creditable modes of announcing to the world at once the name, the talents, and the seminary of the editor.

Little need be added to the perceptive comments of this successful academy-master. In the competitive eighteenth-century market of schools, parents were not always content to send their sons to one of the great schools or to the established grammar school in their parish. For both moral and curricular reasons, they were willing to experiment. To attract students, it was essential that new schools, and to a surprising extent the old ones as well, appeared to be on the forefront of education reform. The best advertisement for a school became the literary efforts produced by its masters. Other motives, too, contributed to the impressive growth of the educational sector of the publishing industry. The foregoing should indicate the desire of schoolmasters of joining the ranks of men of letters in this most lettered age. Becoming a "celebrated" schoolmaster, required some evidence of teaching and literary excellence, some offering to the public that could be discussed in polite and improving company. Yet the element of need, intellectual need, cannot be underestimated. Enlightened
schoolmasters realised and discussed among themselves throughout the century the considerable work that remained to be done in providing images of virtue and politeness that would secure the manners and morals of youth.

One final example will illustrate the truth of this general assertion. Alexander Adam, described by his pupil Henry Cockburn as "born to teach Latin, some Greek, and all virtue," was rector of the Edinburgh High School from 1768 until his death in 1809. Fortunately, several letters from what must have been an extensive correspondence, and unfortunately only letters written to him, have been preserved in the Edinburgh City Archives. From this cache of letters and from cramped notes that he wrote to himself, usually on the opposite side of parental excuses for their sons' absences, we gain a better sense not only of the personal industry required and the purpose that inspired the making of a textbook, but also the extent to which this enterprise involved a considerable network of educators throughout Britain.

Taking into account the arduous labours of a schoolmaster, of which John Clarke complained, might cause us no little marvel at the amount of educational literature that schoolmasters did produce. Schoolmasters had to ensure high standards of teaching in the school, which, as we have seen, occasioned visits to assistants' classes. They had to maintain good order and discipline. Safety was also important, both within and outside the school, especially given boys' love of guns. Classical masters were at the behest of local townsmen who desired an appropriate Latin epigram for an important occasion or to resolve a dispute over some difficult passage. Good teachers invariably became the busiest. Throughout most of his teaching career, Adam had around a hundred students of his own. Nonetheless, Adam found time to produce several textbooks. As much time as he spent in his own study, he was part of a larger educational network that included men of letters, parents, and schoolmasters throughout Britain. The former included Lord Kames, who sent a series of learned commentaries on arcane points of Latin grammar and urges for Adam to publish his own grammar "that will illustrate your name, and entitle you to be classed among the first worthies." Parents had the gall to send their sons South for their education and then recommend the "plans" of English grammars as models for improving the High School. Yet the masters themselves were the heavy labourers in the construction of a moral culture. Schoolmasters sent books to each other for judicious criticism. They complimented each other on their productions. Dr. Drury of Harrow promised to read Adam's Roman Antiquities over the break. Having already glanced at it, he was "convinced it will fully answer the purposes for which it was designed." William Fordyce Mavor, whose British Nepos we shall consider at length in the chapter on biography, wrote to Adam in order to praise the Roman Antiquities and solicit comment on his own efforts towards a
These books were designed to promote "the Diffusion of real Learning and important Information."

It is on these textbooks, produced from the teaching experience of masters throughout Britain, that this study will concentrate. For what textbooks reveal that educational theory or even schoolmaster treatises cannot, are the actual images of virtue and politeness that eighteenth-century youth encountered in their school exercises and free reading. We shall find that these images were taken in various forms from the great works of Enlightenment and made usable in the school setting. From these images we shall derive precisely how eighteenth-century British youth were supposed to become virtuous, industrious, polite, and learned. But before we take up that task, we should give the schoolmasters themselves the chance to state their motives. On the back of a dinner invitation, Adam wrote a note to himself that placed him in the long tradition of moral educators:

Quinctilian on the duties of a Teacher
A Master says Quinct. ought to assume the disposition of a parent towards his scholars; and think that he succeeds into the place of those by the child are entrusted to him—He should have no vices himself nor tolerate them in others. Let him talk much about which is honorable & good for the oftener he admonishes, the seldom it will be necessary to correct. . . 131
NOTES

1 Encyclopedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1771).
4 Ibid., 18.
5 Ibid., 27. On Mondays, 7-10 a.m.
6 Ibid., 33.
7 Ibid., 25.
8 Ibid., 27.
9 Ibid., 28.
10 Samuel Johnson, An Essay on Education (Shrewsbury, 1771), advertisement. The Essay was a poem satirising pedantic schoolmasters.
12 Tompson points out how Eldon's ruling was misinterpreted in its own day and continues to be misunderstood by historians. While the Lord Chancellor did maintain that the foundations of grammar schools required the teaching of the classical languages, he nonetheless held that when the teaching of other subjects "would induce persons to send boys to the school to learn Greek and Latin also, that purpose might have a tendency to promote the object of the foundation." Lord Eldon, quoted in Richard S. Tompson, Classics or Charity? The Dilemma of the 18th Century Grammar School (Manchester, 1971), 120.
15 Tompson, Classics or Charity?, 58-9. Tompson (61-72) discusses in detail how either by local or external means curricular revisions could be made in school foundations.
16 Ibid., 59-60.
17 As we shall see subsequently in the analysis of textbooks, the branch of "English" was not confined to its present meaning of English literature, but included anything written in English, such as fables, history, essays, etc.
18 Ibid., 50-2. There are an additional 10 schools whose foundation provisions are unknown.
19 Ibid., 54. Fourteen unknown cases.
20 Ibid., 56. Three unknown.
22 Ibid., 151. In 1744 Brooke delivered a public address on the superiority of classical over English and French writers, which Mumford thinks must have been aimed at his assistant.
23 Ibid., 168.
24 Thomas Knox in the Charity Commission report of 1819. Quoted in Septimus Rivington, The History of Tonbridge School: From it Foundation in 1553 to the Present Date, 4th ed. (London, 1925), 177-8. Thomas's father's attention to non-classical subjects can be seen in detail in his Liberal Education (1781). Before any of the Knoxes arrived, French, writing, and accounts were taught by separate masters. See letter from the master Johnson Towers (h.m. 1761-72) to the Bishop of Rochester, n.d., in D. C. Somervell, A History of Tonbridge School (London, 1947), 34-5.
25 According to Vincent (120-1), out of a selection of 108 schools in the years 1714-1770, 132 of 339 schoolmasters, or 42%, were identified as pluralists.
26 See Lawson and Silver (195-6) who take a much darker view of grammar schools than Tompson.
28 Tompson, 21, 49.
31 Parker (50-1) casually refers to dissenting schools, but says they must have been much like any other schools.
32 William Foot, *An Essay on Education: Intended Principally to Make the Business of Grammar-Schools of Real Service to Such Youth as Are Not Designed for the University* (Bristol, 1747). The following dissenters, many of whom later taught in academies, kept schools: Ralph Harrison in Manchester, James Pickburn at Hackney, Joshua Toulmin at Taunton, John Whitehead at Wandsworth, the John Worsleys at Hertford, Stephen Addington and later Elizear Cogan at Market Harborough. Perhaps the most famous dissenting school was that kept by the Barbaulds for eleven years at Palgrave, Suffolk. See Nicholas Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951), 59-62.


35 See J. W. Ashley Smith (237-46) for a useful summary of these new subjects.

36 Principally, *An Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life* (London, 1765). See Priestley on history in ch. 6. All of Priestley's works were published by Joseph Johnson, of whom more below.

37 *A Father's Instruction to His Children: Consisting of Tales, Fables, and Reflections; Designed to Promote the Love of Virtue, a Taste for Knowledge, and an Early Acquaintance with the Works of Nature* , 8 vols. (London, 1775-1800).

38 Hans, 65. See also chart (67) in which the subjects offered at 28 academies are indicated.

39 John Rule [master of the Academy at Islington], *Poetical Blossoms* (London, 1766), advertisement.

40 *Youth's Introduction to Trade and Business . . . The Fifth Edition . . . By M. Clare, Master of the Academy in Soho-Square, London. By whom Youth are Boarded, Educated, and Qualified Either for the University, the Compting-House, or the Publick Offices.* (London, 1740), iv.

41 William Barrow, *An Essay on Education; in which are Particularly Considered the Merits and the Defects of the Discipline and Instruction in Our Academies* (London, 1802), ch. 1.

42 James Elphinston, *A Finishing Plan of Education* (London, 1776), 19-20. For other plans of private academies, see William Milns [master of the City Commercial School], *The Well-Bred Scholar, or Practical Essays on the Best Methods of Improving the Taste, and Assisting the Exertions of Youth in Their Literary Pursuits* (London, 1794); J. Randall [master of academies at Heath, near Wakefield, and later at York], *An Introduction To So Much of the Arts and Sciences, More Immediately Concerned in an Excellent Education for Trade in Its Lower Scenes and More Genteeel Professions, and for Preparing Young Gentlemen in Grammar Schools to Attend Lectures in the Universities . . . Expressly Designed to Remove That General Complaint of Not Effectuually Instructing Youth While at School, in What May Be of Importance in Their Future Stations, and Enlarging Their Narrow Conceptions and Scanty Views of Nature . . .* (London, 1765).

43 Although not willingly. In a letter to Andrew Dun, rector of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, the famous rector of the Edinburgh High School, Alexander Adam, complained that the Scottish custom of sending boys to university too early (at around 14, or in the case of Hume, at 12) prevented them from learning along with Latin "such branches of knowledge as are requisite to make boys understand what they read." These should include "Geography, Mythology, Antiquities, and History, together with the principles of Natural Philosophy; and for such as choose it, the French Language." The entire letter, containing much interesting information on both the curriculum and school discipline, is quoted in William Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1849), 146-52. Adam did teach Geography in a separate hour. See also Barclay's teaching at the High School below. For the post-Reformation curriculum of the grammar schools of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, see James Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (London and Glasgow, 1876), 336-343.


46 Boyd, 76.


48 Boyd, 76-8; Withington, "Education," 176-7. The school did not assume the title of academy until 1794 but was recognised by contemporaries as "a kind of academy."

49 Unlike the Ayr academy, the Perth Academy, called such from its original founding in 1760, did not contain a grammar school within it and seems to have been the response to a prevailing dissatisfaction with both the classical curriculum of the grammar schools and the "metaphysical subtleties" of university studies,
as can be seen from the memorial of the town council establishing the academy, beginning with the words "In an age so much enlightened." Originally one of the two masters taught an array of liberal arts topics: "a short history of Philosophy and the rise and progress of Arts and Sciences," "a compendious view of Poetry, Rhetoric, Logic, and Moral Philosophy," and "a concise Chronology and Civil History Ancient and Modern, especially the History of Britain with regard to its constitution, political interests, and commerce." Mr. Tait, however, proved unequal to these extensive subjects, and with his early retirement, the Academy became much more practical in orientation. See Edward Smart, A History of Perth Academy (Perth, 1932), ch. 4. Thus, two models of academies existed in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century, one noticeably lacking in the liberal arts. Withrington ("Education," 183-4) contends that by the 1790s most academies had followed the Ayr model.


51 Since this study concentrates on liberal education, the debate over the extent of Scottish literacy, in which R. A. Houston in his various works dissents from the prevailing view of an extremely high if not universal literacy held by Lawrence Stone, is interesting but only tangentially relevant. For a useful summary of this debate, see R. D. Anderson, Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918 (Oxford, 1995), 14-18. The education of the much poorer highlands will not be considered in this study.

52 Withrington ("Schooling," 164) bases this claim on his exhaustive study of the Statistical Account. Cf. Anderson, 5-6. The more common assumption has been that wherever taught, Latin was for the affluent.

53 See Boyd (51) as well as various letters of Burns, which will be referred to subsequently.

54 The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, 20 vols. (Wakefield, 1975-83); 5:129, parish of Dalry. Quoted in Anderson, 5. The controversial question of whether Scottish education was superior to that of the English, and if so, to what extent, will not be taken up here. The general conclusion of both Withrington and Anderson is that it was, but the panegyrics on Scottish education which date back to the eighteenth century are overblown. For the best summary of Scottish education, see T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (London, 1969), ch. 18.

55 Hans, 23. Hans's methodology is often rather suspect, but whatever the margin of error for this numerical rendering of elite educational provision, it highlights an option for some parents that schoolmasters worried over, and they invariably addressed it in their treatises. Contra Hans, see Joan Simon, "Private Classical Schools in Eighteenth-Century England," History of Education (1979): 179-91; Trumbach, Egalitarian Family, 256n.

56 Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I. 2. Free-market economists are particularly vocal on this issue. See, e.g., E. G. West, Education and the State: A Study in Political Economy, 3d ed. (Indianapolis, 1994); Milton and Rose Friedman, Free to Choose (New York, 1980); and James Tooley, Education Without the State (London, 1996).

57 Bute to John Home, 7 August 1757. Quoted in Richard B. Sher, Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1985), 94.

58 Since most textbooks included their intended market as well as their purpose within the title, these long titles will be preserved throughout this study. Most editors, indeed, cast their net as wide as they could. One book aimed only at privately educated youth shows that an enlightened curriculum was the desire of tutors as well as reform-minded schoolmasters. See [William Jones], Letters from a Tutor to His Pupils, 2d ed. (London, 1784), containing the chapters "On Good Manners," "On Temperance," "On the Use of History," "On Taste," "On the Origin and Use of Fables," "On the Effect of Learning on the Manners," etc.

59 Locke, Education, 570.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 For the schoolmaster's side of the argument, see James Barclay, A Treatise on Education (Edinburgh, 1743), ch. 1; George Chapman, A Treatise on Education, 4th ed. (London, 1790), sec. 3; Vicesimus Knox, Liberal Education (1781), in The Works of Vicesimus Knox, D.D. with a Biographical Preface, 7 vols. (London, 1824), sec. 3; William Barrow, An Essay on Education (London, 1802), ch. 4; Encyclopædia Britannica, 3d ed. (Edinburgh, 1797), 6:326-7. Interestingly enough, John Clarke of Hull (see below) agreed with Locke that gentlemen should be educated at home, which, if done according to Locke's method, "would produce, I believe, another kind of Reformation in the World, than any Means yet made use of, ever did. . . ." An Essay Upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools, 2d ed. (London, 1730), 143-4. This question frequently appeared in the periodicals throughout the century, and perhaps was most known to readers from Budgell's Spectator, no. 313, containing the obligatory references to Quintilian and Locke.

63 Rollin, Belles Lettres, 1:15-6 and passim. Cf. Chapman, Treatise, sec. 2, beginning "The errors which are frequently committed in education by parents, and those to whom they transfer the care of their children, may be reckoned one great source of human misery."
Knox, *Liberal Education*, in *Works*, 3:396. Subsequent references to *Liberal Education* will be cited as *Works*. References to the *Essays* will be cited as such.

65 Ibid., 3:397.


68 Alexander Adam’s Papers, 7 April 1803, SL1374/1/6/1, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.


71 See Chapman, *Advantages of a Classical Education: The Importance of Latin, in Particular, and Its Usefulness for the Attainment of the English Language* (Edinburgh, 1804), appendix, "On Friendship." This unattributed essay on De Amicitia was delivered orally in Chapman’s school at Dumfries. Barrow (ch. 4) also made interesting observations on the extent to which virtuous boys formed friendships and as a result remained uncorrupted by the vicious.

72 George Croft, *A Short Commentary, with Strictures, on Certain Parts of the Moral Writings of Dr Paley & Mr Gisborne. To which Are Added, as a Supplement, Observations on the Duties and Conductors of Grammar Schools . . .* (Birmingham, 1797), 183. Subsequently referred to as *Observations*.


74 To stem this practice, many schools began to adopt enrolment requirements of three or four years for scholarship eligibility. See, e.g., McDonnell, *St. Paul’s*, 364.

75 Barclay, *Treatise*, 12-3. Quoted in *Gentleman’s Magazine* 19 (1749): 264-5. Barclay had only just obtained a position at Edinburgh High School when his *Treatise* was published, so perhaps these lines were originally intended to encourage parents to send their sons to his own private school in Edinburgh. See also Turnbull, *Observations*, 20; Chapman, *Treatise*, 47.

76 This is the estimate given by Hans, 119.


84 John Clarke, *An Essay Upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools. In Which the Vulgar Method of Teaching Is Examined, and a New One Proposed, for the More Easy and Speedy Training Up of Youth to the Knowledge of the Learned Languages; Together with History, Chronology, Geography, &c.,* 2d ed. (London, 1730), 143-4.

85 "Virtue stands in need of Knowledge to direct; and a pious Disposition, when misguided by false Notions of Duty, serves oftentimes only to make a Man very mischievous in the World. The mistaken Zelot, the poor blind Bigot, is hurried on to Actions of the most dreadful Consequence to the Peace and Happiness of Mankind, under the Notion of Duty, and to avoid the Penalty of eternal Damnation . . . ." Ibid., 3-4.

86 Ibid., 6.

87 *Gloucester Journal*, 14 August 1733. Quoted in Lawson, 152.

88 Steven, *High School*, 98; Law, 68.

89 *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 8 August 1745. Quoted in Law, 76. The full title of Barclay’s *Treatise* was *A Treatise on Education: or, An Easy Method of Acquiring Language, and Introducing Children to the Knowledge of History, Geography, Mythology, Antiquities, &c. With Reflections on Taste, Poetry, Natural History & the Manner of Forming the Temper, and Teaching Youth Such Moral Precepts as Are Necessary in the Conduct of Life*. 


91 *Gentleman’s Magazine* 59 (1789): 994-5. The anonymous author suggested that Barclay had been led to "slight Solomon’s rule with regard to the rod" by the "wits of the Tatler, Spectator, etc."
Particularly to Prefixed An Account of Gentleman's consistency, reveals Lewis Treatise, edition in 1792. Since it is Enlarging Quoted in Steven, Greek Plain anonymously in perhaps, of gain pursue of thousand his mind; and indebted the idle into moral community. "On the "On the Life of the Late George Chapman, L.L.D. Addressed Particularly to Parents and Tutors, Exhibiting the Method of Correcting the Temper, and Improving and Enlarging the Minds, of Youth, which That Eminent Teacher So Successfully Practiced (Edinburgh, 1808). Since it is rare to find such an extensive biography of a schoolmaster, I shall dwell on Chapman's career at some length.

Ibid., 13.

Ibid., 10.

Ibid., 10-11.

Ibid., 28.

A Treatise on Education. In Two Parts. With the Author's Method of Instruction While He Taught the School of Dumfries, and a View of Other Books on Education. (London, 1773). This work reached a fourth edition in 1790.

Biographical information on Knox in DNB; Public Characters of 1803-4 (London, 1804), 519-30; Works, 1:i-xv; Septimus Rivington, The History of Tonbridge School, 168-73; Somervell, A History of Tonbridge School, ch. 3.


Bowes maintained that Knox "appears to have the stimulii aequi of Johnson's style perpetually in his mind; and to his assiduous, though not servile, study of it we may partly ascribe the extensive popularity of his writings." Life of Johnson, 4:390-1. The place of the essay in the curriculum and in eighteenth-century life will be addressed in ch. 4, but excerpts from Knox's first essay might serve as a preview: "In every thousand of those who have been delighted with the papers of Addison, perhaps not more than one has seen the Principia of Newton. . . . [S]ince his theories require a painful attention to comprehend them, they will not generally be attended to in a commercial country like our own, where only the short interval, which the pursuit of gain and the practice of mechanic arts affords, will be devoted to letters by the more numerous classes of the community. . . . But what shall they read during the interval of half an hour; interrupted, perhaps, by the prattle of children, or the interruptions of visitors, or the avocations of business? [By tricking the idle into moral dispositions] the saunterer is deceived into employment, and the vicious, the dissipate, the busy, are insensibly allured to the indulgence of literary and philosophical contemplation." In no. 26, "On the Efficacy of Moral Instruction," Knox asserted that from the writings of Addison, "more good has redounded to the English nation, than from the active labours of any one individual."

Among them, Dr. Dennis, President of St. John's, and Dr. Wheeler, the public orator.

Quoted in Somervell, 37.

"On the Present State of Parliamentary Eloquence," Knox quoted George III's speech against "the deluded people of America" as an example of modern eloquence.

Winter Evenings, or Lucubrations on Life and Letters, first published in 1788, also reached several editions. Sermons, Chiefly Intended to Promote Faith, Hope, and Charity (London, 1792). Knox again found himself in the centre of public controversy in 1793 when he preached a sermon at Brighton against offensive wars with several militia officers in attendance, who some days later forced him and his family to leave a theatre. In defence of his opinions, Knox reprinted parts of his sermon and a translation of Erasmus's Bellum Dulce Inexpertis under the title Antipolemus.
116 *Personal Nobility...* Containing Advice to a Young Nobleman, in a Series of Letters, on the Conduct of his Studies, and the Best Means of Maintaining the Dignity of the Peerage (London, 1793). This work was a Whiggish defence of the British Constitution following the fall of the nobility in France.

117 For Knox's other works, consult the list in the DNB, including textbook editions of Juvenal and Horace, originally used in the Tonnbridge School.

118 A Plan of Education Delineated and Vindicated... (Wolverhampton, 1784); *A Short Commentary, with Strictures, on Certain Parts of the Moral Writings of Dr. Paley and Mr. Gisborne. To Which are Added... Observations on the Duties of Trustees and Conductors of Grammar Schools...* (Birmingham, 1797), hereafter cited as Observations.

119 *The Well-Bred Scholar, or Practical Essays on the Best Methods of Improving the Taste, and Assisting the Exertions of Youth in Their Literary Pursuits* (London, 1794).

120 *An Essay on Education; in which are Particularly Considered the Merits and the Defects of the Discipline and Instruction in Our Academies* (London, 1802).


123 Alexander Adam's Papers, SL137/4/1/6, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

124 Henry Cockburn testified to Adam's industry: "His private industry was appalling. If one moment late at school, he would hurry in, and explain that he had been detained 'verifying a quotation'; and many a one did he verify at four in the morning. He told me a the close of one of his autumn vacations of six weeks, that, before it had begun, he had taken a house in the country, and had sent his family there, in order that he himself might have some rustic leisure, but that having got upon the scent of some curious passages (his favourite sport) he had remained with his books in town, and had never even seen the country house." *Memorials of His Time*, 5. Among Adam's papers, this note to himself, perhaps intended for the benefit of his students, suggests the indissoluble marriage of learning and industry that we shall explore in subsequent chapters: "The desire of knowledge is implanted in us by nature; and we all think it a fine thing to excel in learning, and esteem it a base thing to be ignorant—Boys... are glad at knowing anything and are glad to tell others what they know—We read with pleasure fictitious stories, from which no utility can be derived... By knowledge and wit chiefly we excel the other animals. Learning adorns prosperity & affords consolation in adversity. Many while in the power of the enemy—& in prison have alleviated their distress by the literary studies—Without study and a certain ardor of mind nothing excellent in life can be performed. It is shameful to decline labour & fatigue... Diligence prevails in most all things; It is chiefly to be cultivated by us & always to be applied; for there is nothing which it cannot obtain; and in this virtue alone all other virtues are contained." Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/6.

125 "Mr Fraser offers compliments to Dr Adams and begs he will give a serious admonition in the publick school against fire arms, representing the danger that may ensue from boys using pistols or guns or attempting to shoot birds, and that it is a barbarous pleasure could they even succeed in it, but should they severely wound or kill themselves or schoolfellows the evil is beyond calculation." Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/7.

126 Ibid., passim.

127 Henry Home to Alexander Adam, 24 October, 1780. Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/7.

128 John Sinclair to Alexander Adam, 16 September 1802, including "Analysis of the System of Education at Harrow for a Boy "in the Remove." Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/4.

129 Dr. Drury to Alexander Adam, 13 May 1791. Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/7.

130 Dr. W. Mavor to Alexander Adam, 16 August 1793. Ibid.

131 Ibid., SL137/4/1/6/2. Taken from the *Institutio Oratoria*, II. 2.
CHAPTER III
PRUDENCE AND INDUSTRY: THE FABLE AS A MORAL PRIMER

Mr. Fletcher of Salton . . . quotes it as the saying of a wise man, that give him the making of all the ballads of a nation, he would allow any one that pleased to make their laws. The saying was founded on reflection and good sense. . . . For any kind of writing, how trifling soever in appearance, that obtains a general currency, and especially that early preoccupies the imagination of the youth of both sexes, must demand particular attention. Its influence is likely to be considerable, both on the morals, and taste of a nation.1

For educational theorists of the Enlightenment and the parents who followed their advice, childhood reading was of decisive importance. Children’s reading constituted the foundation of a moral curriculum which began with the fables of Aesop and, in the English-speaking world, was completed in the works of Locke and the principal Scottish moral philosophers. In order to examine this curriculum completely, it will be necessary to begin at the beginning, with the first books children read or that were read to them.

The best way to enter the discussion of the childhood curriculum is by realising what it did not consist in, or was not supposed to. Indeed the attempt of some moralists to place limits on children’s reading might strike the modern reader as amusing or even offensive in that the childish imagination was deliberately restrained.2 The imaginary world of fairy tales, of knights in shining armour, princesses in distress and slain dragons, was littera non grata in the educational theory of the period. Fairy tales represented much that was alien to the Enlightenment mind. They were medieval. They were common and badly written. Their frightful monsters too closely resembled the horror stories of Raw-Head and Bloody Bones told to children by nurses to compel them to behave, a practice deplored by Locke.3 Fear was thought to be an unhealthy passion in the child. Fairy tales, too, had no "use" or moral, which in no way recommended them to an age addicted to moral utility. Their characters and events were "unnatural"; that is, they did not conform to the laws of nature as understood in the Age of Newton. Most of all, fairy tales appealed directly to the imagination, a faculty of mind which was suspect since it could elicit dangerous passions in the child.

These apprehensions did not prevent children from reading imaginative works, for fairy tales were abundantly available in chapbooks. Perhaps Boswell gave the best testimony to the delight with popular romances when he recorded at twenty-three his pleasures as a child of reading Jack the Giant Killer and The Seven Wise Men of Gotham. He even promised himself to write his own story-book in this style which he claimed would require

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much nature and simplicity and a great acquaintance with the humours and traditions of the English common people. I shall be happy to succeed, for he who pleases children will be recommended with pleasure by men.4

In the mind of the eighteenth-century educator, however, perhaps no better proof could be found of the ill effects of such stories than Boswell's literary castle-building and nocturnal escapades. Yet the century was not without more authoritative voices extolling the benefits of childish fantasy. Boswell's own Johnson asserted "that at an early age it was better to gratify curiosity with wonders than to attempt planting truth, before the mind was prepared to receive it."5 Addison lent credibility to fairy stories' appeal to the imagination in Spectator, no. 419. Even one of David Fordyce's characters in the Dialogues on Education urged that fairy tales could strengthen a child's imagination, although on the whole Fordyce encouraged the earliest possible implanting of truth. Other important moralists, however, regarded the reading of fairy stories, and their adult counterpart the novel, as at best only an occasional indulgence and, when taken to excess, a dangerous elevation of the fanciful over the true:

Romances are a dangerous recreation. A few, no doubt, of the best may be friendly to good taste and good morals; but the far greater part are unskilfully written, and tend to corrupt the heart and stimulate the passions. A habit of reading them breeds a dislike to history, and all the substantial parts of knowledge; withdraws the attention from nature, and truth; and fills the mind with extravagant thoughts, and too often with criminal propensities. I would therefore caution my young reader against them: or if he must, for the sake of amusement, and that he may have something to say on the subject, indulge himself now and then, let it be sparingly and seldom.6

Although the severer educational theorists sought to restrain the childish imagination, no one held that it could be entirely neglected. The softer side of Lockean pedagogy recognised that children could not be compelled to learn if lessons failed to gain their attention. Forcing children to read would cause them to hate the activity their whole lives. Instead, learning should be made "a Play and Recreation to Children."7 Rather than being pushed into their books, they should desire to be taught. Any book put into the hands of children, therefore, must provide suitable entertainment for the child's imagination, that most playful part of the mind. As long as a moral could be derived from a story, its imaginative elements, even magic, were legitimated. Indeed, some of the leading writers of the age gave considerable attention to editing the classics and writing new stories that would both provide moral instruction and entertain the imagination of the child. To provide children with such amusing and instructive books educators and men of letters edited or created at least three different genres of moral fiction, not including the stories written by those prolific women pedagogues, Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Trimmer, that Johnson ridiculed and have already been treated by several historians of children's literature. These were Aesopian fables; moral tales of an Eastern variety as written by Addison, Johnson and Hawkesworth;8 and, for more
advanced readers, moral novels, especially Fénelon's *Telemachus* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Our own attention will dwell on that primer most often chosen in the place of "the intermixture of the marvellous, the absurd, and things totally out of nature" found in fairy tales, the genre universally applauded as capable of both amusing and instructing children, the fable.10

According to Locke, once the child has begun to read by using special blocks with letters on them, he should be given an easy and pleasant book suited to his capacity, "wherein the entertainment, that he finds, might draw him on, and reward his Pains in Reading." Yet it should not be a book that will "fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly." Accordingly, *Aesop's Fables* are the best choice,

which being Stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford useful Reflections to a grown Man. And if his Memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his manly Thoughts, and serious Business.11

For Locke, the reading of the child must point to the reasonable life of the grown man. The seeds of useful reflection were sewn in childhood, and would be harvested in later life. Yet allowances were made for the child's playfulness and roving attention. An illustrated *Aesop* would entertain him much better. Arguing along the lines of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke maintained that visible objects would make more of an impression on children, insofar as they could not form ideas from sounds alone. Learning the names of the animals appealed to the child's curiosity and increased his desire to read. Another staple of Lockean pedagogy was the use of company to further the child's education. Adults around the child should "talk to him often about the stories he has read, and hear him tell them," a practice which would, "besides other Advantages, add Incouragement and delight to his Reading, when he finds there is some use and pleasure in it." Locke's own concern for the development of a good edition of fables extended to the supervision of an interlinear English-Latin *Aesop* that would make learning Latin easier.12 Subsequent educators continued to develop these Lockean assumptions: that fables were instrumental in the child's early reading of English and learning of languages; that they should be given oral life in the conversations between children and adults; and, most important, that they provided a stock of moral lessons relevant to adult life. But what were these lessons that Locke had in mind? The full answer must be found in the discussion of later theorists, the ways in which fables were edited, and the fables themselves.
The Eighteenth-Century Use of Fables

There was much to recommend fables to the eighteenth-century mind. They were classical in origin. They carried the highest philosophical credentials since long before Locke Plato had recommended them in the education of children "in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom." Indeed, Plato's teacher on his last night had turned a fable of Aesop into verse. The enduring popularity of fables attracted the attention of some of the best literary theorists of the period. Addison in the Spectator provided some insights into the genre that would be appropriated for educational purposes. First, he pointed out the literary history of fables. According to Addison,

Fables were the first pieces of Wit that made their appearance in the World, and have been still highly valued not only in times of the greatest Simplicity, but among the most polite Ages of Mankind. As Fables took their Birth in the very Infancy of Learning, they never flourished more than when Learning was at its greatest height.

Later educators saw the literary history of the fable as corresponding to the growth of the individual. Fables achieved their moral purpose with children as they had in the "infancy" of mankind by their homely yet striking examples. Nonetheless, their wit and truth retained its force in more advanced stages of development, whether of societies or of the individual. Addison also held up fables as the ideal genre for polite moralists who sought to give advice, there being "nothing which we receive with so much reluctance." Fables manage to make advice agreeable since in reading them "we are made to believe we advise ourselves though we are following the dictates of another." Moreover, the mind is gratified "when she exerts herself in any action that gives her an idea of her own perfection and abilities." These advantages of the fable well suited Locke's characterisation of children as being addicted to liberty and therefore resentful of authority, as well as being naturally curious. As with many other aspects of eighteenth-century education, the pedagogy of Locke and the polite morality of the Spectator laid the foundation on which enlightened educators built their curriculum.

Fables were not beneath the notice of moral philosophers. Adam Smith considered the fable as the foundation of all moral enquiry. In every age, according to Smith, "men must have attended to the characters, designs, and actions of one another, and many reputable rules and maxims for the conduct of life laid down and approved of by common consent." In the early stages of society lived by unconnected maxims, such as the fables of Aesop or the Proverbs of Solomon. Gradually a love of the beauty in systematic arrangement caused some thinkers to place them into a methodical order. Generalities and connecting principles arising from individual cases became established. The science which investigated and explained those connecting principles was moral philosophy.
David Fordyce provided a more detailed treatment of fables. In his *Dialogues Concerning Education* the characters discussed the peculiar features of fables and addressed their suitability for children. The link between the history of humanity and the growth of the child was made explicit. Fables were able to teach us wisdom, set human life to view, paint the passions and their effects, recommend virtue and make vice horrible. They arose as agents of civilisation for governing the fiercer passions of a "savage and tumultuous populace." To this end, fables were fictional, since "truth, unadorned, would scarce have had Charms to engage the Attention, or win the Hearts of ignorant and uncivilized Men."18 Fordyce probably had in mind Menenius Agrippa’s fable of the Body and Members. When the common people of Rome had threatened civil war, they had been calmed by this fable in which the hands and feet refused to feed the belly and in turn withered themselves, the moral being that the limbs and vitals live together as one body.19 Fables had often been used to hide political opinions that might have got their authors thrown into exile or executed. With the growth of freedom and learning in modern Europe a more direct method of moral and political argument should have become the order of the day. In an enlightened world philosophers should no longer have to conceal their meaning. Yet such was not the case according to eighteenth-century moral philosophers. Fables were still useful and necessary, and not only for children, since the generality of men "are still so ignorant and uncultivated, as to stand in need of every Device to render Instruction palatable to them."20 In this sense, men were "only older Children." The Scottish poet and moral philosopher James Beattie echoed these arguments in his essay "On Fable and Romance." Beattie found fables necessary because of the weakness of human nature:

We must take human nature as it is: and if a rude multitude cannot readily comprehend a moral or political doctrine, which they need to be instructed in, it may be as allowable to illustrate that doctrine by a fable.21

Though these characterisations would seem to disparage fables as a lower class substitute for political argument, Beattie nonetheless admonished his readers, who we must assume were not of the lower orders, that fables should not be undervalued because they were learned as children. These hallmarks of ancient wisdom had long provided amusement and instruction to mankind. We might ourselves infer that growth in the freedom of speech has been accompanied by the decline of metaphor, of analogy, and of tact.

John Hawkesworth in the *Adventurer*22 reminds us of perhaps the most important aspect of fables in moral education, that they should have direct and immediate application in the life of the child. Locke, too, had sought to reinforce fables orally. But the question arises whether they were only recited by rote, thus remaining in the realm of what Whitehead called
"inert ideas," or whether they formed a ready manual of moral lessons. Anticipating criticisms of Rousseau, Hawkesworth maintained that fables had been born of particular occasions, and that this occasional quality must be preserved in relation to the child's behaviour:

> The memory of them may . . . be more frequently revived by those incidents in life to which they correspond; and they will, therefore, more readily present themselves, when the lessons which they teach should be practiced.

Most likely, the child's memory was given a nudge by a parent. During story time the child read fables or had them read to him, and might have been given little homilies on their morals by a parent. When a situation arose in which the child was in particular need of instruction, the parent had recourse to a fable to impart the moral lesson. Allusion to a story already imprinted in the mind of the child replaced a long explanation of why the child's behaviour was out of line, or made it clearer to him why it was so. Indeed, this use of fables neither began nor ended with the eighteenth century. As children, how many of us were often caught crying "Wolf!"?

The approbation of fables as a canonic text for children was not confined to a few moral philosophers and literary critics. The schoolmasters in their practical treatises encouraged the reading of fables in a family setting even before school age. James Barclay echoed the language of the moral philosophers in a chapter significantly titled "In What Manner Moral Reflections May Be Instilled Into Children." According to Barclay, parents should describe honourable characters in the world around them and give them books they might read with ease and pleasure:

> Such as are writ in a moral, entertaining way, improve the fancy, and supply them with proper rules for the conduct of life. *Esop's Fables* contain many useful observations. There is scarcely any one passion in human nature, which is not there, in an allegorical way, represented in a variety of cases.

Addressing the question of how children should be taught to read, Vicesimus Knox observed that "fables are universally used, and with great propriety." William Milns, after outlining the literary history and theory of fables, and even offering a line-by-line analysis of particular fables as they would be read by children, suggested many uses of fables for the youngest students. Once the young learner had been instructed in the nature and principles of fables, he should learn to write his own: first by writing from memory in his own words a fable he has heard the day before; later by turning some of Gay's fables into prose; and finally, when given sketches of fictitious narratives, by attempting to form complete fables. Besides these recommendations of leading schoolmasters, the best indication of the widespread use of
fables in the eighteenth century is their appearance in school textbooks. Grammar books often contained fables for children to practice reading. Occasionally, these fables were arranged according to the number of syllables contained in the words. More advanced English anthologies often began with fables. The rare boy who was not rehearsed in his fables at home would have been unlikely to escape them at school.

Despite their appeal to the mind of the child and, as we shall see, their capacity to further the aims of education, fables were not an untroubled genre. Notwithstanding the latitude allowed to forms of fiction containing a moral, theorists still felt obliged to deflect the criticism that stories of talking animals taught children to lie. This concern might puzzle us in the twentieth century who are quite accustomed to the idea of talking animals and an active fantasy life in childhood. Nonetheless, eighteenth-century pedagogues went to great lengths to justify the use of fiction in instruction. One answer was that if fabulous characters speak according to their real nature, if foxes are sly, lions mighty, and peacocks proud, then truth is upheld. Indeed, the Creator designed to instruct mankind through nature and thus had "endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man, of the several duties incumbent upon him." This anthropomorphism was a "dumb language which all nations can understand . . . a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about with him." For this reason Christ himself had used parable and allegory to instruct mankind in divine truths. Christ was the ideal educator. He did not "spin out a Thread of close-connected Reasoning, nor entertain his Hearers with sublime and curious Speculation, drawn from the depths of Divinity or Morals." Instead he "talked to them of Things they daily saw and heard, and were conversant about." Some degree of fiction was essential for teaching moral lessons to men in ruder ages and to children. Realising this would allow teachers to make "just Fable . . . one of the best Guards to arm us against wild Romance."

The most damaging critique of fables in the century, as in so many other educational practices, came from Rousseau's Emile. One must realise, however, that while Rousseau offered the most detailed attack on the reading of fables in childhood, many of their deficiencies were already recognised by contemporaries, and the editors of fables themselves were trying to overcome them. One aspect of the fable that Rousseau opposed, and here he had La Fontaine more in mind than Aesop, was their being rendered into verse. Done ostensibly to aid the memory, versifying put words into an unnatural order which confused the child. Delight in the rhyme was purchased at the expense of clarity in the action. Also, the morals attached to the end of fables were useless or even counterproductive. The intrusion of the moral reduced the pleasure of finding it on one's own. Worse still, many of the morals contained in fables had no application to children whatsoever. Nor did children in their reading always derive the moral that the fabulist intended. By dissecting La Fontaine's
fable of the Crow and the Fox, Rousseau showed that children identified not with the crow but with the fox. Since children were chiefly interested in the cheese, whoever ended up with it was the character they most admired. Rather than a lesson on the ill consequences of listening to flattery, the fable taught children how to flatter others to get what they want. Children always imagined themselves on the winning side:

Follow children learning their fables; and you will see that when they are in a position to apply them, they almost always do so in a way opposite to the author's intention, and that instead of looking within themselves for the shortcoming that one wants to cure or prevent, they tend to like the vice with which one takes advantage of others' shortcomings.33

Thus, La Fontaine's fables became lessons in flattery, inhumanity, injustice, satire, and independence. Finally, Rousseau criticised the memorisation of fables by his favourite target, precocious youth.34 Under the pretext of moral instruction, fables really offered a venue for vanity as the proud mother gathered her friends together to listen to her son rattle off fables he could not understand.

Despite these criticisms, and in keeping with the natural education of Emile, Rousseau did not oppose fables as such but the current means of teaching them. His critique came in the middle of a long argument on the disadvantages of memorisation and the unimaginative reliance on books to provide moral instruction. His attack on premature book-learning, in which he called reading "the plague of childhood," ran contrary to the pedagogy of the age, and led to almost as much criticism in educational circles as his religious ideas.35 Nonetheless, Rousseau considered fables as the best means of instruction once youth became capable of moral understanding in late adolescence. Only during what he called the "time of mistakes" could youth profit from the intended lessons of fables. When a young man had just been undone by flattery could he feel the shame of the crow. Ultimately, Rousseau was not as anti-bookish at it might seem at first glance. True, he intended Emile to gain moral lessons more through experience. But where the young man risked danger and not just embarrassment, it was better for him to gain his knowledge through a story. Rousseau's use of fables was not so much different from other eighteenth-century theorists as considerably delayed. Though the Rousseauist critique had some effect on the way educators thought about fables, it did not diminish their advocacy for them. George Chapman, an avowed reader of Rousseau, simply contended that fables would not make sense to children under ten years old, "unless very judiciously explained."36
Editions of Fables

It should be clear that fables occupied an important place in the eighteenth-century curriculum. Yet the story cannot be left at that. For even a casual look at some of the editions of fables during this period show that pedagogical insights were only gradually incorporated into these editions; that fables could be read in different ways; that the politics of the day affected what supposedly was a neutral genre for children; and that this classical, pagan genre could be given a remarkably pious gloss. It would be useful to look at the various editions of fables for their differences, before identifying their common moral lessons. While I shall treat these editions roughly chronologically, it should not be thought that one edition completely replaced another. The troubling aspect of their publishing history is that even the unimproved editions of fables were published throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.

The most comprehensive collection of fables in English translation was published in 1692 by Sir Roger L'Estrange. After losing his position as censor under James II, L'Estrange took up an active career in translating and textbook editing to gain income and to publish his political ideas in seemingly innocuous texts. L'Estrange's Aesop\(^ {37} \) contained five hundred fables, not only from Aesop but also those of Phaedrus, Arian, La Fontaine, and others. The preface began on a pedagogically promising note by following Locke's characterisation of children as "blank paper," ready for any impression, good or bad, to be written upon them. Indeed, much of his preface anticipated the literary criticism we have been following. What L'Estrange considered his chief contribution to the genre of fables and proved the most controversial was the addition of long "reflections" even after the moral. This practice he found necessary insofar as an "Emblem without a Key to't, is no more than a Tale of a Tub." That is, children were being taught to memorise the fables without apprehending their lessons, and his reflections would supply that deficiency. The reflections were normally longer, often many times longer, than the original fable. Moreover, some of them put forth his own political opinions. To chastise "the Unsteadiness of the Common People," for example, L'Estrange used the fable of the Frogs Choosing a King:

Now 'tis Impossible to satisfie people that would have they know not what. They Beg and Wrangle, and Appeal, and their answer is at last, that if they shift again, they shall be still Worse; By which the Frogs are given to Understand . . . that Kings are from God, and that it is a Sin, a Folly, and a Madness, to struggle with his Appointments.\(^ {38} \)

Such political commentary has led one historian to conclude that L'Estrange's Aesop was not meant for children at all, but that his "speculations about how printed fables viscerally impress young readers build a trope for Aesopian authority" which served political ends in
the adult world. Nonetheless, most of these fables were not political, and though its language had to be corrected to meet eighteenth-century standards of polite reading, later editions that were clearly aimed at children relied heavily on L'Estrange's collection.

Predictably, such Jacobite leanings invited a Whiggish response. This came in 1722 with the publication of Samuel Croxall's *Fables of Aesop and Others*. Croxall commended L'Estrange in his preface for adhering to Lockean principles of education and for putting together such a large collection of Aesopian fables, since no good English edition had existed before. Nonetheless, he deplored L'Estrange's politics as serving the ends of "Popery and arbitrary power." Croxall asked what sort of children would serve as blank paper on which L'Estrange could write his peculiar political morality: "Not the Children of Britain, I hope; for they are born with free Blood in their Veins; and suck in Liberty with their very Milk." By employing fables to support arbitrary power, L'Estrange had distorted their original purpose, for both Aesop and Phaedrus had been slaves and suffered under oppression. They had meant the fables "to recommend a Love of Liberty, and an Abhorrence of Tyranny and all arbitrary Proceedings." Croxall also offered more practical criticism as well. L'Estrange's folio collection was too bulky for children and too expensive to be in wide circulation. In fact he understood these oversights to have been the intention of Providence that no children actually read L'Estrange. After Croxall's octavo edition, the size of fable collections became even smaller. Croxall also followed Locke's suggestion of illustrating the fables. That Croxall had his own political message to deliver to children, or to whomever else might read him, can be seen from his "application" to the fable of the Lion and the Other Beasts:

No Alliance is safe and secure which is made with those that are Superiour to us in Power. . . . I know not whether it is more stupid and ridiculous for a Community, to trust it self first in the Hands of a single Person in absolute Power, or, to expect afterwards that their Properties should be secure.

Croxall's collection became popular for shorter school textbooks, although it is not clear whether some fables were omitted for political reasons.

Both L'Estrange and Croxall politicised Locke's theory of the association of ideas in order to impress on the child's mind their own partisan opinions. The fable, as the genre first read by children and one extremely liable to political interpretation, became a literary battleground for Whigs and Tories, in which soldiers were recruited, or impressed, at the earliest possible moment of their mental development. This effort hardly constituted Enlightenment as we have defined it in the British context: the pursuit of balance in the human mind corresponding to the balanced constitutional settlement of 1688. Enlightened pedagogy was being used for
the unenlightened ends of making political extremists. An attempt at ending this penchant for premature partisanship was made by the printer and novelist Samuel Richardson in 1739 with the aptly titled *Aesop's Fables. With Instructive Morals and Reflections Abstracted From All Party Considerations, Adapted to All Capacities; and Designed to Promote Religion, Morality and Universal Benevolence.* Richardson used both the L'Estrange and Croxall editions to compose his own, but found both too extreme in their political opinions. He considered it "in no wise excusable to inflame Childrens Minds with Distinctions, which they will imbibe fast enough from the Attachments of Parents &c and the Warmth of their own Imaginations." Since political reflections were best avoided in books meant for children, Richardson substituted "more general and instructive" morals for many of the partisan interpretations. Wherever the fable "compelled . . . a political turn," however, "we have in our reflections upon it, always given that preference to the principles of LIBERTY, which we hope will for ever be the distinguishing characteristic of a Briton." The attempt to avoid party controversy can be seen in the fable of the Frogs and the King, a favourite of the partisan editor. Rather than entering into contemporary Whig and Tory battles, the reflection offered the biblical example of God's sending Saul to rule over the Israelites in order to show that God knows what is best for us.

Richardson's biblical interpretation brings out another theme of eighteenth-century reading which might escape us were it not for the applications attached to a seemingly secular story. The pious interpretation of fables can be illustrated by another edition of Aesop, "fitted for the Meanest Capacities," which reached its eleventh edition by 1754 and was published again in 1784, 1786, and 1790. Though L'Estrange, Croxall, and Richardson drew lessons from the fables concerning the workings of Providence, the Meanest Capacities' reflections were not just politely religious, but otherworldly. The fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, in which the former eats the latter without real reason, offered a scriptural analogy not found in the other collections: "Thus the Jews treated the LAMB OF GOD, and such treatment must all men expect, who endeavor to follow the LAMB." In the case of the Daw and the Borrowed Feathers, pride and ambition were shown to be the ruin of many since, like our first parents who took borrowed clothes, their descendants "still believe Satan's amusements, until they are summoned by death." The ease with which Christian readings could be given to classical fables would seem to undermine the contentions of historians such as Peter Gay who insist upon the incompatibility of classical and Christian literature. Perhaps better than any other genre of the period, fables reveal the differences between eighteenth-century reading and our own. The fable editor's eagerness to ensure that his readers understood the lessons correctly becomes an "emblem with a key to't" for historians, opening up through children's literature a hermeneutic only implicit in other sources.
From the standpoint of educational theory, the best edition of fables was Robert Dodsley's *Select Fables of Esop and Other Fabulists* of 1761. First drawn to the project by Bishop Lowth, Dodsley solicited the talents and advice of William Shenstone, Richard Graves, William Melmoth, Joseph Spence, and Edmund Burke in his three-year effort to supply an edition of ancient and modern fables "fit to put into the hands of youth." In his introductory essay, drawing largely on La Motte's *Discourse on Fable*, Dodsley laid out the purpose of fables, closely following much of the theory we have encountered already and providing his own criticism of previous collections. Dodsley differed most from previous editors by his minimising the intrusion of the morals, placing them in an appendix, and by eliminating the long "remarks" or "applications" altogether. According to Dodsley, the fable has the advantage over other forms of moral discourse in that it waives the "air of superiority" in most moral writing and allows the reader himself to find the moral. Unassisted discovery not only gives intellectual pleasure but enables readers "to feel our duties the very instant we comprehend them." Dodsley thus followed Hawkesworth's recommendation and thereby anticipated Rousseau's criticism of La Fontaine by a year. The other salient feature of Dodsley's collection was his design of rewriting fables in a more polite English style. Since the fables of Aesop were the first books put into children's hands, they should be adapted to their capacities, yet present an elegant style. Most English translations committed the fault of aiming their language above the heads of youth. L'Estrange's style, on the other hand, was "indelicate and low." Instances of "gossipping wenches making merry" and "stuffing their guts" with poultry were found inappropriate by eighteenth-century standards. While providing a model of correct English, the fabulist should also emulate the ancient simplicity of language, and thus achieve a style Dodsley called the "genteel familiar." The best example of this type of writing could be found in Addison's stories and Eastern tales in the *Spectator*. As Beattie put it, Addison's vision of Mirzah was

> the finest piece of the kind I have ever seen; uniting the utmost propriety of invention with a simplicity and melody of language, that melts the heart, while it charms and soothes the imagination.

**The Moral: Prudence and Industry**

Despite the differences in style, politics, and pedagogical merit in the various editions of fables, fabulists presented to children a world sharply distinguished from that of fairy tales and romances. In order to understand the actual moral lessons taught in fables, it will be useful to impose some order on this inherently unsystematic genre. At least such an exercise might prove amusing and instructive for the grown reader who has not attended to his or her fables in quite a while.
Fables taught that above all else in life one should pursue virtue. To advocate a single-minded pursuit of virtue, L’Estrange, Croxall, and Richardson began their editions with the fable of the Cock and the Diamond. The cock’s indifference to a diamond he found while pecking corn on a dunghill could be interpreted in two ways. Either the cock showed little sense in not realising the value of virtue, symbolised by the diamond, or, as in L’Estrange’s version, the cock showed very good sense by preferring the useful to the ornamental:

That we are to prefer things necessary, before things superfluous; the Comforts and the Blessing of Providence, before the dazzling and the splendid Curiosities of Mode and Imagination: And finally, that we are not to govern our Lives by Fancy, but by Reason.56

But what was virtue? As the eighteenth century’s all-encompassing term for goodness and happiness, virtue could mean any number of things. Moral philosophy encouraged benevolence, bravery, self-command, justice.57 In the child, however, virtue did not begin with such grand sentiments. As we have seen, the virtue encouraged in childhood was most assuredly not the heroic killing of giants. Nor, perhaps more surprisingly, did it mean generosity and benevolence at this stage. Our best clue to what was meant by virtue in fables is found in the standard coupling when referring to them of morality and "prudence."58 Prudence was exhibited in a variety of forms because the fabulous world presented great dangers and distractions, which, unlike the fairy world, could not be overcome with magic or bravado, but rather must be avoided through circumspection and foresight.

It was a cruel world. Innocent lambs were gobbled up by wolves on trumped-up charges.59 As a result, a lamb should not venture out alone, but make caution take the place of years and experience.60 Nor was there necessarily safety in numbers, since being in bad company could get you killed just as easily. So learned the stork who had fallen into a crowd of fish-killing cranes and met his doom, though innocent, at a farmer’s hands.61 Indeed, those whom you considered friends would desert you when a bear made its appearance.62 Those who promised to be your friends might really be crocodiles waiting to gobble you up. The wise dog would keep running.63 On the run from your known enemy, you could hardly trust those who promised you aid. The stag might take shelter from hunters in a farmer’s coppice for a time, but would not stay around to thank him, lest he had already been betrayed by the double dealer.64 Necessarily, one of the first lessons in life was to learn how to recognise hypocrisy in others. For it was hypocrisy that gave away the wolf in sheep’s clothing.65

It was a greedy world. Everyone was, so to speak, after your cheese.66 The snake that allowed the hedgehog to move in with him out of the cold but later could not get him to leave
learned too late it is not "prudent" to join interest with those who will impose their own conditions. The fate of the hawk that despised his country by his skills in physiognomy in The Man of Feeling proved untenable as he was invariably taken by swindlers. For youth at least, the lesson was better safe than sorry. Not confined to the individual, the advice to use caution in making alliances had social and political implications. The beasts that entered into a hunting partnership with a lion and then watched him take their shares of the spoils learned that "an association with too powerful allies is always imprudent."

It was a vain world. The proud frog that tried to imitate the larger ox exploded in the sight of her own children. Similarly, the daw with borrowed feathers was turned out first by his superiors the peacocks, then by fellow daws when he tried to return to them. Obviously, this type of fable cautioned against social jumping. And yet others warned those in high positions to be wary of a "dangerous eminence" and not to belittle those below them. The higher ranks were taught instead the value of those in lower stations and to control their own pride. The fate of the hawk that despised a cuckoo for eating worms rather than pigeons, but ended up dead on a post to the cuckoo's satisfaction, taught that "a Safe Mediocrity is much better than an Envy'd and a Dangerous Excellency." The fir tree's boasted attributes only attracted the woodsman's axe. Another case of the proud and mighty brought to ruin occurred when the lynx, after ridiculing the mole's appearance, was killed by the hunter he could not hear. Therefore, like the mole, we should make use of the talents we have. In these fables, the evils and injustices were not to be found in the external world, but in ourselves. A strong caution was made in the fables against social and material overreaching, regardless of class. It was better to hold on tight to what you have than risk that portion on uncertain ventures. As the dog that lost his piece of meat while trying to grasp the one held by his own reflection, we must learn that only fools "run the Risk of losing a moderate Sufficiency, by pursuing an unnecessary and uncertain Abundance." The boy reaching into a jar of filberts who could not retrieve an entire handful learned to take half as many. The country mouse learned to value the moderate fortune and retirement of his home over the affluence, hurry, and dangers of the city. Virtue consisted in the prudent adjustment of
desires to one's possibilities and talents as limited by an admittedly unjust world. Moderation led to happiness.

As dark as the fabulous world often seemed, it is not surprising that readers had to be reminded by the fable of Death and the Old Man that "Life, as miserable and wretched as it may be, is preferable to death."\textsuperscript{81} Yet the coup de grâce was the Boy and His Mother.\textsuperscript{82} After a mother discovered that her son had stolen a book from school, rather than chastising her child, she encouraged him. As a result, the boy continued to steal, progressively bigger and better things, some of which he gave to the mother. Justice, of course, brought the young man to the gallows. As the mother was following her son in chains to the place of execution, he asked to have a word with her. Under the pretext of whispering to his mother, to the surprise and outrage of the whole crowd, he bit off her ear. The villain explained that had he been whipped as a boy for stealing a book, he would not have come to the gallows as a man. The lesson seems to have been an open invitation to parents to employ the rod. Yet there was more to it. This fable succinctly reveals the worries of moral educators in the eighteenth century, and Croxall's comparison of the child's mind to wax in the application testifies to the anxious side of Lockean pedagogy.\textsuperscript{83} The mother's guilt illustrates that no one could be trusted. Educators blamed parents for the corruption of children through loose talk of equipages and social position. Parents blamed schoolmasters for the bad manners children picked up at disorderly schools. Everyone blamed servants. There was no safe haven for the child.

Since fabulous life was precarious and most other characters were untrustworthy, the individual was left largely to his own resources. The one positive character trait that stood above all others, consequently, was that of "industry." As we have seen, the combination of prudence and industry corresponded to the second Lockean aim of education: "wisdom," defined as "a Man's managing his Business ablely and with fore-sight in this World."\textsuperscript{84} Though the real lessons of how to manage one's business were "above the reach of Children," fables were designed to dispose their minds favourably to the habits of industry that would allow them to prosper. The fable of the Stag in the Oxstall, in which careless servants overlooked the stag but the wise and active master made a prize of him, illustrated that "Interest Does more in the World th[a]n Faith and Honesty."\textsuperscript{85} No one looked after one's own affairs better than oneself. Servants were hirelings.\textsuperscript{86} The dying farmer's promise to his sons of leaving them a treasure in the ground showed that industry itself is a treasure.\textsuperscript{87} Likewise, the race between the Tortoise and the Hare taught that "Industry and Application to Business many times make amends for want of Parts."\textsuperscript{88} Moreover, work should restrain the fancies of the imagination. The milkmaid who spilled the milk she already had while dreaming of splendid dresses and carriages proved that point.\textsuperscript{89} Coupled with industry, and serving as a check on vanity, was the quality of usefulness, both in ourselves
and in material goods. Seeing his magnificent antlers in the drinking pond, the stag valued them highly yet regretted the appearance of his thin legs. When a pack of hunting dogs chased him and he was easily outrunning them, however, the antlers he prized so much got caught in a tree, a clear example of overestimating our superficial talents to the disadvantage of our real ones. The things that we produce should be valued by their use to ourselves and others, as proven by the bee's honey and the silkworm's silk as opposed to the spider's web. Ants, of course, were ever the models of industry and the pursuers of things useful.

One was not entirely alone in the world, however. Though the cruelties of the world normally discouraged trust in others, fable characters did perform good offices to one another, with the appropriate lessons to be drawn for real life. Two men, one blind and the other lame, managed to cross a rough place in the road with each other's help. This early lesson in human society taught that "the wants and weaknesses of individuals form the connections of society." The familiar fable of the lion that refrained from killing a mouse in his grasp and later was rescued from the nets of a hunter by the same mouse illustrated the Golden Rule of doing to others as we would be done by. But what was the real motive, benevolence or interest? Both, though with emphasis on the latter. The fabulists insisted that no creature should be considered so mean that he cannot return an obligation to us, that all creatures "may be of use to us." The negative side of this doctrine, as Croxall added in another fable on the same theme, was that even the lowest people have it in their power to hurt us. Providence had ordered the world in such a way that social interaction and mutual dependencies were unavoidable and highly useful. Seeing the utility of these actions would in turn produce kindly dispositions towards others. We should respond to the moral situation by doing both ourselves and others a favour. Even when our immediate advantage was not apparent, a spirit of enlightened self-interest pervading the fabulous world, combined with its ever-present dangers, encouraged the reader to apprehend that the favour done today would be one's salvation tomorrow. Rather than a universal and sweeping benevolence, fables inculcated a prudent alertness for how the needs of others might correspond to our own interests. Thus the virtue of prudence reconciled self-interest and altruism, and this state of affairs was sanctioned by Providence.

Besides prudence and industry, the fables encouraged other enlightened traits. The third Lockean aim of good-breeding was shown largely through shortcomings in the fable characters. Children were to learn the consequences of impolite behaviour. The reciprocal dinner parties of the Fox and Stork taught that a rude jest could be returned in kind. Impertinence was certainly one vice not to be borne in anyone, least of all children. The Impertinent Visitor and the Philosopher, the Bull and the Gnat, the Fir Tree and Bramble, the Bear and Ass, and the Mountain in Labour all showed that noisy,
untoward behaviour, and excessive drawing of attention to oneself was the part of nonentities who would be ridiculed or ignored altogether. Children were taught what the American President Theodore Roosevelt would later call "walking softly and carrying a big stick." Dodsley's fable of the two streams, one which from a turbulent beginning ended up becoming a mere tributary of the reserved one, cautioned youth that more is to be expected from "sedate and silent" than from "noisy, turbulent, and ostentatious beginnings." A couple of fables even exhibited positively, at least metaphorically, the ideal of polite address. The wager between the Sun and the Wind on which could make a man remove his coat showed that gentle means prevail over violent ones. The wind whipped itself into a violent storm, only causing the man to draw his coat more tightly around him. The slow heat of the sun, however, effected the desired response. Similarly, several men arguing over the colour of a chameleon were told by the animal itself to practise moderation in their opinions. Politeness allowed one to learn from others' views, and, even when in the right, to make one's insight more palatable to them.

Finally, the aim of learning itself was deliberately prudential. Croxall nicely ended his collection with the fable of the Master and Scholar. A master out for a walk came upon a scholar in a rapid river, holding on for his life to some overhanging branches of a tree. After fetching him out, the master read the young man a lecture on the rashness of youth. By reading this volume of fables, added Croxall, youth "should not be ashamed to furnish themselves with Rules for their Behaviour in the World" before they venture out into it.

The Application

Every fable was not designed to cultivate prudent calculation in the young heart. The fable of the Boys and Frogs taught justice. The boys learned from the frogs at whom they were throwing stones that what is "sport to you is death to us." In this fable, no prudent calculation arises, but the boys are encouraged to develop a sense of justice by putting themselves in the place of others. A sense of justice and gratitude was similarly taught by a direct appeal to the sympathies in the case of the Old Dog and His Master. Nonetheless, the overriding lesson of the fables was that of prudence, caution, foresight, and moderation in all words and actions. It was no accident that this lesson was deliberately cultivated in youth as a foundation of morals during the Enlightenment. As we have seen, concern for the child's physical and moral vulnerability compelled thinkers to teach children how to avoid the dangers in the world. Yet there were larger considerations. Prudence as a temperament of Enlightenment itself lurked in the background of important philosophical treatises and state papers, at least in the English-speaking world. Indeed, much modern puzzling over what is characterised as a failure of enlightened thinkers to implement their principles might be
made clear by a better understanding of prudence. Although no full treatment can be given to this topic here, some suggestions will be made as to how the lessons of youth would eventually take form in the adult world of commerce, diplomacy, religion, and politics.

To take one example, the character of Thomas Jefferson, whose "Prudence, indeed, will dictate" remains the least quoted line of his Declaration, continues to baffle scholars. Why did he not free his slaves, despite his own moral reservations to slavery? Why did he not dismantle all of Hamilton's financial system as President despite his entrenched opposition to what he considered a scheme for usurers and stock-jobbers? Why were his more revolutionary and democratic statements confined to his personal correspondence rather than revealed in his published writing? The crux of the matter is that Jefferson, a revolutionary to be sure, was a prudent revolutionary. We might better understand Jefferson's prudence with reference to his education and adult reading, realising that he was one of the best-read Americans in the works of the Enlightenment.108

In his Theory of Moral Sentiments Adam Smith characterised prudence in the same terms we have used to describe fables.109 Smith even introduced the topic of prudence by its commencement in the care and education of the child:

The preservation and healthful state of the body seem to be the objects which Nature first recommends to the care of every individual. . . . The first lessons which he is taught by those to whom his childhood is entrusted, tend, the greater part of them, to the same purpose. Their principal object is to teach him how to keep out of harm's way.

Smith then showed how the lessons of personal health and security were extended to the care of one's fortune through personal industry, and the gaining of respect in the community through unobjectionable behaviour. Prudence is, in short, the virtue according to which we look after ourselves: our security, our fortune, our credit in the world. It is a cautious rather than enterprising virtue, urging us to "preserve the advantages which we already possess" rather than to undertake hazardous ventures. The prudent man avoids pedantry and presumption in his speech. He is also averse to party politics and hates faction. Smith acknowledged that prudence is not the most endearing or ennobling of the virtues, and commands only a "cold esteem." Yet prudence might be combined with other virtues such as valour, justice, and benevolence, in order to produce a thoroughly virtuous man:

This superior prudence, when carried to the highest degree of perfection, necessarily supposes the art, the talent, and the habit or disposition of acting with the most perfect propriety in every possible circumstance and situation. It necessarily supposes the utmost perfection of all the intellectual and of all the moral virtues. It is the best head joined to the best heart. It is the most perfect wisdom combined with the most perfect virtue.
For the purposes of the eighteenth-century curriculum, prudence was established early, that it might later be combined with the more other-regarding virtues. To do otherwise would put the cart before the horse. Falling short of this super-prudence, a prudent temper in the individual might not ensure the greatest happiness in life, but would leave him on the whole much happier than the imprudent and passionate adventurer.

Prudence not only served the individual, but worked to the benefit of society. Prudence in politics meant the avoidance of faction. It especially meant the avoidance of factions based on abstract principles rather than interests, which were, according to Hume, "the most extraordinary and unaccountable phenomenon, that has yet appeared in human affairs." These parties were in fact religious parties, given to enthusiasm in the face of all prudential considerations, and the sort that had convulsed society in England's Civil War. Prudence in diplomacy was the basis of the balance of power which Hume endorsed as "a jealousy founded on true politics and prudence." Certainly, there were times when French ambitions threatened British liberties. But the absence of prudence in diplomatic relations led to passionate national rivalries in commerce and glory, resulting in destruction and debt. Prudence was necessary in economics. Even the apostle of the free market urged caution in dismantling protective barriers when thousands of jobs might be lost: "humanity . . . require[s] that the freedom of trade should be restored only by slow gradations, and with a good deal of reserve and circumspection." Though this thumbnail sketch hardly does justice to the nuances of prudence in eighteenth-century thought, it at least suggests that the lessons in prudence to be found in fables could indeed "afford useful reflections to a grown man" and thus should be impressed upon the young mind as soon as possible.


13 Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History*, bk. 5, art. 9, “Aesop.” Cf. *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford (Oxford, 1941), 67. Plato’s moral education, like that of the eighteenth century, required the careful editing of fables. “It seems, then, our first business will be to supervise the making of fables and legends, rejecting all which are unsatisfactory; and we shall induce nurses and mothers to tell their children only those which we have approved, and to think more of moulding their souls with these stories than they now do of rubbing their limbs to make them strong and shapely. Most of the stories now in use must be discarded.”

14 *Spectator*, no. 183. This passage was taken verbatim to define fable in the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1771.

15 *Spectator*, no. 512.

16 Addison in *Tatler*, no. 147, compared learning the moral in a fable to the health gained by hunting: “we are engaged in an agreeable Pursuit that draws us on with Pleasure, and makes us insensible of the Fatigues that accompany it.”


19 See Livy, 2:32. For references to this fable as a model see *Spectator*, no. 183; Beattie “On Fable and Romance,” 505-7; William Milns, *The Well-Bred Scholar*, 61-2; *Fables for Meanest Capacities* (below), ix.

20 Fordyce, *Dialogues*, 1:357.

21 Beattie, “On Fable and Romance,” 505. The question arises whether future leaders were taught fables so that they might one day use them to instruct the lower orders. Certainly this would fit nicely with what will be said of the rhetorical component of the English curriculum below. At least one example of fables being intentionally cultivated for rhetorical purposes, though in a different country, century, and social setting, is that of Abraham Lincoln. See James McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (Oxford, 1991) 95, 99-100, 113.

23. "In training a child to activity of thought, above all things we must beware of what I will call 'inert ideas'—that is to say, ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilised, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations." "Every intellectual revolution which has ever stirred humanity into greatness has been a passionate protest against inert ideas." "The problem of keeping knowledge alive, of preventing it from becoming inert ... is the central problem of all education." Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*, 13th ed. (New York, 1963), 13, 14, 17.


28. The fable of The Fox and the Grapes presented the most troubling scenario, because as everyone knows, foxes do not like grapes. Sometimes the grapes were changed to another food or the fox to another animal. L'Estrange offered an historical explanation: "There was a Time, when a Fox would have Ventur'd as far for a Bunch of Grapes, as for a Shoulder of Mutton." *Fables*, CXXIX.


31. Ibid.


33. Ibid., 115.

34. See Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 290-3, on child prodigies.


36. Chapman, Treatise, 140.


38. Ibid., Fable XIX.


41. Ibid., VI.


44. Richardson, *Aesop*, xi.

45. Ibid., ix.

46. Ibid., xi-xii.

47. Ibid., 16. Richardson's fables are listed by page numbers.


49. Ibid., XIX.

50. Ibid., LIXI.

51. Ralph Straus, Robert Dodsley: *Poet, Publisher, and Playwright* (London, 1910), ch. 13. Among other letters quoted in this chapter, one from Shenstone to Thomas Percy indicates the profitability of textbooks: "I told him it was enough, in books of this sort, if the first edition paved the way for their future establishment in schools. And surely so it is: for a book of this kind, once established, becomes an absolute estate for..."
many years; and brings in at least as certain and as regular returns." As predicted, regular "new" editions of Dodsley's Fables were published throughout the rest of the century.

52 Dodsley, Fables, xxxvii.

53 See also Knox, Winter Evenings, no. 51. Knox took aim against the styles of both L'Estrange and Croxall. Dodsley, however, had committed the opposite error: "Dodsley's [style] indeed, is a far better; but, in search of fine language, he has deviated greatly from simplicity, and rendered his fables unintelligible to those for whom they are chiefly designed."

54 Beattie, "Fable and Romance," 511. The vision of Mirzah was from Spectator, no. 159. Cf. Dodsley, sec. 4 of introductory essay.

55 See previous quotation of Smith, Wealth of Nations, 2:768.

56 L'Estrange, I, Capacities, VIII, supported L'Estrange's interpretation. Dodsley omitted this fable from his collection due to this ambiguity.


59 Wolf and Lamb: L'Estrange, III; Croxall, II; Richardson, 2; Capacities, XIX; Dodsley, IX. Richardson's listed by page numbers; citations from Dodsley will be from the ancient section unless otherwise indicated.

60 Dodsley, Modern, IV. An apparent response to the well-known Wolf and Lamb, the lamb stayed within the safety of the flock rather than venturing out at the wolf's beckoning.

61 Husbandman and Stork: L'Estrange, LXIII; Croxall, CLI; Richardson, 49; Capacities, LXXX; Dodsley, XXXII.

62 Two Friends and Bear: L'Estrange, CXXXVII; Croxall, XLVI; Richardson, 135; Dodsley, XXVI.

63 Dog and Crocodile: Dodsley, XLII.

64 Farmer and Stag: Dodsley, XLVIII.

65 Wolf in Sheep's Skin: L'Estrange, CCCCXVIII; Croxall, CLX; Dodsley, XLIII.

66 Fox and Raven: L'Estrange, XIII; Croxall, IX; Richardson, 11; Dodsley, VI.

67 Hedgehog and Snake: L'Estrange, CCCXIV; Richardson, 150; Dodsley, LI. A Bitch Ready to Puppy made this same point, and that possession is eleven points of the law: L'Estrange, CCCXVII; Croxall, X.

68 See, e.g., Lord Kames's contention that "there is no branch of education more neglected than the training of young persons to be charitable." Loose Hints Upon Education, Chiefly Concerning the Culture of the Heart, 2d ed., (Edinburgh, 1782), 86-87. This theme will be addressed below.

69 Wolf and Crane, Countryman and Snake: L'Estrange, VIII, IX; Croxall, VII, XXV; Richardson, 6, 7, Capacities, LIX, LX; Dodsley, XVII, XVIII.

70 Dodsley, XVIII; L'Estrange, IX.


72 Lion and Other Beasts a Hunting: Dodsley, XXIV (quoted); L'Estrange, VII; Croxall, VI; Richardson, 5 Capacities concluded with a League Between the Wolves and Sheep, in which the sheep are eventually eaten by their erstwhile allies. Remark: "Tho' we are advised in Scripture to be harmless as Doves, yet we are not less warned to be prudent as Serpents. No Nation ought tamely to listen to the wheeling Proposals of an Enemy, who proffers an Agreement of a Suspension and Cessation of Arms, only to gain time or Advantage." Further advice dealt with both temporal and spiritual enemies.

73 Frog and Ox: L'Estrange, XXXV; Croxall, XI; Richardson, 27; Capacities, LXX; Dodsley, XXXII.

74 Daw and Borrowed Feathers: L'Estrange, XXXIII; Croxall, IV; Richardson, 25; Capacities, LXIX, Dodsley, VIII.

75 Cuckoo and Hawk: L'Estrange, CCLXI; Capacities, IV.

76 Fir Tree and Bramble: L'Estrange, CCCCXCVII; Croxall, LXXXIII; Richardson, 141.

77 Lynx and Mole: Dodsley, Modern, XVI.

78 Dog and Shadow: Croxall, V, applying this lesson to the recent South Sea Bubble crisis; L'Estrange, VI; Richardson, 4; Capacities, XVII; Dodsley, XIX.

79 Boy and Filberts: Dodsley, XXXIV.

80 City Mouse and Country Mouse: L'Estrange, XI; Croxall, XXXV; Richardson, 8; Dodsley, XXX.

81 The interpretation of Capacities, XXIII, to be sure, but it was not too different from those of L'Estrange, CXIII; Croxall, LXVI; Richardson, 71; Dodsley, XXIX. This fable in which the old man dropped his burden and summoned death, but on seeing the figure of death only asked that the burden be restored, could also be interpreted as a goad to industry.

82 Boy and Mother: L'Estrange, XC VIII; Croxall, CXIX; Richardson, 63; Capacities, XXXVII.
83 Croxall's application also reveals how Lockean and Augustinian views of childhood could be conflated: "Notwithstanding the great innate Depravity of Mankind, yet I make no Scruple of affirming that most of the Wickedness, which is so frequent and so pernicious in the World, arises from a bad Education: And that the Child not only derives its Share of Original Sin from the Contagion of its Parents, but is also obliged either to their Example or Contrivance, for most of the vicious Habits which it wears thro' the Course of its future Life. The Mind of one that is young is, like Wax, soft and capable of any Impression which is given it; but it is hardened by Time, and the first Signature grows so firm and durable, that scarce any Pains or Application can erase it." This fable with the application was included in Gent's school abridgment of Croxall, LXXXI.

84 Locke, Education, §140.
85 L'Estrange, LIII (quoted); Croxall, XVIII. For the same theme see the Lark and Her Young Ones: L'Estrange, LI; Croxall, XXXVIII; Richardson, 37; Dodsley, XII. See also Dodsley's interpretation of the Fox and Goat, XXXI.

86 To which Croxall added that a king's servants are even worse.
87 Husbandman and Sons: L'Estrange, CVIII; Croxall, CXXXIX; Richardson, 42; Capacities, XXVI; Dodsley, XXXVII.
88 Croxall, CLIX (quoted); L'Estrange, CXXXIII; Richardson, 83.
89 Country Maid and Her Milkmaid: Dodsley, Modern, XIII. Disappointed Milkmaid: Richardson, 190.
90 L'Estrange, XLIII; Croxall, VIII; Capacities, LXVI; Dodsley, XIII. Again, the Capacities interpretation is interesting: "... The pomp and vanities of this wicked World, is [sic], what all Christians ought, and are bound by their Baptism, to deny; and yet nothing appears so fine and desirable in the Eyes of the most Part of Mankind, as those."

91 Dodsley, XLIV and Modern, XVII. The fact that the spider's web was immensely useful to the spider but not to others, i.e. that conflicts of interest exist in the world, was not properly worked out.
92 Ant and Fly: L'Estrange, XXXIV; Croxall, XXVII; Richardson, 26; Dodsley, XXV. Ant and Grasshopper: L'Estrange, CCXVII; Croxall, CXII; Richardson, 128. On the same theme, Industry and Sloth: L'Estrange, CCLII; Richardson, 154; Dodsley, Modern, XI.
93 Lame and Blind Man: Dodsley, Modern, XXXVI (quoted); Richardson, 188.
94 Lion and Mouse: L'Estrange, XVI; Croxall, XXXI; Richardson, 13; Capacities, LXXXII; Dodsley, XVI.
95 Eagle and Fox: Croxall, XIII; L'Estrange, LXXII; Richardson, 48; Capacities, I.
96 Fox and Stork: L'Estrange, XXXI; Croxall, XII; Richardson, 24; Dodsley, VIII. The Fox served a meal on flat dishes which prohibited the Stork from eating, so the Stork countered by putting soup into a long jar.
97 L'Estrange, CCCXXVII; Croxall, CLXX; Richardson, 168.
98 L'Estrange, CCC; Richardson, 184; Dodsley, XXVII.
99 Croxall, LXXXIII; Dodsley, I.
100 Croxall, XIV.
101 L'Estrange, XXIII; Croxall, XXVI; Richardson, 19; Capacities, LXVI; Dodsley, X.
102 Dodsley, Modern, IX.
103 Dodsley, XX (moral); Croxall, XLII; Richardson, 132.
104 Dodsley, Modern, III.
105 Boys and Frogs: L'Estrange, CCCXCVIII; Richardson, 156; Dodsley, XI.
106 Old Dog and Master: L'Estrange, XXV; Croxall, XXVIII; Richardson, 19. An old dog that had in his youth served his master on many a chase was unable to catch a stag, provoking the angry master to kick him.
107 In opposition to the French Revolution, Burke appealed to the virtue of prudence over the contrived systems of the revolutionary leaders: "By these theorists the right of the people is almost always sophistically confounded with their power. The body of the community, whenever it can come to act, can meet with no effectual resistance; but till power and right are the same, the whole body of them has no right inconsistent with virtue, and the first of all virtues, prudence." Reflections on the Revolution in France, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Indianapolis and Cambridge, 1987), 54.

108 However cowardly it may seem, it would not be prudent at this juncture to enter into the controversy of whether Jefferson's Declaration owed more to Locke or to the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, Hutcheson in particular. On the subject of prudence, it should be evident from the foregoing that Locke explicitly encouraged prudence in the education of youth and in adult society. The following will show that Smith and Hume considered prudence an essential virtue. Interestingly enough, the thinker who was most at pains to show that our "moral sense" responded to moral situations prior to rational and prudential calculation was Francis Hutcheson. On this issue, see in particular Garry Wills, Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence (New York, 1979), and Ronald Hamowy, "Jefferson and the Scottish Enlightenment: A Critique of Garry Wills's Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence," William and Mary Quarterly, 36 (1979): 501-23.
109 Moral Sentiments, 212-7.


Locke, *Education*, §156.
CHAPTER IV

IMPROVING THE TASTE: THE SPECTATOR AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

In the minds of enlightened educators at the outset of the eighteenth century, the most glaring fault in the curriculum of English schools was that it contained no English. Following the promises of Renaissance humanists to restore learning to its ancient purity, and thereafter the tradition in which they themselves had been educated, schoolmasters and private tutors of the early modern period equated education with training in the classical languages, such that "an Etonian under Keate would have felt quite at home in the schools of the time of Quintilian or Ausonius." Critics of the classics hardly conceded such a command of Latin on the part of schoolboys. Yet even if they had attained fluency in the Roman language or in Greek, arguments against the utility of this education began to form into a powerful polemic on behalf of English instruction.

The Case for English: from Locke to Blair

As with most aspects of eighteenth-century education, the impulse for reform began with John Locke. The central point that he had made in Some Thoughts Concerning Education was that the criterion of use should prevail over ornament and therefore English over Latin:

To Write and Speak correctly gives a Grace, and gains a favourable Attention to what one has to say: And since 'tis English that an English Gent. will have constant use of, that is the Language he should chiefly Cultivate, and wherein most Care should be taken to polish and perfect his Style. To speak or write better Latin than English, may make a Man be talk'd of, but he would find it more to his purpose to Express himself well in his own Tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain Commendation of others for a very insignificant quality.

Locke did not exclude Latin altogether from his own proposed curriculum. He agreed that every gentleman must have a reading knowledge of it, although learning to write in Latin, particularly verses, was a considerable waste of effort. But since current practice insisted upon the cultivation of a dead to the exclusion of a living language, Locke's arguments for English turned into a diatribe against Latin. Since other theorists and textbook editors invoked Locke throughout the century in order to validate their own promotion of English, his various points must be attended to briefly.

In trying to enter the minds of education reformers and parents, we cannot underestimate the reputation of grammar schools as places where young boys were beaten.
for their difficulties in comprehending the tortuous rules of foreign, dead tongues. The "association" of the book with the rod, which Locke most urgently wished to undo, was only more closely linked when the book was written in a dead language. Children did not have to be beaten to learn dancing or French or Italian, why then for Latin or Greek, unless they were "strange, unnatural, and disagreeable" pursuits in the first place? Indeed, the cudgel-wielding schoolmaster became a stock character in eighteenth-century periodicals. Locke also drew a line between those ranks in society which might be served by classical languages and those whose members would never require them in their daily affairs. Although gentlemen should be able to read Latin, only scholars needed a critical knowledge of it. The time it took to learn Latin and afterwards Greek, and even then only imperfectly, could be set to better purposes. Locke also suggested that the emphasis on grammar as the first step in any language was unnatural. Through conversation alone, without the aid of grammar, young ladies managed to learn English and even French and to speak with a greater degree of elegance and politeness than country schoolmasters. The same could be done to teach Latin to young gentlemen, provided one could find a tutor who could speak it. Finally, Locke insisted that Greek and Roman eloquence had resulted from the ancients' cultivation of their own tongues. Were moderns really to imitate the ancients, they would do so by making native languages the study of youth.

Although Locke endorsed English as the central language of learning, when suggesting books that young gentlemen should read, he plainly lacked texts written in his own language. As we have seen, Locke heartily encouraged the reading of fables in early childhood along with select parts of the Bible. Yet he made the glaring confession, "what other Books there are in English of the Kind of those above-mentioned, fit to engage the liking of Children, and tempt them to read, I do not know." At a more advanced level of study, Locke remained equally perplexed:

if you would have your Son Reason well, let him read Chillingworth; and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, to give him the true Idea of Eloquence; and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his Style in the purity of our Language.

For someone normally sensitive to the different stages of learning, Locke left a significant gap between the fables of Aesop and the reasoning of Chillingworth for the child's English education. Translations of Cicero, it would seem, might fill this gap as the model not only of eloquence but also of letters. Yet elsewhere Locke maintained the Latin idiom was so different from the English that perfection in the former would "very little improve the Purity and Facility of his English Style." Notwithstanding Locke's inability to provide texts that rivalled the established Latin classics, his arguments on behalf of English gave
philosophical weight to the growing complaint that good instructors in the classical languages were becoming harder to find and that, whatever might be the uses of Latin for scholars, English was the common language of both landed gentlemen and the growing merchant class.\textsuperscript{12}

These largely utilitarian and common sense arguments, however essential, explained why English should be taught but not \textit{how} it should be taught. English might have become a technical acquisition much like "accounts," absent all beauty and meaning, as that taught by Mr. Gradgrind in Dickens's \textit{Hard Times}. Such a state of affairs probably describes the study of English in the early part of the century. Beginning in the 1730s and certainly by mid-century, however, English emerged as a fully-fledged liberal and polite discipline. This development drew upon several discussions concerned with the state of the English language and the public taste which took place throughout the century.

In the early part of the century English men of letters, most notably Defoe, Swift, Steele, and Addison, feared that the explosion of Grub Street periodicals and translations was corrupting the English language beyond recognition. To combat this decline in literature and public taste they insisted that the English language be "fixed" to prevent further corruption and even "raised" to a standard of purity. These worries were further exacerbated by the counterexample of the French, who had made great strides in improving their language and thereby established it as the most polite language in Europe.\textsuperscript{13} This linguistic uncertainty on the part of Anglophones seemed to require the formation of a learned society of men on the model of the Académie Française:

\begin{quote}
The Work of this Society shou'd be to encourage Polite Learning, to polish and refine the English Tongue, and advance the so much neglected Faculty of Correct Language, to establish Purity and Propriety of Stile, and to purge it from all the Irregular Additions that Ignorance and Affectation have introduc'd.\textsuperscript{14}
\end{quote}

Through these reform efforts, the English tongue would reach its potential of becoming "the Noblest and most Comprehensive of all the Vulgar Languages in the World." Defoe considered the French language, however much improved by the French Academy, to be limited by its "insignificant gaiety" when compared to the natural energy and breadth of English. The cultural counterpart to the commercial and political rivalry with France was the hope to replace French with English as Europe's lingua franca.\textsuperscript{15}

Not everyone agreed that establishing an academy was the best means of ascertaining and refining the language. Setting up arbitrary academies made sense under "arbitrary governments." Such methods pursued in "the countries of slaves," however, did not suit
the British genius and constitution. Though following Swift in his analysis of the state of the language, the Irish elocutionist Thomas Sheridan insisted that English should be cultivated in the same way that the ancient Greeks and Romans, lovers of liberty and eloquence, had perfected their languages: through oratory. Moreover, British youth should begin to study their language at an early age and throughout their education. Such a course of study required great changes in the customary modes of the grammar schools. These changes should have taken place after the Glorious Revolution, since on that occasion it should have been obvious "to every thinking person, that the only way to ensure duration to these blessings [religious and civil liberties], or to hand them down to posterity was to form a new mode of education, adapted to the new constitution." Rather than follow a curriculum that had once served popery and arbitrary power, youth should have an education that suited the genius of their own time and country. Since the British possessed the wisest constitution, since their commerce extended beyond that of other nations, and since their authors could be considered truly classical, "nothing but the most shameful neglect in the people can prevent the English from handing down to posterity a third classical language, of far more importance than the other two."

The contests between the ancient and modern languages and between good and bad English were measured by the standards of taste. But what exactly was taste and how could it affect the developing minds of youth? To answer these questions we must turn to another discussion that influenced the teaching of English in schools, the belletristic tradition that began in France and England in the seventeenth century and reached its height in the Scottish Enlightenment. For the purposes of schools, the two most important belletrists were Charles Rollin and Hugh Blair. While it is tempting to dwell at length on the development of the belles lettres in Britain and the subtle differences between literary theorists, we shall concentrate on those general themes in this discussion that had important consequences for the teaching of English in schools.

By "taste" eighteenth-century belletrists meant not only the merits of an author's writing but the "faculty" in human beings which responded favourably or unfavourably to writing, the arts, and nature. By examining the relationship between works of taste and individual response, eighteenth-century literary critics hoped to take their discipline beyond that of the ancient critics. While Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian had managed to appraise the taste of a given discourse by comparing its purpose with its actual merits, their criticism remained confined to the beauties or deformities of the discourse itself. For eighteenth-century critics, however, "rhetoric must go beyond its concern for the study of specimens of discourse and enquire into the principles of human nature—the workings of the understanding, the imagination, the passions, the memory, and the will." When discussing taste, then, educators and belletrists invariably referred to the response of the
reader or spectator. Rollin defined the taste for reading authors as "a clear, lively, and distinct discerning of all the beauty, truth, and justness of the thoughts and expressions, which enter into a discourse."23 Blair meant by taste the "power of receiving pleasure from the beauties of nature and of art." This faculty in some respects worked like a sense, like taste itself in its original meaning. Its response took place prior to the use of reason and was not "resolvable into any such operation of reason."24 It was "a quick discernment, a sudden perception, which, like the sensation of the palate, anticipates reflection."25 Since taste was a faculty of the human mind that did not require the use of reason, the beauties in art or nature might "strike in the same manner the philosopher and the peasant; the boy and the man." Indeed, "nothing that belongs to human nature is more universal than the relish of beauty of one kind or another."26 The importance of taste for enlightened educators can be easily discerned. Since the reason did not develop in childhood and youth nearly as early as Locke had maintained, educators looked for other principles of nature to which moral and aesthetic lessons would appeal. The pre-rational discrimination between beauty and deformity became the office of taste.

Although both peasants and philosophers could appreciate beauty of one sort or another, and might very well agree on whether a speaker had delivered a good speech or not, educationally-minded rhetoricians were not content to leave it at that. Though innate, taste was an "improveable faculty." If it owed much to nature, taste owed "to education and culture still more." By nothing were civilised more distinguished from barbaric nations, and those who studied the liberal arts from the untaught vulgar, than a superior taste.27 On the issue of whether taste was entirely innate, Rollin for once disagreed with his master Quintilian, who had said that taste could no more be obtained than a sense of smell, and went on for four volumes to show just how taste should be cultivated.28 Improved by study, the taste became capable of "judgment," a term used often synonymously with taste, but which suggested a more developed capacity for enjoying refined pleasures and for discriminating between true beauty and false ornament.

As suggested by the foregoing, the faculty of taste sought pleasure. Two kinds of pleasure offered themselves to the taste. Pleasures of sense were those activities which appealed to the eyes and the ears, such as the beauties seen in nature and paintings or heard in music. Pleasures of the imagination derived from the combination of these sensual pleasures with the sublime thoughts which they engendered. Reading polite authors offered this sort of pleasure since the reader did not directly experience the subject, but relied upon his memory and imagination to enter into the author's views. The degree of accuracy with which an author described physical and human nature determined the amount of pleasure the reader enjoyed. Thus, the two eighteenth-century works which most directly treated the beauties of nature and the internal response of the human spectator
took the title "Pleasures of the Imagination." This appeal to the imagination, so long as it remained governed by a true standard of taste, likewise afforded educators a help in disciplining the young mind. As we have seen, an un gover ned imagination exposed to the vice of the world formed false associations in the individual's mind that would lead him into ruin. Yet the strong and wilful imagination could neither be neglected nor repressed. The prospect that the imagination could be entertained and at the same time instructed through reading works of taste gave schoolmasters high hopes for youth's literary education.

The activities which engaged the taste and imagination had both a place and a time. Although to obtain a refined taste pupils at school had to work at it, their studies prepared them to enjoy as adults the polite modes of leisure. The pleasures of taste occupied "a middle station between the pleasures of sense, and those of pure intellect":

We were not designed to grovel always among objects so low as the former; nor are we capable of dwelling constantly in so high a region as the latter. The pleasures of taste refresh the mind after the toils of the intellect, and the labours of abstract study; and they gradually raise it above the attachments of sense, and prepare it for the enjoyments of virtue.

Besides reading, eighteenth-century men and women exercised their taste in conversation. Indeed, in a polite age "works of taste and imagination" frequently became the subjects of conversation. In these settings, a refined taste proved not only entertaining but also useful, since it enabled the individual "to support a proper rank in social life." Schoolmasters accordingly hoped to teach youth to hold their own in a society which required from its social elites evidence of otium cum dignitate:

In conversation, taste appears with the same beauty and pleasure. The greatest number of mankind see but a little way into nature, perceiving only the common properties which are obvious to every eye. Conversation with such people is dull, and informs us of no more than what one might discover whether they spoke or were silent. There is a fine horse, says one; and There is a fine house, says another. But the man of taste, displays, in strong expressive language, the harmony of every part.

The "intimate acquaintance" with works of taste seldom failed "to tincture a man's general character, and diffuse a graceful air over his whole conversation and manners." This conversation would bear the marks of learning without being pedantic. Moreover, the taste perceived not only the beauties of nature but also observed "the beauty of action in society, or the moral world." As a result, English in the curriculum became the chief subject for teaching politeness, the Lockean aim of education which polished pedantry and rendered virtue more agreeable.
Although educators encouraged conversation, they also feared it might corrupt the very taste they were trying to cultivate. The allurements of an ill-regulated company could equally teach youth affectation, bombast, conceit, a love of novelty and fashion, false delicacy, false ornament, and false wit. It should be apparent why educators would want to employ nature as the standard to guard against the corruption of society. David Fordyce devoted an entire dialogue to introducing the borderline fop Eugenio to the pleasures of the natural world in order to save him from the fashions and artifices of "the gay Throng." Similarly, a just taste formed in youth by nature would act as "a kind of Antidote against the Corruptions of the World":

Nature never depraves any one's Taste for true Pleasure, or spoils the Tone of the Passions. 'Tis Company, the Bribes or Terrors and various Allurements of the World, that un hinge the Mind, and unnerve its Resolutions. False Pleasures and vitious Amusements only charm and gain the Ascendant over the Mind because it is unaccustomed to those that are mixed and proportioned to the Dignity of our Nature.

While Fordyce could easily take Eugenio to the country, and Rousseau could later do the same with his Emile, and indeed many schoolmasters could choose rural over urban locations, on the whole books formed the student's taste. Yet built into the literary theory of taste was an apprehension of literary and historical decline which had important consequences for the curriculum. For while by the second half of the century most all British belletrists and educators considered that the taste of the nation had improved immensely since Swift and Defoe had warned of a rampant corruption of the language, many of them also considered that "it almost always happens, that the period of its [the national taste's] perfection is the forerunner of its decline." As a living language, English was particularly vulnerable to the violations of authors who, in order to distinguish themselves, introduced novelties into their writings that corrupted the public taste and thereby the nation's manners and conversation. Consequently, schoolmasters attempted to select only "approved authors," whose language demonstrated the utmost purity of style and whose lessons exposed vice in society and formed in youth a true taste for natural and moral beauty.

In eighteenth-century moral culture, all human activity, even "merely innocent" pleasures, pointed to higher purposes. Besides affording pleasure in themselves, the entertainments of taste saved individuals "from the danger of many a pernicious passion." While they allowed the mind to "unbend," they did so only to renew its vigour for more serious pursuits. The education of the taste also had more direct moral implications, since "the same penetration which discerns the nicer properties of matter observes the beauty of action in society, or the moral world." The taste assisted in the judgment of characters.
To know the true motives of human beings and to be able to trace their effects on society, marked the attainment of a liberal education:

The philosopher, when assisted with a natural genius or taste, observes the whole variety of passions, and traces their mutual connections and consequences, as they appear in every different character and situation of life. Besides the common springs of action, he remarks the nicer hidden causes which produce what we call extraordinary events, to the surprise of ordinary people.42

Finally, the very awareness of these pleasures of taste and imagination reminded human beings of their source: "the benignity of our Creator. By endowing us with such powers, he hath widely enlarged the sphere of the pleasure of human life."43 Or, as Akenside expressed it in verse:

What then is taste, but these internal pow'rs  
Active and strong, and feelingly alive  
To each fine impulse? a discerning sense  
Of decent and sublime, with quick disgust  
From things deform'd, or disarrang'd, or gross  
In species? This nor gems, nor stores of gold,  
Nor purple state, nor culture, can bestow;  
But GOD alone, when first his active hand  
Imprints the secret bias of the soul  
HE, mighty Parent, wise and just in all,  
Free as the vital breeze, or light of heav'n,  
Reveals the charms of nature.44

To meet the demands imposed by the Lockean arguments for English in the curriculum, the fears of the growing corruption of the English language on the one hand and the hopes for its becoming a world language on the other, and the increasing concern for refining the taste of the society and in young minds, schoolmasters would themselves have to exercise the utmost taste and judgment in selecting English prose and verse. Fortunately, such English "classics" were at hand that addressed those concerns, one in particular that had done more than its share to shape those concerns in the first place. When Hugh Blair attempted to instruct his own students in polite English style, Locke's inability to suggest texts "well writ in English" was no longer possible:

Mr. Addison is the author whom I have chosen for this purpose. The Spectator, of which his papers are the chief ornament, is a book which is in the hands of every one, and which cannot be praised too highly. The good sense, and good writing, the useful morality, and the admirable vein of humour which abound in it, render it one of those standard books which have done the greatest honour to the English nation. . . . It is indeed my judgment, that what Quintilian applies to Cicero, 'Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero, valde placebit,' may, with justice, be applied to Mr. Addison; that to be highly pleased with his manner of writing, is the criterion of one's having acquired a good taste in English style.45
Before canvassing the style and moral purposes of the Spectator, we should know what part of the curriculum it occupied. The study of English had three components: prose, poetry, and oratory. Drama could be considered as a fourth, although actual dramatic performance was not the highest priority for eighteenth-century schoolmasters. Despite the success of some schoolmasters in staging plays, notably James Townley at Merchant Taylors', the time and effort required in the production of plays was thought to detract from the students' other work. Moreover, even seemingly inoffensive plays too often contained subject matter not deemed suitable to youth. Like the novel, the stage was often regarded as a needless diversion and a source of moral corruption. The controversy which erupted in Scotland in 1734-6 when the Perth Grammar School presented two seemingly harmless plays, Addison's Cato and George Barnwell, was perhaps extreme, but not entirely unrepresentative of this suspicion. At best drama was not so much valued in its own right as for its capacity to develop boys' public speaking abilities. A more practical aspect of English instruction was letter writing, which seems to have been considerably attended to in both established grammars and the newer commercial schools. Examples from the pens of Gay, Pope, Voiture, Cicero and Pliny in translation, and an increasing number of others, grew from sections in texts to books of their own, such as Knox's Elegant Epistles. These elegant letters provided models for young boys' own epistolary efforts, as they were encouraged to write missives back and forth to each other on the day's events or stories of their own creation. Letters were also thought to reveal the "private characters" of men and women of former ages who had been distinguished for their virtue and politeness. As in the study of biography, the private rather than the public characters of the great offered youth a more imitable model for forming their own "useful and ornamental virtues." English teaching comprised a considerable amount of poetry. To be sure, Locke's utilitarian doubts on whether boys should be made into poets and wits, and thus led into low company, combined with the observation of schoolmasters that not all boys had a "genius" for poetry, rendered the active composition of verse less of a priority in schools. Nonetheless, the advantages of poetry could not be measured solely by the ideas which "have predominated in the exchange and in the warehouse." However little verse they might require their pupils to write, explaining Milton, Pope, and Thomson still afforded schoolmasters "the best opportunity of illustrating the beauty of nature, and raising boys, from ordinary mean conceptions of the universe, to the delightful scenes which bloom in poetry." Moreover, belletrists held that savages had been civilised by the beauties of poetic language. The same could be done with youth:
Orpheus and Linus are recorded, in fable, to have drawn the minds of savage men to knowledge, and to have polished human nature by Poetry. And are not children in the state of nature? And is it not probable that Poetry may be the best instrument to operate on them, as it was found to be on nations in the savage state? . . . Is it not reasonable to believe, that minds which are dull, and even brutally insensible, may be penetrated, sharpened, softened, and vivified, by the warm influence of Poetry?55

What could have been deemed more useful than that which civilised the savage nature of young boys? The most frequent selections from the most frequently selected poets reveal the moral purpose of poetry. God's creation of an ordered and harmonious nature required a moral and religious response on the part of human beings, which in turn would bring happiness in this life and the next. Consequently, many parts of Milton's Paradise Lost appeared in texts, and particularly Adam and Eve's "Morning" and "Evening" prayers.56 The most popular selections from Pope were the "Universal Prayer," the universal favourite of the school anthologies, and parts of his Essay on Man, especially from the fourth epistle on happiness and virtue.57 And Thomson's Seasons was often used to "teach the young Idea how to shoot."58 The other favourite works were the fables of Gay or Moore,59 Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,"60 Parnell's "The Hermit,"61 and Young's Night Thoughts lest youth's own thoughts stray too far from death.62

The place of Shakespeare in the teaching of English presents an interesting case study of eighteenth-century moral culture. It has been suggested by at least one historian that over the course of the century Shakespeare became the most important cultural icon appropriated in schools.63 This assertion must be qualified. While it is true that statements of individual schoolmasters can be culled which taken out of context would suggest a pre-eminence of the bard,64 and that the number of selections of Shakespeare in school anthologies was impressive,65 he hardly held the place in the eighteenth century that he does currently in the curricula of English-speaking schools. In the first place, not all of Shakespeare's works were deemed suitable for youth. The fear that poetry might prematurely enlist the passions of love kept Shakespeare's sonnets from being read, as well as Romeo and Juliet.66 Even among eighteenth-century belletrists, attitudes towards Shakespeare were complex. His turns of phrase often violated Addison's criteria of true wit. His plays promiscuously mixed tragedy and comedy, and defied the standard of "unity" in time. His cast of characters often included witches.67 These blemishes were regarded as the result of his having lived in a rude age, though all admitted that he had been a genius. In fact, a minor question in eighteenth-century pedagogy became how he had managed to overcome the limitations of his own time.68 Whatever his shortcomings, Shakespeare excelled others, his critics confessed, in "possessing, beyond all writers, the natural language of passion."69 And it was precisely in the language of passion, the ability
to express one's own carefully managed passions so as to rouse the social passions in others and move them to act, that one became the good orator.\textsuperscript{70} Yet Shakespeare's characters of Hamlet, Antony, Henry IV and V became model orators largely by default. In spite of the emphasis placed upon rhetoric, British critics lamented that their nation had failed to produce an orator who might take his place among the ancients as Addison had done in written prose, Pope and Milton in verse. This failure was even more embarrassing on two counts. First, in accordance with Longinus's maxim that free nations produce great orators, and supported by the example of the Roman Republic, Britain as the freest nation in the world ought to have excelled France in oratory rather than, as it often appeared, falling behind. Secondly, the Christian era offered another and certainly the most important opportunity for good oratory. As in politics, those in the pulpit had not lived up to expectations.\textsuperscript{71} Sheridan and others attributed the nation's oratorical deficiency to the neglect of English in the schools. They insisted that, contrary to current practices, school exercises should chiefly consist in reading and reciting from the rostrum select pieces of English composition, both in prose and verse.\textsuperscript{72} Eventually, the speeches of Pitt, debates between Lord Lyttelton and Walpole, and the sermons of Blair, would supply the need for British eloquence.\textsuperscript{73} Meanwhile Shakespeare's speeches and soliloquies offered the closest approximation to classical oratory for future lawyers, clergymen, and men of state.\textsuperscript{74}

Despite the presence of other authors, it would be hard to overestimate the importance of the \textit{Spectator} in the teaching of English. As both a model of polite English prose and as a moral \textit{vade-mecum} the \textit{Spectator} earned the praises of schoolmasters and education reformers throughout the century:

\begin{quote}
It is amazing, to see how little the English Language has been cultivated in the common Course of Education. If of late Years there has been a greater Demand than formerly for Exactness we must attribute it to the exceeding Purity of Mr. Addison's Writings, who has much surpass'd all that wrote before him in this Excellence.\textsuperscript{75}

But of all Books, I know none so proper to be put into their Hands, as the Spectators. They will... furnish them with just and fine Thoughts, upon a great Variety of Moral Subjects. ... They will not only receive a great Advantage from the frequent Perusal of them, with Regard to their Improvement in their own Language, but become acquainted with the World before they go into it. And as they have there the various Vices, Follies, and Whimsies of Mankind, very finely and elegantly exposed and ridiculed, the Mind may from thence receive an early Tincture, and contract a timely Aversion, for what it ought to hate, before it has been imposed by Custom and Fashion.\textsuperscript{76}

A Master should esteem it an important Part of his Business, to bring his Pupils to speak, and write English, properly and neatly. To which End they should often read to him some Author, (the Spectator for Example) that is a Standard of good Style.\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}
We, at this School, have daily Occasion to observe this [the conformity to rule of Addison's style] in our Teaching; for we make much Use of the Spectator as an English Classic.78

I know of no book which can be more properly recommended at first, than the Spectator. It abounds with entertainment. It furnishes a great variety of ideas on men, manners and learning; and the moral and religious principles it recommends are well adapted to tincture the young mind with the love of all that is amiable, useful, and honourable. I would require one paper to be read and considered every day, and I should make little doubt but that the pupil would soon read more from choice.79

There is another reason to dwell on the Spectator. The student's response that Knox predicted was not without foundation. It became one of those rare texts in the history of education that does not have to be forced on students, that they read and enjoy whether in school or on their own.80 Boswell's encounter with the text is instructive and by no means unique:

However, from the age of eight to the age of twelve I enjoyed reasonably good health. I had a governor who was not without sentiment and sensibility. He began to form my mind in a manner that delighted me. He set me to reading The Spectator; and it was then that I acquired my first notions of taste for the fine arts and of the pleasure there is in considering the variety of human nature.81

Whether assigned by a schoolmaster or recommended by a relative or tutor, the Spectator often occupied a watershed in individual histories of reading. Their encounter with the readable prose and diverse themes of this work convinced eighteenth-century youth at usually a very early age that reading could be both amusing and instructive. Its cheerful self-expression for moral purposes was contagious, and it consequently nurtured youth's own literary ambitions.

The Many Uses of the "Spectator"

Although they often doubted whether youth could or should be made into poets, and lamented the lack of a proud tradition in national oratory, British schoolmasters rejoiced in having a pure model for English prose in the essays of the Spectator. Nor were these papers only to be read silently to oneself, notwithstanding current theories about the growth of "intensive reading" in the eighteenth century. The considerable evidence we have concerning the Spectator as a school text establishes that it was read both silently and aloud, imitated in a variety of ways, translated into Latin, and used at every level of education. The task, then, is to discover how the Spectator was taught. For we would expect a culture which considered language to be a reflection of, and to have such an
influence over, the human mind, to reveal more than a little of its own mind in the teaching of its native language. The task is not altogether straightforward. While the teaching treatises and textbooks abound with praises of the "beauties" and the "spirit and delicacy" of our *Spectators* and *Guardians*, few specifics are given. Blair’s line by line analysis of the style of Addison’s papers on the imagination certainly offered one of the most complete stylistic treatments of any text in the century. Yet even these lectures, though pedagogical in purpose, did not contemplate all uses of the text, both stylistic and moral, when appropriated by schoolmasters.

One important division in the essays can be drawn. The choice of Addison’s essays over those of Steele was quite deliberate. Lord Kames proposed that the child's first lesson in taste should be to distinguish between the writings of good and bad authors:

> You cannot have a better book for that exercise than the *Spectator*. A pleasing vein of genteel humour runs through every one of Addison's papers, which, like the sweet flavour of a hyacinth, constantly cheers, and never overpowers. Steele's papers, on the contrary, are little better than trash: there is scarce a thought or sentiment that is worthy to be transferred into a common-place book.

After a little while the child would learn to recognise Steele's writing on sight. When handed one of his papers, the response would be: "Foh! . . . that is Steele, we'll have no more of him."82 This basic lesson in taste would lead to the formation of the child's "judgment." As we shall see, the textbook editors followed, or rather anticipated, Kames's advice, with a view to both content and form. Few of the *Tatler* papers appeared in the texts. And in those papers of Steele from the *Spectator* that were chosen, the moral lessons were irresistible: on lying, on duty to parents, on chastity.

The choice of Addison over other prose writers for the purpose of teaching English style was suggested by another of the age's great essayists. Samuel Johnson described the prose of Addison as being of "the middle style . . . always equable and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences." This style was not only more easily read but more easily imitated: "whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar, but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."83 This famous passage from the *Lives of the Poets* acted as more than a passing encomium in the school curriculum; it was a command.84 The "easiness" of Addison's prose commended by Johnson made the *Spectator* the most suitable text for the purpose of teaching reading, elocution, and to the extent that it was taught, prose composition.85

From the age of seven or eight onwards, after some grammatical study and the reading of fables, a child was taught to read "with Propriety and Accuracy" from the pages of the
Spectator. To this end the grammarian and schoolmaster James Buchanan included a "choice collection" from the Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian in his Complete English Scholar. In another text, Buchanan indicated the various exercises students performed on the Spectator. Students wrote daily two or more sentences from "a good English classic." They learned to spell all the words. By looking up the "signification" of the words in the dictionary, they acquired "a copious Vocabulary" and became "acquainted not with Words only, but with Things themselves." They identified the parts of speech and applied the rules of syntax in each sentence. Finally, they "resolved" each sentence by placing the words in their "natural" order and supplying any ellipsis. Buchanan's comments on the need to build a copious vocabulary are particularly suggestive. For modern scholarship reminds us that Addison employed a moral vocabulary. Even a casual examination of the word lists provided in eighteenth-century grammar books reveals that by "the things themselves" schoolmasters usually meant moral things, as in the following sequence of three-syllable words: "De-cen-cy, di-li-gence, E-du-cate, en-ter-prize, en-vi-ous, ex-cel-lent, ex-e-cute, Fa-mi-ly, for-ti-ly, Gal-le-ry, gen-tle-man, go-vern-ment, Ho-li-ness, hor-ri-ble, I-dle-ness, ig-no-ble." Better than these endless lists, or worse, the contrived sentences of the grammarians, the Spectator offered students a more pleasing introduction to an enlightened moral vocabulary.

A similar classroom exercise shows how teachers used the Spectator to spark emulation in students. The successful textbook editor Anne Fisher recommended an exercise much like the French dictée. The master should read, or have one of the pupils read, a paragraph from the Spectator or a newspaper, which the other students should write down; "then, to create an Emulation, compare their Pieces, and place the Scholars according to the Desert of their Performances." For another common exercise of the period, the correction of false grammar and spelling, Fisher again called upon the Spectator, this time with the "fair sex" particularly in mind:

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from these few principals, thus Lade down, it will be easy to prove, that the true art of assisting beauty consist in embellishing the hole parson, by the proper ornaments of vertuous and commendable qualities. by this help alone it is, that them who are the favorite work of nature, or as Mr, dryden expresses it, the porcelain clay of human kind, become animated, and are in a capacity of exerting their charms.
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Besides their value for grammatical instruction, these passages afforded "in the Hands of skilful Teachers... excellent Topics to enlarge upon."

As suggested in the previous example, students often delivered the Spectator orally. Schoolmasters did not invent such a practice, for the original paper had been read aloud in London coffee houses. Indeed, the paper as a whole had been intended as a model of
conversation at a time when forms of social gathering had profound political and social consequences. In schools, the Spectator took on a similar function by preparing students to speak with grace and ease in private company and in a public career. The Spectator itself did as much as any text to suggest the sorts of oral exercises that should take place in the school. Education reformers throughout the century repeated Budgell's advice that when reading the lives of great men students should not merely understand the Greek or Latin sentences but give their opinions on the sayings and actions recorded. The schoolmaster James Barclay extended this exercise to having boys comment on the moral of any speech. By taking different sides in defending their favourite characters or speeches, boys destined for public life developed "a manly assurance." Steele's indictment of schoolmasters for the desultory reading of the common prayer itself became a matter for oral rehearsal in schools. At the most basic level, schoolmasters hoped to use polite periodicals to counter "the barbarous dialect" of the provinces and schoolyard slang. Hugh Blair's lectures on the style of Addison originated as an attempt to correct the "peculiarities of dialect" in his students in Scotland, where "the ordinary spoken language often differs much from what is used by good English authors." As a text that had considerably polished the English language, and by definition devoid of Scotticisms and other regional accents, as well as the jargon of young boys, the Spectator could be relied upon as a model of polite speech. In a more subtle testimony to the Spectator's oral currency, educators often coupled Addison with Cicero. Alongside the speeches of Shakespeare and Addison's Cato, papers from the Spectator were prominent in anthologies intended to develop students' speaking abilities. Even in the rare rhetorical text where the Spectator did not appear, editors seem to have assumed that it would be read aloud and used to teach important lessons in punctuation and pronunciation. At a more advanced level of rhetorical analysis, as in John Walker's Elements of Elocution, illustrations using the Spectator might outnumber those taken from Shakespeare, Milton, and Cicero. "Reading" in schools usually meant reading aloud, and reading aloud often meant forming one's speaking abilities on the balanced and harmonious passages of Addison's prose.

In the more classical schools, once the student had learned to read English and speak it "with propriety," English lessons occupied a small part of the day or only the time allotted for private reading. The bulk of the student's work consisted in reading and translating the classics. Yet in the exercises of translating Latin into English and vice versa, called versions, the Spectator remained invaluable. Schoolmasters complained that students' versions read more like Romans writing in English than native speakers in their own tongue and devised ways of turning Latin into Addisionian prose. For translating English into Latin, the Spectator was also the standard text. Since it became a common practice of school inspectors to test boys' abilities in Latin by giving them a Spectator to translate, schoolmasters made it a text in which their students were "very much employed."
Outside of the ubiquitous practice of letter-writing, it is not easy to determine the extent to which students in schools learned to write essays. Despite the attempt of some education reformers to put more English composition into the curriculum, many schoolmasters echoed Locke in calling themes "a sort of Egyptian Tyranny" in which boys were required to write intelligently on matters of which they knew nothing. Therefore, English composition was usually postponed until the last years of school or deferred until university. To the extent that students did begin to write, their themes usually consisted in rewriting as best they could papers from the Spectator. The self-imposed lessons of the future philosophe Benjamin Franklin are both amusing and instructive:

About this time I met with an odd Volume of the Spectator. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the Writing excellent, & wish'd if possible to imitate it. With that View, I took some of the Papers, & making short Hints of the Sentiment in each Sentence, laid them by a few Days, and then without looking at the Book, try'd to compleat the Papers again, by expressing each hinted Sentiment at length & as fully as it had been express'd before, in any suitable Words that should come to hand.

Then I compar'd my Spectator with the Original, discover'd some of my Faults, & corrected them. . . . By comparing my Work afterwards with the original, I discover'd many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of Fancying that in certain Particulars of small Import I had been lucky enough to improve the Method or the Language, and this encourag'd me to think that I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English Writer, of which I was extreamly ambitious.

Franklin later recommended this as an exercise for the fifth class of his ideal English school to "improve the Youth in Composition." This was roughly the same exercise Hugh Blair assigned to his students of belles lettres to correct their Scotticisms. And in 1801, John Walker encouraged it in perhaps the first textbook on composition for schools. Although Walker twice warned schoolmasters that for "the younger class of students" Addison's prose "seems too elegant and . . . too intangible" to be imitated, Addison remained for more advanced instruction the author most adept in that "exuberance of expression" and "easy and apparent negligence" which "is very agreeable to young minds." While the schoolmaster William Milns did not take imitation quite so far, in one of the most sensitive and extensive treatments of essay-writing during the century, he put forward Addison as the prime exemplar of tasteful writing. Expounding on the different parts of the essay--amplification, argument, example, simile, conclusion--Milns relied heavily on Addison, particularly his Spectator essay on cheerfulness, a "perfect model of its kind."

Before reaching university, well-educated youth encountered the Spectator in a variety of forms and in a variety of school exercises. They advanced in their reading from the tales
to the more complicated papers. They learned to spell and use correct grammar by having the Spectator dictated to them. They delivered it orally, which often meant memorising parts of it, in order to overcome their regional accents and boyish slang. They translated it into Latin and tried to render their Latin versions in Addisonian prose. They were encouraged to read the Spectator in their spare time, and based upon the evidence we have, were eager to do so. In their "preparation" for writing themes, they learned the different parts of an argument through examples of Addison's prose style. To the extent that students wrote themselves, they imitated the Spectator. At every juncture, the "beauties" of Addison's language and sentiments were pointed out to them. The literary culture to which enlightened schoolmasters hoped to introduce youth, therefore, was largely a cult of Addison. The combined effect of these readings and exercises enabled youth to acquire a "fine taste," which they would have learned from the Spectator is "the utmost perfection of an accomplished man."113

Polite Morality

And Addison, perhaps, will be read with pleasure, when Locke shall be entirely forgotten.114

Enlightened philosophers sought to understand the operations of the various parts of the mind in order to devise strategies of improving the lower faculties and producing a balance of the whole. Just so enlightened schoolmasters taught polite texts such as the Spectator in order to improve the moral and aesthetic senses of youth and thus carry them to the highest pitch of virtue and politeness. The convergence of these two projects of eighteenth-century moral culture is to be found in moral philosophers who concerned themselves with education. Not surprisingly, they recommended the Spectator in language similar to that of the schoolmasters:

The SPECTATOR was another Author he recommended as of the highest Use to Females, not only as containing valuable Stores of profitable and elegant Knowledge, but as an excellent Mirrour of human life, and a polite Corrector of Manners: Here (said he) are the best Maxims for the Conduct of Life; for People of all Ranks and Denominations, Ages and Conditions, that you shall find any where. Here you may see your own Face, every Speck of Folly, whim and Humour, and the deeper Stains too marked in expressive Colours. Here you may learn to be wise at the Expense of others, and avoid the Ridicule you see exposed in them.115

Moral educators considered the Spectator as a text that could be read by anyone in any walk of life, and which gave the reader a view of everyone in every walk of life. It offered youth exactly what its title implies, a view: a view of themselves, of their place in society,
and of their relationship to the Creator, the three-tiered inquiry of moral philosophy. This view did not, however, present human beings in their more active engagements. Of politics, wars, and other struggles of supreme moment, the *Spectator* quite intentionally had little to say. Addison and Steele in an attempt to dampen political rivalries as "those feuds and animosities, that extinguish religion, deface government, and make a nation miserable," had confined their observations largely to matters of taste, manners, and morals. For youth, political questions were reserved for the study of history and its heroes. Instead, the *Spectator* presented what Fordyce in referring to it called "Heroes of Domestic Life." So domestic was its morality that the lengthy recommendation above came in the context of female education. Not only was the *Spectator* suitable reading for "the youth of both sexes," but it was the main text which gave each sex a view of the other's virtues and vices, an important consideration in moral philosophy and for anxious parents.

To understand exactly how schoolmasters meant to make youth polite and virtuous by reading the *Spectator*, it will be necessary to undertake our own reading of the *Spectator* as youth encountered it. For the knowledge that the *Spectator* was read in schools still does not indicate which of the 635 essays students would have read, not just once but five or even ten times in the course of their education. The division between the Addison and Steele papers only takes us half the way. What modern historians and literary critics regard as "The Spectator," a selection of the De Coverley papers, the essays of the club and London coffee shops, the vision of Public Credit, and perhaps the essays on Milton, however appropriate to their own work and enjoyed by certain readerships in the eighteenth-century, is hardly the *Spectator* which youth read with their teachers. Moreover, confining our study to this text alone would underestimate the full value of enlightened moral culture by not taking into account the inheritance that Addison passed on to later moralists. By the middle of the century schoolmasters had readily available to them kind of enhanced *Spectator*, in which "select numbers of the Spectators, Guardians, Adventurers, and Ramblers . . . that treat on the same subject" were "thrown together in their proper order." A casual look at the table of contents for any of the textbooks attests to the overwhelming moral tone of the subjects selected for youth and would probably scare away the modern reader: "On the Omniscience and Omnipresence of the Deity" . . . "The Atheist Inexcusable for Endeavoring to Make Converts" . . . "On Chastity" . . . "On Lying." In fact, the more diverting essays, such as the De Coverley papers, generally did not appear in the school editions. Nonetheless, in their prefaces the editors of these texts reaffirmed the Lockean-Spectatorial method of "amusing and instructing." To assess whether they lived up to their promises, we must go beyond the first page.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, *Aesop's Fables* was the preferred text for children. It seems not unlikely that they would have encountered the *Spectator* as well,
originally intended for "all well-regulated families, that set apart an hour in every morning for tea and bread and butter," before going to school or being instructed by a private tutor. Several popular books appeared for family use which featured the visions, allegories, fables, and stories from the *Spectator*. These extracts were thought to entertain the child's imagination while inculcating taste and morality. One of these children's books even contained "remarks" upon each story, much like the applications found in fable collections, for those parents without the proper "helps" of a liberal education or whose pleasure or business did not allow them much time to read. These remarks often belaboured the obvious, but do highlight that the stories were not just to be read, but acted upon. We must wonder whether the editor intended the moral for the Story of Theodosius and Constantia, for example, more for parents or for children:

> It is impossible for a Mind untainted with mean, interested Views, not to feel a Variety of Emotions from this affecting Narrative. The deep Distress of those amiable Lovers, speaks the Necessity of guarding ourselves against the too powerful Influences of even the noblest of human Passions, lest, in the Midst of our flattering Prospects, when Things seem most to favour us, some unexpected Stroke should suddenly dash our Hopes, and cause the Mind, enervated by the soft Passion, to sink beneath its Woes. In Constantia's Father, how cruel does their Tyranny appear, who arrogate to themselves an arbitrary Right over their Children or Wards, and sacrifice to their own groveling Passions, or capricious Humours, their real Happiness, to promote which is the very Design and Limits of their Authority? As a bitter Consequence of this unnatural Conduct, we see here two Persons, the best form'd for being Blessings to Society, lost to all its Duties and Enjoyments, and drove into a State of inactive Recluseness.

The moral of fables, as we have seen, showed youth that the world is a precarious place in which a prudential regard for one's own interests saves one from disaster. That theme remained in this interpretation, as children were taught to guard themselves against "the too powerful Influences of even the noblest of human Passions," lest some obstacle bar their complete happiness. At the same time parents were exhorted to put their children's sentiments before their own passions or, we might infer, their prudent calculations of obtaining a financially desirable match. With the *Spectator* didactic editors of children's books intended to liberalise the minds of the upper and middle classes and to soften the material relations among family members. While this undertaking contributed to the growth of individualism, and gave much latitude to youth in the choice of marriage partners, at the same time the *Spectator*'s lessons showed that only unions founded upon virtue would result in happiness.

Just as the reading of the *Spectator* in the home drew mostly upon Addison's tales, fables, and stories, the school anthologists included these imaginative pieces and added similar selections from the *Rambler* and *Adventurer*. The authors of these pieces
themselves had hoped that moral lessons clothed in fiction would appeal to the taste and imagination of youth. Throughout the Rambler Johnson addressed his "young readers," and included his "Vision of Theodore" in Dodsley's Preceptor, to which he wrote the preface. Hawkesworth, whom we have already met as a discerning advocate of fables, wrote largely with youth in mind:

As I was upon these [moral] principles to write for the young and gay; for those who are entering the path of life, I knew that it would be necessary to amuse the imagination while I was approaching the heart; and that I could not hope to fix the attention, but by engaging the passions. I have, therefore, sometimes led them into the regions of fancy... rather than deduced consequences by logical reasoning.125

Since the visions and stories often appeared as the strategic first essays of collections, and acted as a bridge from home to school reading, they should be considered first.

One of the most popular Oriental tales was Addison's "Vision of Mirzah," which the poet Robert Burns recalled as the first piece of literature that pleased him.126 The vision began with Mirzah overlooking the hills of Bagdat and contemplating the vanity of human life: "man is but a shadow, and life a dream." He met a genius whose powers enabled his vision. A bridge appeared which spanned the vale of misery, through which flowed the tide of eternity. The people who walked across the decaying bridge fell through for various reasons: their own frivolities, the malevolent actions of others, or hidden trap doors in the bridge itself. This melancholy prospect seemed to confirm Mirzah's opinion of the vanity of human effort, until the genius directed his attention to another scene. Some of the people were taken by the tide of eternity to innumerable islands covered with fruits and flowers, whose inhabitants were quite obviously happy and secure. The final destination of the other souls remained covered in a thick mist. In speaking of the islands of Paradise, the genius provided the moral:

Are not these, O Mirzah, Habitations worth contending for? Does Life appear miserable, that gives thee Opportunities of earning such a Reward? Is Death to be feared that will convey thee to so happy an Existence? Think not Man was made in vain, who has such an Eternity reserved for him.

Thus the admitted hardship of this life contrasted with happiness in the life to come. On the other hand, pursuit of frivolous objects and giving oneself over to the passions led to a dark and unknown, eternal ruin. Whatever the appeal of oriental tales in adult culture,127 as lessons for youth they served two purposes. First, youth were presented with a whole view of life, at the outset of their own lives, symbolised by a bridge, a road, or a journey, whose length and obstacles required perseverance from the beginning and throughout.128 Second, the element of magic enabled the vision or moved the plot of the story and inspired wonder.
and entertainment in the young imagination. Yet it was a controlled magic, which checked the exorbitant desires of the very imagination to which it appealed. Whereas moderation led to happiness, excessive desires led to untold calamity. In one of Johnson's tales, a genius promised each of two shepherds a wish during a severe drought. The shepherd who wished for a small stream to water his flocks was rewarded accordingly, while the shepherd who asked for the Ganges saw his fields flooded and his livestock washed away, and then was himself eaten by a crocodile.129 Perhaps the most clever use of morally-controlled magic was Hawkesworth's three-part tale of Amurath. A genius gave Amurath a ring that squeezed his finger whenever he did something wrong, such as kick a little dog or try to seduce a young maiden. After an extremely complicated plot of moral abandonment and redemption, the reader was told at the end of this series that everyone has such a ring, namely, conscience, or a moral sense, or an impartial spectator, for the passage did not call it by name:

Hast thou not a monitor who reproaches thee in secret, when thy foot deviates from the path of virtue? Neglect not the first whispers of this friend to thy soul; it is the voice of a greater than Syndarac, to resist whose influence is to invite destruction.130

Allegories made the same point. The "Choice of Hercules" presented Hercules "in that Part of his Youth in which it was natural for him to consider what Course of Life he ought to pursue."131 Two women approached him: one whose beauty was "natural and easy," the other whose beauty of countenance and gesture was mixed with affectation. The latter promised Hercules a life without care, filled only with delights and pleasures. The former laid down as an established truth, "That there is nothing truly valuable which can be purchased without Pains and Labour." After each presented her case, Hercules "gave up his Heart" to the Goddess of Virtue, a choice that Addison hoped would work "for the Benefit of the Youth of Great Britain." Thus the taste for virtue corresponded to the taste for the natural beauty of modest women. The exact meaning of virtue would be detailed in other lessons, but from this allegory youth learned that such a choice had to be made.

Given this view of life, it should not come as a surprise that educators wanted to give youth an early start on their moral journey. Whether to justify their own part or to explain to students the purpose of spending countless hours in school (something we in the twentieth century hardly bother about) schoolmasters told youth up-front "the advantages of a good education" and the "disadvantages of a bad one."132 To convey this important theme, Addison offered a metaphor:

I consider an Human Soul without Education like Marble in the Quarry, which shews none of its inherent Beauties, till the Skill of the Polisher fetches out the Colours, makes the Surface shine, and discovers every ornamental Cloud, Spot, and Vein that runs through the Body of it.
Education, after the same manner, when it works upon a noble Mind, draws out to View every latent Vertue and Perfection, which without such Helps are never able to make their Appearance.

Like the figure in a piece of marble, which the sculptor must only "find," a philosopher, saint, or hero might lay hidden in "a Plebean, which a proper Education might have disenterred." To illustrate further the value of education, Addison turned to one of his "accounts of savage nations." Two slaves inhabiting the British island of St. Christopher had long been friends. They fell in love with the same woman, however. Neither could bring himself to give up either the woman or the friendship. Torn between their passions of love and friendship, they ended up by killing the woman and themselves:

We see, in this amazing Instance of Barbarity, what strange Disorders are bred in the Minds of those Men whose Passions are not regulated by Vertue, and disciplined by Reason. Though the Action which I have recited is in itself full of Guilt and Horror, it proceeded from a Temper of Mind which might have produced very noble Fruits, had it been informed and guided by a suitable Education.

Addison went on to assert his own reasons for writing the Spectator:

Discourses of Morality, and Reflections upon human Nature, are the best Means we can make use of to improve our Minds, and gain a true Knowledge of our selves, and consequently to recover our Souls out of the Vice, Ignorance, and Prejudice which naturally cleave to them.

This paper warrants lengthy quotation because it reveals both the purposes of an enlightened education and the means by which it should be achieved. Children, as we have learned from Locke, Knox, and Blair, were like savages. They possessed great potential for good, but were driven by passions they did not understand. Only gradually, through a long process of moral culture, would children come to understand how their passions worked, how they might lead to destruction if unchecked, and how they might be harnessed for useful and moral ends. To gain such a perspective on the workings of their passions, they had daily to read discourses on morality and politeness. These discourses could not be dry lists of rules, but had to engage the imagination. The Spectator provided interesting characters, in both savage and polite societies, whose conduct could be judged. This moral reading of texts developed a standard of behaviour applicable to oneself. Each Spectator paper was another chip away from the rough marble of childhood.

Just how fine a line enlightened educators drew, however, can be seen in another negative example. The periodical authors took aim not only at the uneducated mind of savage society, but also the mis educated mind of an overly refined society. The assiduous cultivation of manners at the expense of learning, while it might teach a young man to shine in company for a while, would eventually reduce him in the eyes of all discerning
observers. His boyish "gaiety" would eventually lose its appeal when unaccompanied by real accomplishments:

The greatest Part of our British Youth lose their Figure and grow out of Fashion by that Time they are five and twenty. As soon as the natural Gaiety and Amiability of the young Man wears off, they have nothing left to recommend them, but lie by the rest of their Lives among the Lumber and Refuse of the Species.\textsuperscript{134}

Learning to hold a snuffbox was no substitute for reading and emulating the \textit{Life of Cicero}. We see again that a balanced character was the essential aim of education. Politeness polished the man, as it polished the society. Nevertheless, what Blair said of rhetoric also held true for character, that "none but firm and solid bodies can be polished well."\textsuperscript{135} The duty each lad owed to himself, then, was a solid education, whose worth would pay off in later life: "I would advise the Youth of fifteen to be dressing up every day the man of fifty, or to consider how to make himself venerable at threescore."\textsuperscript{136}

Though foppish tendencies were to be avoided, eighteenth-century educators were eager to make youth polite. For Locke the introduction of youth into polite society was both an essential goal and a decisive means of education.\textsuperscript{137} Locke's general prescription for politeness was to teach children "not to think meanly of [them]selves and not to think meanly of others."\textsuperscript{138} Following this dictum, Locke set guidelines for teaching manners in the home. Home instruction was not enough, however, for polite educators. Youth had to read extensively in the literature on manners and conversation.\textsuperscript{139} Budgell outlined the rules of conversation for "the British youth" in two companion pieces that became popular textbook selections.\textsuperscript{140} These rules followed from an understanding of the true ends of conversation, namely, instruction and diversion. Avoid disputes as much as possible. When you must argue, give your reasons with coolness and modesty. Should you be found in error, you should be glad to be better informed. Do not be so absurd as to be angry with someone just because he is not of your opinion. Even if winning the argument is your purpose, your falling into a passion will only cause you to forget many weighty reasons and turn the company against you. Avoid talking too much of yourself, that is, of your virtues, your vices, or your possessions. Neither talk too much nor too little. If a certain public issue or character becomes "the reigning Subject" of conversation, prepare yourself by studying up on the matter. Just beware not to "unload" everything you know whether or not an opportunity presents itself. These rules, applicable to everyone, recommended one trait that was thought particularly pleasing in youth: modesty.\textsuperscript{141} Yet youth should not fall into a sheepish bashfulness in company. The \textit{Spectator} taught youth to avoid either sheepishness on the one hand or impudence on the other by maintaining "a modest Assurance" in conversation.\textsuperscript{142} One sure way to effect such a balance was to act as a moderator rather than take sides in a discussion:
This gives him the Character of Impartial, furnishes him with an Opportunity of Sifting things to the bottom, shewing his Judgment, and of sometimes making handsome Compliments to each of the contending Parties.\textsuperscript{143}

Giving too many compliments in conversation, however, must also be avoided. Politeness required a delicate balance between censoriousness and flattery. Besides refined manners which pleased, true politeness rested upon the corresponding duty of truth-telling.\textsuperscript{144} Of course, blasts against lying were commonplace in eighteenth-century education, particularly in the charity and hospital schools. Students would have learned from their earliest grammar lessons that "a Lye is abominable."\textsuperscript{145} Indeed, lying was one of the few provocations for whipping under a more lenient Lockean discipline.\textsuperscript{146} Yet the \textit{Spectator} authors and other essayists addressed a more subtle problem than outright lying. Moralists worried that the worlds of both commerce and fashionable conversation led youth to knavery at an early age. Young men had begun to prefer artfulness and cunning to "true Honour and Honesty."\textsuperscript{147} The "lie of vanity," born of the desire to exalt oneself or to entertain in company, was becoming every day more prevalent.\textsuperscript{148} Moral educators tried to counter this perceived growth of falsehood and hypocrisy with the countervailing virtues of truth and sincerity. They employed the arguments originally put forth by Cicero in \textit{De Officiis}, then delivered in a famous sermon by Tillotson, which in turn was quoted directly in the \textit{Spectator}. Why would anyone pretend to be something that he is not unless that quality was good in the first place? "Now the best way in the World for a Man to seem to be any thing, is really to be what he would seem to be." It is more difficult to pretend. Nature will always expose the pretender. Truth is more effective in business, and builds confidence in others "like travelling in a plain beaten Road, which commonly brings a Man sooner to his Journeys end than By-ways, in which Men often lose themselves." Once reputation for truth and sincerity is lost, it can never be regained. With these and like arguments, eighteenth-century educators threatened the loss of what potential fabricators sought in the first place, reputation. Giving over neither to "detraction" under the pretence of honesty, nor to flattery in an attempt to please, nor especially to outright deception with the excuse of acting in the way of the world, youth should monitor their conversation according to the dictates of discretion.\textsuperscript{149}

The final view in this spectatorial framework invited youth to contemplate the Deity. As we have seen, the manifold educational aim of virtue led ultimately to a consideration of the attributes of the Creator and the piety of the individual. As a result, God's "omnipresence" in the Creation carried over into the school curriculum.\textsuperscript{150} Youth were instructed at a very early age to distinguish between "true religion" on the one hand and either superstition or enthusiasm on the other. They were armed with the arguments
against scepticism and atheism. They were shown that politeness squared with religious principles. Most important, youth were told how their own imaginative appropriation of the material, animal, and intellectual creation testified to the omnipresence and omnipotence of the Deity and the immortality of the human soul:

There is a great deal of Pleasure in contemplating the Material World, by which I mean that System of Bodies into which Nature has so curiously wrought the Mass of dead Matter, with the several Relations which those Bodies bear to one another.151

I must confess I am infinitely delighted with those Speculations of Nature which are to be made in a Country-Life; and as my Reading has very much lain among Books of natural History, I cannot forbear recollecting upon this Occasion the several Remarks which I have met with in Authors, and comparing them with what falls under my own Observation. The Arguments for Providence drawn from the natural History of Animals, being in my Opinion demonstrative.152

We, who have this Veil of Flesh standing between us and the World of Spirits, must be Content to know that the Spirit of God is present with us, by the Effects which he produceth in us. Our outward Senses are too gross to apprehend him; we may however taste and see how Gracious he is, by his Influence upon our Minds, by those Virtuous Thoughts which he awakens in us, by those secret Comforts and Refreshments which he conveys in our Souls, and by the those ravishing Joys and inward Satisfactions which are perpetually springing up, and diffusing themselves among all the Thoughts of good Men.153

[italics added]

Addison invited spectators of the created world, of human society, and of the movements in their own souls to take pleasure in contemplating the gifts of a benevolent God. Such contemplation appealed partly to the senses and partly to reason, but was more the province of that middle faculty. Initiated by taste and improved by judgment, Addison considered these "ravishing joys and inward satisfactions" to be "pleasures of the imagination."154

How should these various views of self, society, and God, each with its corresponding set of duties, make the young person feel? Cheerful. A careful observation of one's own moral and intellectual improvement, of the exchange of sentiments and useful information in society, and of the manifestation of God's benevolence in the creation, led the young spectator to that happy medium of temper between melancholy and mirth:

If we consider Cheerfulness in three Lights, with regard to our selves, to those we Converse with, and to the great Author of our Being, it will not a little recommend it self on each of these Accounts. The Man who is possessed of this excellent frame of Mind, is not only easie in his Thoughts, but a perfect Master of all the Powers and Faculties of his Soul: His Imagination is always clear, and his Judgment undisturbed: His Temper is even and unruffled, whether in Action or in Solitude. He comes with Relish to all those Goods which Nature has provided for him, tastes all the Pleasures of the Creation which are poured about him, and does not feel the full weight of those accidental Evils which may befall him.155
Between the excessive tempers of the Puritan revolutionary and the Restoration courtier, Addison steered the enlightened personality toward the calm and reflective joys of life. To be sure, life posed challenges and hardships. Virtue and industriousness were essential character traits on the moral journey. Yet austerity gained no friends or imitators. Virtue itself was a servant to happiness, which depended largely on one's frame of mind. Moreover, good nature was contagious, especially when found in young ladies. Meet Melissa, for whom the glass was always half full:

By constantly habituating herself to look only on the bright side of objects, she preserves a perpetual cheerfulness in herself, which, by a kind of happy contagion, she communicates to all about her. If any misfortune has befallen her, she considers it might have been worse, and is thankful to Providence for an escape. She rejoices in solitude, as it gives her an opportunity of knowing herself; and in society, because she can communicate the happiness she enjoys. She opposes every man's virtues to his failings, and can find out something to cherish and applaud in the very worst of her acquaintance. She opens every book with a desire to be entertained or instructed, and therefore seldom misses what she looks for. Walk with her, though it be but a heath or a common, and she will discover numberless beauties unobserved before, in the hills, the dales, the broom, the brakes, and the variegated flowers of weeds and poppies. She enjoys every change of weather and of season, as bringing with it something of health or convenience. In conversation it is a rule with her never to start a subject that leads to anything gloomy or disagreeable; you therefore never hear her repeating her own grievances, or those of her neighbours, or (what is worst of all) their faults or imperfections. If any thing of the latter kind be mentioned in her hearing, she has the address to turn it into entertainment, by changing the most odious railing into a pleasant raillery.

Here truly was a model for young ladies to emulate: a person blessed with a sweet nature, who improved it through education; a flower of her sex, of whose approval young men should become worthy; a polite arbiter of manners and of conversation; a woman of taste.

Notwithstanding the greater scope given to leisure in one's pursuits and to the imagination in the young mind, spectatorial politeness had to be methodised. Except perhaps for the all-pervading theme of the Deity, the textbook editors were the most heavy-handed on the importance of time and the consequences of idleness. To teach the value of work they selected stories, visions, metaphors, allegories, satires and poems which promised to the industrious the rewards of prosperity, fame, and marriage in this life and eternal happiness in the next. They showed that idleness led to bankruptcy, exclusion from the company of both men and women, and the feeling in one's declining years of shame and regret. One wonders whether it would have not been much simpler to return to the pre-Lockean days of the rod and cudgel. Yet even in these incitements to industry we find the eighteenth-century's peculiar balance of amusement and instruction. The
ninety-third Spectator afforded a lesson in the proper organisation of one's day, what we might today call "time-management," with startling specificity. Addison reported the sad fact that life were divided into twenty parts, for most people nineteen of them would be filled with neither business nor pleasure. How then should one fill up the "empty Spaces of Life"? One should first spend time in the exercise of virtue. "Virtue" meant the social virtues expected of the nobility and emerging elites: advising the ignorant, relieving the needy, and comforting the afflicted. Furthermore, it involved that ameliorative and stabilising form of political and social life that the Spectator advocated: "A Man has frequent Opportunities of mitigating the Fierceness of a Party; of doing Justice to the Character of a deserving Man; of softning the Envious, quieting the Angry, and rectifying the Prejudiced." It also referred to the "Intercourse and Communication" (we might say prayer) with the Author of one's Being. This latter virtue would extend one's time, of which so many complain frivolously that they do not have enough of, to a time beyond the grave. Yet since one cannot always be employed in work, and "because the Mind cannot be always in its Fervours, nor strained up to a pitch of Virtue," Addison allowed "useful and innocent Diversions." The foremost of these diversions was reading, to which the whole subsequent paper was devoted. Next in importance was agreeable and improving conversation with a well-chosen companion. Gardening, physical exercise, and appreciation of art, music, and architecture also made the list. Thus, schoolmasters hoped to guide youth through the day, to lead them to virtue and steer them away from vice, as had Addison with his original audience, and as Blair intended by his advocacy of the belles lettres. Indeed, this paper made plain to youth the fourfold ends of their education. One's own business consumed most of the day. Still, time had to be left for the exercise of virtue. When one did allow the mind to unbend, diversion must remain useful, a criterion which precluded shuffling packs of cards and exchanging a few game words. A good book (learning) or the conversation of polite company (politeness) offered the best restorative. These pleasures filled up the empty spaces in a culture that did not countenance empty spaces. Herein lay the Enlightenment's educational project in its diurnal detail.

Conclusion

As with other aspects of the eighteenth-century curriculum, the teaching of English strove for balance. Enlightened pedagogy gave some space to youth's imagination but also warned that an unguarded fancy would lead young people into a ruinous indulgence of their passions. Some hidden principle of restraint had to be found. The formation of a true taste through reading polite literature brought balance to the human mind. The taste engendered an instantaneous acceptance of the good and the beautiful and a quick rejection of things vicious and deformed. A well-educated taste recognised fine writing, beautiful landscapes,
and prepared the way for noble sentiments. As their mallet and chisel in the sculpture of the young mind, schoolmasters hoped tasteful writing would inspire youth to contemplate the beauties of nature, to notice the varieties of characters, to reflect on the operation of their own minds, in short, to spectate on the world and their place in it.

No work was better designed to form youth's taste and guide their imagination than the *Spectator*. It did far more than fulfil Locke's need for a text written in the native idiom. The *Spectator* created its own educational agenda. Addison's language taught youth a moral vocabulary and an elegant sentence structure. His tasteful writing amused as it instructed. It exalted nature over false conceit. Addison's style was easy enough to aid the understanding but never descended into the colloquial or the sensual. In a sense, the *Spectator* was a text that taught itself. The verbal reiteration of the Augustan sentence reinforced the visonal and characteristical reiteration of the Enlightenment moral. Moreover, the character of Mr. Spectator conformed to the perceived needs of youth. He saw and judged everything, but did essentially nothing. His passions were never engaged. He studied. While he amused the reader, he cautioned him or her to look first, to investigate, to know oneself and others before rushing headlong into vice and folly. Young people in the eighteenth century became spectators.

As it was employed in the schools, the *Spectator* maintained to some extent its original design as a leisure text, if such a thing could ever exist in the student's world. It occupied the English part of the day, that smaller part not given to parsing Latin verbs. In relation to history, its fictional characters and vague, oriental settings offered a relief from the study of real heroes, the dates and places of battles, the actual as it existed in laws, commerce, geography, and politics. Yet the image of the *Spectator* was not lost in collateral and subsequent branches of the curriculum. The university student introduced to Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* should have long before cultivated his own impartial spectator and learned to judge impartially the actions and passions of others. Nor was the spectatorial image confined only to British educational theory. Rousseau was just as eager to appropriate this perspective for Emile in his study of history. The text that Locke lacked in his pedagogy, became for the other great philosopher-pedagogue of Enlightenment the most compelling role for youth to assume:

To put the human heart in his reach without risk of spoiling his own, I would want to show him men from afar, to show him them in other times or other places and in such a way that he can see the stage without ever being able to act on it. This is the moment for history. It is by means of history that, without the lessons of philosophy, he will read the hearts of men; it is by means of history that he will see them, a simple spectator, disinterested and without passion, as their judge and not as their accomplice or as their accuser.160
NOTES

1 M. L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900 (Cambridge, 1959), 3-4.
2 Locke, Education, §189.
3 Ibid., §86.
4 See, e.g., Spectator, nos. 157 and 168. See chapter 7 below.
5 Locke, Education, §§164-5. See also Spectator, no. 353. The hierarchical argument had a different emphasis depending on whether one favoured English or Latin. Locke and his followers asked whether, since Latin is not useful for most people, especially those engaged in trade, it is really useful for anyone. The classicists on the other hand first insisted on a distinction in ranks, then asserted that gentlemen must preserve this distinction by their knowledge of Latin.
6 Ibid., §§168 and §165.
7 Ibid., §§165-6.
8 Ibid., §189.
9 Ibid., §157.
10 Ibid., §188.
11 Ibid., §172.
13 Locke, too, had taken note of the French preoccupation with their native language: "English is the Language of the illiterate Vulgar; Through yet we see the Politie of some of our Neighbours hath not thought it beneath the Publick Care, to promote and reward the improvement of their own Language; . . . and we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst Languages possibly in this part of the World, if we look upon it as it was in some few Reigns backwards, whatever it be now." Education, §189.
15 Though the hopes of "fixing" the language through the work of an academy was never realised, the idea had lasting effects. The publication of the first popular grammar by Charles Gildon, which carried the approbation of Isaac Bickerstaff, led to a large and often contradictory body of grammatical works intended for both youth and adults. This collective, though private effort reached its height with the publication of Johnson's Dictionary. See Richard S. Tompson, "English and English Education in the eighteenth century," Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 167 (1977): 71; Ian Michael, English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800 (Cambridge, 1970); idem, The Teaching of English: From the Sixteenth Century to 1870 (Cambridge, 1987).
18 On the old curriculum see Sheridan, A Plan, 17-9, and British Education, ch. 4. On the means by which languages are propagated and made universal, see British Education, ch. 8. See ch. 7 on the constitution.
19 Sheridan, British Education, 367.
21 Invoking the concept of taste throughout his pedagogical and historical writings, Rollin treated the subject most thoroughly in "General Reflections upon Taste" in vol. 1 of the Belles Lettres, reprinted in Knox's Elegant Extracts. The influence of Blair can be traced by the frequency with which his Lectures on Rhetoric
and Belles Lettres appeared in the most successful textbooks in the last quarter of the century on the subjects of taste, oratory, pronunciation, etc. Editors often paraphrased Blair in their introductions. See Vicesimus Knox, Elegant Extracts, introductory essay on pronunciation taken from Blair's lectures; William Enfield, The Speaker, prefatory essays on elocution and reading works of taste based upon Blair; William Milns, Well-Bred Scholar, passim; William Mavor, The New Speaker, or English Class-Book ... to which are Prefixed, A Short System of Rhetoric, and An Essay on Enunciation or Delivery, Chiefly Abstracted from Blair's Lectures. For the Use of Schools. (London, 1801).

22 Howell, British Logic and Rhetoric, 598, on George Campbell.

23 Belles Lettres, 1:48.

24 Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 15.

25 This definition is taken from the extremely helpful article on "Taste" in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1771).

26 Blair, Lectures, 16.

27 Ibid., 17.


29 Namely, Addison in prose, Spectator, nos. 411-21, and Akenside in verse.


31 Blair, Lectures, 14.

32 Ibid., 13.

33 Barclay, Treatise, ch. 9, "Of Taste," 156.

34 William Enfield, The Speaker: or Miscellaneous Pieces, Selected From the Best English Writers, and Disposed Under Proper Heads, With a View to Facilitate the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking, A New Edition. (London, 1792), xli. Enfield's prefatory essay "On Reading Works of Taste," added in 1782, in which he cited a footnote Kames, Campbell, Blair, and the critical essays of the Spectator and Rambler, might be read as a summary of this entire argument.

35 Barclay, Treatise, 155. See also Enfield, Speaker, xlii.

36 Dialogues, 1:265. For the theory of cultivating taste through nature, see esp. 1:256-60.

37 Ibid., 266-7. See also Vicesimus Knox, Essays, no. 7, "On Forming a Taste for Simple Pleasures."

38 Encyclopaedia Britannica (1771), s.v. "Taste," 888. See also Rollin, Belles Lettres, 55.

39 This argument will be treated more extensively in chapter 7 below on the classics.

40 Blair, Lectures, 14.

41 Barclay, Treatise, 155. Similarly, Knox: "Taste is indisputably very desirable in itself; but it is the more so, as it has an influence on moral virtue." Works, 4:54-5, "On Inspiring Taste."

42 Ibid., 158.

43 Blair, Lectures, 29.

44 This or related selections from "Pleasures of the Imagination," were featured in Enfield, The Speaker; Masson, A Collection of Prose and Verse; Perry, The Orator; The Poetical Preceptor; and Knox, Elegant Extracts in Poetry.

45 Blair, Lectures, 193-4, introducing his critical examination of Addison's papers on "The Pleasures of the Imagination."

46 James Townley, the author of High Life Below Stairs, produced by Garrick in 1759, introduced a measure of the stage into his school. On 16, 18, 20 February, 1762 Merchant Taylors' performed Terence's Eunuchus. Two thousand tickets were sold, and Garrick attended the play, for which he had provided the scenery. The epilogue was read by the son of John Newbery, the bookseller. Two plays were performed in the following year, Seneca's Troades and George Ruggle's Ignoramus, both of which were well received. A further proposal by Townley for producing a play was turned down by the trustees, apparently because of the time it took away from other studies.

47 Knox, Works, 4:51; John Walker, The Academic Speaker, vii (see below). For other warnings against the affects of tragedy and comedy or highly qualified recommendations, see Francis Brokesby, Of Education With Respect to Grammar Schools and the Universities (London, 1701), 112; Gildon, Grammar, 20-1; and "School Plays" in Monthly Mirror, December 1798, which called these productions "a public and abominable nuisance"; quoted in Michael, Teaching, 301. Barclay (139) seems to have taken an exceptional stand by claiming that modern plays improve the heart and add "to our passions that fire and spirit which is necessary to awake the fancy, and spur us on to action."

48 James Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland (London and Glasgow, 1876), 411-6. Although he considered there to be a thousand tragedies of more classical merit than George Barnwell, Vicesimus Knox held that there are "few better calculated to save the numerous and important classes of the plebian order from wallowing in vice, theft, intemperance, and wretchedness of every kind," Essays, no. 121, "On the Moral Effects of a Good Tragedy." Admittedly, the outbreak in Perth probably owed to causes specifically Scottish.
Loose
49
Michael,
controversy
See Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1985), 74-93, for the controversy created by John Home's *Douglas*. Selections of *Douglas* in fact became common in both Scottish and English textbooks, although I am not aware of the play ever being performed in its entirety by a school. For plays performed throughout Britain in the eighteenth century, particularly those of Shakespeare, see Michael, *Teaching*, 297-305.


50 Knox, *Elegant Epistles*, preface. As always, Knox wrote an interesting preface, this one quoting Locke as an authority. Johnson's *Rambler*, no. 152, was quoted at length by the anonymous editor of *The Correspondent* in order to advocate more attention to private and domestic letters than to those of a public nature. This editor also made interesting observations on Knox's collection, and quoted Locke and Budgell on the study of letter writing. See Samuel Johnson in the following chapter on the advantages of biography over history.


53 Barclay, *Treatise*, 134, on Thomson.


55 Knox, EEPo, v. Similarly, Gildon, *Grammar*, 20: No one will imagine "a Man of Mr. Lock's Judgment could condemn, or condemn Poetry in general, he knew better, that the World was at first Civiliz'd by it, that Religion and Laws first were taught us in Verse, that God thus by his Prophets deliver'd his Promises and his Threats."


58 *Moral Miscellany*; Burgess, *Entertainer*; Masson, *Collection*; Scott, * Beauties*; Fisher, *Pleasing Instructor*; *Edinburgh Entertainer*, *Lessons in Reading*; Barrie, *Collection*; Perry, *Orator*; Enfield, *Speaker*; Scott, *Lessons*; Poetical *Preceptor*, Knox, EEPo. The passage from which this line is taken was often quoted in pedagogical discussions and as the motto of textbooks. It was certainly a favourite passage of Franklin, who included it in his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*. The full passage reads:

* Tis Joy to see the human Blossoms blow,
  When infant Reason grows space, and calls
  For the kind Hand of an assiduous Care;
  Delightful Task! to rear the tender Thought,
  To teach the young Idea how to shoot,
  To pour the fresh Instruction o'er the Mind,
  To breathe th' enliv'ning Spirit, and to fix
  The generous Purpose in the glowing Breast.

119
Pleasing Edinburgh Entertainer, Perry, Extracts 59

Moral Scott, Barrie, in others in tended

Nevertheless, Blair edited Lettres. Read, Engl. Parnass. Shakespeare predominantly texts. augment and 1801 in appearances of authors in school weighing Ian 65 chapter. 64 John young appropriate headings: question

67 See Blair, Lectures, 26-7. Similar comments can be found in Smith's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Nevertheless, Blair edited an eight volume edition of the works of Shakespeare.

Beattie in raising the question of genius, concluded that one cannot entrust all to imagination but must, like Shakespeare, be indefatigable in the study of language and manners. "Of Memory and imagination," 153-5. This question was broached in the biographical texts considered in the following chapter.

Blair, Lectures, 26.

Sheridan in his famous lectures contended that "all writers seem to be under the influence of a common delusion, that by the help of words alone, they can communicate all that passes in their minds. They forget that the passions and the fancy have a language of their own, utterly independent of words." Sheridan contrasted this language with that of the understanding, which had itself been unknown until Locke's Essay. Thus the century moved further away from the Lockean emphasis on reason and its attendant studies, to the study of the passions in oratory and the imagination in fiction. A Course of Lectures on Eloquence (reprint, Menston, 1968), x-xi.

71 See Blair, Lectures, 251-4. See also Sheridan, British Education, 238-9, 365-6.

72 Sheridan, Plan, 61, 89, 103. See also Buchanan, Plan, 123-4.

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72 Sheridan, Plan, 61, 89, 103. See also Buchanan, Plan, 123-4.

59 Moral Miscellany; Burgess, Entertainer; Masson, Collection; Scott, Beauties; Fisher, Pleasing Instructor; Edinburgh Entertainer; Perry, Orator; Scott, Lessons; Poetical Preceptor; Knox, EEPo. Verse and prose fables tended to be mutually exclusive, which accounts for Gay's scarcity in some texts against his prevalence in others in figures below.

60 Moral Miscellany; Burgess, Entertainer; Scott, Beauties; Fisher, Pleasing Instructor; Lessons in Reading; Barrie, Collection; Perry, Orator; Enfield, Speaker; Scott, Lessons; Poetical Preceptor; Knox, EEPo. Concluding, "Lord! as in heaven, on earth thy will be done." Masson, Collection; Scott, Beauties; Fisher, Pleasing Instructor; Edinburgh Entertainer; Barrie, Collection; Scott, Lessons; Poetical Preceptor; Knox, EEPo.

62 Scott, Beauties; Barrie, Collection; Enfield, Speaker; Poetical Preceptor. For his second edition of Elegant Extracts in Poetry, Knox made room for 40 closely printed octavo pages of the Night Thoughts under appropriate headings: waste of time, death unavoidable, etc. James Beattie recommended this reading for the young to counter their levy of spirits. Yet he cautioned against its effects on older men given to melancholy. "On Memory and Imagination," in Dissertations Moral and Critical (London and Edinburgh, 1783), 194-200.


64 "Shakespeare, thou wonder of the age, how shall I speak thy praise!" Barclay, Treatise, 139. Compare however the one paragraph spent on Shakespeare to the ten pages on Milton, Thomson, and Pope in the same chapter. See also Chapman invoking the poetic trinity of Thomson, Pope, and Milton in Treatise, 191.

65 Ian Michael has made a valiant attempt, while realising the shortcomings of his findings (e.g., the problem of weighing texts with multiple editions against those with only one or two) at calculating the frequency of appearances of authors in school anthologies. His ranking of poets in nineteen texts published between 1717 and 1801 in order of frequency is as follows: Pope, Thomson, Cowper, Shakespeare, Addison, Cunningham, Milton, Elizabeth Carter, Watts, Goldsmith, Young. The Teaching of English, 195-199. I should like to augment these findings with my own. The following graph indicates the number of selections in some significant texts. The abbreviation "pr." indicates that prose selections were also included in the text. I have not considered texts that were overwhelmingly prose, although the figures in these were roughly the same, albeit with some striking omissions of Shakespeare altogether (e.g., Fisher, Pleasing Instructor; Edinburgh Entertainer; Moral Miscellany). Only Addison's verse selections are included in these figures. These were predominantly taken from Cato, but his hymns on gratitude and Providence were also popular.
Academic March 1768: The Academic Speaker; or A Selection of Parliamentary Debates, Orations, Odes, Scenes, and Speeches, from the Best Writers. Proper to Be Read and Recited by Youth at School ... (London, 1789). This text featured 73 pages of parliamentary debates, including those on continuing the Army in 1732, on giving prizes to seamen in 1734, on a vote of thanks to the King for his speech in 1740, and on preventing merchants from raising the wages of seamen during war in 1740.

For the interesting and common juxtaposition of Shakespeare with classical orators, see esp. Dodsley, Preceptor, ch. 1, sec. 2, “On Speaking.” Public readings of both set speeches and original compositions were annually performed during school “visits,” as in this account of a public examination at St. Paul’s on 17 March 1768: “Tuesday, the young Gentlemen on the foundation of St. Paul’s School were publicly examined in the different parts of literature; after which the eight senior youths made several speeches in Latin, Greek and English before a numerous and polite assembly in the school; one speech in particular, which was received with great applause, on the following question, viz. ‘Ought virtue to show itself most in prosperity or adversity?’” Quoted from the Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure, in McDonnell, St. Paul’s, 348.


John Clarke, Essay, 124-5.

William Foot, An Essay on Education: Intended Principally, to Make the Business of Grammar-Schools, of Real Service to Such Youth, as Are Not Designed for the University (ca. 1747). Quoted in Michael, Teaching, 202.

William Ward, A Grammar of the English Language, in two Treatises... (London, 1767), x. Ward was Master of Beverley Grammar School in Yorkshire.

Knox, Works, 4:70. Knox recommended this exercise for private study during the intervals at school, to commence at the age of twelve or thirteen. Michael (200-12) features a dozen pages of extracts from schoolmaster treatises on the teaching of English, nearly all of which recommend the Spectator or a schoolbook containing some of its pages. The demand for the Spectator, originally met by its own volumes, increasingly took the form of edited anthologies including other journalists, especially Johnson, Hawkesworth, and Chesterfield. As we shall see, the moral lessons taught to youth can be derived from the editing of these anthologies. Since this chapter considers what amounts to an enhanced Spectator, that is, schoolbooks in which the original lessons of the Spectator were taken up and elaborated by subsequent journalists and moderate clergymen, it might be useful to have another statistical breakdown of some of the more successful textbooks. Some of these texts contained selections of fables, poetry, and history, and were meant to provide a comprehensive English curriculum. In this chart only the periodical essays or texts inculcating the same moral lessons are considered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Spectator</th>
<th>Tatler</th>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Rambler</th>
<th>Adventurer</th>
<th>World</th>
<th>Chesterfield</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total Sel</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alleg./Vis.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pol. Precep.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Idler</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Misc.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Connois.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher, P. I.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Gent. Mag.</td>
<td>92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott, Beau.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, L. E.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>175</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les. Read.</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Percival.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, El. Rea.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Percival.</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfield, Speak.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(poet.)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, Mont.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Idler</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In our own day, at least in America, J. D. Salinger’s Catcher in the Rye is the only text that seems to have achieved such a status. The differences between Addison and Salinger in both style and substance might provide a revealing commentary on the two ages.

James Boswell, “Sketch of the Early Life of James Boswell, Written by Himself for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 5 December 1764,” in Frederick A. Pottle, James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1740-1769 (London, 1966), 2. Similarly, Henry Cockburn: “I doubt if I ever read a single book, or even fifty pages, voluntarily, when I was at the High School. The Spectator was the first book I read, from the sheer pleasure of reading, after I left it.” Memorials of His Time (Edinburgh, 1910), 11. The young Edmund Burke after winning the “prize” in his exams at Trinity College, Dublin asked his friend Shackleton what he should take for the prize: “I’ll either Chuse the Modern History, or the Spectator and Rollyn, what do you think?” The Correspondence of Edmund Burke (Chicago, 1958), 1:51-2. Benjamin Franklin’s account in his autobiography will be referred to below. Other future American Founders were no less enthusiastic than Franklin. Madison in his autobiographical sketch written in the third person: “One of the earliest books which engaged his attention was the Spectator; which from his own experience, he inferred to be peculiarly adapted to inculcate in youthful minds, just sentiments, an appetite for knowledge, and a taste for the improvement of
the mind and manners." The Papers of James Madison, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago, 1962), 1:32. Madison later recommended the Spectator to his eleven year old nephew in similarly glowing terms. That it could be as much a diversion as a matter for study can be seen in the following grouping of the more austere John Adams: "Let Virtue Address me—Which dear Youth, will you prefer? a Life of Efficacy, Indolence and obsecuity, or a Life of Industry, Temperance, and Honour? ... (By the Way, Laziness, Langor, Inattention, are my Bane, am too lazy to rise early and make a fire, and when my fire is made, at 10 o'clock my Passion for knowledge, fame, fortune or any good, is too languid, to make me apply with Spirit to my Books. And by reason of my Inattention my mind is liable to be called off Law, by a Girl, a Pipe, a Poem, a Love Letter, a Spectator, a Play &c.)" Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, ed. L. H. Butterfield (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 1:72.

Kames, Loose Hints, 108. Knox added this footnote to the above recommendation: "I would, however, confine his attention to the papers marked C. L. I. O., as they alone, in the first seven volumes, are Addison's. He may, after having caught the grace of his style, inspect some of the others, in order to discover the difference, and improve his taste and judgment."

Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets (London, 1903), 248. Selections from Johnson on Addison contained in Scott, Beauties of Eminent Writers and Lessons in Eloquence, Moral Biography, s.v. "Addison." Other comments on Addison's prose style in British Plutarch; British Nepos; and John Adams. The Flowers of Modern History, s.v. "Of the Progress of Society in Great Britain in the Latter Part of the Last and Present Century." See chapters on history and biography for more on these historical texts. Blair on Addison in Knox, EEPR.

"You would do well also to read at leisure a paper or two of the Spectators I sent you, in order to acquire a general knowledge of men and things, and a purity of style in speaking and writing. Indeed, I know not any English prose so easy, familiar, and yet so correct, as that I now recommend." Letter From a Father to a Son at School, in Fordyce, The New and Complete British Letter Writer, 26.

The following should not be considered an exhaustive survey of the way English was taught in schools, but only the use of Addisonian prose to that end. For the more complex teaching of grammar (including the mind-boggling syllabification method), and all other aspects of English instruction, see Ian Michael's impressive The Teaching of English.

James Buchanan, The Complete English Scholar. In Three Parts. Containing a New, Short, and Familiar Method of Instructing Children, and Perfecting Grown Persons in the English Tongue, and of Learning Grammar in General, without the Help of Latin. In Which the Various Lessons Are Adapted to Convey the Ruling Principles of Life, and Mend the Heart at the Same Time That They Enlighten the Understanding (London, 1753). Section two commences with the selection of these, largely Addisonian papers followed by extracts from Rollin, Pope, Dryden, and from history and geography. This self-consciously graduated text reveals precisely where in an exclusively English curriculum the Spectator was studied: after grammar and some preliminary reading arranged by number of syllables and before history and other studies.

At least one of the many dictionaries produced for schoolboys in the eighteenth century attempted to link its use to the English classics: John Entick, The New Spelling Dictionary. Teaching to Write and Pronounce the English Tongue with Ease and Propriety. ... The Whole Compiled and Digested in a Manner Entirely New, to Make It a Complete Pocket Companion for Those That Read Milton, Pope, Addison, Shakespeare, Tillotson, and Locke, or Other English Authors of Repute in Prose and Verse. ... A New Edition, Greatly Enlarged. ... (London, 1767). This edition included a recommendation from the respected schoolmaster John Sterling, who called it "the best Book of the Kind I ever saw, both for the Use of Schools, and for Gentlemen and Ladies." Chapman also recommended Entick in Treatise, 187.

Buchanan suggested these exercises in A Regular English Syntax (London, 1767), xxii. Often reprinted, J. Hamilton Moore, whose partiality to the Spectator can be seen above, recommended Buchanan's English Syntax as the best grammar he knew of. The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor (cited below), preface. See also Vicesimus Knox, Works, 4:21; Benjamin Franklin, "Idea of the English School," in Smith, 178.

Ian Lannering identifies the most recognisable aspect of Addison's prose as a "controlled copiousness." Addison employed parallelism liberally both to improve rhythm and convey meaning. One form of parallelism consisted in the use of "pleonastic word pairs," that is, the coupling of words with synonymous or overlapping meanings, as in the following examples:

such Actions as are apt to procure Honour and Reputation to the Actor
It was necessary ... that Arts should be invented and improved
a glorious and laudable course of Action
the Fame and Reputation of an Action
this common Judgement and Opinion of Mankind (Spect., no. 255)

Less often, Addison also used pleonastic triplets, such as "Love, Tenderness, and Compassion" or "plain, simple, and unadorned." Although Blair commended this copiousness when he considered the coupled words
were sufficiently distinct in meaning, he at times objected that Addison's redundancy violated the rules of perspicuity. Blair, Lectures, 195, 198, 203, 208. Yet Blair might have been less sensitive to Addison's larger purposes. He did not multiply synonyms indiscriminately. Aware of the limitations of his popular audience, when Addison did run into tautology, he usually had a moral end in mind: "When Addison philosophizes—and in his case, philosophizing in nine cases out of ten means moralizing—he has recourse to parallelism in a marked degree." Jan Lannering, Studies in the Prose Style of Joseph Addison (Upsala, 1951), 26-7, 32, 40. Another study of the Spectator points to the pedagogic value of this style of prose. Addison's "doubling and tripling of phrases mark discriminations among words that will teach its readers how to use moral terms." This practice resulted in "the semantic reinforcement of a moral argument." Michael G. Ketcham, Transparent Designs: Reading, Performance and Form in the Spectator Papers (Athens, Ga., 1985), 146.


91 Lessons such as the following appeared in most grammar books of the period. "Easy Lessons in Words Not Exceeding One Syllable. 1) My Child, if thou art well in thy Health, rise soon from thy Bed each Day, and bless and praise God for his great Love to you, for your good Rest, and for Health and Strength, and his great Care of you, in that he has kept you from Harm in the dark Watch of the Night, and has once more let you see the Light of a new Day. . . . 3) Next wash your Face and Hands, comb your Hair, and brush your Clothes, and make your self both neat and clean. Then break your Fast, and go with Speed to the School. And as you go, if you chance to meet one who is blind or dumb, deaf or lame, see that you do not mock him, nor lead the Blind out of his right Way, for that is a great Crime in the Sight of God, who sees all your Deeds. 4) And if you meet loose and ill Boys by the Way, see that you don't stay to play with them, but go straight to School." Buchanan, Complete English Scholar, 14-15 (30 such commands).

92 Practical New Grammar, x. J. Hamilton Moore (v) put more emphasis on the reading than the grammar: "let him who reads the best be advanced to the head, or have some pecuniary reward; and every inferior one according to his merit: this will create emulation among them and facilitate their improvement much more than threats or corrections."

93 Ibid., 140. From Spectator, no. 33, by Steele, known popularly as "The Art of Assisting Beauty." Exercises in false spelling and syntax were common in grammar books, but could also be contrived by the teacher from "any polite author."


95 See the various articles by Nicholas Phillipson and Lawrence Klein discussed in ch. 1.

96 Spectator, no. 337. See, e.g., [S. Butler], An Essay upon Education . . . By a Gentleman of Bristol (London, 1750?), 69-72. This exercise will be treated further in the chapter on biography.

97 Barclay, Treatise, 178-9, citing the Spectator as an authority.

98 Spectator, no. 147: "This Inability, as I conceive, proceeds from the little Care that is taken of their Reading, while Boys and at School, where when they are got into Latin, they are look'd upon as above English, the Reading of which is wholly neglected, or at least read to very little purpose, without any due Observations made to them of the proper Accent and manner of Reading." In Enfield's Exercises in Elocution, s.v. "Didactic Pieces." Quoted in Sheridan, British Education, 96-100, and by Burgh in the introductory essay to The Art of Speaking. Also on oratory, see Spectator, no. 407 (Addison), in Scott, Lessons and Beauties.

99 George Croft, General Observations Concerning Education (London, 1775), 5. Burgh, Art of Speaking, 10-11: "False, and provincial accents are to be guarded against, or corrected. The manner of pronouncing, which is usual among people of education who are natives of the metropolis, is, in every country, the standard." Another arrow against provincialism can be seen in the subtitle of J. Hamilton Moore's The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor, and English Teacher's Assistant; Being a Collection of Select Pieces from Our Best Modern Writers: Calculated to Eradicate Vulgar Prejudices and Rusticity of Manners; Improve the Understanding; Rectify the Will; Purify the Passions; Direct the Minds of Youth to the Pursuit of Proper Objects; and to Facilitate Their Reading, Writing, and Speaking the English Language, with Elegance and Propriety . . . Divided into Small Portions for the Ease of Reading in Classes, 6th ed. (London, 1791). See also John Ash, Sentimens, 184; Barrow, Essay, 1:253-4. The intention of overcoming provincialism would seem to overcome for the Northern preponderance of the early English anthologies: John Warden, A Collection (Edinburgh, 1737); The Edinburgh Entertainer (Edinburgh, 1750); James Buchanan (a Scot), The Complete English Scholar (London, 1753); Anne Fisher, The Pleasing Instructor (Newcastle, 1756); D. Burgess, The Entertainer, (Berwick, 1759). For the American context, see Franklin, "Idea of the English School," 178-80. Knox addressed the speech of schoolboys: "The best method of teaching the English Grammar is, I think, after having gone through Lowth, to cause to be read, by one of the class, a passage of one of Addison's papers in the Spectator, and then to parse it accurately in the manner in which a Latin or Greek lesson is usually analysed. All violations of grammar, and all vulgarisms, solecisms, and barbarisms, in the conversation of boys, and also in their most familiar letters, must be noticed and corrected." Works, 4:21.
An...certainly regard HORACE pronouncing dictionaries produced during the century, particularly in Scotland. See, e.g., James Buchanan, An Essay Towards Establishing a Standard for an Elegant and Uniform Pronunciation of the English Language...Designed for the Use of Schools. (London, 1761).

As in Knox's advertisement to the seventh edition of his Elegant Extracts in Prose: "and preposterous it certainly was...to be well read in TULLY, and a total stranger to ADDISON; to have HOMER and HORACE by heart, and to know little more than the names of MILTON and POPE."

"As soon as a child can read, without spelling, the words in a common English book, as the SPECTATOR, he ought to be taught the use of stops, and accustomed, from the beginning, to pay the same regard to them, as to the words." James Burgh, The Art of Speaking, 8. The reason for the absence of the Spectator in Burgh's text seems to have been his emphasis on training the passions, for which Addison's cool prose was not particularly conducive.

John Walker, Elements of Elocution. Being the Substance of a Course of Lectures on the Art of Reading: Delivered at Several Colleges in the University of Oxford. In Two Volumes. (London, 1781; reprint, Menston, 1969). The work could have just as well been subtitled "the art of reading the Spectator." In volume I, Walker illustrated his points with the following authors: Spectator (101), Pope (10), Cicero (9), Demosthenes (7), Milton (8), Shakespeare (6), Bible (8), other/prose (31), other/poetry (6). Volume 2 is much the same. In the chapter on "harmonic inflexion," Walker quoted only the Spectator, 13 times.

Schoolmasters were not so forthcoming in explaining why Addison's prose lent itself to public reading. Nonetheless, the attributes for which Blair and other rhetoricians praised Addison (see also Lannering), his balanced sentences and natural word order, were foremost concerns of English grammarians and schoolmasters. The common exercises mentioned above, supplying ellipsis (to restore balance) and resolving sentences (putting words in their natural/conversational word order) seem to have been contrived with an Addisonian model of English in mind. Exercises aimed at avoiding tautology seem even to have been made to avoid one of the excesses of Addison's style. These exercises were usually read aloud. To see that the oral dimension could prevail over the written in "composition," we again look to Walker, who analysed this excerpt from the Spectator: "If the open professors of impiety deserve the utmost application and endeavours of moral writers to recover them from vice and folly, how much more may they lay claim to care and compassion, who are walking in the paths of death, while they fancy themselves engaged in a course of virtue." Walker: "In this sentence, perhaps the words application, folly, and care, rather weaken than add force to the general idea; but a good ear would be loth to part with these words, for fear of diminishing the general sound of the sentence." The Teacher's Assistant in English Composition; or, Easy Rules for Writing Themes and Composing Exercises on Subjects Proper for the Improvement of Youth of Both Sexes at School. To which Are Added, Hints for Correcting and Improving Juvenile Composition. 2d ed. (London, 1802), 227.

See Barclay, Treatise, 98-9.

Chapman, Treatise, 188, 203. In Advantages of a Classical Education, 30-1, Chapman published this "approbation" of the presbytery of Dumfries given after a school visit in 1757: "... And on those occasions the highest class, or form, had explained several of the Greek and Latin classics, and had written exercises, called versions, prescribed by the committees, from Rollin's ancient history, Vertot's Revolutions of Rome, and the Spectator, that they had translated into Latin, viva voce, and in an extemporary manner, several passages from the Roman history or the Spectator, pointed out by the committees, that they had shown, both in their versions and their extemporary translations, a considerable acquaintance with the idioms of the Latin tongue."

Locke, Education, §§170-3. Locke was referring mostly to Latin themes, and suggested that they should be replaced by those written in English. Nonetheless, he criticized strongly the practice of having boys attempt to speak intelligently on sayings such as "Omnia vincit amor." The analogy of the Egyptian tyranny caught on and seems to have been applied to all original composition on the part of students, whether oral or written. Priestley denied the analogy and contended that youth could write on "moral and scientific" subjects in English. Joseph Priestley, The Rudiments of English Grammar; Adapted to the Use of Schools. With Observations on Style. (London, 1761; reprint, Menston, 1969), ix. See also William Milns, The Well-Bred Scholar, 112-3; Barrow, Essay, 1:250-2. On the opposition to composition as the norm in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century schools, see Michael, Teaching, 511-2.


Adapted to Upon Each Story research the facts used in Folly of no. Spectator, no. 54, "On Virtue." Argument: Abbé Batteux, "On the Effects of Polite Literature"; Tillotson, "On Sincerity." Example: Spectator, no. 373, "On Modesty." Simile: Spectator, no. 381; Tillotson, ibid. Conclusion: Dr. Price, "Panegyric on Virtue"; Spectator, no. 381; Rambler, no. 72, "On good Humour"; Rambler, no. 137, "On Literary Courage"; Rambler, no. 134, "On the Folly of a Dilatory Disposition" (all illustrating Johnson's apt similes in conclusions). More than presenting these parts of a discourse as a kind of recipe, Milns showed quite a sensitivity to writing. He explained that students, though beginning to write with a "methodical arrangement," would eventually learn to mix these methods. Moreover, he explained with reference to the principles of human nature why the human mind requires all these rhetorical devices to be convinced of the truth of an argument. On simile, for example, Milns followed the foregoing treatment of example by saying that not everyone would have the time to research the facts used in historical demonstration or might insist that the facts had been distorted, and would still therefore resist the truth of the argument. Simile, however, is drawn from nature, and "the book of Nature is open to every eye."

113 Spectator, no. 409.


115 David Fordyce, Dialogues, 2:140. Compare with John Clarke above.

116 Spectator, no. 16.

117 Dialogues, 2:413.

118 Sheridan, Plan, 95. This editing project was well underway when Sheridan wrote this in 1769.

119 The Moral Miscellany: or, A Collection of Select Pieces, in Prose and Verse, for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth (Leipzig and Zillichau [orig. London], 1764), selections 1, 8, 13, 17.

120 Recall that Dodsley's fables were written in the style of Addison.

121 Spectator, no. 10.

122 Histories, Fables, Allegories and Characters Selected From the Spectator and Guardian, Peculiarly Adapted to Form Young Minds to a Love of Virtue, and an Abhorrence of Vice . . . to Which Are Added Remarks Upon Each Story . . . by Way of Application, and a Dedication to Parents. 8th ed. (London, 1765); Allegories and Visions, for the Entertainment and Instruction of Younger Minds, Selected from the Most Eminent Authors (London, 1769); The Polite Instructor; or Youth's Museum. Consisting of Moral Essays, Tales, Fables, Visions, and Allegories. Selected from the Most Approved Modern Authors. (London, 1761).

123 Histories, Fables, 16. See Spectator, no. 164. This number was an adaptation of the Abelard and Héloïse story which, like many of the papers, enjoyed a wide circulation outside the complete Spectator collections.

124 On the Spectator and the growth of affective individualism in the home see Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex, and Marriage, 174-5, 185. On the theme of virtue in love, see Spectator nos. 11 (Inkle and Yarico), 33 (Laetitia and Daphne), 123 (Eudoxus and Leontine), all included in this collection with similarly interesting remarks supporting this thesis.

125 Adventurer, no. 140. The Adventurer was, of course, co-authored by Johnson. James Beattie considered the Arabian Nights inappropriate for youth since it contained nothing to improve morality. On the other hand he praised the Eastern tales of the Spectator, Rambler, and Adventurer as being "very pleasing, and of a moral tendency." "On Fable and Romance," in Dissertations Moral and Critical, 511.


127 The Oriental tale has been the subject of some debate. See Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1908; reprint, 1966); Arthur J. Weitzman, "The Oriental Tale
in the Eighteenth Century; a Reconsideration," Studies of Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 58 (1967): 1839-1855. Conant sees the tales, especially those of the "moralistic" strain as almost wholly without literary value except as a precursor to Romanticism. Weitzman does more justice to the tales by setting them in their Enlightenment context. Nonetheless, his contention that the tales reveal the breakdown of Christian orthodoxy and the attempt to discover a universal human nature seems less applicable to the English-speaking than to the French Enlightenment. In Addison's "Mirzah," the Eastern mystic is quite clearly being taught the value of Western virtue and industry. Pelagianism to be sure, nonetheless, the idea of rewards in a "future state" for virtue and perseverance in this life was well within eighteenth-century Anglican orthodoxy. For a similar theme see Adventurer no. 38, "No Life Pleasing to God That Is Not Useful to Man," contained in Pleasing Instructor, Polite Instructor, Moral Miscellany; EEPr.

Another popular eastern story with the same theme was Johnson's Rambler, no. 65, "Journey of a Day," in Allegories and Visions; Polite Instructor; Polite Preceptor; Scott, Lessons; EEPr; New Speaker. I shall include the titles of the essays, established when they began to appear in book form and nearly always used in the school editions, in order to suggest their themes more clearly to the reader.

Rambler, no. 38, "The Advantage of Mediocrity, an Eastern Fable."

Adventurer, nos. 20, 21, 22. In Anne Fisher's Pleasing Instructor.

Addison, Tatler, no. 97. Polite Instructor; Entertainer; Polite Preceptor; Monitor; Speaker; Scott, Lessons; Lessons in Reading; A Help to Eloquence and Eloquence; EEPr.

Spectator, no. 215 and Rambler, no. 109, respectively. Guardian, no. 111 often accompanied this pairing as well. Texts containing at least one of these papers included Burgess, Entertainer; Polite Preceptor; Moral Miscellany; Monitor; Masson, Collection; EEPr; New Speaker, William Johnston, A New Introduction to Enfield's Speaker . . . Designed for the Use of Schools (London, 1800). Burgess also included in the Entertainer two of Budgell's papers on education and three Spectator's with letters from either parents or youth on the subject of education, including no. 168, chastising "those licensed Tyrants the School-masters." Other authors began to take over the theme of education towards the end of the century. Beyond these appearances, the frequency of citations from Spectator, no. 215, in order to define or introduce educational ideas suggests that it would have been a favourite in schools. Ferguson referred to it to introduce his Principles of Moral and Political Science (Edinburgh, 1792), 3. And Johnson quoted from it to define the noun "polisher."

The character sketches in the school texts are too numerous to mention. One of the favourite female characters presaged those of Richardson: Spectator, no. 375, "History of Amanda," by Hughes.

Guardian, no. 111. See Rambler, no. 109, on the same theme.

Blair, Lectures, 10.

Guardian, no. 111.

Locke, Education, §70.

Ibid.,§141, followed by more extensive treatment in §§142-6.


Spectator, no. 197, and Guardian, no. 24. The modern editor of the Spectator, D. F. Bond, suggests of the former what Johnson held to be true of all of Budgell's essays, that he was helped considerably by Addison.

Either or both of Spectator, nos. 231 and 373 appeared in the following: Pleasing Instructor, Polite Preceptor, Monitor, Speaker, Orator; EEPr. No. 373 contained an affecting anecdote of a young prince who won over the Roman Senate by his modesty, which may account for its appeal in the rhetorical texts. These selections represent only a small part of the literature aimed against precocious and gregarious youth.

Spectator, no. 373.

Gildon, Grammar, first example sentence.

Locke, Education, §131.

Spectator, no. 352. Along with Locke's requirement of truth in conducting one's business in the world (§§139-40), see the interesting dialogue of Fordyce (XII) in which the character Urbanus puts forth the knavish point of view.

Adventurer, no. 50, by Johnson.

See Spectator, no. 225, "On Discretion," esp. first paragraph on the conversations that must take place in the mind before speaking.

Rambler, no. 72. See also Locke, Education, §143, on civility pleasing more than virtue, and therefore being "what in the first place should with great care be made habitual to Children and Young people."


No other disposition or turn of mind so totally unfits a man for all the social offices of life, as indolence. An idle man is a mere blank in the creation: he seems made for no end, and lives to no purpose. He cannot engage himself in any employment or profession, because he will never have diligence enough to follow it: he can succeed in no undertaking, for he will never pursue it: he must be a bad husband, father, and relation, for he will not take the least pains to preserve his wife, children, and family, from starving: and he must be a worthless friend, for he would not draw his hand from his bosom, though to prevent the destruction of the universe. If he is born poor, he will remain so all his life, which he will probably end in a ditch, or at the gallows: if he embarks in trade, he will be a bankrupt: and if he is a person of fortune, his stewards will acquire immense estates, and he himself perhaps will die in the Fleet." Connoisseur, no. 131. The character of a "blank" was put forth in Spectator, nos. 4 and 10.

Emile, 237. Other significant appeals to a "spectator" can be found in the reading of fables (249) and in the relation of "natural man" to the city (255). Rousseau described briefly his own youthful reading: "Le Spectateur surtout me plut beaucoup, et me fit du bien." Les Confessions, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 1:148.
CHAPTER V
THE ENLIGHTENED HERO: LEARNING VIRTUE THROUGH BIOGRAPHY

The following two chapters address another major branch of the enlightened curriculum of eighteenth-century British schools: the study of history. As conceived under the aegis of Scottish moral philosophy, education was meant to balance the passions of young minds in order to prepare youth for their civic, commercial, and social duties in a modern, liberal polity. Enlightened educators hoped to teach youth, first, to govern their own passions individually and, second, to understand, as future leaders, how to balance the collective passions of men and women in society. This pedagogical function of balancing the individual and collective passions required that history be taught differently than it had been in the past. Since as a morally instructive subject "HISTORY derives its chief Excellence from the representing of Manners and Characters," history at the school level had to concern itself with the moral aspects of individuals and societies, rather than the narratives of sieges and battles and the memorisation of names and dates. Further, since ancient manners were not altogether in accord with modern ideas of commerce, piety, and learning, histories of the present age had to find their place in the curriculum. The ancients could not be abandoned, however, lest the present lose these worthy models of civic virtue and forget that the growth of idleness and luxury leads to the decline and fall of nations. The making of a balanced human character and society, then, required education in the ancient, modern, and Christian virtues.

For the teaching of history to be reformed according to the aims and methods of an enlightened education, the history texts themselves had to be to be rewritten. While the leading historians of the eighteenth century were attempting to change the way the reading public looked at the past, in order to teach citizens how to live in a liberal, polite, commercial polity, schoolmasters and textbook editors were not slow to incorporate these historiographical developments into their pedagogy. The ancient histories of Charles Rollin, which appeared in translation in the 1730s, and the British histories written by Hume, Robertson, and Smollett in the middle of the century quickly made their way into schools either in the form of abridged school editions or via the works of "compilers." The purpose of these next two chapters will be to show the ways by which educators promoted the aims of Enlightenment by employing the new developments in perhaps the age's favourite literary form.
The Uses of History

It might be of some interest to historians to know that eighteenth-century British educators considered history to be perhaps the most useful study for youth. By "youth" educators meant boys from the upper and middling ranks. Locke had recommended history as "one of the most necessary studies for a gentleman," and most all theorists of gentlemanly education followed suit by the middle of the eighteenth century. This encouragement of gentlemen to study history accounts for the growth of the genre "letters from a nobleman to his son," beginning with those of Bolingbroke. At most grammar schools, whose charges were for the most part destined for the liberal professions, students gained a considerable grounding in history. Even those reform-minded schoolmasters who held fast to the classics throughout the eighteenth century promoted the study of history in two ways. First, history became, along with polite letters, a favourite subject written in English to be read "while at school," whether in the late afternoon following several hours of classical instruction or in the pupils' spare time. Secondly, the shift in classical studies put more emphasis on reading prose authors, especially the historians in the earlier years. In addition, perceptive schoolmasters like Knox realised that the classically-educated youth would have to devote some time to "the annals of his own country," so as not to appear ignorant in front of those whose education was more "confined" in other ways. For future merchants, history and one of its "handmaidens," geography, became an essential feature of that confined education. Indeed, the most fervent anti-classicists, chiefly concerned with the middling, commercial ranks, were the most insistent on the inclusion of history in the curriculum, especially modern history. Nevertheless, emulation worked the other way. Merchants who wished to mix in polite company were extremely sensitive to missing a classical reference, a sure sign of their more "mechanical" education. From the periodical and educational literature, one gets the sense that the discussion of history became yet another arena in which the individual proved himself both useful and polite. That theorists and schoolmasters who contended sharply over the issue of classical instruction could agree on the "utility" of history was no small achievement.

Nor was the reading of history exclusively a male enterprise, since history became one of the chief articles in an improved female education. David Hume, the century's leading historian of Britain, began his only formal treatment of the study of history with a jocular invitation to women:

There is nothing which I would recommend more earnestly to my female readers than the study of history, as an occupation, of all others, the best suited both to their sex and education, much more instructive than their ordinary course of amusement, and more entertaining than those serious compositions, which are usually to be found in their closets.

130
Hume's directions for his future female readers were subsequently applied to their daughters by polite educators. These prescriptions were designed to bring women, as friends to their husbands and the earliest preceptors of their children, conversationally closer to men. Just as history became the genre of choice in the decades after 1750 among polite adults, both men and women, so this vogue was passed on to their children as an essential part of their education.

As suggested by Hume, besides being useful, history was also considered highly entertaining. Like fables and polite essays, history's prominence in the curriculum owed much to its perceived capacity to follow the Lockean-Spectatorial dictum of "amusing and instructing": "As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than History." Not surprisingly, historians and educators contrasted the indispensable lessons found in history to the frivolity of novels and other forms of fiction. Nonetheless, they maintained that the characters and events found in history were not only more instructive but just as entertaining as those offered by novels:

To remark the rise, progress, declension, and final extinction of the most flourishing empires: the virtues, which contributed to their greatness, and the vices, which drew on their ruin. In short, to see all human race [sic], from the beginning of time, pass, as it were, in review before us; appearing in their true colours, without any of those disguises, which, during their life-time, so much perplexed the judgment of the beholders. What spectacle can be imagined, so magnificent, so various, so interesting? What amusement, either of the senses or imagination can be compared with it? Shall those trifling pastimes, which engross so much of our time, be preferred as more satisfactory, and more fit to engage our attention? How perverse must that taste be, which is capable of so wrong a choice of pleasures?

Yet if history were to be both instructive and entertaining, it had to be taught in the right way: “par rapport à l'esprit et au cœur,” in the words of Charles Rollin. History had to be taken away from the antiquaries and pedantic schoolmasters. As often as educators and literati lauded the usefulness of history, they criticised its tendency to become trivial in the hands of pedants. Locke, in his private journals, anticipated this distinction between useful and trivial history, which others would take up in the eighteenth century:

I do not deny but history is very useful and very instructive of human life; but if it be studied only for the reputation of being an historian, it is a very empty thing, and he that can tell all the particularities of Herodotus and Plutarch, Curtius and Livy, without making other use of them may be an ignorant man with a good memory.

Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Goldsmith and other polite and part-time historians made this same distinction. To make small mistakes in chronology or to confuse one Darius with another was better than spending half one’s life “to collect all the learned lumber that fills the
head of an antiquary." 17 Even Rollin, whose histories of the ancients ran into dozens of volumes, began his works by admitting that "it little concerns us to know that there were once such men as Alexander, Caesar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period." 18 Instead, history must have "consequence in the conduct of life." 19 As one historical methodologist put it, history should teach young boys to "become men, not parrots." 20

When enlightened educators spoke of the use of history they meant primarily its moral utility, its capacity to convey moral lessons to individuals from the very early stages of childhood and throughout their youth, and to act as a sort of moral compass for the rest of their lives. Since moral philosophers sought to enlist the "moral principles" of the child's nature very early, they encouraged parents to introduce children to "Fragments of History selected with Discretion" even before going to school. 21 While at school, the study of history and biography served as perhaps the leading means by which "moral reflections may be instilled into children." 22 It must be fashioned, too, to meet the pedagogical requirements of preparing youth for the later stages of their education, an education which harnessed the intellect for moral purposes. In eighteenth-century Scottish universities and in the Dissenting Academies in England, the curriculum was centred upon moral philosophy. Moral philosophers looking at the schools and schoolmasters looking towards the universities both designed the study of history to prepare youth for more abstract moral inquiry:

It is only by inculcating [truths] early upon youth, that virtue can be taught or fully recommended and endearèd to them. . . . But in order to carry on moral philosophy to its due perfection . . . instead of stated lectures upon the faculties and affections of the human mind, and the virtues belonging to them, a better method is to read daily with them in some piece of history. 23

In this manner, history is the best introduction to moral philosophy. It gives us examples of every vice and virtue, and the strongest instances, from life, of the effect which indulging either one or other to a certain degree had upon society. 24

History, therefore, constituted a large portion of the assumed knowledge, or what Bourdieu calls "cultural capital," which youth should have attained before entering the university or even mixing in polite society. All of the lectures in moral philosophy from the period, whether from Hutcheson, Smith, Stewart, or even the writings of Hume, were replete with unexplained historical references to the characters and deeds of Marlborough, Catiline, Caesar, Alexander, and others. 25 Yet history was not taught regularly at even the most enlightened universities. 26 As a result, students had to acquire their knowledge of history before entering the university or on their own. More important, in using historical references to illustrate a certain virtue or vice, moral philosophers not only assumed a knowledge of such a character or event, but assumed that these references carried certain moral
connotations. In the eighteenth century, Cicero stood for a moral principle or principles, as Catiline stood for the opposite. Our task is to explore how youth acquired a moral vocabulary and moral sentiments through the study of historical actors and events.

As suggested by history's close affinity to moral philosophy, the Lockean aim of education that the study of history particularly satisfied was that of virtue. Virtue could mean many things in the eighteenth century and often the word was just asserted without formal clarification. But under the influence of moral philosophy and polite journalism, virtue usually meant the successful balancing of the "passions" of the human mind. The emphasis on the passions had important consequences for the shape history took in the curriculum. First, since the passions were the springs of human action, history must concern them even more than facts and dates. To understand truly the characters and events in history meant to know the passions, affections, and sentiments that had provoked men and societies into action. Second, youth must develop "judgment" by seeing the consequences of those passions that had led men and nations into laudable or blameworthy actions. This historical judgment would be the same faculty that would allow them to distinguish between virtue and vice, in themselves and others, in the world. Third, youth must study the passions in history before their own passions were engaged, lest they rush headlong into imprudent or dangerous actions. This inquiry into the rightly or wrongly directed passions of men in history would enable youth, through the principle of "emulation," to direct their own passions. History provided youth what they did not have otherwise: the experience of others whose passions had either ruined them or secured their happiness and virtue.27 Studied in this way, history became, as Bolingbroke put it, "philosophy teaching by examples."28 The exemplary quality of history was thought to have more effect on youth than appeals to reason: "example appeals not to our understanding alone, but to our passions likewise. Example assuages these, or animates them; sets passion on the side of judgment, and makes the whole man of a piece."29 Finally, study of the collective passions of ages and nations would demonstrate how societies were either improved or ruined, a question which had particular relevance to the future leaders of eighteenth-century Britain.

This enterprise involved considerable danger, however. For what if youth chose to emulate successful, vicious actions in history? Educators from Locke onwards expressed this concern. Locke held that children by nature are not cruel, but since "all the Entertainment and talk of History is of nothing almost but Fighting and Killing: And the Honour and Renown, that is bestowed on Conquerours (who for the most part are but the great Butchers of Mankind) farther mislead growing Youth," young people come to consider "Slaughter the laudable Business of Mankind, and the most Heroick of Vertues."30 Despite this danger, which might seem quaint to us, neither Locke nor any other educator suggested abandoning the study of history nor even censoring vicious actions from the curriculum. Instead,
schoolmasters were advised to exercise considerable circumspection in the way they taught history to young people:

What requires the greatest caution of teachers, when they read history with young pupils, is to take care lest the splendor of the external pomp and magnificence of very wicked men, or the renown with which very inhuman achievements have been most unjustly honoured, should dazzle and mislead them into a false notion of glory. Let care therefore be taken, in the earliest part of their education, to inure them first to enquire into the justice and equity of actions, and to raise their aversion against all cruelty, all violence, all ungenerousness, from a full conviction of the essential difference betwixt right and wrong.  

The combination of the importance of the passions and the danger of emulating wicked men in history confronted moral educators with potentially the most dangerous human passion, ambition in the pursuit of fame. Eighteenth-century thinkers inherited two different attitudes towards fame. On the one hand, as neo-classicists, they followed in the steps of Renaissance historians and philosophers who had rekindled the fire of glory that had motivated the ancient heroes. Machiavelli and Bacon had given considerable thought to the question of who should be given the first place among the great men in history, a question with which their eighteenth-century readers were impressed. On the other hand, moral thought had taken a considerable turn in the seventeenth century when Christian thinkers had renewed the attack on pride and sought the "demolition of the hero." Although some Christian moralists admitted the utility of fame as a driving force in individuals and societies, they could not comfortably appeal to a motive that presented a greater threat to the individual's salvation than failing to pursue some other good. The changes in motivation needed for a more dynamic society of international trade and warfare in the eighteenth century, however, required that the passions of the society be rehabilitated and controlled through a kind of balance, what Albert Hirschman has called the theory of the countervailing passion. Similarly, moral philosophers perceived the relative weakness of reason vis-à-vis the passions in all but a very few individuals.

The eighteenth-century ambivalence to ambition and fame can perhaps best be seen in Addison's Spectator papers on this theme, which occasionally appeared in school textbooks. Introducing the subject, Addison admitted that "the Soul, considered abstractedly from its Passions, is of a remiss and sedentary Nature, Slow in its Resolves, and languishing in its Executions." Therefore, Providence placed the passions in individuals, particularly the passion of ambition, in order to put the soul "upon Action, to awaken the Understanding, to enforce the Will, and to make the whole Man more vigorous and attentive in the Prosecution of his Designs." The social uses of the passions were even more considerable:
It was necessary for the World, that Arts should be invented and improved, Books written and transmitted to Posterity, Nations conquered and civilized: Now since the proper and genuine Motives to these and the like great Actions, would only influence vertuous Minds; there would be but small Improvements in the World, were there not some common Principle of Action working equally with all Men. And such a Principle is Ambition or a desire of Fame.37

Throughout the remainder of the two essays on this theme, however, Addison showed that this social utility did not usually result in private happiness. The only form of ambition that led to happiness was that of seeking to please "the great Judge of Mankind" who sees not only "what we do, but what we would do."38 Addison even seems to have contradicted himself, or pointed to a contradiction in the creation, by suggesting that Providence placed the ambitious passions in us while fame remains a "Good so wholly foreign to our Natures, that we have no Faculty in the Soul adapted to it."39 Subsequent moral philosophers inherited this ambiguity from Addison. To be sure, ambition was seen to have considerable uses for both individual and social improvement. In Scottish moral philosophy attention to others’ opinions, when not carried too far, was considered to be the sign of a sociable creature who wished to share sentiments and perform laudable actions on behalf of others. Nonetheless, the provisional nature of esteem, owing to the fickle and often wrong opinions of "the crowd," as well as the danger of elevating any one passion too far over the others, particularly one that elicited pride, required that fame remain a means to virtue and not an end in itself. It was, according to Fordyce, "a scaffolding to our virtue, which may be taken down when that glorious structure is finished."40

Enlightened educators could not avoid the problem that fame presented to eighteenth-century moral culture. In the first place, men normally thought to warrant the recollection of posterity, particularly in ancient times, had wanted above all else to be the first in their society, a desire which had often led to the ruin of themselves and their countries. Even two great heroes such as Aristides and Themistocles had maintained a bitter rivalry for the first position in Athens until war brought them together. The same could be said of whole societies that had gone to war only to gain glory. To study ambitious men and societies would have legitimated those follies. To a considerable extent, certainly, educators hoped to use the examples of ancient conquerors to show the futility of overreaching ambition, as suggested by the purple rhetoric of Chapman:

[In history] we observe not only the fate of individuals, but also the various revolutions of empire, and behold the conquerors and the conquered swallowed up, at length, in undistinguished ruin. If we look back but a few years, they who acted on the theatre of human life are now no more. What is become, it may be asked, of their deep-laid schemes, their ambitious projects, their anxious cares, their adored riches, their dazzling honours, their alluring pleasures? Of what consequence to them now are all those objects which so much engrossed their wishes, or exercised their passions? If we look forward
but one century into futurity, where are we ourselves? Gone, for ever
gone, and the places of our abode know us again no more.41

Yet to treat the past as one long catalogue of vice and ruin would have been even a more futile
enterprise. Rather, instances of individual and social virtue from both ancient and modern
history had to be contrasted to the great egos and calamities in history in order to show the
right ordering of the passions in individuals and societies. While educators preserved some
of the heroic virtues of the ancients in the curriculum, which offered certain corrective
lessons to modern culture, they sought to redefine the hero as one who excelled in peaceful
virtues, industry, learning, politeness, and rational piety. Moreover, they contrasted modern
mores with those of ancient civilisation and the more recent past to explain the foundations of
modern liberty and political stability. Thus, to resolve the problem that the passion of
ambition posed to moral education, the study of history necessarily became the redistribution
of fame according to enlightened premises. While educators invoked the ancient example of
making virtue the heart of the curriculum, they quite consciously changed the meaning of
virtue, and hence the way to happiness.

Charles Rollin: an Enlightened Reading of the Ancient Heroes

BIOGRAPHY, a species of history which records the lives and
characters of remarkable persons. This is at once the most entertaining
and instructive kind of history. It admits of all the painting and passion
of romance; but with this capital difference, that our passions are more
keenly interested, because the characters and incidents are not only
agreeable to nature, but strictly true. It is much to be regretted that this
kind of history is so much neglected. No books are so proper to be put
into the hands of young people.42

Notwithstanding the encyclopaedists’ regret, for the youngest students the study of history
was largely biographical. Educators believed quite sensibly that a child’s mind could more
easily comprehend the transactions of a single life better than those of whole nations. More
to the point, the lives of individuals offered more apt material from which to draw moral
lessons. It should not be thought, however, that biography was intended only for the moral
education of younger readers in the eighteenth century. In a Rambler essay not concerned
specifically with youth, Johnson preferred the reading of biography to history since “the
general and rapid narratives of history which involve a thousand features in the business of a
day... afford few lessons applicable to private life.”43 Biography, on the other hand, more
strongly moves the passions since “by an act of imagination” readers “can more readily
adopt” the pains and pleasures of particular persons. Consequently, biography should be
written so as to reveal not only the public “performances” which produce “vulgar greatness”
but more importantly “the minute details of daily life where... men excel each other only by
prudence and virtue." Following Johnson, biographers of the age increasingly distinguished their field from that of the historians, as offering the personal details of characters that history overlooked, yet which ordinary people could better emulate, and therefore as being the most morally useful branch of polite letters. Much of what follows concerning the instruction of youth, therefore, had strong reverberations in adult reading.

To enter into the spirit of biographical lessons we must realise how the lives of "worthies" were taught. As with so many aspects of education, eighteenth-century schoolmasters took their lead from the Spectator. Budgell in one of his papers on education suggested how youth in schools might not only be punished for vice but be taught at the same time "to form a right Judgment of Things, and to know what is properly Virtue." Reading and discussing the lives of great men furnished the occasion for such instruction:

Whenever they read the Lives and Actions of such Men as have been famous in their Generation, it should not be thought enough to make them barely understand so many Greek or Latin Sentences, but they should be asked their Opinion of such an Action or Saying, and obliged to give their Reasons why they take it to be good or bad. By this means they would insensibly arrive at proper Notions of Courage, Temperance, Honour and Justice.

Advocating this method, the schoolmaster James Barclay held that it would not only season the judgment and encourage a "noble imitation" of heroic virtues, but give youth a "manly assurance" in public speaking. Boys should be encouraged to have different opinions on the characters in history and to compare one with another in order "to observe who can best defend his favourite hero." As much as biographies delineated the beauty of virtue, they also exposed the ugliness of vice. An ingenious gentleman of Goldsmith's acquaintance, when asked what was the best lesson for youth, answered, "The life of a good man." When asked what was the next best, he replied, "The life of a bad one." Barclay testified that such an inquiry into bad characters discouraged in children the "rising passions" of "anger, malice, pride, and envy": "From a near resemblance of circumstances, I have observed the conscious blush when the master was exposing crimes of which they were guilty themselves. Such a conviction is of more service than twenty direct admonitions." Nonetheless, biographers and schoolmasters, following Johnson's lead, conceded that no one was either completely virtuous or vicious. This mixture of virtue and vice in human nature actually worked to the advantage of schoolmasters' purposes. Unlike their Victorian successors, enlightened biographers were not eager to suppress the worst vices of celebrated personages, even in schools. Indeed, the proper study of "characters" in history presupposed the need for youth to be able to recognise all the hidden vices that existed in living individuals. Attaining a correct judgment against many of the false estimations to be found in the historical
record, the collective applause of mankind, served as practice for avoiding the false estimation of the contemporary “crowd.” As Chapman put it, “biography undeceives us.”

The texts best suited to this Spectatorial exercise were Rollin’s *Ancient* and *Roman Histories*, and occasionally selections from his *Belles Lettres*. Indeed, Rollin wrote his voluminous histories to serve these classroom purposes. Essentially a compilation from Xenophon, Plutarch, and other classical sources, these histories were in large part connected biographies punctuated with warnings against pagan excesses and superstition. Rollin hoped through his histories to show youth “wherein solid glory and real greatness consists.” Yet Rollin did not speak only to children through his historical works. The conflation of adult and adolescent reading allowed education reformers to criticise society for its neglect or deliberate corruption of youth. Classical biography in particular afforded the opportunity to contrast ancient simplicity and virtue with modern luxury and corruption.

The best example of a text coaching youth through the life of a hero while simultaneously reminding adults of their duties as parents is Rollin’s treatment of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* in the *Ancient History*. As the history of an education and an empire it afforded the perfect opportunity to forward the enlightened educator’s theory of pedahistorical causality. The *Cyropaedia*, along with Plutarch’s lives of Lycurgus, Solon, and AEmilius Paulus, served as a reminder to careless or overly materialistic moderns that ancient glory and virtue was based upon a careful training of youth. Moreover, schoolmasters, who were always having to defend their interests in the private-public education debate, cited ancient examples to assert the advantages of schools as well as to argue for higher salaries and, to a large extent, esteem:

> The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers, whose blind affection and fondness often rendered them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves.

The Persian education as reported by Xenophon likewise corresponded to a Lockean pedagogy which held that good early impressions on children preserved them from vice and ruin in later life. To this end the Persians, “convinced that it is much better to prevent faults than to punish them,” placed more emphasis on the education of youth than the punitive aspects of the law. Moreover, the nature of that education could be cited as an historical validation of Lockean reform owing to its implicit criticism of ornamental knowledge: “here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences.” Education reformers did not confine this lesson to the instruction of parents. Youth themselves learned that the fortunes of mankind vary in proportion to the care or
neglect of education. The histories of the rise and fall of nations proved this fact, as we shall see, but the more striking proof was usually the biography.57

One distinct advantage of the Cyropædia was the amount of attention it gave to the young Cyrus. As we have seen in other parts of the curriculum, educators hoped youth would develop a view of their own situation and particular passions. In fiction, it was relatively easy to write stories and allegories that corresponded to the child's youth. In history, however, "a cloud frequently hangs over the early years of celebrated characters."58 Xenophon had supplied this defect by dwelling on the early years of Cyrus and the nature of his education.59 Scenes from the early life of Cyrus entertained young readers, so it was thought, with a character with whom they could identify and through whom schoolmasters could give indirect advice.60 The favourite lesson on temperance, for example, was taken from the childhood of Cyrus. When Cyrus had gone to live with his maternal grandfather, king of the Medes, he charmed his way into becoming the royal cupbearer. Performing the task with grace, he was nonetheless asked why he had forgotten to taste the wine:

"No," replied Cyrus, "it is not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony."--"Why, then," says Astyages. . . . "Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor."--"Poison, child! How could you think so?" "Yes; poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after all the guests had drunk a little of that liquor I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what; you yourself seemed to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs."--"Why," says Astyages, "have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?"--"No," says Cyrus. "How is it with him when he drinks?"--"Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that's all."61

Xenophon's lesson to fifth-century Athens apparently remained relevant for the eighteenth century. Rollin appropriated Xenophon's text to show that true greatness grew out of simplicity and temperance rather than pomp and noise. The British schoolmasters who followed him intended to use the ancient heroes, such as Cyrus, Cincinnatus, and the Spartans, "to heal or preserve" youth "from the contagion of the present age."62

Other aspects of Cyrus's early years corresponded to eighteenth-century ideas of childhood and adolescence. Children, besides justice, virtue, and temperance should above all learn gratitude.63 An ingrate is more likely to forget his duties to "the gods, his parents, his fatherland and his friends." Further, the Persians' provisions for the class of "youths," from the age of sixteen until about twenty-six, likewise paralleled the eighteenth-century's increasing awareness that adolescence was the critical season in the life of a young man. This class was "more narrowly watched" since "that age requires the strictest inspection, and
has the greatest need of restraint.”

In order to learn self-restraint, the youths by day took orders from their elders and by night kept watch over the public buildings. Cyrus’s relations with his hunting comrades, too, exemplified the ideal spirit of “emulation” among schoolfellows, which schoolmasters hoped to use as an incentive for diligence. Spurred on in all his efforts by his burning ambition, Cyrus nonetheless would eagerly “applaud another without the slightest touch of jealousy.” Thus a natural rivalry did not deteriorate into narrow envy. Various instances in the life of Cyrus illustrated filial affection and a respect for elders. In one famous passage an attentive Cyrus on the eve of his first campaign against the Babylonians learned from his father the essentials of military command. Cyrus’s father commanded him always to consult the gods in every action. Rollin stressed that piety, even among pagans, was a principle of human nature in order to shame moderns into reverence: “what a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious as a pagan prince.”

Cyrus’s father gave him further advice on the military art, asserting that his greatest care should be given not so much to tactics but the things usually overlooked by a commander: provisions, economy, the health of the soldiers, and frequent exercises. Above all his men should believe that he knows what is more to their advantage than they do themselves:

> “This is the principle, from whence that blind submission proceeds which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship’s company to the pilot. Their obedience is founded only upon their persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and better informed in their respective callings than themselves.”
> “--But what shall a man do,” says Cyrus to his father, “to appear more skilful and expert than others?”--”He must really be so,” replied Cambyses; “and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprise.”

This was the idea of command which eighteenth-century educators hoped the future leaders of the society would carry into their “distinct Callings.”

These good habits having been formed in youth, Cyrus, through the force of his virtuous character and his expertise in the military art, gained an empire. Unlike other famous historical personages, who pillaged and drove their enemies by fear, which often only strengthened their resolve, who threatened the liberties of others, and who violated women, Cyrus was the gentle conqueror. He preferred to make allies of enemies by his clemency. He did not sink into luxury after a victory for the want of knowing how to employ his time. He was able to restrain his passions when a beautiful princess was captured. Being assured of his greatness, he had no need to remain aloof from his subjects, but was always “affable and easy of access.” He was liberal with his riches. He understood the value of internal improvements, having been the first ruler to establish a postal system. Most important,
Cyrus had been chosen by Providence for the design of freeing the Jews from their Babylonian captivity. As a result, Cyrus was considered "the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in profane history." A further empirical proof of the efficacy of the *Cyropedia* in teaching virtue and the military art could be seen in the life of Scipio Africanus, who carried it with him on all his campaigns.

In much the same vein Rollin delivered the other biographies of the noble and just heroes of ancient history to his modern audience. Two other favourites were Aristides and Scipio Africanus, who, like Cyrus, illustrated that education was the source of virtue and happiness. Classical heroes were praised for their magnanimity, justice, courage, self-restraint, learning, liberality, and contempt of wealth. Anecdotes illustrating these character traits peppered school textbooks. Despite these "beauties" displayed by ancient heroes, eighteenth-century educators warned against becoming intoxicated with the great exploits of the classical world. Though possessed of humanity, Cyrus and Africanus were still conquerors. They were motivated by a love of glory. Their piety, though pronounced, was pagan. The celebrated educational systems of the ancient world, the Persian and Spartan in particular, were schools of warfare. This simultaneous attraction to the ancients' greatness and repulsion from their ambition and cruelties explains the trouble Rollin took to distinguish between true and false greatness. Yet even when qualified by Rollin's running commentary, portraits of unrestrained ambition threatened to corrupt youth's judgment. Lest youth become enamoured with ancient vices as much as ancient virtues, models of more enlightened virtues had to be taught.

One important strategy which retained the age's classicism was to concentrate on heroes who represented the cultural and civic rather than the militaristic aspects of ancient civilisation. Two figures loomed large in this respect, one Greek the other Roman, namely, Socrates and Cicero. Socrates was, of course, the great hero of virtuous education. Further, his bravery in opposing the thirty tyrants at Athens, his contempt of wealth, his patient suffering under his wife Xantippe, his trial and philosophic death, and particularly his piety, were far from neglected. Yet the age proved even more Ciceronean than Socratic. Indeed, the pedagogical utility of the "beloved Tully" seems to have prompted Conyers Middleton to write his *Life of Cicero*, which became a standard work in schools as well as one of the most popular biographies read by adults. Through Cicero, Middleton hoped to correct the prejudice formed in childhood by which "among the celebrated names of antiquity, those of the great conquerors and generals attract our attention always the most . . . while the pacific and civil character, though of all others the most beneficial to mankind, whose sole ambition is, to support the laws, the rights and liberty of his citizens, is looked upon as humble and contemptible on the comparison." To exercise the more generous principles of human nature, the love of virtue, of liberty, of our country and all mankind,
youth should admire and imitate the life and writings of Cicero. Cicero’s life offered the paradigm for classical heroism in the eighteenth century. He pursued learning in his youth with great assiduity. He sought eloquence and virtue equally since only the good man can be the perfect orator. He chose to become a lawyer rather than a conqueror. He defended his country against tyranny. He alternated throughout his life between the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. His great contribution to moral philosophy was written for the purpose of educating his son. He understood the importance of commerce. Even the fact that Cicero was a “new man” seems to have appealed to the eighteenth century’s growing preference for merit and industry over birth and idle leisure. No doubt Cicero played a leading rôle in the eighteenth-century school curriculum, as orator, as letter-writer, as philosopher, and as hero.77

Yet even Tully suffered from pagan manners. For as Mandeville reminded the century, Cicero had more than one “sole ambition,” since “had his Vanity been inferior to his greatest Excellency, the good Sense and Knowledge of the World he was so eminently possess’d of could never have let him be such a fulous as well as noisy Trumpeter as he was of his own Praises.”78 As a restorative from pagan pride, the century found one unambiguous ancient model for youth, the humble Joseph of the Old Testament.79 As we shall see later, the study of ancient history was divided into “sacred and profane.” Biblical heroes, however, especially those taken from the Old Testament, posed difficulties to an enlightened readership. Like the Greeks and Romans, they had largely been military conquerors. Youth could have found a model of faithful bravery in the young David, for example.80 But just as educators preferred the lessons of prudence found in fables to the rash bravado of fairy tale characters, so they chose a suffering hero from the biblical narrative. There is much to be learned, then, from the age’s exaltation of the Josephian virtues.81 Joseph was young when his brothers stripped and threw him into the pit, which made his story favourable to the teaching of youth. His repeated sufferings introduced youth to the hardships of this world which, as we have seen, was a predominant theme in all parts of the curriculum. Nonetheless, through faith, perseverance, and industry, whether in jail or in servitude, he not only gained a place for himself, but through his foresight single-handedly saved Egypt from ruin during the years of famine. Even in the prime of youth when he had the opportunity to indulge his sensual passions, he ran from the embraces of his master’s wife. When he later encountered his brothers, he held no grudge but shared from the bounty he had husbanded for Egypt (an important lesson in sharing to contribute to the peace of families!). He was ever humble and strict in observing his duties. And what is more, Joseph attributed his talents, particularly his ability to divine dreams, to God. Beyond these admirable character traits of Joseph, teachers could with him raise questions of Providence in history more directly than in Greek and Roman histories, even the *Cyropædia*:  

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Qu. What must we think of God's behavior towards Joseph, whose virtue drew upon him such ill treatment? Ans. His [God's] first design is to undeceive mankind in the false notions they entertain of providence and virtue. They are apt to think that God neglects the care of human affairs, when those that fear him are oppressed and in misery. They think that virtue should always render such as are sincerely possessed of it happy in this life. The Scripture overthrows these mistaken prejudices by the example of Joseph. . .

Qu. Why did God leave Joseph in prison so many years, without seeming to be mindful of him? Ans. This term, which seems long indeed to a prisoner, was necessary to confirm Joseph in humility, submission to the will of God, and patience. . .

Whereas when teaching ancient lives Rollin had "amidst all these profane objects" to turn "his eyes now and then towards that great divine one," the story of Joseph led quite naturally to the analogy with Christ. The reading of the life of Joseph as a model of piety and suffering as well as of industry and continence enabled Christian schoolmasters to keep religion "tho' it be not constantly in our mouths...always on our minds, and never out of sight." A marginalised Charles Rollin might allow historians to define Enlightenment as "a dialectical struggle in which the philosophes first pitted classical thought against their Christian heritage that they might discard the burdens of religion, and then escaped their beloved ancients by appealing to the science and nature of man," and to conclude that "this pursuit of modernity was the essential purpose of their education." Yet Rollin at the heart of the school curriculum and adult reading suggests an altogether different picture. It was rather the enlightened moralists' discomfort with the "superstition" of the ancients and their unbounded love of glory, as well as their constant warfare, neglect of commerce, and barbarous manners which compelled them to find modern heroes in church, state, and culture.

The Making of the Enlightened British Hero

But the characters of those who acted on a distant theatre, and have long since retired from the scene, are much less calculated to make an impression than such as have risen nearer our own times, and are connected with us by the ties of country, religion, and manners.

Heroes are harder to find, or to make, than one might imagine. The canonisation of modern, British heroes in the curriculum was not completed, despite some earlier efforts, until late in the century with the publication of two British biographical collections for the use of schools. Scattered references indicate that British biography was being taught prior to that date, but that schoolmasters desired better textbooks. The leading cause of delay seems to have been the fact that schoolmasters were waiting on a British equivalent of...
Plutarch's Lives to be written for an adult readership. The two notable productions that emerged from the effort to display, in the hope that readers might emulate, the virtues of British heroes were the Biographia Britannica and British Biography. Such massive collections became sources for smaller school editions. Recreation for Youth, published in 1787 and largely extracted from the Biographical Dictionary, contained hundreds of biographies. In the view of moral educators, however, it suffered from being too encyclopaedic in form. By including everyone, the collection did not provide detailed moral lessons from the careers and characters of historical personages. The full entry on the life of one of our own heroes should indicate its deficiencies:

Fordyce, David, A learned and elegant writer, died in 1755.—He was Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal College, Aberdeen. How well he was qualified to fill this important station, may be estimated by his "Dialogues concerning Education," and his "Treatise of Moral Philosophy," published in "The Preceptor." He was originally designed for the church; to which he was early prompted both by genius and disposition. He wrote "Theodorus; a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching." When he had finished this work, to lay in fresh stores of knowledge, he made a successful tour through the principal parts of Europe. Returning home, he was unfortunately cast away in a storm on the coast of Holland. This elegant little tract was published after his decease by his brother, the Reverend James Fordyce.

Many of the elements of enlightened heroism are contained in this compressed account. Unfortunately for Fordyce, as for many of the Scots, he would lose his position in the gallery of the illustrious as the selections became longer and the number of worthies fewer.

The frustrated diplomat Thomas Mortimer brought forth a work intended for "persons of every rank, and of all ages" and gave it the appropriate title of The British Plutarch. This popular collection might have been more accessible to students, or at least have offered a better guide to schoolmasters preparing lectures in British biography. Certainly Mortimer intended it at least in part for the use of youth. Most of the editions featured an allegorical frontispiece in which VALOUR, WISDOM, and PIETY conducted a British Youth to the Temple of Fame. The British Plutarch was arranged chronologically rather than alphabetically since "youth should be careful to fix the dates upon their memories, while they are treasuring up historical knowledge." Moreover, at eighteen shillings for twelve duodecimo volumes, it was both less expensive and less cumbersome than the massive Biographia Britannica or even British Biography. Twelve or even six volumes were still too many. But we should remember that the original Plutarch, universally recommended as a school text, was often as large, though schoolmasters seemed loth to abridge it. Nonetheless, Mortimer did offer another collection exclusively for the use of youth which met with critical and perhaps commercial success. From these attempts we might surmise how exemplary British biography, as distinguished from the lives of kings and the public
actions of political actors, was being taught in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. It must be remembered, too, that anecdotes taken from the lives of literary men and philosophers and from the private lives of political personages began to emerge at the end of chapters in the histories of England and under the headings of specific virtues in the Beauties texts. Taken together, these various clues will allow us to paint the portrait of the enlightened hero.

Commencing in the great age of British biography, under the auspices of Johnson's Lives of the Poets and Boswell's Life of Johnson, as well as the pedagogy we have been following, school biographers unsurprisingly appropriated enlightened models of human life for youth to emulate. Yet choosing enlightened heroes was a precarious enterprise. The difficulty owed to the age's adherence to both classical and modern ideas of virtue by which few in the British past had lived. In fact, the exclusion of certain great men and women reveals as much about the age as those heroes who finally made it into the curriculum. Kings made deplorable models. Although biographers ostensibly omitted royalty lest they encroach on the "prerogative" of the historians, the ready appropriation of Alfred and certain aspects of the lives of other monarchs suggests that this excuse must be taken with a grain of salt. Save one, the medieval kings were entirely excluded. Even Henry V's glory was more safely preserved in the speeches of Shakespeare than in a careful scrutiny of his own actions on the battlefield since "all the heroism of that age is tinctured with barbarity." Henry VIII was a brute. Elizabeth was an exceptional queen and a remarkable "character." But young boys could hardly emulate a woman. Nor could young girls, as future wives and mothers, emulate an unmarried queen. The Stuarts were the most unbalanced of characters. James I's learning was pedantic. Charles II's conviviality was frivolous. And since popery or suspected popery could never serve as a model of piety, exeunt Mary Tudor, Mary Queen of Scots, Charles I, and James II.

Like their kings, medieval men of letters and divines were summarily dismissed from the biographical textbooks since

the lights to be drawn from remoter ages, especially with regard to such individuals as flourished in those periods, are extremely weak and imperfect; but if they were not so, what examples do the time of ignorance, barbarity, and superstition afford, worthy of being held up to posterity? perhaps here and there one; but so defaced by the rust of antiquity, or so slightly sketched, thro' the incapacity or unattentiveness of contemporaries, as to shew few traces, from whence a regular draught can be formed.

Consequently, the biographers began their collections with the rebirth of learning and the onset of the Reformation. Yet even Protestant religious figures presented problems. Reformation leaders, though they had freed the realm from "popish superstition," had taken
religion to the other extreme of "fanaticism." The eighteenth-century’s appraisal of this type of hero, and on Providence working through him, might best be seen in Robertson’s characterisation of the Scottish reformer John Knox:

Knox was the prime instrument of spreading and establishing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted too with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence, which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims however were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. . . . These very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people.

Reformation leaders, then, had to be selected with great care.

Nor in David Hume’s view could even the most accomplished seventeenth-century men of arms and state compare to the ancients when judged by the criteria of eloquence and the employment of their leisure:

Some persons, partial to the patriots of this age, have ventured to put them in a balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity; and mentioned the names of Pym, Hambden, Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprize; in these particulars, perhaps the Roman do not much surpass the English worthies: But what a difference, when the discourse, conduct, conversation, and private as well as public behaviour, of both are inspected! . . . The leisure of those noble ancients was totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy; in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society: The whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.

Furthermore, in a Humean reading, these patriots had sullied the struggle for liberty with political extremism and religious fanaticism. Eighteenth-century historians of Britain exercised their moral suasion by showing that most of what they wrote about in the past, wars and party rage and religious turmoil, was clearly unenlightened. This state of affairs made the moral biographers’ task far more difficult. Prior to 1688 there were many bad examples for youth not to follow, but few good ones to emulate.

An aversion to extremism in religion, party faction, and a spirit of conquest, then, narrowed the list of potential heroes. Yet religion, politics, and warfare could not be figured out of the eighteenth-century’s idea of virtue, since young boys were being educated to take their positions of leadership in church and state. Somehow these often anti-social human experiences, in view of the last twelve centuries of British history, had to be balanced with politeness and learning. Amid the darkness of the British past, one figure stood out as the perfect human character: Alfred, “deservedly” called the Great. Alfred’s numerous and
diverse accomplishments highlighted the countless opportunities youth might encounter in a life of active virtue: his assiduous study, his indefatigable defence of the realm, his conversion of the Danes to Christianity, his promotion of navigation, his encouragement of literature, his establishment of justice and security in property, his provisions for education, his fostering of religion and morals. The character portrait of Alfred, taken straight from the pages of Hume's History, offered youth a model of the Lockean aims of virtue, piety, industry, politeness, and learning, so balanced that none of these qualities deteriorated into their extremes:

Contrasted with the brightest ornaments of either ancient or modern times, the character of Alfred will appear to advantage. Whether regarded as a citizen, a king, a legislator, or a hero, he presents the finest model for imitation that even the power of fancy could delineate. In him the virtues were so well tempered, and so justly blended, that none exceeded its proper limits. He possessed the most enterprising spirit, with the coolest prudence; the most steady perseverance, with the mildest flexibility; the most rigid justice, with the gentlest mercy. He knew how to reconcile the vigour of authority with the arts that conciliate love: and to give the sovereign command the air of a friendly recommendation. With the highest capacity, and the most ardent inclination for science, he united the most shining talents for active life. His civil and military qualifications equally claim our admiration, and keep our judgment in suspense which ought the most to be the object of our applause.

Alfred translated the perfect balance of his character into the perfect organisation of his day, which he divided into thirds: one third employed in sleep and the maintenance of his health, one third given to the “dispatch of business,” and the final third used for study and devotion. As a result of this rationalisation of his day, Alfred, though he fought fifty-six battles, was able “to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blest with the greatest leisure and application.”

Biography allowed schoolmasters to show in detail how the virtuous man ought to lead his life, day by day.

Alfred gave British students in the eighteenth century a model of virtue superior to that of the classical heroes. No single individual of the more recent past could equal Alfred in every respect. Modern men were specialists. Yet the biographies which emerged, taken collectively, upheld what might be called the Alfredian ideal. Youth were shown how men “perfected” their individual “genius” whether in arms, letters, religion, or politics. All these characters demonstrated enlightened standards of industry and politeness. Moreover, these biographies, written by really a few hands and making their way into a number of texts therefrom, took youth through the life cycle of birth, youth, manhood, old age, and death. I shall treat these carefully patterned, not to say programmed, lives as a composite biography.
The biographers first noticed the "birth" of their subject, which meant whether high or low. Nobility of descent was certainly an advantage, but an obscure birth was not disparaged. Just as the classical examples of Socrates and Cicero showed that talents prevailed over birth, many of the modern heroes came from the middling or even lower ranks:

That learning should elevate a man above his original station, is consistent with the common order of human events; but that a man without birth, education or connections, should be able to pierce the cloud of obscurity, and to soar into the higher regions of life, is a phenomenon which deserves to be considered and accounted for.115

Johnson's penury throughout the first half of his life might have even been the cause of his great achievements in the literary world. The best example of "what perseverance and industry may attain" came, as one might expect, from an American. Benjamin Franklin, though "undistinguished by birth... burst through the barrier of obscurity, and became the politician, the philosopher, and the friend of humankind."116

The biographies stressed, predictably, youth's early application to their studies. Though biographers often knew little about the early life of their heroes, when such information did exist they did not fail to moralise, as upon Milton's habit of reading late at night as a boy:

It may be remarked, that few have made a distinguished figure in the literary career, who have not evinced an early predilection for books. The boy who performs the prescribed task, who attends to all the minutiae of his duty, may escape censure, he may even gain applause, but he will never reach the exalted heights of the voluntary student, who seeks for learning from the innate love which he bears it. To obtain excellence in whatever we attempt, sacrifices must be made which cannot be directed; and an enthusiasm must inspire us to surmount difficulties, which the lukewarm and the indolent will fear to encounter. Had the boyish Milton spent his leisure hours, which might have been done without blame, in the common amusements of his years, it is probable that we should never have heard of his Paradise Lost.117

That the nocturnal studies of the boy might have led to the blindness of the man led to some qualification of these remarks. And indeed too intensive study should not sap the "springs of life." Yet the lesson was clear. Greatness was not achieved without pains and sacrifice. The Lockean balance was preserved, however, with the realisation that play, too, could become an ally of serious pursuits. The boy's leisure as much as his assigned tasks discovered his individual "genius" and assisted him and his parents in the proper choice of a calling. The biographers lamented that early accounts did not exist for General Wolfe since "with pleasure should we have traced the future hero in the pastimes of the boy; and marked the dawns of superior intellect in the rude essays of untutored fancy."118 Similarly, on finding Newton working a maths problem in a haystack, his uncle decided to send him to Cambridge.119
From this moment of decision in youth, the heroes went on to distinguish themselves as statesmen, patriots, divines, warriors, philosophers, poets, and artists, a few of whom we shall consider.

Jefferson's "trinity of the three greatest men the world had ever produced," namely, Bacon, Newton, and Locke, exemplified philosophic excellence. The merits of their philosophy owed precisely to a practical, British spirit of inquiry which took nature, whether physical or human, as it is. Newton's genius served as a national victory over the French perhaps greater than Marlborough's at Blenheim,

for the French, notwithstanding the predilection natural to every nation in favour of its own heroes and philosophers, soon relinquished the fanciful philosophy of their countryman Descartes, for the solid principles of Newton.

Newton's own favourite subject of optics, which he came to through the practical skill of grinding glass for telescopes, was only one important example of how useful and speculative fields of inquiry could not be divorced. Although Bacon's political career detracted from his more worthy pursuits, making him a lesson against excessive ambition, the occasional posts of Newton and Locke also gave their philosophy an empirical turn. Besides their admirable character traits, the chief lesson to be derived from the philosophers was their method of discovering important truths by carefully observing things and people that others overlooked, whether apples in the garden or gardeners in the garden:

"[Locke] loved to talk with mechanics, and used to say that the knowledge of the arts contained more true philosophy than learned hypotheses. By putting questions to artificers, he would sometimes discover a secret not well understood; and assist to give them views entirely new, for their own profit when carried into practice. . . . In every thing he delighted to employ his reason; nor was any thing useful beneath his care, so that he appeared capable of small things as well as great. It was a common observation with him, that there is an art in every thing."  

As for the raging question of whether "genius" or industry more determines the genius's achievements, when a genius himself favoured the latter, the moral biographers did not fail to make the most of it:

With unaffected modesty [Newton observed] . . . that if he had done any thing in science worthy of notice, it was owing to patient industry of thinking, rather than to extraordinary sagacity above other men. "I keep," said he, "the subject constantly before me; and wait till the first dawning open slowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light."
The lives of Milton, Addison, and Johnson best represented virtue in the literary sphere. The biography of Milton, when not taken up with the events of his life and his political writings, for which he had to be somewhat excused, centred on *Paradise Lost*. In fact, the appraisal of it consisted of compiled or quoted material from both Addison and Johnson. Milton was compared to Homer and Virgil, with the palm perhaps going to the latter because of "the dignity and sublimity of the subject."125 Similarly, Addison was shown by Johnson to have achieved an "elevation of literary character 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.'"126 Through his writings, principally the *Spectator*, Addison "purified intellectual pleasures, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiousness, ... taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness, and ... converted many from vice and the error of their ways."127 Perhaps the ablest of those successors was the "lexicographer and moralist" Samuel Johnson. Now drawing on Boswell, the biographers showed how Johnson's life was "a perpetual comment on the precepts which he promulgated."128 These precepts consisted in a "just conformity of our actions to the relations in which we stand to the Supreme Being and our fellow creatures."129 The lives of all three authors revealed how literary excellence had its source in moral excellence. Thus, their works would "continue to instruct and improve as long as the English language exists."130 Likewise, the "moral poet" Pope:

Know though this truth (enough for man to know)  
"Virtue alone is happiness below."  

The first, last purpose of the human soul;  
And knows where Faith, Law, Morals all began,  
All end, in LOVE OF GOD, and LOVE OF MAN.131

Men engaged in commerce before the eighteenth century had normally been disparaged, occasionally excused. But the idea that profit-seekers could be praised appears to have been an altogether new development.132 The enlightened curriculum found its commercial hero in Sir Thomas Gresham. The second son of Sir Richard Gresham, Thomas was early bound to a mercer, yet acquired a classical education at Caius College, Cambridge. The young Thomas became so distinguished in his studies that he earned the title from Dr. Caius himself of *Mercator Doctissimus*, the very learned merchant.133 Pulled away from his studies by the life for which he had been destined, he began to engage in "active commerce." His first great triumph came when he advised Edward VI on how to extricate himself from a large debt owed to the banks of Antwerp. Moving to this financial centre as the king's agent, he continued to raise the reputation of England to such an extent "that he could borrow money on equitable terms, either on account of government or by his own private credit."134 For similar financial feats during the reign of Elizabeth, Gresham's "credit" continued to increase. But his greatest achievements were those projects which reflected his desire to raise the
reputation of England and his fellow traders and to extend his active benevolence beyond his own lifetime, the building of the Royal Exchange and the founding of Gresham College:

London at that time had no similar institution, and the want of liberal education made the principal merchants obstinate and tenacious of every idle prejudice adopted from custom. Another motive, undoubtedly, was that immortal fame, which every public-spirited, every good citizen should have in view, whereby, as he was venerated while living, so, in after-ages, his memory might be gratefully preserved in that community of which he was a respected member.135

Gresham's fortune, credit, benevolence, and true sense of glory enhanced the fortune, credit, and fame of his country. Thus, his "immortality" would be ensured in this trading nation.136

Teaching philosophical, literary, and commercial heroes in the late eighteenth century must have been relatively easy compared to the treatment of divines. Enlightened schoolmasters tried to walk the fine line between superstition and enthusiasm, whose course early modern religious figures had not always followed. Moreover, they attempted to present divines, like other worthies, as polite and well-mannered individuals, a task that often proved difficult, as we have seen with John Knox. Somewhat uncomfortably for enlightened historians, the most polite, learned, and principled man of the sixteenth century had taken the wrong side in the Reformation against the age's great brute, that is, Thomas More against Henry VIII.137 The early reformers could be safely relied upon to free the realm from the Romish religion. But it is interesting to see the way in which they accomplished it:

When he had accustomed men to think, he attempted a higher flight, and taught them to think justly. He removed the veil of prejudice by gradual but reiterated efforts: he let in the light by degrees, and in such proportions as he found the eyes of a people so long used to darkness could endure it.138

From the martyrs of Mary Tudor's reign, the biographers preferred Hugh Latimer, whose life approached "nearest to the standard of primitive simplicity and virtue, and . . . furnish[ed] the brightest example of suffering patience, and of unshaken fortitude in trial."139 Rather than stressing his fiery pulpit oratory, often aimed at the pride and corruption of Londoners, the account shows his attention to parish duties and reluctance to meddle in state affairs:

While thus usefully and honourably employed in the proper sphere of his activity [bishopric of Worcester], he received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation. His eloquence being then in great repute, he was called on to open the latter by a Latin oration; but he prudently avoided launching into the ocean of contest between the protestant and the popish parties, and in consequence escaped an intended public censure, which was directed at the primate Cranmer and himself.140
Like Wycliffe, he insisted that the common people should be able to read the Bible and directed all his preaching to them. At his trial, while remaining firm in his convictions, he refused to engage in arguments because of the infirmities of age and instead left that to the younger Cranmer and Ridley.\textsuperscript{141} Latimer's brightest moment, then, became his least contentious. In an obvious eighteenth-century gloss, the labours of Latimer and Ridley were held to have been "all calculated to promote the cause of true religion and practical morality; to make men good and happy here, and prepare them for eternal happiness hereafter."\textsuperscript{142} Less softening was necessary for later divines, such as Archbishop Tillotson, who, after reading Chillingworth, turned from the "narrow views of the puritans"; who laboured against the two evils of Charles II's reign, popery and atheism; who tried unsuccessfully to bring the dissenters back into the church; whose gentle manners and address were admired by all, at least after his death; and who, "disgusted with the pulpit eloquence of the times . . . struck out a style and manner of his own, which have been justly esteemed a model for succeeding ages."\textsuperscript{143} Similarly, Isaac Watts "was one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language."\textsuperscript{144} Religious leaders, when not neglected, were selected and praised more for their politeness and learning than for their zeal.\textsuperscript{145} Here biographers tended most to fudge, if not wholly falsify, the historical record.

"Patriots" presented similar problems. To declare someone a patriot in the past invariably revealed one's own political affiliation in the present. Insofar as the Lockean legacy of education entailed keeping the idea of party from being impressed on the young mind, two strategies emerged. Patriots could either be ignored and left to the realm of history.\textsuperscript{146} Or, with impartiality itself as a goal, the student could try to remove himself from current prejudices and evaluate strident political actors for their "purity" of belief and other admirable qualities.\textsuperscript{147} The attempt at impartiality required recognition of virtue in men of both sides of a political contest. Indeed, Hume frequently employed the tactic of "parallel lives," wherein the lives paralleled became Roundhead and Cavalier rather than Greek and Roman. The life of the "Patriot Hampden" offers one telling example. In refusing to pay ship-money he was "unawed by authority, undaunted by menaces, unabashed by calumny, and incorruptible by bribes."\textsuperscript{148} Moreover, even Clarendon admitted that he conducted himself in this trial "with such temper and modesty" that he obtained more credit by losing than did Charles by winning. In his zealous actions against the court subsequently "he appears to have been actuated by no motives of personal hostility to his sovereign, nor views of aggrandizement for himself." Though fervent in resisting arbitrary power, his view to correct rather than overthrow the constitution was seen in his desire to serve as the tutor to the Prince of Wales, in order "'to correct the source from whence the happiness or misfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, must flow.'"\textsuperscript{149} As the patriot was a Lockean before his time, this proposal failed, and war broke out. Hampden, had he not died gloriously in action, would have served his side gloriously in war, and certainly have opposed the
usurpation of Cromwell. But, according to Hume, the good die early in bloody civil wars.\textsuperscript{150} That Hampden might "furnish both an incentive and a warning to future patriots," and that students might learn to judge characters from conflicting historians, the student encountered two lengthy character portraits written by Clarendon and Macaulay. The former questioned the purity of the patriot's actions despite the previous commentary. Further balance was obtained by including accounts of men from the Court party, especially Strafford and Clarendon. Strafford's cleavage to Charles was perhaps not the result of pure motives, but his unjust trial and execution revealed both his own bravery and Parliament's move from fixing the prerogative to overturning the constitution.\textsuperscript{151} Admittedly, school biography leaned towards Whiggery, but it was a Whiggery that had been refined and moderated by the growth of political stability in Britain and, as we shall see, the influence of enlightened historiography.

Whatever the occupation of the British worthies, the biographies dealt centrally with the nature of fame and ambition. They were written as a "living monument" to those who had done great things for their country. Further, they were designed to "inspire those ardent emotions of glory and of heroism whose flame it is our object to fan."\textsuperscript{152} Yet historians and biographers were not insensible to the problems that ambition posed for the moral education of youth. As their avowed purpose was to distinguish true from false glory, they insisted that ambition must be actuated by virtue and not exceed the bounds of what was possible for human beings in this "sublunary" state. Unfortunately for moralists, many overly and wrongly ambitious men in the pageant of history had achieved fame and power in their time. The judgment on the true character of historical personages, however, found its basis not in temporary positions of power but in lasting achievements. More dramatically, the resolution of the "lives" came in their deaths. Death pervaded the curriculum. Besides the glorious or pitiable deaths of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, the tragic execution of Mary Queen of Scots, or the trial and execution of Charles I,\textsuperscript{153} biographical death scenes and the discussion of death and the "future state" were common in school readers. Just as death was treated allegorically in many of the polite essays, and as Cicero's essay on "Old Age" was a favourite philosophical work for older students, so biography followed the dictum of philosophy teaching by examples. For surely nothing was more philosophical than death. Socrates, whose philosophic approach to his end and discourses on eternity were antiquity's closest approximation to Christian piety, furnished the great classical model of death. Yet the modern world offered the real thing.

Dying in a state of melancholy or with an unclear conscience indicated that one's happiness in life had been sacrificed to an overweening and elusive ambition. Furthermore, this unease suggested, albeit not explicitly, difficulties in the future state. Sir Francis Drake offers a telling example.\textsuperscript{154} Drake was a modern example where history might exalt the fame
of the hero as it overlooked the characterological shortcomings of the man. One biographer reminded youth of his injustice in the trial of his rival Thomas Doughty, his abandoning a native slave woman from “New Albion” whom either he or one of his men had impregnated, and called attention frequently to his avarice and ambition.\textsuperscript{155} Though he possessed great fortitude, naval skill, and commanded the respect of his men, largely through his liberality with them, his mind was “untinctured with the liberal arts” and his ambition prevented him from enjoying life except immediately after some great triumph. As a result, he met a bitter end: “Repeated disappointments, to which he had been so little accustomed, preyed on the mind of Drake with such pungent force, that he fell into a melancholy; in which state, being seized with a bloody flux, he quitted this life . . . without leaving any children, in January 1596.”\textsuperscript{156} Similarly, the portrait of the usurper Cromwell in the last moments before his death, whose fears seem to have brought on that death, showed that ambition divorced from virtue led to an unhappy exit from the stage.\textsuperscript{157} The best example against wrongly directed ambition came from the dying words of “a great rather than a good man,” Cardinal Wolsey: “Had I served God . . . as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have forsaken me in my grey hairs; but this is the just reward I must receive for my pains and study, in not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince.”\textsuperscript{158}

In contrast, the death scenes of exemplary figures, largely inspired by Edward Young’s \textit{Night Thoughts}, emphasised the piety of the dying hero in passing from this to a better world.\textsuperscript{159} John Locke was shown in the language characteristic of this commentary to have employed the latter part of his life studying the scriptures, “ever the rule of his conduct,” which became the “solace of his declining days.”\textsuperscript{160} On his deathbed he reflected to Lady Masham that this life was only a preparation for the next. Johnson, another for whom Scripture was ever the rule of conduct, though he contemplated his end with fear and apprehension, in the end summoned up the resolution of a Christian.\textsuperscript{161} In the case of Newton, who suffered physical ailments in his declining years, “the philosopher and the christian were equally conspicuous.”\textsuperscript{162} The most satisfying account came from the death of Addison. As he was about to breathe his last, he sent for his stepson the Earl of Warwick. The young man came, waited for a time, and upon hearing nothing asked whether his stepfather had any commands. “See in what peace a Christian can die!” was the reply, whereupon he soon expired.\textsuperscript{163} These peaceful and reassuring scenes contrasted with those of melancholy and fear in old age and death. It is only in this context that we can understand Boswell’s unease in visiting the dying Hume. In such a culture Smith’s letter to William Strahan made Hume’s point far more than his sceptical writings had.\textsuperscript{164} The hero as man of letters crafted his death as his final lesson, whether pious or sceptical. Eighteenth-century educators, taking invariably the pious side of the eternal question, used death to offer true insights into “characters” and to address some of the problems associated with youth: levity, undue attachment to the things of this world, and the moral danger of a misguided ambition.
Not averse to using some measure of ambition in the child, especially in the direction of letters, schoolmasters hoped to regulate this passion through the dying words of pious philosophers. Addison’s death became a masterpiece of moralising which offered to the spectator a view of the life lived and the life to come, the final paper to complete the message of a previous number:

Let the ambitious Man therefore turn all his Desire of Fame this Way; and, that he may propose to himself a Fame worthy of his Ambition, let him consider that if he employs his Abilities to the best Advantage, the Time will come when the Supreme Governor of the World, the great Judge of Mankind, who sees every Degree of Perfection in others, and possesses all possible Perfection in himself, shall proclaim his Worth before Men and Angels, and pronounce to him in the Presence of the whole Creation that best and most significant of Applauses, “Well done thou good and faithful Servant, enter thou into thy Master’s Joy.”

Lest we end the lives on a morbid note, which in fact the biographers never did, one other aspect of character must be considered, the educational aim of politeness. Whether political, martial, or lettered men, eighteenth-century heroes were polite. Archbishop Tillotson’s liberal mind and manners led him to reject the narrow doctrines, confined manners, and tasteless pulpit eloquence of the Puritans. His theological purpose became to unite all Protestants despite the competing factions around him. And, much like Socrates, though calumniated in his life, his death brought on universal sorrow. Locke’s temperament also suited his philosophy. Avoiding scholastic disputes at Oxford, he began to make “general progress in sound philosophy.” Impressed with the “urbanity” of Locke’s manners as much as his medical and philosophical knowledge, Shaftesbury offered his patronage to the young doctor. Nor were the more active heroes without good breeding and social virtues. Though a quickness of mind led Pitt often to be impatient in public, he could “unbend” in all companies and display a versatility of wit. General Wolfe failed to raise envy in others both because of the superiority of his talents and the excellence of his heart. As much as his superior military skill, perhaps Marlborough’s personal diplomacy accounted for his advancement: “from the political squabbles of the times he prudently kept himself at a distance.” Only Johnson’s manners gave biographers some discomfort. But he meant well. And one certainly cannot blame him for having to carry around an oak plank in case an angry McPherson attacked him for discrediting his Ossian.
NOTES

1 Francis Hutcheson, An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; in Two Treatises (London, 1725), 72.
3 John Locke, Draft of Letter to the Countess of Peterborough, 1697, in Educational Writings, ed. Axtell, 393-4. See also "Of Study," 422; Education, §184. See George C. Brauer, Jr. The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775 (New York, 1959), 70, 75-77. Brauer points out that gentlemen had been particularly sensitive to the charge of "pedantry" since the Restoration.
5 Knox, Works, 4:41-6. Knox insisted that histories written in English must be read in addition to the Roman historians since the pupil's struggle with the language of the latter obscured the meaning of much of the history. The Scottish schoolmaster George Chapman, a defender of the classics against their perceived decline, defined classical education as consisting in the study not only of "the English, Latin, and Greek Languages, but also of geography and ancient history, particularly that of Greece and Rome, with a general view of the history of England, and the figures of rhetoric." Treatise, 70. The reading of Roman historians is discussed in ch. 7.
6 Ibid., 4:44.
8 See Clark, Essay, 5; Of Education, 18; Barclay, Treatise, ch. 10; Burgh, Thoughts, 10-2; S. Butler, Essay, 73; Sheridan, Plan, 95-9; Ash, Sentiments, 163-7; Chesterfield, Letters, 4:2587; Chapman, Treatise, 149; Croft, Plan, 37, and Observations, 189; Milns, Well-Bred Scholar, 135-7; Barrow, Essay, ch. 14.
9 David Hume, "Of the Study of History," in Essays, 563.
10 This essay was included in the Polite Preceptor and quoted by Knox in Liberal Education (1789), 214, to recommend history to young ladies. Priestley in the outlines of his lectures (Liberal Education, 40) addressed "the uses of history to the ladies."
11 For the adult reading of history, see Gladys Bryson, Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1945; reprint, 1968), 78; Langford, A Polite and Commercial People, 96-99. For the political context of historical reading, discussed in the following chapter, see Dickinson, Liberty and Property, passim.
12 Locke, Education, §184.
13 R. Johnson, An Introduction to the Study of History: Wherein Is Considered the Proper Method of Reading Historical Works, in Order to Acquire a Perfect Knowledge of Mankind; with a View to Improve the Judgment, and Correct the Various Errors Arising from Passion and Prejudice... (London, 1772), preface. David Fordyce, speaking through his character Cleora, contrasted the benefits of studying history against novels and romances which "give chimerical Notions of Life, and the Motives of Action, and form young Minds to a Romantic Love and Disgust for domestic Duties." Dialogues, 2:124-5.
14 Hume, ibid., 566. The pass-in-review metaphor seems to have begun with Charles Rollin. "Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; causing to pass, as it were, in review before us, all the kingdoms and empires of the world." The Ancient History, first page of preface. Fordyce: "By Means of these, and the like Examples, the grandest Scenes of Human Life open up on the Mind, and the auguest Forms of Beauty and Order are made to pass in Review before it." Dialogues 2:194. George Chapman: "In History we survey the various generations of mankind passing, as it were, in review before our eyes." Treatise, 206-7.
15 The subtilte of De la manièr de enseigner et d'étudier les Belles Lettres.
16 "Of Study," in Axtell, 409. See p. 422 in this same manuscript for the proper study of history.
20 Johnson, An Introduction, 3.
21 Fordyce, Dialogues, 1:204.
22 Barclay, Treatise, ch. 12, esp. 223. All the schoolmasters cited above stressed the moral purposes of history.
23 George Turnbull, Observations Upon Liberal Education, 362.
25 See, e.g., Adam Smith's discussion on self-command as the perfection of virtue in The Theory of Moral Sentiments, 237-262, esp. 250-4. Henry Cockburn's account of Dugald Stewart's teaching reveal how the study of history at a younger age should have prepared students for its use in a moral philosophy course: "The general constitution of moral and material nature, the duties and the ends of man, the uses and boundaries of philosophy, the connection between virtue and enjoyment, the obligations of affection and patriotism, the cultivation and the value of taste, the intellectual differences produced by particular habits, the evidences of the soul's immortality, the charms of literature and science, in short all the ethics of life—these were the subjects, in expatiating on which he was in his native element; and he embellished them all by a judicious application of biographical and historical illustration, and the happiest introduction of exquisite quotation." Memorials of His Time, 22.
27 History's enabling youth to profit by others' example became a commonplace in the eighteenth century. See also Rousseau, Emile, 237. For this theme in the Scottish humanists prior to the eighteenth century, see David Allan, Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History (Edinburgh, 1993), 55-65.
28 Bolingbroke, Letters, 177. This was the most quoted maxim in the prefaces of history textbooks. The letter including this maxim introduced The Historical Preceptor. Or, A Collection of Entertaining, and Instructive Passages, Selected from the Works of the Best Historians. For the Use of Schools. (London, 1789) 1-7.
29 Ibid., 178.
30 Education, §116. See also "Of Study" in Axtell, 409-10.
34 See Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests, 14-31; Lovejoy, Reflections, Lecture 2.
35 Lovejoy, Reflections, Lecture 1.
36 For example, The Moral Miscellany and The Polite Preceptor. A similar, though in many ways less satisfying discussion of fame can be found in Rambler, no. 49, in which Johnson maintained that "upon an attentive and impartial review of the argument, it will appear that the love of fame is to be regulated rather than extinguished."
37 Spectator, no. 255.
38 Ibid., no. 257.
39 Ibid., no. 256.
41 Chapman, Treatise, 206-7.
42 Encyclopaedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1771).
43 Rambler, no. 60. This essay was frequently used as an authority in the prefaces of biographical collections. Goldsmith, for example, quoted much of it in the preface to his abridged edition of Plutarch's Lives. Works, 5:227. Johnson as biographer and as biographical subject in Boswell's Life of Johnson was the central figure for the development of biography as a literary genre. The secondary reading on this subject, as on all aspects of Johnsonia, is vast. The most relevant works for this study are Donald A. Stauffer, The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England (Princeton, 1941); Robert Folkenflick, Samuel Johnson,
Although Johnson's writing on the subject became authoritative, these considerations can be found in prior schoolmaster treatises; e.g., Barclay, Treatise, 184: "in Plutarch's Lives we have a great many valuable reflections not to be found in the plan of any general history. The historian has an eye chiefly to great events, and considers such actions only of each hero, as tend in a remarkable manner to occasion this or that revolution. But the biographer attends him through every scene of life, sees him at home, abroad, retir'd or busy, goes into his closet, observes his amusements, and opens all the secret springs of life."

"Biography" stimulates us to aim at the acquisition of what is of still more value and importance, and at the same time universally obtainable, Moral Excellence." British Biography; or, An Accurate and Impartial Account of the Lives and Writings of Eminent Persons, in Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1773), iv. See also Hugh Blair, Lectures, 365-6.

Barclay, Treatise, 150. Folkenflick (31) contends plausibly that the creation of a character too great would, in Johnson's terms, place him beyond the reach of imitation. Clifford and Stauffer see this as a peculiarly eighteenth-century development. The school situation was somewhat more complicated than it appears here in theory. We shall see in the biographical collections themselves how well educators lived up to the ideal of truth in biography.

On the use of Rollin, see Turnbull, Liberal Education, 362; Barclay, Treatise, 177; Ash, Sentiments, 164; Croft, Plan, 37; Knox, Works, 4:43; the updated list of Locke's "Concerning Reading and Study" in Burgess, The Entertainer; and the book lists provided by Chapman in his Treatise. Recall that in Chapman's school visit students were required to translate selections from Rollin's Ancient History as well as the Spectator into Latin. Advantages, 30-1. Most of the textbooks in this chapter containing selections from ancient history relied heavily on Rollin. Barclay cautioned teachers that Rollin was somewhat above the apprehension of "children," who were at times careless about reading him, "though, when we speak in their own stile, they are ever ready to sacrifice play for history." Treatise, 172, 176-7.

Selections from this chapter in the Belles Lettres frequently appeared in eighteenth-century textbooks, which suggests that schoolmasters were keen to make the distinction between true and false greatness. See Warden, Collection; Buchanan, Complete English Scholar; Lessons in Reading. Priestley used this phrase in the outlines of his lectures. Liberal Education, 40.

Rollin had earlier demonstrated his "method" by an extensive treatment of the Cyropædia in the Belles Lettres, 3:208-246.

Since numerous editions of Rollin's histories appeared throughout the century, in editions of eight to twelve volumes, I shall cite passages by book, chapter, article (where used), and section, rather than by page number. Barclay and Chapman's opening remarks were a close summary of Rollin's "Preliminary Discourse" to the Belles Lettres, which liberally employed these classical examples. See also Turnbull, Liberal Education, 2-15; Fordyce, Dialogues, 1:105-7; Goldsmith, "On Education," in Works, 1:457; Francis Hutcheson, A System of Moral Philosophy (London, 1755; reprint, New York, 1968), 310.

The superiority of schools to punitive justice became a commonplace in eighteenth-century pedagogical literature. "Where a right education is established and universally encouraged, early habits of virtue and good

56 Rollin, Ancient History, 4.1.1.1. See Budgell, Spectator, no. 337. Rollin himself was a classicist and would not have used this as an attack on ancient languages.

57 See The Historical Preceptor on Cyrus, Lycurgus, and Solon, taken from Rollin; Daniel Burgess, The Entertainer, or Youth's Delightful Preceptor (Berwick, 1759), on Cyrus's education from Rollin; The Edinburgh Entertainer: Containing Historical and Poetical Collections, for the Use of Schools (Edinburgh, 1750), on Lycurgus and Solon; John Adams, The Flowers of Ancient History . . . Designed for the Improvement and Entertainment of Youth (Dublin, 1789), on the Spartan youth. The Roman histories invariably emphasised the provisions taken for the education of their children in the lives of Aemilius Paulus and Cornelia, mother of the brothers Gracchi, and were also used to illustrate "parental affection," a favourite theme in the moral collections.

58 Mavor, The British Nepos, 100.

59 The fact that Xenophon had fabricated most of the narrative raised some scruples among historians whose purpose was to convey truth. Rollin quoted a letter from Cicero justifying Xenophon's design and also referred readers to a dissertation on the subject by Abbé Banier of the Academy of Belles Lettres. He also held that since much of the life of Cyrus conformed to Scripture, it must have been largely true. Ancient History, bk. 4, introd. That Xenophon had written a history rather than a philosophical tract also upheld Bolingbroke's dictum of history as philosophy teaching by examples. See The Historical Mirror, or Biographical Miscellany, For the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth (London, 1775), preface. This text was composed largely of selections from the Cyropedia.

60 Rollin described this indirect method in the Belles Lettres, 1:17: "They [students] will readily give ear to lectures, that are made by a Camillus, a Scipio, or a Cyrus; and such instruction, concealed and in a manner disguised under the name of stories, shall make a deeper impression upon them, as they seem less designed, and thrown before them by pure chance." Compare with Fordyce, Dialogues, 2:194. One must wonder whether the "pure chance" element was lost in some of the following textbooks which broke up these lessons taken from Rollin, Plutarch, and others by making handbooks of the various virtues rather than a connected historical narrative in which the moral anecdotes appeared amidst sieges and battles.

61 Rollin, Ancient History, 4.1.1.2. Also contained in Lyscombe Malthee Stretch, The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of Virtue and Vice, Drawn from Real Life; Designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth (London, 1770), "Drunkenness"; The Historical Mirror, "Of Temperance"; John Drummond, A Collection of Poems for Reading and Repetition (Edinburgh, 1762); Percival, Father's Instructions; Alexander Barrie, The Tyro's Guide to Wisdom and Wealth; Designed for the Moral Instruction of Youth, 4th ed. (Edinburgh, 1807); Rollin, Belles Lettres, 3:215-6, on how "artfully" Xenophon has given a lecture against drunkenness.

62 Rollin, Belles Lettres, 1:17.

63 Rollin, Ancient History, 4.1.1.1.

64 Ibid.

65 Xenophon, The Education of Cyrus, trans. H. G. Dakyns (London, 1992), 22. Rollin, surprisingly, did not dwell on this aspect of Cyrus's education. Those youth who learned Greek would have encountered this passage, as Xenophon was a basic text. See Cyrus's encouraging emulation among his officers in Ancient History, 4.1.1.4.

66 Rollin, Ancient History, 4.1.1.3.

67 Ibid., 4.1.1.5.

68 Ibid., 4.1.1.3. Rollin encouraged "all young gentlemen designed for the army" to consult the original text.

69 The phrase is from Locke, Education, Epistle Dedicatory. On this aristocratic principle of leadership and education, see Turnbull, Liberal Education, 112-114, who maintained that "the human system is indeed . . . either by original make, or in consequence of circumstances producing the same effect, an aristocracy, consisting of the few capable of directing, and of the many more gifted for labour."

70 Rollin, Ancient History, 4.1.3.3, "Character and Eulogy of Cyrus." Other "characters" of Cyrus, mostly from Rollin, are found in The Historical Mirror; The Historical Preceptor; The Beauties of History; Flowers of Ancient History; Buchanan, The Complete English Scholar; Burgess, The Entertainer; and the siege of Babylon in The Edinburgh Entertainer.
Originally noted by Cicero in his second Tusculan disputation. See Rollin, Belles Lettres, 3:230; Turnbull, Liberal Education, 375. Africanus most conspicuously imitated Cyrus' virtue when he returned the captured Carthaginian princess to her betrothed, a conquest of his passions more glorious than that of Carthage. In Tatler, no. 58; Rollin, Roman History; Stretch, Beauties, "Continence." Rollin considered Cyrus' treatment of Panthea, the wife of Abradates, "undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that had any reference to love." The efficacy of Xenophon as a text for military officers was another one of those anecdotes that schoolmasters liked to cite to prove that learning leads to superiority in all fields. Bolingbroke disputed this claim by contending that genius could replace learning, since Marlborough had probably never read Xenophon in his life. Bolingbroke, Letters, 181-2.

Rollin quoted Plutarch as maintaining that a statesman's life ought to be divided into three ages: the first for learning the principles of government, the second for practising them, and the third for teaching them to others. To this end, "Aristides... was not always in office, but was always of service to his country. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom, and politics. It was open to all young Athenians who were lovers of virtue." Ancient History, 6.2.17; and 7.1.3, on the recovery of Cimon from a life of vice. Turnbull discussed Rollin's treatment of Æmilius Paulus' provision for his son's education and the relationship between Polybius and Scipio Africanus in Liberal Education, 373-8; 418-9, on Aristides and Cimon.

Rollin called attention to Cyrus' pride to temper his "eulogy."

Rollin, Ancient History, bk. 9, ch. 4, devoted entirely to the "History of Socrates"; Warden, Collection, on the birth of Socrates, Xantippe, the daemon, instruction of youth, and trial, taken from Rollin; Dr. Goldsmith's History of Greece; Abridged, for the Use of Schools (London, 1787), ch. 10; Beauties of History, "Patience" (Xantippe) and "Religion" (the highest pagan example); The Historical Preceptor, on the trial and death of Socrates, from Goldsmith; Adams, Flowers of Ancient History.

On Middleton and Cicero in general see Peter Gay, Enlightenment, 1:105-9. Middleton's Cicero was read as a supplement to the classical curriculum (Chapman, Advantages, 40) and excerped by anthologists (Knox, EEPr., 710-31).


For selections in school texts on Cicero's life, orations, and writings, see Dodsley, The Preceptor; Goldsmith, The Roman History; Adams, Flowers of Ancient History, on Catiline's conspiracy, Cicero's death, and comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes; Stretch, Beauties, "Conjugal Affection," "Filial Affection," "Magistrate," and "Religion"; The Historical Preceptor, first oration against Catiline; and numerous selections in Knox, EEPr.

Bernard Mandeville, Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits, ed. F. B. Kaye (reprint, Indianapolis, 1988), 1:334-5. Of course, Mandeville made no distinction between ancient and modern pride, unless moderns had learned to conceal it better.

Genesis: 37-49.

Locke maintained that only certain passages of Scripture could be understood by children, among them, "The story of Joseph, and his Brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, &c." Education, §159.

Images of Joseph are legion throughout the century, especially in sermons. Hugh Blair made him the central character in his sermons to youth, some of which were included in William Scott's Beauties and Knox's Elegant Extracts. I suspect that he was not included in textbooks as often as might be expected since his life could have been read straight from the Bible. In textbooks and education manuals, beginning with Rollin: Belles Lettres, 3:134-159; Fordyce, Dialogues, 2:194; Warden, Collection, from Rollin, The Edinburgh Entertainer; Buchanan, The Complete English Scholar; Barrie, Tyro's Guide. Barrie indicated that he had been prompted by "judicious teachers" to include this lesson which had not made it into previous editions. The ESTC yields a life of Joseph specifically for youth: John Macgowan, The Life of Joseph the Son of Israel. In Eight books. Chiefly Designed for the Use of Youth. Republished, from the First London Edition. (of 1771) (Hartford, 1791), 147pp., 8vo.


Ibid., 3:145.

Use of Christ as a counterexample in Ancient History, 4.1.3.2. Rollin listed twenty-one "particulars of agreement between Jesus Christ and Joseph" in Belles Lettres, 3:155-8. The endurance of the Joseph-Christ analogy can be seen in Barrie, Tyro's Guide, 66: "But the most remarkable thing that claims our attention here, is the surprising likeness betwixt the whole narrative and the history of Jesus Christ."

Belles Lettres, 1:31-2.


Barclay in his extensive comments on biography seems only to have had classical biography in mind. John Ash (Sentiments, 168), however, referred specifically to English biography. Vicesimus Knox in 1781 indicated that a collection of English biography consisting "principally, but by no means entirely of the lives of the learned" was a desideratum for schools. Works, 4:45.

Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Earliest Ages, to the Present Time, 7 vols., fo. (London, 1747-66), states as its purpose: "to collect into one Body, without any restriction of time or place, profession or condition, the memoirs of such of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deserve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a most useful service to the Public . . . and the most probable means of exciting, in succeeding times, a spirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues." British Biography; or Accurate and Impartial Account of the Lives and Writings of Eminent Persons, in Great Britain and Ireland; from Wickliffe, Who Began the Reformation by His Writings, to the Present Time, 7 vols. (London, 1766). This latter work was edited by Joseph Towers, who later assisted Andrew Kippis with the second edition of Biographia Britannica.


Probably A New and General Biographical Dictionary: Containing an Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons in Every Nation; Particularly the British and Irish; from the Earliest Accounts of Time to the Present Period, 11 vols. (London, 1761-2).


The first and new editions contained this frontispiece. In the third edition a crowd of people is marching towards the Temple of Fame, but they are not noticeably youth. Not only did Mavor's British Nepos echo Mortimer's collection in name, but featured a similar frontispiece: "the Genius of Biography directing British Youth to the Temple of Honour in the path of Industry and Perseverance."

British Plutarch, vii-viii (1776 preface only).

First edition. Appeared also as sets of 6 vols., 12mo. in 1776 and 8 vols., 12mo. in 1791. Biographia Britannica appeared in folio format at a cost of over £10. Mortimer praised British Biography for its individual articles, but found his collection necessary since that work had not been continued to the present time, had not been arranged chronologically, and was too expensive. British Plutarch, New edition, x-xi.

This advertisement appeared in the back of Dodd's Beauties of History: "Plutarch's Lives, somewhat abridged, for the Use of Youth, 7 vols. illustrated with 63 cuts, price 10s. 6d. bound, with green vellum backs." Goldsmith's abridgment of Plutarch for Newbery in 1762 was also seven volumes, though 18mo. ESTC yields only a handful of such abridged editions, one by our clever placeman and textbook editor, William Foryste Mavor.

Thomas Mortimer, The Student's Pocket Dictionary, or Compendium of Universal History, Chronology and Biography, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time: with Authorities. (London, 1777), 370pp., 12mo. This work was sold by the noted schoolbook dealer Joseph Johnson at 3s. 6d. and saw a second edition in 1789. The Monthly Review featured it as a main selection, giving it a positive review, especially for subjoining authorities by which readers could authenticate facts or find works with more information. The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal 57 (1777): 379-80.

See, e.g., the conclusion to the chapter on Elizabeth in Goldsmith's History of England, Abridged. Did the mere citation of a name such as Sir Thomas Gresham lead to a more extended treatment by the master? William Dodd, The Beauties of History; or Pictures of Virtue and Vice: Drawn from Examples of Men Eminent for Their Virtues, or Infamous for Their Vices. Selected for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth (London, 1795). One of the most successful texts of the period, recommended by Croft (Plan, 36), was Lyscombe Maltbee Stretch, The Beauties of History; or Pictures of Virtue and Vice, Drawn from Real Life: Designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth. (London, 1770).
Johnson's own Literature, and Plutarch mentioned in texts. As the Manner discussed below.

In keeping with my method, I shall illustrate each "character" from the various citations in a number of texts. As the most complete portraits, I shall rely heavily on the birth-to-death biographical collections, including The British Plutarch, using the "new" edition of 1776.

Johnson's Lives of the Poets was abridged as Johnson's Lives of the English Poets, Abridged: with Notes and Illustrations by the Editor. Designed for the Improvement of Youth in the Knowledge of Polite Literature, and as a... Compendium for Persons of Riper Years (London, 1797). See also Johnson's Lives mentioned in Ash, Sentiments, 170; Milns, Well-Bred Scholar, 136; Knox, Essays, no. 94. Both The British Plutarch and Moral Biography drew heavily on Johnson's Lives in their literary selections. Similarly, Johnson's own life was drawn mostly from Boswell's account.

British Plutarch, 1st ed., vi.

Goldsmith, England, 104, referring to the slaughter of prisoners at Agincourt. Nonetheless, Henry V's surprising "reformation" on his accession (Hume, History, 2:354) was a favourite passage of textbook editors for obvious reasons. In Goldsmith, England; Stretch, Beauties, "Prudence"; Adams, Flowers of Modern History; Dodd, Beauties; and in most all of the various "characters" of Henry V in other anthologies. That such a reformation of character should not be expected as the norm for dissolute youth was predictably pronounced by Knox in Essays, no. 159. It should not be thought that character sketches of monarchs were neglected in the curriculum, however. Indeed, though largely unsuitable for exemplary biography, as a study of "characters" the portraits of monarchs were extremely popular. These were drawn largely from Hume and Smollett with occasional selections from Rapin and Catherine Macaulay. Knox's EEP contained seventy-two such selections from Alfred to Queen Anne. Also, William Heckford, Characters or Historical Anecdotes of All the Kings and Queens of England, from William the Conqueror to the Present Time... Calculated with a View to Form the Tender Minds of Youth (London, 1787). The sometime schoolmaster John Holt probably intended his oft-reprinted Characters of the Kings and Queens of England in part for school use.

Elizabathan anecdotes stressed her "industry" and "learning," rather than the feminine favourites of "conjugal felicity" or "delicacy": Goldsmith, England; Stretch, Beauties, "Industry"; Historical Mirror, "Of Diligence."

Mary Tudor was the leading example of "cruelty." The extensive literature on Mary Queen of Scots is discussed below.

The distinctions between superstition, enthusiasm, atheism, and true piety was a common one in textbooks, often made by Spectator, no. 201 and Berkeley's Guardian essays. See also Hume, Essays, "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm."

William Robertson, The History of Scotland (1759), under year 1572 (I have used a reprint ed.). Quoted in The British Plutarch, 2:38; and in An Abridgement of the History of Scotland, from Robertson, Stuart, etc. In the Manner of Goldsmith's Abridgement of the Histories of England, Rome and Greece. For the Use of Schools. (Edinburgh, 1793), ch. 2.

David Hume, The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688, 6 vols. (London, 1778 ed.; reprint, Indianapolis, 1983), 5:304. This prevailing view in large part accounts for the lack of models of parliamentary eloquence that we encountered in the teaching of rhetoric.

Alfred riddled any other historical figure for the number of appearances in school texts, though the following is an incomplete list. Goldsmith, England, 14-20; Arthur Masson, Collection; Stretch, Beauties, "Beneficence" and "Industry"; Knox, Elegant Extracts, 732-3, by Hume and Smollett; Adams, The Flowers of Modern History, 26-30; The British Nepos, 1-12; Moral Biography, 9-16; Dodd, Beauties; Barrie, Collection, from one of Dodd's sermons; Hume's History of England... For the Youth of Schools and Young Gentlemen, ed. George Buist (Edinburgh, 1793), 12-15. See also the long excerpt of Hume's Alfred in Milns, Well-Bred Scholar, 330-46, as a fine example of panegyric "in which the pomp of praise is tempered by the modesty of historical truth."

British Nepos, quoted. See also Moral Biography. Compare with Hume, History, 1:74-5.

Hume, History, 1:80. Nearly verbatim passages in British Nepos and Moral Biography. Compare this advice on the organisation of one's day to Spectator, no. 93, as shown in the previous chapter.

It might be of interest to have a complete list of all the biographies that made it into these three texts. It should be realised that some figures (Wolsey, Cromwell) were used as an example of remarkable talents perverted by ambition.

The British Plutarch, 1776. Vol 1: John Colet; Cardinal Wolsey; Sir Thomas More; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; Thomas Howard, Duke of Newcastle; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Cardinal Pole; Sebastian Cabot. Vol. 2: Roger Ascham; John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury; John Knox; Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Thomas Gresham; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, including Sir Philip Sydney; Francis
Walsingham; Sir John Perrot; Sir Francis Drake; Sir John Hawkins; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; George Buchanan; Edmund Spenser; William Shakespeare; William Camden, including Thomas Bodley.

Vol. 3: Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset; Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Walter Raleigh; Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, etc.; Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Edward Coke; Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork; John Hampden; William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; John Williams, Archbishop of York; Beaumont, Fletcher, and Masinger, Dramatic Poets; Ben Jonson with memoirs of Michael Drayton and William Drummond; Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet, including memoirs of John Speck; Sir Henry Spelman, Antiquarian; William Dobson, History and Portrait Painter; Inigo Jones, Architect; Dr. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

Vol. 4: Oliver Cromwell, including Fairfax and Ludlow; Admiral Blake; General Monk, Duke of Abergavenny; Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; Sir Matthew Hale; Andrew Marvell; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury; Algernon Sydney, including William, Lord Russell; James Butler, Duke of Ormond; George Villiers the Younger, 2nd Buckingham; John Seldon; Dr. William Harvey; Samuel Cooper, Painter; John Milton; Samuel Butler; Edmund Waller; Sir William Petty.

Vol. 5: Henry Booth, Lord Delamer, etc.; John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir George Savile, Marquis of Halifax; Sir Clowdisley Shovel; Sir George Rooke; Sir John Holt; Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury; Matthew Prior; John Churchill, renowned Duke of Marlborough; Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; Robert Boyle; John Dryden; John Locke; Dr. John Radcliffe; Joseph Addison; Sir Christopher Wren; Sir Isaac Newton.

Vol. 6: George Byng, Lord Viscount Torrington; John Campbell, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich; Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford; John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair; Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke; Major-General James Wolfe; Lord Anson; Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke; Sir John Barnard, Knight; Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, including brother Henry Pelham; Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; George, Lord Lyttelton; Dr. Samuel Clarke; Sir James Thornhill; Alexander Pope; Jonathan Swift; James Thomson; Sir Hans Sloane; Henry Fielding.

Vol. 7 (3rd ed., 1791): Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester; Sir Richard Steele; Daniel Defoe; Benjamin Hoadley; Dr. Edward Young; Samuel Richardson; Henry Fielding; Nathaniel Lardner; William Hogarth; John Jortin; Thomas Gray; David Hume; William Shenstone; Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Stair; Sir Edward Coke; Sir George Savile, 2nd Duke of Shrewsbury; Sir Samuel Pepys; Sir John Verney; Dr. John Arbuthnot; John Hanway; Sir Benjamin West, Painter; Lord North; David Hume; Dr. Samuel Johnson; Sir William Blackstone; Sir Henry Erskine; Robert Lowth, Bishop of London.


115 British Nepos, "Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex," 47. The British Plutarch, 1:105, began the biography of Essex, son of a blacksmith, with the fable of the pine tree and cotton shrub in order to illustrate "that men are not to be esteemed according to their birth or appearance, but according to the excellence of their qualities."

116 Moral Biography, 71.


118 British Nepos, 344. Cf. Moral Biography. British Plutarch, 6:94-5: "It is to be lamented that we have no memoirs of his juvenile years; for in the first dawning of reason, men of superior genius often discover unerring indications of uncommon abilities; perhaps in his very sports and pastimes, we might have traced that amazing fortitude, indefatigable assiduity, cool judgment and alacrity, for which he was afterwards so justly famed: to cradle presages, and the wonderful stories of fond presages, and doating nurses, we have
already shown our aversion... but we think there is another extreme into which parents and guardians are too apt to fall, which is, a want of attention to the first discoveries in boys, of a predilection for particular professions or employments in life." Similar observations on such figures running throughout the texts of Saul and Mavor indicate that they relied heavily on The British Plutarch.

British Nepos and Moral Biography. The two texts disagreed over whether his widowed mother or uncle made this happy provision.


British Nepos, 315-6.

Newton and Locke in school texts were used as examples of piety, as in Stretch, Beauties, "Religion"; Warden, Collection. See also biographies of Dr. William Harvey (British Nepos) and Dr. David Hartley (Moral Biography) for the qualities of piety and politeness attached to the scientist.


British Nepos, 318. Originally from Pemberton, found also in British Plutarch, 5:331-2, and Moral Biography. Admittedly, the text continued: "Unvarying and unwearied attention, indeed, to any object, will in time accomplish great things; but no perseverance, without an uncommon share of original genius, could form a Newton."


Ibid.

British Nepos, 420.

Moral Biography, 111-2.


Example of Pope's style in Moral Biography, 162-3.

Again, the clearest writing on this subject can be found in Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests, esp. 56-63. Hirschman perhaps underestimates the growth of respect for the merchant during the Renaissance, as the life of Gresham would indicate.

British Nepos, 111; Moral Biography, 70.


Moral Biography, taken nearly verbatim from The British Plutarch, 2:74.

See Knox, Essays, no. 8, "On Supporting the Dignity of the Commercial Character," on Gresham. The lives of Thomas Firmin and Jonas Hanway in Moral Biography follow a similar pattern.

"Tinctured with superstition, and attached to the Romish church with inflexible adherence, he suffered his good sense to be obscured by the glosses of error and the sophisms of theologists, and fell a martyr, perhaps, to bigotry rather than to sound reason." The British Nepos, 46-7. Cf. British Plutarch, 1:58.


British Nepos, 55.

British Nepos, 60.

British Nepos, 62. Cf. British Plutarch, referring to Spectator, no. 465, which features this incident.

British Nepos, "Latimer," concluding sentence. Cf. the same in British Plutarch.

British Nepos, 251. Cf. British Plutarch, 5:9. As a safe specimen of pulpit eloquence, see that of Robert Lowth in British Nepos beginning, "Christianity... was published to the world in the most enlightened age."

Moral Biography, 191.

The relative absence of Reformation figures in teaching enlightened piety can perhaps best be seen by the following entries under "Religion" in Stretch's Beauties: Cyrus, Constantius, Cicero, Seneca, Emperor Aurelius, Socrates, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Addison, Louis Duke of Orleans, Sir Francis Walsingham, Philip III, Cardinal Wolsey (dying words), Cardinal Richelieu, Sir J. Mason, Sir T. Smith, Sir P. Sydney, Dr. Donne, Sir F. Bacon. Only a brief treatment of political figures will be canvassed here, as that will be taken up in the political narrative in the next chapter. Notice the startling lack of controversial seventeenth-century figures in Moral Biography compared to British Nepos.

See this attempt in the opening paragraph of "Hampden" in British Nepos.

British Nepos. Cf. British Plutarch, vol. 3, which featured a print of the "Death of the Patriot HAMPDEN" as its frontispiece. The following is taken from the similar accounts in British Nepos and British Plutarch.

Quoted from Catherine Macaulay in British Plutarch, 3:191-2. British Nepos made a similar observation.
Hume, History, 5:407, 416-7. Cf. Goldsmith, England: "In this first campaign, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries and the slaughter which were shortly to ensue." The other was Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland.

Strafford’s trial and execution was one of the longest selections in the following texts: British Nepos; British Plutarch; Goldsmith, England, "Charles I"; Historical Preceptor, 52-62, attrib. to Hume; and in the other Humean textbooks discussed in the following chapter.


See following chapter.

The accounts of his life, unlike most others, did not resemble each other in their moral judgments. The following charges from The British Nepos were either explained away or omitted altogether in Moral Biography and The British Plutarch.

Cf. Hume, History, 4:185, on Drake’s “ambition and avarice.”


British Plutarch, 4:57-8. See also Goldsmith, England, "Cromwell," and Hume, History, 6:104-7. Obviously, Hume did not intend a lesson in piety, but the charge against ambition remained the same.


On the inclusion of the Night Thoughts in school texts, see previous chapter. Dr. Young’s life with selections from his writing appeared in Moral Biography and The British Plutarch. Young was by no means the only author included in the collections on the subject of death; e.g., Hervey, "The Subject of Mortality Brought Home to Our Case," in Barrie, Collection, and an anonymous “Essay on Death” in Tyro’s Guide.


British Nepos and British Plutarch, using Boswell’s Life of Johnson as a source.


Moral Biography, 7-8; British Nepos, 297-8; British Plutarch; Stretch, Beauties, 186-7.

Reprinted in Hume, Essays, xliii-xliv.

Spectator no. 257. Young in his Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison (1759) called Addison’s compositions “but the noble preface; the grand work is his death.”

British Nepos.

Moral Biography and British Nepos. See Locke, Education, §143, against “wrangling” and Axtell’s introduction, pp. 18, 32.

British Nepos.


British Nepos, 301.
CHAPTER VI
THE HISTORIES OF NATIONS AND OF MANNERS

I must think it an unpardonable ignorance in persons of whatever sex or condition, not to be acquainted with the history of their own country, together with the histories of ancient GREECE and ROME.¹

The study of biography, or history written as connected biographies, provided youth with detailed models of the enlightened aims of virtue, industry, politeness, and learning. Both heroes and villains demonstrated the workings of the passions in the individual and showed the way youth might gain a mastery over their own passions. Yet the history of nations allowed youth to do more than choose individual heroes and emulate their virtues in order to gain a management over the self.² Whereas biography gave youth lessons in individual morality, the successes and failures of nations trained students’ political judgment. That is, youth learned how to judge in order to regulate the workings of the passions in political life. The causes of historical events were therefore explained in the language of the passions: the "jealousy" of political assemblies, the "prejudices" of peoples, the "ambition" of individual rulers, the "spirit" of a nation, the competition for "glory" among nations. Since the lessons youth learned by reading history would be translated into their political, religious, and cultural leadership of the society, history was intended to teach them how the collective passions of mankind should be ordered to effect political stability. Upon entering the world, young leaders would have already increased their “experience” by careful study of the events of the past. They would have learned what mistakes to avoid and what courses of action to pursue to ensure the public good.³ Furthermore, as with all aspects of an enlightened, liberal education, national histories were thought to expand and entertain the minds of youth through witnessing great events and the rise and fall of empires. To this end, sieges, battles, and extraordinary occurrences remained prominent in textbooks, even without specific moral lessons to be drawn from them.

Hume’s recommendation of the histories of Greece, Rome, and England was a commonplace in eighteenth-century pedagogy. The question is whether there existed one historical “judgment,” or whether one had to apply different standards to the ancient and modern narratives, both of which were somehow important. For even those who emphasised the moderns admitted there were good reasons for retaining the ancient histories. Bolingbroke, on the whole preferring the modern, realised that ancient history presents examples to us that are “complete,” since the effects as well the causes of particular actions can be seen. The approach was much the same as that taken in reading biography. Education and death were important in individual lives to explain the causes of one’s success and to make the final statement on one’s character. So in the study of nations did “rise and decline” become the driving force of the narrative, that is, how a single nation came to
dominate all others and then in its turn lose its hard-earned liberty and happiness. This inquiry then led to the question of whether the causes of ancient rise and decline still applied to modern politics, a story very much in progress. We shall see that there were two different historical judgments at work. This fact can be ascertained easily enough by examining who wrote the histories that were incorporated into the curriculum in the last quarter of the century. Although Goldsmith became the compiler of the three major textbook histories, he was not the original author of any. Goldsmith’s Histories of Greece and Rome were really Rollin’s Greece and Rome. Goldsmith’s History of England was Hume and Smollett’s England. And no two historians could have had more different purposes than Rollin and Hume. But as with ancient and modern heroes, and indeed English and Latin, in the curriculum, the two perspectives served as a balanced and more complete picture of public happiness and virtue. Moreover, however different in intent, both Rollin and Hume’s histories placed considerable importance on the history of “manners” which, for its capacity to engage the minds of youth, to explain the rise and fall of nations, and to show how the passions in society might be regulated, began to rival the political narrative in importance.

Gaining Historical Judgment from Sacred History

One other important source of students’ historical judgment was overlooked by a sceptical Hume: sacred history. Schools in the eighteenth century gave some attention to Scripture reading as history and to the category of “universal history,” which traced the human story from Adam and Eve. The question for us at the moment is why these lessons often became denominated “history” as opposed to religion or theology, and what particular lessons ought to have been derived from the history of the Jews.

Again we must look to the pedagogy of Charles Rollin to explain the assignment of the Bible as sacred history. Rollin divided history into sacred and profane. Though Rollin loved his ancients, the latter was for him only the history of men, whereas “the other is the history of God himself.” In other words, as a providential historian, and one who was not reluctant to derive divine lessons from profane history, Rollin nonetheless found God’s lessons to human beings best through the unfolding of events in the scriptural record. Only the word of God could prescribe “infallible rules.” These rules, applicable for those in all “estates and conditions,” were the foundation of his notion of “solid glory and real greatness.” By learning God’s judgment through the Scriptures, students would apply this judgment to the reading of all history. With a sense of true glory, they could then navigate their way safely through the pagan classics and resist modern temptations, particularly “the licentious boldness of incredulity, which is every day gaining ground upon us, so as to threaten us with the entire loss of the faith.” Although the moderns were in danger of losing the faith, the
ancients had never had it. Though classicists frequently used the religions of the ancients to prove piety as natural to man, their "childish superstitions" could not go much beyond this universal testimony. Without studying the sacred history, moreover, students would not only fail to understand the nature of the Deity, but also would be left with an incomplete picture of man. The Greeks and Romans, for all their wisdom and learning, had never understood original sin:

The surprizing intermixture we perceive in our selves of baseness and grandeur, of weakness and strength, of love for truth and credulity towards error, or desires of happiness and subjection to misery, which is the state of fallen man since Adam, was a riddle they could not explain.

Uninformed by revelation, the ancients had in all their strivings for greatness allowed their ambition to exceed the limits imposed on man since the Fall. Armed with this insight into human nature, students had a causal explanation for the rise and fall of empires.

Rollin’s methods for teaching history, as we have seen, carried great weight with eighteenth-century British schoolmasters. James Barclay seems to have been following Rollin’s balance of sacred and profane history in the time he devoted to these studies. After Latin lessons, boys should turn their attention to history. Sacred history should come first:

Nothing is so proper to fill the mind with right principles, or furnish youth with just notions of real happiness. It describes our own natural weakness, and dependence upon that supreme Being, who stretched out the heavens and the earth. Such a discovery is of greater importance, that we can have it scarce any where but in the sacred history. The conversation of the world is full of vanity. We labour in things of less value, but seldom think of religion.

Children should be taught to abhor the obstinacy of the Jews and consequently to shun the same vices in themselves that ruined so many. Moreover, they must be instructed in the plainest arguments for Christianity. Herein we have the compelling reasons for including religious instruction in the schools. As we have seen, the first impressions were the most important. Children were all too subject to the vanities of the world. Unless they were early tinctured with a view of God, they might never comprehend His judgment and His benevolence, might never make the choice that they had to: “the headstrong passions grow apace, temptations are strong, and an habitual aversion to serious reflection, removes them farther from truth.” With one voice, the age censured Rousseau for postponing this all-important “decision.”

Yet Bible reading as history was not entirely orthodox. By interpreting religion as a fundamental aspect of human nature, and by comparing the ancient and Christian religions,
history argued for the truth of Christianity empirically. And ultimately, this was a moral empiricism:

And history will at least afford frequent proper occasions of showing the utility, the absolute necessity of a public religion, and of evincing the excellence of true Christianity above all other religions that have ever been heard of in the world. That the persuasion of a divine providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments, is one of the strongest incitements to virtue, and one of the most forcible restraints from vice, can hardly be doubted of.\footnote{14}

If this [the truth of Christianity] be prejudice, it is not very dangerous. Is there any harm in teaching a religion which is so full of love and tenderness to mankind? . . . We lose nothing by a regular life in this world, and shall hereafter be happier than we can conceive, if Christianity is really the means of acquiring eternal happiness in the next; whereas vice and infidelity risk all, and venture long eternity for a few uncertain gratifications of sense.\footnote{15}

Eighteenth-century educators did not stop teaching religion. And, as with all aspects of the moral curriculum, they were eager to impress it early upon the minds of youth. Yet they were not always exactly sure of what they were impressing. They found it easier to say what they wished to avoid: enthusiasm and superstition, either of which were threats to toleration. History offered them one safe response to this need to show youth something. The study of religion as history allowed schoolmasters to show empirically that religion was natural to man; that Protestant Christianity was the religion least prone to superstitious corruption; and that societies which followed golden rule of Scripture possessed all the benevolent passions and affections. Finally, a Pascaline attitude to the question of “the future state,” combined with Lockean as opposed to Rousseauist pedagogy, seems to have rendered schoolmasters responsible for the eternal as well as earthly happiness of their young charges. Taken together, this enlightened religious impulse manifested itself in the curriculum in such works as Ostervald’s History of the Bible, versions of Bossuet’s universal history, and Scripture itself read as history, absent the evangelical fervour of the older Christian classics.\footnote{16}

Classical History

With this providential view of history in mind, we return to the teaching of the Greek and Roman narratives. One snapshot of a providential and polite historical judgment in practice can be seen in Rollin’s appraisal of the laws of Lycurgus in both the Belles Lettres and the Ancient History.\footnote{17} After a long compilation from Plutarch’s “Life of Lycurgus,” Rollin reflected upon the things “commendable” and “blameable” in the laws he had established. That Rollin was not entirely consistent in his judgments, and often praised and blamed the same things, can only be expected from one who tried to effect a rapprochement between
classicism and Christianity, and between ancient and modern virtue. In the first instance, the Spartans attained a perfectly balanced government of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy that the philosophers Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno could only write about subsequently, but which Lycurgus put into practice. Even more important than the form of government, in Sparta the laws governed absolutely rather than the caprices of private individuals, as in other states of Greece. The equal division of the lands, if not entirely commendable for its violating the natural rights of private property, was another impressive accomplishment since it prevented the growth of luxury. The related measure that prohibited the use of gold and silver restrained the growth of avarice and ambition. Moreover, the interdiction on the building of a fleet and the study of navigation prevented the competition for wealth and luxury among citizens and kept them from going abroad for purposes of conquest. Sparta thereby cultivated the military arts strictly for defence, to which Lycurgus’s own pacific nature was testimony. This careful regulation of the passions was the genius of the Spartan laws:

He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only that, under the shadow of their arms, they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than individuals, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness, but from virtue only.

To give these laws permanence, Lycurgus established an excellent scheme of education for youth, which Rollin of course dwelled upon. Youth also learned obedience and a respect for the aged.

For all these excellent provisions for virtue, the Spartan laws left much to be desired. The barbaric practice of exposing weak children expressly violated the laws of nature and the Decalogue. The Spartans confined their cares to the body and neglected all those arts and sciences which “soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging.” The Spartans took the practice of inuring children to heat and cold too far. And mothers showed their inhumanity by the indifference with which they greeted the news of a fallen son so long as he died bravely. Furthermore, when the Spartans were not training for war, they were addicted to leisure. All the arts and trades were left to foreigners and slaves, and consequently commerce was neglected. Rollin had in mind more the French nobility when he complained that such leisure leads to “gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourse.” The cruelty towards the Helots was entirely inexcusable. And worst of all, the Spartans entirely neglected modesty and decency in the upbringing of girls, contrary to the sanctity and purity of all evangelical precepts.
The fascination with the Spartan laws can best be explained by their long duration, a subject of particular interest in the eighteenth century. Compared with other nations in both ancient and modern times, the Spartans enjoyed a remarkable degree of internal harmony. Political faction and rivalry was unknown. When not chosen to be among the three hundred men of distinction in the city, Pedaretus "went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying 'He was overjoyed there were 300 men in Sparta more worthy than himself.'"19 Neither Athens, nor Rome, nor modern Britain, we might add, could boast of such a disinterested view of citizenship. This lesson in political stability was inextricably linked with the view that luxury led to the corruption of public morality and thence to the decline of a nation's liberty and influence. The age's understanding of ancient history can best be summarised by the scene of Scipio Africanus weeping after capturing Carthage. Scipio, the student of Polybius, foresees in this moment of Carthaginian ruin "what must be the inevitable fate of Rome, if wealth should beget impatience of discipline, and in the room of ancient virtue introduce corruption, venality and dissoluteness of manners."20 Any state that could avoid the seemingly inevitable developments of civil war and the corruption of manners was worthy of the student's consideration.

But just as Tolstoy later wrote of unhappy families, so historians of ancient Greece, having offered the stable polity of the Spartans as a model, chose to concentrate on three more interesting and often more tragic narratives: the factional politics of Athens, the Greek repulsion of the Persian invasion, and the Peloponnesian War. These three narratives were driven by the language of the passions. In the first instance, the internal instability of Athens owed to the rivalries among great men for eminence and between the first men of the state and the people. On the latter account, the people's jealousy was understandable, since they had suffered under the tyranny of Pisistratus. A free people would always be vigilant in their opposition to potential tyrants. Nonetheless, this very vigilance caused the ruin of many a good man. When the people began to fear the growing influence of Miltiades, who had led the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon, they tried him on a trumped-up charge of treason and threw him into a debtor's prison for his inability to pay an exorbitant fine, bringing on his death soon thereafter. The Athenians preferred "to punish an innocent person, than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him."21 Similarly, the expulsion of an Aristides, the only man in history known as "the just," showed the people to have been fickle, ungrateful, even base. But their blind trust in an Alcibiades, or even so great a man as Pericles, as we shall see, earned them the opposite charges of neglecting their duties, of trusting ambitious men, and of failing to preserve their liberty. With such conflicting appraisals, it would seem that the Athenian people had to be called "fickle," lest the historian himself be thought so.22 But in fact, the purpose of history was to reveal the difficulty with which liberty was preserved, the many artifices which leading men could invent, and the presumptions of political assemblies and the people themselves when not governed by a
sense of justice and prudence. Only a careful understanding of the way the passions worked could reveal who was actually in the right at any given moment and on any given issue.

The study of the Greek repulsion of the Persians offered two lessons at once. First, the victory of the Greeks taught that a free people could defend themselves against an enemy ten times their size. Possessing republican forms of government, animated by a love of liberty and respect for the laws, as well as a passion for military glory, the small Greek nations bid defiance to the Persian empire’s designs at conquest. Second, the defeat of the Persians taught that despotism corrupts martial virtue. For the Greeks did not face the same fighting force that Cyrus the Great had commanded, but a “nation of slaves.” And whatever state of unfreedom nations of the West might fall into, there was nothing to compare with Oriental despotism. When the march into Greece did not move quickly enough, Xerxes had his soldiers whipped. When the bridge over the straits of the Hellespont was destroyed, he whipped them again and even commanded the waves that had destroyed it to be whipped. These and other such scenes nicely contrasted with the tyrant’s cowardly retreat from Europe, having left all his troops behind, on a fishing boat: “This was a spectacle well calculated to show mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness.”23 After this great victory, however, Athens and Sparta did not live long in peace: “No sooner were the Greeks freed from the apprehensions of a foreign foe, than they began to entertain jealousies of each other.”24 The very same virtues that had led to the defeat of the Persians, the love of freedom and military glory, deteriorated into rivalries and jealousies among the Greeks themselves. It would seem that Greek virtue required the presence of a real enemy.

With such an emphasis placed upon the passions, it is easy to see why the textbook histories began to reflect a new concern with “manners.” According to Rollin, manners were the “soul of history,” since their cultivation prevented a people from degenerating into vice and a disregard for the public good as much as their active engagement in civil or military affairs. Whereas the political narrative paid more attention to the great individuals, the history of manners revealed the character and “genius” of the people themselves.25 Thus, the political narrative, while not being neglected, was supplemented and broken up by discourses on the stage, systems of education, religion, rhetoric, philosophy, and other matters which today we might label social, cultural, or intellectual history. Sometimes, however, political and social developments were conflated. Goldsmith, for example, wrote that Marathon was one of the most important battles in history,

as it first taught the Greeks to despise the power of the Persian monarch, and bravely to maintain their own independence; and thus go on cultivating those arts and sciences, which had so evident a tendency to polish and refine their own manners, and have since diffused their benign influence over all the rest of Europe.26
Political liberty produced polite culture. There were actually two stories being written, then, the political and the moral narrative, and the two did not always seem to agree. Only a Polybian understanding of history would reveal that apparent victory might signal ultimate defeat. After the Greeks began to extend their victories from their own homeland and move into Cyprus and Byzantium, campaigns conducted largely to keep Athens and Sparta from destroying each other, the riches they gained proved one source of their undoing: “whatever the Greeks gained upon this occasion in fame and authority, they lost in the purity and simplicity of their manners.”

While the history of manners did not eclipse history-as-biography, it often cast the great leaders of the ancient world in a different light than that provided by the political narrative. Here the compilers really began to make judgments. Such was the case with Pericles. As a model of virtue, as one of the most eloquent leaders in history, as author of the most prudent policy against the Spartans, Pericles remained “the father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true scope and end of his administration.” But as preserver of the morals of his people, Pericles proved less adept. In order to compete with the wealth of his rival Cimon, he divided the conquered lands among the people and amused them with games and shows, which “gave the people a fondness for expense and a dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest.”

According to Rollin, invoking Plato, the new public buildings did not improve “the mind of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners.” After the Periclean innovations, the Athenian fondness for games and shows that had been laudable and had cultivated in them a taste that was moral, decent, and just, degenerated into a distaste for all public business and for a spirited defence against the deluge of the barbarians.

In view of the long-term importance of manners in the improvement of a people's moral condition, the textbook histories held up as models those leaders in the past for whom manners had been the leading consideration of policy. The same character traits of virtue, piety, industry, politeness, and learning that warranted praise in individuals found their corresponding embodiments in the social order. The ancient Romans before Numa “wanted a master who could, by his laws and precepts, soften their warlike dispositions, and by his example, inspire them with a love of religion, and every milder virtue.” Manners must be safeguarded in order to preserve the liberty and happiness of a people. Therefore permanent institutions and aspects of culture which promoted morality among the people were often more important than the manoeuvrings of the political and military leaders. This explains why the enlightened hero was often a man of letters. This explains why eighteenth-century historians preferred the Spartan laws which regulated manners, and thereby guaranteed
stability for half a millennium, to the unpredictable and factional politics of the Athenians. This explains why enlightened educators gave so much attention to institutions and cultural productions such as education, philosophy, and religion. For the politics of culture was no academic matter for enlightened moral educators. Where the ancients had succeeded in war and policy, the moderns meant to imitate them. Where the ancients had failed in the regulation of their manners, the moderns hoped to learn from their mistakes and thus stave off the Polybian promise of inevitable decline.

*British History*

The textbook histories of eighteenth-century Britain reflected the confidence of *philosophes* that they were living in an age of Enlightenment, one of the four happy ages according to Voltaire in *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*. But how long could such an age last? The lessons of ancient history and the literary theory of taste held that just when nations reached their peak of politeness and virtue, they began to decline. Much historiographical attention has been given to the question of whether thinkers in the eighteenth century believed in progress or retained a cyclical view of history. From the perspective of youth in schools, the question remained essentially open. Even those educators who saw decline as inevitable sought to prevent it as long as possible, and secretly hoped for signs of regeneration. To this end, the purpose of youth’s education, especially their historical education, was to show them how to preserve and extend the liberty and happiness of Britain through the cultivation of manners. The question was derived explicitly from their reading of ancient history:

*England is now a rich, victorious, polite, and scientific nation. Now therefore is the time that we ought to keep a more than ordinary watchful eye over our manners; and establish a few needful restraints, to preserve, as long as we can, some degree of industry, frugality, and fortitude alive among us, that the day may be late in which we are to sink, for sink we certainly shall, under our prosperity, as the nations of past ages have done before us.***

*[on the growth of a polite taste in Portugal since the expulsion of the Jesuits]* If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would eventually overturn that hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, "That states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, must necessarily tend to decay, and either experience a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as to excite neither envy nor jealousy."
Such was the current question. The historical question concerned how Enlightenment in Britain had become possible “since the glorious era of the Revolution, when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced.” The study of British history required in the first instance a study of the constitution that had become the envy of Europe and one that had to be understood historically.

The political history of Britain was hardly a settled matter in the eighteenth century. Political disputes between Whigs and Tories in all their varieties made the past a source of conflict rather than national consensus. This is no new story. For our purposes, we must realise that besides the other requirements enlightened pedagogues made upon history taught in school, they insisted that British history ameliorate rather than perpetuate party strife. As one textbook author promised in Lockean language,

all bias, arising from party zeal, or popular prejudice, has been studiously avoided; as an early impression of that nature, too often tinctures the youthful mind so deeply, as to banish from it that impartiality and openness of conviction, which are needed for the study of history.

Yet everyone knew that the history of Britain was the history of party zeal. That history had to be written therefore to warn youth of the consequences of political extremism that even in peaceful times lurked below the surface of British politics. In search of such an “improved” history of Britain, meaning one that supplied a narrative of interesting events and characters, that avoided the passions of party contained in the histories available at that time, that explained the “gradual” development of British liberties and the nature of the balanced constitution, and that gave considerable attention to the influence of manners on society, the textbook compilers turned to David Hume. Beginning with Oliver Goldsmith’s first attempt in 1764, British school histories claimed these attributes and usually mentioned Hume by name in the preface. The school histories followed the essential features of Hume’s “view of the Jacobean and Elizabethan monarchy in which party historiographical prejudices had been refined philosophically to create a more impartial, more polite framework for a history of England.”

Since the new histories gave Britons the first view of their history for perhaps a century, it will be of some use to show how closely they followed Hume’s own History of England. We shall look particularly at Goldsmith’s abridged history. For while it might not have been the best text from our perspective, it was undoubtedly the most successful. It should be realised from the outset, however, that we cannot expect school texts to be as comprehensive and sophisticated as a history meant for adults and written by the age’s great philosophical historian. The size of the text, always a consideration for schoolmasters, is perhaps the most
obvious difference. Often preferring a good story to a political debate, Goldsmith did not always apportion the space he had to our satisfaction nor to that of contemporary critics. For example, where Hume provided a careful narration of Elizabeth's reasons for supporting the re-establishment of Protestantism and Parliament's actions on that account, Goldsmith treated this event with the merest nod:

This favourite of the people [Elizabeth], from the beginning resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the Reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present have the happiness to enjoy it.46

Goldsmith then detailed the affairs of Mary Queen of Scots for half of the chapter on Elizabeth's reign. Not only did he give insufficient attention to the forms of the church establishment, but the last sentence suggests that an easy continuity existed in church affairs from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The subsequent chapters would prove this to be misleading. In saying that Goldsmith followed Hume, then, we do not mean that he wrote a text that Hume would have approved of, that could or should have been written, or even that was very good.47 What we mean is that through language, character sketches, and summaries, Goldsmith followed the essential features of Hume's "sceptical Whiggism."48

In contrast to "vulgar" Whig interpretations, Goldsmith followed Hume's view that liberty had developed only recently in Britain. Despite the personal heroism and attempts at regular government made by Alfred, English kings had defied any system that might be considered a limited monarchy and had concerned themselves little with the interests of their subjects. Since only with Henry VII did a king appear who, like Alfred, fostered commerce and thereby improved the manners of the people, our textbook account should begin with the Tudors, and particularly Elizabeth.49 Besides the abbreviated account of the church settlement, Goldsmith's treatment of Elizabeth's reign was unsatisfactory. Mary Queen of Scots eclipsed Elizabeth throughout most of the chapter. Small but important matters, such as Elizabeth's decision not to marry, were left unexplained.50 During her reign, however, largely as the result of improvements in navigation and commerce and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, "the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity."51 Nonetheless, in what could otherwise have turned into a Whiggish panegyric, some qualifications were made on Elizabeth's character and policy. Whether her grief after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots possessed more guile than sincerity remained an open question.52 Her vanity shone through in her choice of favourites: "although she was almost sixty, and he [Essex] not half so old, yet her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her she was young, and she herself was willing to think so."53 Although the nation gained
in strength and prosperity under Elizabeth's reign, "she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch, so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at pleasure." Fortunately, she was too wise and good to exert that power very often or to act against the "benefit" of the people. The growth of commerce which took place during her reign likewise encouraged the growth of freedom:

If we look through history, and consider the rise of kingdoms, we shall scarce find an instance of a people, becoming, in so short a time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate: Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism; but now that commerce was introduced, liberty soon after followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial that submitted long to slavery.

The reigns of the early Stuarts entered more controversial territory. The view put forth by Goldsmith, following that of Hume, was that however inept and imprudent they might have been, the Stuarts had not conspired against English liberties. James I's reign began favourably, though dangerously, with the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, narrated at length. Public opinion turned against James after he began to bestow wealth and position on worthless favourites, namely, Somerset and Buckingham. The folly of hoping to marry Charles to the princess of either Spain or France owed to his opinion, "peculiar to himself, that, in marrying his son . . . any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him," rather than to "a resolution to restore the kingdoms of England and Scotland to the obedience of the See of Rome." Although Goldsmith did not address the issue, other school texts disagreed over whether James's "pacific character" worked to the advantage of the nation. Lockman reproduced Rapin's assessment that "his subjects were expos'd to the insults and railleries of other nations, the occasion of which was universally imputed to the King" and the French epigram referring to James as "that quaint pedantic dame." The more Humean Allen, while mentioning some of the jokes that circulated in European courts at the time, insisted that James's own pusillanimity furthered the interests of the nation:

The same conduct which was agreeable to him, was in the highest degree advantageous to his subjects; as during the whole of his reign, they were gradually advancing the arts of peace, which contribute much more to the happiness of a nation, than the most splendid victories, or the most extensive foreign conquests.

The school texts were on the whole disappointing on James's rupture with Parliament. The king's tearing the protestation out of the Commons' journals, by which he tore "off that sacred veil, which had hitherto covered the English constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it," might have been a memorable constitutional event for youth, but Goldsmith and others deferred the constitutional crisis to the succeeding reign.
The textbook interpretation of the reign of Charles I will indicate the extent to which a Humean reading of the history of Britain penetrated into the schools. The question is whether the Civil War and the fall of the monarchy resulted from Charles's design "to enslave England" or from a more complicated constitutional impasse. Goldsmith provided a better account of this crisis than he did of previous reigns. On coming to the throne, Charles had been compelled to defend the Elector Palatine, but the parliamentary subsidies proved woefully inadequate. To supply the want, he had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion, such as the use of benevolences. The practice was in fact authorized by many precedents; but no precedent whatsoever could give a sanction to injustice. Refused adequate supplies by another parliament, Charles then turned to an even greater stretch of his power, the levying of ship-money. These abuses of the prerogative met popular disapproval even after Charles had prudently extracted himself from the war over the Palatinate, as seen in the widespread support for Hampden. Charles's failed attempt to establish episcopacy in Scotland proved his undoing when he had to call "that parliament... which did not cease sitting till they overturned the constitution." The Long Parliament did much good in the way of limiting the prerogative. The vengeance of parliament, for example, "fell with great justice on two courts," the high-commission court and the court of star-chamber. After the Irish rebellion, however, the fixing of the prerogative ceased to be the aim of Parliament: "It was now that the republican spirit began to appear without any disguise... and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, resolved to destroy monarchy." Charles's "imprudence" rather than his desire to subvert the constitution led to his impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five commons and his own entrance into the House in search of them. His apologies on that account, however, "rendered him contemptible," where his "his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons." The rather short treatment of the war leans to neither side, but reflects the regret that "thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turn[ed] it against each other." Following Hume's account, though invoking as the cause "the kindness of Providence" on his own, Goldsmith related the deaths of Hampden and Falkland in the first campaign, "the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties." Following the war, the narrative dwelled on the unhappy fate of Charles I. The trial of Charles was reproduced at length as well as the touching scenes during the days before his execution. When that fatal moment came,
was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies; exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor; and signified his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the Church of England. — So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

. . . Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a blow; while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The spectators testified their horror of the sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection began to return; and each blamed himself either with active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. 75

David Hume must not have been alone in shedding a generous tear for Charles I, for latter eighteenth-century schoolboys were invited to do the same.

Although Goldsmith followed Hume's narrative of the Civil War, and shared his views of the growth of constitutional liberty in Britain, the textbook author did not wholly appropriate the causality of the historian writing en philosophe. Goldsmith managed to discuss the Civil War and execution of the king without getting to the heart of the matter in the mind of Hume:

Disuse of parliaments, imprisonments and prosecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of: But the grievances, which tended chiefly to inflame the parliament and nation, especially the latter, were, the surplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered copes, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and of the cross in baptism. On account of these, were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and to the disgrace of that age and of this island, it must be acknowledged, that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin. 76

Goldsmith and other textbook authors did mention the religious differences in Parliament and between the Scots and the king. They could have hardly ignored these disputes altogether. But the "wild enthusiasm" detailed by Hume faded into the background in the school texts. Even Archbishop Laud was only casually mentioned as ruling the church after the death of Buckingham. 77 It appears that confessional strife, while not suppressed, was not taken to be the leading cause of events, at least during the Civil War. For notwithstanding the seeming neglect of religious enthusiasm that brought on that national calamity, Goldsmith's text followed Hume more closely on another and no less dangerous "fluctuation of passions," the Popish Plot. 78

The shift of sympathies from Parliament to Crown in the reign of Charles I, similarly characterised the textbook account of his son's troubled reign. Despite his auspicious
Restoration, Charles II proved himself to be a man addicted to pleasure, ungrateful to his friends, and, after his dismissal of "the great Clarendon" and substitution of the Cabal, unsound in his choice of advisers, and indeed, of a wife. The unnecessary war against the Dutch concluded with a disgraceful peace. The "violent jealousies" of the people against an abandoned court and their "apprehensions of a Popish successor" caused them to cast about for "objects on which to wreak their ill-humours." The Catholics served well in that capacity. Goldsmith covered the events of the Popish Plot as thoroughly as any other event in his history, showing in sceptical Whig fashion the absurdity of every charge and suspicion. His account contrasted significantly with other Whig interpretations:

Q. Why did they entertain such an aversion to that Prince? [the Duke of York; this question follows the Exclusion crisis]
A. He openly profess'd the Romish religion; and their hatred to it being heighten'd by the discovery of a plot in 1678, hatch'd by the Roman Catholics, in which the duke was concern'd, (if the deposition of Bedloe on his death-bed, to the lord chief justice North, may be credited) for this reason the commons endeavour'd to exclude him the succession...

Thus the radical Whig historical catechism. By magnifying the event while giving no credence to the existence of a Popish Plot, Goldsmith on the other hand showed that even Charles's dissolution of Parliament was justified by the "necessity of the times." His arbitrary rule thereafter, however, further threatened the liberties of his subjects. Impartial history in this reign truly found no party to champion:

One can scarce contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror. Such a picture of factious guilt on each side; a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity, and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and factious suspicion.

None of the textbook histories showed any mercy for James II. Nor did Hume. Though James II inherited many of the "faults and misfortunes" of his brother's administration, his own bigoted attachment to Catholicism and arbitrary and awkward attempts to impose this hated religion on his people led to his downfall. After James "abdicated the throne," his
successor likewise experienced "the difficulty of governing a people who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors, than to obey them." Now abridging Smollett, Goldsmith and other textbooks authors showed that political rivalry, if not upheaval, was the distinguishing feature of British politics. Anne's reign was, of course, the scene of great partisan rivalries. George I found himself "the king of a faction." And George II faced an all-out rebellion during the Forty-Five. It is no wonder, then, that textbook authors and schoolmasters turned their attention, like the Scottish school of historians before them, to the progress of manners in the modern age.

The History of Modern Manners

Along with political and constitutional narrative, the textbook histories began to narrate how improvement in manners had led Britain, and Europe more generally, from "barbarity to social refinement." The two stories went hand in hand since barbaric peoples were scarcely capable of forming elaborate political and social arrangements that balanced and calmed the passions of mankind. Rather, liberty had grown in proportion as mankind had attended to rational religion, to commerce, to the arts and sciences, and as the human mind had progressed from a childlike, passionate dependency to an enlightened understanding of virtue and happiness. Furthermore, the history of manners, unlike the political narratives which dwelled upon wars and conquest, stressed the mutual affinity among European nations. Instead of showing how one country's military losses led to another's gain, the history of manners explored how nations could conduct exchange and emulate each other in the arts and sciences. The key figures from whom the passages on manners were selected were, in addition to Hume, Robertson and Voltaire.

The history of manners explained how Europe had emerged gradually from its barbaric and feudal past into "the theatre on which the human character has appeared to most advantage, and where society has attained its most perfect form." This study of the development of the human mind and society from its rude beginnings by fits and starts to its more polished forms was thought to be highly entertaining to the minds of youth, perhaps even more so that the rise and fall of empires:

It must be a pleasing disquisition to observe the human animal, by degrees, divesting himself of his native ferocity, and acquiring the arts of happiness and peace; to trace the steps, by which he leaves his precarious meal, acquired by the chase, for a more certain but a more laborious, repast, acquired first by pasturage, then by cultivation.
Besides the gradual and general effects of commerce, three particular developments were shown to have led to the improvement of European manners. The institution of chivalry tamed the manners of the fierce barbarians who had sacked Rome. The Reformation recalled Christianity from the superstition that it had fallen into under corrupt Popes and narrow-minded monks. And, of course, the "rebirth of learning" in the Renaissance taught human beings again to love what is true and beautiful in nature and in art. It is perhaps most worth looking at the first of these episodes in the history of manners, since chivalry, more than any other social custom, brought women onto the stage of history. Hume, after all, had recommended history chiefly to the ladies, but except for the less than flattering portraits he drew of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, he gave them little part in it.96

One of the principal advantages that moderns enjoyed over the ancients, youth were shown, was the greater part that women played in society. Whereas in ancient Greece and Rome women "seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency,"97 moderns understood that the progress of politeness came as a "consequence of a free intercourse between the sexes."98 This improvement owed, paradoxically, to the same "Northern nations" that had sacked Rome. Because these fierce peoples forbore to offer violence to women, even in the midst of their savage exploits, the lawlessness of feudal society gradually gave way to a culture of chivalry which put men's violent tendencies in the service of women. "Instead of being nobody in society she became its PRIMUM MOBILE." The same men who had sacked cities and committed treasures of art and literature to the flames became valorous, humane, and courteous. In turn, women became worthy of such an honour: "they were not to be approached, but by the high-minded and the brave; and men then could only be admitted to the bosom of the chaste fair, after proving their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril." Not only did chivalry create order and peace but "it gave variety, elegance, and pleasure to the intercourse of life, by making women a more essential part of society."99 Thus the literary "history of the Amazons" had its truly historical counterpart in the school curriculum as the study of chivalry.100 This historical lesson had contemporary relevance. As educators of children and participants in polite conversation, women served as the guardians of decency and refined manners, no small task since "upon manners chiefly depends the well-being of society."101 In the language of one such textbook account, the "Women of Condition" in "Scotland, or North Britain" were "handsome, fruitful, and modest, and very careful in that which is their great Business, viz. Managing their Families, and Educating their Children."102 Hume, therefore, had weighty reasons to gain a female audience, albeit couched in the humour of the times. As one half of this "historical nation" in this "historical age," women might double the historians' market. As guardians of manners and thereby an important historical force according to the new historiography, women should understand the connection between their happiness and virtue. And as mothers who possessed a "domestic genius" for the early education of their
children, it would be they who would introduce young minds to the important study of history, replacing tales of absurd fictional characters with the real achievements of Alfred.

From the historical study of manners, youth advanced to the state of manners in the countries of contemporary Europe. This was a story very much in progress. Each nation was assessed according to the condition of its political institutions, economy, manners, and literary and cultural achievements. As with the individual character, balance in a nation's institutions and pursuits indicated a healthy state of affairs and promise of future improvement. This is not to say that these accounts were entirely formulaic or that only one orthodox standard prevailed. The Swiss, for example, drew praise for their excellent artificers and manufacturers as well as their simple manners, while Italy brought "a new lustre" to poetry and music, particularly the opera. But particular attention was given to the direction that manners were taking a nation, whether bringing its people out of barbarism, as in Russia, or corrupting them, as was always the potential influence of the French court. Similarly, each component of the broad category of manners had its happy medium.

The manners of a nation depended to a certain extent on the degree of political liberty its people enjoyed. Without liberty, improvement of any kind was well nigh impossible:

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, besides other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy still reigns in all its austerity, where the king is a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said.

Yet nations did not have to become as free as the British to make great strides in social and cultural forms. In other countries enlightened absolutism worked well enough, as in Prussia,

where the sciences and the polite arts also have flourished, under the protection of the late illustrious Frederick, who was at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms, the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He collected round him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches have been directed to the most valuable ends.

Similarly, the continuing vitality of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture in Sweden and Denmark, despite the loss of liberty and independence, established the general maxim "that every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition is altogether servile."

The "industry" of a nation, then, was essential to its progress. Were we to extend our study of history to its handmaiden geography, we would find an even greater emphasis on the trade, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the European nations. This study had, of course, tremendous practical application for future merchants, seamen, and men of affairs,
which is why geography ranked high among the "new branches" that parents demanded of eighteenth-century schools. Indeed, we have noticed throughout this study the influence of commerce on the eighteenth-century curriculum. The teaching of English largely owed to the desire of parents and schoolmasters to enable students to learn the language of trade and make an "early figure in the world." Those students who possessed no "genius" for the learned languages should, according to some schoolmasters, learn a trade after instruction in English, history, and accounts, and thereby become no less useful members of society. Some comprehensive school textbooks included chapters on trade and commerce. Should youth have needed any more prodding to learn a trade or choose some commercial calling than what they received from their parents and schoolmasters, their textbooks linked political liberty to the growth of commerce. They were told that a genius for commerce distinguished modernity favourably from ancient and medieval societies. Rather than being confined either to military training as among the ancients, or to clerical affairs as in medieval society, now that the real sources of wealth, power, and happiness were understood, schooling therefore should equip youth with "a different and better furniture of the mind." To this end, students in academies were instructed in the theories of laws, government, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. Joseph Priestley even held that the study of commerce, at fifteen or so, would have the added value of connecting youth's studies with the conversation of their parents:

It cannot fail to arouse their attention, and increase their application to their studies, when they hear the subjects of them discussed by their fathers, and the elder part of their friends and acquaintance, for whose understanding and turn of thinking they have conceived a great esteem. . . It is no wonder that many young gentlemen give but little attention to their present studies, when they find that the subjects of them are never discussed in any sensible conversation to which they are ever admitted.

Yet before we brand eighteenth-century education with the general and therefore useless mark of "bourgeois ideology," we should distinguish the world of Addison and Johnson and Hume and Smith from the world of Samuel Smiles and Horatio Alger. Enlightened educators, however much they urged industry in youth and preached the advantages of industry in society, remained true to their liberal purposes. No single passion or appetite could be allowed to consume the whole human being or nation. The manners of the Dutch served as an example to young Britons of what to avoid:

The Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of liberty [than the Swiss], who acquired its full establishment by greater and more glorious efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base, dead to all sense of a public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The passion for gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle
prevails. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in Holland. In such a country, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like the miser enjoys in contemplating his gold; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.113

Britain's future merchants and leaders, therefore, should learn to navigate between the two aberrations of a liberal commerce, luxury and greed.

The same sense of balance characterised the discussion of social relations, "manners" in the more narrow sense of the term. Youth learned the mean between gravity and gaiety. Just as the Augustan age of Britain avoided the austerity of the Puritan regime and the licentiousness of the Restoration, during the earlier years of Louis XIV's reign "society obtained its highest polish." Subsequently the misfortunes of Louis XIV's policies and the "mystical religion" of Madame de Maintenon "threw a gloom over the manners of the people." The court retrieved its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, who nonetheless went too far by introducing "a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency, and unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision, and a spirit of dissipation."114 Fortunately, the licentious manners of the court did not corrupt the whole people.

The most evident sign of the improving spirit of the French could be seen in their culture and learning. A brief survey of the textbook comments on the progress of eighteenth-century French literature will reveal not only the importance schoolmasters placed upon "learning" as a force in history,115 but also how the intellectual movement we now refer to as the Enlightenment was presented to British youth. Unsurprisingly, an admirer of the balanced British constitution headed the list of French thinkers:

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns their essential interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. This penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government, its moving principle under all its different forms, and spirit of laws in each has given to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable.116

Educators did not fail to acknowledge their pedagogical compatriot Helvétius, who tried in vain to convince men "that they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degrees in which they possess them, are merely effects of education, and other external circumstances." Such knowledge should humble the pride and soften the animosities that are expressed in the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of different religions, and the scorn of different
classes in the same kingdom.\textsuperscript{117} What Montesquieu and Helvétius accomplished in the moral world, Buffon extended to the natural. Voltaire, certainly, was one of the great men of the age. His \textit{Henriad} perhaps equalled the classical epics. His histories were "models of elegant composition and just thinking." Only his philosophical pieces were "generally superficial, and often of a pernicious tendency."\textsuperscript{118} A significant debt of gratitude was owed to Diderot and d'Alembert for their \textit{Encyclopédie}. Another contributor to the French Encyclopaedia received even greater laurels:

\begin{quote}
Marmontel . . . has farther enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting \textit{Contes Moraux}. More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner, perhaps, superior to every other species of fanciful composition.\textsuperscript{119}
\end{quote}

In other words, the French \textit{siècle des lumières} was a good thing as long as it adhered to the standards of a proper British Enlightenment.

It would be too tedious to recount the progress of letters and learning in Britain over the course of the eighteenth century as taught to the British youth. We have drunk deep from this well in the other chapters. Yet we must recall that history concerned the rise and fall of empires, and that a nation's manners largely determined whether it was rising or declining. And national manners were significantly improved or deranged by public authors. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the public authors whose works were most in demand were the historians themselves. The turning of the national taste from novels to history, even among young people, marked one of the great improvements of the age:

\begin{quote}
But the histories of Hume and Robertson appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, "that real incidents, properly selected and disposed, setting aside the idea of utility, and real characters delineated with truth and force, can more strongly interest both the mind and heart, than any fabulous narration." This taste continues happily to gain ground.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

Historians and successful compilers found it increasingly difficult to make a case for national decline, a tendency inextricably linked with the standard of taste, while their own works were becoming best-sellers. For apprehensions of decline, we must look to the classicists.
NOTES


2 The division between "characters" and "events" was, of course, a pedagogical construct that did not hold up in practice, nor was it meant to, especially since in Turnbull's opinion the "state is but a greater one," and therefore the moral rules were the same. Liberal Education, 364. The ancient and modern histories were written largely from the perspective of great men in political and military action. A text such as Rollin's or Hume's filled both criteria: elaborate character sketches and a political narrative. What seems to have happened is that shorter textbooks for schools, such as those by Goldsmith, left out much of the characteristical detail, especially his History of England which concentrated on kings rather than modern, cultural heroes. Biographies then had to recapture the study of individuals.

3 This line of analysis can be found in Rollin, Belles Lettres, 3:196; Bolingbroke, Letters, letter 2; and Turnbull, Liberal Education, 372-9, 394-7.

4 Oliver Goldsmith, Dr. Goldsmith's History of Greece, Abridged, for the Use of Schools (London, 1787). Dr. Goldsmith's Roman History, Abridged by Himself, for the Use of Schools (London, 1772). Dr. Goldsmith's History of England, Abridged by Himself, for the Use of Schools (London, 1774). These school texts were abridgments from his previous compilations. For the use of Goldsmith, see Chapman, Treatise, booklist; Milns, Well-Bred Scholar, 136; Knox, Works, 4:43n., who called them hasty works compiled to supply present wants, but not without genius. The present wants were to replace the longer histories by Rollin and Hume and the question-and-answer texts by Lockman, et al., which were unreadable. The extensive use of these works can be seen not only through their numerous editions but also the frequency with which later abridgments used the "in the manner of Goldsmith" rider. For Goldsmith's own claim of being nothing more than a compiler, see his prefaces to the Roman and English histories, in Works, 5:332-335, 336-40.

5 Not all educators classified Scripture-reading as history or recommended universal history. Chapman took the Bible more for a moral philosophy text. Knox did not mention universal history in his chapter on history. Moreover, for him religious instruction ought to come from a parent, though schoolmasters should attend such lessons whenever youth were boarded away from home. Works, 4:134-7. Nonetheless, I shall discuss religious history following Rollin, Turnbull, Barclay, and Priestley. As we have seen, Dr. James at Rugby had boys read from Watts' Scripture History. Besides the Bible, and the texts of Watts and Bossuet, other texts were used, such as Edward Button, Rudiments of Ancient History, Sacred and Profane . . . Designed for the Use of Schools (London, 1739). See John Ash, Sentiments, 164, on reading the Old Testament. Selections from Rollin on sacred history in Buchanan, Complete English Scholar; Warden, Collection. Selections from various parts of sacred history in Burgess, Entertainer; Masson, Collection; Edinburgh Entertainer; Barrie, Collection and Tyro's Guide; Adams, Flowers of Ancient History. Admittedly, the following is a sketchy treatment of an extremely difficult subject. But it reflects eighteenth-century schoolmasters' own difficulties at incorporating religion, ostensibly the most important subject, into the liberal-arts curriculum.

6 Belles Lettres, 3:102.

7 Ibid., 3:11.

8 Ibid., 3:112.

9 Ibid., 1:37.

10 This lesson had practical implications for the classroom. Rollin quoted Augustine as chastising two students for wrangling with each other without regard for the truth of the question but only their own advancement: "He strove only to restrain a noble emulation with just bounds, and hinder it from degenerating into pride, the greatest disease to which mankind is subject," Belles Lettres, 1:45. The reader will perceive that there existed a tension in the curriculum among the views of human nature discussed in chapter 1. The question is whether contemporaries were aware of this tension, or whether their thinking was in a way compartmentalised. That is, when they went to church and said the catechism, they held to original sin. When they studied moral philosophy, they held to more optimistic views of human nature. At this level of education it is rather hard to say. This is one of the areas in which moral philosophy would have more to say. See my conclusion.

11 Barclay, Treatise, 172-3.

12 Ibid., 175.

13 The literature on the opposition to Rousseau's ideas of religious instruction is vast. For the most direct and extensive response in the Scottish context, see Kames, Loose Hints, sec. 7.

14 Turnbull, Liberal Education, 389.

15 Barclay, Treatise, 175-6.
Ancient

of reverse

Entertainer, Adams, Flowers

change in Allestree’s Whole Duty of Man or Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress. This is not to say that they were not read, and certainly they must have been in homes. But their omission in English readers indicates a significant change in reading patterns from the previous century.

Belles Lettres, 3:310ff.; Ancient History, bk. 5, art. 7. Lycurgus taken from Rollin in Edinburgh Entertainer; Adams, Flowers of Ancient History; Goldsmith, Greece, ch. 2.

Rollin asked rhetorically whether one cannot serve the state with his mind as well. Many of the intellectual heroes of the eighteenth century, sickly and therefore studious in youth, would have been exposed. I imagine schoolmasters would have drawn this conclusion using, perhaps, the elder Pitt as an example.

Rollin, Ancient History, bk. 5, art. 7; Goldsmith, Greece, ch. 2.

Turnbull, Liberal Education, 374. That this view pervaded the reading of ancient history is best illustrated by Turnbull, since he was among the most optimistic of the Hatchesonia. On the previous page he claimed that “there is hardly any truth in morals or politics” which one cannot learn from the works of Bossuet and Rollin. For Rollin’s reading of Polybius to find the “real causes” of events, see Belles Lettres, 3:190-6.

Rollin, Ancient History, 6.1.7, following Nepos. Cf. Goldsmith, Greece, ch. 4. It should be realised that Nepos was one of the more popular Latin texts in schools, so students would have encountered these events in the studies of both classical languages and history.

Rollin concluded a long passage on the manners and customs of the Athenians with the following observation: “[They possessed] one more attribute which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprises; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion, and the main-spring of their policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. . . . These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconstant, capricious people, as were the Athenians.” Ancient History, 10.2.3.11.

Rollin, Ancient History, 6.2.2. The latter quote taken by Rollin from Justin. Following Rollin: Goldsmith, Greece, ch. 5; Adams, Ancient; and related passages on Xerxes in The Historical Preceptor.

Goldsmith, Greece, 52.

Ancient History, bk. 10, “Manners and Customs of the Greeks,” introduction. Hugh Blair, in discussing the “great improvement” lately introduced in historical composition, defined the concept of “manners”: “a more particular attention than was formerly given to laws, customs, commerce, religion, literature, and every other thing that tends to shew the spirit and genius of nations. It is now understood to be the business of an able historian to exhibit manners, as well as facts and events; and assuredly, whatever displays the state and life of mankind, in different periods, and illustrates the progress of the human mind, is more useful and interesting than the detail of sieges and battles.” Lectures, 366.

Goldsmith, Greece, 30.

Ibid., 54.

Ancient History, 7.3.2. Cf. Goldsmith, Greece, 71.

Ancient History, 7.1.7.


Ancient History, preface, “Fondness for Theatrical Representations One of the Principal Causes of the Decline, Degeneracy, and Corruption of the Athenian State.” Rollin held here that Pericles was the “first author of this degeneracy and corruption.” Rollin’s analysis of Pericles was reproduced in Stretch, Beauties, “Luxury,” along with Rollin on the Persians, Scythians, and Romans.

Dr. Goldsmith’s Roman History, Abridged by Himself for the Use of Schools (London, 1772), ch. 3. I have used the fifth edition of 1790. This assessment of Numa corresponded to Machiavelli’s tenth chapter of the Discorsi on the order of those deserving fame.

Opening chapter of Voltaire’s Louis XIV in The Historical Preceptor, 7-9, and EEPr., 586-88. On the development of Voltaire’s theory of history as expressed in this work and the Essai sur les mœurs, see J. H. Brumfitt, Voltaire, Historian (Oxford, 1958), esp. ch. 3.

See ch. 4.

From the British perspective, one of the latest and best books on the subject is David Spadafora, The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain (New Haven, 1990).

Stretch, Beauties, 66.
The connection between the history of the constitution and the growth of manners can be seen in this typically Goldsmithian conflagration: "All who are enamoured of the liberty and happiness which they peculiarly enjoy, in this happy region, must surely be desirous of knowing the methods by which such advantages were acquired; the progressive steps from barbarity to social refinement, from society to the highest pitch of well constituted freedom. All Europe stands in astonishment at the wisdom of our constitution, and it would argue the highest degree of insensibility in a native of this country, and one too who from his birth enjoys peculiar privileges, to be ignorant of what others so much admire." The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son, letter 2.


For the use of history as a warning against "Party disputes and contentions," see, e.g., Burgh, Thoughts on Education, 12. Croft encouraged the teaching of what we would today call "current events," but with the utmost caution: "One delicate part of his office will be to discourse amongst his pupils concerning the intelligence and the leading characters of the day. Actuated by no mean party spirit, he will increase their veneration for the constitution in church and state, he will point out the necessity of supporting authority in all its branches, and he will assure them, that its limits are now so perfectly ascertained as to preclude a possibility of tyranny and oppression. Instead of filling their minds with party spirit, he will caution them particularly to avoid and abhor it." Observations, 202-3.

Thomas Sheridan on Hume's History of England: "But as our own history is that which chiefly imports to us to know, Hume's history of England cannot be read too often, nor with too much attention. And this, not only because it is the clearest, and most impartial of any hitherto produced, but because of the goodness of the style, which will improve the taste of the boys in English composition. After having read it with care, each boy should be employed in making an abstract from it from the time of the conquest, taking notice only of the most material facts, without entering into the spirit of parties, policies, or intrigues of the times. The abstract of each reign should be closed with an account of the principal laws made during that reign. This, as Mr. Locke observes, will give an insight into the reason of our statutes, and shew the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have." Plan, 98.

Again, some publication history is necessary. Before Hume's History, textbook authors normally followed Paul Rapin de Thoyras's History of England. Many of these books were written in a question and answer method which Goldsmith and others criticised for being uninteresting and capable only of loading the memory with facts. The most popular of these was John Lockman, A New History of England, by Question and Answer. Extracted from the Most Celebrated English Historians . . . for the Instruction of Youth (London, 1754). Nonetheless, Lockman's England was published throughout the century, and reached a twenty-second edition in 1790. I shall refer to this history to show the possible radical Whig interpretations, although many of these statements disappeared in later editions. It is difficult to determine, however, whether those who preferred Lockman did so for ideological reasons or for the question and answer method. Goldsmith's first English history, though written for young men, was suitable "for the instruction of boys." The second Goldsmith work, published in 1771 as The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II, was abridged in 1774 and subsequently became a recognised school text. An Abridgment of the History of England. From the Invasion of Julius Caesar, to the Death of George II. By Dr. Goldsmith. (London, 1774), 356pp., 12mo. Compiled texts, such as Adams's Flowers of Modern History, drew on Goldsmith as well as Hume, Robertson, and other "celebrated" historians. Goldsmith asserted in the preface to the unabridged England that "I have particularly taken Hume for my guide . . . [and] it is but justice to say, that wherever I was obliged to abridge his work I did it with reluctance, as I scarce cut out a line that did not contain a beauty." Works, 5:339. His abridged history was hardly more original. Nonetheless, though claiming to write without partisan motives, Goldsmith admitted that he differed with Hume by occasionally leaning more to the side of monarchy. He also criticised Hume for being inconsistent on religion by upholding its political necessity while denying that it owed its authority to any higher origin. On the whole, the school text differed with Hume on few material points. Later authors who meant to improve on Goldsmith's admittedly "hasty" composition were if anything more reliant on Hume. The History of England: Being a Compendium, Adapted to the Capacities and Memories of Youth at School . . . Carefully and Impartially Extracted from the Best Historians, Both Ancient and Modern (London, 1768), was a very
cursory treatment. Charles Allen, A New and Improved History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the End of the 32d Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George the Third ... Concluding with a Comparative Statement of the Commercial Situation of Great Britain at This Important Crisis ... Display[ing] the Principle of Our Excellent Constitution ... Designed for the Use of Schools (London, 1793), was published again in 1798 by Joseph Johnson. Allen used Hume's own words less regularly, but followed his view closely and provided quite a satisfactory text. Alexander Bicknell, A History of England and The British Empire Designed for the Instruction of Youth; to which Is Prefixed an Essay On the English Constitution (De Lome) ... Compiled from the Best Authorities (London, 1791 and 1794), followed Hume closely. ESTC also lists An Impartial History of England, from the Earliest Authentic Records ... to the Middle of the Year 1799. Selected and Compiled from Hume, Smollett, Goldsmith, Robertson, and Other Improved Historians (Blackbern, 1799). A genuine Hume abridgment was published in Edinburgh as Hume's History of England, Abridged, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar, to the Revolution in 1688. For the Use of Schools and Young Gentlemen. By George Buist, V.D.M. (1793). This was an excellent abridgment, and almost all of the points made below can be found in this text.

44 Nicholas Phillipson, Hume (London, 1989), 85. The following analysis draws heavily on ch. 5.
45 See, e.g., Whittaker's Improved Edition of Pinnock's Goldsmith's History of England ... [with] a Dictionary, Biographical, Historical, &c. Explaining Every Difficulty, and Rendering the Whole Easy to Be Understood; and Questions for Examination at the End of Each Section: Besides a Variety of Valuable Information Added Throughout, 41st ed. (London, 1851). Aside from these many addenda, the Goldsmith text remained largely unaltered. I have found many other advertisements for Goldsmith's histories in the backs of nineteenth-century popular editions, but as my focus is on the eighteenth century, I have not looked at any alternative texts.

47 The reviews savaged all of Goldsmith's historical works. Johnson is also a rich source for such abuse: "Though he wrote ye histy of England, he knew nothing more of it than turning over two or three English Historians & abridging them." Quoted in R. W. Seitz, "Goldsmith and the Annual Register," Modern Language Notes 45 (1930): 188.
48 See Pocock, "The Varieties of Whiggism," 250-3; Phillipson, Hume, 17, and passim.
49 Goldsmith, England, 133. See Phillipson, Hume, 130. Goldsmith's account of Henry VII was rather generous. For a more Humean account showing that monarch's attention to commerce to have derived from avarice, see Allen, 171-2; Bicknell, 109, 112-3.
50 See, however, Allen, 228; Lockman, 146-7.
51 Goldsmith, England, 185.
52 Goldsmith, England, 174; Allen, 219. Lockman (145) appears to have taken Elizabeth's grief as genuine. For Hume, Elizabeth's behaviour consisted in only "shame and artifice." History, 4:244-5, 252-3. Similarly, Bicknell (154-5) considered Elizabeth "an excellent hypocrite," but in this case whose "dissimulation was so gross, that few were deceived by it."
54 Goldsmith, England, 185. Cf. Bicknell, 151. Hume's analysis of the government of England under Elizabeth can be summarised as follows: "In order to understand the ancient constitution of England, there is not a period which deserves more to be studied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple. ... The great popularity, which she enjoyed, proves, that she did not infringe any established liberties of the people." History, 4:355.
56 Goldsmith, England, 186-91. Cf. Allen, 231-2; Bicknell, 166-8; Lockman, 149; Adams, Flowers, 182-5; Masson, Collection. These accounts were drawn from Hume, History, 5:25-32.
57 Hume on Somerset: "All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: All his acquired abilities, in an easy air and graceful demeanour." History, 5:52. Goldsmith (191) on Somerset: "All his natural accomplishments consisted in a pleasing visage; and all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanour." Bicknell (169) on Somerset: "The whole of his accomplishments, natural and acquired, consisted in good looks and a graceful air."
59 Lockman, 150.
60 Lockman, 151.
61 Allen, 233. Cf. Hume, History, 5:142. Allen's character sketch (238) also matches that of Hume (5:121-2). The jokes included James's having been caricatured as wearing a scabbard without a sword; and that in relief of the Elector Palatine the king of Denmark would send a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter boxes, and the king of England a hundred thousand ambassadors.
73 Ibid., 69. Ibid., 203-4. Cf. Hume,
65 Bicknell's entire account of the reign of Charles I echoed Hume.
76 Hume, History, 5:303.
77 Goldsmith, England, 202. The execution of Laud is mentioned (213) but only briefly and with this curious comment: "He was now brought to his trial, condemned, and executed. And it was a melancholy consideration, that, in those times of trouble, the best men on either side were those who chiefly suffered." Allen's history says even less on Laud. See, however, Bicknell, 179.
78 It will not be necessary to detail the Interregnum, since all the textbook accounts regarded Cromwell as "an usurper." See death of Cromwell in previous chapter.
83 Bedloe's death-bed testimonial was thought to confirm the evidence of the Popish Plot. Hume dismissed this "proof" in History, 6:385-6.
84 Lockman, A New History, 16th ed. (London, 1770). Beginning in 1734, Lockman reworked this passage several times, but always with the same bent. For a boring and non-committal account, see Allen, 273. Allen's treatment of Charles II was on the whole far less balanced than Goldsmith's.
86 Ibid., 257.
87 Ibid., ch. 31, describes James's openly attending mass; Monmouth's rebellion and bloody execution; the atrocities committed by Kirke and Jefferey after the rebellions; James's attempt to suspend the clergyman Sharpe; Castlemain's mission to the Pope; James's attempt to place Catholics in the universities; and his order to read the declaration of indulgence in the churches and resulting trial of the six bishops and the primate. Cf. Hume, History, vol. 6, ch. 70.
88 Ibid., 267.
89 Ibid., 268. William's continental concerns were hardly a favourite cause for the textbook authors: "For the prosecution of the war with France, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and involved themselves in debts, which they have never since been able to discharge. "... The war with France continued during the greatest part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Ryswyck put an end to those contentions, in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage." Ibid., 272.
90 Ibid., ch. 39.
91 Ibid., 294: "The king of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects."
92 Ibid., 322-331.
93 Accounts of manners appeared within the narrative of the British histories aforementioned, and sometimes in separate chapters or at the end of chapters. The best textbook devoted exclusively to this kind of history was John Adams's Flowers of Modern History, which traced the development of manners from the fall of Rome through commentaries on writers such as Fielding, Smollett, Richardson, Hume, and Robertson. This

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work first appeared in 1788 and reached a fourth edition in 1799. Adams compiled his work in part from William Russell's *The History of Modern Europe*, itself a compilation from Voltaire, Robertson, et al. Russell's work first appeared in 1779 and saw five subsequent printings. Select passages appeared in other texts such as *The Historical Preceptor* (Robertson, Hume, Voltaire, Gibbon), which however leaned more to the ancients. Alexander Adam's *A Summary of Geography and History, Both Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh, 1794), included passages of the manners and customs of various regions, e.g., the Americans from Robertson. John Ash in *Sentiments on Education* (166-7) recommended reading the first volume of Robertson's *Charles V* after the histories of Greece and Rome and before proceeding to the history of one's own country. Recommendations of the histories of Hume, Robertson, and Russell can be found in Milns, *Well-Bred Scholar*, 136-7.


Goldsmith, *Letters*, no. 2, in *Works*, 5:302. Cf. Adams, *Flowers of Modern History*, advertisement: "certainly whatever displays the state and life of mankind, in different periods, and illustrates the progress of the human mind, is more useful and interesting, than the detail of sieges and battles." Following references are all to Adams's modern *Flowers*.

Elizabeth was an admirable queen, but considered as a woman "we may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress." Hume, *History*, 4:353. Mary Queen of Scots, presumably, we might fancy as a wife or mistress, but made a terrible queen.


Priestley, *Liberal Education*, lecture 54, "Influence of Politeness in a State."

Adams, *Flowers*, 119-21, explicitly following Hume and Robertson. The Aberdonian text-book editor provided yet another admirable compilation with *Sketches of the History, Genius, Disposition, Accomplishments, Employments, Customs and Importance of the Fair Sex*, in all parts of the World (London and Philadelphia, 1796). Taken from the writings of Robertson, Fordyce, Ferguson, Millar, Fénelon, Knox, et al., this work purported "to give a brief detail of the history of the Fair Sex—to inspire them with a sense of their own importance—to excite them to laudable pursuits—to teach them that 'Virtue alone is happiness below'; that an amiable conduct can only secure love and esteem—and to furnish them with innocent amusement." For the account of chivalry, see pp. 50-67.

*Spectator* nos. 433-4. These papers appeared occasionally in some of the textbooks explored in ch. 4.

Here, Kames, *Loose Hints*, 21, but an aphorism in eighteenth-century political and social thought.

Buchanan, *The Complete English Scholar*, 395. Similarly, Adams's *Sketches* offered snapshots of the women of the East, China, India, Africa, Arabia, Europe, France, Italy, Spain, England, Russia, Germany, "the British ladies at different periods," etc.

The eighteenth-century usage of "manners" in several senses is admittedly confusing. Moralists spoke of manners both in the larger sense of the French *mœurs* and in our narrower meaning of social conduct, under which falls the educational aim of politeness. But the history of manners included essentially everything other than wars and political disputes, as the quote from Blair above indicates.


Ibid., 322.

Ibid., 323.

Ibid., 322.

For example, Dodsley's *Preceptor*, ch. 10. See John Ash, *Sentiments on Education*, vol. 1, sec. 14.

Priestley, *Liberal Education*, 4-5.

Ibid., 10.

Ibid., 17-18.


Adams, *Flowers*, 324-5.

Adams, *Flowers*, 328.

Barclay insisted that the arts and sciences ought to be studied as "the very hinges of history, upon which the whole fabric in some measure depends." *Treatise*, 211.


Ibid., 330.

Ibid., 331.

Ibid., 332-3.

Ibid., 354.
CHAPTER VII
THE RETENTION OF THE CLASSICS

This chapter addresses one of the most difficult questions confronted by eighteenth-century educators: why should future gentlemen, merchants, well-to-do farmers, and even most of the members of the learned professions, who would speak and write English as adults, nonetheless spend most of their early education learning the ancient languages? As we shall see, the defenders of the classics would draw upon and further develop the themes in the debate we have encountered thus far: the principles of mind on which education worked, the lessons in virtue that the ancients still had to teach the moderns, and the standards of taste by which every individual and every nation must be governed. It should be appreciated at the outset that this question was not permanently decided, at least theoretically, in our period, but continued well into the nineteenth century. Indeed the question of the ancient languages remained the most unsettled part of the curriculum. In the second half of the century educators with any inkling of reform agreed that students should learn to speak and write polite English prose and be taught the lessons in modern virtue found in the recent British histories. Yet as some reformers doubted the "utility" of Latin and Greek altogether, and built an increasingly strong argument against their retention in the curriculum, the advocates of the ancient languages had to respond with increasing dexterity. We shall look at this argument in depth from mid-century, and then concentrate on the order and method in which the classical authors were studied.

The Case Against Latin

Although Locke had maintained that Latin was "absolutely necessary to a Gentleman," his more vitriolic remarks against the custom of grammar schools could be used not only to advocate English in the curriculum, but to denigrate the teaching of the classical languages. Once English had gained a place in the curriculum at mid-century, these arguments were further developed by some education reformers who, based upon that successful introduction, wanted henceforth to teach English "without the embarrassment of Latin or Greek." Some of these arguments we have encountered already in the discussion of English, but some were entirely new, and it will be necessary to review the case against the classics in order to perceive the strength of the assault their defenders had to quell.

The first "disadvantage" of classical learning appealed both to experience and to caricature. The image of the grammar-school master "whipping young boys" through the Latin and Greek grammars remained the code throughout the century for all that was wrong in the customary modes of education. The "usual lazy and short way" of disciplining...
children by beating them had been severely criticised by Locke and the *Spectator*, the twin arbiters on everything educational. The common resort to violence in teaching the dead languages signalled that these languages were somehow unnatural in the first place or that teachers were generally incompetent taskmasters who had to beat into boys what they barely understood themselves and did not have the taste to appreciate. Even those who held that the ancient languages were desirable in themselves admitted that not every child possessed a "genius" for them. To force all students to conform to an arbitrary ideal of what constituted "learning," regardless of individual capacities, only deterred many youth at an early age from any kind of learning or usefulness. Indeed, the unpleasant experiences in youth of some men later distinguished for learning suggests that this charge was not wholly unfounded. Like many young gentlemen, Boswell had a series of governors in his youth, one of whom encouraged him to read and enjoy the *Spectator* and the Roman poets. When that governor became minister of a parish, the young Boswell found his new governor to be "a very honest man but harsh and without knowledge of the human mind":

He had gone through the usual course of school and college. He had learned his lessons well, and all he had learned he had made part of himself. He was a dogmatist who never doubted. He felt and acted according to system. . . . He made me read the ancient authors, but without getting any pleasure from them. He had no other idea than to make me perform a task. When I asked him questions about the poets, for instruction or amusement—and why should I not have looked for amusement?—he lost his temper and cried out with a schoolmaster's arrogance, "Come, come, keep at work, keep at work, don't interrupt the lesson. Time is flying." Consequently I got the habit of reading without any profit. It was enough to say that I had read such and such an author.5

Boswell might have considered himself lucky for being thus drilled, yet without feeling the lash, as did his contemporaries in the Edinburgh High School:

The person to whose uncontrolled discipline I was now subjected, though a good man, an intense student, and filled, but rather in the memory than in the head, with knowledge, was as bad a schoolmaster as it is possible to fancy. Unacquainted with the nature of youth, ignorant even of the characters of his own boys, and with not a conception of the art or of the duty of alluring them, he had nothing for it but to drive them; and this he did by constant and indiscriminate harshness.

The effects of this were very hurtful to all his pupils. Out of the whole four years of my attendance there were probably not ten days in which I was not flogged, at least once. Yet I never entered the class, nor left it, without feeling perfectly qualified, both in ability and preparation, for its whole business; which [was] confined to Latin alone. . . . But I was driven stupid. Oh! the bodily and mental wearisomeness of sitting six hours a day, staring idly at a page, without motion and without thought, and trembling at the gradual approach of the merciless giant. . . . The beauty of no Roman word, or thought, or action, ever occurred to me! nor did I ever fancy that Latin was of any use except to torture boys.6

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With the sons of Scottish lords and Edinburgh's elite being thus provided, we can only imagine the degree of deadness in the teaching of the dead languages elsewhere. The unlikelihood that boring or brutal schoolmasters and tutors could have taught English subjects any better was a point raised mainly by the classicists and, indirectly, by those who sought to raise the salaries of schoolmasters and thereby attract more polite scholars into the profession. In the popular mind, however, bad teaching was associated with the bad teaching of Latin.

Another complaint against the classical languages, even in the case of boys with a genius for them, was the time they took to learn. The choice of certain employments precluded the necessity of classical training. Being bogged down by classical studies in youth kept one from making "an early figure in life." Boys destined for a life of commerce, who would not possess the leisure of gentlemen, were not to be troubled with languages that would be forgotten in one-tenth the time it took to acquire them. This argument drew upon the preoccupation, near obsession, with time that appeared in the curriculum in various forms. Benjamin Rush quoted the scientist David Rittenhouse: "I once thought health the greatest blessing in the world . . . but I do not think so now. There is one thing of much greater value, and that is time." To the situation of post-Revolutionary America, Rush applied the standards of civic and material improvement which differed from those of Britain in their republican idiom but not in kind:

Here the opportunities of acquiring knowledge and of advancing private and public interest are so numerous, and the rewards of genius and industry so certain, that not a particle of time should be mis-spent or lost. We occupy a new country. Our principal business should be to explore and apply its resources, all of which press us to enterprize and haste. Under these circumstances, to spend four or five years in learning two dead languages, is to turn our backs upon a gold mine, in order to amuse ourselves in catching butterflies.

Besides a new country, the time wasted on the classical languages prevented the exploration of the new "sciences" for whose mastery "a lifetime is not sufficient." These sciences were not and could not be written in ancient languages. Benjamin Rush and the dissenting academy tutor William Stevenson belittled the classical languages for their incapacity of expressing new discoveries made daily in the arts, manufactures, navigation, anatomy, indeed in almost every aspect of the physical and moral world. Owing to the rapid changes being made in the sciences and also the professions, critics of classical learning began to doubt its utility even for those pursuing careers in law, medicine, and divinity, the home turf of the classics. Education must incorporate these discoveries into the curriculum. Anti-classicists held that children should be taught "facts" before "words." The facts of nature would be more easily remembered by children and better form the judgment. Further, the facts of nature would be learned with more pleasure and would make the young
person more sociable through his ability to relate his discoveries to others. His walks abroad would confirm "the facts and principles" of nature he learned at school. In contrast, "books alone can increase or confirm the knowledge of the classical scholar." This was a new argument, perhaps owing much to Rousseau. Nonetheless, scientists drew upon many of the same arguments used by the advocates of English a half-century earlier to expose the classically-trained schoolboy's isolation from the rest of society.

An argument with a longer history was the elevation of English authors. The anti-classicists did not just maintain that Addison, Milton, and Pope ought to be read to acquaint British youth with their own language and the principles of taste, as did nearly every education reformer in the eighteenth century. They insisted that English authors alone could do everything that the ancient languages had once done. Grammarians began to perceive that English had its own grammar, one very different from the Latin. English authors began to be referred to as "classics" as we now understand that term in the vernacular sense. These English classics, the grammarian Buchanan asked rhetorically, could convey the principles of taste to the young mind just as well as the Greek and Roman classics: "if the works of Virgil, Horace, and other ancients, tended to inspire a just and correct taste, may not the writings of Swift, Addison, Pope, Dryden &tc produce the same effects?" The recent improvements in the English language derived precisely from the decline of Latin and Greek. Admittedly, in points of taste the Greeks had been the most accomplished people ever to have existed, and consequently their language the most correct. But the arete of their writings owed to their having had only one language to cultivate, their own. By speaking and writing only their own language from early childhood, the Greek youth "stept out of their academies ready equipped to enter upon business, and to make an early and advantageous figure in public life." Moreover, since the Greeks had not been hampered by learning languages in youth, they had been able to study nature directly. "Nature" in this sense did not mean a vast resource to be explored and exploited, but a retreat to be enjoyed and on which the principles of taste were formed. Nature herself would teach modern youth to write with taste and elegance better than the writings of the ancients. A servile imitation of the ancients caused modern English authors to publish every spring poems that described the climates of Greece and Rome. Moderns should realise that nature did not exhaust herself in the classical age, and that they should imitate the ancients in spirit rather than in letter, by studying nature directly.

Forcing boys to study Latin also discouraged in them the quality that schoolmasters purport to teach, virtue. Boys with no capacity for learning the dead languages, who might possess a genius in some other branch of instruction, became discouraged in their irksome lessons. Consequently, they turned from their education and sought "low company," whose altogether different lessons formed them into harmful members of
society.\textsuperscript{19} But were the lessons to be found in the classical authors all that different from the low company of the present age? The indelicate amours and shocking vices of gods and men found in the ancient authors gave youth "an early acquaintance with vice; and hence, from an association of ideas, a diminished respect for the unity and perfections of the true God."\textsuperscript{20} Even those classics free from the absurdities of pagan mythology contained little more than the history of murders and war. Modern virtue had to be taught from modern authors.

Granted that some principles of taste and virtue were to be found in the classical authors, students could learn these lessons from translations. The beauties of the ancients would only be "partially" lost.\textsuperscript{21} This argument should have been the nail in the coffin of the dead languages. Every defender of the classics confronted it with difficulty. The older argument that translations were hasty productions of hack writers no longer sufficed. As Johnson pointed out in two \textit{Idler} papers on the subject, the art of translation was every day improving.\textsuperscript{22} Thinking perhaps of Pope's translations of Homer, Buchanan held that "an elegant translation of a fine poem is itself a fine poem."\textsuperscript{23} Even if there were beauties that could only be enjoyed by reading Homer in Greek and Virgil in Latin, to such "momentary" pleasures we should not sacrifice "the most valuable and improvable years of our lives."\textsuperscript{24}

Finally, the anti-classicists held that the ancient languages retarded the advance of Enlightenment. Though a careful study of the ancients had been necessary during the rebirth of learning in the Renaissance, in the present age new knowledge was being written in modern languages and diffused in print throughout Europe and America.\textsuperscript{25} In order to forward the "propagation of useful knowledge," one must consider the audience to be addressed. The people at large must be equipped to understand improvements in science, agriculture, and manufactures. In "the days of ignorance and superstition, when the monks found it in their interest to keep all the world in the dark but themselves" there might have been reason to conceal learning in inaccessible languages. In the modern age, however, "the idea that the blindness of any class of men can be of advantage to society at large, is now deservedly exploded."\textsuperscript{26} By confining learning to the study of dead languages, schools and colleges brought their activities into disrepute among the common people. Scholars seemed to know at once more and less than everyone else: they could call a horse or a cow by three names but did not know the use of those animals.\textsuperscript{27} The anti-classicists were not anti-intellectuals. Both sides in the debate agreed on the importance of learning and the responsibilities of the learned, but they disagreed over the means of preserving and conveying knowledge. Rush and others hoped to enlighten the masses. Consequently they feared that the grammar schools' all too just reputation of being seminaries of pedantry made the common people suspicious of learning and learned men. They even supported their case with historical examples. The best orators and writers in ancient and modern times, according to the anti-classicists, did not disdain the opinions of the people. Demosthenes
never used a single word that was not intelligible to all hearers. Swift "owes nothing to the ancients."  

Convinced of the absurdity of classical learning in the modern age, the anti-classicists greeted the decline of Latin in the school curriculum with approval, and hoped that the trend would continue. Whereas once schoolboys had been forced to write Latin verse, their exercises were now confined largely to prose. Whereas translations and other aids to the classics had once been forbidden, they were now relied on by every sensible schoolmaster. Eventually, human reason would "teach us to reject the Latin and Greek languages altogether as branches of a liberal education."  

The Defence of the Classics

That the task is laborious is no valid objection. Labour strengthens the mind.

Against the onslaught of anticlassical arguments, the advocates of the ancient languages responded with their own view of that contested terrain, the meaning of a liberal education. Like their opponents, the classicists put forth a variety of arguments, but on each count they contrasted the vigorous, substantial, manly, and timeless nature of classical learning with the easy, superficial, effeminate, and ephemeral trends in modern education and culture. In the first instance, they wished to hold onto, contra Rush et alia, the lion’s share of "liberal" studies. The ancient languages, precisely because they were not directed towards any low or mechanical pursuits, gave their possessor a "superiority" over "his more ignorant and more undisciplined brethren," according to George Chapman, even if he were a merchant, farmer, or artificer. Vicesimus Knox warned those in charge of the education of future merchants that arithmetic and penmanship alone would "never exalt or refine the sentiments . . . never form the gentleman." More often classicists concentrated their efforts on gentlemen by birth and those destined for the "liberal professions," reminding them that they would be expected to converse intelligently on classical subjects. What counted for good conversation had noticeably shifted. No longer was the appearance of pedantry to be feared so much as that of frivolity:

The ridicule which has been thrown on the character of the pedant . . . was often just; but dunces have availed themselves of it unjustly. They have injured by derision, the modest student, who, while his mind is engaged in study, can scarcely avoid expressing, in conversation, some of those ideas with which he is animated. A feeling and ingenuous mind is often hurt by the derision of those whom it ought to despise; and the name of pedant, given by a blockhead to his superior, has greatly injured the cause of true learning.
Taking up another question in which the pendulum had swung too far, the defenders of the classics sought to revise parental preference for a relaxed Lockean discipline, often invoking the wisdom of Solomon on their behalf:

Whatever pains a master may take to make the learning of the languages agreeable to his pupil, he may depend upon it, it will be at first extremely unpleasant. The rudiments of every language, therefore, must be given as a task, not as an amusement. Attempting to deceive children into instruction of this kind, is only deceiving ourselves; and I know no passion capable of conquering a child's natural laziness but fear. Solomon has said it before me. . . . It is very probable that parents are told of some masters who never use the rod, and consequently are thought the properest instructors for their children; but though tenderness is a requisite quality in an instructor, yet there is too often the truest tenderness in well-timed correction.35

No one has treated publick Teachers with more illiberal severity than Sir Richard Steele. . . . Many an indulgent Parent has read his observations with real Sympathy for the Child, and the utmost indignation against the Master. . . . He supposes also, what is equally false, that the learners are all meekness, gentleness, goodness. A Teacher of a liberal mind is conscious to himself that he exercises no severity, which is not absolutely necessary, and he knows that the evil propensities of children grow up with their good ones, that "whoso spareth the rod, hateth his Son," and that "Children are to be brought up in the discipline (for such is the sense of the original) and admonition of the Lord."36

Appealing to "the sober decisions of experience" in favour of a reasonable degree of corporal punishment, defenders of the established grammar schools managed to insinuate that new schools claiming to teach English without recourse to the rod, and to an even greater extent home education, failed to provide that most essential element of early instruction: discipline.37 Against the caricatures of the brutal schoolmaster and pedantic schoolboy, classical advocates in the periodical press countered with their own caricatures of the illiberal and undisciplined: effeminate youths who are constantly taken away from their studies by overprotective and pretentious mothers;38 young men sent away to schools in France rather than to English grammars, only to return home as emaciated fops;39 older men who cannot enjoy fortunes made in trade for want of a liberal education in youth.40

Notwithstanding the penchant of classicists to exalt the liberal over the useful, they too attempted to answer the eighteenth-century call for the "utility" of school subjects, although guided by a more traditional view of useful learning. Yet their defence began with the uncomfortable admission that Locke's critique against grammar schools had been just in his own day and that still in the second half of the eighteenth century the "general run of our public schools affords perpetual evidences of a most disgraceful neglect of the mind."41 But they insisted that Locke must be contextualised:
Mr. Locke, sensible of the labyrinth with which the pedantry of the learned had surrounded all the avenues to science, successfully employed the strength of his genius to trace knowledge to her source, and point out the direct road to succeeding generations. Disgusted with the schoolmen, he, from a prejudice to which even great minds are liable, seems to have contracted a dislike to every thing they taught, and even to the languages in which they wrote. He scruples not to speak of grammar as unnecessary to the perfect knowledge either of the dead or the living languages, and to affirm, that a part of the years thrown away in the study of Greek and Latin, would be better employed in learning the trades of gardeners and turners; as if it were a fitter and more useful recreation for a gentleman to plant potatoes, and to make chess-boards and snuff-boxes, than to study the beauties of Cicero and Homer.42

That the classics, whose natural tendency was "to enlighten and civilise the human race," had been turned into an "instrument of oppression and of disgust" only showed that the most excellent things, like religion, could be perverted and made to do harm.43 Real reform of education should begin with raising the salaries of schoolmasters and thereby attracting better men into the profession rather than by attacking a curriculum that those devoid of any liberal sentiment were incapable of teaching. Most grammar schools no longer ignored the importance of English and other modern subjects. "Classical education" included not only Latin and Greek, but also English, ancient and modern history, geography, and perhaps arithmetic and geometry.44 Reform-minded schoolmasters insisted that further reform in the curriculum and the methods of teaching should be guided by their successful teaching practises rather than the anxiety of parents to push their children out into the world prematurely or the speculations of mere theorists.

The defenders of the classics held that the notion that time would be gained by doing away with Latin and Greek was an illusion. In the first place, one did not only learn the "words" of those languages, but also "the principles of history, morality, politics, geography, and criticism."45 Moreover, when one studied these branches in a foreign tongue it made "a deeper impression on the memory, than when explained in the mother tongue." Goldsmith compared learning languages to a journey in which the most difficult parts of the road are the most remembered.46 Since by their very difficulty the classics were better retained by the memory, they were most able to strengthen that important though increasingly neglected part of the mind. Classicists, in contrast to those who warned against overloading the child's memory, contended for the strength of the memory and the need to exercise it in the early years of learning. They devoted separate chapters and essays to the powers of the memory and the means of increasing them.47 The memory was a great repository of shelves in which we store our thoughts.48 It was a friend who will repay confidence with fidelity.49 Classicists cited examples of diligent scholars who had been able to recite 2000 Greek verses and the whole of Homer.50 The great ancient educators provided them with further support, especially Quintilian: "Pueri, quorum tenacissima memoria est, quamplurima ediscant."51
Furthermore, if the capacious memory were not filled with beautiful passages from the classics, it would no doubt "be crowded with lumber" and become the "repository of trifles, of vanities, and perhaps of vices." A grammatical study of the classics improved other faculties of the child's mind as well. To watch a young boy analyse a few lines of Latin, by parsing the verbs, declining the nouns, explaining the meaning of all the words, distinguishing literal from figurative meanings, in short going to the very bottom of the grammar and meaning of a passage, was to become sensible that "the memory is likely to be more improved in strength and readiness, the attention better fixed, the judgment and taste more successfully exerted, and a habit of reflexion and subtle discrimination more easily acquired, than it could be by any other employment equally suited to the capacity of childhood." Any course of study which strengthened the many parts of a child's mind in such a way could not be considered a waste of time.

The emphasis on the memory and repetition corresponded to another aim of education that classical advocates hoped to claim as peculiarly theirs: industry. While the classics adorned the leisure of the gentleman or the retired merchant, for young boys they were the best instruments for teaching the value of hard work. Although the classical curriculum might be supplemented with the modern subjects, to do away with Greek and Latin altogether would leave a hole in the curriculum to be replaced with either demeaning activities, as suggested above, or worse, with "idleness." Schoolmasters who preferred to adorn their pupils with "showy and superficial" qualities rather than leading them through the "thorny and rugged paths" of classical literature committed the worst fault possible:

When their pupils come to enter the world and engage in the duties of active life, they appear destitute of every manly qualification. Though they have attained the age and grown up to the size of manhood, their understandings are still childish and feeble: they are capricious, unsteady, incapable of industry or fortitude, and unable to pursue any particular object with keen, unremitting perseverance.

Further, rather than steering youth away from "learning," the effort required by the classical languages rendered it all the more esteemed. Like a hero who overcomes a powerful adversary, like a lover who finally triumphs over his mistress's coyness, like a merchant who earns his fortune rather than inheriting it, the young man would always value the knowledge he acquired with difficulty.

The classicists reminded their age that ancient works were worthy of being memorised, or at least read "several times over." The same could not be said for most modern learning and literature. Not surprisingly, modern methods of education corresponded to the speed and carelessness with which modern literature was written and discarded. Modern education, like modern society, was all talk:
Knowledge is to be acquired fully as much, or rather more, by speaking than by hearing; and this rule, like other rules of education, is to be attended to from the earliest years. Mothers, who, according to the ablest opinions on the head, are the best instructors of early youth, have particularly an excellent method of inculcating this doctrine on their pupils. . . . When brought into company, they are to be particularly cautioned against that antique bashfulness which used to disqualify young people from this attainment; as far indeed as youth might be used by way of argument for silence, they are to forget altogether their being young, and to talk, with the authority of experience and the loquacity of age, in all places, public and private.60

In order to counter the charge of pedantry, then, classical pedagogues branded modern education with superficial loquacity, the sure sign of foppery. Superficial thinking in youth "perverts and enervates the powers of the soul, leaves many of them to languish in total inactivity; and is too apt to make a man fickle and thoughtless, unprincipled and dissipated for life."60 In contrast, ancient education had consisted in fewer books more thoroughly studied, had encouraged children to think before speaking, and had thereby formed more accurate students and more accomplished men. According to James Beattie,

Demosthenes is said to have transcribed Thucydides eight times, and to have got a great part of him by heart. This is a degree of accuracy which the greater part of modern readers have no notion of. We seem to think it more creditable to read many books superficially, than to read a few good ones with care; and yet it is certain, that by the latter method we should cultivate our faculties, and increase our stock of real knowledge, more effectually, and perhaps more speedily, than we can do by the former, which indeed tends rather to bewilder the mind, than to improve it. Every man, who pretends to a literary character, must now read a number of books, whether well or ill written, whether instructive or insignificant, merely that he may have it to say, that he has read them.61

As Paul Langford has pointed out, Beattie worried that the purchasing power of the semiliterate would lead to the collapse of the classics.62 Yet neither Beattie nor other classical advocates were insensible to what they regarded as the more positive developments in modern literature, especially the moralising of the novel. Beattie agreed with Rousseau that Robinson Crusoe was "one of the best books to be put in the hands of children."63 Beattie's solution, a common one, was to rely on the "utility" of classical education in forming a taste and judgment in youth that would enable them to discriminate between the truly modern classics and the dross of the periodical press, and more broadly to resist the growing superficiality of society. Were the school curriculum itself to become inundated with all the latest productions, it would become the instrument rather than the corrective of all that was objectionable in modern culture.
Besides the aims of liberality and industry, the debate over the classics hinged upon the issue of taste. How precisely boys acquired taste by reading the ancient classics in their original languages, a taste that could not be derived from translations, was not always entirely clear: "We pretend not to account for this, but we are persuaded it is a fact." One answer that many classicists proposed, coinciding with their anti-Lockean love of grammar, was the now familiar argument that the study of grammar in another language gives one a "critical" knowledge of one's own tongue. Classicists held that languages invariably deteriorate grammatically when they are only spoken, since anyone can make himself understood in the oral vernacular. The problem was only compounded since children first expressed themselves to anxious nurses and mothers who, even if they could speak correctly, invariably attended more to children's wants than to enforcing strict grammatical rules. The patterns of incorrect speech formed in the crib remained unless corrected by a rigorous study of grammar. The intercourse of nations and the affectation of hack writers trying to make a name for themselves led to further corruption. Learning Greek and Latin, exceedingly correct languages, instead heightened one's awareness of "the grammatical art." Applying these grammatical skills to the study of one's own language secured its purity. The lover of the ancients "will be the firm enemy of barbarism, affectation, and negligence, whenever they attempt to debase his mother tongue."

The importance of taste extended far beyond the ability to express oneself in hypercorrect English. When considered from the perspective of the nation, taste served as the guardian against a general corruption of morals and manners brought on not only by slovenly speech, but also by the growth of commerce. This idea, as we have seen, had been a staple of pedagogical literature at least since the publication of Rollin's Belles Lettres. Yet it received its fullest expression at the hand of a young university graduate who would later write an acclaimed history of Greece and succeed Robertson as Historiographer Royal of Scotland, John Gillies (1747-1836). After attending a parish grammar school in Brechin, Gillies attended the University of Glasgow at the time Adam Smith was lecturing in moral philosophy. There he studied Greek under Moore and also learned to admire the philosophical historians and essayists of France and Britain. Particularly eager to establish himself as an author, he began to publish occasional pieces while at university. His first noteworthy production after leaving the university was popularly known as Defence of the Study of Classical Literature, published in 1769. We should pause over this work. Coming two years after Ferguson's History of Civil Society and having the marks of Smith's influence as later expressed in the fifth book of the Wealth of Nations, written by someone eager to address both a public and professorial audience, it offers perhaps the best link between the educational debate over the classics and the ambivalence developing towards the growth of wealth and politeness in eighteenth-century provincial culture.
In response to an earlier work by an unknown author that had held up Rousseau as an enemy of classical learning, Gillies dedicated his own defence to the author of *Emile*, "a performance in the true spirit of antiquity." After a chapter berating the recent fashions in philosophy, Gillies moved to the heart of the issue. The improvement of the arts and the extension of commerce had introduced within the last thirty years a degree of magnificence of which an earlier "Scotchman" could scarcely have formed an idea. Yet this splendour had produced effects on the manners of the people which were "at least very problematical":

We are now become, it is true, more refined in our behaviour, better acquainted with the arts of conversation and amusements, and more ingenious in the invention of whatever may gratify our senses, or please our fancy. But reverse the medal: we have lost our industry and application; whatever appears labourious, offends and frightens us; and we are disposed to fall in with every proposal which soothes our indolence and love of pleasure. We are as indifferent about being really learned, as we are anxious to acquire the reputation of learning.71

Among other signs of growing indolence stood the decline of ancient languages in the grammar schools. This decline posed two questions to eighteenth-century Scottish culture: "1. Whether in our present circumstances, considering the great variety of good writers among ourselves, upon every branch of literature and philosophy, it be of great importance to be acquainted with ancient authors? 2. Whether it be possible to reap much advantage from the ancient writers, without understanding the languages which they made use of?"72 To answer these questions, Gillies wrote a history of taste in the ancient and modern worlds.

The ancient Greeks were remarkable in two respects. First, they enjoyed free governments at an earlier period than other states in Europe. That political freedom caused a people to cultivate the arts and learning was an axiom too well established to require further proof.73 Second, their territories were not so extensive as those of modern states. As a result, virtuous men living in these smaller, rival states had greater opportunities to exert themselves in those magnanimous actions which inspire the muses: "with what fervour and enthusiasm would a Buchanan have related the battles of Marathon, Salamis, or Platea!"74 Rivalry among these states prevented the decline of taste, since "their emulation for glory rendered them shy in adopting whatever sprung up among their neighbours." These two factors led the Greeks to become "the first people in the world who breathed into the arts that spirit and life which captivates the heart and soothes the passions."75 Other circumstances, such as domestic slavery, allowed the Greeks leisure enough to cultivate taste. Unlike that of the ancients, modern liberty owed to the advancement of commerce, which freed the lower ranks of the people from their servile dependence and brought wealth to the commons.76 Yet while commerce introduced independence and security, it also led to "luxury, dissipation, a high relish for amusement and sensual pleasure, [and] is exceedingly pernicious to all improvements of the more elegant kind."77 The greater size of modern countries, particularly
France and England, permitted "the bad taste of a few writers" to be "easily communicated from one extremity of the country to the other." Thus the very factors that engendered and preserved taste in ancient Greece worked against the moderns.

By imitating the ancient Greeks, who held that unique first position, moderns could still become accomplished in the finer arts and learning. Rome had done just that, and since then, every polite nation followed the Greeks or the Romans as their models. To the objection that moderns should follow nature directly, Gillies countered with the most appalling neoclassical syllogism: the Greeks copied nature directly; since modern authors exist, other authors would copy them rather than nature; better then to copy the Greeks who were closer to nature. The history of the Renaissance testified to the importance of classical learning. During the "Augustan Age" of modern Italy, authors celebrated for their "just sentiment, good taste, and proper expression" confessed to forming their style on the models of Greece and Rome. They hoped their style would continue to advance. But a few grains of affected majesty and false brilliancy crept into their writings. Since their very imperfections distinguished their own from the ancient authors, the Italians began to prefer "nothing but affectation and conceit, strong flashes of wit, pointed similes, and epigrammatic turns" to the noble simplicity of the ancient writings. This same history was later repeated in France. England was on the edge:

Even at present, notwithstanding the high advancement of all sorts of literature in England, the Greeks and Romans are still considered as the only models of a just taste, and elegant composition. Upon these models the taste of their youth is carefully formed; and the idea of pedantry annexed to the ancient languages in France, has not as yet been adopted in England.

True, there were not then as many good writers as during the age of Queen Anne, but though there was no "new heat," at least a love of the ancients prevented corruption.

In Scotland, according to Gillies, learning made swift progress due to the teaching of Hutcheson, who possessed a true taste for the ancient languages. Advances in literature followed the introduction of the writings of Swift, Pope, and Addison. After mid-century, however, the writings being produced in Scotland were showing strong symptoms of decline. Books were bought and talked about, but, wanting "both brain and nerves," few of them deserved a second reading. A partiality in favour of native authors and the corresponding neglect of the ancients caused young writers to imitate native imperfections. Imitating even the purest models of English style did not suffice:

The easy and copious flow of Addison becomes languor and tautology; the pregnant brevity of Swift degenerates into an affected and
unintelligible obscurity; the manly nervous eloquence of Bolingbroke into bombast, mock majesty, and pompous declamation.

Left to themselves, eighteenth-century Scottish authors would depart even farther from "the path of reason and nature." The "fungous growth" of modern essays, inquiries, and dissertations (perhaps with the exception of Gillies's own Inquiry) left the public "less amused, and as little instructed as by our novels and romances."82

To assert that the nation, or here the Scottish part of the British nation, was beginning to show signs of bad taste meant far more in the eighteenth century than it could ever mean in the twentieth, when the language of taste is altogether absent from public discussion. Whereas today we might attribute the fall of great powers to the overcommitment of national wealth to military purposes or to strategic overextension,83 historians in the eighteenth century were more likely to trace the corrupting effects of a false taste in authors on the reading public: "we shall always find, that a corruption of taste has been speedily attended by a decay of liberty, and depravity of manners."84 Moreover, while nowadays the measure of a country's wealth seems to be the single barometer of its power and well-being, historians of the past worried over the effects of wealth on the manners and morals of the nation. Drawing upon certain reservations within the Scottish Enlightenment, Gillies held that commerce, while it improved the society as a whole, rendered the individuals within it less capable of doing anything on their own. The dependence on others brought about by what Smith would call the increase in the division of labour represented a personal loss of liberty.85 Further, by confining the individual to one small operation, commerce "while it enlarges our possessions, debases our minds, cramps our genius, and confines our understandings."86 Worse still, the advance in commerce throughout the ages "has ever been attended with the loss of martial spirit."87 How then could the corruption of authors and the debasement of public virtue be prevented short of a return to an ancient state of society? Obviously, by a return to reading the classics.88

The Clarke-Stirling Method of Learning Latin

Despite the attempts of the anti-classicists to do away with the dead languages in the curriculum altogether, most schools and private tutors continued to teach them, especially Latin, while at the same time introducing the new subjects. Latin had too strong a hold on the educational aim of "learning" to be completely abandoned. More important, for those who wished to attain an air of gentility, Latin remained the surest route. Even plans of education that prepared youth for a life of commerce did not neglect Latin, as "a Part of a genteel Education, and . . . of Importance to Youth on the change of a destined Station, and
in particular for Trade." Autodidacts like James Stephens taught themselves Latin, though they might be reluctant to display their self-made erudition in public:

I have therefore always been afraid to quote Latin, or to read it in the presence of well-educated men, knowing that false quantities would probably subject me to ridicule, and make my want of education appear far greater than it really was.

Nonetheless, the persistent criticism of anti-classicists, the pressures of parents, and indeed the expanding market of those who wished to attain gentility, had their effects. Enlightened reform took shape not so much in the dissolution of the ancient languages in the curriculum as in the new methods of teaching them and the order in which texts were taught. It is to these new methods we shall now turn. We should realise at the outset, however, that variety remained the order of the day. Cockburn's account illustrates that even in schools that we would expect to have appropriated enlightened methods of teaching, pupils could still be beaten for their failure to grasp the Latin grammar. M. L. Clarke has shown that the "unreformed grammar school," by which he means Eton and the schools influenced by the Etonian curriculum, remained entirely impervious to Lockean criticism. Even among reform-minded schoolmasters, a division emerged between pragmatists, who looked for easier ways of teaching Latin, and purists, who maintained that learning the ancient languages must remain a difficult enterprise. We shall focus on the pragmatic methods of teaching Latin devised by John Clarke and John Stirling for several reasons. First, their approach followed the spirit of Lockean reform. Second, their methods seem to have been particularly suited to provincial and middle-class culture. Third, alternative means of acquiring the classics have not been fully explored by historians of either education or culture. Finally, if the history of publishing best reveals the methods of schoolmasters and tutors who left behind no formal records, the pragmatic approach seems to have been a serious rival to the unreformed grammar school and to have prevailed over the anti-classicist bias, while attempting to incorporate the desires of both camps.

In his critique of the methods of teaching Latin in grammar schools, Locke made several suggestions which were appropriated by subsequent education reformers. The thrust of Locke's position was that Latin should be learned naturally, just as all children learned English, and as young girls learned French. The child should not be troubled with grammar, but "have Latin, as English has been, without the Perplexity of Rules, talked to him; for if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a Child, when he comes into the World than English: And yet he learns English without Master, Rule, or Grammar; and so might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had some Body always to talk to him in this Language." The problem was, of course, that Latin-speaking tutors were not so easily found, and Locke himself did not help matters by telling parents to consider a tutor's politeness and virtue.
superior to the "Latin and logic" he had picked up at university. Failing to find such a tutor, parents should have the child read "some easy and pleasant Book, such as *Esop's Fables" with an English translation under each line, as literal as possible. Each fable should be repeated until the child has learned it and can move onto the next fable. Indeed, Locke was so convinced of the efficacy of this method, that he oversaw the publication of an interlinear Latin-English *Esop, a fact which the pragmatic classicists did not later fail to point out. Beyond learning the conjugation of verbs and the declension of nouns and pronouns, children should not be overly troubled with grammar in the first stages of their reading. When they come to a "stand" and are willing to go forward, they should be helped along rather than chided or puzzled with grammatical analogies:

The great Use and Skill of a Teacher is to make all as easy as he can. But particularly in Learning of Languages there is least Occasion for posing of Children. For Languages, being to be learn'd by Roate, Custom, and Memory, are then spoken in greatest Perfection, when all Rules of Grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the Grammar of a Language is some times very carefully to be studied; but it is only to be studied by a grown Man, when he applies himself to the Understanding of any Language critically, which is seldom the Business of any but profess'd Scholars.

Following this manner, the child would progress in his reading to other easy Latin books, such as the histories of Justin and Eutropius. To make the reading and understanding of these authors "less tedious and difficult to him," he should be allowed to "help himself" to English translations. Thus, the child would work his way "by a gradual Progress" from the easiest historians to "the most difficult and sublime of the Latin authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace." So easy a matter was learning Latin for Locke, that a mother without prior knowledge of Latin could teach it to her son by having him read to her for two or three hours every day, proceeding from the Latin Testament, to Aesop, then to the easier historians. One could hardly imagine a greater insult to "learned" country schoolmasters.

Locke acknowledged, however, that it would be the "fate" of many a young boy "to go to School to get the Latin Tongue." In such a case, Locke only hoped to prevent the worst abuses of a grammar school education. Translating Latin into English was acceptable. Yet the common exercises of making Latin themes and verses Locke considered a complete waste of time. The themes which pupils were usually required to make concerned topics of love and war, of which children knew nothing. Having to compose them in Latin rather than their native English only added to the absurdity. Furthermore, practice in extemporaneous speaking was far more useful than the memorisation of set speeches to "fit a young Gentleman for Business." Latin verses, however, drew the greatest complaints from Locke and his later followers. Most boys had no genius for poetry. Where a talent for rhyming did exist, it caused a young man to neglect all other business and led him into low
company. And since poetry and gaming normally went hand in hand, early versifying would often end up in the ruin of an estate. Finally, Locke opposed the customary method of having boys memorise long passages from Latin authors, and thereby triggered the debate over the memory that lasted throughout the eighteenth century. Locke admitted that some passages were worthy of ready quotation. He even insisted that certain "wise and useful sentences" and passages containing "good rules and observations" that would serve youth as adults should be daily committed to memory and never forgotten. But indiscriminate memorisation of the ancients would only fill one's head with "the just Furniture of a Pedant." A reading knowledge of Latin, therefore, was all that Locke insisted upon, and this to be gained with as many helps as necessary and the least pain possible.

When applied to school conditions, many of Locke's suggestions were completely unworkable. Spoken Latin, even in the grammar schools most celebrated for classical instruction, was dead in the eighteenth century. This natural way of learning the language precluded, schoolmasters nonetheless claimed to be teaching in the spirit of Locke by employing other expedients. James Barclay, for example, quoted Locke extensively to justify his own liberal use of English to teach Latin grammar. At the period of his writing the question of whether Latin grammar should be taught in English or Latin was still highly controversial. The schoolmaster who most closely followed Locke's methods of teaching Latin was undoubtedly John Clarke of Hull. As we have seen, Clarke sought to make the gentlemanly pedagogy of "that great Master of Education" workable in grammar schools. Nowhere did he follow his master more closely than in the teaching of Latin. In doing so Clarke launched one of the most successful textbook enterprises of the century and earned either the gratitude or execration of every schoolmaster in Britain and America. In his Essay, Clarke outlined the deficiencies of the "vulgar Method" of teaching Latin:

I. The Beginning with Grammar, and that a Latin one so ill contrived as Lily's is.
II. The want of proper Helps for the Reading of Latin.
III. The want of proper Helps for the Writing and Speaking of it.
IV. The want of due Order and Method in the Reading of Authors.
V. The making Boys get their Lessons in the Poets without Book.
VI. The putting them to too many several Things at the same Time.
VII. The Putting them upon Exercise above their Years or Improvement.
VIII. The putting them upon Greek Exercise.

We shall concentrate on the first, second, and fourth items.

Like Locke, Clarke thought that boys should begin to read Latin authors before they studied grammar intensively, it they ever would. Pupils should begin reading Latin as soon as they had learned the declensions of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. The common
method of introducing Latin by having boys read the grammar repeatedly only frustrated them and kept them longer from their real objective.\textsuperscript{108} Moreover, the books used in schools were loaded with notes on fine points of grammar that were rarely encountered in reading and useful therefore only to the learned. Worst of all, the rules were written in Latin. Teaching the grammar of an unknown language in that very language was as absurd a practice as imposing public prayers in a language that the people did not know.\textsuperscript{109} For these reasons, Clarke composed his own grammar book for schools, liberally provided with examples of the parts of speech and syntax in English, which he considered superior to Lily's, if only because it was written in the vernacular.

Once the pupil had learned enough grammar to begin reading an easy Latin author, the question became what "helps" were available to him. For every schoolmaster of the period admitted that in attempting even the easiest authors, pupils encountered great difficulties. There were several helps available: dictionaries, the masters themselves, and John Clarke's editions of the easier Latin texts. The controversy between pragmatists and purists predictably turned on the use of the latter. Since Clarke's immensely successful editions reveal the needs of students and schoolmasters alike, that discussion offers greater insight into the aspirations and possibilities of eighteenth-century education. Clarke must be regarded as the father of the format now adopted in the popular Loeb Classics.\textsuperscript{110} Before Clarke, there had been few editions of classical authors which contained English translations beside or in interlinear arrangement with the original text. We have already mentioned Locke's advocacy of this method and his own interlinear Aesop. Individual schoolmasters might have followed Locke's suggestion with other texts or even composed their own primers consisting of simple sentences and their translations.\textsuperscript{111} But Clarke was recognised at the time as the first schoolmaster to advocate the widespread use of translations in teaching Latin and to publish his own editions of the classics "cum Versione Anglica, in qua, Verbum de Verbo, quantum fieri licuit." So logical and necessary an expedient were accompanying literal translations that he wondered why no one had ever undertaken to provide them before. It must have been that men of letters had thought more of advancing their own reputation by writing for adults than by attending to the efforts of children. While "elegant" translations, published separately from the original text, had usually met with approval, "a literal Translation, it was thought, would look ridiculous, and bring no great Credit to its Author; and therefore no Body was willing to stoop to a piece of Drudgery, how useful and necessary soever."\textsuperscript{112} Clarke was willing to stoop.

In the longest defence of his methods, Clarke contrasted the advantages of his translations against the other helps.\textsuperscript{113} Students could not always rely on their masters to aid them in their reading.\textsuperscript{114} Without the assistance of a translation, the master would have to go over every period of the lesson, word for word. Few schools had more than two masters, and
any one of them could attend only to one of three or four of his classes at a time. What did the other pupils do in the meantime other than "gape and stare about them, if they be not worse employed?" Moreover, this piece of "drudgery" was more than most masters could bear. Some masters would rather spend their time illustrating the beauties of the passages rather than answering every question of boys "trotting perpetually up and down the School." Others thought more of their own ease. These latter were probably not as able to supply scholars with words as fit as those to be found in literal translations written by persons with skill in both languages. Clarke threw down the gauntlet by inviting masters to test their abilities against his own translations. With literal translations, students would "get" most of the lesson without giving the master "any Trouble at all." As a result, "not only Boys, but Masters themselves may many of them receive great Improvement in their Business from Literal Translations of Classic Authors." Indeed, Clarke assured his provincial audience that a master "of but a very moderate Skill in the Latin Tongue, may acquit himself in the teaching of it, by the help of Translations, with much greater Success, than the most able Critic in the Language can do without."115

Dictionaries were even worse.116 It took a long time for a young boy to find a single word in a dictionary, and he would have to look up half a dozen to translate a few lines of Latin. Nor did looking words up in a dictionary fix them any better in the memory, as was often asserted, unless "the Leaf of a Dictionary, as such, has some strange bewitching Virtue in it." The only difference between looking up a word in a dictionary and looking to the next column was the amount of time the former method consumed. "And how can Gentlemen be easy in having their Sons carried on in a Way so manifestly trifling?" The many meanings of each word would further puzzle youth. Even more puzzling was the order of words in Latin, which they would never unravel until they had a pretty extensive knowledge of vocabulary. Literal translations, however, would direct them immediately to the meaning and order of words. Clarke anticipated the chief objection to his literal translations, that they would encourage idleness.117 In the first place, the translations were designed to assist pupils in "getting" their lessons. They would, of course, be "under close cover" when the pupil recited his lessons to the master. The manner with which he acquitted himself would be the proof of his diligence or negligence. Moreover, impossible tasks hardly made boys more industrious. The best way to encourage young boys to industry was "to make their Business easy and Pleasant to them." In light of these reasons, Clarke considered his editions of the Latin classics with the accompanying literal translations

Help of the best Kind . . . for Boys, by virtue whereof they may proceed easily, cheerfully, and expeditiously, in their Business; and yet a great many Masters will not let them make use of [them], but instead thereof, will oblige the poor Children to waste two Thirds, at least, of their Time in Sauntering and Play or tumbling the Leaves of a Dictionary to Pieces, for the Benefit of the Booksellers, who alone reap

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any Benefit from this Piece of Wisdom, whilst the poor Boys only lose their Time, and the Parents their Money by it.\textsuperscript{118}

This astute salesman, now in competition with the dictionary authors, did not fail to sound the market beyond the school. Men who had learned Latin in their youth but through disuse had forgotten most of it, and were now desirous of recovering it, could do so "with a great deal of Ease" with Clarke's books.\textsuperscript{119} While grown people would never have the patience nor the time "to hammer out such a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary," by spending one or two hours a day reading classic authors with the assistance of literal translations, after a year they would be reading prose authors with ease and pleasure. And the regaining or improving of one's Latin

will be but a new kind of Diversion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ in that way, is less than those who are the most taken upon with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures.\textsuperscript{120}

Besides marketing the ancients as a "new" form of entertainment to those who had lost their Latin, Clarke found another potential audience in foreigners who knew Latin but desired to learn English.\textsuperscript{121} Even in the methods of learning and relearning Latin, the reading patterns of eighteenth-century youth and adults were inextricably intertwined.

Armed with such translations, nothing could hinder students in their reading of the Latin classics except taking them up in the wrong order. Clarke complained against the vulgar method of beginning with the poets, whose language was "quite out of the common Road," rather than the historians, who had "visibly the Advantage of the Poets, with respect to Perspicuity and Plainness of Style."\textsuperscript{122} The proper order corresponded roughly with the order in which Clarke published his texts. Instead of the much used Sententiae Pueriles, a book "consisting wholly of a Parcel of dry, Moral Sayings," which would have been more aptly named Sententiae Seniles, boys should begin with "such kind of Tittle-Tattle for the most part, as passes betwixt Boys, and therefore finds a more easy Entrance into their Minds."\textsuperscript{123} Cordery's Colloquies, a text already well-established in schools because of its simplicity, should come first. But the vulgar method of translating a few lines of Cordery and then leaving boys to themselves would not suffice. Nor did Hoole's translation of Cordery, already available, meet Clarke's standards of a "precise and proper" literal translation.\textsuperscript{124} Clarke's edition put the Latin words in their natural order and even rendered the corresponding Latin and English words in a similar typescript:

A. *Quid agis?*  
*What are you doing?*  
B. *Repeto mecum.*  
*I'm repeating by myself.*  
A. *Quid repetis?*  
*What are you repeating?*
The Task which the Master set us to Day.

Do you hold it in Memory? (i.e. remember it)

So I think.

Let us repeat together, so each of us will say better before the Master.

The Task which the Master set us to Day.

Do you hold it in Memory? (i.e. remember it)

So I think.

Let us repeat together, so each of us will say better before the Master.

Students found similarly easy passages in the Colloquies of Erasmus.¹²⁶

Schoolmasters realised that boys confronted a considerable hurdle in progressing from the dialogues of Cordier and Erasmus to even the easiest Roman historians. An intermediate text was much wanted in the earlier part of the century and found in Jean Heuzet's Selectae e Profanis Scriptoribus Historiae.¹²⁷ Before attempting Cornelius Nepos and Caesar, two authors universally praised, Clarke recommended the histories of Eutropius and Florus, two authors less generally agreed upon.¹²⁸ Besides their relative ease, these works offered what could be found in no other simple text, "so much of the Roman History in so short a Compass; without a good Acquaintance with which, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal can never be tolerably understood."¹²⁹ Hurrying "poor Children" into reading "those sublime and difficult Authors" only ensured that they would never understand them as they ought. With Eutropius, Clarke ceased to change the word order and render corresponding English and Latin words in the same type. The other authors published by Clarke were, in the order of study, Nepos,¹³⁰ Justin,¹³¹ Ovid,¹³² Suetonius,¹³³ and Sallust,¹³⁴ the latter two appearing with "free" translations. Free or "elegant" translations, of course, did not follow the Latin word for word, but did justice to the English idiom. They were used by more advanced students in reading the higher authors, as well as in reviewing the easier ones, in order to keep them from falling into a "barbarous" English. As we saw in the teaching of English, schoolmasters complained that the construed English of schoolboys hardly resembled the polite prose of Addison. By translating Roman authors into the style of elegant translations, and then back again, students would advance in both languages together. Though the most notable, Clarke was not the only schoolmaster in the century to advocate and profit from easier ways of reading and translating Latin.

Sed satis de hoc: But enough of him, reliquis ordiamur. let us now proceed to the rest.¹³⁵

John Stirling, vicar of Great Gaddesden in Hertfordshire and chaplain to the Duke of Gordon, achieved similar success in editing and altering the classics for schools. He approved of translations, both literal and free. Nonetheless, the literal translations then available, i.e. Clarke's, followed the Latin too closely and therefore corrupted the English.
Moreover, Stirling was convinced that even literal translations would not help students if the Latin text did not conform to the "natural" English word order. The Latin word order rather than vocabulary was the sticking point for young readers. Stirling's strategy for teaching Latin was to provide an Ordo Verborum in Latin, which became known simply as the ordo, underneath the original Latin text. Before attempting the ordo, students should memorise all the vocabulary used by a given text or author. To this end, Stirling printed as appendices to each of his editions a glossary of all the words used by an author, and a themata verborum containing the principal parts of verbs. The student should commit to memory two pages of this vocabulary every day, keeping the English "under cover" in the first week and the Latin in the second. In order further to reinforce the words in the memory, students should copy the vocabulary at home, "and he who has the greatest Number of Words to shew on Saturday, is both honourable and rewarded for it, which excites them all to Emulation." Thus Stirling placed more emphasis on the memory, which he considered strong in children, than did Clarke. After learning the vocabulary, students began construing the author from the ordo, "and with what Ease, Expedition, and Pleasure, the very youngest Latin-Scholars will then go through the Book at the first Attempt . . ."! These happy scholars translated the entirety of the ordo before attempting the original text. While reading the original they learned "by degrees" to parse verbs, apply the rules of concord, and explain rhetorical figures, the latter being nicely laid out in Stirling's own System of Rhetoric. At home students translated the ordo into English, which, after being corrected by the master the next morning, they translated back into Latin in class "without help of book." In addition to the ordo and vocabulary, Stirling provided accent marks and supplied ellipsis in the ordo to correct "vicious pronunciation," and featured other helps according to the author. For Phaedrus, for example, since many of the mottoes had rough English equivalents which should be committed to memory, Stirling annexed a collection of them. "Facile est opprimere innocentum," the motto of the well known Wolf and Lamb, was rendered as "the weakest goes to the wall." As he stated in his edition of Phaedrus, Stirling hoped that his texts would

abridge the Method of teaching and learning the Classics, to retrench the usual Expence of Time, which was before wasted by Boys, in the Course of their Classical Studies, and to make their Learning easy and familiar to them; and also to free the Master from the Drudgery and slavish Part of his Office, namely, being perpetually wearied with the repeated Questions of every Boy under his Care, reserving to him only to explain the difficult Passages or Beauties of an Author to them; and in this particular Book, to instruct them in the historical or moral Sense of the Fables.

In still another particular Stirling echoed Clarke. A gentlemen who had neglected his classical education might find Stirling's "the most compendious Way . . . to retrieve his Loss, and be a familiar Guide and Interpreter to make the Author speak his Sentiments to him in his own native Language."
As one might expect, Clarke's translations and to a lesser extent Stirling's *ordo* provoked considerable opposition. Thomas Ruddiman, whose *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue* became one of the most popular grammar books in the century, particularly in Scotland, criticised Clarke early on for the large claims he made for his literal translations, as though he were another Columbus discovering America. Ruddiman admitted that translating and changing the order of words might be necessary for students when first beginning to read Latin. In fact good masters had been doing this for some time with Cordery and Erasmus. To the extent that these methods kept students from being discouraged on their "first setting out" Ruddiman approved of them. But the time would come when they must "read the true Classick Authors in that Order in which they were originally written." Masters who continued to rely on translations beyond these introductory texts would find that "the great Difficulty is not removed, but put off." When students accustomed to these helps found out from authentic texts that Latin was not as easy as they were led to believe, they would resent their masters' deception. Other sources from the period show that the degree of that deception varied from master to master. Most instructors allowed the limited use of Clarke's translations, though opinions varied as to when students could be expected to swim in deep waters on their own.

Vicesimus Knox discouraged the use of such helps altogether as, paradoxically, "modes which have been devised to facilitate the acquisition of learning" but which instead "have contributed to retard it." Knox drew upon history and experience to controvert the masters who mistakenly believed translations and alterations of Latin texts offered a shorter route to classical knowledge, especially Mr. Clarke, whose zeal in the defence of these methods arose, he hoped, "from a more honourable motive than the wish to promote the sale of those editions with translations, of which he had published a considerable number." During the revival of learning few such auxiliary books existed. Yet Renaissance scholars had excelled all subsequent ages in their knowledge of the classics, perhaps because of the very hardships they encountered: "the conquests obtained in the regions of learning of that period, were obtained with difficulty; but a degree of force was acquired and exercised in the conflict, which extended and secured the subjugated domain." Knox's own experience with students who came from schools where boys were taught from translations bore out this historical testimony. Rather than being so far ahead of their peers, whatever books they might have looked over, when put into a class using the older methods, they were compelled "to begin at the very elements of the Latin language." Nor could it be ignored that translations "have often been used to save the trouble, or conceal the ignorance, of the instructor." Moreover, the "natural" word order of Stirling and others only deprived students of the beauty of the classics, and in the end corrupted their taste. Besides historical examples and personal experience, Knox put forth an alternative view of the developing mind as it had
come to be understood by Lockean schoolmasters wanting to simplify Latin or do away with it altogether. The latter considered the child's mind as naturally curious and eager; yet it became frustrated at the appearance of such overwhelming obstacles as the Latin idiom. In contrast, Knox and other purists did not unduly concern themselves with the "tender capacities" of the child's mind. The human mind was naturally "indolent," particularly in childhood, and thus would avoid any labour not required of it. Nonetheless they were convinced that given a worthy challenge, the young mind would rise to the occasion. The exertion of mind required in construing lessons without a translation would produce "a habit of attention," "conjectural ingenuity," "penetration," "patience of literary labour," and, most of all, "courage." Early called upon to "exert his own powers," the young student would develop confidence in the vigour of these powers and be able "to extend them as far as they will go on every proper emergency."

**Conclusion**

One wonders what to make of this debate over the value of the classics. The degree of length and detail to which educators went to advocate their particular side, whether in the anti-classicist, purist, or pragmatist camp, shows that it was the central issue on the minds of schoolmasters throughout the century. Their views are perhaps most accessible through the caricatures of the age: the unqualified and less than diligent master, or the well-meaning one with too many students; the benign old lover of the classics who expounds on the beauties of Horace as his students plan their afternoon pranks; the boy who will only attend school for a time before he goes off to learn a trade, yet whose parents want him to have an air of gentility; the quivering lad struggling with an arcane text, about to be pummelled; the gentleman who never learned Latin at school, who might have hated it, but is embarrassed every time a classical reference occurs in learned company; the pedant who smiles at his discomfort.

Attempts to evaluate the culture as a whole can hardly be so light-hearted. In the minds of eighteenth-century educators themselves, nothing less than the rise or decline of the nation was at stake in the decision to retain or forego classical learning. Modern historians usually impose their own stereotypes according to their proclivities and ideologies. The aesthete sees nothing but superficiality in the methods of Clarke and Stirling. The Marxist finds an aggressive bourgeoisie on the make and battling with an increasingly irrelevant nobility, both of which will eventually be overthrown by the proletariat. The labouring masses are the only ones who count. Yet the historian of moral culture is more inclined to take the classics debate on its own terms. Eighteenth-century men and women not only found amusement in reading, but looked to texts for moral guidance. Reading had to answer their own moral
questions. Enlightened Britons greeted the new world of commerce, of urbanisation, and of social pleasures with gladness and with unease. Enlightened schoolmasters formed their project accordingly. They retained models of ancient virtue to counter the frivolity and self-interest that seemed to pervade modern culture. They were not always loyal to the languages in which those great deeds and thoughts had been written. Often they compromised on the issue of learning though not of virtue. Theirs was an increasingly translated classicism. Even Vicesimus Knox conceded to the modern helps in his Liberal Education by translating the many references to Quintilian. But however willing some masters were to use translations which "disfigured" the Latin, these were but "to shorten [their] Way in the Prosecution of so laudable a Design, particularly, inspiring young Minds with those pure, refin'd, and heroic Sentiments of Virtue and Honour, with which Virgil every where abounds."\(^{144}\) The ancients had understood that the fate of nations rests upon the moral education of youth. Masters, whether classical or pragmatist, taught their students the same:

Nos omnes magis exemplo quam precepto ducimur. . . . Pueri igitur maxima cura ab omni re que mores corrumpat amoveri debent. Antiqui Romani insigniter attenti huic rei fuerunt. Inter eos educatio juventutis niliis nisi hominibus probatae virtutis & prudentiae mandata erat, qui, severa rigidaque disciplina, venerari Deos, parere legibus, & amare patriam eos docerent.\(^{145}\)
NOTES

1 Locke, Education, §164.
2 James Buchanan, A Plan of an English Grammar School Education. With an Introductory Inquiry, Whether by the English Language Alone, without the Embarrassment of Latin and Greek, the British Youth, in General, Cannot Be Thoroughly Accomplished in Every Part of Useful and Polite Literature, and Qualified to Make a More Early, Advantageous, and Elegant Figure in Life. Addressed to the Serious Consideration of Every Sensible Parent and Teacher in Great Britain. (Edinburgh, 1770).
3 The case against classical education, found in both pedagogical tracts and polite essays and drawing heavily upon Locke and the Spectator, was best expressed in the following sources. John Clarke, Essay upon Youth in Grammar Schools, 2d ed. (London, 1730); S. Butler, An Essay upon Education, Intended to Shew . . . That the Custom of Teaching the Dead Languages, When Little or No Advantage Can Be Expected from Them, Is Absurd. (London, 1750?); World, no. 137; Sheridan, British Education (1761); Buchanan, A Plan; Benjamin Rush, "Observations upon the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages, As a Branch of Liberal Education" (1791), in Essays: Literary, Moral, and Philosophical, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1806), 21-56, also printed under the synonyms "Simon Search" and "Citizen of Philadelphia"; W. Stevenson, Remarks on the Very Inferior Utility of Classical Learning (Manchester, 1796); "On the Disadvantages of a Classical Education," Scots Magazine 65 (1803): 452-456. The schoolmaster George Chapman considered these last three the best dissertations against the classics and gave them extensive reviews in his Advantages of a Classical Education: The Importance of Latin, in Particular; and Its Usefulness for the Attainment of the English Language (Edinburgh, 1804).
4 Locke, Education, §§47-51. Spectator, nos. 157, 168. See also Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, 278-82.
6 Henry Cockburn, Memorials of His Time, 3-4. The master was Alexander Christison, later elected to the Chair of Humanity in Edinburgh University and author of The General Diffusion of Knowledge One Great Cause of the Prosperity of North Britain (Edinburgh, 1802). See also Johnson's experience in Boswell, Life of Johnson, 1:44.
7 Sheridan, British Education, 222 and passim.
9 Ibid.
10 Scots Magazine, 523. In these writers, who emphasised natural and medical discoveries, the term "science" began to assume its present meaning.
11 Stevenson, 6-7; Rush, 35-6.
12 Rush, 36-7; Stevenson, 24-6; Scots Magazine, 523-4.
13 Stevenson, 29.
15 Buchanan, Plan, 3.
16 Rush, 26.
17 Buchanan, Plan, 10-11. See also Rush, 26.
19 Ibid., 23-4; Scots Magazine, 523.
20 Rush, 24. See also Stevenson, 9. This criticism was particularly strong among the Methodists. John Wesley wrote to his brother Samuel, who had been appointed as a schoolmaster in Devon: "But of this sort are most of the classics usually read in great schools: many of them tending to inflame the lusts of the flesh, and more to feed the lust of the eye and the pride of life. I beseech you therefore, by the mercies of God . . . that you banish all such poison from your school." Quoted in Patrick Cruttwell, "The Eighteenth Century: A Classical Age?" Arion 7 (1968): 114-5.
21 Scots Magazine, 452.
22 Idler, nos. 68-9.
23 Buchanan, Plan, 8.
24 Stevenson, 13. See also Buchanan, Plan, 8-9; Rush, 41; Scots Magazine, 523.
26 Scots Magazine, 524-5.
27 Rush, 43.
28 Ibid., 31 and 28.
29 Ibid., 40.
30 Vicesimus Knox, Works, 4:2.
James Beattie, "Remarks on the Proper Objects and Methods of Education in Reference to the Different Orders of Society; and on the Relative Utility of Classical Instruction" (Edinburgh, 1836), 33.
58 See Anthony Blackwall, An Introduction to the Classics (London, 1725), 146-7. Blackwall compared "an ill-written loose Book" with "a formal Common-place Pop, who has a Set of Phrases and Stories, which in a Conversation or two are all run over." Nonetheless he proposed the re-reading not only of the old classics, but also "their Genuine Followers among the Moderns." This and other passages from Blackwall were contained in Knox, Elegant Extracts in Prose.
60 Beattie, "Utility," 726.
61 Ibid., 719. The charge in the last sentence reverses Boswell's complaint against his Latin tutor. The Demosthenes anecdote became the favourite historical example of classical proponents.
62 Paul Langford, A Polite and Commercial People, 95.
64 Monthly Review, op. cit.
65 Beattie, Knox, Chapman, Encyclopedia Britannica, et al. put forth some version of this argument, as do classicists today, who never tire of pointing out the lack of precision in English grammar.
66 The classical source for this concern was Quintilian, whom classicists invariably called to their aid. Knox, however, citing the example of Cornelia, mother of the brothers Gracchi, defended mothers and even nurses against their detractors on this count, and held that they were the persons best qualified to instruct a child to read. Works, 3:386.
67 Encyclopedia Britannica, 3d. ed, 6:351.
68 Rollin's "General Reflections on Taste" from the Belles Lettres was reprinted in Knox, EEPr, as was a selection from the schoolmaster James Usher, "Taste, how Depraved and Lost," from Clio, or A Discourse on Taste. Addressed to a Lady. A New Edition . . . by J. Mathew. (London, 1803; orig. 1767), 189-191. Usher relied heavily on Rollin and began his work thus: "Madam, When I had the honor of drinking tea with you a few evenings ago, and occasionally read to you Rollin's general Reflections upon what is called Good Taste, your judicious observations induced a very lively and pleasing conversation." Sheridan quoted Rollin on taste in British Education, 254-6. See also the article "Taste" in Encyclopedia Britannica (Edinburgh, 1771).
71 Gillies, 16.
72 Ibid., 19.
73 Ibid., 36.
74 Ibid., 39.
75 Ibid., 43.
76 Ibid., 36-7.
77 Ibid., 37.
78 Ibid., 39.
79 Ibid., 42-3.
80 Ibid., 26-7.
81 Ibid., 33.
82 Ibid., 47-51.
84 Gillies, 52.
85 Ibid., 52-3. The dedication to Rousseau is also suggestive.
86 Ibid., 53.
87 Ibid., 54.
88 In the final chapter of this long disquisition, Gillies finally got around to the second question, whether the classics had to be studied in their original language. After repeating some of the commonplace arguments, he appealed to the feeling of every man who had read both the originals and their translations.
89 J. Randall [master of an academy at Heath and later York], An Introduction to So Much of the Arts and Sciences, More Immediately Concerned in an Excellent Education for Trade . . . (London, 1765?), xiii-xiv.
Ibid., 90

Defended. and Ruddiman’s and Dissertation Upon Lady Masham and her

Aesop’s Fables,” page.

excellent excerpt have the rules appeared, including Ruddiman’s, nonetheless stood by John Wilson opposite sides of the two but also held that reproduction. Here, this Wilson thought with such kind of method that he is initiated by these in the English annex’d; though admitting that his Throat with the visionary.” Works, 3:402-8.

Barclay, Treatise, 89-93. Scottish schoolmasters preferred Thomas Ruddiman’s Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, first published in 1714, to all other Latin grammars. Ruddiman compromised on the question of whether the catechetical explanation of the grammar should be in Latin or English by printing both on opposite sides of the page. Nonetheless, he defended the practice of teaching grammar in Latin in A Dissertation Upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue: Wherein the Objections Raised Against Mr. Ruddiman’s and Other Such Like Grammars, for Their Being Too Full and Particular, Are Answered and Confuted; And the Vulgar Practice of Teaching Latin by a Grammar Writ in the Same Language Is Justified and Defended. Together with Some Critical Remarks on the New Latin Grammar Composed by Mr. John Clarke, Schoolmaster at Hull, As Also on the Use He Would Have to Be Made of His Literal Translations, in John Love, Two Grammatical Treatises (Edinburgh, 1733). Barclay considered Ruddiman’s the best grammar, but also held that an easier introduction to the Rudiments would be useful to the “slowest boys.” See also Douglas Duncan, Thomas Ruddiman: A Study in Scottish Scholarship of the Early Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh and London, 1965), ch. 6. Vicesimus Knox, though admitting that many “ingenious” grammars had appeared, including Ruddiman’s, nonetheless stood by Ward’s edition of Lily. He considered that uniformity in teaching grammar must be maintained since “boys are frequently removed from one school to another,” and the change in grammars confused the pupil and cost time. Moreover, “the experience of more than two centuries” evinced the utility of Lily’s grammar in schools. Knox favoured the teaching of grammar in Latin because “there is subjoined to the end of the Latin grammar a literal translation, . . . that, by learning this in Latin, the meaning of many words is discovered to the scholar, which would be unknown to him if he learned them in English only; that he is initiated by these in the art of construing; and, to sum up the whole in a few words, that more good scholars have been formed in this method than by others, which, indeed have generally been invented by the vain or the visionary.” Works, 3:402-8.

John Clarke, Essay Upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools, 2d ed. (London, 1730). An excellent excerpt from this work can be found in Theories of Education in Early America 1655-1819, ed. Wilson Smith (Indianapolis and New York, 1973), 61-97. Subsequent references to the Essay will refer to this reproduction. Here, pp. 66-7.

Clarke, Essay, in Smith, 67.

The anonymous author of Of Education (6) spoke from his own experience in opposing the common method of working a lad through “the Accidence, Propria quae Maribus, Quae Genus, As in praesenti, and such kind of Stuff, not to mention Syntaxis. . . . I should think it almost as right to cram his Throat with chopt Hay, as with Xi fit tum. . . . I am sure, I have been as sick of As in Praesenti, as ever I was with a Dose of Physick.”


The only difference between the two is that the Loeb Classical Texts put the translations on the opposite page rather than the opposite side of the same page. A further testimony to the appeal of this method is Penguin’s recent publication of “parallel texts” for works of Spanish, French, and German literature.

As described in Of Education, 6-7: “There should be prepared a little Book consisting of Sentences only of two or three Latin Words with the English annex’d; as Ego amo te, I love thee; Deus creabat Mundum, God
created the World, and such like: After which, proceed to Sentences of four or five Words; as, *Ego amo bonum Equum*, I love a good Horse; *Meus pater est sapiens vir*, My Father is a wise Man. These you may afterwards enlarge with long Sentences, or by putting three or four Sentences together, thus: *Romani erant valde fortes, & vincebant suos inimicos*; The Romans were very valiant, and conquered their Enemies. *Meus Pater est bonus vir, & amat me, & omnes meos fratres & sorores*, My Father is a good Man, and loveth me and all my Brothers and Sisters.


113 John Clarke, A Dissertation Upon the Usefulness of Translations of Classic Authors, Both Literal and Free, For the Easy and Expeditious Attainment of the Latin Tongue. (London, 1734).

114 Ibid., 5-6.

115 Ibid., 17-18.

116 Ibid., 7-9.

117 Ibid., 9-10.

118 Ibid., 8.

119 Ibid., 14-15.


121 Clarke, *Nepos*, vii.

122 Clarke, Essay, in Smith, 74.

123 Ibid., 80-1. This work consisted in sentences from various authors collected by Leonard Culman (1498-1562), to which were later added English translations by Charles Hoole. Hoole (1610-1667) was Clarke's seventeenth-century precursor, and it was rather mean-spirited of the former to criticise the latter's works and give him no credit for his efforts. Among Hoole's other educational works were *An Easy Entrance to the Latin Tongue: Propria qua Maribus, Quae Genus et As in Præsenti Engishshed and explayned; Lily's Lateine Grammar Fitted for the Use of Schools, and Æsop's Fables. English and Latin*.

124 John Clarke, *Corderii Colloquorum Centuria Selecta: or, A Select Century of Corder's Colloquies: with An English Translation as Literal as Possible, Design'd for the Use of Beginners in the Latin Tongue* (York, 1718), preface. Significantly, the last listing for Hoole's Cordery in ESTC is a 1732 edition. Clarke's Cordery reached a twenty-eighth London edition in 1798.

125 Ibid., col. 1.


127 William Milns and George Chapman both wrote highly of Heuzet's *Selecte*, a collection of unattributed passages from classical authors on the subjects of God, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, that went through about eleven editions during the century. See Milns, *Well-Bred Scholar*, 544; Chapman, *Treatise*, 190. See also Rouse, *History of Rugby*, 140. Heuzet altered obscure passages, shortened longer sentences, and placed words in their "natural" order, without offering a translation. This work might have answered the purposes of those who, like Milns, despised translations yet made some accommodation for children's "tender capacities."

128 The following is the order of Latin authors recommended by schoolmasters in their treatises (semicolons represent approximate changes in levels).

*Of Education*, 7-14: (see above for rudimentary text); Cordery, Erasmus, Latin Testament; Cornelius Nepos, "that elegant Author, whose (short) Lives of great Men will be both entertaining and instructive"; Ovid; Justin; Sallust, some Cicero; Livy; Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Persius; Quintilian, Terence; Suetonius, Tacitus; Lucretius.

Samuel Johnson, "Scheme for the Classes of a Grammar School," in Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 1:99-100: Corderius and Erasmus by Mr. Clarke; Europius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin, with the translation; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Caesar's *Commentaries*; afterwards Virgil, then Horace; also Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Velleius Paterculus, Phaedrus.

James Barclay, *Treatise*, chs. 7-8: Cordery, Erasmus, part of Nepos; Nepos, Caesar; poets only after Sallust; Horace and Virgil; Plautus, Terence. See discussion of Clarke and Stirling's texts, 116-7.

Croft, *Plan*, 33-5: Cordery, Comenius, Erasmus (with translations); Phaedrus; Latin Testament; Caesar, whose works though not as plain as might be wished, were still "the plainest we can find"; Sallust; Ovid, "not from a conviction that his Language is so much easier to be understood than that of others, but because of the subject matter of his Metamorphoses . . . so necessary to be known, that without such Knowledge no ancient Author can be perused with advantage or pleasure"; then Virgil, Terence, Horace, Cicero's orations, Cicero's *De Oratore*, Quintilian, Juvenal and Persius, Tacitus (requiring more explanation than any other author in the Latin language), and sometimes a part of Livy.
Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education*, sec. 5: Cordery, Latin Testament; Nepos, Phædrus, latter part of Cordery; Ovid's *De Tristibus*, Erasmus's *Dialogues*, Phædrus continued; Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, Virgil, and Cæsar; Virgil and Cicero's letters; Lucian, Virgil, Cicero's *De Officiis*; Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero's orations, and his "golden treatises" *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*.


135 John Clarke, *Nepos, Alciatiades*.


139 Besides Phædrus, Eutropius and Cato's Distichs, Stirling published the following works.


*P. Persii Flacci Satiræ*: or, the Satires of A. Persius Flaccus . . . For the Use of Schools. (London, 1736).


L. Annæi Flori Rerum Romanarum Epitome: Or, an Abridgment of the Roman History by L. Annæus Florius . . . For the Use of Schools. (London, 1738).


The Satires of Juvenal, with the Original Text . . . (London, 1760).

Cornelii Nepotis Vitæ Excellentium Imperatorum: or Cornelius Nepos's Lives . . . [for the] Private Tutor, for the Use of Schools, and Private Gentlemen (London, 167?).

140 And as might also be expected, Clarke and Stirling had many imitators. For example, in his version of Cornelius Nepos, which went through at least five Edinburgh editions, Robert Arrol used the English translation of "the worthy Mr. John Clarke" but substituted a purer Latin text. H. Clarke, master of the public grammar school at Islington, produced a Latin *Æsop* that reached a tenth edition in 1789. Translating Horace was an industry in itself. Perhaps the most sophisticated textbooks in this genre were those "printed for Joseph Davidson." These editions featured the original text; an *ordo* in smaller print in a column to the right; a literal translation under the text and *ordo*; and critical, historical, geographical, and classical notes in English beneath the translation, often as lengthy as the text itself. The success of these editions might have led Stirling to adopt this approach in his last two works. Joseph Davidson's texts included the following.


The Epistles of Ovid, Translated into English Prose . . . For the Use of Schools . . . (London, 1746).


141 Ruddiman, A Dissertation, 107. He also compared Clarke to a quack trying to sell elixers.
142 Ibid., 109-110.
143 Works, 3:431-8, "On Using Translations."
144 The Works of Virgil Translated, preface.
CONCLUSION

There is a tendency of intellectual historians following the great models of Perry Miller and Arthur Lovejoy to solve problems, sometimes more neatly than men and women of the past solved them. We defined the problem of the enlightened curriculum at the outset as the conflicting signals of happiness and stability produced by modern society. Men and women of the eighteenth century viewed their world with both hope and unease. They hoped to take advantage of the new world of commerce and of urbanisation without being consumed by it. They hoped to effect political stability and religious toleration without losing their virtue or their faith. They hoped to enjoy prosperity by cultivating a refined leisure rather than indulging in pernicious or tasteless pleasures. They hoped to enable their children to become happy in themselves and useful members of society. In order to attain these goods and avoid their corresponding ills, men and women followed the advice of polite moralists who taught the values of balance in the human character. Parents and teachers in turn brought up children in this moral culture. This was a highly developed culture in the sense that it provided youth with a coherent vocabulary and mental imagery of virtue and vice, of taste and corruption. This is not to say that the standards it upheld were right or just, but that they were readily available and well defined. Such is the very mark of culture outlined by Ortega y Gasset in language not dissimilar to that of the eighteenth century:

What I affirm is that there is no culture where there are no standards to which our fellow-men can have recourse. There is no culture where there are no principles of legality to which to appeal. There is no culture where there is no acceptance of certain final intellectual positions to which dispute may be referred. There is no culture where economic relations are not subject to a regulating principle to protect interests involved. There is no culture where aesthetic controversy does not recognise the necessity of justifying the work of art.

When all these things are lacking there is no culture; there is in the strictest sense of the word, barbarism... Barbarism is the absence of standards to which appeal can be made.

The varying degrees of culture are measured by the greater or less precision of its standards. Where there is little such precision, these standards rule existence only grosso modo; where there is much they penetrate in detail into the existence of all the activities.¹

The standards to which eighteenth-century philosophers, historians, and moralists appealed were the complementary social and individual aims of virtue, industry, politeness, and learning. We have traced their career in the school curriculum in some detail. The present question posed to the enlightened curriculum is the same one we asked of the polite journalists at the outset of this essay: did it work? Did youth become more virtuous, industrious, polite, and learned as a result of their education than they would have become in following the old curriculum or if left to themselves? Did their education enable them to live in the modern world as better, freer, happier, and more useful men and women?
To illustrate the wide diffusion of Enlightenment attitudes, Roy Porter has reproduced a letter to the *Cambridge Chronicle* for 1772, signed by a group of "Laymen" from Lincoln:

To the printers of the Cambridge Chronicle: Three of us here have been disputing for some time about the definition of virtue, and can agree in nothing but referring it to the decision of your literary readers, who will by that means confer an obligation on us.

In the next number came the reply:

To the printers of the Cambridge Chronicle: In compliance with Laymen's request, you may inform them that the most obvious, and the best definition of virtue is (in the words of Dr Brown) "the conformity of our affection with the public good," or "the voluntary production of the greatest happiness."

Yours
Clericus.²

If, as thoroughgoing Lockeans, we take such a question to have derived in large part from their education in youth, we might be tempted to say that the moral curriculum had worked. Here was a public discussion of virtue carried on in the popular press by those in no way required by their office to raise such questions or to promulgate such ideas. Such a conversation cannot be taken for granted. It certainly does not typify anything to be found in the popular press or public discourse today, except when some politician decides to run on the not too controversial--when unexplained--platform of "family values." Least of all does it characterise the intellectual pursuits of universities and their students. We should not find at the Edinburgh or the Cambridge, the Princeton or even the Chicago of the twentieth century, students crowding into lecture halls to learn how to be virtuous. Following the example of Allan Bloom, in whose course I first read *Emile*, I ask my students at least once a year (in a discussion of the historiographical merits of biography) whether they have any heroes. They admit to having no "proper" heroes, though occasionally a rock star gets mentioned. Forget the *Lives* of Plutarch or Alfred. They are not moved by the deeds and the words of Pitt or the American Founders, of Lincoln or Churchill. "I suppose if you lived in those times, you would look up to them." These are intelligent and ambitious young people, who come to university to get on in the world, to test themselves, and sometimes to enjoy learning, all valuable motives and all equally a part of Enlightenment culture. But I doubt seriously whether one in a thousand comes in order to learn how to become virtuous.

Nor do university departments state their purpose, whatever be the results, as that of making youth into better men and women. They try to prove that they teach them "transferable skills." They are particularly keen to inculcate what is "interesting" or intellectually fashionable. There is certainly some faith in the power of the intellect. But if a university teacher were to suggest that the purpose of, say, history, is to teach virtue; that
certain courses must concentrate on the illustrious examples of men and women in the past who have achieved the heights of human excellence in the hopes that students would emulate such examples; that other courses must show precisely how empires have risen and declined so that students might one day lead the society justly and effectively; that some courses must teach students to enjoy a tasteful leisure and to use their imagination to appropriate the beauties of the creation; this idealist would be regarded by his colleagues and students, like Thomas Powell of Deal, as "mad." Such is not the purpose of history. We do not evaluate or judge, but only reproduce the past. This despite the fact that no less an historian than Herbert Butterfield, no Whig he, thought otherwise. Such, then, is the distance between the intellectual world of the eighteenth century and our own.

On the other hand, the question of those Cambridge laymen is problematic. Had they been educated in the enlightened curriculum, they would have been inundated with images of virtue from their cradles. And yet they were at a loss to define it. The response to the question equally raises more issues than it answers. Does this uncertainty reflect that even as they proselytised on the importance of virtue, enlightened moralists were entering a moral dark ages, as described by Alasdair Maclntyre, in which "we possess indeed simulacra of morality, we continue to use many of the key expressions. But we have—very largely, if not entirely—lost our comprehension, both theoretical and practical, of morality"? I am inclined to think not. Yet it is this question posed by a very astute critic of the Enlightenment and its effects that suggests how one might evaluate the viability and moral value of the enlightened school curriculum. For what we have noticed at every stage of that curriculum is the attempt to resolve conflicting impulses of the human heart: between the private and the public goods, between leisure and activity, between ancient and modern virtues, between rational piety and "enthusiasm," between the dictates of reason and the violent urges of the senses and passions. The solution, as we have said, is balance. But the idea of balance is liable to the charge of superficiality. It can lead to the vain attempt of being everything and nothing, Plato's democratic man. A curriculum, like a constitution, proves its value by its ability to meet the challenges to its existence posed by other ideas and interests. Indeed, the attempt to defend itself often compels the idea or institution to define itself better than it had been defined in its moment of creation or supremacy. So defined was the ancien régime in the Reflections of Burke and the idea of equality in the speeches of Lincoln.

There are three such challenges that the enlightened curriculum had to face, and in these challenges I chart the course of future research. First, there was the challenge of political separation. The enlightened British curriculum extended to the American colonies prior to 1776, as the repeated references to Franklin's own education and ideas of school reform should make clear. Certainly, I should like to make that trans-Atlantic cultural exchange more explicit in the future. A further question is the extent to which the post-Revolutionary
situation caused enlightened moralists to alter substantially the British inheritance. Typically, the histories of American education begin in America and terminate there. Influences from Britain before the Revolution might be acknowledged, but once America gains Independence, the schools and the culture of childhood must be overhauled to teach the ideas of the Republic. Admittedly, a good deal of change did take place, and Benjamin Rush and Noah Webster deserve their reputation as good educational patriots. But how much real change took place, not just in the minds of men of letters but in the textbooks themselves? Did the British story have to be rewritten? Did the heroes change? My initial impulse is to claim that less real change took place than is commonly imagined. Nearly all of the textbooks used in this study had multiple American printings in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Not least of these was Goldsmith's History of England. Of course, the publishing record of a textbook does not indicate how teachers interpreted it. Yet other general clues suggest that Americans continued to draw on British history and culture well into the nineteenth century. A colleague of mine, for example, has found a nineteenth-century edition of a book called The American Chesterfield. It had gone through numerous printings. In a purely democratic idiom, the notion of an American Chesterfield would appear absurd. Furthermore, the American Historical Association in the 1890s recommended that youth in high school take a full year of English history, the same amount allotted to American, since before 1776, English history was American history. All of the great American diplomats of the first half of the twentieth century were Anglophiles for the same reason that Bolingbroke encouraged the study of history: the successful exercise of political and diplomatic power requires an education in the use of such power as shown in the successes and failures of the past. Not only did American culture continue to draw on British resources, however. The systems of Rush and Jefferson began to make their way into the British discussion of education at the end of the century. So it would not be unreasonable to suggest that a trans-Atlantic dialogue on education and culture continued well into the nineteenth century. And that dialogue has been largely lost in the separate inquiries of British and American historians.

Joining the British and American stories, my next inquiry would be to trace the continuance and decline of this curriculum. As a part of Enlightenment, the eighteenth-century curriculum must have faced the challenges of Romanticism, of a more fervent Evangelical piety, and of Industrial utilitarianism. And yet the enlightened texts and lessons seem to have prevailed for some time. At the outset of this dissertation, it was mentioned in a note that the Spectator continued to be read as a model of style and thought into the twentieth century. While giving papers based upon this dissertation, several senior academics have confirmed that they learned to write from an Addisonian paradigm. That being the case, the history of the ultimate demise of a text is just as revealing as its rise and hegemony. Why have educators in the mid- and latter-twentieth century decided that such a model no longer served their purposes? Certainly, the spectatorial exercise of Franklin and Blair would be
considered an unnecessary restraint, an insult to the modern student's creative imagination. Having marked several hundred student essays, however, I am not convinced that the lack of any models at all governs that imagination with its necessary reins. Even more intriguing would be the renewal of a subject after a period of either short or long decline. The reasons for rejuvenating the classical languages at the end of the eighteenth century have been traced in some detail in this study. This rejuvenation resulted from causes internal to education, but also reflected larger concerns of culture. Similarly, public school children in Chicago are currently experiencing a renewed stress on classical languages and history. Why in this most bourgeois of cities would the dead languages find a new home? Do periods of educational experimentation, some of it good, much of it frivolous, invariably revert back to the rigours of Latin grammar?

The final unexplored territory is the relationship of the eighteenth-century school curriculum to the study of moral philosophy at university. This connection explicitly held in Scotland. Critics of the English universities, principally Vicesimus Knox, badly wanted such a course. Under the aegis of moral philosophy, pupils in school, in the words of George Turnbull, should be made to feel what they will later think. The relationship of the passions to the reason was, of course, a more difficult proposal. Children as well as adults felt different natural and social urges. Society held out competing allurements and duties. The conflicts among the duties were as important as the relatively straightforward competition between the intellectual and sensual pleasures. How did a person know what path to take? How did one define virtue? Moral philosophy was meant to resolve these psychological and social conflicts, and for this reason it was the centrepiece of the Scottish university curriculum as well as of the Dissenting Academies. That curriculum was exported to America and eventually made its way south to the University of London. The moral curriculum in schools, then, found its completion in the moral philosophy course at university. What is particularly striking is not that school and university curricula could be so carefully integrated. Rather, the idea that university education is necessary not primarily to train professionals, nor to keep alive the culture in some vague way, nor to give youth in their late teens and early twenties something to do before they enter "the real world," but to attain virtue, is altogether novel in modern culture. Which is to say, it is classical. For this reason, modern Aristotelians such as Maclntyre have a high regard for Scottish culture under the direction of moral philosophy, that of the Hutchesonians rather than "Hume's Anglicizing subversion."5 The immersion of the culture in moral philosophy created "that very rare phenomenon, an educated public."6 The question "what is virtue?" had its institutionalisation in the university, and as we have seen, in the schools which fed the universities. To decide, then, the efficacy of the definition of virtue the moral philosophers put forward would require a lengthier study. For now, while we cannot define virtue, we can, as the American Supreme Court Justice said of pornography, know it when we see it.
NOTES

1 José Ortega y Gasset, The Revolt of the Masses (New York, 1957), 72.
6 Ibid., 248.
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