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CHAPTER 1. 
INTRODUCTORY

"It is to be hoped that some one will be able to put on record Professor Laurie's influence on the course of educational development in Scotland", declares the author of an unsigned obituary notice in "Mind" for April 1909 (1), "and give to a widely interested public some account of a singularly attractive personality". No contemporary British biographer responded to this appeal, however, and within forty years of his death the name of the greatest Scottish educationist of the latter half of last century is almost entirely forgotten. It is true that on the continent of Europe recognition was less tardy, and within three years of Laurie's death two accounts of certain aspects of his work appeared in French and German respectively. The first of these, an analysis of Laurie's position as a pure philosopher by the Belgian scholar, Georges Remacle of Hasselt, is the more memorable; it is entitled "La Philosophie de S.S.Laurie", Brussels 1909, and was reviewed the following year by Professor (later Sir) J.B.Baillie in "Mind" (2). Though not primarily of interest to the student of education, it contains a valuable if brief survey of Laurie's educational work in its biographical notice. The second of these continental appreciations would probably be more relevant to the present purpose but is unfortunately not accessible for reference.

A thesis presented for the degree of Dr. Phil. at Jena in 1912, entitled "Wissenschaftliche Stroemungen in der modernen englischen Paedagogik im Anschluss an A.Bain und S.S.Laurie (Philosphic Trends in modern English educational Theory following upon A. Bain and S.S.Laurie)", is referred to by T.K.Oesterreich in the revised edition of Ueberweg's "Outlines of the History of Philosophy", Berlin 1928 (3). The Jahresverzeichnis for 1912 indicates (4) that it was printed "im Selbstverlag" (limited edition) at Nuremburg consisting of 104 pages in octavo, but the National Central Library can trace no copy of it in any library in Great Britain.

1. Mind (N.S.) Vol. 18 (p.328)
2. Mind (N.S.) Vol. 19 (p.593)
4. Jahresverzeichnis 1912. (p.209)
The author of the obituary notice referred to above was very probably Professor A.S. Pringle-Pattison who wrote a similar notice for Edinburgh University Magazine, "The Student" (No. 452, 17th March 1909). As he knew Simon Laurie intimately and indeed, according to the American scholar P.A. Bertocci (5) in Chap. III of his book "The empirical Argument for God in late British Thought" (when discussing Pringle-Pattison's intellectual development), owed something of his own maturer views to his early contact with him, what he has to say about Laurie is worth quoting further. "By the death of Emeritus-Professor Simon Somerville Laurie, on 2nd March 1909, there has been lost to British philosophy a writer of rare intellectual courage, shrewd independence of judgment, and great speculative insight. Philosophy was the absorbing and unremitting occupation of his life and was undertaken, as he used to say, simply to "systematize his own experience". He thought and wrote primarily for himself, and was not much interested in the promulgation of his views, - an attitude which reacted considerably on his style and manner of expounding his ideas..... He wrote largely on the philosophy and history of education, and by this no doubt he is best known, not merely to the students who listened to his lectures during his occupancy of the Chair of Education in Edinburgh University, but to the wide circle of educationists abroad. One can see the reciprocal influence of educational theory on philosophical theory in 'The Institutes of Education' (2nd Edition, 1899), where he embodied his views on the fundamental principles of education"(6). Of the twenty-two published works which Laurie produced during a long and strenuous life, five are in fact devoted to pure philosophy and the remaining seventeen to the study of various aspects of education. It is, of course, hardly to be expected that there is neither repetition in such voluminous writings nor modification of the ideas they contain over the period of forty years which separated the earliest from the latest, but it is not difficult to work out an extraordinarily consistent theory of education from the mass of material bequeathed to posterity by Laurie's prolific pen.

Although no full-scale works have been published in English dealing with Simon Laurie's life and labours, reference can be made to several shorter articles. Of these six may be

5. Bertocci 1938 (p.45)
("the many references to his friend, S.S.Laurie, show the latter's influence")

6. Mind (N.S.) Vol. 18 (p.328)
mentioned as of particular interest, three having appeared during his lifetime and three after his death. The earliest is the account given in Constable's volume commemorating the tercentenary of Edinburgh University in 1834, and entitled "Quasi Cursores" (7). It takes the form of a short biographical notice and commentary on Laurie's published work up to that date, along with those of all the other professors who held office at the time of the tercentenary celebrations. Ten years later, in October 1894, an anonymous biography obviously composed by one of Laurie's own students appeared in the Chicago University publication, entitled "School Review" (8). A more authoritative study by the late Professor Foster Watson, called "Professor S.S. Laurie of Edinburgh", was published in the January number of "Educational Review", New York, in 1895,(9) but it suffers somewhat from lack of balanced critical judgment. The first of the posthumous accounts is also by Foster Watson and comprises the article on Laurie in the Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement II, which appeared in 1911. It is a masterly summary of Laurie's achievements and is probably the best all-round estimate which has yet been produced. In 1913 an article by Professor Alexander Darroch appeared in the "Cyclopedia of Education" (edited by Paul Monroe), and gives the clearest general exposition of Laurie's theory of education. Lastly, the latest and fullest biographical account is that contained in Chap. XIII of Alexander Morgan's "Makers of Scottish Education", 1929 (10, but being written twenty years after Laurie's death it does not possess the colour and freshness of earlier sketches.

Several portraits of Laurie accompany these articles. An etching by William Hole, R.S.A., representing him as a kindly pedagogue with chalk in hand and pince-nez perched on nose, is to be found in "Quasi Cursores". There is a good cabinet photograph of Laurie seated in his study with the article in "School Review". A smaller photograph appears with Foster Watson's article in "Educational Review" and, in company with other academic educationists, it is also

7. Hole 1884. (p.129)
10. Morgan 1929. (p.193)
reproduced in the "Cyclopedia of Education" (11). Another cabinet photograph by W. Crooke of Edinburgh, taken apparently when Laurie was a younger man, illustrates Pringle-Pattison's article: "The Late Professor Laurie" in 'The Student' (12). Finally, a reproduction of the oil painting by G. Fiddes Watt, R.S.A., which was shown in the Scottish Academy of 1907, faces the chapter on Laurie in Morgan's book. This portrait is described in the 'History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933' (edited by Logan Turner) (13) as "excellent in its way, which is that of a frank, if rather slight treatment of the Raeburn convention", but the impression it succeeds in conveying is suggestive of an austerity and sternness quite alien to Laurie's genial character as portrayed elsewhere. The best pen-portrait of Laurie in private life is to be found in Amelia Hutchison Stirling's biography of her father, James Hutchison Stirling, the eminent Hegelian philosopher, with whom Laurie formed a close friendship from 1866 onwards. She says (14): "He possessed, moreover, a practical wisdom, a knowledge of the world and of human character, which are not usually found united with a love of metaphysical speculation......He was emphatically a manly man - brave, strong, self-reliant - yet he undoubtedly possessed one virtue which is usually supposed to be the peculiar property of the softer sex - unselfishness. If it was for his fearless candour, his honesty, his robust intellect, his strong common-sense that his friends admired Laurie, it was for the unselfishness, the generosity, the broad humanity, the warm affection of the man that they loved him......He possessed an absolute genius for friendship."

No less convincing tributes are forthcoming from other sources. The writer in 'School Review' declares (15): "It is not in his class room so much as in his home at Duddingston, a beautiful spot some two or three miles from Edinburgh, that the professor is seen to his greatest advantage. There, far from the city's din, he enjoys the

11. Vol 3 (p.516)
12. Vol VI (p.473)
13. Turner 1933 (p.331)
14. Stirling 1912 (pp. 358-9)
15. Vol II (p. 467)
sweet retirement so congenial to the philosophic mood, and
there, too, he dispenses a large and liberal hospitality,
for his world-wide fame attracts to his pleasant home on the
slopes of Arthur's Seat all visitors to our metropolis who
are interested in the cause of education. For all such,
whatever be their nationality or creed, the professor has
a kindly welcome. Seated in his library with his well-
loved books around him and enveloped in a cloud of tobacco
smoke..........he will entertain his visitors with pleasant
and instructive conversation. It is under such circum-
stances that strangers will find him to be what his intimate
friends know him to be – a profound thinker, a reverent
inquirer, and a generous and warm-hearted man”. Another
facet of Laurie's gracious personality is revealed in the
farewell address presented by the beneficiaries of the Dick
Bequest in 1908 (16): "We recall your almost intuitive
power of appraising the ordinary work of the school, the
searching examination of the advanced pupils, the illumina-
tive hints your experience could so well supply, and, what
lent grace to the whole, your urbanity of manner that had
the happiest effect on pupil and teacher alike”.

Of Laurie's scholarship and authority as an
educationist there is likewise ample testimony. Foster
Watson writes (17) in 'Educational Review': "Professor
Laurie is our furthest travelled Briton in the study of
education. His interest in the intricate and toilsome
details as well as its larger aspects, in its connections
with other branches of study, as well as the historic
development, is encyclopaedic. He is the Comenius of our
generation". As early as 1368 Dr. Hutchison Stirling
in a letter to the Shakespearian critic, Dr. C.M. Ingleby,
wrote (18) of Laurie: "He is a most accomplished scholar.
Reads German too, hard at K(ant) and H(egel). A most
amiable, fearlessly ......candid man”. Laurie's knowledge
of German was, however, of longer standing than his
introduction to Kant and Hegel, for he made a translation
from a German version of the Flemish Tales of Hendrik
Conscience for Constable's "Foreign Miscellany" during his

16. Morgan 1929 (p. 206)
17. Vol IX (p. 1)
18. Stirling 1912 (p.358)
connection with that publishing house from 1855 to 1860 (19).

There are, in addition, many references to German authorities in the historical works. That Laurie was also a very fluent Latin scholar is evident when he himself tells us (20) in the Preface to the Second Edition of the 'Life of Comenius': "I have gone carefully through the four volumes of his didactic writings, containing 2271 pages of Latin, good, bad, and indifferent," and is confirmed by Morgan who says (21): "He was one of the best Classical students in the University in his time". Pringle-Pattison concurs with these estimates in his appreciation (22): "Professor Laurie was a great educationist, and for half a century he was more intimately connected than any other man with the spread of enlightened ideals, and the general advance of educational efficiency in Scotland. As a writer on education he was an authority on the subject, well known far beyond the bounds of Scotland. From America and elsewhere every year there used to come to Edinburgh professors, inspectors, and teachers, anxious to make his acquaintance, and to have his opinion on some of the questions which were pressing upon them".

A teacher of prospective teachers may reasonably be required to possess himself in a high degree the faculty of imparting knowledge to others. As judged by his own students, Laurie did not lack the gift of inspiring them to their life's work in the teaching profession. Morgan quotes (23) the words of the address signed and presented to Laurie by the 120 students of the Education Class at Edinburgh University on his retirement in 1903: "It has been granted to few educationists to combine as you do theoretical knowledge with practical experience, and to elevate both by a sound and lofty philosophy; still greater is the gift you so eminently possess of communicating to others not only the letter but the spirit which gives life to teaching, and with life the possibility of growth and fruition." To much the same effect writes (24) the biographer in 'School Review': "As a university teacher, he has been eminently successful. He has the faculty, not so

19. Hole 1834 (p.130)
20. Laurie 1834 (p.V)
22. The Student, Vol VI (p.473)
23. Morgan 1929 (p.206)
24. Vol II (p.466)
common in teaching as might be desired, of making his subject interesting even to the dullest of his class. In prelections he does not soar above the heads of the majority of his class and busy himself simply with the able. His aim is rather to touch the intelligence of his class as a whole; to give each and all of his students living interest in the subject of discussion. There is little of the dominie about him in his dealings with the future 'dominies'; he aims rather at the investigation of educational principles and methods than at the inculcation of ascertained educational facts. His object is not to impart results but to quicken thought on the part of his students, and if a student leaves the class of education without discovering that he has a soul and the power to think, it must be because he has neither the one nor the other. There are few indeed of his students who have not while listening to his clear and vigorous lectures felt something of that magnetic influence which draws the scholar into living touch with the teacher. No one who has enjoyed the privilege of listening to his lectures will forget the flash of the eye, the genial countenance, and the kindly tone and humorous allusions of their whilom professor of education."

The tributes of Laurie's colleagues to his outstanding teaching ability are in complete agreement with those of the students. Remacle says (25) of him: "He had the knack of impregnating the student's intelligence by making it live and act for itself instead of merely receiving and passively recording. And so his course never appeared to his students, like the majority of university courses, as so many hours of dreary boredom; not only interesting and highly instructive, it was most efficacious in the personal development of their minds. It was neither monotonous nor aridly didactic. Rather of the nature of a robust and friendly discourse than a formal lecture, it was more of a lively conversation in which the professor thought aloud in front of his students; the purity and clarity of the tongue he spoke and the charm of his style made the lecture as easy to follow and as pleasant to listen to as a page from one of the best English authors. His words had the power of illuminating and quickening the abstract world of ideas. He had, of course, his text-book; but instead of reading it off, like many another, or of repeating it from memory to his audience, he left his students to study it for themselves and devoted his time to chatting about and around the text, elucidating it with an original commentary, enriching it with new thoughts and images, and giving it life by means of examples taken from his rich personal experience and extensive reading. Thus he enjoyed
in university circles the reputation of a delightful story-teller, for he was adept at enlivening his exposition with genuine anecdotes, generally personal and always suitable to illustrate the meaning or application of a principle. Pringle-Pattison likewise stresses (26) this extraordinary appeal to youth exercised by Laurie: "Professor Laurie's friends will retain the memory of a singularly vivid personality - racy in many respects of the Scotland of several generations ago - a man with a great capacity for friendship, and especially a wonderfully fresh interest in the working of younger minds, and a power of attracting younger men to himself. A singular fearlessness of nature characterized him. It might be said of him, as was said of another great Scotsman, that in any public controversy he never feared the face of man. One reason was that he never had any selfish end to serve."

Sufficient evidence has been adduced to justify a systematic study of Simon Laurie's educational work and writings. The abundance of contemporary quotations has been necessitated owing to the inaccessibility of much of the existing material. Remacle's work, having appeared in Belgium, is not to be found in many libraries in this country; Vol. IX of the "Educational Review" can be consulted, outside the United States, only at University College, Aberystwyth; Vol. VI of "The Student" is preserved only at Edinburgh University, apart from copyright libraries in the United Kingdom; and not a single copy of Vol.II of the "School Review" is available for consultation in this country, otherwise than by photostat from the University of Chicago. For practical purposes the most convenient approach to the study of Laurie's writings is to classify them in the order devised by the Bell Trustees for the title of their foundations, namely the Theory, History, and Art of Education. In the first section are included three major works and four volumes of essays (Chapters III to VIII), in the second four contributions to the history of education (Chapters IX and X), and in the third four educational reports, drawn up by Laurie for the Edinburgh Merchant Company and the Trustees of the Dick Bequest, and the evidence submitted by him to the many government inquiries into education during the later nineteenth century (Chapters XI and XII). These three sections, together with the introduction, a general conclusion, and a brief biography, indicate the scope of the present investigation. The
individual titles of the works dealt with in each section are given in the particular bibliography which, with two exceptions in Section I, accompanies every chapter, and they are separately listed in Appendix I; and a general recapitulatory bibliography is added in Appendix II.

Sources: - (see also Chapter II)

A.S. Pringle-Pattison: "The Late Professor Laurie," 1909 ('The Student' Vol VI pp 473-4).

A.H. Stirling: "James Hutchison Stirling, His Life and Work", 1912 (p.358 ff.)
CHAPTER II.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Simon Somerville Laurie was born at Edinburgh on 13th November 1829. He was the eldest son of Rev. James Laurie, chaplain to the Royal Infirmary there, and of Jean Somerville, daughter of Rev. Simon Somerville who was minister of the United Presbyterian church at Elgin. This family connection with the North-East of Scotland may help to explain the life-long interest which that part of the country held for Simon Laurie in later years. According to Remacle, Laurie's youth was greatly influenced by the deep religious faith of his maternal grandmother, but despite his fundamentally Calvinistic upbringing Laurie's intellectual and moral development remained broad and unfettered, while still preserving the distinctive characteristics of his Scottish origin (1). The family appears to have been badly off and Simon was obliged to undertake the tuition of younger children in order to defray the costs of his own education. In spite of this handicap not only he himself but two of his younger brothers contrived to distinguish themselves in after life. Thomas Laurie founded a successful publishing firm at 13 Paternoster Row in London, and James Stuart Laurie who became a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, made a name for himself as an educationist, first in the capacity of an H.M.I. to the English Education Department and afterwards as Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon.

Simon Laurie received his education at the Edinburgh High School which he attended from 1839 to 1844 during the rectorship of Dr. A. R. Carson (2). He was extremely fortunate in his choice of school, for Oliphant Smeaton, speaking of the period 1775 to 1825 declares (3): "The Royal High School under successive rectors - Adams, Pillans, and Carson - attained to a pinnacle of reputation which has not since been surpassed by any kindred institution". From the High School Laurie passed on to Edinburgh

1. Remacle 1909 (p.VI).
2. J. J. Trotter: "Royal High School, Edinburgh" (p.151)
3. Smeaton "Edinburgh and its Story" (p.380)
University where he matriculated on 5th November 1844 (4). The University had not at that time been reformed by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 and the English honours system had not yet been introduced. In 1842, however, the Senatus had overhauled the conditions of graduation in arts and reintroduced the degree of B.A., though it continued to be more usual for Edinburgh students to proceed straight to the M.A. degree (5). It so happened that at Edinburgh this latter was identical with the curriculum subsequently adopted by the Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1858 for the ordinary degree of M.A. It was a course extending over four sessions and comprised seven subjects, namely Latin (Humanity) and Greek, Mathematics, Philosophy (Logic and Metaphysics) and Moral Philosophy, Physics (Natural Philosophy) and English (Rhetoric and Belles Lettres) (6). Laurie's undergraduate career was lengthened by a year in consequence of his appointment as class assistant to the Professor of Humanity (7). He graduated M.A. on 3rd May 1849 at the age of nineteen and a half (8).

While at the university Laurie came in contact with some eminent teachers. James Pillans, who filled the chair of Latin, seems to have influenced him most profoundly and had a great reputation in his day as an educationist as well as a classical scholar. Prior to his university appointment he had been a tutor at Eton and then rector of the Edinburgh High School. George Dunbar, the professor of Greek, though a well-known lexicographer, was probably the least distinguished personally of the team. Philip Kelland who had been the first Englishman with no Scottish connections ever to be appointed to an Edinburgh chair, was an extremely celebrates mathematician. Sir William Hamilton was the foremost British philosopher of the time, and John Wilson (better known as "Christopher North" in Blackwood's Magazine), if undistinguished as a moral philosopher in his own right, was


5. Grant: "Story of University of Edinburgh", Vol. II (p.113)

6. Morgan 1933 (p.80)

7. Foster Watson 1911.

8. Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates 1858 (p. 228)
exceedingly stimulating as a professor. Finally, J.D. Forbes, afterwards principal of the United College of St. Leonard and St. Salvator at St. Andrews University, was a very eminent physicist, and W.M. Aytoun, the first of the distinguished line who have in the past century occupied the chair of English, was the most brilliant exponent of rhetoric since the days of Hugh Blair. The period immediately following Laurie's graduation was the most obscure of his career. According to Remacle, he acted as a private tutor in London, on the Continent, and in Ireland and thus broadened his experience (9). Strangely enough, he appears never to have held a post as a practising teacher in a school, but he himself maintained that thinking about education in its philosophic bearings was in many ways of greater importance than the mere routine of 40 years "experience" in the classroom (10).

On his return to Edinburgh Laurie's first public appointment was to the secretarship of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland in January 1855 (11). This committee had the duty of supervising the Church's 200 Assembly Schools, scattered throughout the country to supplement the work of the statutory parochial schools in districts which were inadequately provided for, and two training colleges for teachers - Dundas Vale in Glasgow and Johnston Terrace in Edinburgh. In the following year, 1856, on the death of Professor Allan Menzies of the chair of Conveyancing at Edinburgh, Laurie was chosen by the trustees of the Dick Bequest to succeed him as Visitor of the schools, in addition to his other post. The Bequest which had been left by James Dick, a London merchant originally a native of Forres in Moray, at his death in 1828 came into operation in 1833. The capital sum amounted to £118,727 which yielded interest annually of about £4000, and according to the will of the testator this sum was to be divided among the most deserving parochial schoolmasters in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray (excluding royal burghs), as a supplement to "their present very trifling salaries". In order to participate at all in the Bequest, candidates had first of all to pass an examination which was set annually by a panel

9. Remacle 1909 (p. VI)
10. Laurie 1882 (p. 173)
11. Hole 1884 (p. 130)
of examiners and thereafter their proficiency was judged by the visitor, whose duty it was to inspect all the schools which benefited from the Bequest once in every two years. In 1365 the number of such schools was 134 and the custom of personal visitation continued until a new scheme of administration drawn up by the Balfour of Burleigh Commission, was approved by an Order in Council dated 1st May 1390. After 1390 the task of the visitor was less arduous since the assessment of individual awards was henceforth based upon the annual inspection and reports of H.M.I's, instead of the visitor's biennial visitations.

In 1367 he published, as an antidote to the Revised Code of 1862 and its doctrine

12. Hole 1884 (p.130)
of payment by results, an epoch-making work "Primary Instruction in relation to Education", largely based on the first part of his Dick Report. This volume was designed to show that the aim of the primary school is ethical, and as an inspiration to teachers, Laurie appended in 1883 a possible code for public elementary schools in Scotland. Some years later he tells us that when it appeared it was regarded as a "pious imagination", but by that time more than half had been adopted by the Scotch Education Department and he was confident that the remainder would be adopted in time (13). In 1868 Laurie produced a second philosophical work, a volume of critical essays on eight utilitarian British philosophers, which he called "Notes expository and critical on certain British Theories of Morals". This work served to establish his position as an adherent of the neo-idealist school still more clearly. Nevertheless his candidature for the chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University in June of that year was unsuccessful (14). At this time he was invited by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh to inspect the hospitals under their administration, as a result of certain general animadversions on the hospital system contained in the third report of the Argyll Commission on the Schools of Scotland which appeared in that year. Laurie prepared reports on the three hospitals and James Gillespie's Free School, and in addition he submitted a general report on the hospital system. These reports, when published in June 1868, were instrumental in causing the Merchant Company to press for the passing of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act of 1869 (15).

The decade of the seventies was occupied almost entirely by administrative duties and during that period Laurie found no time to publish any further writings. As early as 1867 he took a prominent part with Mrs. Mary Crudelius in the founding of the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association which was a pioneer movement for the higher education of women (16). The Association conducted extramural university classes for women and issued a certificate in arts to successful candidates until women were finally admitted to graduation in 1892 by an ordinance of the Statutory Commission appointed under the

13. Laurie 1888 (p. 197)
15. Hole 1884 (p. 131)
16. Foster Watson 1911.
Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889. In 1870 Laurie was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the same year while he was in London following the parliamentary debates on the Forster Education Bill, he was pressed to accept a responsible post at the Education Department but he declined (17). In 1872 the Education (Scotland) Act was passed and under it the whole system of education in Scotland was reorganized. In September of that year a Royal Commission under Sir T.E.Colebrooke Bt. was set up to enquire into the educational endowments of the country and Laurie was appointed secretary to the Commissioners. In addition to the two posts he already held, Laurie carried on the administrative work of the Commission for nearly three years. In 1873 he was largely responsible for the founding of a third Church of Scotland training college in Aberdeen to meet the increased demand for teachers as a result of the extension of schooling prescribed by the Young Act (18).

For many years the university training of teachers was Laurie's constant preoccupation. He was an enthusiastic supporter of a policy advocated by Professor James Pillans from 1830 onwards, namely the institution of a chair of "didactics" at one or more of the Scottish Universities (19). In July 1862 a famous letter by "An Edinburgh Graduate" appeared in 'The Museum', a quarterly magazine devoted to literary and scientific topics, entitled "Training Schools in Scotland". This article pointed out the limitations of training-colleges and argued in favour of the university training of teachers under a professor of education. The writer possessed an intimate knowledge of the government grants to training-colleges, and Laurie may be presumed as the author, from what he says nearly twenty years later in his introductory lecture to the class of education for the session 1881-2 on the "Educational Wants of Scotland" (20). He also urged the Education Department to allow the ablest of the Queen's Scholars in the training-colleges to attend university classes during their two years course, even if they did not qualify for graduation (21). Eventually, under

17. Remacle 1909 (p. XI.)
18. Foster Watson 1895
20. Laurie 1882 (p. 300)
21. Morgan 1927 (p. 218)
Article 102 (c) of the Scotch Code of 1873 this was conceded and the managers of training-colleges were permitted to use the government grant towards the payment of class-fees in respect of such students (22). The question of promoting an efficient system of intermediate education throughout the country was an urgent problem at that time, and in 1876 Laurie became secretary to the newly-formed "Association for the Promotion of Secondary Education in Scotland" (23).

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 by making state provision for education freed certain private bequests which had previously been utilized for this purpose. Among these was a residue fund left by Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell to further his system of education on the monitorial plan. In 1873 the trustees conceived the idea of using part of this fund to found chairs of the Theory, History and Art of Education at the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, on condition that during the course Dr. Bell's principles should be expounded. A considerable amount of negotiation was required before the scheme could take effect but eventually it was approved, and the trustees who reserved the right of the first nominations, selected S.S. Laurie to fill the Edinburgh chair and J.M.D. Meiklejohn, also an Edinburgh graduate, to fill the vacancy at St. Andrews. The two professors delivered their inaugural addresses on 31st March 1876 and the chairs became effective at the beginning of the winter term of 1876-7 (24). Laurie preferred to designate his chair the "Institutes and History of Education", though quite unofficially, since he considered 'Theory' vague and unacademic (as he explains (25) in his pamphlet on "Scottish University Reforms"). These chairs were the first professorships of education founded in any English-speaking university, although Joseph Payne had been appointed in 1873 to a titular chair of education at the College of Preceptors in London (26). Shortly after his appointment Laurie urged the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh University to encourage the university education of teachers in training by instituting some tangible qualification to mark the successful completion of a two year's concurrent course, since

22. Rusk 1928 (p. 132)
23. Foster Watson. 1911
24. Rusk 1928 (p. 139)
25. Laurie 1889 (p.21)
26. Rich 1933 (p.255)
the minimum period for the degree of M.A. under the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 was three years. He proposed a Literateship in Arts which should comprise four of the seven subjects required for the ordinary degree of M.A. and a fifth subject which should be entirely optional (27). In April 1880 his proposals were approved and the new Literateship might include Education as a fifth qualifying subject (28). Six years later he succeeded in establishing a post-graduate Schoolmaster's Diploma, the regulations for which were approved on 30th April 1886 (29). This Diploma was of two types: a general diploma for pass graduates (30) and a secondary school diploma for graduates with honours. In this way Laurie gained recognition for Education as an academic subject and sought so far as possible to include it in the curriculum for graduation.

In 1881 Laurie began once more to publish educational writings with his famous "Life and educational Works of John Amos Comenius", the result of many years of research. In the following year he produced his first collection of essays and addresses under the title of "The Training of the Teacher and other educational Papers". By this time his fame as an educationist had spread to other countries and there is evidence that in 1882 President F.A.P. Barnard of Columbia University, New York, made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Laurie to come to America (31). Had Laurie accepted he would have had the distinction of launching Teachers College, Columbia. In 1884 an international health exhibition was held in London, and it included in its activities a conference on education under the chairmanship of Mr. A. J. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council. Laurie and Meiklejohn were both invited to address Section D of the conference, which dealt with the training of teachers. The subject of their addresses was "On Professorships and Lecture-ships on Education", and it was on that occasion that Meiklejohn first propounded his famous "heuristic" method, afterwards taken up so enthusiastically by Professor H.E. Armstrong. Laurie was not present personally but his paper was read to the conference on 5th August 1884 (32). In the

27. Laurie 1882 (p. 171)
30. Recognised by the Scotch and English Education Departments in 1896, under Section 60(b) of the English Code.
31. Darroch 1913.
32. Proceedings, Section D. (p.121)
same year, under the pseudonym of "Scotus Novanticus", he published a major philosophic work, entitled "Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta", and in 1335 a companion volume which he called "Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason". Both received very favourable reviews in the British and continental press, and Laurie acknowledged authorship of the two volumes. He published a revised and extended edition of each in 1889 and 1891 respectively, and they were later translated into French by Laurie's disciple, Georges Remacle, in 1900 and 1902.

From 1885 onwards Laurie interested himself in the question of university reform. He agitated constantly for revision of the Procrustian requirements for graduation in the Scottish Universities laid down by the Commissioners under the Act of 1858. "It would be a difficult matter to construct theoretically a better Arts curriculum than the present, were all minds alike; but all minds are not alike", was his verdict on the situation (33). In 1886 Laurie published his second contribution to the history of education, entitled "The Rise and early Constitution of Universities". This book, though a work of considerable scholarship, was less successful than some of his other writings, and was entirely superseded less than ten years later by the publication in 1895 of Hastings Rashdall's more comprehensive "Mediaeval Universities of Europe". In April 1887 Laurie's services to education in Scotland were recognized by the University of St. Andrews which conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In 1888 he published a second volume of addresses, which he called "Occasional Addresses on educational Subjects", and this work brought him great distinction both in Britain and America. In London the "Journal of Education" spoke of him as "our greatest living writer on education", and in Boston the American "Journal of Education" referred to him as "a writer of world-wide reputation on educational topics"(34). Eventually in 1889 the Universities (Scotland) Act was passed and on 9th November of that year Laurie addressed a meeting of Scottish educationists in Glasgow on "Scottish University Reforms". In the course of his address he observed (35):

"As I was the first to move in the matter of university reform,

33. Laurie 1882 (p. 270)


35. Laurie 1889 (p.7)
I may be allowed here to indicate the reforms contemplated at the beginning of the movement. Many of these were adopted in subsequent ordinances by the Statutory Commission appointed under the Act. In 1890 Laurie published a course of lectures, given in the Easter term of 1889 to the education syndicate of the University of Cambridge and repeated at the College of Preceptors, under the title of "Language and Linguistic Method in the School". There also appeared in that year his second general "Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest on the rural public schools of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray", which has been compared (36) to Horace Mann's famous "Educational Tour in Germany and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland".

The year 1891 would seem to mark the zenith of Laurie's career as an educationist. He was elected president of the Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, a society founded in 1833 with the aim of unifying and benefiting the profession throughout the United Kingdom. In that capacity he was summoned to Westminster on 17th April to give evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the question of compulsory registration of teachers. On 13th September he received, along with four other distinguished Scottish educationists, the first honorary Fellowship of the Educational Institute of Scotland ever conferred (37).

Finally, in the autumn he was invited to deliver the inaugural address at the opening of the Day Training College at the University College of Liverpool. On that occasion he remarked (38): "I had a great deal to do with originating the idea of Day Training Colleges in connection with universities". It was a crowning triumph for Laurie when in 1892 the ordinance of the 1889 Universities Commission, setting forth new regulations for graduation in Arts, included Education as a qualifying subject for the degree of M.A. in the Scottish Universities (39). This led to the institution of a Department of Education at Aberdeen University in 1893 and at Glasgow University in 1894 (40). In 1892 Laurie published a third collection of speeches, chiefly delivered in connection with the Teachers' Guild, which he called "Teachers' Guild Addresses", and in the same year the first edition of his celebrated "Institutes of Education" appeared. This book had its genesis in a "Handbook to Lectures on the Theory, History and Art of Education" which had already gone through three

36. Foster Watson 1895.
37. Belford 1946 (p.180)
38. Laurie 1892 (p.202)
39. Foster Watson 1895.
40. Morgan 1927 (p. 157)
editions, being primarily designed to help the students in Laurie's Education Class by giving them a summary of his lectures. The first edition of the standard work was still largely a students' text-book, and Laurie published a revised and extended second edition in 1899 in which he set forth his philosophic stand-point in its educational reference. A third edition appeared shortly after his death in May 1909.

In 1895 Laurie's most weighty contribution to the history of education, the "Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education", was published. It surveyed the whole period of antiquity until the rise of Christianity, including Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, China, India, Persia, Greece and Rome, and remains to this day a standard authority. On 31st July 1895 Laurie's wife died and a collection of poems which she had written, edited by Laurie himself, was published in a private edition by one of her daughters. In 1898 Laurie's long-standing interest in academic affairs was fittingly recognised by the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh University who elected him on the death of Professor Henry Calderwood to sit on the University Court as their assessor, an office which he continued to hold until his retirement from the chair of Education (41). In 1901 he published his last volume of addresses, which he called "The Training of Teachers and Methods of Instruction", most of which had in fact already appeared in previous volumes. In 1901 also he married Lucy Struthers, daughter of Professor Sir John Struthers M.D., LL.D., the eminent Aberdeen anatomist, but about this time he appears to have felt that his work was nearing its end. In a speech which he delivered to the Association of Principals and Lecturers of Training Colleges on 16th November 1901 in the National Society's Hall at Westminster on the 'Decentralizing Policy of the Board of Education in England' he spoke of changes which led him "to revert to the past to which I myself begin to belong".

In 1903 he published his last historical work, "Studies in the History of educational Opinion from the Renaissance", and resigned the chair of Education at Edinburgh in March of that year (42). Laurie was succeeded in that office by one of his own favourite students, Alexander Darroch, lecturer in Education at the Church of Scotland Training College in Edinburgh. He continued to follow educational policy and

41. Turner "History of University of Edinburgh 1883-1933". (p.420)
42. Remacle 1909 (p.XVIII.)
shortly after his retirement he came forward to protest "as a free citizen and taxpayer" against what he considered the retrogressive character of the Scottish Code of 1903 in a memorable address to the Edinburgh Branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland, on "Freedom in Education". On 5th June 1903 the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh University recorded their appreciation of his twenty-seven years' service to the University in the following terms: "No man has done more than Professor Laurie to shape and influence the course of Scottish Education during the last half-century, both by his writings and by his own administrative and advisory work. The Foundation of Chairs of Education in the Universities was the carrying out of the educational policy he had consistently advocated, and was mainly the result of his own unwearied labours for many years previously. To him also, as the first occupant of the Edinburgh chair, is due almost entirely the position which these chairs now occupy in the educational system of the country and in the university curriculum. His grasp of philosophical principles and his intimate practical knowledge combined with the influence of a strong and many-sided personality to make his tenure of office a memorable one, and to set a high standard for all future occupants of the Chair" (43). On 25th July 1903 the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University. Laurie was now in his seventy-fourth year but he utilized his leisure time to work out his philosophic system in even greater detail than previously.

In 1904 he published his third general report on the "Dick Bequest Trust", in which he expressed (44) the opinion: "It is clear to me that changes in the education of Scotland are foreshadowed, and it becomes a matter of great historical interest to record as fully as possible the present work and character of the schools in the north-eastern counties". In December 1904 Laurie received the appointment of Gifford Lecturer in Natural Theology at Edinburgh University for the session 1905-6. In January 1905 a minute of the Scotch Education Department placed the training of teachers on a national basis by the establishment of Provincial Committees at the four university centres (45), and in June of that year Laurie resigned the secretaryship of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland after holding the position for fifty years (46). He delivered his

43. Extract from Minutes of the Senatus Academicus.
44. Laurie 1904 (p.46)
45. Morgan 1927 (p.220)
46. Remacle 1909 (p.VII)
course of Gifford Lectures "On God and Man" during the autumn term of 1905 and the spring term of 1906, and they were incorporated in the second volume of his last philosophical work, entitled "Synthetica, being meditations epistemological and ontological", which appeared in 1906. Despite a full critical review in "Mind" (1903-9) by Sir J.B.Baillie and a detailed exposition by Georges Remacle in his book "La Philosophie de S.S.Laurie" (1909) Laurie's metaphysical swan-song failed, on the whole, to excite the attention of contemporary thinkers. The lack of public interest is to be accounted for largely by reason of the unusual terminology and doggedly independent line of thought which characterize the work and make it extremely difficult reading for all but the specialist.

Laurie's many years of devoted service to education in the north-east of Scotland were rewarded by the University of Aberdeen which laureated him with the degree of LL.D. on 30th October 1906. In January 1907 his numerous admirers showed their appreciation by presenting him with a portrait in oils, painted by G.Fiddes Watt, R.S.A., which now hangs in the University Court Room at Edinburgh. Later in that year he resigned the last of his public offices, that of Visitor and Examiner to the Dick Bequest Trust, and in May 1908 the teachers who had benefited from the scheme under Laurie's skilful guidance, presented him with a beautifully illuminated scroll which recorded their sense of his unfailing tact and delicacy in making the awards (47). Thus terminated a singularly fruitful and energetic career. For some years Laurie had suffered from myocarditis and he did not long survive his retirement from active affairs. On 2nd March 1909 he died of heart failure in his eightieth year and was buried in the Grange Cemetery at Edinburgh. Two years before his death he was hailed (43) by Professor Foster Watson as the "doyen of British educationalists", and it is certain that he exercised an enormous influence in educational matters on his own generation, not only in Scotland but also in England and America. Nevertheless, he was something of a prophet without honour in his own country and his fame cannot be said to have outlived him. That is no doubt due to a variety of complex factors but in some respects Laurie himself is responsible for it. He did not deviate from the difficult paths of abstruse dialectics to court the popular reader and the eccentricities of his style often obscure the depth and originality of his thought. But for those who are prepared to look for it, much of lasting

47. Remacle 1909 (p.VIII)
value is to be found in his writings. In Laurie's own words: "Philosophy is not a stagnant pool, but a well of living water".

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SECTION I - THEORY OF EDUCATION
CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION

"Laurie's theory of education", says Darroch (1), "is contained in his "Institutes", first published in 1392, and his conception of the aims and methods of education is largely determined by his philosophical standpoint, and is the practical application of his views on metaphysics and ethics. His philosophy was to a large extent determined by his study of Kant, and to a lesser degree by his reading of Fichte and Hegel". We can expect to find, then, in this treatise a theoretical and philosophical treatment of education, which will make considerable demands on the student's powers of understanding, rather than a popular exposition of classroom methods. Elsewhere Darroch says (2), twenty years after its publication, "Professor Laurie's 'Institutes of Education' has attracted considerable attention from educational theorists, but owing to the fact that his educational theory is based on a peculiar and unique system of philosophy, partly derived from Kant and partly from Fichte, his work is difficult to understand, and has exerted little influence upon the methods of the great body of practical teachers". Even the title which Laurie gave to his magnum opus is more obscure than it need be. The word 'institutes' he uses, of course, in the classical sense of 'book of principles'; it may have been suggested by the title of Quintilian's 'Institutio Oratoria' for which Laurie had a very great admiration, but its use in this sense, though now obsolete, was quite common in Scottish philosophy at the beginning of last century. As Laurie was one of the first academic writers on the subject of education, Sir John Adams suggests (3) that he might perhaps have employed a less definitive title for his text-book. "Professor S.S. Laurie was probably premature", he says, "in calling his well-known treatise 'Institutes of Education'. In his day there was hardly a sufficient body of generally accepted doctrine to warrant the dignified title".

In educational theory Laurie's position as a humanist is clear enough, but his 'philosophical standpoint'

1. Darroch 1913
3. "Educational Theories" 1927 (p.46)
is by no means so clearly determined. Rudolph Metz says (4) in this connection: "The philosophy of the Scotsman Laurie grew almost entirely out of his own mind and consequently cannot be brought without a certain degree of violence under any of the usual general captions... He himself called it 'natural realism', and this rightly characterizes his epistemological starting-point, which is consciously akin to Reid's position; but it does not by any means apply to the rest of his thought, or to his thought taken as a whole. We may, however, without misgiving, place it within the neo-idealistic movement". It is the second edition of the 'Institutes', published in 1899 and reviewed in "Mind" in April 1900 (5), which contained what Remacle calls (6) "a complete philosophy and methodology of education". The anonymous reviewer in "Mind" again comments (7) on Laurie's independence of thought by remarking: "It is interesting to note that though Professor Laurie has adopted a new principle, and has followed entirely his own method, he has reached a body of sound doctrine in education which cannot fail to commend itself to all experts in that subject". The 'Institutes of Education' is divided into four books which correspond to the four main divisions of Laurie's educational theory. Part I deals with the means and materials of education (the curriculum); Part II with his theory of psychology, which indicates with what factors the educator has to reckon; Part III with his principles of teaching, which apply his psychological theory to educational practice; and Part IV with his theory of ethics, which gives the aim that the educator should pursue. The sub-title 'comprising an introduction to rational psychology' Laurie explains (8) in the text: "By 'rational psychology' I mean an analytic account of mankind which takes account of reason as the central and governing fact without which we are landed in hopeless confusion even in the interpretation of purely sensational phenomena". The argument, which seeks to establish "an unbroken chain of rational interdependence from his first principles to his ultimate rules and applications" (9).

4. Metz 1933 (p.429)
5. Vol. 9 (N.S.) (p.270)
6. Remacle 1909 (p.XV)
7. Vol. 9 (p.271)
8. Laurie 1899 (p.116)
9. Mind Vol. 9 (p.271)
is conducted with considerable dialectic skill, but in view of the writer's unusual mode of presentation and the special terminology which he employs, it requires some exposition to be easily intelligible to the non-specialist reader.

Laurie's discussion of the means and materials of education is fairly straightforward. He begins by stating that the limitations of education are the natural tendencies of the minds which are to be educated, since education can only develop but not create. The various influences in the environment which constitute education in its largest sense, are the home, public life, and the school. The educator must make the fundamental assumption that every member of the human race is, by virtue of his distinctive humanity, endowed with the same general capacities and powers and that he has in him the possibility of a complete development. Hence any difference that there may be is merely quantitative not qualitative. The aim of the educator is in all cases the ideal man as conceived by him, for which all are, though in varying degrees, capable of being trained. The rational educationist readily admits the limitations of national tradition, family life, heredity, and so on, but in practice he endeavours to ignore them by regulating and controlling the manifold influences at work so as to harmonize the varied experience of the young into a rational unity of life and character. The child's natural educators are his parents, but in modern society much of the parental work is deputed by the state to the teacher whose function accordingly is probably the most important of all social functions (10). Since education means a "training up" and not a "drawing out", the educator must have a conscious ideal to which he would train up. Furthermore, that ideal must be exemplified in his own life, for children are incapable of abstracting ideals and require a concrete embodiment of what they are to strive for. This ideal has gradually become more explicit in its historical development, and it is man as man in all his relations finite and infinite, not man for his skill in specific directions, that the educator must take for his aim (11). In primitive times,

10. Laurie 1899 (p.6)
11. op.cit. (p.10)
it is true, the essential object of education was to meet the exigencies of daily life, but the very variety of these exigencies lent to it a certain breadth. In an increasingly industrialized and specialized society, however, the realistic principle in education is merely "putting brains into a man's fingers" (12). Education must be something more than just instruction as to how best to satisfy material wants. Man is more than an intelligent tool; nor is he merely a means, but an end, in himself. It is the possibility of the infinite in man which makes education worth thinking about, but until man was capable of thinking about himself it was not possible in all its fulness. Some sort of philosophy was necessarily its precursor.

The supreme end of education is the ethical life (13). Specialist knowledge can only be of value in so far as it contributes to an ethical result. Thus it is not true to consider one man as better educated than another simply because he knows more Greek or Mathematics. Instruction is, none the less, of educational importance in that it may lead to greater efficiency at a man's daily task. The most efficient carpenter is, as such, the most moral, although conversely the most moral (in the larger sense) is not necessarily the most efficient, except in his desire to be so. It can therefore be demonstrated that the ethical enters into everything, even technical instruction, but it is man's fulfilment of himself simply as man which best fits him for all his duties whether as a technician or a citizen (14). In order to ascertain wherein man's fulfilment of himself really lies, we must inquire into his mental constitution; nevertheless we may say without further preliminary that the essential education of a child is the bringing of him up in such a way that when he reaches manhood he will be capable of fulfilling his own true life - his life, not merely as an industrial worker nor even as a citizen, but his personal life as man both through his work and his citizenship. The attainment of the ethical end of education depends not only on growth of mind but on the growth of body also. 'Mens sana'

12. op.cit. (p.12)
13. op.cit. (p.16)
14. op.cit. (p.13)
presupposes a 'corpus sanum', so that recreative activities such as play and manual instruction form an indispensable part of any educational scheme. Moreover, the teacher ought certainly to have some knowledge of hygiene and of such external physical conditions as are essential to the healthy functioning of the mind.

Laurie now proceeds to consider in some detail the nature of these physical conditions, but much of what he says is naturally no longer up to date. His main conclusions are that the child requires abundant fresh air to oxygenate the blood; that the blood needs wholesome food to build up the nervous system; that every mental act produces material changes in the brain-matter so that overstimulation is injurious; that discipline of the attention and will must have regard to physical exhaustion; that the acquisition of formal subjects should keep pace with the gradual growth of the convolutions of the brain, in view of which the tendency of modern education is too intellectual; that a healthy and vigorous mind must be based on play and gymnastics, which, however, should not be allotted more than a subordinate place in any educational scheme. He accepts James' physiological account of habit-formation by which nerve-tissue can be made to respond to less and less conscious effort by cultivating good habits, both in the acquisition of knowledge and the practice of virtue; and he even goes so far as to accept the doctrine of the transmission of acquired characters, which "thus gives great significance to the function of the educator, and imposes on us the duty of self-cultivation, accompanied by a new social sanction of the greatest potency"(15). The body must be trained so that it shall be a fit vehicle for the spirit of man - "soul and body must draw together like two horses harnessed to the same coach"(16). Too much of the physical stupefies the intellect and brutalizes the moral nature, but dancing, which has been largely neglected, contributes to the joy of life.

Laurie next goes on to consider the mind which, generally, is synonymous with consciousness. But man is also self-conscious and has reason, which is his distinctive characteristic in contradistinction to the lower animals. Since, however, man cannot live a life of pure thought and

15. op.cit. (p.29)
16. op.cit (p.32)
reason but must act through multiform relations to the non-rational in him and in other persons, the highest issue of his life is in conduct. The moral life is a life in relations which are impregnated and moulded by reason. Man also has relations with the infinite and can attain to a spiritual life when, in the life of thought and contemplation, he sees the truth of relations as in and through God. The ethical life, which is the supreme end of education, comprises the spiritual life and the prior moral life, and it emanates from reason. Expanding this line of thought, Laurie says that for effective virtue moral ideas must motivate virtuous conduct. In common with the animals man has emotions which give rise to desires impelling him to this or that, but the reason in him regulates and directs the desires, which then form motives for conduct. Reason interpreting experience ascertains the relations which they bear to each other and to our fellow-men, and the virtuous man acts in accordance with these 'moral ideas', as law of his nature. "In education our main object is to train men to a habit of effective virtue" (17), but, before man can attain to "the Good", the merely virtuous life must be raised to the spiritual level. Since the virtuous state of mind must of necessity precede the possibility of effective virtue, it is vital to attain it with the young. The wisest way of creating it is not negatively by the inhibition of wrong acts but positively by habituating the child to the right and good act. To this end the ordinary experiences of life require to be supplemented in three ways, firstly by authority and precept, secondly by the educator's own example, and thirdly by contemplating the acts of others (either in reality or through the imagination with the help of literature). The ethical life demands the activity of reason in order that each individual, though perhaps incapable of ascertaining moral ideas for himself, may at least acquiesce in them with intelligence, and so be not merely the slave of dogma. "For man is an ethical being", Laurie maintains (18), "only so far as he is a self-regulated being". Fortunately men, by inheriting tradition, do not have to depend entirely on the activity of their own individual reason for the ascertainment of the truth of life and conduct.

17. op.cit. (p.37)

18. op.cit. (p.39)
But the substance of the ethical life, namely 'The Good', does not by itself suffice. To truth must be added duty, which Laurie calls 'The Law'. It acts as an imperative to 'The Good' and satisfies the reason of man, which "is by its very nature always seeking for Law" (19). Hence we accustom the young to obey the law, even when they cannot see the truth of it for themselves, so that they may acquire a habit of duty. "The ethical life", Laurie goes on to affirm (20), "is a habit of action in accordance with moral ideas as 'The Good', under a sense of duty to the Law inherent in the Good as spiritual or divine law". Consequently the significance of all that is taught is ethical, or it is, in its educational reference, wholly non-significant. A school, therefore, as an educational institution, is to be judged not by the number of its examination successes but by its ethical results. This does not imply that the end contemplated is not a practical one, personal and social, and indeed the supreme principle of method in teaching is "Turn to use". The ultimate test of all knowledge in every department is: can the pupil use it? The school must always be in touch with the requirements of the outside world. In certain cases it may perhaps appear that we go beyond what is strictly required for the conduct of life in educating the young. None the less, the supreme end is still ethical. Two arguments can be adduced to support this position: in the first place, by an extension of knowledge we afford the young wider intellectual interests and larger relations to the world of things and men in which they are placed, thus enabling them to mould their ideals in a broader spirit; secondly, we have to prepare our pupils for certain social occupations for which extended knowledge and discipline are essential. Even the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is sustained by an ethical motive, the love of truth, although there are no doubt cases where attainments are sought and valued only in so far as they advance material interests.

While the ethical end is supreme, we have yet to educate reason by knowledge and discipline so that it may be nourished and strengthened for all the functions of life. Simply because knowledge and discipline, which are the means of education, are so important, we are apt to lose sight of

19. op.cit. (p.40)
20. op.cit. (p.41)
the end in the means. So long, however, as the regulative influence of an ethical purpose animates our schemes of instruction and our methods of teaching, the dangers of exalting the intellectual over the moral will be minimized. The educative process is revealed in the analysis of the moments of an ethical act, which is the final willing of the good. These moments are as follows: firstly, right judgments of the facts before us and their relations; secondly, a moral idea, at the heart of which there is an emotion, following on the clear perception of the facts and acting as a motive; thirdly, action in accordance with the moral idea under a sense of imperative obligation; and fourthly, perception of the idea as in God. The guarantee of ethical completeness is an inner sense of harmony which results from willing in accordance with the moral idea, and the repetition of such acts of willing has the effect of making them permanent elements in character. We are now in a position, Laurie argues, to attempt a definition of the end of education and be thus competent to consider by what means we may attain that end. The educational end Laurie defines (21) as "right judgment and a habit of good action under a sense of duty, accompanied by a comprehension of the spiritual significance of moral law". The educative process, as revealed by the analysis of an ethical act and by means of which the educational end is to be achieved, is a dual process of instruction and discipline applied to the rational, moral and spiritual aspects of man's nature. Instruction is concerned with knowledge and comprises instruction in relations, moral ideas, and religion, while discipline (with its prior form of training) deals with faculty and comprises training to a habit of rational activity, virtuous willing, and a spiritual habit of mind.

The materials of education are best classified in two divisions corresponding to the two demands of the educative process. Those studies which are instructive and have in view chiefly the nutrition of mind, Laurie calls 'real'; those which are disciplinary and have in view chiefly the training of the mind, he calls 'formal'. Each division may be further sub-divided according to whether the subject-material is concerned with man's nature environment, in which case Laurie designates it as 'naturalistic', or with the relations of men to each other and the creations of man as a being of reason, when it is 'humanistic'.

21. op.cit. (p.50)
In view of a customary distinction between studies which are primarily humanistic and realistic (in the sense in which Laurie uses naturalistic), this terminology may seem confusing. The validity of his primary classification on a basis of instructional and disciplinary values, has also been questioned. Raymont says (22): "such a grouping of the material of instruction is not only useless, but positively misleading. The so-called formal studies must, like the others, stand or fall on the merits of the ideas they contain". Though it is certainly true that Laurie's thought crystallized at a time when the old faculty psychology was still in vogue, he defends his classification rather on the grounds of the fallacy of the other primary classification, on a basis of humanistic and realistic values. "A little thought suffices to show", he says (23), "that there is hopeless confusion in such distinctions. Literature and the things of thought are in a much truer sense realities than the things of sense". At all events Laurie's position is organically related to his thought as a whole and is best judged in its larger setting. His next step is to analyse the subjects of instruction into the four categories derived from his twofold classification: I (a) Real-Naturalistic - biology, hygiene, geography and chemistry; I (b) Real-Humanistic - English and foreign literatures, economics, history, ethics, religious instruction, music and art appreciation; II (a) Formal-Naturalistic - drawing, arithmetic, mathematics and physics; II (b) Formal-Humanistic - grammar, rhetoric and logic. A schematic representation of this elaborate arrangement may serve to make it clearer:

[Diagram of educational process with categories and subjects]

22. Raymont 1904 (p.107)
23. Institutes 1899 (p.52)
To give instruction to every individual in all these subjects is impossible, but whatever instruction is given should be carried out in such a way as to stimulate further voluntary study. Reading and writing are primary elements in all instruction although, apart from what they achieve by bringing the mind into contact with knowledge, they are educationally valueless. Consideration of the materials of instruction must not blind the educator to the fact that it is not subjects which he is teaching but minds which he is educating by means of subjects. The studies enumerated above all enter into a 'liberal' education, by which is meant an education of man for the sake of his manhood without regard to any specific use to which he may turn his knowledge. All education is for use, but that education which has in view the specific use of earning a living, in contradistinction to living in the larger sense, is 'technical' education, whether it prepares for industry or the professions. It is true that professional education rests on more advanced and liberal studies as a rule and thus differs to some extent from industrial technical education. All important thinkers on education contend for a liberal education, in the belief that it fits a man best not only for citizenship in general but also for his specific function in a co-operative community. Culture is a vague term, but it follows that if the aim of the educator is simply man as man, the humanistic or 'man' subjects promote culture in a sense that realistic studies do not.

Laurie goes on to consider the practicability of the curriculum in the secondary school, but his discussion of the question is heavily biased on the linguistic side, since he assumes (24) that two foreign languages are normally taught in addition to English. He confesses that this can only be done if the amount of mathematics taught is strictly limited, and in the event of specialization in science after the age of sixteen, ancient languages will have to be dropped altogether and only French and German be taught. However, notwithstanding the congestion of subjects, instruction can be effectively given with a view to the ethical end, which includes putting a man into an intelligent relation to his environment, if certain conditions are observed. These are firstly, that the amount of each subject to be taught should

24. op. cit. (p.61)
be carefully limited, with a view to quality rather than quantity; secondly, that the "ordo studiorum" should be arranged in accordance with the mind-growth of the pupil; thirdly, that the elements of every subject be begun in the infant school; fourthly, that method enter into the teaching not only of every subject but of every lesson; and lastly, that the teaching of the various subjects should be integrated so that instruction in one branch of study may help that in another. The argument for extensive studies is that only by being brought into touch with varied subjects will a boy be given wide interests, and by providing him with a framework into which he can fit the knowledge which comes with the experience of life, the educator ensures that "the whole of life will become a natural continuation of school instruction" (25). Knowledge is thus knowledge and not merely isolated and unassociated fact. Furthermore, the inner force of the child's own intelligence and the manifold influences of the outside world constantly contribute to the substance of right judgments. In the selection of materials of instruction there are six fundamental principles which ought always to be operative. In the first place, they must maintain an intimate relation with life outside the school. Secondly, they must be taken out of life and are consequently brought in a raw state to the school by the pupil himself to be carried back into life extended and co-ordinated. Thirdly, they should be determined by the ordinary needs of every human being, which, Laurie claims, has been his own criterion in selecting his real and formal studies. In the fourth place, whatever is chosen should be capable of being so taught that, at whatever stage of instruction schooling may cease, the pupil shall have received the maximum benefit from it. Fifthly, at every stage the quantity, quality and method of what is taught should be governed by the ethical end of education. In the sixth place, the organization of instruction should be strictly in accordance with mental growth since "every age has its own leading studies, and every age has its own part of each study" (26). The aim of the educator can only be to expand and interpret the materials which nature and society have provided without his intervention.

There is essentially no distinction between primary and secondary education and the unity of instruction

25. op. cit. (p.69)
26. op. cit. (p.70)
should be preserved until the age of sixteen. After that the needs of life demand specialization. Speaking at a time when Latin and Greek enjoyed far greater prestige than at present, Laurie recommends that the study of Greek be postponed till the period of specialization, after sixteen, in the interests of educational unity. But even at this stage specialization ought not to occupy more than two-thirds of the time available, and the remaining third should be devoted to maintaining and extending the general curriculum, particularly in English and history. Culture is of no value if it ends in mere literary appreciation and aesthetic self-indulgence. What the educationist has in mind is the ethical outcome in an elevated and refined habit of life. Consequently, the chief materials of instruction are "the thought of man as expressed in language, literature and art, and his social relations to other men"(27).

But man's relations to his immediate environment are also an integral part of his education, though there should be no conflict between them since the more we know of man the more we are assured that it is his spiritual environment to which he has to be adapted. "That man assuredly is not educated", says (28) Laurie, "whose mind does not rise above the material interests of life, or the science of nature, however skilfully he may have been taught to deal with these". The question of the comparative value of subjects, which should be determined by the educational end and the educative process, is often complicated by two irrelevant factors. The first is the failure to be specific about the age of the pupil, and the second the failure to specify 'how much' of each subject shall be taught. The matter has been substantially settled in the sphere of primary instruction, and the question chiefly arises with regard to secondary education. On the principle of following mind-growth, since the boy is now fit for the abstract or formal, we must allow discipline of mind to take precedence more and more over mere nutrition of mind. At the same time we must admit that the future needs of life should have some weight in the choice of peripheral subjects, provided that the education of the pupil's mind is adequately provided for by a core of subjects common to all. In Laurie's opinion this core should consist of English language and literature, history, geography and mathematics (29). The peripheral subjects must be decided by the higher education aimed at, namely the university for the professions or the

27. op.cit. (p.73)
28. op.cit. (p.74)
29. op.cit. (p.76)
technical college for industry. Both types of secondary school, in our present nomenclature the 'grammar' and the 'technical', should be found in all centres of population and may even co-exist in the same building in the form of what we should now call a 'multilateral' school.

The educational end is attained by two processes, instruction and discipline, each of which is of equal moment (30). Instruction without discipline leads merely to rote-learning, while discipline without instruction fails to interest the young mind. It is fortunate from the point of view of the educator that the best method of instructing is also the best method of training and disciplining. 'Instruction', as its etymology implies, means a building up, and the best method of instructing must be that which follows the way in which the fabric of mind builds itself up. Laurie now draws a very famous distinction between 'training' and 'disciplining' - "two words which I have generally used together, as if in their combination they expressed one notion" (31). They are in fact the same process but there is a distinction. Training the intelligence is leading it through various steps of knowledge and accustoming it to a certain process, as in the demonstration of a geometrical theorem. Disciplining the intelligence is causing it to apply to an analogous problem knowledge by which it has already been trained, as in the solution of a geometrical rider. From the fact that he explains this distinction in at least two other places, it is evident that Laurie attached some importance to it (32). This view has been endorsed by other educationists. Raymont says (33): "We come here upon a distinction which is sometimes drawn between intellectual training and intellectual discipline. A boy is trained when he is led, step by step, through a process of investigation or proof; he is disciplined when he is required to discover for himself the steps of the process......Training and discipline as here defined have so much in common that we have generally used them as convertible terms, but it will now be seen that discipline involves more than training". More recently Drever, too, in his 'Introduction to the Psychology of Education' speaks (34) of "the possibility, and even desirability, of

30. op.cit. (p.79)
31. op.cit. (p.32)
32. 1890 (p.21) and 1901 (p.103)
33. Raymont 1904 (p.176)
34. Drever 1922 (p.165)
distinguishing between 'discipline' and 'training'. The
distinction drawn", he goes on to say, "by a well-known
Scottish educationist of last generation, Simon Laurie,
was based upon the distinction between 'power' and 'facility'.
The development of mental resourcefulness, initiative, power,
if that be possible, is mental discipline, he said, while the
development of facility in mental operations is mental train-
ing. The distinction is clear and definite, and seems worth
adhering to".

Thus, discipline of the intelligence is "through
the self-initiated activity of intelligence with a view to an
end"(35), and derives more effectively from formal than from
real studies, since the former demand self-sustained and
self-directed application. This view of the importance of
discipline rests on a philosophy which interprets man as
primarily a Will. Now since the process of instruction must
follow the growth of the mind, the ideal way of instructing
is for the teacher to put himself in the attitude of the pupil
who, though ignorant, wishes to know. He will best be able
to do this by analysing the process of knowing both as a
formal process and as a process of assimilation - in other
words, by studying applied psychology. Any system of education
must be determined by our conception of the needs and possibil-
ties of human nature, and (in the words of Remacle) Laurie
"based his system of education on a very elaborate psychology"(36).
This leads us to a consideration of Part II of the 'Institutes
of Education'.

References: See end of Chapter V.

35. Institutes (p.83)
36. Remacle 1909 (p.XVI)
CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION II.

The key to Laurie's theory of psychology may be found in the sub-title to his 'Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta' which he describes as "a return to dualism". His position has been ably and clearly summed up by Darroch, who says (1):

"According to Laurie, we may distinguish within experience two grades of knowledge; a sentient experience or knowledge in which facts and events are connected merely by their time and space connections. This kind of experience is found in the life of animals, of the young child, and a very large part of the experience of many men is of this nature. On the other hand, we may have a rational knowledge or experience in which events and facts are connected by means of internal or intrinsic connections. Now man differs from the animals in that he is an active reason, and the whole upward progress of man may be considered as the process by which sentient experience is lifted up or converted into rational experience. Hence on the ethical side, the work of reason is to ascertain the meaning of impulse and to rationalize it; and as a consequence the supreme end of education is to endeavour 'to build up' in the mind of the child and youth a system of moral ideas which will constitute a permanent reservoir of motives always ready for use, whether in moral judgment or moral action. For 'man is an ethical being only so far as he is a self-regulated being'. Similarly, on the intellectual side, method in education is the active will or reason gradually converting this merely given sentient experience into rational knowledge, or it is the passing from the mere particulars of sense to the universals of reason. Hence in education the all-important thing is the evoking of the will or reason to undertake the task of rationalizing the given sentient experience. The difficulties of such a conception of experience are similar to those met with in Kant's philosophy. If we assume at the beginning a dualism within experience, it is difficult to conceive how this can be finally overcome".

From a more modern point of view there is also a failure to differentiate clearly between the cognitive and

1. Darroch 1913.
orectic aspects of experience. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Laurie's reviewer should have remarked (2): "The practical identification of reason and will is at first startling", even though he afterwards concedes some justification for the claim. The starting-point of this final position is Laurie's conception of 'feeling', as he describes it in the list of definitions which he appends to Chapter IV of Part II to make clear his terminology. "The fundamental fact of mind", he states (3) there, "is feeling, and this is both outer and inner. We can get no better name for the rudimentary fact than feeling, whether we speak of the intelligence, or of the appetites, or of instinct, impulses or emotions." Mind itself is more or less co-extensive with consciousness but the essential distinction between man and the lower animals is that whereas they, like him, are conscious, he alone is self-conscious. Since therefore man is an animal "and something more", it is relevant to try to understand and interpret the higher forms of the animal mind in order the better to understand the human mind. "If we take the human mind by itself as a formal reason energy, without regard to other and lower stages of mind that are built into it", Laurie warns us (4), "we are apt to commingle elements which ought to be kept distinct, and to interpret phenomena in a confused and often self-contradictory way". On the affective side of mental life (or 'inner feeling') man shares with the higher animals not only the general feeling of life-activity but specific forms of it which we call instincts, because they are connate, and make their appearance in every fresh birth independently of education"(5). The principal instincts Laurie considers to be certain bodily appetites concerned with preserving life and continuing the species, sympathy, goodwill to others (which appears to be roughly equated with McDougall's gregarious instinct), and love of the goodwill of others (roughly equated with McDougall's instinct of appeal), submission, fear, aggression, and rivalry. But inner feeling cannot operate in vacuo and is therefore dependent on "outer feeling", as that is manifested in such cognitive activities as seeing, hearing, touching, etc.

2. Mind (N.S.) Vol. 9 (p.271)
3. Institutes (p.140)
4. op. cit. (p.94)
5. op. cit. (p.97)
On the cognitive side Laurie's analysis of the development of animal consciousness is both interesting and original. In conformity with his general terminology he distinguishes three 'moments' in what he calls the "attuitional" plane of mental development. The primitive stage is 'sensibility', or undifferentiated feeling, in which "there is no separation of feeling-subject from felt-object" (6) but merely an impression of a universal extensity in which nothing is defined. The second stage Laurie designates 'sensation', at which the feeling of externality, or a duality between subject and object, arises. Finally, there is the stage of 'recipience', at which the objective totals of the senses are differentiated from one another although the different properties of each total are still intermingled. Such then are the moments of "attuition", which is a clear, but not distinct, consciousness of an object. In Germanic terms a feeling, but not a knowing, of the "there-being" (Dasein) and "being" (Sein) is present. The important consideration is that animal intelligence is purely "reflex" in the sense that, though conscious, the subject is entirely dependent on the object sensed and is in fact ruled by it. Nevertheless, in so far as man himself is an animal, the attuitional plane of consciousness plays a significant role in the building up of his subsequent mental life and even at this level certain specific cognitive activities are operative. They are recognition, comparison, awareness of time and space, memory, association, imitation and imagination. Animal consciousness is capable only of receiving, or sensing, (but not perceiving) the totalities of objects without distinguishing the parts of these totalities and correlating the parts with the whole as inherent in that whole. Laurie defines (7) this mental activity as "a sensational reflex synthesis", to which he gives the name 'synopsis'.

When we come to study human intelligence an entirely new order of phenomena appears. The specific endowment which lifts man above all animals is not so much reason as essentially and primarily will. "For the sake of simplicity itself", Laurie affirms (8), "I beg you to go deeper down and see in Will the root, possibility, and essence of this

6. op. cit. (p.99)
7. op. cit. (p.112)
8. op. cit. (p.117)
very endowment which in its fulness that is to say, as including the form in which it moves to its end, viz. knowing and willing, is called Reason". The usual conception of reason in man, "as a piece of clockwork put inside him, on the top of his animal mind, to regulate that mind", and of will, "as if it were a bare force subsisting on its own account, and working in more, or (generally) less, harmony with the clockwork Reason" is inadequate. By accepting an identification of the two, Laurie maintains (9), we shall "attain to a fundamental point of view which will give unity to the whole conception of man as a being to be educated whether you regard his intellectual or his moral relations". Will replaces the mutual interplay of strong instincts, to and away from this or that object, which characterizes the animals. It represents the free outgoing of the conscious subject to take possession of the various objects of sense, to make them its own by distinguishing one from another, and to reduce them to itself. Along with such an act arises the impulse of naming, and if we wish to describe this movement in psychological terms, we may call it "functional spontaneity", so long as we bear in mind that it is more than the spontaneity of a vital impulse. The only alternative to this doctrine is a behavioristic explanation of the mind of man as "a bundle of impressions and reflex actions determined, always and at all times, by something not himself". In fact, it is in the sphere of the purely cognitive that the question of the freedom of the will has to be thrashed out, for "if Will be not root of pure reason, it is an illusion to imagine it free when directed to moral ends"(10).

The 'rational' plane of consciousness, like the attuitional, has several moments. The first stage Laurie calls 'percipience' which consists in "separating from all other objects an object already in sense or feeling, seizing it, and placing it in your conscious subject as then and thus known, and, in the crisis of being known, affirmed"(11). It is thus a self-active process by means of which the fabric of the mind is built up as a reality and no longer merely as a potentiality. Percipience is always of singles, an act of discrimination whereby one is separated from all else which remains in 'attuent sensation'. It may be of 'inner' as

9. op.cit. (p.113)
10. op.cit. (p.120)
11. op.cit. (p.121)
well as of 'outer sensates', and it is the foundation of all we can finally know. The function of percipience is to take the complex of experience to pieces with a view to building up these elements into a known unity. By an act of percipience a sensate or 'attuit' (involving only consciousness) is converted into a percept (involving self-consciousness). While the mere separation of sensates, as diverse in attuition, is effected by reflex action in response to an external stimulus (passivo-active), the discrimination of percipience is effected through an act of will (activo-active) and involves affirmation and speech. The relevance to education of the argument up to this point Laurie sums up (12) as follows: "The education of mind as reason is the training and discipline of will as a power; and secondly, the training and discipline of the will-movement as a process whereby the conscious subject takes the world to itself as knowledge".

The second moment on the rational plane is what Laurie terms 'concipience' and it involves synthesizing any separately discriminated element in a single total with the attuit of the total as a one with it. Percipience of the singular must precede the consciousness of an object as made up of many singulars, and concipience means the holding together as a unity of differentiated elements in any total object. Since will is a pure activity it strives to convert the synopsis of attuition into a synthesis of reason under its own imperative stimulus. This it does by seizing the different qualities of an object one by one and holding them in consciousness as they exist in the object. Thus a concept is formed and the sensational impression of the object, though not entirely superseded, is transcended. The attuit persists in consciousness awaiting further percipient analysis with a view to a fuller and fuller concept. "To conceive any object, then, is to take together in a unity the perceived properties of that object. The concept is a many in one" (13). Once the stage of concipience has been reached we cannot return to a lower level of cognitive activity with reference to any particular object, but the functioning of the higher levels assumes and indeed repeats the lower ones on each separate occasion in a one and instantaneous act. "The ignoring of this fact

12. op. cit. (p.125)
13. op. cit. (p.131)
leads, it seems to me, to not a little confusion in psychology", is Laurie's conclusion (14). The order involved in the concipience of a complex object is that the most prominent qualities are first perceived and are then retained as a representative notation by means of which we recognize any object which has once been conceived. Consequently, the educational application of this second moment of reason is that we should "teach first the most salient qualities or characteristics of things, and thereafter fill in, until the content in consciousness equals the content of the thing or subject taught" (15).

In Chapter IV. of Part II of the "Institutes" Laurie consolidates his position and defines his terminology before proceeding to consider the remaining moments of the rational plane. The distinction between the merely reflex activity of sensational consciousness and the activity of reason is that the subject, as functioning will, seizes and affirms itself as "Ego", and the "Ego" exalts itself above the turmoil of feeling and sensation, though it must at the same time observe certain dynamic laws of nature. The main function of education is therefore to 'energize' the will both as an intellectual and moral movement, since in its ethical reference will simply effects the thoughts. "This fundamental conception of rational psychology has, because of its ethical bearing, a very great significance in education"(16). Just as conditioning cannot wholly succeed in training even animals, the doctrine of dynamic assimilation, or apperception, because it ignores the formal mental processes, is only a half-truth. "It is the training and discipline of the energy of reason as a truth-seeking and ethical force which is the supreme aim of the education of mind"(17). If the educator fixes his attention on will and follows its progress in the reduction of all presentations to consciousness, he will see that "reason is essentially a one faculty or function, because it is a one movement, and not an aggregate of many faculties"(18). Reason, then, is to be conceived as at once will-energy (which involves purpose) and will-process (which involves certain elements in a

14. op.cit. (p.132)
15. op.cit. (p.133)
16. op.cit. (p.136)
17. op.cit. (p.137)
18. op.cit. (p.137)
complex, or, as Laurie calls them, 'moments'). So far as method in education exists at all, it must follow the way in which the mind grows to maturity. Now, not only is the rational process a unity in itself but mind as a whole, both attuational and rational, is a 'one complex', and in consequence, "to mark off with a deep line of demarcation the attuational and rational elements in that complex is impossible" (19). Of Laurie's definitions at the close of this chapter the most relevant appear to be desire, emotion, sympathy, and attention. 'Desire' he considers as an organic feeling strong enough to cause movement towards some object for the sake of its own satisfaction; 'emotion' is a desire to satisfy needs outside the merely organic and appetitive; 'sympathy' is a community of feeling of one being with other beings, and is the prerequisite of emotion; 'attention' is an act of will sustained with a purpose and, as such, is purely rational and never attuitional.

"The close connection between the philosophy of mind and the education of mind, "Laurie affirms (20), "is now sufficiently apparent", and he proceeds to apply his analysis of mental growth to educational method. There are three great evolutionary stages of mind. Firstly, feeling dominates the mental life of the child during the first nine months of his life; then, sensation is dominant until six years of age; finally, reason emerges. From the first, however, the whole of man-mind is present in the infant merely awaiting conditions which make its emergence possible. At the first stage there is little we can do by way of education, save protect the child from all discordant and painful impressions. At the second stage "the educational lesson is that we should not interfere with free sensational life" (21), but give the child opportunities of promoting natural activity in every direction. Since sensation is the basis of future operations of reason, it should be rich and various but unrestricted by any formal direction. "True life", Laurie says (22), "includes openness to the universal in all its myriad forms, and a ready response to its never-ceasing solicitations. Education is an extensive as well as an intensive process". Hence at this stage, when systematic

19. op.cit. (p.139)
20. op.cit. (p.142)
21. op.cit. (p.145)
22. op.cit. (p.149)
instruction is begun, the principle of method to be observed is "Present to sense"(23), avoiding the tendency prematurely to organize the child's intelligence. During all this time rudimentary acts of reason have been going on, but it is at the third stage that we specifically take into account the emergence of reason in the educative process. On the attuitional plane the mind cannot 'attend' to any object, since it functions only passivo-actively; there is in fact a 'detention' of the conscious subject by the object. So far as there is comparison or discrimination of any kind, it is the object which acts on the subject with a mere reflex response from the latter. Whenever the subject makes a movement towards the apprehension of sensates by perception and knowledge, will is the initiating energy. "The vital fact is that reason is at root Will"(24). Consequently, at this stage of mental development a new principle of method is operative, namely "evoke the will of the pupil."

It is true that sensation furnishes the material of the new movement but it also blocks the way and has to be overcome. "The continuous application of will to an object of knowledge with the purpose of knowing, is called Attention"(25), and we only really grasp anything by a movement from within. In evoking the child's will to enter on the path of knowledge, the teacher must begin with percipience which is the foundation of all accurate knowledge. Perception is of the single and thus in the training of percipience the teacher should confine himself to wholes as singles and singles as wholes. This accuracy of percipience derives its importance from the training and discipline of faculty to which it leads. Concipience is the second step in knowing an object and is the truly instructive one, because greater demands are made on the power of will in holding things together. Training in concipience involves practising in the synthesis of many in one. Now, since the mind apprehends first the salient characteristics in the process of conception, in the training to adequate concepts of objects the educator must teach first the prominent characteristic before proceeding to others. Conception is simply the raising of the percept of an object as a single whole to its perception as a unity of parts. It is by this

23. op.cit. (p.151)
24. op.cit. (p.153)
25. op.cit. (p.154)
time clearly established that the training and discipline of the knowing function itself is of far greater importance than the teaching of subjects, "for on reason and its sane activity in search of true knowledge, depends ultimately the true ethical life" (26). This is not intended to imply that without the formal training and discipline of reason a man cannot be ethical, but we cannot rely on casual results. "The very purpose of all education", Laurie states (27) "is to strengthen the ethical in the individual, for himself and for humanity, by the discipline of reason, as well as by the nutrition of ideas". Up to the point to which Laurie has taken his analysis of mental processes, the two most outstanding rules of method are, firstly that education must follow the order of mind-growth (or else rote-memory, instead of knowledge, will result), and secondly that everything must be turned to use.

After a somewhat lengthy digression Laurie moves on in Chapter VI. to consider the third moment of the rational process, which he calls 'generalization'. A concept is merely an anatomical description of an object, whereas the reason-movement seeks to know the organic relations of its parts. The general concept is the shorthand of reason in that it implies a power of will in discriminating and holding together discriminations in a unity with a sub-reference to inumerable individuals. Hence it must precede all general propositions and "the abstraction necessary in percipience and concipience is here quite outdone" (28). The basis of generalization is rational comparison, which is the purposed perception of the relations of individuals in respect of time, place, likeness and unlikeness. The formation of a general concept is a process of inductive reason and its existence makes deductive reasoning possible. It plays an important part in everyday life since the measure of our power over the concrete environment largely depends on the truth of our completed generalizations. Similarly, in the moral sphere, "the general concept is the 'Form' of ethical ideas" (29); and understanding of the process of its formation is of importance because ethical ideas are only existent as manifested in the particulars of conduct. The principle of method is now to

26. op.cit. (p.158)
27. op.cit. (p.159)
28. op.cit. (p.167)
29. op.cit. (p.169)
train the young in the formation of general concepts, and in
the analysis of those they have immaturely formed, by
proceeding from the particular to the general and from the
concrete individual to the abstract. Only real contact with
the particulars, in order that the pupil himself may of him-
self draw the scientific conclusion, is of any value. Never-
theless, words and formulation are necessary to fix and
symbolize, and "on this interpenetration of thought and language
rests ultimately all argument for language as an educational
discipline"(30). It may appear that the infant begins with
general concepts but in reality they are simply the partic-
ulars of attuition employed as 'provisional generals'. At
the sensational stage the child is the victim of impression,
whereas the analytic act is an act of will directed against
the object and consequently of slow and gradual emergence.
Naturally the general concept will be vitiated by all prior
errors in percipience and concipience, not to speak of any
inadequacy in the primary sensation.

The fourth moment in the process of knowing is
'ratioception', or mediate affirmation. This is an inductive
and deductive movement implicit in the general concept but now
explicit. All prior moments, though under the general stimulus
of will-reason, are largely unself-conscious. Now man, as a
self-conscious being, can become aware of his acts and deliber-
ately propose to himself to perform them with a view to the
acquisition of knowledge. The basis of formal reasoning is
judging, which is simply a process of affirmation or proposi-
tion. Most judgments are, however, mediate; that is to say,
they are indirect and acquire truth, not by immediate per-
ception of the facts before us, but through other judgments.
There are in effect generally three affirmations involved, the
major premiss, the minor premiss (which contains the ground
of the mediated judgement), and the conclusion. The process
is a deductive syllogistic one, the truth of which depends on
the truth of the general proposition since we conclude as to
certain predicates of an individual that is ranged under it.
The general proposition on which so much depends is arrived
at inductively and is a mediated general judgment reached
through particulars. Thus syllogistic reasoning goes induct-
ively from particular to general, and deductively from generals
to particulars resulting in a judgment which is always mediated.
In consequence, "we acquire a kind of mental shorthand which
gives us great power over our materials of perception and con-
ception, and enables us to connect things together in a reasoned
whole"(31). By means of ratioception we can arrange all our

30. op.cit. (p.171)
31. op.cit. (p.184)
knowledge in a convenient way and as a connected rational system, but we must avoid the error of presuming that, because the logical form of our conclusion is correct, the real content is likewise also correct. The training and discipline of ratiocination lies in analysing what is before the mind, in making explicit its premises, and in reconstituting the synthesis. This is an analytico-synthetic process and at this stage the principle of method is "Teach reasonings as reasonings, that is to say, analyse the propositions before you, and make explicit their rational basis; also analyse the train of reasoning to be found in a paragraph or chapter" (32).

The fifth and final moment in the reason-process Laurie calls 'causal induction', which is the mediation not of judgments but of the real itself. In so far as a judgment is a mere affirmation that one appearance always follows another it is only 'dynamical'. Now, the central impulse of reason is towards the affirmation of the cause of things and consequently reason seeks comprehension of the how and why of the sequence. This kind of knowledge is 'science' (or scientia, the knowledge). "We feel that we truly know a 'thing'"; Laurie says (33), "only when we know it in its cause or causes". In the investigation of causes man takes advantage of the experiments which nature makes. When nature gives no ready-made experiments man makes them for himself, as in physics or chemistry, but if he had a clearer and subtler vision this would probably not be necessary. The process he adopts is to analyse the complex system of antecedents, eliminating those which he ascertains not to be the true efficient ones, until he has "isolated the true antecedent or antecedents which being present, the result or effect appears, and which being absent, it does not appear" (34). This is to seek the common cause of a great many like particulars, but the causal impulse of reason is not fully satisfied until we have also ascertained how the antecedent works so as to make necessary the sequent. The true and final causal synthesis of the two completes the knowledge of a thing. Here the principle of method to be observed is "complete instruction through causes; for the knowledge of a thing is complete, and the intellect can be satisfied only in the apprehension of cause" (35).

32. op.cit. (p.190)
33. op. cit. (p.192)
34. op. cit. (p.195)
35. op.cit. (p.197)
the order of mind-growth, the age at which the causal con
ception may be introduced is a question for some considera
It is true that mere 'dynamical' relations of sequence are
among the child's earliest experiences and so, in a super
ficial sense, the causal may thus be introduced at an early
stage. Again, purpose, or the use served by any concrete
object, is an element in the causal conception and, being
generally sufficiently obvious, it too can early be util
ized for educational purposes. But the earliest age for
introducing strictly causal or science studies is sixteen,
and the teaching of scientific fact must be 'essentially
heuristic' since it is "of little significance for knowledge,
save in so far as it is experimentally ascertained"(36).

Having analysed the nature of attuitional
and rational activity, Laurie next examines the stages of
intellectual growth from birth to maturity. His conclus
ions predict with remarkable accuracy what has subsequently
been confirmed by the science of mental testing. There are
five movements of mind-growth; firstly, babehood, lasting
one year, during which only sensation and attuition operate;
secondly, infancy from one year to seven, when perception and
comparison, sense-conception, and relational conception (an
interest in dynamical sequence) follow each other; thirdly,
childhood from eight to fourteen, during which generaliz
ation and the beginnings of reasoning develop; fourthly,
puberty from fifteen to seventeen, when reasoning is dominant
and causal induction becomes possible; fifthly, adolescence
from eighteen to twenty-one, when the functionings of the
mind are in full operation and knowledge is co-ordinated
into the unity of science. The principle of the adaptation
of instruction to mental development has been already estab
lished, but the growth of knowledge even in the young child
is a rational rather than a merely dynamic assimilative
growth. The child is constantly asking the why and wherefore
of things because of the rational impulse in him, which it
is the educator's function to guide and satisfy. At the
same time, the growth of much of the content of mind is
carried on at the attuitional level by the process of assim
ilation. If we may assume primordial consciousness of
objects and starting from an existing body of already absorbed
experiences, we have to note three things as necessary to
the entering of a new experience into the real fabric of mind.

36. op.cit. (p.199)
Firstly, it must be separate and single, to avoid being too vague or else too complex. Secondly, in the event of the new single experience appearing as a difference from and negation of the existing body of experience, dynamic integration will occur provided it may find a point of relation and identity in the organic structure of mind. Thirdly, if it fails to find such a point of identity, it will be related only to the universal conditions of sense, namely, being, place and time; and, in order to be woven into the organic real, will have to be kept in consciousness by the frequent renewal of the impression, awaiting the support of fresh material in the mind-content.

This doctrine differs from the Herbartian position which omits from consideration the whole question of discipline, and must result (in Laurie's opinion) in men and women "of a very flabby texture - both intellectual and moral"(37). Apperception masses are merely the raw material of rational thought and conduct until they are transformed by reason. Indeed, unless reason is fully operative, the result is 'opinion', not "knowledge". Nevertheless, since the growth of mind in the very young is characterized by the dynamic assimilative process much more than the formal reason process, we have to trust to the frequent presentation of material rather than to any spontaneous energy on the part of the child's will. At the same time, it is our duty to promote the activity of will exercised on material in every way we can. Dynamic assimilation is not the whole process, and so effort and activity on the pupil's part must be assumed according to his age. Two principles of method can be deduced from the dynamic mind-process, however: firstly, "present one new thing at a time"(33), and secondly, "connect the new with what is already in the mind as a possession"(39). Assimilation in its educational reference is both a qualitative and a quantitative increment to the stock of the mind. New experiences bearing likeness to material already existing in the mind are purely quantitative; new experiences bearing likeness in unlikeness are qualitative. Represented algebraically, if "a" is the original experience "a^2" is a quantitative increment and "b" (following upon "a")

37. op.cit. (p.211)
38. op.cit. (p.213)
39. op.cit. (p.214)
a qualitative one; but to ensure facility and rapidity of acquisition, the teacher ought to recapitulate the original experience at the time of presenting "b", so that the result in the pupil's mind is "ab". The final result of assimilation on the plane of attuition is that the world of experience is presented to consciousness as a crude mass of individuals and spurious generals which are fused but not woven. It is the function of assimilation on the plane of reason "to break up the existing aggregate of experience, and, by discrimination and comparison, to raise them into a new and rational synthesis".(40). What we may call 'actuality' consists of making explicit the rational already contained in sense-reality. Thus, we "construct the temple of knowledge out of the bricks and mortar of associated and assimilated sense-data"(41).

The dynamic process which underlies assimilation on both planes of mental life is 'suggestion'. The general law governing its operation is:"Representates tend to recur in consciousness in the relations in which they primarily occurred as presentates"(42). The original relations may be of likeness, negation, or nearness, and by the rule of similarity, contrast, or contiguity, associations are formed which Laurie calls 'real' (or inner). In addition to these there are other kinds of associations: firstly, external associations (generally temporal or spatial in nature), and secondly, artificial associations (purposely effected as a mnemonic). Suggestion is always independent of will-reason and consequently belongs to the process of 'reminiscence', as opposed to 'recollection' (43). Since the content of mind is built up by assimilating the new to the already existing, real associations contribute to this process much more than either external or artificial associations, which are only subordinate. As regards the question of method, an analysis of suggestion reveals that in mental growth on the rational plane there emerges a disposition to extend the knowledge of relations among things. The educator should, therefore, take advantage of this tendency to stimulate active or purposed association and so, by means of comparison, train the mind to look out for relations with a view to extending its material.

40. op. cit. (p.219)
41. op. cit. (p.220)
42. op. cit. (p.222)
43. op. cit. (p.225)
This is what Laurie calls the 'relational movement' in the growth of mind, and on it is based the principle: "relate your various teachings as much as possible, enriching them with relevant associations"(44). We have now arrived at the point where it is important to discriminate those mental functions which are to be regarded as 'pre-conditions' of successful mental activity both real and formal, dynamic and purposed. In the category of the real we have 'memory' and 'imagination', and in the category of the formal we have 'attention'. Laurie's reviewer remarks (45) on this discrimination: "The contrast between the attuitional and rational planes is made to produce valuable applications; and the exclusion of memory and imagination from the 'dynamic process of mind as such' (46), gets rid of much of the confusion that the usual classification of these modes of being conscious involves".

On the attuitional plane memory takes the form of reminiscence, and the double process of 'retention' and 'recognition' is involved. Retention is simply the ability to retain impressions of past presentations, and recognition is a kind of sensational judgment 'implicit and written on the subject, so to speak, not explicit and affirmed by the subject' (47). Reminiscence may embrace either presentations or the representations of reproductive imagination but it is always only passivo-active; in the first case it depends on the action of the environment on the organism, in the second on 'dynamical movements' in the brain. On the rational plane, however, we have activo-active memory, or 'recollection', in which will-reason seeks purposely to recover and reinstate past experiences with a view to knowledge. The conditions of remembering are closely connected with the process of assimilation, already discussed, but may be summarized as follows. On the attuitional plane there are six main conditions: firstly, the presentation of one new thing at a time; secondly, vividness; thirdly, repetition; fourthly, duration of the impression within the limits of fatigue; fifthly, association of the new impression with time or place; and sixthly, artificial association of the new fact with anything, a device to be sparingly used in education as tending to discourage 'real' associations. On the rational plane the supreme condition of remembering

44. op. cit. (p.228)
45. "Mind" (N.S.), Vol. 9 (p.271)
46. Institutes 1899 (p.230)
47. op. cit. (p.232)
is the accentuation of the thing to be remembered "by raising recipience to percipience and thereby affirming the thing"(48), or, in other words, deepening the impression by making the affirmation in written form, for example. From the point of view of the teacher the three most important conditions to be observed in the class-room are the presentation of one thing at a time, the fostering of 'real' associations, and repetition. Memory work, if not overdone, is vital in education and it is desirable that much should be learned by heart. "We cannot wholly omit the mechanical", Laurie remarks (49), "from our methods of instruction".

Provided the child understands what he is committing to memory, it is an exercise of will with a purpose and, as opposed to the casual drifting of the attuitional man, is moral in its essential character. It is doubtful whether we can at the attuitional stage increase the power of remembering, but on the rational plane we can at any rate induce a habit of purposed remembering and a will to remember. There are three reasons why memory must be cultivated in the young: in the first place, in order that they may acquire knowledge; in the second, in order that memory for new facts in selected departments may be facilitated; and in the third place, in order to strengthen the purpose of willing to remember. The principle of method to be observed in this connection is: "cultivate memory in accordance with the conditions of remembering"(50). More importance is to be attached to the training and discipline a pupil has gone through than to the amount he knows. If boys have been well taught, Laurie considers, they may be said to remember everything. The disciplinary subjects, particularly, leave behind them a power which facilitates, even when the knowledge cannot be recalled in detail, the acquirement of any new knowledge. "The large and complex background of the unconscious, let us remember," declares (51) Laurie, "is constantly determining both our intellectual and moral activity from day to day". Hence the importance of the teacher's duty in the ethical sphere to pre-occupy the pupil's memory with the essential, since it is primarily the 'moral real' of the mind which furnishes motives. Imagination enables us to dispense with the actual object we are thinking

43. op. cit. (p.235)
49. op. cit. (p.237)
50. op. cit. (p.239)
51. op. cit. (p. 240)
about and so it differs from recognition, or the awareness of a former presentation in its presence. At the attuional level imagination is purely reproductive, but on the rational plane it is constructive and, because we have to speak in a large proportion of lessons about things which the child has not directly experienced, a highly educative activity. The principle of method is "Cultivate the imagination" (52), and this can best be done by introducing the child to productive work, especially imaginative literature.

Attention is the pre-condition of mind-process on the formal side. On the attuional plane it can hardly be said to operate at all, being involuntary and merely dynamic; in fact Laurie describes it as being rather the "detention" of the mind by an external object which attracts it. On the plane of reason, however, attention is will-activity sustained by a purpose, and consequently is supremely important. "The chief discipline of the uneducated", Laurie claims (53), "is the habituating them to sustain attention with the purpose of knowing". This mental activity becomes easier with practice. There is a close connection between physical expression and mental condition, but, in the present reference, that is only a 'sub-question' of a larger question. Laurie then proceeds to refute what is now known as the James-Lange theory of emotion: "to suppose that the muscular in the ordinary case, logically or in time, precedes the mental is surely absurd" (54). Nevertheless, in so far as an alert attitude is itself an act of will with a purpose, the teacher does well to stimulate the physical attitude of attention in his class as preparatory to evoking the mental attitude. The nature of attention is similar to that of perception, namely an inhibition of what is not attended to at any given moment. Much of the strain involved in attention is relieved by an element of attractiveness which we call 'interest'. It is the schoolmaster's function to arouse interest in the substance of things to be done whenever he can, provided that it is never allowed to supersede duty, which is obedience to law as law. "The categorical imperative must dominate the school"; in Laurie's opinion (55),

52. op. cit. (p.244)
53. op. cit. (p.247)
54. op. cit. (p. 248)
55. op. cit. (p.249)
"as it must dominate life". The educator's duty is to form a purpose of education that will develop each man as man in relation to his environment, notwithstanding 'interest'.

Direct interest is "an intellectual desire to know the thing to be known for its own sake" (56), but there are also several kinds of indirect interest. The main forms of the latter are interest for the purpose of excelling others, interest for the purpose of receiving a reward, interest with a view to pleasing the instructor, and interest merely from a sense of duty. These are all extraneous motives and knowledge acquired under their influence is of a formal and rote character, 'not assimilated to the living organism of mind', but it may subsequently find its true connections and relations and develop into true knowledge. Consequently, a teacher cannot afford to dispense with extraneous motives but he ought always to use them only to secure direct interest in the line of activity he wishes the pupil to follow, without which attention will not be sustained. Because of innate aptitudes some pupils take delight in formal studies by virtue of the fact that reason, being at root will, enjoys its own activity in the pursuit of truth. Even in such cases this formal reason-energy is generally not so strong that a good method of instruction cannot do a great deal to remove obstacles which are likely to prove insurmountable to it. It must be admitted, however, that only a small percentage of the population is naturally interested in the formal; but almost everybody can be readily interested in the real, which not only instructs but trains, even if it cannot discipline, the mind. The welcome which the mind gives to extension of knowledge is due to one of two alternatives: either an intellectual need for the completion of a series of facts, or else an emotional need for feelings which are already in activity to seek further satisfaction. Interest is an appetite attitude of mind but the essential condition of its presence in the pupil is that the teacher himself be interested. A quiet familiar conversation between teacher and taught is the highest characteristic of all teaching, though when all else fails the teacher must rely on the pupil's sense of duty. School instruction, by insisting on work being done in obedience to law, subserves moral discipline also.

56. op.cit. (p.251)

The correlation of studies, or what would now be called 'synthesis in education', is an important
consideration. The mind grows by the assimilation of the child's ordinary experience, and the educator only expedites this gradual process by analysing general experience into particular classes of experience which he calls 'subjects'. In the same way that natural experiences correlate themselves with one another, school subjects ought to be so integrated that they are of mutual assistance. For this purpose all teaching should be focussed round certain 'centre-points of instruction', and those which best satisfy the criterion established in Part I are: Language (real- and formal- humanistic), Geography (real-naturalistic) and Mathematics (formal-naturalistic). When a governing educational ideal is joined to these central points of instruction, unity and correlation is given to teaching, encyclopaedic particularism is avoided, and all the subjects taught are woven into the rational and ethical substance of 'the one mind'. In the building up of mind the educator has one powerful auxiliary, namely sympathy and imitation. So far from being left to its natural environment and its own unaided associative movements, the mind in its growth is helped by the example of equals and elders. Because of the irresistible impulse of imitation, "we have forced on us an important educational principle", Laurie says (57). "Present a good model". Since the eyes teach more than the ears, this principle is of far-reaching application to all branches of instruction, both intellectual and moral. "Where this fact is forgotten", Laurie concludes (58), "the teacher may, by his own speech and action, be every instant obstructing his own work, or even wholly undoing it".

References: See end of Chapter V.

57. op. cit. (p.266)
58. op. cit. (p.267)
CHAPTER V.

THE INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION III.

Part III of "The Institutes", treating of what Laurie calls 'Methodology', is very brief and, since "Methodology......is the last chapter in the theory or science of the education of mind, and the first chapter of the art or practice of education"(1), it can conveniently be considered in conjunction with Part IV. The distinction drawn between 'science' (theoretical) and 'art' (practical) in the study of education is fundamental to Laurie's conception of the subject. The science of any branch of study is pursued partly for the sake of knowledge, and partly for the improvement of practice and the good of mankind. We have, accordingly, to evolve certain principles of method from the science of psychology which will serve to guide a wise practice of education. Laurie considers that there are six cardinal principles based upon deductions already arrived at in the discussion on mental processes in Part II of the Institutes, and so methodology "merely brings together results already ascertained and recorded in their proper place". The first principle comprises the two deductions which derive from his analysis of the sensation stage of mind-growth: firstly, that we should "encourage contact with all forms of existence and promote all kinds of unrestricted natural activity", and secondly, that we should "present to sense, i.e. appeal, wherever practicable, to every sense in the teaching of every subject"(2). The second principle embraces the two deductions which follow from the consideration of mind-growth as a dynamical assimilative activity. They are firstly, that we should "present such new experiences to a child as fit into the experience he has already acquired, and so as to form a series of real (i.e. not merely external or artificial) relations", and secondly, that we should "relate our teachings to things which they naturally suggest"(3), so far at least as relevance and intelligibility allow. The third principle rests on the deductions based on the capacities which make possible the growth of mind in the first

1. Institutes (p.271)
2. op.cit. (p.272)
3. op.cit. (p.273)
instance, namely memory and imagination: firstly, that we should "exercise and strengthen the memory"(4) as the condition of all possible progress, and secondly, that we should "cultivate the imagination, representative and constructive"(5).

The fourth principle comprises the five deductions which follow from the formal movement of will as reason. In the first place, we should "follow the order of the growth of reason (percipience, concipience, generalization, and ratiocination)"(6). In the second place, we should "evoke the will of the pupil in learning", by doing nothing for him which he can do for himself. In the third place, we should "teach analytico-synthetically"(7), by reducing things to their elements and by then building them up again through concepts, generalizations, inductive and deductive reasoning, and causal relations. Raymont, in his discussion of 'some maxims of methodical procedure' comments (8) on this: "We conclude, then, that the general method will be neither purely analytic nor purely synthetic, and that if we want a single descriptive term for the true method of instruction, we must adopt some such unlovely compound as Dr. Laurie's "analytico-synthetic". In the fourth place, we should "teach one thing at a time". Lastly, we should "teach first the prominent or salient characters of a thing or object; and thereafter the rest"(9). The fifth principle, deduced from the auxiliaries in the building up of mind, namely sympathy and imitation, is "present a good model of what you wish the pupil to know or to do". The sixth and last principle, deduced from the practical end of all education, is "turn all you teach to use"(10), by calling, wherever possible for the application of general notions and laws to particular cases.

Now, since training and discipline are greater than knowledge(11), method derives its importance from the

4. op. cit. (p.274)
5. op. cit. (p.275)
6. op.cit. (p.276)
7. op.cit. (p.277)
8. Raymont 1904 (p.164)
9. Institutes (p.273)
11. op.cit. (p.280)
fact that it is only by sound method that we can hope to train and discipline the mind. Teaching is, in fact, simply helping the mind to perform its function of knowing and growing, and "thus it is that we vindicate for the art of education a prior and governing science". In view of the fact that the mind is (a) a gradual growth and exhibits, as a growing organism, (b) a real and (c) a formal process, we may "signalize three principles of all method as supreme" (12), namely, (a) Follow the order of mind-growth in educating; (b) Extend knowledge on the basis of the already known; (c) Evolve the will of the pupil in acquisition and action. There are two considerations which will serve to modify the practical application of these principles from day to day. In the first place, regard must be had to the age of the pupil and to the circumstances of his home-environment; and secondly, the nature of the subject taught will, to some extent at least, suggest its own expedients and rules to the common sense of the teacher. Method may be overdone and the prime condition for its success is the reciprocally sympathetic movement of the mind of teacher and pupil. Method should be a servant, not a master; true sympathy is accompanied by the genuine desire to lead a pupil into a subject from the pupil's point of view. Methodology must not be considered as a substitute for interest in the subject and sympathy with the mind to be instructed. In fact, "education is a training of mind by mind, the materials of instruction being merely the vehicle of communication" (13).

The growth of the human mind is not dependent on the educator since, as a living and formative energy, it is always arranging its own material for itself. We must recognize reason as at root a will-energy which by its very nature is ever seeking to correlate its experiences with a view to intellectual truth and moral law. Method must not be allowed to degenerate into mere rule of thumb. Nor must it be converted into a mechanical technique, if education is to be a dynamic process of mind quickening mind in friendly intercourse. "Truth alone satisfies the restless reason of man, and alone forms the basis of right conduct", Laurie says (14). Our main purpose in education must be to train and discipline reason, but without the real "the pure formal activity beats the air". In the past there has even been a tendency to neglect the real in favour of the formal. It is difficult to

12. op.cit. (p.281)
13. op.cit. (p.284)
14. op. cit. (p.283)
estimate how much is being accomplished by the child himself in dealing with the intellectual and moral material of his own daily experience, but the educator, while observing the rules of method deduced from the process of assimilation of the real, must not allow them to blind him to the fact that the child is constantly pressing ahead "under the inner stimulus of will seeking end". On the attuional plane assimilation will to a large extent look after itself; the educator's main care is "so to intervene in the natural building up of mind" as to present those things for assimilation which the child ought subsequently to build up into his rationally assimilated material (15).

At this point Laurie passes on to Part IV. of the 'Institutes', in which he considers more fully the ethical implications of the educative process. The whole problem of education may, he says (16), be summarized under the three heads of the end, the means (which comprises both materials and method), and the agency which carries out the process. This agency is the teacher, who passes into the higher category of "educator" only when he works under the inspiration of an ethical purpose. The materials used by the educator for knowledge, and the discipline given by means of them, are intended not only to fit the young to interpret their daily experience but also to subdue all to the service of the ethical life. For such a purpose mere knowledge and intellectual discipline are not of themselves sufficient, even when ethically inspired. It is necessary to supplement them with positive instruction in ethical ideas and direct discipline in ethical acts. The chief object of education is the formation of character, and good character is simply a good habit of mind. In every civilized community ethical ideas exist as an ethical tradition, and ethical education consists in instructing and training the young to adopt these ideas as motives of conduct. It is in this way that we build up 'conscience' in children, who "are our modern instances of primitive man" (17). The method of procedure is threefold: firstly, we instruct the young in the accumulated materials of knowledge so that they may be able to form right judgments; secondly, we instruct them in moral ideas themselves, both as to their spiritual significance and divine

15. op. cit. (p.290)
16. op. cit. (p.293)
17. op. cit. (p.295)
sanction; and thirdly, we regulate the conduct of the young. The first step has already been discussed. With regard to the second, it follows that, since we can attain to an adequate knowledge of external things only by means of 'outer' sense (i.e. by 'feeling' them), in the same way we can gain possession of moral ideas only by means of 'inner' sense (i.e. also by 'feeling' them). The third step illustrates the distinction between the intellectual and the ethical, namely that ethical ideas live only in action. It demonstrates the importance of ethical discipline, as distinct from ethical instruction, by causing the young to will in accordance with moral ideas under a sense of duty as a result of having first carried those ideas into action.

It is the fact that man's activity is "governed by freely affirmed self-conscious ends" (13) which makes him an ethical being. The activity of any conscious creature has for its end the fulfilment of the law of that creature's being, and though man is no exception to this general position, he has, as a free self-regulating being, to find the law of his activities for himself. Since the activities of all creatures are harmonized within them to a specific end, the fulfilment of the function of any creature is accompanied by a sense of the "fruition of life" which, in the case of man, we call happiness. But we must not mistake happiness for the end itself, which is 'the Good', or the determination of the ends and law of man's own being. "The perfectly good will", Laurie says (19), "is that which wills 'the Good' for its own sake, and for the sake of the law inherent in it". It is also possible to will the good for ulterior purposes, such as personal gain; so long as the motive in such cases is defensible, conduct is still moral though on a low ethical plane. Since, however, the perfectly good will is unattainable by any man, we may have to be content, particularly in the case of children who do not have sufficient maturity of mind to entertain abstract ideas, with conduct so motivated. Man has a dual nature which is partly a self-regulating reason and partly the attitudinal or natural man. It is the reason in him that by its very nature, in attaining to the fulfilment of self-conscious rational ends, "must posit ever higher ideals to which he can only approximate, and that through effort and pain."(20). The reward of such striving is not happiness, which is possible only through the abolition of the rational in man's nature, but a supreme sense of joy in law.

18. op.cit. (p.298)
19. op.cit. (p.299)
20. op.cit. (p.300)
fulfilled. If man goes further and sees God in ethical ideas, the moral law is apprehended as clothed with a divine sanction; man then wills good both for its own sake and for the sake of law. So that will, which is the root of reason, is also the source of the ethical in man. "Unless we adopt this theory of mind", Laurie claims (21), "we break up human consciousness into parts, and make it impossible to conceive it as, from first to last, an organic unity".

The function of the ethical life is the actualizing of ideas and its supreme end is the union of the individual reason with God, the universal reason. A man cannot, however, actualize ideas without first possessing them in the form of 'counsels of perfection'. The basis of man's ethical nature is to be found, as already indicated, in 'inner' feeling - in the instincts, feelings, desires, and impulses which he shares with the animals. There is no harm in these and the activity of children can, with the help of the educator, be moulded into a system of law. "I do not mean to say, with Rousseau", Laurie explains (22), "that there is no original perversity in the human heart......What I mean is that every desire and feeling has good in it, and that evil arises through the opposition between these desires and the ideal of life as a life of reason and law". Whereas the animal is a mere victim to dynamic feelings, man directs feeling and emotion towards certain specific ends by virtue of the reason in him. The entry of will-reason into the sphere of feeling raises certain new material to consciousness. In the first place there is a consciousness of will as a determining energy; secondly, a consciousness of self; thirdly, a consciousness of duty to moral law; and fourthly, the emotions of reason itself, implying the "feeling of a greater and higher outside the limitations of the conscious subject", which are supremely ethical. The moral ideas are all complex, but Laurie names fourteen as the most common: Humanity, Justice, Truthfulness, Honesty, Honour, Fidelity, Self-Control, Courage, Integrity, Industry, Purity, Reverence, Self-Respect, and the idea of God. Since it is a difficult task for the teacher to foster all these ideas in the minds of the young, he will not go far wrong if he selects five and concentrates on them as a dominating aim, namely, self-control, self-respect, truthfulness, humanity, and the idea of God.

21. op.cit. (p.301)
22. op.cit. (p.304)
"I emphasize the spiritual idea", Laurie says (23), "because where there is a breach between moral and religious teaching, we have neither the one nor the other in its fullness of significance. Without religious teaching, the education of a human being is (on purely psychological grounds) demonstrably incomplete". Consequently, religion should not be taught as a separate 'subject', as if it were a thing of the abstract understanding divorced from emotion, but should permeate everything that is taught. The idea of humanity is "the most generalized term for the social and altruistic estimate of our own interests as compared with those of other men, and the community of which we form a part" (24). Laurie accepts the Platonic position that the individual man can attain his fullness of stature only in and through the State, which is an organization of men under law. Self-control, ideally, can best be taught in the home, but since the family is unhappily so little to be trusted for such a purpose, we have to call upon the school to supplement it. By self-respect is not meant conceit or egoism but the respect of "man-universal as he ought to be" in individual manhood. Finally, the importance of truthfulness is implicit in the negative character of the liar, who "is a nonentity in the moral world" (25).

It is not enough for man only to be instructed in ideas, he must also be disciplined to obey; the ethical ideas must be reverenced as law-giving. There is thus a formal as well as a real side to ethical education, but man's moral progress seems to owe more to the latter than the former. It is the content of our ethical ideas, rather than the mere discipline of our ready response to public obligation, that would appear to differentiate our conduct from that of the ancient Athenians. In the sphere of the ethical, the ideal of 'constituted law' is the real, and will "engaging itself with abstract duty to law" is the formal. In the education of the ethical, as of the rational, nature of man will is the distinguishing characteristic, and there is a similar reciprocal interaction between the training and discipline of will-reason through the real and the effective instruction of it through the formal as in intellectual education. But there is a slight difference in the method of ethical education in the real, in that instruction is chiefly by training. Instead of bringing the ethical to the child's mind as reasoned conclusions, we let

23. op.cit. (p.309)
24. op. cit. (p.310)
25. op.cit. (p.311)
him experience emotions in action and lead him to do the good by letting him feel its inherent attractiveness. "Abstract instruction in emotions or in moral ideas or precepts", Laurie says (26), "is to the young nothing but words". The method employed is thus to 'work backwards' and induce the virtuous state of being by first securing in the young the doing of the right. An analogous procedure is applicable to religion by means of the habitual act of prayer, and to what Laurie calls 'minor morals' or good breeding. "Far too little importance is attached by teachers", he declares (27), "to minor morals in their reactive influence on character in its deeper sense.... Everything that a child is to be as a man he must first be as a child". Ethical instruction, through training, consists in evoking in the child the sympathetic approval and imitation of good acts. The only effective form of direct moral instruction that Laurie advocates is the expression of simple moral sentiment in verse, particularly when the words are allied with music as in song, for "there is an intimate connection," he considers (28), "between the ethical and the aesthetic ideal". If education in moral ideas is entirely superseded, as it sometimes is, by the pure discipline of authority and duty, the result is a tendency to mere negative morality, from which ethical joy in the idea itself, characteristic of positive morality, is absent. Since there is not the same divergence of opinion regarding the subjects of instruction in the ethical sphere as in the intellectual, the question of method is the chief consideration. Most of the principles of method applicable to intellectual instruction are also operative in sound ethical instruction, as for example, "present to sense", "follow the order of mind growth", "present a good model" "turn to use", and so on. The 'parallelism' of the ethical with the intellectual is also exemplified by the fact that, as knowledge grows by a larger number of graduated knowledge-experiences, the ethical likewise grows by a large number of particular act-experiences. It is vital that the educator should leave much to the child's own assimilation and not "be always pulling up the flowers by the roots to see if they are growing" (29).

Now, while it has been conceded that the substance of morality is of greater ultimate importance to personal growth,
of more immediate consequence to the state is the 'categorical imperative' of a habit of duty since it alone determines a man's conduct outside the ordinary and usual. The formation of a habit of willing rightly in difficult circumstances is the purpose of authority and ethical discipline. Though virtue demands an effort of will, the continual practice of willing in accordance with moral law makes the effort less. In ordinary circumstances, indeed, willing the right and good may become almost automatic, but never entirely so for "the whole path of life runs uphill"(30). With the young, law takes a personal form in parents and teachers (whom Laurie calls "viceregents of law and ideas"), whose authority, though not their personal wills, represents the ethical convictions of society. Hence, obedience to their authority is the first exercise in ethical discipline and thus external law precedes the inner law of later life. As holder of the tradition of law or accumulated wisdom, the teacher wields authority by right, but since the child is positively educated through sympathy alone, right ought never to be supported by might except in cases of absolute necessity. It is moral authority, not coercive might, that commands obedience. As regards the general method of ethical education in the formal, self-direction, the discipline of will in its ethical relations, is a parallel process to attention, the discipline of will in its knowledge relations. "Thus, exercise in one", Laurie concludes (31), "gives exercise in the other. This consideration is of no small weight in education". It follows, therefore, that subjects of instruction which call for the exercise of attention, also discipline in the ethical. Nevertheless, the educator must recognize that, as the will is always struggling with internal associations and external distractions, the act of will in attention is never unbroken but is in fact a continual renewal of effort. Hence, he must rest satisfied if, in the early stages, he succeeds in setting the pupil's will in the right direction, but he should, as the pupil gets older, prefer those formal subjects of instruction, such as geometry and language, which, to be done at all, demand continuous effort.

Having settled that the method of discipline to duty lies through authority, Laurie next discusses the problem of how the child is to be induced to respond to the educator's authority. One solution is through fear of the

30. op.cit. (p.336)
31. op.cit. (p.341)
consequences, which Laurie, following Locke, calls 'the short way'. Such a method is necessarily foredoomed to failure, partly because it is not a moral method and partly owing to the extreme difficulty of consistently carrying it out, at least without calling in the assistance of "the all-seeing eye of God". In any case, the product of this system will be either a slave or a rebel. Laurie does not mean to imply that physical coercion is never to be used, but the only circumstances in which he considers it justified as a consistent method of procedure is in the case of civil penalties, which operate among those who after all are themselves essentially non-moral. The alternative to coercion is an inner compulsion to do the right, and education seeks to supersede the use of such external motives by awakening the moral imperative within each one of us. Laurie defines (32) moral authority, or conscience, as "a complex of compelling inner moral forces which result in our doing the right and good instead of the wrong and evil", and he further attempts to analyse the complex into its elements, in what he calls 'its practical working'. Once a man has affirmed the right and good as a rational judgment, there is firstly, the categorical imperative, or recognition of the moral idea as law; secondly, the ideal of conduct which, under the influence of his education, he endeavours to live up to; thirdly, sympathy with society which, by sanctioning certain lines of conduct as alone virtuous, strengthens his subjective ideal; fourthly, the consciousness of praise and blame from his fellow-men; and fifthly, fear of possible harm to his material interests as the consequence of social disapprobation.

All these elements appear to enter into the 'ethical dynamic' which determines man to will the good, but the child, though endowed with the germ of law, is as yet incapable of recognizing such abstractions and is therefore dependent on their concrete embodiment in the educator. "The whole question, accordingly," Laurie says (33), "of training and disciplining to effective virtue manifestly resolves itself into the question of the personal authority of the teacher, and his mode of exercising it". Hence the

32. op.cit. (p.350)
33. op.cit. (p.355)
vital distinction between mere teaching and educating which the teacher ought ever to bear in mind, though society may often fail to realize it. "Those who follow the profession of teacher, and would fain also be educators", Laurie maintains (34), "ought to be in advance of common opinion in a matter so closely affecting their own social function". The primary condition of all effective authority is sympathy and the ethical function of the teacher as its embodiment corresponds to the five elements already analyzed. He is firstly, giver of the law of conduct; secondly, standard of life to be imitated by the child; thirdly, representative of the consensus of social opinion; fourthly, source of approbation and disapprobation; and lastly, dispenser of the consequences of disobedience to law. For his part, the child will respond to these claims for four good reasons: in the first place, because of his inherent desire for law; in the second, because of his instinct of imitation; in the third, because of the dependence of his happiness on approbation; and in the fourth, because of his need of the happy atmosphere consequent on approbation for the free expansion of his nature. The last statement presumes that the teacher possesses what Laurie calls (35) "the prerequisite of a genuine human and humane interest in the young and their mental growth".

Laurie now enters into a very detailed discussion on the characteristics of the exercise of authority, first as moral law and then as the source of approbation and disapprobation. In the first connection he enumerates nine characteristics of school regulations which he considers requisite to the exercise of moral law. The commands issued should be rational and never arbitrary. They should be consistent and free from the influence of indolence, caprice, passion, frivolity, pride, and love of popularity. They should be instinct with moral purpose. They should, by being few and definite, leave a certain amount of liberty of thought and action within well-marked limits. They should be clear and unmistakable. They should never exact the impossible. They should distinguish between what in the moral law is imperative and what merely expedient. They should be just, firstly by being equally applicable to all, secondly by registering approval and disapproval only on carefully verified facts.

34. op.cit. (p.356)
35. op.cit. (p.363)
and thirdly by overlooking faults which have once been atoned for. Lastly, they should, in grave cases, utilize the feeling of awe and reverence native to the human soul as a means of strengthening the moral law. The only characteristic of authority as a moral standard is that the teacher must strive to be and to do what he desires his pupils to be and to do. The characteristics of approbation and disapprobation, which constitute the lever of the teacher's power, are of supreme importance since "given the conditions of mutual relationship..., which evoke reverence and trust, the power thus placed in the hands of authority is immeasurable". (36).

Taking approbation first, the teacher's approval should be ready, prompt, and obvious. It should not be too diffuse or lavish. It should allow the child the benefit of the doubt. It should take a human and friendly form. The converse is true of disapprobation, which is "punishment in the purely moral sense". The teacher should show himself personally aggrieved and, in grave cases, indignant since purposed anger, if justified by the occasion, is a virtue. Only when it ceases to be controlled does anger become a vice, but at the same time disapproval should be subject to certain precautionary measures. In the first place, the path of duty should so far as possible be cleared of all obstructions to the doing of the right act. In the second, undue occasions of stumbling should not be caused by too many rules and regulations. In the third place, a gradation of offences should be instituted: faults of omission, generally due to thoughtlessness, are to be dealt with more leniently than faults of commission; faults of commission which are non-deliberate, due merely to a yielding to weakness, are less serious than faults of commission which are deliberate, due to a purpose of evil; faults which affect only the offender himself, should be distinguished from faults which involve others; finally, however grave the fault, censure must never by its severity endanger self-respect. "If self-respect is gone", Laurie says (37), "blame will no longer be felt, and the moral engine of education is lost". The importance of approval and disapproval as authority is that, when properly exercised, they conduce to "strictly moral consequences of a

36. op.cit. (p.373)
37. op.cit. (p.375)
pleasing or displeasing kind" without recourse to coercion.

Since, however, there is in every generation of boys a certain proportion who are non-morally disposed, it is sometimes necessary to resort to artificial adjuncts in support of approbation and disapprobation, though only when all moral means fail. In this connection two kinds of external punishment have to be carefully distinguished. The first is merely the outward and visible sign of the teacher's disapprobation, taking for example the form of having a pupil stand in the corner. Punishments of this sort are constantly necessary in training the young and do not destroy the sympathetic moral bond between teacher and taught. It is the second type of punishment which is expressly designed to make the pupil afraid of offending because of bodily suffering which follows as a consequence of the offence. If rarely used, such coercive punishments may be justifiable; they can be considered under three headings (a) physical castigation, (b) impositions, (c) confinement and deprivation of privileges. The most effective form of the first kind is flogging with birch or cane. The administering of it should be a grave and magisterial act brought into operation for the benefit of the offender and as a deterrent to his school-fellows, but to avoid any sense of mock heroics it should not be inflicted in presence of the latter. "At best, however," Laurie concedes (38), "it must be admitted that flogging is a gross punishment". It may be that in the intellectual sphere the results of physical coercion are less deleterious than in its moral relations, but it will always fail to develop free energy of mind. "Knowledge so acquired is rote-knowledge", Laurie rightly remarks (39), "residing in the memory only, not operative in the living mind". The effective answer to the problem is to place barriers between the verbal expression of disapprobation and the final resort to physical punishment. An example of what is meant might be a system of bad marks in a conduct register; when three of these have been earned, punishment for the next offence would be flogging, but the existing record could be worked off by extra exertion on the delinquent's part. In the setting of impositions as a form of punishment the mistake to be avoided is associating them, as is often done,

38. op.cit. (p.382)
39. op.cit. (p.388)
with religious or aesthetic tasks. They ought in fact to have nothing to do with the ordinary lessons of the school but on the contrary be as mechanical as possible, as for example writing the alphabet backwards. By this means, not only will they not disgust the pupil with ordinary school work, but may even lead to an appreciation of the lessons which exercise his intelligence. "The imposition should, I think," Laurie says (40), "always partake of the punishment of the treadmill". Privative penalties Laurie considers the safest and most effectual form of coercive punishment; since it is freedom from restriction, rather than idleness (as many suppose), that boys love, the logical procedure is simply to deprive them of play.

Laurie now considers the characteristics of the exercise of power in both moralizing and coercive punishments. He distinguishes no less than seventeen of them: in the first place, though punishment may legitimately be considered as simply the paying of a price for an offence committed, it must be regulated by two considerations, firstly, the reformation of the offender, and secondly, its deterrent effects on others. In the second place, punishments should partake as far as possible of the original character of the offence. Thirdly, coercion should not be employed until the fault is shown, by repetition, to be deliberate. Fourthly, it should be made apparent that all punishments are the result of a breach of school law and not of personal offence to the teacher. Fifthly, the nature and amount of the punishment must appear equitable to the school as a whole. Sixthly, the teacher must satisfy himself that the alleged offence did actually occur. Seventhly, punishments for specific offences must be invariable. Eighthly, punishment should always have in view moral ends. Ninthly, punishment should make allowance for the natural playfulness of boys by starting "from the desirableness of free activity". Tenthly, punishments should be sure and inevitable, and as mechanical as possible in the case of petty offences. The remaining characteristics are that punishment should be graduated; that it should be as lenient as is consistent with prevention of the offence recurring; that it should not be inflicted if the end desired can be attained without it; that once the punishment has been imposed, no further grudge against

40. op. cit. (p.395)
the offender should be borne; that substantial acceptance
of the punishment should suffice and minor evidence of
defiance be ignored; that discussion of the fault should
be postponed till the culprit has cooled down after punish-
ment; and lastly that the teacher should be self-controlled
throughout. Laurie's treatment of rewards is much less
exhaustive. His opinion is that personal rewards for good
conduct are undesirable since they not only 'unmoralize' the
act but "cultivate an expectation that material benefits
follow on moral acts, which is by no means the case in life" (41).
Hence, school-prizes should be abolished and the easy relations
between teacher and pupils, supplemented occasionally by a
general reward such as a half-holiday, be a sufficient reward
for duty well done.

Laurie goes on to discuss certain auxiliaries
of authority furnished by the pupils themselves. The first
of these is, as in the building up of mind, sympathy and
imitation. Raymont remarks (42) in this connection: "It has
been well observed - 'while a sentiment or precept, or
exhortation addressed to one individual may have small effect,
the force of it increases in a geometrical ratio as the
number of those addressed increases. Hence it is that while
any one accustomed to the management of one child or two will
contemplate with alarm the management of a numerous class, he
finds himself, after a little experience, quite relieved of
his fears. As a matter of fact, a class of twenty-five is
more easily managed and taught (by one who has been trained
in class-manipulation) than a class of one or two. No task
in the teacher's profession is so hard as that of the private
tutor or governess' (43)." The process of sympathy and
imitation operates also between the older and younger child-
ren themselves, and the power of the former over the latter
is, Laurie believes, "almost omnipotent". The recognition of
this fact lies at the root of the prefect system in the
English Public Schools, which can be an excellent one when
properly regulated. As the master himself must not sacrifice
authority to sympathy, the gulf between him and the younger
children can be bridged by the older boy who understands both
parties. The second auxiliary to authority Laurie calls
'the tone of a school', which involves esprit de corps and
is the unconscious ideal by which everything is measured. If
this 'oversoul' is high, the master's moral work is largely
accomplished and his intellectual work will be greatly

41. op. cit. (p. 404)

42. Raymont 1904 (p. 364)

43. Institutes (p. 406)
facilitated. The current of this common spirit may often be set in the right direction by the will and purpose of the master himself. A third auxiliary is to be found in the love of law and order which has its root in every reason, because the love of freedom that exists in human nature is tempered by a love of limits too. "Licence", says (44) Laurie, "is painful". Finally, the fourth auxiliary is emulation in the sense of a love of excellence for itself, not as the desire to beat others. In the latter sense it demoralizes not only the two or three who contend for the first place but also the great mass of the class who, being led to feel that their efforts are not fully recognized, lose that motive to work which derives from the master's approval. This position is strongly criticized by Raymont who remarks (45): "To say that 'the moment emulation passes into personal competition it verges on the immoral' (46) is to ignore one of the most potent facts of human nature". Laurie is prepared to sanction the use of a certain amount of place-taking in junior forms to "give vivacity to class teaching," and even the award of a special prize for a special piece of work done, such as Latin composition or the best-constructed mechanical model.

Laurie concludes his study of educational theory by speaking of religion, which is "the crown of the edifice of human thought, human life, and therefore of human education". Essentially, it is the comprehension of the spiritual and divine significance of everything in nature and the life of man. The educated man's conception of God is of an eternal spirit animating all things and the religious idea is the 'supreme act of finite mind'. Consequently, religion is neither a 'subject' to be added to the curriculum nor to be begun only in the later years of school life, but "like all else that truly enters into the life of a man, it must have made an early start in the impressionable days of infancy and childhood" (47). The religious conception can grow only by being associated with the joy of living, and if the presentation is simple, children are singularly open to it. Since premature teaching of dogma tends to alienate the child's mind from the truth, it should first take the form of acts of

44. op. cit. (p.410)
45. Raymont (1904) (p.363)
46. Institutes 1899 (p.413)
47. op. cit. (p.415)
reverence. "Religion, literature, and history," says (48) Laurie, "are, I think, the subjects which most easily admit of being worst taught". When dogma is introduced in the form of a catechism, the explanation should precede each successive statement and lead up to the formulation of it. Otherwise, there is a risk of substituting a mechanical belief for a living faith. Hymns and passages of scripture should be learned by heart at all stages, and there can be no valid objection to teaching Christianity as literature, leaving dogma to grow out of the common perusal of the text. As the Divine method was to give the Christian religion to man in the form of a story, we cannot improve upon it. Divorced from the emotions of the heart, religion becomes a hateful medicine rather than the spiritual food craved by the soul. "It is especially at the beginning of the secondary school stage", Laurie remarks (49), "that a boy needs the power of religion in his soul most, and, in the general case, has it least". At that period the boy must be made to feel that he is kicking against reason, not authority, and provided the earliest years have been well employed, nature - since man is by nature religious - will fight for the educator. The reverent manner of the teacher in giving religious instruction is all-important and in the religious and moral field, more than in any other, the pleasing or unplessing associations of school instruction are of supreme moment. Conduct, however, comes before dogma - "in so far as religion fails to support morality", observes (50) Laurie, "it is superstition only". In conclusion, it follows that those who, on sectarian grounds, seek to exclude religion from the school thereby also exclude the most potent formative force for both the intellectual and ethical growth of man.

Such, in brief outline, is the educational theory of Simon Laurie as set forth in 'The Institutes of Education', a book that must be wrestled with before it yields its reward. The merits and flaws of the system are clearly stated in an autobiographical sketch by the most eminent living student of Laurie's, the veteran psychologist James Drever. Drever, who as a graduate of several years' teaching experience, studied under Laurie in 1897-3, says (51)

48. op.cit. (p.416)
49. op.cit. (p.419)
50. op.cit. (p.421)
of him: "Laurie was the foremost educationist of his time in the English-speaking countries. He was also no mean philosopher and psychologist, and it was mainly to attend his lectures that I had returned to the University. Laurie established finally that interest in psychology which had been stimulated by Andrew Seth. His philosophy and psychology were those of the Scottish School, the influence of German philosophy being relatively slight as compared with its influence on Seth's teaching. From his philosophy and psychology Laurie deduced his educational theory. He built up in the minds of his students a marvellously complete and logical philosophy of education, which in turn supported an educational psychology and an educational theory, coherent and closely articulated throughout. No weak points were discernible in the lecture room, though several became apparent later in actual dealing with concrete children in the school. The mark which Laurie — and Darroch, who followed him in the Chair of Education — left on Scottish education, and particularly on the training of the teacher in Scotland is profound".

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CHAPTER VI.

OTHER WORKS ON EDUCATIONAL THEORY.

Although the 'Institutes of Education' represents Laurie's definitive position as an educational theorist, two other works in the course of the argument are referred to as being complementary to it, and consequently they call for comment in so far as they throw any further light on Laurie's philosophy of education. It is true that these books actually preceded the major treatise in date of publication and sometimes cover ground more systematically treated later, but in their day both were influential works and each went through several editions. Indeed, they had a more practical bearing on the life of the school than can be claimed for the 'Institutes' itself, which tends too much in the direction of the purely theoretical. When discussing educational values, Laurie declares (1): "In the case of boys and girls who leave school before fourteen, there is, I have said, substantial agreement as to the subjects of instruction and the instruments of discipline", and refers the reader to his work 'Primary Instruction in Relation to Education', originally published as early as 1867. This little book, though written at a time when the infamous Revised Code of 1862 was doing its best to drive the finer points of education out of the school altogether, contains a remarkably comprehensive survey of the higher aims and methods of primary education. Falling into eight chapters, it deals not only with the function of the primary schoolmaster and the general and special methods of teaching the primary school subjects, but also with organization, discipline, morals, manners, and religious instruction. It is with particular reference to the secondary school, on the other hand, that Laurie refers to the other work under consideration. When dealing with central points of instruction, he says (2): "In the department of the humanistic.....the central subject is manifestly language", and adverts to his 'Language and Linguistic Method' for further elucidation. This book comprises eleven lectures on language as an educational instrument and it first appeared in 1390. The first two lectures are devoted to establishing the theoretical claims of language to supremacy in the academic hierarchy, the following six to a detailed examination of the aims and methods.

1. Institutes 1899 (p.76)
2. op. cit. (p.263)
of teaching the vernacular, and the last three to the treatment of foreign languages, in particular Latin and French.

(a) **Primary Instruction in Relation to Education.**

The end of the primary school, as of all education, is the formation of character - the bettering of men's wills and of their intellects (3). It might appear that the materials to which the schoolmaster is limited by force of circumstances are so humble that they do not allow of larger educational treatment, but happily that is not the case. "There is no teaching so theoretically sound", Laurie says (4), "as that which has a practical aim." Indeed, the specialist language or science teacher stands on a lower moral eminence than his colleague in the primary school, since he makes only a partial contribution to the final result of character and at an age when the intellectual and moral bent are already given (5). The possession of an ideal is indispensable to the primary teacher not only because it enables him to give due proportion to the various parts of his work but also because it sustains him in his labours. But he must also have a clear conception of the relation of his materials of instruction to the results at which he aims. This involves a knowledge of psychology and ethics, which Laurie calls "the two pillars on which the whole fabric of education rests" (6), but rather as the habitual study of the capacities and growth of the mind than in the form of a series of dead classifications of the human faculties, vainly imagined to be knowledge. The only person who can safely dispense with such knowledge is the teacher endowed with 'sympathetic sensibility' (7), by means of which the mental processes of others are apparently felt without the intervention of any rational process. This characteristic is most commonly found in women, who are, as a consequence, the best teachers of the young up to a certain age. A woman has, Laurie observes (8), "unconsciously what a man for the most part acquires consciously, and what

3. Laurie 1883 (p.3)
4. op.cit. (p.4)
5. op.cit. (p.6)
6. op.cit. (p.13)
7. op.cit. (p.21)
8. op.cit. (p.22)
he must therefore, even when he has the best intentions, give out consciously. This conscious giving out implies an effort on his part which the subtle senses of children are so quick to detect, that he cannot if he would, establish a perfectly harmonious relationship with them".

Neither philosophic methods nor sympathetic intuition can, however, counteract the influence of the teacher's own character. Even where sound methods are in operation, it is character which does more than half of the work (9). But there are also in the children themselves 'co-operating agencies' ready to aid the teacher in his labours. The natural instinct of acquisition and the irrepressible love of activity ensure that many facts and reasonings, which at the time of presentation fail to appeal to the pupil's feelings or understanding, afterwards become educative in their effect. Notwithstanding all personal qualifications and auxiliaries in the task of teaching, there are certain severe restrictions that the teacher must be prepared to face. The first of these is the shortness and irregularity of attendance which can only be effectively remedied by a compulsory law. The average age at which children normally left school in 1867 Laurie estimated at about eleven in England and twelve in Scotland (10). A second restriction is the number of classes in small ungraded schools which a primary schoolmaster has to superintend. Out of six classes all are instructed in three subjects and two or three of them in six or seven during a school-day of five hours, which entails giving about twenty-five distinct lessons daily (11). A third obstruction is the character of the homes of the mass of the pupils, and a fourth is the necessity of considering the requirements of the pupil's future life. Outside the two prime subjects of moral and religious instruction, the selection of the materials best fitted to promote the formation of character has to be modified by the actual needs of daily life. Already at twelve years of age the pupils of the primary school are little men and women called upon to exhibit a certain practical aptitude and a quantity of usable knowledge. Subsequent educational legislation has certainly mitigated many of these evils.

The practical lesson to be drawn from these limitations, Laurie considers (12), is the 'judicious contraction of the teacher's work'. Religious and moral

9. op.cit. (p.24)
10. op.cit. (p.28)
11. op.cit. (p.31)
12. op.cit. (p.36)
instruction must be held sacred as being the direct efforts to form and inform the will of the child, towards which all other school teachings contribute only indirectly. The subjects which bear most directly on the child's practical and immediate needs in everyday life, on the other hand, are the time-honoured branches of reading, writing and arithmetic. At the same time, two considerations must be borne in mind: firstly, that though these subjects form the groundwork of all purely intellectual instruction, the pupil's mind must be interested in knowledge for its own sake, as well as being qualified to acquire it; and secondly, that the necessities of the future life of the children of the industrial classes require in addition instruction in the laws of health and the principles of conduct expected of members of a complicated social organization. The 'how' and 'why' of moral laws, in their relation to the routine of daily duty, need to be explicitly taught. Such teaching does not aspire to physiology and economics: the three great questions of air, food, and cleanliness, "ought to be handled by the teacher with all the earnestness and solemnity of moral teaching" (13), and a whole series of questions dealing with economy, saving, insurance, capital, wages, etc., "are attractive to the pupil if properly handled by the schoolmaster" (14). The present tendency is, in the first case, to inculcate the right without showing what it is and how it may be done, and, in the second, to overestimate the uncultivated man's native power of connecting causes and remote effects, and so to forget that improvidence may be due to want of knowledge rather than moral perversity; Well-constructed reading books ought at least to suggest the text, if not the detailed treatment, of these physiological and social topics.

Once the teacher has given prominence to these considerations he is at liberty to introduce other subjects in due subordination to the indispensable primary ones. At this point the vexed question of grammar arises and it is Laurie's opinion that systematic teaching of that subject before the age of ten, if not eleven, is a waste of time (15). The time spent on teaching English grammar is at that stage worth while only if it is distinctly made to serve two purposes, firstly in facilitating the pupil's comprehension, particularly of poetry, and secondly in enabling the child to write accurately sentences of his own. As such it

13. op.cit. (p.42)
14. op.cit. (p.43)
15. op.cit. (p.45)
becomes part of the reading lesson, and is essential to the thorough teaching of reading if the understanding of the pupil is to be cultivated. The secondary subjects that can put forward the best claim for adoption into the school curriculum are music and geography. The moral and disciplinary effects of music Laurie regards as so remarkable that the teaching of it is in reality a saving of time, while geography by introducing variety stimulates the intelligence of the school generally (16). Elementary drawing should be on the time-table of every primary school in which the master is possessed of the requisite skill. History, however, should find a place only where there are advanced classes (17). Any further subjects, such as natural history, can be taught only in so far as they are dealt with in good reading-books. In view of the fact that the most serious of the limitations under which the schoolmaster works, is the habits of life in the homes of his pupils, precedence must be given to topics, other than the basic essentials, by their moral bearings. The ethical purpose in forming character must always maintain an ascendancy over the intellectual, for the ethical in man is the man himself. Demoralizing influences in the home, such as disregard of cleanliness, decency and order, enforce the necessity of cultivating in the school not only the feelings and imagination of the young but also the civilities and courtesies which confer dignity on the life of man (18). Suitable reading-books and the school library, by making provision for the starved imagination and repressed sensibilities of the poorer children, can be useful auxiliaries to the teacher in his work.

Despite the fact that the teacher must confine his work within very narrow limits he is supplied with instruments good enough for the attainment of his purpose, if they are rightly used. The right use is such as will convert them into agents of the ultimate educative purpose of the work, and it involves a consideration of methods of teaching. A large view ought to be taken of all the foundations of primary school work, but Laurie attaches particular importance to reading, which, he says (19), "especially demands and admits of a wide and liberal interpretation". The instruction should recognize three clear stages, beginners, juniors, and advanced. In the case

16. op.cit. (p.46)
17. op.cit. (p.48)
18. op.cit. (p.50)
19. op.cit. (p.55)
of the beginners the object is to initiate the child into
the art of recognising the conventional symbols of words and
of uttering them accurately. There are three usual methods
of attaining that end, the 'phonic', the 'look and say', and
the 'alphabetic' methods. The first, consisting of teaching
the child to recognize the thirty sound-symbols of the
English language and to re-combine them into words, is the
one which, in Laurie's view (20), is best adapted for giving
a sound and rapid knowledge of reading and spelling. The
second, consisting of teaching the child complete words in
the first instance until he has acquired a certain facility,
has the advantage of affording greater interest to the pupil,
but in reality it only postpones unnecessarily the analytico-
synthetic process until after three or four hundred words
have been laboriously learned as wholes (21). The third,
consisting of teaching the child the names of the letters
which go to form words (although they have, when combined
into wholes, only a remote resemblance in sound to the names
of the individual letters), is the commonest method in
practice. Despite the fact that the process of acquiring
any given word is purely an act of memory and association,
this system is superior to the second (22). It is true that
the numerous irregularities offered by the English language
at the very start constitute a serious objection to the
phonic system which Laurie advocates, but he claims (23) that
the method affords a key to nineteen-twentieths of the words
in the language. The outstanding exceptions must simply be
taught on the look and say system, a conclusion which we
find supported (24) eighty years later by the Scottish Advis-
ory Council ("The best results are likely to be obtained by
a judicious blending of the phonic, look and say, and sentence
methods"). The principle on which primers should be con-
structed is, firstly, that the words used should be familiar
to the child in ordinary conversation, and secondly, that they
should be spelled according to their sound. Spelling affords
confirmation of the superiority of the phonic method, for a
child phonetically taught will spell a word he has never seen (25).
It is true, however, that spelling tends to become an act of
eye-memory rather than of intelligence, and in consequence
written work copied from the blackboard helps to fix the

20. op.cit. (p.57)
21. op.cit. (p.59)
22. op.cit. (p.60)
23. op.cit. (p.64)
24. Primary Education 1946 (p.54)
25. Laurie 1883 (p.66)
impression of words on the child's mind.

After a year or eighteen months the child, having acquired a knowledge of reading in the lowest technical sense, passes to the junior stage, at which he is given larger and more complex sentences to grasp. We must be careful that the reading-lessons do not anticipate, but at the most slightly precede, the child's mental growth. Otherwise, permanent injury is done to the pupil and his natural love of intellectual activity will be choked (26). The aim here is to teach the child to read easily, intelligently, and intelligibly; consequently the lessons must be graduated in difficulty both as to language and content, as various in language and content as the child's own experiences, and abundant in respect of quantity. The variety and quantitative aspects reflect the full range of the child's mental life, while the graduation reflects the order of his mental growth (27). At this stage we have to extend the child's experience not only as a being of intellectual faculties but also of imagination and of moral and religious sensibilities (28). Imagination is the reproductive power that leads the child to build up fresh wholes out of the scattered fragments of his experience, and its function is highly educative because the results are the product of the child's spontaneous activity. Reading lessons, therefore, which appeal to the imagination should not be robbed of the charm that makes them attractive by didactic interference. The approach to the religious aspirations and moral sentiments of the child has to be even more cautious than the sympathetic handling of the dreams and wanderings of his imagination. The Gospel story and its personal relation to the young should be given due proportion in the daily readings, if the lessons are to be co-extensive with the moral as well as the intellectual experience of the child (29). Only thus will the child become insensibly alive to the fact that books contain a true reflection of himself and so be trained to use books. The reading-book, Laurie says (30), is "the visible basis of that intercourse between the mature and immature mind, which constitutes education".

The advanced stage of reading involves lessons in which the boy begins to make acquaintance with a more scientific treatment of the objects by which he is surrounded

26. op. cit. (p.71)
27. op. cit. (p.74)
28. op. cit. (p.76)
29. op. cit. (p.79)
30. op. cit. (p.81)
from the point of view of law, cause, and effect. At this stage the reading-books should not be composed almost wholly of description and narrative, for the teaching is educative no longer solely through the contents of what is read but also through the conscious analysis of the organic structure of language (31). Sentence-analysis, in Laurie's opinion, takes precedence over every other discipline, but it must be based on a prior understanding of the sentence to be analysed. Its object is to bring out more distinctly the parts of the organism and to give the mind more acuteness for dealing with difficult language generally (32). To extract as much discipline as possible from any reading-lesson, the teacher should observe a three-fold procedure (33): firstly, the children should be asked to recapitulate the lesson, as a whole, in their own words; secondly, the teacher should extend the subject-matter so as to bring it into connection with the daily lives of the pupils; and thirdly, the pupils' intellectual grasp and knowledge of things should be increased by the extension of their knowledge of language. The linguistic treatment required for this is what Laurie calls the analysis of sentences in relation to thought, an exercise which he rates second only to the critical study of Latin and Greek (34). This mode of procedure does not, however, apply to aesthetic or devotional reading-material, which, after being read by the pupils, should be simply explained by the master and read out expressively by him. The teacher need not be discouraged by the fact that the subject-matter of the more difficult lessons seems quickly to be forgotten by the pupils. "What is forgotten in the process of learning is often as efficacious an educative agent as what is remembered", Laurie says (35). Nor should he be discouraged by occasional failure to make his pupils fully comprehend what is read, since "never to demand of them a conscious effort to master difficulties of thought and language is to weaken the intellectual energy" (36).

The purpose to be aimed at in teaching writing is dictation of the sentences of the reading-lesson in script characters with ease and distinctness (37). The method

31. op.cit. (p.84)
32. op.cit. (p.87)
33. op.cit. (p.95)
34. op.cit. (p.104)
35. op.cit. (p.107)
36. op.cit. (p.108)
37. op.cit. (p.110)
of procedure is to introduce the child to the letters in order of simplicity of formation, with their typographical equivalents printed alongside, and to teach him to combine them into words as soon as practicable. This, by appealing to the intelligence, supplies a motive for progress. On this point Laurie says (38): "Children compare and reason with a smaller stock of materials than men, with a misapprehension of the true proportions of things, and with less mental vigour; but it is a great blunder to treat them as if they did not reason at all, and were inaccessible to rational motives of action."

On the contrary, their most intense delight is to be found in construction and their highest ambition is to make something fresh out of such materials as they have. Writing from dictation should be introduced at an early stage, as it gives a certain amount of intellectual discipline by calling on the power of attention to what is being read and of applying what has been already learned. It also supplements the oral practice of spelling and it teaches the power of reading script through writing it. Every effort should be made to reproduce shapely forms and the pupil should be made to understand that there is good and bad writing as well as good and bad reading; but facility in writing a clean, accurate, and distinct copy of the reading-lesson is the main purpose of the teaching rather than fine penmanship.

In considering arithmetic Laurie is disposed (39) to regard the art of manipulating numbers as simply the strengthening of a special intellectual power which manifests itself spontaneously in all men. Indeed, the discipline given by means of the science of numbers is so universally diffused that it is difficult to estimate fully the extent to which it contributes to the easy conduct of ordinary affairs. But even more important is the fact that the most elementary of arithmetical processes demands a certain amount of deliberate and sustained attention which cannot be evaded without leaving the work undone. This is valuable not only in relation to the skill acquired in arithmetic itself but because it also increases the mental force available for other subjects. Nevertheless, it is solely on the grounds of its practical relations to life that arithmetic has any claims for inclusion in the primary school curriculum, and the purpose of teaching it is attained when a boy or girl has acquired sufficient command over numbers to be able to calculate easily questions arising in ordinary life (40). This is what Laurie calls 'economic arithmetic', embracing addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of money, proportion, and vulgar

38. op.cit. (p.113)
39. op.cit. (p.120)
40. op.cit. (p.122)
The mode of teaching is by means of the 'concrete method', which involves three practical rules. In the first place, instruction should be made a natural extension of the pupils' daily observation through initiating them in arithmetic by means of the ball-frame. Secondly, the pupils should be exercised in mental arithmetic from the start. Thirdly, instruction should be continued on the basis of concrete questions arising out of daily experiences, with prominence given to mental arithmetic at every step. It follows from this that progress depends upon the presentation of objects to be numbered, and in the use of mental arithmetic instead of written work, if the child's numerical habit of mind is not to be suddenly dislocated (42). Once the child is accustomed to manipulating such numbers as can be taken in by the eye, written work may be introduced as an aid to the intellect in the solution of more difficult questions. Quite apart from the practical requirements of life, even pure mathematicians agree that a solid substructure of reality is essential to the future superstructure of arithmetical knowledge, however abstract that may be (43). But there is a still more important purpose which the teaching of 'economic arithmetic' serves, for when properly taught it deals mainly with questions treating of clothing, feeding, housing, and saving, and so brings numbers to bear on a man's relations to his household and occupation. By thus getting him to consider seriously his present and future responsibilities, we inculcate in him, Laurie holds (44), such qualities as benevolence, honesty, justice, and sense, and aid in the formation of a moral habit of mind.

The secondary subjects of the primary school are to be kept strictly subsidiary to those which are determined by the future necessities of the pupil. The teaching and learning of a little of many things rather than much of a few things, Laurie stigmatizes (45) as the greatest of all modern educational heresies. At the same time, education should be extensive as well as intensive and admits of the cultivation of other branches of study in due subordination to the essential. Music, notably, has an important duty to

41. op.cit. (p.123)
42. op.cit. (p.125)
43. op.cit. (p.127)
44. op.cit. (p.129)
45. op.cit. (p.133)
perform in the primary school. "With music, the New Testament, and a slate, Laurie says (46), "a man could educate a nation". Even in intellectual matters, sympathy of numbers is a significant factor, and in the emotional sphere it is omnipotent. In intellectual instruction, it is true, it runs to seed in the 'simultaneous method', in which all the pupils are made to think and say the same thing at the same time, for a good teacher knows that no discipline can be real which is not individual. But this objection does not apply to the moral field, in which the sentiments and emotions of children are greatly influenced when teaching, addressed to all, receives a common response (47). By music is meant mass and part singing from notation: it is not only a direct moral and religious agency in itself but a powerful auxiliary to the other moral and religious instruction of the school, and by its melodic and grateful associations it suggests the inner harmony of the spiritual life. Furthermore, it refreshes and invigorates the physical frame. The method of teaching it depends entirely on the spirit in which it is taught. In the first stages that will be by imitation and without notes, while later notation and part-singing will be introduced. The ordinary, rather than the tonic sol-fa, Laurie thinks (48), is the notation more likely to give the pupil the kind of musical knowledge that will induce him to carry the power he may acquire into everyday life.

The purpose of teaching geography is to give the child a general knowledge of the configuration of the earth, but our own country should be the starting-point and terminus of the teaching (49). It has an extensive function, by giving breadth to the intellect and expansion to the moral sympathies, and is at the same time the easiest of all exercises in perceiving the connection of cause and effect (50). Its real significance lies in the fact that geographical knowledge tends to germinate in the mind and contribute to the unconscious growth which is perhaps of greater importance than the conscious elements in mental progress. In so far as education necessarily directs the child's powers into fixed channels with a view

46. op.cit. (p.136)
47. op.cit. (p.140)
48. op.cit. (p.143)
49. op.cit. (p.145)
50. op.cit. (p.146)
to fixed ends it is an artificial process, but in the geography lesson the teacher may find an outlet for the discursive tendency which also has an important part to play in education (51). In the teaching of geography reality is the key-note and so the first notions must be given not from a map, which is a bad representation of reality, but from the solid earth itself. "The schoolroom and the parish", Laurie says (52), "constitute the microcosm in which all geography is visible". The introduction to maps should be through the construction of a rough map of the parish and of neighbouring parishes. Only when the pupils' imaginations have been expanded to comprehend the size of Britain in relation to their own parish, should a globe be set before them, and only then should a wall-map of the world be unfolded.

The remaining subjects comprise drawing, grammar and composition, and history. Drawing means the art of representing, from the round, common objects in outline (53), but except in the case of pupils who have a natural talent for form, artistic training as such cannot be introduced into the elementary school. The school walls, however, should be adorned with objects of art, and it must be remembered that even simple drawing from outline is a disciplinary agent of no mean significance. The conscious attempt to reproduce external forms is an exercise tending powerfully to cultivate clearness, precision, and truth of perception, but it belongs mainly to the infant classes and only partially to the more advanced (54). Grammar should be approached from the syntactical point of view, with reference to the ultimate ends of sentence-analysis and sentence-construction. This latter should begin by simple sentences, constructed from words supplied to the pupils, and later should take the form of a grammatical account of material read to them by the master. Composition is to be encouraged not only because it is of great disciplinary and practical value, but because it furnishes a standard by which the master may safely measure many of the results of his labours (55). As regards analysis, the essential knowledge is acquaintance with the elements of a sentence and with the relationship of principal and subordinate clauses (56). Although to the maturer mind the study of

51. op.cit. (p.148)
52. op.cit. (p.149)
53. op.cit. (p.154)
54. op.cit. (p.156)
55. op.cit. (p.159)
56. op.cit. (p.162)
history is perhaps the foundation of all true culture, it is of value to the school-boy only in so far as it brings to his knowledge deeds of patriotism and duty. Otherwise, the reading of history in the primary school is an abuse of time and should be discouraged (57). Twelve or fifteen dates in the history of England and the principal events connected with them, are all that boys need know. They will need little encouragement to extend this knowledge by private reading if the books in the library are written in a style to suit their age.

The question of organization should be looked at rather from the point of view of the pupils who have to acquire a certain amount of facility in reading, writing, and arithmetic, than the master who has to instil it (58). The two expedients involved in efficient organization are classification and time-tables, and the indirect personal teaching, which is effected through arranging and guiding the independent activity of the children, is perhaps of more importance to the success of the school than even the quality of the direct teaching. Ideally, classification should be on the basis of groups in which each individual is at the same stage of both mental development and acquired knowledge as all the others, but, in view of the impracticability of this, acquired knowledge necessarily becomes the sole basis of classification, irrespective of the general capacity of the pupil (59). In Laurie's opinion, reading, with understanding of what is read, constitutes the best criterion. In constructing a time-table, the school-day should be divided into sections of fifteen minutes each and every group of pupils should be occupied by such a succession of work as by its variety prevents too continuous a strain on the pupil's mind. The teacher's main duty is arranging the work and directing the powers of his pupils, but Laurie deplores 'the flagrant evil', in connection with large schools, of converting the most experienced of the teachers, the headmaster, into a mere organizing superintendent (60).

Of the outstanding four chapters, which deal with discipline, moral instruction, and religion in a manner very similar to Part IV of the 'Institutes', little account

57. op.cit. (p.164)
58. op.cit. (p.167)
59. op.cit. (p.168)
60. op.cit. (p.170)
The final purpose of discipline, in Laurie's view, is not efficient work but efficient working; it not only embraces obedience to school-rules as to time, place, circumstance, and style, but implies the exercise of diligence and the practice of accuracy and honesty. As subsidiary to the practice of moral acts secured by good discipline, direct moral instruction in the form of preceptive teaching is of some value (62). In the initiatory stage it may be either suggestive or direct, and though the former is the more efficacious by its association with a concrete example, the second, by furnishing the child at the outset of his journey in search of duty with the conclusions reached by the wisdom of the past, also has its uses. In the second stage preceptive teaching must be reasoned, and should instruct the conscience in the duties of preserving health and practising providence and frugality in daily life (63). In the chapter on 'minor morals' Laurie broaches the question of co-education, and sees no reason to believe "that the mixing of boys and girls together, under proper supervision, tends to lessen the respect of the one and the modesty of the other "(64). The well-disciplined mixed school affords opportunities of regulating the conduct of boys and girls towards each other, and gives a healthy direction to sentiments which must in any case spring up. But, as it is to the cultivation of the more womanly characteristics of girls that we must look for any improvement of existing relations between the sexes, they require to be surrounded by gentler and softer influences than those they are subject to "when sharing with boys an education expressly arranged with a view to the special needs of the latter"(65). Hence, in Laurie's opinion, the extension of girls' schools under properly trained mistresses was one of the most powerful moral agencies within the reach of his time. Finally, in the teaching of religion, the order of instruction is the important aspect so far as method is concerned (66): the first step is the introduction of the Christian ideal through the fatherhood and love of God, the second the presentation of Christian doctrine in the richly coloured but simple language of the New Testament, and the third the abstract teaching of the dogma which embodies our faith (67).

61. op.cit. (p.172)
62. op.cit. (p.200)
63. op.cit. (p.210)
64. op.cit. (p.213)
65. op.cit. (p.215)
66. op.cit. (p.227)
67. op.cit. (p.231)
(b) Language and Linguistic Method in the School.

In a postcript to the second edition of 'The Institutes' Laurie claims (1) that this book "deals with the most important element in intellectual education - the humanistic". It is thus apparent that for Laurie the terms 'language' and 'humanistic' are practically synonymous and that, in consequence, his conception of language as 'the supreme instrument of education ' is based on wide considerations of human thought and relationships. In a nation's literary expression of its way of looking at the world we have the highest manifestation of the spirit of race, and this national element is the most potent environmental influence in determining our education. "Whatever may be done of set purpose by schools and teachers", Laurie says (2), "national life in its various forms will always be, as it ought always to be, the dominant factor in the education of the young". Viewed from this standpoint, the function of the school is to focus the life of the nation, and to bring its best elements to bear, on the lives of the young. "It is always character, indeed, and the highest type of national character, that we as educators have to keep before us, not knowledge", Laurie goes on to explain (3). But the best national type has a universal as well as a national element in its make-up: the good citizen presupposes the good man. The national element is passed on chiefly through the vernacular, which is a reflex of the inner mental habit of the race; the universal through the languages of other nations, which give rise to self-criticism by imparting an awareness of items in which our own national life is defective. "It is the power of discriminating and of rightly reasoning, of separating the right from the wrong, the true from the false, the good from the bad, the wise from the unwise, and of giving effect to our judgments, which must always be the governing aim of education", Laurie asserts (4).

Now, it might be argued that to attain this end the best instrument would be the abstract study of logic and metaphysics, but since that kind of exercise is not possible till adolescence, when the majority of the population will have left school, we have to find a study which is at once

1. Laurie 1899 (p.426)
2. Laurie 1893 (p.2)
3. op.cit. (p.3)
4. op.cit. (p.6)
abstract and real. For three reasons the study of language is the effective answer to the problem of education: firstly, as a formal discipline; secondly, as a study in concrete thought; and thirdly, as an aesthetic subject. Laurie develops these arguments further. "By the analysis of language, then", he says (5), "you introduce the young intellect to the unconscious analysis of its own thinking in its whole range. While engaged in this exercise, the abstract powers are so involved in a concrete that is familiar to a,1, that the formal discipline is not made obtrusive and distasteful".

The study of language in its formal aspects makes the boy a logician without knowing it, and is at the same time the best preparation for the study of all or any of the sciences. The discipline yielded by this abstract study not only gives to the mind power and discrimination to find its intellectual way amid the conflicting experiences of daily life but is also moral in its effects on character. The language of elementary science might serve this purpose, but not so well as the language of literature because of the restricted nature of the subject matter. The language of ordinary human intercourse is, as an abstract study, the best possible discipline of the intellect, partly because of its intimate relation with thought itself and partly because of its universal character in presenting for analysis all the processes of mind in every possible relation of simplicity, complexity, and subtlety.

As the substance of concrete thought also, language makes a strong claim for a supreme place in education. "There is no aspect of human life, no complication of human motive, no ethical relation, no aesthetic emotion, no religious aspiration", Laurie contends (6), "which language, as a medium of intercourse, and as literature, does not convey, and, while conveying, illumine". It is through language that man enters on the inheritance which the past has bequeathed him, and the only way of introducing him to the true, the good, or the beautiful is through the utterances of the wise on these vital questions. Hence the moral, religious, and aesthetic content of literature is of even greater moment in education than the discipline afforded by the logical forms by means of which the substance has been elaborated.

"Through substance.....you may best reach form and the formal itself; through the formal you can rarely, and only by accident, reach substance", says Laurie (7), commenting on

5. op.cit. (p.7)
6. op.cit. (p.9)
7. op.cit. (p.11)
the Renaissance attitude. Perhaps the most valuable contribution that literature makes to education is the presentation of moral and religious realities to the adolescent by stirring the mind unconsciously to lofty motives and a true perception of the meaning of life. Thus, on its real side language introduces the boy to the ethical life, without his being aware of it, in the same way that on its formal side it introduces him to logic. Passing to the aesthetic claim of language as a subject of instruction, Laurie regards it as the most universal teacher of art. Art he considers to be the beautiful in a concrete form and the beautiful is a feeling of the perfection of a thing after its kind. Now, it cannot be argued that a man is moralized by art, but the transition from the aesthetic to the ethical ought not to be difficult, and aesthetic training may even awaken the spiritual in those who are inaccessible to the less sensuous forms of ideas. Painting, sculpture, and architecture all have their limits but literature expresses the whole range of man's nature under the impulse of the beautiful, particularly in its highest form of poetry. It is a potent indirect force in the formation of spiritual ideals.

In claiming that language as a logical, real, and art study is the supreme subject in all education, Laurie defines (8) his conception of language as "the vernacular language, with some foreign tongue as a necessary auxiliary". This is an important consideration, since the mind grows only in so far as it finds expression for itself, and that is not easily achieved in an alien tongue. Experimental evidence from more modern investigators supports this empiric observation of Laurie's. Huse says (9): "An extensive experimental investigation of the effect of bilingualism was made by Saer, Smith and Hughes in the case of Welsh children. Monoglot English-speaking children in the rural districts of Wales showed a considerable and consistent superiority over the bilingual children in the same districts. The results in urban communities did not show the same difference, but the study as a whole presents evidence of the possibility of retardation due to bilingual interference. The authors of the experiment quote (10) from Laurie as follows (11): "If it were

8. op.cit. (p.18)
9. Huse 1931 (p.136)
11. Laurie 1893 (p.18)
possible for a child or boy to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse for him. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances." Huse cites further evidence on this point from the researches of Jespersen and Michael West. It follows, therefore, that any other languages which may be acquired are subsidiary to the mother-tongue and derive their chief educational value from the assistance they give in bringing into relief the character of our own language as a logical medium of thinking.

In his second lecture Laurie applies his well-known distinction between training and discipline to the special case of language. "Much more", he argues (12), "can be accomplished for the education of intellect by training than the advocates of discipline have been in the habit of recognizing". It is only in so far as it is comprehended that language studied as the substance of thought is food for the mind, and for a piece of language to be grasped in all its fulness, the mental process of training is involved. Linguistic discipline, on the other hand, is a difficult exercise and requires the fixing of the mind on the generalized character of words and their inter-relations in a sentence. Because of the support of the symbols, called words, which are presented to the senses, such an exercise should not be beyond the reach of most schoolboys, but "to the neglect of the distinction between these two educational notions is due the corresponding neglect of a whole side of education"(13). This opinion is endorsed by F. T. Baker who says (14): "Of such distinction between educational values as that given by Professor Laurie between training and discipline,.......the schools took little account".

It is, in fact, enough to study what words convey, and, in Laurie's opinion, one true thought once fairly rooted in a boy's mind will do more for him than grammar, the calculus, or the syllogism will do. Simply because definition, precept, and dogma can be reduced to propositions and the pupil's progress can be measured in respect of quantity, the schoolmaster has favoured the formal and grammatical,

12. op.cit. (p. 22)
13. op.cit. (p. 24)
14. Carpenter 1913 (p.76)
whereas, Laurie adds (15) significantly, "the true process of education is a matter of quality, and is not measurable".

In the third lecture Laurie tackles the question of teaching language as a real study at three stages in the school curriculum. At the infant stage our object is to help the child to add to his stock of words and to give to those words clear and definite meanings. This we can do in seven ways: by conversing with the class on any subject suggested by the incidents of the day, by telling simple stories or fairy tales, by connecting words with the sensible things they denote in object lessons, by examining orally on reading-lessons, by repeating nursery rhymes and verses for singing and learning by heart, by calling on pupils to recapitulate in their own words stories they have heard, and by making them transcribe simple sentences from the blackboard. At the primary stage the reading lesson assumes paramount importance and is "the common ground on which the true mind of master and pupil meet" (16). The imagination and educative skill of the teacher reveal themselves here more than anywhere else, but Laurie suggests a method of procedure in six steps as follows: we bring the pupils' minds en rapport with the subject by conversing briefly about it beforehand; the ground is then prepared by explanations on the blackboard of any new words; the lesson is read the following day and the general scope examined on; individual sentences are now analysed and the meaning of words elicited from the class; the lesson as a whole is reviewed by the pupils in their own words; and finally the master enters into illustration and extension of the subject matter. At the secondary stage the emphasis should be on the analysis of the reasoning of the passage as a whole, with a view to ascertaining the principles on which the argument ultimately rests. This close study of the thought of a writer Laurie styles (17), by analogy with the training afforded by a foreign tongue, "translations from the more difficult to the more easy."

At this stage of language teaching there are 'numerous subsidiary processes' which may be applied to instruction, and Laurie comments on five of these. The first is what he calls 'word-building', and, within limits, this practice meets with his approval, largely because the 'compositeness' of English is one of the causes of its value

15. Laurie 1893 (p. 26)
16. op.cit. (p.32)
17. op.cit. (p.42)
as an educative instrument. Consequently, a conscious analysis of the elements of words is highly instructive but, except where the root is common to a family of words, it should be confined to the precise force of prefixes and suffixes. This exercise should not, however, be given from text-books but should arise casually from daily reading in order that the teaching may not be divorced from its natural associations. The very fact that the primary meaning of many words has acquired new connotations in the course of daily use enhances the value of the exercise. "The words which carry down through the ages the thought of man, and not merely his fact-observation, are complex in their nature, subtle in their relations to each other, full of imagination, rich in history", says (13) Laurie. For similar reasons the history of words - the second of these processes - is a most stimulating study for the young, yielding both moral and intellectual benefit. The third process is the detailed examination of sentences and paragraphs, on the model of a passage from Herschell. The fourth, 'paraphrasing', comes in for trenchant criticism from Laurie. "A more detestable exercise I do not know", he declares (19). "It is a vile use of pen and ink". In the case of poetry, he concedes that it may sometimes be desirable to assure oneself that pupils are really following, but what he terms 'dialysis', or the writing out of the passage in grammatical order while preserving the language of the poet, should attain this end. On the other hand, he is prepared to allow (20) that shutting the book and trying to express the substance of thought of a prose writer in the pupil's own words is 'an excellent exercise'. G. R. Carpenter (21) senses some inconsistency in this: "It is hard to see", he very cogently argues, "why the process would not be equally helpful in dealing with a similar poetical passage, and why, provided the pupil still gave his own impressions in his own words, his book might not as well be open as shut". Finally, the fifth process is reading aloud, which Laurie regards as a rare accomplishment depending on distinct articulation, deliberateness, emphasis, and phrasing. While primarily based on imitation, good reading has a certain originality about it which must be respected. The secret of it lies in the ability to read what is in a book as if we were speaking our own thoughts, but thus to subordinate oneself to an author is 'a complex psychological process' (22).

18. op.cit. (p.46)
19. op.cit. (p.50)
20. op.cit. (p.52)
21. Carpenter 1913 (p.239)
22. Laurie 1893 (p.54)
On the question of the pupil's own thought in language Laurie discusses various methods of expression. In the first place, there is 'oral composition' which should be kept up during the whole school period. In reply to any question the teacher must require from the pupils a complete sentence, since "the process of education assuredly demands that language, simply as language, be respected"(23). Secondly, the 'transcription' of passages and poems from celebrated authors and the learning by heart of good pieces of literature is an admirable exercise for giving linguistic material. Thirdly, 'written composition', or the writing of connected sentences in answer to questions on the reading lesson, is a valuable training to the expression of thought. Though opposed to the early beginning of formal grammar, Laurie believes that by the age of eight pupils should learn to distinguish between the subject and predicate of a sentence. If numerous examples are shown on the blackboard children will soon learn 'this logical groundwork of the sentence'. In such lessons the children should learn to express themselves in connection with the ordinary events of the day and not through text books; otherwise they tend to imagine that what they are required to do is hard and uninteresting instead of natural and pleasant. Fourthly, precis-writing, or the reproduction of a historical narrative so arranged as to bring out its leading points briefly and clearly, gives training in the writing of consecutive paragraphs. Fifthly, translation from a foreign language is, for several reasons, an exceedingly useful exercise for giving command of the native tongue. The provision of basic material focuses attention on linguistic expression as such; the language to be used is suggested; the contrast between the foreign tongue and the vernacular, by compelling comparison, evokes a consciousness of language; the exercise leads the pupil to weigh words, phrases, and idioms, and to decide as to the better and the worse. Of the sixth method, 'imitation', Laurie is more doubtful: he admits that imitation of an author's style may have its value, but declares (24): "I cannot attach much importance to imitation, though it had a leading place in the rhetorical schools of the ancients". Of the seventh method, essay-writing, he is even more critical. Because of its association with the false and the showy he takes objection to the word 'essay' and, somewhat surprisingly, prefers 'thesis' or 'theme'. The real objection is to the nature of the subject-matter: a narrative describing what has been seen or experienced by the pupil

23. *op.cit.* (p.56)

24. *op.cit.* (p.60)
is not out of place, but abstract subjects, such as 'fortitude', are ridiculous before the age of sixteen and ought, even then, to be based on treatises by good authors. Letter-writing is a useful form of composition and no pupil should leave school without a knowledge of ordinary business and social correspondence. Finally, there are two rules to which the teacher himself should attend; firstly, to presenting a good model of any exercise called for, and secondly, to requiring as scrupulous exactness in linguistic work in the vernacular as in a foreign tongue.

In his sixth lecture Laurie deals with the formal side of language work, which, for convenience, he calls grammar. "Grammar, as the logic of common speech", he says (25), "is a system of abstractions". There are consequently four main considerations to be borne in mind in the teaching of it. In the first place, it should not be begun before the age of eleven and hence the study of foreign languages, unless imitatively taught in the nursery, must be postponed till twelve. With this point of view Francis Storr is in substantial agreement: "The first and most obvious reform we would advocate", he declares (26), "is to confine a boy's linguistic training till he is nine or ten entirely to English. In English he should learn to distinguish the parts of speech and to analyse a simple sentence. This point we need not labour; the arguments in its favour are fully and conclusively stated in Professor Laurie's Lectures on Linguistic Method". Secondly, regarding the quantity to be taught, Laurie suggests that, since the practical aim is to help the pupil to grasp the language of literature on the one hand and to express his own thoughts on the other, no attempt should be made to teach all the formal generalizations and lists of exceptions in the first year. Thirdly, as regards the method of procedure, though the subject is formal it should be taught as a real one. Both grammar, the study of correct expression, and rhetoric, the study of eloquent expression, must be taught through examples, and by inductive (rather than deductive) methods, not as abstract systems. Finally, the logic of grammar, being the abstraction of an abstraction, is incomprehensible to the young mind, and so logical statements of word-relations are inappropriate in the school.

In his seventh lecture Laurie deals in more specific detail with the method of teaching English grammar, particularly during the first year of instruction. "It is apparent from the nature of an examination in a sentence of English, with a view to the thorough understanding of it", he says (27), "that the pupil who fully comprehends it, has

25. op.cit. (p.66)
26. P.A.Barnett: "Teaching and Organization" 1897 (p.266)
27. Laurie 1893 (p.76)
already analysed words and clauses in relation to thought, and performed an important analytico-synthetic exercise". An implicit acquaintance with grammar is already evident, and the object in teaching grammar is simply to make this explicit. The function of the teacher is to guide his pupils in their attempt to find out for themselves the generalizations subsumed under parts of speech and rules of syntax. In the early stages he must lead the way by telling them the character which they are seeking. Grammatical terminology need not be employed and in its place 'real' words, such as kind (for gender), time (for tense), should be preferred. The teacher himself may use a text-book for guidance, but during the first year the pupils should construct their own grammars in their note-books. Analysis should not go beyond general analysis of sentences from the reading-book and its purpose, though disciplinary, is mainly to increase the pupil's power of seeing through the meaning of long and complex sentences. The principal defects in current teaching practice Laurie sums (28) up as 'the piecemeal character of the teaching' and 'want of accuracy and precision', and when we consider the 'only three possible objects' that grammatical teaching can have, namely, mental discipline, the more thorough understanding of reading matter, and the art of composition, it is apparent that merely 'fair' results in a subject of this kind are of little practical value. After the age of fifteen the elements of historical grammar and comparative philology may be attempted, and this type of work Laurie considers as scientific in all its aspects as physics. "No man is a competent linguistic teacher in a secondary school", he declares (29), "who has not made a study of the comparative science of language". It must, however, always be borne in mind that the desire to attain to a measureable result in the acquisition of grammar is ruinous. "Let us have quality", Laurie says, "and quantity will take care of itself".

Laurie's treatment of the aesthetic aspect of language is most suggestive but can be discussed only very briefly. Literature serves to bring the prosaic truths of goodness and duty into the sphere of the idea and to evoke the aspirations, inherent in reason, which find expression in spiritual realities. This is not to cultivate style for style's sake, stigmatized by Laurie (30) as 'pharaism of the

28. op.cit. (p.91)
29. op.cit. (p.93)
30. op.cit. (p.93)
intellect', since style is merely the natural vestment of a beautiful thought. The emotional element and 'excitement of feeling' which characterize the pursuit and contemplation of the idea cannot be given by intellect alone. Particularly is this the case at adolescence, when the underground swell of ethical emotion and the intellectual tendency to ideas begin to be felt. "It is at this point in the growth of a mind that language as literature exhibits its supreme power as an instrument in the hands of a sensible teacher", Laurie contends (31). Although self-conscious literary criticism, as such, belongs to the later period of adolescence, the study of literature should be begun even in the infant school. At that stage we have to ensure that the prose and poetry set before the child, however simple, are good of their kind, that he understands what is read, and that by learning much by heart, he comes to feel the good in literary expression. At the age of fifteen or so we may go beyond mere impressions and attend not only to analysis of the thought, but to the beauty of expression. Past training and discipline are carried forward to this higher literary exercise, and indeed if the foundations of literary criticism are not laid early, it is likely that the adolescent will fail to be interested. As regards the method of teaching, most of the rules applicable to other subjects apply equally to literature but ought not to be applied in detail. "In the domain of literature, as in that of religion", says Laurie (32), "it may be said that rules of procedure, which may be of great use to a teacher in matters of the pure intellect, are of little value unless he is himself inspired. The genuine love of literature, the sympathetic living with the growing minds of the young, and the impulse to give to others that which enriches your own life and which you further enrich yourself by giving, supersede all rules of method". He estimates that out of ten boys who appreciate the real in language, only one really grasps the formal but five may appreciate the aesthetic. Consequently, the literary hour must be free from all pretence of teaching grammar. There is no objection to teaching the history of literature in the later years of the secondary school, but it should be closely related to the history of the country with a minimum number of dates and a maximum of real connections. An author must always be read before he is read about. So vital does Laurie consider literary studies to the culture and civilization of a nation that he

31. op.cit. (p.101)
32. op.cit. (p.113)
makes (33) the following pronouncement: "I venture to affirm that, in the sphere of religion and morality, nothing can so surely promote and sustain purity of feeling, reasonableness of opinion, and elevation of standard, as love of literature and a sympathy with nature".

In his last three lectures Laurie goes on to discuss the teaching of foreign languages, the chief value of which, apart from their practical uses, lies in the intellectual and moral benefit and finer aesthetic perception that is gained from the comparison, similarity and contrast of forms of expression with those of the familiar vernacular. By becoming critical of our own utterances we progress towards a thinking life of intelligence, as opposed to the rote and conventional life of mind. Now, the best instrument in the case of English is the study of Latin, and Laurie advances nine arguments in favour of this opinion. The teaching of every foreign tongue, he remarks (34) in passing, should rest on the grammatical side as its only sure foundation, and consequently it is impossible to separate the real from the formal in our teaching. The peculiar advantages of Latin are as follows. Firstly, as a formal and grammatical study it disciplines the intelligence more effectually than any other language. Secondly, it teaches an Englishman the relative values and functions of words better than any other language can do. Thirdly, translation from Latin is a valuable analytico-synthetic exercise, partly because the mutual relations of the parts of a complex sentence have to be deliberately considered, and partly because the highly synthetic nature of Latin brings into prominence these logical relations with exactness and precision. Fourthly, the training of the imagination which translation from a foreign language affords is enhanced by the remoteness of Latin. Fifthly, Latin, being to the extent of two-thirds our own tongue, imparts the discipline and nutrition of mind which the study of the origin and history of words inculcates. Sixthly, Latin causes the immature mind to undergo a kind of unconscious philosophical training by bringing it face to face with modern conceptions of moral duties and social relations in their origins. Seventhly, Latin is the key to the romance languages and shortens the time needed for acquiring these by a half. Eighthly, Latin, in its later stages, introduces the pupil to a conscious discernment of art in language, because of its chaste severity of form and the freshness of its distance from our own time, to a degree which a modern language cannot do. Lastly, the

33. op.cit. (p.121)

34. op.cit. (p. 126)
study of Latin, in conjunction with the life, art, and literature of Rome, has a remarkable influence on the tone of thought and character by connecting us in a living way with an apparently dead past and so making us members of a larger human society. Modern languages on the other hand, by lacking perspective, can only broaden our lives but not lengthen them.

It is a mistake to suppose that the study of Roman history and the reading of translations, valuable though they may be, can achieve all that the study of the Latin language can do. The living contact of mind with mind which constitutes true knowledge of a people comes only by contact with its language and literature. Laurie does not pretend that Latin and Greek are synonymous with a liberal education nor that classical men can alone write English, but he does consider (35) that there is "a certain wholesome severity of intellect about classically trained men in their treatment of all subjects", which is found in scientific men only in their treatment of scientific studies. Though few educationists would challenge his central thesis concerning the educational value of a foreign language, many of his arguments in favour of Latin might apply equally well to a modern language. This Laurie himself is prepared to admit (36) as a possibility in the case of French and German, though in his day the experiment had had little opportunity of being tried out. In his last two lectures he discusses the method of teaching Latin and French, on the basis of the more important principles established in Part III of 'The Institutes', but in the case of Latin there is ample evidence that he grossly overrates the capacity of the ordinary secondary school child to profit by it. His statement (37), in reply to the claim that a prolonged curriculum is required for Latin: "My experience leads me to dissent from this emphatically. In three years Latin, well-taught, and not begun prematurely, can give an amount of genuine discipline and solid instruction in words and syntax forms which is invaluable", is hardly supported by the findings of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (38). On the other hand, it has to be recognized that fifty years ago secondary education was available, on the whole, only to a selected few who were perhaps able to profit more fully by

35. op.cit. (p.133)
36. op.cit. (p.134)
37. op.cit. (p.136)
38. 'Secondary Education', 1947. (p.81)
a classical discipline than are the masses to-day. In conclusion, Laurie deprecates any implication that his championship of language should depreciate the teaching of any other subject: "Still", he says (39), "the centre round which all education of a man must revolve is, in my opinion, a humanistic centre, and I have, therefore, in these lectures ventured to restate the case for language, and say a word for words".

Sources:

(a) Primary Education.

M. Arnold: Reports on Elementary Schools, 1839

Board of Education: Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers in Public Elementary Schools, 1927.


S. S. Laurie: Primary Instruction in Relation to Education, 1867. (3rd Ed. 1883)


Scottish Education Department: Primary Education, 1946.

(b) Linguistic Method.


S. S. Laurie: Language and Linguistic Method in the School, 2nd Edit. 1893.

E. H. A. Robson: How shall we train the Teacher of Modern Languages? 1929.


CHAPTER VII

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES I.

Many of Laurie's most valuable contributions to educational thought are to be found in his four volumes of essays and addresses, which do not suffer to the same extent from the abstruseness which tends to characterize his longer works. Notwithstanding a reviewer's opinion in the 'Journal of Education' in 1888 that "even in popular addresses he never loses sight of his philosophic principles", or Foster Watson's (1) judgment that "he has never lowered his high educational demands, to sail with the popular breeze", this particular section of Laurie's writings makes comparatively easy reading. The chief difficulty with which the reader is faced is simply the complete lack of systematization in the material. The individual titles of the various volumes are not really significant, comprising merely collections of speeches and articles put together with little regard to continuity or coherence. There is in fact a great deal of repetition from one volume to another and, out of a total of forty-six collected articles, no fewer than thirteen appear in two of the volumes. Since a certain proportion of the articles under reference are reprints of the annual introductory lecture given by Laurie to the education class at Edinburgh University (often issued afterwards in pamphlet form), it seems reasonable to include in the discussion such pamphlets as did not happen to be contained in any of the collections. Any attempt to classify the contents of the four volumes must to some extent be arbitrary, but, for convenience of reference, eight main headings have been chosen (see the special appendix to Chapter VIII) as follows:

a) general educational topics, such as free schooling, examinations, discipline, class-management, and the functions of different types of school; b) primary education; c) secondary and higher education; d) the training of teachers; e) teaching method; f) Scottish Education between 1879 and 1903; g) the central administration of education; and h) educational biographies. Since the latter are all reprinted in one of the historical works, they will be dealt with in Chapter IX. Of the remaining sections the first three,

1. Foster Watson 1895.
which form a reasonably homogeneous group, will be discussed in this chapter, and the other four, more miscellaneous in character, will be reserved for the next.

a) General Educational Topics.

The address on 'Free Schooling' (No. 1) was delivered on 2nd November 1385, as Laurie's introductory lecture for the session 1385-6, and it dealt with a problem at that time undecided but exercising the minds of many educationists. The reality underlying free education, Laurie declared (2), was "gratuitous instruction of four-fifths of the community at the expense of the remaining fifth", from which it may be inferred that he was opposed to the proposed measure. History has not upheld this view - free primary education was introduced piecemeal into Scotland between 1389 and 1393 (3) - which might at first appear inconsistent with Laurie's liberal outlook in educational matters, but his arguments retain a certain relevance in view of the ever-present threat which state subsidization of education constitutes to the responsibility of parents towards their children. The historical argument that education was free in the Middle Ages is inadmissible as a precedent since, where that was the case, it was a matter of Christian charity (4). Now that schools have become an object of civil and compulsory enactment, education from being a mission becomes a recognized duty. If the parents of the country recognize it to be a necessity, it is only right that they should contribute to the cost in the form of taxes, rates, and fees. The last of these alone represents the parent's close and personal interest in the education of his children, and in an age when so much of the parent's work has necessarily to be delegated to a paid substitute, it is all the more important to retain what remains of parental responsibility. Otherwise, the child tends to become more and more the child of the state: "I do not believe in the tender mercies of state-fatherhood", Laurie says (5). "It is only where the family life is deep and strong that states can flourish". Nor does it inevitably follow that, having made education compulsory, the state is bound

2. Laurie 1383 (p.19)

3. Morgan 1927 (p.179)

4. Laurie 1388 (p.21)

5. op. cit. (p.30)
to provide the means of paying. Indeed, it would be more logical to make education free at any stage beyond the compulsory period, when prolonged attendance at school involves the sacrifice of wages. Even the argument that the state receives an advantage through the extension of education, is nullified by the fact that already it bears more than two-thirds of the cost (6). On the other hand, where inability to meet the cost has been proved, fees in individual cases could be remitted without introducing a new principle. Last of all, Laurie feared deleterious effects on the quality of education itself by the institution of gratuitous instruction (7). In the first place, he argued that attendance, while formally complying with the compulsory law, would be irregular. Secondly, the decline of parental interest in the work of the schools would lead to a deterioration of quality in the instruction given. Thirdly, since the state would have to bear nine-tenths of the increased burden, educational control would be more than ever centralized. Fourthly, there would be a decline in teachers' salaries and a tendency to employ unqualified ones in the interests of cheapness. Fortunately, these fears were not justified by the event, but the principle involved is not necessarily proved fallacious.

The address on 'Examinations, Emulation, and Competition' (No.2) was delivered at Moray House Training College, Edinburgh, in 1837. "We all know," Laurie says (3), "that this is the age of examinations", yet they are detested alike by examiner and examinee. We have however to distinguish between class, qualifying, and competitive examinations, and there is a good deal to be said for the first two forms. Class examinations, indeed, are simply an extension of the Socratic method, and continuous written tests are the only method of finding out how much the children can do unaided. By means of them alone can we discover not only what the child has failed to learn but in what respect we as teachers have failed to train him in any specific direction (9). The subject of emulation and competition was one of Laurie's particular educational bogies - emulation, as a desire to be equal to the best, is not morally hurtful, but competition, as a desire to be better than others, he regarded (10) as

6. op.cit. (p.32)
7. op.cit. (p.34)
8. Laurie 1901 (p.237)
9. op.cit. (p.240)
10. op.cit. (p.241)
the school aspect of the struggle for existence. Besides the element of mental strain introduced, it tends to give rise to jealousy, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, and to set up before the boy false life-aims. The importance of intellect is exaggerated at the expense of moral excellence, and the evil effects extend to the master, by fostering in him a mistaken conception of his duty, as well as to the pupils themselves. The argument that competition, though immoral, is inevitable in adult life, and therefore necessary in the school, is rather a reason for excluding it from a sphere where it is not inevitable (11). In order to secure what he calls 'pure emulation' (in contradistinction to its degenerate form of competition), Laurie proposes three practical remedies in the school.

Firstly, the work of a class should be well within the capacity of all its members so that each may have a chance of doing his best. Secondly, recognition should be for all, not merely for the few. Thirdly, certificates, awarded on a broad basis of first-, second-, and third-class, should be substituted for place-taking and prizes granted on definite percentages. As an example of qualifying examinations Laurie selects the ordinary M.A. of the Scottish Universities, in which the standard set up must always be a moderate one. If it were not, it would defeat the true process of education, which is a calm and leisurely process (12).

The practical considerations to be borne in mind in connection with qualifying examinations are, firstly, that their object is to discover how much a man knows of his subject, not his ignorance of specific details, and in consequence the paper should contain at least one-third more questions than have to be answered; secondly, the questions should deal with the important parts of a subject; thirdly, no questions should be set that would foil any candidate who knows his subject; fourthly, plenty of time should be allowed; fifthly, the questions should aim to test mental power in relation to the subject rather than acquired knowledge; and sixthly, the teacher's estimate should also be taken into account. "The educational and educative should be kept in view", Laurie says (13), "in examining no less than in teaching, for the examination always tends to govern the teaching". Competitive examinations are justified only when they have a professional character of competency in a specific department. Even in that case, the results should not be graded in classes but simply as a pass,

11. op.cit. (p.244)
12. op.cit. (p.248)
13. op.cit. (p.249)
or pass with distinction. Where, however, there is a fellowship or state appointment to be got, it is impossible to escape from competition in its most offensive forms. All that can be said on this score is that the principles governing qualifying examinations should guide the examiner here also, and that the paper should select the youth of native capacity rather than the one of great reproductive facility. The relative value of subjects in competitive examinations should be dependent on their educative character, but some weight should also be given to the practical considerations for which the examination is intended to select the successful candidates (14).

The address on 'Authority in relation to Discipline' (No.3) was given on 5th January 1882 at an educational congress held in Edinburgh. The propositions from which Laurie starts are that all sound discipline rests on authority as its basis, and that the object of school discipline is not to secure obedience to school rules but to create in the boy self-discipline (15). The end is an ethical one and has in view the gradual and slow formation of the character of the pupil through the inculcation of motives and the strengthening of will. Now, the authority residing in the master is one of the most potent aids to the unformed will of boyhood. This authority is based on right and, in dealing with moral and emotional beings, it must always be able to vindicate itself at the bar of right. Laurie recognizes two types of good schoolmaster (16): the first, who embodies in his own character, actions, and manner, the moral law; the second, who wields the pure might of authority and coerces boys into doing certain things with a background of physical force. The first is the true educator and really understands the greatness and dignity of his position, but the second may have many merits. McCunn says (17): "The late Professor Laurie, who knew the teacher well, does not hesitate to lay upon him the formidable responsibility of being the incarnation of Moral Law". Each type of schoolmaster has his characteristic weaknesses, in the one case leaning to the side of virtue and in the other to that of harshness. The wise master tends, in the first place, to lose sight of the might of his office and to forget that, though his authority has a moral foundation, its effectiveness lies in the firmness of his rule (18).

14. op.cit. (p.252)
15. op.cit. (p.275)
16. op.cit. (p.277)
17. McCunn, 1900 (p.111)
18. Laurie 1901 (p.278)
He ought therefore to allay any misgivings by the reflection that he stands there not in his personal capacity alone but as the representative of all that is wise and good. In the second place, his own perception of the moral justification of his authority may lead him to be always justifying his actions before his pupils (19). Now, while authoritative acts must always, if necessary, be justifiable and may even on occasion be explained with advantage to the pupils themselves, the master's authority with the boys will be weakened if he relies persistently on persuasion and explanation, instead of on command. Furthermore, the weak and unformed will of boyhood finds support in authority and law, but rarely understands abstract ideas and sentiments.

In the third place, the wise master tends to have a certain disregard for his own rules, which may have a detrimental effect on the settled order that contributes to the promotion of good habits in the young (20). The exceptional treatment of individual cases at the master's own discretion may not be morally at fault, but in a school the universal, as well as the particular, conscience has to be considered. It is not to be implied from this that the school administration is necessarily inelastic; on the contrary, freedom should be a visible part of the system and the remedy is the minimum number of regulations. "Given a limited number of general rules for the guidance of the day", Laurie says (21), all else should flow from the inspiration of the hour". As the number of rules must increase with the size of the school, the evil attending large schools is that their influence as moral seminaries is weakened the less directly it is felt. In the fourth place, the wise educator, having a moral affection for his pupils, is disposed to become too friendly with them. The principle of authority is impaired by fostering in the boyish mind a sense of equality that does not exist (22). The defects of the disciplinarian are much more serious. In the first place, there is a tendency for him to identify the authority, which is only delegated to him, with his own abstract will. The ultima ratio of an arbitrary system is physical pain which, though it may succeed with many boys, cannot possibly educate because it fails to touch the inner springs (23). In the

19. op.cit. (p.280)
20. op.cit. (p.283)
21. op.cit. (p.284)
22. op.cit. (p.286)
23. op.cit. (p.289)
second place, the disciplinarian by associating authority with his own personality, comes to consider offences as against himself personally, instead of against the law he represents. With the introduction of passion, authority becomes the mere caprice of despotism. In the third place, the disciplinarian is subject to over-severity in punishment, and even to vindictiveness. In the fourth place, he becomes the slave of his own rules. Moral distinctions are confounded when all offences, as a breach of some rule, are equally heinous — a characteristic weakness of women placed in authority (24).

To carry out in detail the effect which each of these archetypes has on the different kinds of boys is an exercise in analytic psychology not unworthy of the attention of schoolmasters. Laurie speaks of four classes of boys — the loyal, the self-sufficing, the sensitive, and the submissive. The moral fibre of all is softened, in the case of the wise master, but the effects on the self-sufficing boy are the most serious, for he develops into a moral prig (25). In the case of the disciplinarian, the effect on the self-sufficing boy is to repeat the lesson he has learned from his master in the class-room among his younger fellows in the play-ground. The sensitive boy is bullied by both the master and the bigger boys, who expend on him the latent irritation induced by the system. The submissive boy develops into a slave and a sneak. The loyal boy, it is true, may perhaps be negatively educated by perceiving in his master all that he himself ought not to be (26). The whole system, however, proceeds on the assumption of two codes of school morality, a masters' and a boys', whereas, says (27) Laurie, "there should, it seems to me, be only one code, one faith, one school".

The essay on 'Practical Hints on Class-Management' (No.4) is a brief address to young teachers (28), consisting of notes made by Laurie from time to time when visiting schools. The title is self-explanatory, and beyond the fact that it deals with questioning, reading, dictation and composition, grammar, revision, punishment, and place-taking, its slightness does not warrant more extensive treatment.

24. op.cit. (p.291)
25. op.cit. (p.292)
26. op.cit. (p.293)
27. op.cit. (p.294)
28. Laurie 1888 (p.190)
The address on 'The respective Functions in Education of Primary, Secondary, and University Schools' (No. 5) was delivered to an educational conference in Edinburgh in 1336, and it contains in crystalized form many of Laurie's most characteristic ideas on education. For the purposes of his address Laurie assumes the primary period to extend from 7 to 14 years, the secondary period from 14 to 18 years, and the university period from 18 to 21 years. If we wish to find a leading idea which will give us guidance at all these stages, Laurie believes (29) it to be contained chiefly in the word 'nutrition'. At the primary stage the educative process is nutrition by means of outer and inner feeling, training, and a certain amount of discipline; at the secondary stage it consists of nutrition by means of the hard facts of life and concrete ideals, and a maximum of discipline; and at the university stage it is nutrition in ideas, and self-discipline. Laurie expands these conceptions in the remainder of his address. The child, he claims (30), is infinitely plastic and more receptive to all the primary sentiments which distinguish the man than is the youth. In his own primary feelings is the source of all spiritual life, and out of them the teacher has to evoke, not supply, the motives for his daily acts. Nutrition of inner feeling is supplied through the presentation to the open mind of individual instances and particularly through the example of the teacher. Nutrition of outer feeling consists in helping the child to establish relations with nature and man's moulding of it in the world outside the classroom. The element of discipline is introduced by his mastery of basic skills and by learning that he must live under Law (31). The adolescent presents a different problem and, though nutrition is never absent, discipline and the lesson of personal effort govern the teacher's work. Growth, however, is not possible with repression, and the answer is to bring the youth face to face with difficulties in learning, which he has to overcome by sheer force. The formal studies of languages and mathematics should occupy more than half his time, and his moral life should be fostered indirectly by means of moral ideals in conduct. In gymnastics and organized games he should find the discipline of self-imposed law obeyed, and in great personalities the concrete ideals he seeks (32).
of the university is more closely allied to that of the primary school, for at this stage the mind demands realities, though now in the form of ideas. As the essence of university life is freedom, discipline must be inherent in the student himself. The ideas he is called upon to contemplate are 'The True', which Laurie identifies with the pursuit of scientific enquiry, 'The Good', which is equated with the comprehension of the divine purpose, and 'The Beautiful' which is the perception of the harmony of the concrete world (33). It is the intimate relations of all knowledge which the university should suggest to the student, for purely professional studies are mere 'accidents of the substance'. In consequence, the graduate it sends out to the various professions can never forget, Laurie maintains (34) "that he has once for all enrolled himself a civis of the city of Reason, of which he is a freeman".

b) Primary Education.

This section comprises four essays on various aspects of the primary school. The paper on 'The General Function of the Primary School' (No.6) first appeared as an article in Fraser's Magazine in 1880 under the title of 'The House of Lords and Popular Education'. Arising out of a debate in the upper house on the inclusion of certain specific subjects in the code, it sets out to determine the content of primary education on purely educational considerations. The true liberal tradition in education maintains that, provided content and method are wisely settled, the more education a man has the better citizen he will be, however humble his sphere of activity (35). Discontent only arises when a man is educated beyond the level of his neighbours. The real point at issue is, firstly, to determine up to what age the state is to be burdened with the cost of education, and, secondly, to decide how the child's time shall best be used. Social circumstances determine that the continuance of school life beyond twelve is improbable in the average case and beyond fifteen even in exceptional cases. Now, the weapon with which competing industrial communities wage war on each other is intelligence, and so a leading aim of the primary school must be the cultivation of the human intelligence rather than the bare technical arts of reading, writing and arithmetic (36). The materials

33. op.cit. (p.111)
34. op.cit. (p.113)
35. op.cit. (p.113)
36. op.cit. (p.120)
on which the intelligence of the young is to be exercised are what Laurie calls 'the realities of sense and thought'. By the former he means nature and man's relation to it, and by the latter the ideas and language of moral and religious truth and of imaginative literature. All this, however, is only a means to a higher end - the moral and religious education of the pupil - which cannot be produced at the state's command but depends upon the inspiration of teachers and inspectors (37). At all stages the curriculum of the people's school should repeat and expand the teachings of the infant school with such gradual additions to real knowledge from year to year as will bring the child by the age of thirteen into intelligent relations with nature. Specific subjects are thus out of place except in specific schools. "The material of school work must be of the same stuff", Laurie says (38), "as human life is made of".

If there is a reason for excluding mathematics and languages from the primary school it can only be that circumstances prevent their being prosecuted beyond the initial stages. But, since brains are not confined to a class, some provision must be made for the education of the finer spirits among the children of the people - a question of more importance to the state than to the individuals themselves. Consequently, it is right to encourage more advanced teaching in primary schools up to the age of fifteen. Ten would benefit from it for one who rose out of his social class (39). Laurie is not prepared to support the contention that the state is bound to educate all its citizens in the sense of promoting the culture of each individual (40). Its function is rather to ensure that the interests of the commonwealth as a whole are looked after and to leave the individual as free as possible. His general conclusion is that while the so-called 'specific subjects' have no place in primary education, whether of rich or poor, they do have a place in a primary school for pupils up to the age of fifteen, if the ends which a national system of education is intended to subserve are to be promoted (41).

The address on 'Liberal Education in the Primary School' (No.7) was delivered in 1888 to the Liverpool Council

37. op.cit. (p.123)
38. op.cit. (p.128)
39. op.cit. (p.130)
40. op.cit. (p.134)
41. op.cit. (p.135)
of Education, a body which existed to co-operate with the School Board in promoting advanced instruction. "If Professor Laurie had written nothing else", says (42) Foster Watson, "he would have been a prophet among educationists". The essay was written, at the high-tide of popular enthusiasm for technical education, in the year between the Scottish Technical Schools Act of 1837 and the corresponding English Act of 1839. The sacrosanctity of the primary school from premature specialization was a cause Laurie never wearied of advocating, and attempts to introduce into the upper standards of the Board Schools work-shop instruction of a distinctly industrial character provoked his strong protest (43). At the primary school stage workshops belong to organized recreation rather than organized instruction, although a certain amount of hand-work gives solidarity to the purely intellectual and moral instruction of a school. Indeed, Laurie says (44), "the method of teaching any subject whatsoever, is never adequate until the fingers have been in some way brought into requisition in connection with it". But the technical, having in view the gaining of a living, can only contribute to education, which has in view life. The artisan has to earn a living no doubt, but he has also a life to live as a rational and immortal spirit, and the primary school must put him, when yet a boy, on the right way (45). The general conduct and rational enjoyment of life can be achieved only through the humanities. Literature, history, ethics, religion, and art supply the source of power for working the hammer or the loom to the best effect (46). The study of nature has been for long left out in the cold, but it must not be allowed to drive the literary and the ethical from their supreme place for even science itself becomes truly educative in the highest sense only when it is transfigured by imagination and touched by moral emotion. Man cannot attain to his full stature except by spreading his roots deep and wide into the soil enriched by the deeds and thoughts of his ancestors. Realistic subjects must have their foundations laid in the primary school, but only as part of a general education, and all subjects must be taught with direct reference to use and the hard facts of the daily work of life. Humanism has not in modern times changed its true meaning, though it has now multiplied its

42. Foster Watson 1895.
43. Laurie 1901 (p.139)
44. op.cit. (p.140)
45. op.cit. (p.142)
46. op.cit. (p.145)
instruments. Culture is not scholarly acquisition or literary expertness but character, intellectual openness, and aesthetic appreciation (47). In consequence, "the primary, even more than the secondary school", Laurie says (48), "must be sacred to the humanistic in education", and the realistic subjects should be so practically taught as to relate them to the uses and enjoyment of life.

The address on 'Higher Primary Schools' (No.3) was read before a conference of the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1879. It was a plea for the encouragement of higher instruction in primary schools which are not within walking distance of a town high school. Higher instruction embraces the study of any branch of knowledge beyond the elementary stages and is not confined simply to subjects leading to the university. "Every subject of instruction has its beginning, its middle, and its end; and the extent, and time, and mode of teaching it is a question of the pupil's age and stage of advancement, and that is all", Laurie declares (49). The provision of bursaries to take poor country boys to secondary schools in towns would not, in Laurie's opinion, meet the case for a variety of reasons. In the first place, country parents require the labour of their boys at certain seasons in the year, a labour which is in any case educationally beneficial to the boys themselves. Secondly, the natural reluctance of parents to part with their children should be encouraged in the interests of society. Thirdly, there is a great evil in separating boys from their own class and dissociating them from the education of home-influences. Fourthly, there is a danger of strain from competition at so tender an age which would be hurtful to the community, since the likelihood is that six boys would be injured for one who would be selected for special privileges. Fifthly, the whole instruction of the school would be weakened by the removal of its finest spirits. Sixthly, the master's conception of his work would be limited to preparation for bursaries, instead of carrying on the education of the parish children as long as he can induce them to stay with him. "For these reasons, I hold that fourteen is quite the lowest age at which you can call for bursary competitors", Laurie contends (50), "as it

47. op.cit. (p.151)
48. op.cit. (p.152)
49. Laurie 1882 (p.155)
50. op.cit. (p.158)
is the lowest age at which the schoolmaster's work in a primary school would naturally cease". Up to that age there will have to be an overlap between the work of the primary school, particularly in country districts, and that of the high school.

To make advanced teaching possible the school must become an educational institution instead of a code-mill, between the upper and nether stone of which the souls of the children and the hearts of the teachers are ground to dry dust (51). To this end Laurie proposes certain reforms in existing practice. In the first place, greater freedom must be given to the teacher by awarding grants on the basis of a class test in lieu of an individual test. Secondly, the school boards must provide additional assistance by means of female teachers in the lower standards. Thirdly, to attract pupils to remain on above the sixth standard, fees should thereafter be abolished. Fourthly, the masters should receive additional remuneration for advanced work. Fifthly, local endowments should be reformed to provide the £35,000 a year necessary to ensure advanced instruction in one school in every parish in Scotland. Sixthly, two-thirds of the annual out-put of teachers must be thoroughly competent to undertake advanced work. That is only possible if their training-college course is supplemented by attendance at university classes in languages and mathematics, and to encourage such a course of action Laurie placed before the Senatus of Edinburgh University a proposal for the institution of a literateship in arts to be granted to students who had attended for two sessions and passed certain examinations (52). Lastly, inspectors of schools also require to be trained, even if they have been teachers and especially teachers of departments of study only. The fourth essay in this section, 'The Higher Instruction in Public Rural Schools' (No.9), is discussed in Chapter XI.

**c) Secondary and Higher Education:**

This section comprises four essays dealing with secondary and university education. The address on 'The Government of High Schools' (No.10) was read at a Social

51. op.cit. (p.165)

52. op.cit. (p.171)
Science Conference in Edinburgh and treats of the nature and limits of local and central authorities in the administration of secondary education. The exact date of the address is not given, but it was certainly written before January 1882 and hence it deals with a topic which had not yet been thrashed out. The duties of the governing body Laurie considers (53) to be the control of the education of the young between eleven and seventeen, the fixing of the curriculum, and the selection and remuneration of teachers. It is unreasonable to expect it to be composed of a panel of experts, but it should have a clear conception of the aim of school instruction and the relative value of studies. Consequently, it must be composed of intelligent men of the same social class as the children for whose education they are responsible. In selecting staff for the school they must apply the same criterion by choosing masters who are not only well qualified in their department but are also in personal bearing on a level with the parents of the boys they are instructing. "No man is fitted", Laurie says (54), "to be a teacher in a high school, still less in a university, by virtue alone of his eminence in a particular branch of knowledge". As regards the composition of the governing body, the general principle that all rate-payers should be directly represented has to be modified by the purpose for which the particular rate is levied. The school boards, accordingly, are incompetent for the task, but it does not follow that higher education ought to be placed under a centralized state authority. Indeed, education cannot attain its due importance in the thoughts of men, however theoretically perfect the system, until it occupies the thought of individual citizens as a private and public concern. "Interest in the education of youth", Laurie remarks (55), "educates the adult himself". The governing body of a high school, therefore, should consist of members elected by the town school boards to the extent of one-half, and of members elected by the county boards and a university for the other. The relation of the state to high schools should be merely supervisory (56) - provision of proper training for secondary teachers, inspection once in five years, and perhaps the institution of leaving examinations. As a controlling state authority for this purpose, Laurie proposes a 'minister of public instruction', advised by an Educational Council consisting of paid experts who would not change with

53. Laurie 1882 (p.200)
54. op.cit. (p.202)
55. op.cit. (p.208)
56. op.cit. (p.211)
the government of the day.

The important address on the 'Organization of the Curriculum of Secondary Schools' (No. 11) was delivered at the Glasgow Branch of the Teachers' Guild, some time after 1883 and before 1888. The theme dealt with was the necessity of taking into account practical considerations in the expansion of the secondary school curriculum, without at the same time losing sight of the ethical aim of all education. To secure such an aim, language must still continue to take precedence of all studies (57), because "it embraces the whole of human life and penetrates into the remotest of its recesses". In its concrete form as literature it educates our humanity, in its geographic relation it holds men together as a nation, and in its historic function it binds the remotest past of man with the present - the 'embalmed history of the human soul', as Laurie calls it (58). As a disciplinary study it exercises the intelligence in the making of distinctions and, by training to exactness and precision of speech, it trains to exactness and precision of thought. "The mother-tongue" Laurie says (59), "ought to be the beginning, middle, and end of all linguistic instruction", and to that extent he parts company with the classical humanists. But it is also necessary to study a foreign tongue to give full command of the vernacular, and, in the case of English, Latin ought to supplement the mother-tongue as the basis of linguistic training. Latin taught in a broad realistic way and English including extensive reading in the literature of our national history should occupy one-half of the school day (60). Having secured the ethical end of all education by fixing the leading instruments in that education, we may now allow ourselves to be guided to some extent by the second, though always subordinate, principle - namely, preparation of our pupils for their specific functions as citizens. The subject to be placed first in order as at once a liberal and utilitarian study is geography which, when properly taught, embraces all that it is necessary for a cultivated man to know of the world of nature, gives life to history, and lays a sure foundation for commercial and political knowledge. Next come arithmetic and mathematics, both because of their disciplinary value and of the manifold relations in which they stand to practical life. But for neither of these purposes is it

57. Laurie 1901 (p.157)
58. op. cit. (p.161)
59. op. cit. (p.164)
60. op. cit. (p.165)
necessary to go far in mathematics, and five hours a week should be quite sufficient for boys above fourteen, except in the case of those who wish to specialize in their last year of study (61). These studies complete all that is necessary for the thorough education of a mind, but in the school time-table there is room for more and we may now allow ourselves to be guided by purely practical considerations.

From this point of view French and German urge their claims, Laurie says (62), with irresistible force. These languages should be begun in consecutive years and should dispose of five hours per week, during the first year of study and three in subsequent ones. Greek should be provided as a specific subject for a few but not demanded of all. Singing from notation should be taught twice a week and drawing should have three hours weekly assigned to it. Manual work is especially valuable for that class of society which does not live by manual labour (63). A few lessons in the laws of health ought to be given to every boy in his last year of school attendance, the duties of citizenship should be taught in connection with the history-teaching by every competent master, and science, Laurie thinks, is sufficiently represented under a liberal interpretation of geography. The elements of physics, chemistry, and botany, if handled conversationally, can be taught with advantage, but they should be treated as parerga designed to stimulate the intelligence, and attendance at such classes ought to be optional. The main consideration is that the secondary curriculum should be organized on broad and sound educational principles, and so it follows that what is good for one is good for another, girls as well as boys, so far as general education is concerned, up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. "If there is anything in educational principles at all", Laurie says (64), "there must be a unity in educational ends and methods and a unity in the educational curriculum". He himself holds that the Hellenic conception is fundamentally sound, even in these latter days, but that, whereas culture by means of the traditional Latin and Greek is not applicable to more than 3% of secondary school boys, a public system with an organized curriculum ought to be able to give full benefit to at least 70% of those it professes to educate (65).

61. op.cit. (p.166)
62. op.cit. (p.168)
63. op.cit. (p.169)
64. op.cit. (p.171)
65. op.cit. (p.173)
Laurie's presidential address to the Teachers' Guild, delivered at Manchester in 1891 with the title 'Theory and the Curriculum of Secondary Schools and Universities' (No. 12), touched on a number of topics which were controversial at that time, including decentralization and the registration of teachers. In the main, however, it deals further with the multitude of subjects pressing for recognition in the secondary school and the oppressive examinations following close upon the teaching. Laurie sets out to consider whether it is possible under modern conditions to secure some of the concentration which was the chief merit of the schools of former times (66). No sound educationist is an encyclopaedist, he argues, but we cannot allow boys and girls to pass out of our hands at eighteen ignorant of the national life they inherit or of the living nature which surrounds them. Now, the theory of education, Laurie says (67), requires us "to transfer our attention entirely from subjects of instruction to the minds we are instructing". It then becomes apparent that a complete education ought to bring the mind into intelligent contact with representative studies and methods of investigating truth, and so develop, not encyclopaedism of acquired knowledge, but what Laurie calls 'encyclopaedism of faculty'. Furthermore, the theory of education reminds us that the aim of education is that each man may do efficiently his special work as a member of society only in subordination to the ethical purpose of human life in him (68). These two considerations encourage us to seek, as our central subject of instruction, one which will at the same time give general discipline to the mental powers and foster the growth of the ethical in our pupils. The only subject which satisfies these two criteria is, as Laurie never wearies of proclaiming, language in the form of English offset by Latin. Mathematics, as a most effective mental discipline, is also always assured a place in the curriculum. School science has many advantages but it cannot, except possibly in botany, give true mental discipline before the age of sixteen or seventeen. The educative influence of science as a ratio mundi, presenting the universe as a great system of law, is undeniable, but not at the school level (69).

66. Laurie 1892 (p.36)
67. op. cit. (p.37)
68. op. cit. (p.38)
69. op. cit. (p.45)
The best preparation that the school can make for this larger conception is not so much in the laboratory as in the more comprehensive semi-scientific explanation of things, known as 'nature-knowledge'. At the secondary stage it is certainly right to call on boys to study the abstract, but at the same time to provide also for the growth of the average intellect which can never rise above the concrete. Music and drawing, when properly organized, are recreative and refreshing subjects which should enter into the curriculum of every school. "All art in education", Laurie says (70), "stands in the same relation to mental labour as play does to bodily labour".

The question of the hour was apparently the dropping of compulsory Greek from the entrance examination to the older universities and the certain consequence of driving the subject out of a great many secondary schools. Despite his humanistic prejudices Laurie subscribes to the wisdom of such a course. A lessening of the number learning Greek does not involve a diminution in the quantity of Greek as measured by quality, and in any case the existing requirements for university entrance do not demand any real acquaintance with Greek literature, life, or aesthetic forms. If we further consider the practical aim of a university, namely the preparation of young men for the professions, it is impossible to maintain that no man shall be allowed to study in any of the higher departments if he does not first pass an examination in Greek, unless it happens to enter into his department of study (as in Theology) (71). But even from the theoretical point of view of liberal culture, the selection of subjects which interest the student should govern at the university stage. The mediaeval universities, Laurie points out (72), were characterized by a brilliant activity, with no Greek and very bad Latin. Laurie's views on the registration of teachers are discussed elsewhere, but a word may be said in passing on the subject of decentralization, in view of the recent institution of county councils in England (73). Decentralization he regarded as more important in school-work than in any other state department. National education is a modern idea, which is only yet on its way to fulfilment, and its realization is not to be found solely in the direct results attained in the schools. The idea is fostered by devolving educational duties

70. op. cit. (p.47)
71. op. cit. (p.55)
72. op. cit. (p.57)
73. op. cit. (p.65)
on the citizens themselves, and so it fulfils its work as a new element in civilization by entering into the life of the nation (74).

The last essay in the section, entitled 'The University and the People' (No.13), was a paper contributed to the Trade Unions' annual Blue Book in 1893. The chief purpose of higher academic institutions, Laurie says (75), was always 'knowledge', but with the practical aim of settling questions which bore on the personal conduct of life. In any political organization, however, only a few can give themselves up to thought with a view to knowledge and criticism of custom. The growing pressure of modern industrial competition makes it more than ever necessary, if we are to continue to advance in knowledge of the true significance of human life, to set apart institutions in which men exist to maintain the connection of the present with the past. Even if knowledge for the sake of knowledge were the exclusive function of universities, it would still be necessary to maintain them in the interests of humanity, but they have another function, namely teaching what is known to all who frequent them, and training to the various professions. Quite apart from the benefits which professionally trained men confer on the community, there is a close connection between the higher mathematics, physics and chemistry, and those industrial processes which, by promoting advances in the conquest of nature, make man's life more tolerable while it lasts (76). Thus the university, at first sight apparently remote from the life of the ordinary citizen, is in reality closely bound up with it. "No institution, accordingly, is so essentially democratic in its aims", Laurie contends (77), "for none is so universal in the benefits it confers, irrespectively of race, religion, or social position". The modern university is an amalgam of the Hebraic concept of God and His relations to man, the Greek idea of the impartial pursuit of philosophy, literature, and science, and the Roman spirit of jurisprudence, to which have been added in the course of the centuries such studies as the needs of the time have required (78).

74. op.cit. (p.68)
75. Laurie 1901 (p.176)
76. op.cit. (p.178)
77. op.cit. (p.179)
78. op.cit. (p.180)
The characteristics of the university of the future Laurie sums up under seven headings (79). Firstly, it must embrace the whole tradition of philosophy, science, and learning, with each subject represented by a professional expert. Secondly, each professor is under obligation to advance the bounds of his subject and contribute his results to the world outside the university. Thirdly, each professor must also teach his subject, and the method of investigation peculiar to it, to all who come to him. Fourthly, each university must train for all the professions and benefit the world by sending out its representatives in every department of intellectual activity. Fifthly, each university must be a self-governing and free republic of letters, with only such restrictions as the state may in the general interest determine. Sixthly, each university must train specialists so as "to secure the apostolic succession of competent representatives". Finally, each university must be a storehouse of the learning of the past and a leader of thought. No institution, however, even though satisfying these criteria, is worthy of the name University, Laurie claims (30), "which does not recognize as sum and consummation of all its teaching the science of man and the conduct of life". It is a difficult question to know how, in the midst of the numerous particular studies which claim a place, the end of all study can be kept before the student. The universities ought certainly so to adapt themselves to modern requirements as to include courses in modern literature, history, and economics, but the application of science to industrial arts should find a home in separate technical colleges. Otherwise there is a danger of their overshadowing the subjects which pertain to the higher interests of mankind. As to finance, it is quite clear that universities, if they are to do their work properly, cannot be self-supporting. "Even primary schools cannot be self-supporting, much less secondary schools, least of all universities"; Laurie says (31). Consequently, they are entitled to look to the whole body of the people for maintenance. The students who come up are presumed to have acquired both knowledge and maturity of mind. Graduation Laurie does not regard as in any way an essential, except in so far as it is a certification of professional qualification in the interests of the people. The ladder from the gutter to the university should exist for the specially able of all classes, but in the interests of the climbers themselves it should be difficult to mount. We must in fact carefully distinguish between professional fitness,

79. op.cit. (p.190)

30. op.cit. (p.191)

31. op.cit. (p.192)
attainable only at a university, and higher education, attainable to all who really care about it by means of libraries, cheap literature, and lecture courses. In Laurie's words (82), "there is a 'professional' and expert knowledge of subjects, which a university can alone fully give; and there is an educative knowledge which is not restricted within academic walls". This is not meant to imply that as large a number as possible should not go through a regular university curriculum, provided always there is not an underlying notion that man can fulfil his function only by rising into a higher social class. The two ways in which the university of the future will continue to extend its benefits and influence are, firstly, by extending its aims so as to embrace the theoretical treatment of all subjects which admit of scientific handling; and secondly, by being brought into immediate contact with the people, through adult education, which will react on it by stimulating its vitality (83).

Sources:
(for Laurie, see Chapter VIII)

a) Section A (General) -
H. Craik: The State in its Relation to Education (3rd Edit.) 1914
J. G. Fitch: Lectures on Teaching, 1831.
J. MacCunn: The Making of Character, 1900.
E. Thring: Theory and Practice of Teaching, 1883.
(for Section B, see Chapter VI)
b) Section C (Secondary Education) -
P.A.Barnett: Teaching and Organization, 1897.
d) Training of Teachers: In this section there are six essays, written between 1876 and 1891, all of which are chiefly concerned with the question of the university preparation of teachers. The period covered coincides with the time-lag between the foundation of the Bell chairs of education in Scotland and the institution of the university training departments in England, and although a similarity of argument characterizes the individual essays, this section as a whole must be accounted a very important part of Laurie's writings. It is natural to begin with Laurie's own inaugural address, delivered at Edinburgh in March 1876 under the title of 'The Teaching Profession and Chairs of Education' (No. 16). Its importance was recognized by contemporary educationists: Fitch himself said (1), "Those who doubt whether a philosophy of education is possible, may in part be reassured by reading Professor Laurie's inaugural address at Edinburgh. In that address the meeting-points of pedagogy with ethics, physiology, history, and psychology, as well as with the practical work of life are skilfully indicated, and the range of thought and of duty open to a professor of education is well mapped out"; David Ross, principal of the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow, speaking of the advantages of university training, said (2), "For a detailed account of these advantages Professor Laurie's new volume on the 'Training of Teachers' may be consulted, especially his inaugural address delivered on the occasion of the founding of the chair of the institutes and history of education in the university of Edinburgh"; and, more recently, Rich speaks (3) of it as a noteworthy address, "significantly dealing with the position of education as a university subject". Laurie himself observes (4) that as the first occupant of a chair new to the universities of Great Britain he will be expected not merely to correlate the new subject with other university studies but also to vindicate for it a right to the promotion it has obtained.

The desirability of training teachers both in the subjects they are afterwards to teach and the art they are to

1. Kay 1883 (p.461)
2. Ross 1883 (p.5)
3. Rich 1933 (p.258)
4. Laurie 1901 (p.1)
profess has been already admitted by the establishment of training-colleges, but there still remains the question of the professional instruction of those aspirants who pass through the universities. It might be argued that this particular part of their training is best given in training-colleges, but Laurie contends (5) that if training-colleges are to be considered equally competent with the universities to handle the question of education as a science and art, they are equally competent to teach any other subject on the same level. It is true that the universities have been slow to realize that they are being gradually dissociated from the teaching profession, but the danger must be obviated by the institution of a recognized university curriculum for teachers if the education of the country is not to be imperilled. A chair of education, therefore, by providing professional instruction for teachers, at once directly benefits the schools of the country and gives academic standing to the teaching profession (6). It is, moreover, as completing the preparation of teachers for their profession and not because of any claims which the theory and history of education can make to be regarded as a subject of general university discipline that it seeks admission to a university curriculum (7). It is sometimes maintained that it is not the function of a university to teach for professions, but modern universities have to be compromises between the theoretical and the practical. Another objection to education as an academic study is that it does not admit of exact treatment. Admittedly, education is not a 'science', in the sense of starting from certain axiomatic statements and, by the help of a few postulates, building up a fabric in which each part rises out of another by necessary sequence (8), but nor are metaphysics, ethics, history, economics, and jurisprudence. Such studies, which truly constitute the life of man, are to be comprehended under the term 'philosophy'. Finally, the misgivings of those who fear that the chair of education will be utilized for the airing of theoretical views should be allayed by the fact that its practical aim of preparing teachers for their profession is inconsistent with windy talk. So much for the apologetics of the subject.

Laurie now discusses his conception of the educative process as expounded to prospective teachers. The education of every human being is determined to a large extent

5. op.cit. (p.8)
6. op.cit. (p.11)
7. op.cit. (p.14)
8. op.cit. (p.18)
by potent influences of heredity and environment, in assimilating which the individual is essentially a passive agent. Now, the business of the educator, while it cannot ignore such activity, is concerned rather with the conscious and active elements of moral and intellectual growth (9). His aim is to give mainly discipline so that each man may be enabled, within the limits of his capacity, to realize for himself the type of humanity and to exhibit a capability for wise and vigorous action in his relation to others. Such a result will not be attained by forcing more and more subjects into the curriculum and applying the pressure of constant examinations by outside authorities. The materials of education, it is true, should change with the changing conditions of life but the inner form must remain ever the same (10). The formal end of all education is power, which, however, cannot work in vacuo, and so we must discern also a real end. Culture, provided we regard it as a continuous process and not as a stable product, may be accepted as the content of the educational idea. Intellectual culture will be most thorough when a man has a leading subject as the centre of his activity, but this does not imply that every man must be a specialist. Similarly, moral culture is possible only where there is a centre round which all the moral and aesthetic elements of his nature turn, and that centre is God Himself. The thread of culture runs through all education alike, and we must guard against the error of confounding growth of soul with intellectual acquisition (11). The highest ends of education may be attained in lives which are limited in their scope, brief in their duration, and barren of opportunity. The processes tending to culture and to power are only roughly distinguishable, for the purposes of exact thought, and in practice they unite together in the ethical life, which is all in all.

It is a difficult task to trace the subtle processes whereby the moral and intellectual life of man is built up, but it may be assumed that there is a way in which nature works by discipline to the growth of power and by knowledge to the growth of culture. On the analysis we institute to ascertain that way rests the whole system of methods of instruction, which ought to constitute one-half of

9. op.cit. (p.21)
10. op.cit. (p.24)
11. op.cit. (p.28)
the course of study. The determination of the different stages of mental growth determines in turn the period at which the various subjects of instruction are to be presented (12). On the question as to what materials contribute most surely to the ethical life, the philosophy of education is a poor affair if it cannot, out of the materials claiming attention in the schoolroom either because of immediate use in the work of life or as essential prerequisites of ethical activity, find instruments for its purpose (13). In the treatment of the subject of education it is not necessary to profess any theory of the body-mind relationship, but we know that the mind's activity must conform to the natural laws of the body. The advance of physiology into the sphere of psychology has, consequently, been viewed by many of the introspective school with unnecessary alarm (14). Though it can never occupy the ground of the older psychology, it is an important auxiliary to the study of mind as an investigation into the material processes in which psychical functions are involved. After having studied the ends of education and the rational grounds of pedagogic methods, the teacher is in a good position to survey the process of historical evolution, which furnishes a continual illustration of the philosophy of education. There is much, too, to be learned from the study of the educational organisation of other countries and the systems of those who have been eminent as educational reformers (15). Such a course will not merely fit the teacher for his professional work better than at present but will benefit him by the mental discipline it affords. "Allying himself with the long history of his profession, he will regard with that self-respect, which is alien to self-conceit, his position as the responsible distributor, within his sphere, of the accumulated knowledge and civilization of his time" (16).

Of less importance was the introductory address given by Laurie to the first class of education, in the autumn of 1876, under the title "The University Training of Teachers" (No. 17). On that occasion he maintained two particular theses: in the first place, the university training of a certain proportion of teachers was necessary not only to the schools themselves, but also to the social standing of the teaching profession, and

12. op. cit. (p. 30)
13. op. cit. (p. 33)
14. op. cit. (p. 36)
15. op. cit. (p. 39)
16. op. cit. (p. 40)
secondly the universities provided the only means of affording the teaching profession a career, essential to the life and vigour of every profession (17). As permanent national institutions the training colleges were doing their work well, but Laurie felt that the minority of trainees whose previous education fitted them for a higher training should be encouraged to take advantage of the universities (13). He considered it an undesirable state of affairs that a teacher of twenty-two should earn as much as at fifty-two, and would institute a gradation of teaching rank in which the best posts should be open only to those with a university qualification, though not necessarily completed during their period of training (19). The remainder of the address dealt with the defects of the code of 1873, discouragement of the higher subjects and the award of grants in such a way as to cause the teacher to "spend his energies on the dunces and laggards of the school in the teeth of nature and providence" (20). The relevance to Laurie's topic consisted in the fact that, whatever was done about the grant-system, instruction in the higher branches could be given only with an adequate supply of teachers qualified to give it (21).

'The Philosophy of Education in its Relation to the School and the Teacher' (No.14) was a very long article contributed to the 'Princeton Review' about 1880. It is a plea to consider the uses to which the machinery of education, now that it has made some headway in most civilized countries, should be applied (22). The education of a country is determined by its philosophy, by which is meant the beliefs of a period regarding man, his nature and destiny. In the narrower sense, as applied to education, it is, strictly speaking, only psychology (23). Since it is vain to expect to recruit the ranks of the teaching profession with men and women conscious of having a 'message' for children, we must consider how best to create inspiration in the multitude of uninspired but conscientious teachers. A spiritual aim is required but also a certain mould of character. Now, the philosophy of the human mind, Laurie claims (24), provides not only a scientific basis

17. Laurie 1882 (p.94)
18. op.cit. (p.97)
19. op.cit. (p.100)
20. op.cit. (p.114)
21. op.cit. (p.117)
22. op.cit. (p.57)
23. op.cit. (p.58)
24. op.cit. (p.65)
for the teacher's work but also a means of evoking the true spirit of the educator. The fact that this has not been recognized earlier is attributable, partly to the comparatively recent acceptance of the duty of educating the people at all - "state necessities must long forerun state ideals," he remarks (25) -, and partly to the backward state of the science of psychology. There follows an extremely interesting survey of the growth of educational thought from Plato to Comenius in which Laurie shows that "the art of education rests on the methodology, and the methodology of education, again, rests on psychology, while psychology is only a part of our larger philosophy of man" (26).

It is significant that of later educational writings Laurie mentions only the work of Locke and Spencer, and his opposition to the views of the latter is considerably modified at this early period of his thought (27). Since no educational theory can rise higher than the philosophy from which it emanates, the moral ideal we set up before the child must have in it the elements of infinitude that it may call forth an infinite striving. To fail to accord to man something more than a power of reacting against external impressions and of co-ordinating these by virtue of association, is to miss the true meaning of his existence. Hence, in the education we seek to give the young, discipline becomes our chief intellectual end as educators (28).

If it is to replace native inspiration in the teacher, therefore, the philosophy of education must give unity of purpose and method.

The paper on 'Professorships and Lectureships on Education' (No.13) was read at an international conference in London in 1884. Laurie interprets the prescribed topic to imply the propriety of instituting professorships of education in the universities (29). Instruction is the evoking of a living activity in the pupil and, like all natural processes, there is a way of doing it. To deny this is to condemn oneself to make boys learn things by rote and to inflict physical suffering if they fail to do so. A statement of the way of understanding is general method, which is essentially the same for all

25. op.cit. (p.68)
26. op.cit. (p.80)
27. op.cit. (p.82)
28. op.cit. (p.88)
29. Laurie 1901 (p.42)
subjects, but since its application to the various branches of instruction is not always obvious, the teacher must study also particular methods (30). There is, further, an order in time in which each subject of instruction is to be begun, depending ultimately on the growth of the mind, and here he is brought face to face with physiological conditions, especially in their relation to the nervous system. Finally, he has to consider the ends he has in view in instructing and, as determined by this, the materials of instruction. At this point he passes from the work of the mere instructor to that of the educator and, in studying the conditions of the growth of the moral and spiritual life, he studies psychology in its deepest philosophical relations (31). The question of professorships of education entirely depends on the view taken of education itself. Laurie discusses and refutes three objections commonly urged against the study of education: in the first place, it is argued that teachers will be converted into theorists; secondly, there is no guarantee that the system of philosophy on which it is based will be sound; and thirdly, teaching is so much an art that practice under a competent headmaster is more beneficial than any course of lectures (32). If, however, it is conceded that the schoolmaster as an educator should study education, the question as to where the professorships of education should be placed remains to be settled. The answer is in the universities, where future teachers of all but primary schools ought to receive the rest of their preparation. This might be advocated on grounds of convenience and economy alone, but quite apart from that the universities should recognize education as the highest of all applied sciences (33). The practical problem of securing students would be solved by a teachers' registration act, and the universal recognition of the professional basis as the same for all grades of teacher would have the effect of emphasizing that all have the same aims in their work, the difference consisting mainly in the age of the pupils and the material which they use to attain a common educational end (34).

The most significant of all these addresses was one delivered to the Teachers' Guild in London in 1390, entitled 'The Philosophy of Mind and the Training of Teachers' (No.15). On that occasion Laurie took for his text:

30. op.cit. (P.45)
31. op.cit. (p.47)
32. op.cit. (p.49)
33. op.cit. (p.52)
34. op.cit. (p.54)
"Sound practice is sound theory unconscious of itself; sound theory is merely sound practice conscious of itself" (35).
The born teacher is endowed with educational genius, which may be said to consist in a knowledge of his subject and sympathy. Now, sympathy in its scholastic reference has three distinct connotations (36). In the first place, as a genuine interest in the young and a strong desire to help them on their way, it is an indispensable qualification of everyone who teaches with a view to educate. Secondly, as a sentimental affection for young people which endeavours to gain their regard by stooping to their level, it is a vice of what, in moderation, is a virtue. Thirdly, as an intuitive perception of the mental condition and processes of others, it is a rare gift that can only be approached by those not so endowed through a conscious study of the mental processes which the born teacher unconsciously feels and instinctively practises. It is possible, therefore, to become conscious of the art of education and, in so far as the philosophy of mind can be taught and learned, the secret of the sympathy of educational genius can be unveiled (37). The battle for the recognition of methods of teaching has been won in most fields of education, but the philosophy of mind, as the basis of all methods, is still fighting its way up. Nettleship's essay on the theory of education in Plato's Republic Laurie singles out as the most admirable of all modern treatises on the philosophy of education. In this connection Foster Watson remarks (38): "One passage in one of Laurie's lectures seems to me the highest pitch marked in contemporary educational enthusiasm. 'I say with confidence, that if a clever young graduate who has been teaching for a year or two without thinking much about the great question of education, will shut himself up for a week with Nettleship's essay, he will come out into his school afterwards (to use the phraseology in which our Scottish Calvanistic fathers brought us up) convicted, converted, regenerate, sanctified. A new sun will be shining by day, and a new moon by night. As a teacher, he will live henceforth in the atmosphere breathed by the minor gods' (39). Such an utterance has the almost irresistible effect of making a man feel education to be a gospel, and teaching, a mission. It is the enthusiasm which was formerly attached to learning by the Revivers. The imparting of knowledge is treated as being.

35. op.cit. (p.58)
36. op.cit. (p.60)
37. op.cit. (p.64)
38. Foster Watson 1895
39. Laurie 1901 (p.69).
It is objected that, though there may be an art, there is no science of the art of education. Now, Laurie maintains, it is not necessary to have a philosophy of education as unquestionable as Euclid before teachers can be asked to study it. "The philosophy of education", he says (40), "is simply the groundwork of the art, as that groundwork is to be found in the nature of the mind of man, the ends of man's existence, and his relations to other men". Within the philosophy of mind is comprised not only the analysis of the processes of intelligence but the successive movements involved in building up conscience and disciplining to duty. A man cannot know anything otherwise than by "a movement within him which is as definite and determined as are the laws of the physical world" (41). The way of learning is the method of teaching, but the study of methods, so far from obliging the teacher to be always squaring his mode of instruction with them, simply shapes his mind to his work, deepening and enriching his professional endowment. The subjects of the curriculum are to be regarded as merely the raw material whereby the teacher discharges his educational and ethical functions, and for these he has to be trained. The reason why the great body of secondary schoolmasters are still not convinced of this is that, in accordance with a bad tradition, they insist on regarding themselves as teachers of this or that subject, and not as teachers of minds by means of subjects. Once they realize that they teach minds they will see the necessity of studying mind (42).

The culminating essay in this section was Laurie's inaugural address at Liverpool University College in 1891, entitled 'The Schoolmaster and University Day Training Colleges' (No.19). The institution of university training departments was to be attributed to no feeling of hostility to residential training colleges but to two practical reasons. Firstly, more facilities for training were wanted, and secondly, if the university colleges springing up over England were to succeed in attracting students they had to educate for the professions (43).

40. op.cit. (p.70)
41. op.cit. (p.72)
42. op.cit. (p.77)
43. op.cit. (p.80)
But there were also educational reasons for their existence, which could be summed up as follows. In the first place, though they were then training for primary schools, Laurie believed that before long their principal work would be the preparation of teachers for higher-grade elementary and secondary schools (44). In any case, for the training of every grade of teacher university institutions are to be preferred to specialized training-colleges simply because contact with men pursuing diverse studies counteracts the tendency to pedantry. In the second place, contact with experts in all departments of knowledge raises the student's standard of what it is to know any subject and stimulates him to further effort. A teacher who is not always learning is a bad teacher, however skilfully he may produce certain 'results'. In the third place, the university-trained schoolmaster works with a dignified consciousness of his scientific function, and not as a mere craftsman. Finally, as a graduate he goes out a member of an academic brotherhood with a certain standard of life and code of manners. Though such characteristics are not always present in university products, it is only universities that produce them. Now, while the broad interests of the academic life are necessary to the growth of the student, there must also be the definite aim. The university training departments have to remember that they are preparing for a profession, for which a master of method and a practising school are essential. But a chair of education is also an indispensable part of such a college, and the scientific study of education should count as one of the subjects qualifying for an arts degree (45). The authorities of these institutions should be careful in selecting for training only those who, having passed the preliminary examination, can proceed to a full degree. The graduation course would comprise a term of logic and elementary psychology followed by two terms of lectures on the theory and history of education. After graduation, Laurie suggests a term's practice in a higher-grade elementary school and a second term in a good secondary school. During this part of their training the students would be put through a course of demonstration and criticism lessons, and at the end of it they would have to teach a lesson before the professor and some external assessor (46). "Professional qualification, theoretical and practical (such as I have sketched)," Laurie claims (47), "can alone, let me repeat, make the teaching body truly a profession".

44. op.cit. (p.83)
45. op.cit. (p.86)
46. op.cit. (p.89)
47. op.cit. (p.92)
e) Methods of Instruction: This section consists of five essays dealing with methods of teaching various school subjects. 'The Claims of Latin as a Subject of Instruction' (No.20) was an early statement of the case for language in preference to science as the core of the secondary curriculum. As an educational discipline, whichever we consider, the number of boys who take naturally to it will always be found numerically disappointing (48). But before we are really in a position to consider the problem two assumptions must be made: firstly, a modicum of scientific knowledge ought to be given to all pupils, and secondly, those pupils without linguistic aptitude, who do not contemplate a university career, may be more accessible to a systematic course of instruction in science. Since both language and science deal with realities - man's nature and physical nature respectively - and with discipline, the point at issue is to prove that the content of language is of greater value and the discipline afforded more delicate and thorough than those of physical science. As regards content, Laurie claims (49) that the results of a classical training, though they are neither ponderable nor commensurable quantities, tend to produce a quality of mind rarely attainable in any other way. The claims he makes in the sphere of discipline are threefold. In the first place, as words stand for things which are either real or notional, a scientific training can be said to have an advantage only in respect of the former, but, in point of fact, men trained in a special department of science fail to use with precision even the language of that department (50). In the second place, the training in logic which a highly inflected language provides, habituates the mind to the search for truth and exactness and produces a scientific habit of intellect (51). In the third place, the intellectual processes of differentiation, generalization and reasoning required in linguistic exercises must be sought out anew with every sentence and are not simply offered as scientific results to be tabulated and acquired by memory (52). In this respect, Laurie is satisfied that, owing to the contrast with our own mode of thinking and its perfection of structure, Latin has a superiority over any modern tongue. In an overburdened curriculum Greek can be retained only for the few who choose it as a special subject,

48. Laurie 1882 (p.214)
49. op.cit. (p.218)
50. op.cit. (p.219)
51. op.cit. (p.223)
52. op.cit. (p.226)
but to exclude Latin as well as Greek from the obligatory curriculum would be, in his view (53), an educational calamity.

It can hardly be maintained that 'Geography in the School' (No.21), an address delivered in Edinburgh on 16th July 1886 to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, is one of Laurie's best papers, but his treatment of the subject is thorough and competent. He considers in turn the what, why, and how of geographical instruction. The content of school geography is defined (54) as "a co-ordination of the elementary aspects of many sciences in their relation to the dwelling-place, the life and the works of man". The reason for teaching it is that, because of the matter for independent thought and judgment in the affairs of life of which it is so prolific, it has important intellectual and moral effects in the education of youth (55). The how involves the application of the ordinary rules of method to the teaching of geography. The most important of these is a consideration of the end in view, which must govern the instruction throughout. Secondly, geography, like every other subject of instruction, must be begun in the infant school. Thirdly, geography is more than just topography, in the same way that history is more than chronology, and since we are dealing with a realistic subject all our teaching must be realistic (56). Fourthly, teaching, like charity, begins at home, but after the children have been taught something about their parish and native county, the next step is to introduce them to the globe. The latter should be at least three feet in diameter and care less about absolute accuracy of detail than about effect (57). One rule of method which is particularly applicable to geography teaching is that, in any subject where there is a mass of particulars, only the leading particulars should be taught until they are firmly rooted in the pupil's mind. Consequently, atlases and wall-maps to be used for teaching, in contradistinction to consultation, should contain only the names necessary to know (58). Finally, as a subsidiary to sound method in teaching geography, Laurie concludes with a brief but suggestive treatment of geography in literature (59).

53. op.cit. (p.229)
54. Laurie 1901 (p.202)
55. op.cit. (p.204)
56. op.cit. (p.208)
57. op.cit. (p.212)
58. op.cit. (p.215)
59. op.cit. (p.216)
The essay on 'History and Citizenship in the School' (No.22) is, on the contrary, a most interesting and able piece of work. History is to be regarded as the introduction of the young mind to the record of the past of the race to which the pupil belongs, whose traditions it will be his duty to pass on to the next generation. The value of this lies in the fact that by studying past greatness we learn to strive to be worthy of our forefathers, and by understanding the causes of past errors we learn to understand better the questions that arise in our own time and to act under a sense of responsibility to those who are to succeed us (60). History in the school is a vehicle of moral training and a means of strengthening the social bond. As a study it comprises six elements: firstly, antiquities or an interest in facts and things of the past for themselves and without regard to their wider relations; secondly, chronology or the story of the long progress of political humanity in time; thirdly, annals or the acts of men who specially influenced events in an accurate sequent series; fourthly, causal relations or the effect of events on the life of the community as a public ethical polity; fifthly, background or the environmental factors determining a nation's political activity and industrial growth; and sixthly, ideology or the thoughts and ideals of social life which have also had a determining influence on events. "If we reflect for a moment", Laurie says (61), "we shall see that the writer of the history of even a single nation in the large and rational sense ought to be possessed of an intense sympathy with humanity, the imagination of a poet, the thoughtfulness of a philosopher, the knowledge of an encyclopaedist and the gifts of an orator". There is a twofold purpose in teaching history in school: in the first place, to enrich the humanity of the pupil with a view to an ethical result in life and character, and in the second, to evoke the personal attachment to his nation's past, present and future, known as patriotism.

Up to the age of fifteen or sixteen the general method of teaching is through chronology and annals. History cannot be reasoned history to a boy and is only very partially so even at the age of sixteen, but it can always be an epic, a drama, and a song. As the pupils increase in years a certain number of dates must be known for the sake of the time-sequence and certain facts as connecting links, but the younger the pupils the more sparing must we be of causal explanations and of dates (62).

60. op.cit. (p.254)
61. op.cit. (p.259)
62. op.cit. (p.262)
general principle of procedure is that the story should be first
told to the pupils, then read to them, and finally read by them.
Some knowledge of 'existing men and events can alone provide the
imaginative material required for comprehending the past and
remote, and accordingly the teaching of history proper should be
postponed until the eleventh year. Prior to that the only
direct historical teaching would be the learning by heart of
national ballads. But even when the course of instruction begins
to be continuous, history is always a story to be told and the
wandering minstrel of old is our model teacher (63). From twelve
to fifteen the time-sequence of events should be emphasized and
a text-book, in the form of a historical reading-book, may be
put into the pupil's hands for the first time. From fifteen to
eighteen history can be taught as a rational sequence and the
moral instruction which it suggests can be directly enforced.
During this period the pupil may begin his history over again,
combining it with the general literature of the country as exem-
plified in historical dramas and novels. In the last year of
school a conversational course of lectures on the history of the
world should be given, conveying, it is true, very general
notions only, but the culture and impulse to know which are
given by generalizations are, Laurie claims (64) unquestionable.
Finally, throughout the secondary stage history must be made to
teach citizenship and something of the constitution. The gen-
eral outlines of social and civil relations, local and municipal
organization, and the duty of subjects to the State ought to be
impressed. But all that can be taught effectively must arise
out of the history teaching from day to day, for the value of the
Teaching is not in the knowledge it gives so much as in its deep-
ening the sense of national continuity and social unity. For that
reason the amount of instruction aimed at should be restricted in
its range, and text-books of 'civics' are to be religiously
avoided.

The two essays on religious education, though
dealing specifically with Sunday School work, are full of suggestive
material for the teacher of religion in an ordinary school. The
first, entitled 'The Religious Education of the Young' (No.23), was
an address delivered to the Edinburgh Sabbath School Teachers'
Association in 1386. In religious instruction, Laurie observes (65),

63. op.cit. (p.266)
64. op.cit. (p.271)
65. op.cit. (p.219)
there can be no such peculiarity as to exempt it from the principles that govern method in education generally, but the teacher's goal is not so much a case of knowledge as the religious result in the mind of the pupil. It is, certainly, the most difficult and delicate of all subjects of instruction, and a man who can give a really good religious lesson can give a successful lesson on any subject which he knows, simply because the subtleties of spiritual life demand more subtle handling than any ordinary school subject. The religious instructor, to be successful, should fulfil certain conditions which Laurie enumerates under twelve heads.

In the first place, he must have the desire to teach. It is vain to take up Sunday School work merely from a sense of duty in teaching. Secondly, he must have belief in the children he teaches, namely that they have an innate capacity for spiritual truth. He must presume that in a rudimentary way they are crying out for a knowledge of God and divine things in the depths of their nature. Thirdly, he must restrict his teaching to what meets the children's present needs. He should confine his instruction to the spiritual truths which have an inherent power of expansion in their encounter with the teachings of life. Fourthly, he should give milk to babes, by which Laurie means that selection should be guided not only by what is essential but by what is easy and comprehensible. Spiritual growth cannot be antedated, for God has set down an order in the manifestation of himself to our souls. Fifthly, he must prepare his teaching, carefully making up his mind as to what he means not to say, as well as what to say. Otherwise, the whole effect of a good lesson may be spoiled by introducing matter which is either too difficult or else irrelevant to the subject in hand (66). Sixthly, he has to determine the substance of his instruction. Since there can be no religion without dogma of some sort, the teacher must make up his mind as to the essentials to be taught, as for example, the sense of God and the immortality of the human spirit. Seventhly, he should preserve a proportion in his teaching, so that the essential is not confounded with what, though desirable, is only subsidiary. Otherwise, attention will be diverted from what is vital (67).

In the next place, he should speak the truth. As daily conduct is the test of a man's belief, figurative scriptural utterances, such as turning the other cheek, must be taught with the necessary explanations and qualifications, and not absolutely. Ninthly, he should preserve an order in his teaching. The young have difficulty in grasping the abstract and

66. op.cit. (p.223)
67. op.cit. (p.226)
general, and so Christianity should be taught as a life and a story, not, except for the essential truths already spoken of, as dogma. Tenthly, he must evoke reverence, the most vital part of religion, by stirring the feelings. It is a natural and needful expression of the inner life of children, but there are three auxiliaries which may be utilized. The first is the memorization of passages in the Gospels and Epistles which particularly appeal to children and furnish them with spiritual armour for the battle of life. The second is music, which has a subtle influence in the school and is a commander of truth (63). And the third is the style of examining, which should not be preceptive and magisterial but always conversational and as of a fellow-learner with the pupils. Next, the teacher must attend to the manner of his teaching, which should be reverent and earnest. With the young manner is so potent that it may defeat the matter of instruction. Lastly, he should have faith in his teaching, for it cannot fail to have results if the matter has been wisely selected, a sound method adopted, and a fitting manner assumed. Nothing is lost in the spiritual, any more than in the material, world. The practical issues of religious teaching should not be forgotten, namely that Christianity is a life. Hence, it is in his daily relations as buyer and seller that the boy's chance is given him. The power of the Christian idea lies in the fact that the way of earning a living is the way of life (69). In conclusion, let the teacher rest assured that whatever may be the result of his instruction as regards others, his own reward is certain. The saying 'docendo discimus' is especially true of moral and religious teaching, for the depth and significance of spiritual ideas are fully known only when we try to impart them to others.

Not only the theme but the substance of the other address, 'Method and the Sunday School Teacher' (No.24), is strongly reminiscent of the preceding essay. The question of method, Laurie suggests (70), is best approached through a consideration of the characteristics of the Sunday School and of the kind of teaching supposed to be given in it. The two characteristics are that the Sunday School is voluntary and that it is a substitute for parental teaching. Now, if school, teachers, and attendance are voluntary, there should be no preparation of lessons, no pressure, no imposed tasks, no competition, no prizes, no irritability, and no punishment. If it discharges the duty of a parent, the relation of the Sunday School teacher to the young

68. op.cit. (p.231)
69. op.cit. (p.236)
70. Laurie 1892 (p.74)
should be parental and his teaching persuasive rather than dictatorial (71). As for the kind of teaching to be given, it is religious instruction and not theology, in the sense of a dogmatic and formulated statement of the nature of God, of human relations to God, and of God's relations to the life of man (72). The religious ideas which have to be conveyed are three: firstly, the recognition of a causal spirit and the feeling of our dependence on it; secondly, an infinite aspiration after union with the spiritual ideas of goodness and truth; and thirdly, the feeling of sonship in God as an infinite father calling forth our reverence and worship. The child has, therefore, to learn that God is a spirit who made all things and is everywhere, that He is perfect in goodness and wisdom and we are to grow like Him, and that He is a father who reveals Himself to man in Christ. It is natural, Laurie claims (73), for the human mind to accept these universal truths, in their simple concrete form, even in childhood.

f) Education in Scotland: This section comprises seven essays dealing with Scottish educational matters throughout almost the whole period of Laurie's tenure of office in the chair of education. The first address was delivered in 1379 to the Social Science meeting at Aberdeen, with the title 'Secondary Education in Scotland' (No.25). In it Laurie surveys the aims of the Association for the Promotion of Secondary Education in Scotland, which had been founded in 1376. He began by remarking that in the period between the Renaissance and the Reformation the number of high schools in Scotland was greater in proportion to the population than at present (74). As the primary education of the country had been adequately catered for by the establishment of 982 school boards under the Act of 1372, the object of the Association was to "complete the half-built structure of Scottish education" (75). Eight measures were proposed to effect this aim. The first was the reform of endowed institutions which existed already. The second was the utilization of a considerable proportion of the annual revenue of £175,000, derived from educational endowments, for the higher instruction of those who, though fitted for it, were unable to pay. The third was the appointment of an executive body to deal with the whole question of endowments, eventually realized in 1332 in the form of the Balfour of Burleigh Commission (76). The fourth was the

71. op. cit. (p.73)
72. op. cit. (p.83)
73. op. cit. (p.86)
74. Laurie 1882 (p.187)
75. op. cit. (p.190)
76. op. cit. (p.192)
support of existing burgh schools and the establishment of additional ones where required. If every town of more than 2000 inhabitants had its own high school, a total of 91 (in addition to any already existing endowed institutions) would be required. High schools of the first grade, such as the Edinburgh High School, could not exist in all these places, but 13 first rank, 53 second rank, and 25 third rank high schools would meet all reasonable requirements (77). If treasury grants were issued to burgh school boards, in the absence of suitable local endowments and depending on an equivalent sum being raised by the board locally, the cost to the exchequer would not exceed £20,000 annually. The fifth measure was the fostering of secondary instruction in rural primary schools for the sake of those pupils not fortunate enough to be resident in the vicinity of the 91 proposed high schools. The sixth was the provision of a suitable number of university trained teachers to staff these schools to carry higher instruction up to the age of 15. The seventh was the application of £20,000 of existing endowments to the annual provision, under clause 46 of the Act of 1372, of bursaries tenable at high schools. Finally, the eighth measure was the improvement of the curriculum of the high schools in the light of local requirements.

Laurie's introductory lecture to the Education class, in the autumn of 1831, on 'The Educational Wants of Scotland' (No.26), is the most important of these addresses. He confessed that in spite of the progress achieved in Scotland in the preceding thirty years educational developments in England and Ireland had been more active recently (78). So far as the reform of the universities was concerned, Laurie saw four main ideas in operation. Firstly, a standard of entrance was required. Secondly, all departments of human knowledge capable of development in relation to ultimate principles should be granted a place in the curriculum. Thirdly, the relationship of the universities to the professions must be more clearly defined. Fourthly, they must make a more adequate preparation for the art of living by liberalizing their courses for graduation, particularly in arts. At all stages education must respect individuality, and so the student ought, within certain limitations, to be allowed to select his own group of studies. Laurie called for an executive commission

77. op.cit. (p.194)
78. op.cit. (p.264)
to carry out these reforms, and estimated the cost of placing all the Scottish Universities on a proper footing as not exceeding £6,000 a year, exclusive of the maintenance of buildings (79). On the question of secondary education he made a strong plea for a separate Scottish Education Department and for an immediate settlement of educational endowments (80). As regards the provision of different types of secondary instruction, technical education, since it bore so directly on material interests, could be left to take care of itself, while the grammar schools, when provided in sufficient numbers, would supply also a modern curriculum as soon as the universities could be persuaded to demand modern subjects, such as languages, geography, and mechanics (81).

The legislative provision for primary education was more satisfactory, but the Code was inspired by external administrative considerations rather than by educational ideals. Hence, certain improvements, such as the training of inspectors, conditions of grants, the question of specific subjects, which Laurie proposes (82). He then passes on to security of tenure, which he rightly regarded as of great national importance in attracting the highest type of man to the teaching profession. While arguing against arbitrary dismissal by school boards, he suggests (83) a workable compromise to safeguard the interests of education itself in cases of genuine dissatisfaction with a teacher's work. Finally, the question of the professional training of teachers still awaited final settlement. The principle had been accepted but the respective functions of universities and training-colleges had not been worked out in a satisfactory manner, since the Education Department, though permitting selected students to attend university classes, insisted also on their taking government examinations. The training of secondary teachers had not even been faced, and in their case Laurie proposes (84) utilization of the universities. In particular, his suggestions on modern languages have proved to be prophetic: "My belief is that the modern languages will never take their proper place in Scottish education until they are taught by Scottish graduates who have, by residence abroad, qualified for

79. op.cit. (p.270)
80. op.cit. (p.272)
81. op.cit. (p.279)
82. op.cit. (p.286)
83. op.cit. (p.298)
84. op.cit. (p.302)
the teaching of French and German in their native country".

In an address to the Association of Secondary Teachers, at Glasgow in November 1889, with the title 'The University and Scottish University Reforms' (No.27), Laurie expressed in greater detail his conceptions of what reforms were most urgently called for under the Universities Act which had just been passed. They concern chiefly the question of graduation in arts, and many of Laurie's suggestions were actually adopted by the commissioners appointed to carry out its provisions. He proposed to retain the pass degree of seven subjects, renamed B.A. and with regulated options, and the honours groups in classics and philosophy, relegating mathematics and physics to the faculty of science. Among his recommendations were the introduction of courses in modern languages and in Indian vernaculars (with a view to the civil service), the institution of a commercial diploma, and the establishment of a chair of history, of bibliography (to be held by the librarian), and of the history of law.

The essay on 'The Equivalent Grant and Scottish Secondary Education' (No.28) originally appeared in the 'Scottish Quarterly Review' for January 1892. In it Laurie (85) points out the confused situation arising in secondary education as a result of piecemeal legislation. Firstly, free education in elementary schools up to the age of fourteen, necessarily involving some secondary instruction; secondly, section 13 of the Act of 1878 empowering the School Boards to levy rates for existing high schools; thirdly, a large number of bursaries for secondary education, provided by the Endowed Schools Commission but demanding revision; fourthly, a Technical Schools Act authorizing the School Boards to establish secondary schools inclusive of every subject except Latin and Greek; fifthly, state leaving-examinations for secondary schools but tentative in character; sixthly, the Residue Grant of 1890 in the hands of county councils, which they did not know how to utilize; seventhly, the proposed Equivalent Grant; and lastly, the capitation grants of the Science and Art Department. Laurie then proposes a programme of co-ordination by means of the following measures: in the first place, until technical education had been organized as a part of, not a substitute for, secondary education, the Residue Grant should be held in abeyance; secondly, an executive commission should be appointed to approve schemes, drawn up for each county by a committee of the county council, in respect of secondary (including technical) instruction; thirdly, these county council committees should remain in being.
to manage the secondary education of their area; fourthly, an Educational Council might be set up to exercise a general supervision and reorganize the leaving-examination; and fifthly, the county council committees should be required to submit their accounts annually for audit to the Scottish Council of Education. These suggestions would entail a good deal of decentralization, not perhaps to the extent of transferring the Education Department to Scotland from Whitehall, although that must come in due time (86).

In his introductory lecture in the autumn of 1898 Laurie again chose 'Secondary Education in Scotland' (No.29) for his theme. Four-fifths of the reforms he had advocated in his address on the educational wants of Scotland in 1881 were now embodied in the law of the country (37). With thirty-one high schools and fifty-two endowed secondary schools, the secondary education of Scotland was at no period so wide-spread and at so high a level as at the present moment. But an Act was still required for the unification of administration of the central grants. The Scotch Education Department had control of the science and art grants, which had been transferred from South Kensington in 1897, and of the annual sum of £35,000 contributed by the Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1893, but the Residue and Equivalent Grants, amounting to about £120,000, remained in the hands of the county councils. This dual control of the funds resulted in a dissipation of money earmarked for secondary schools.

The Introductory lecture of October 1899, entitled 'The Scottish Code of 1899' (No.30), expresses Laurie's satisfaction at the educational developments introduced into primary and post-primary education. The merit certificate, taken at the age of twelve, was now recognized as the official conclusion of primary education, and advanced departments were to provide post-primary instruction beyond that age. Recognition of 'specific subjects' was withdrawn, and a general curriculum, embracing English (including reading, memorizing, composition, and analysis), arithmetic, singing, drawing, physical training, handwork (or needlework), history and geography was to be substituted. In short, Laurie regarded it as a humanistic code, which ran "right in the teeth of the attempts to turn our schools into antechambers of alkali works and engineering shops" (88). But his

86. op.cit. (p.9)
87. Pamphlet 1898 (p.3)
88. Pamphlet 1899 (p.10)
triumph was short-lived, for the raising of the school leaving-age, as from 1st January 1902, from thirteen to fourteen led to the organization of 'supplementary courses' in post-primary education in 1903 (89). The choice offered was between commercial, industrial, rural school, and household management courses.

In an address to the Edinburgh branch of the E.I.S. in June 1903 Laurie sharply criticized the new policy. In his speech, entitled 'The Code of 1903 and Freedom in Education' (No. 31), he argued that, particularly in rural areas, the School Board and teachers would be deprived of all initiative and independence and that one or other of the supplementary courses would be imposed upon the primary school. As all the available time would be required for these courses, Latin, French, and mathematics would cease to be included in the curriculum of rural schools; hence, the traditional bridge over which so many poor country boys had passed to the universities and professions would be broken down, university graduates would no longer be attracted to country schools, and clause 67 of the Act of 1872 (by which higher education in state-aided schools was guaranteed) would be ignored by the Department. Even more serious, however, was the vocational bias of the supplementary courses, with consequent early specialization, which Laurie terms (90) "the greatest of all educational heresies".

g) Educational Administration: This section contains four relatively unimportant papers dealing with aspects of centralized administration. The 'Historical Sketch of the Education Department' (No. 32) was written in 1882 because it occurred to Laurie that "in the present crisis of primary education" it might be instructive as well as interesting (91). Starting from the inception of the Committee of Council in 1839, he traces the development of educational administration through the 'tentative' epoch prior to 1861, the 'philistine' epoch of Mr. Lowe until 1871, the 'well-meaning' epoch of Mr. Forster until 1881, to the contemporary 'educational' epoch of Mr. Mundella (92). ‘The Decentralizing Policy of the Board of Education in England' (No. 33) was an address delivered to the Association of Principals and

89. Wade 1939 (p. 79)
90. Pamphlet 1903 (p. 13)
91. Laurie 1882 (p. 343)
92. op. cit. (p. 369)
Lecturers of Training Colleges at Westminster in November 1901. After outlining the patchwork growth of the English educational system in some detail, Laurie proceeded to criticize the relaxation of central control by the recently established Board of Education, in respect of the primary schools. Coming from so staunch an advocate of educational decentralization as Laurie, such a charge may appear paradoxical, but he claims (93), not unreasonably, that "to the extent to which a central authority weakens its hold, to that extent must it depute its powers, if good work is to be done". The weakness of the English Code was that it secured to each school its money without ensuring the kind of education to be given in return for it. The granting of autonomy to the training-colleges, on the other hand, could only be regarded as beneficial; but since the teacher was now left practically to his own free will in the aims and organization of the school, it was more incumbent on them than ever to fashion him for his work by giving him inspiration and method. The conclusion of the address is devoted to a discussion of the kind of education and professional training which, in Laurie's view, can best accomplish these desiderata. The last two papers are concerned with the question of teachers' registration. Laurie's 'Summary of Evidence on the Registration of Teachers' (No.34) is dealt with in Chapter XII. The 'Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons' (No.35) is merely a slightly edited version of that issued by the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, which had been founded in 1887 to stimulate public opinion on educational legislation (94). The Select Committee, though somewhat non-committal in its recommendations, reported on the whole in terms favourable to the idea of registration (95).

h) Educational Thought: The four essays in this section, on Ascham (No.36), Montaigne (No.37), Comenius (No.38), and Milton (No.39), all receive treatment in Chapter IX.

93. Pamphlet 1902 (p.12)
94. Adamson 1930 (p.408)
95. Laurie 1892 (p.299)
Sources: -

S. S. Laurie: The Training of the Teacher and other Educational Papers, 1882.
S. S. Laurie: Occasional Addresses on Educational Subjects, 1888.
S. S. Laurie: Teachers' Guild Addresses, 1892.
S. S. Laurie: The Training of Teachers and Methods of Instruction, 1901.
S. S. Laurie: Pamphlets 1889, 1892, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903.

d) Training of Teachers:

J. J. Findlay: Teaching as a Career for University Men, 1889.
R. W. Rich: The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, 1933.
M. E. Sadler: University Day Training Colleges (in 'The University of Manchester Department of Education 1890-1911'), 1911.

f) Scottish Education:

N. A. Wade: Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland, 1939.

 g) Central Administration:

A. E. Ikin: The Education Department, 1926.
APPENDIX - CLASSIFICATION OF ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES.

I. General:

2. Free Schooling. (No.1)

24. Examinations, Emulation and Competition (No.2)

14. Authority in Relation to Discipline (No.3)

2. Practical Hints on Class Management (No.4)

24. Respective Functions of Primary, Secondary and University Schools. (No.5)

II. Primary Education:

14. The General Function of the Primary School. (No.6)

24. Liberal Education in the Primary School (No.7)

1. Higher Primary Schools. (No.8)

1. The Higher Instruction in Public Rural Schools. (No.9)

III. Secondary and Higher Education:

1. On the Government of High Schools (No.10)

24. Organization of the Curriculum of Secondary Schools (No.11)

3. Theory and the Curriculum of Secondary Schools and Universities. (No.12)

4. The University and the People (No.13)

IV. Training of Teachers:

1. The Philosophy of Education in Relation to the School and the Teacher (No.14)

34. The Philosophy of Mind and the Training of Teachers (No.15)

14. The Teaching Profession and Chairs of Education (No.16)

1. The University Training of Teachers (No.17)

24. On Professorships and Lectureships on Education. (No.18)

34. The Schoolmaster and University Day Training Colleges (No.19)
V Teaching Methods:
1. The Claims of Latin as a Subject of Instruction (No. 20)
24. Geography in the School (No. 21)
4. History and Citizenship in the School (No. 22)
24. The Religious Education of the Young. (No. 23)
3. Method and the Sunday School Teacher (No. 24)

VI. Education in Scotland:
1. Secondary Education in Scotland (1879) (No. 25)
1. The Educational Wants of Scotland (1881) (No. 26)
5. The University and Scottish University Reforms. (No. 27)
5. The Equivalent Grant and Scottish Secondary Education. (No. 28)
5. Secondary Education in Scotland (1893) (No. 29)
5. The Scottish Code of 1399. (No. 30)
5. The Code of 1903 and Freedom in Education (No. 31)

VII. Educational Administration:
1. Historical Sketch of the Education Department (1839-82) (No. 32)
5. The Decentralizing Policy of the Board of Education in England. (No. 33)
3. Summary of Evidence on the Registration of Teachers. (No. 34)
3. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. (No. 35)

VIII. Educational Thought:
3. Roger Ascham, The Humanist. (No. 36)
13. Montaigne as an Educationalist (No. 37)
3. Comenius, the Founder of Method. (No. 38)
2. John Milton, the Classical Encyclopaedist. (No. 39)

Note: Figures 1 to 4 refer to volumes (in order of appearance) and Figure 5 to pamphlets.
SECTION II - HISTORY OF EDUCATION
CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES.

The fruits of Laurie's extensive researches into the history of education are to be found in four historical works, which in order of publication are 'The Life and Educational Works of Comenius', 'The Rise and early Constitution of Universities', 'A Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education', and 'A History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance'.

For the purposes of discussion it is desirable to draw a distinction between the two which bring to their subject a serious historical treatment - to be reserved for the next chapter - and the two which adopt a technique popularized by Quick's 'Essays on Educational Reformers', first published in 1868, that consists of a combination of biography, quotation, exposition and commentary on the doctrines of great educators.

Such a treatment of educational history was used to good effect by Laurie, but on the whole his 'Educational Opinion', which was published in 1903, has proved less successful than the revised edition of Quick's 'Reformers' that appeared in 1890. The views which Laurie propounds, though both books deal with many of the same thinkers and in general construction and contents bear a superficial resemblance to one another, are quite independent, and indeed the two when read in conjunction can be made mutually corrective. On the other hand, there can be no doubt of the success of Laurie's earlier work in this genre, the book on Comenius published in 1881, which virtually 'discovered' the Moravian educationist for the British educational world.

The true pioneer in this field, as Quick points out, was Daniel Benham who in 1858 had published an English translation of the 'School of Infancy' to which was prefaced an excellent life of Comenius, but his book had failed to find a public. "A much more successful book", he remarks (1), "has been Professor S.S. Laurie's 'John Amos Comenius', and this is known to most, and should be to all, English students of education". The extent of Laurie's painstaking research on the subject is indicated when Quick discusses (2) the classification of Comenius' writings: "Comenius has left voluminous Latin writings. Professor Laurie gives us the titles of the books connected with education and they are in number forty-two: so there must be much repetition and indeed retraction.........We owe much to Professor Laurie

1. Quick 1890 (p.119)
2. op.cit. (p.135)
who has served as a 'ventilabrum' and left us a succinct and clear account of the Reformer's teaching". Other contemporary criticism was equally eulogistic. W.H. Payne of Michigan declared(3) in 1887 in a foot-note to his famous translation of Compayre: "The most complete account ever written of Comenius and his writings is 'John Amos Comenius' by S.S. Laurie. It is an invaluable contribution to the philosophy and history of education". Some years afterwards Foster Watson, who himself achieved distinction as a historian of education, recorded the view (4): "It is of all our educational books of the English-speaking races the one which best saves us from reproach in Germany and abroad. It is the most thorough piece of scholarship and research among English-speaking students of education of this generation. Professor Laurie's service to education in presenting us with the product of so much labour is incalculably great...... It is a work of historical and philosophical literature, and through it the aims of education, and the study of the works of educationists, begin to be seen by those who, in the first instance, are approachable in no other way". Finally, Remacle stated in 1909 (5): "This masterly work, a true model of its kind, is written wholly from original sources, and can be regarded as definitive on Comenius". Though much subsequent work has been done on Comenius, Laurie's book still retains standard rank.

a) The Life and Educational Works of John Amos Comenius.

Laurie's account of the work of Comenius is more closely articulated than his treatment of most other subjects. The book comprises a lengthy introduction significantly dealing with the transition from the Renaissance to the Modern Period, an exhaustive biographical account of Comenius' life, a thorough exposition of his educational system (discussed in four parts), and a critical estimate of his contribution to educational thought. Of the introduction little need be said here, since Laurie's opinions on the influence of the Renaissance on the school will be discussed in a later section of this chapter, but he concludes (6) that the decline in the schools after the Reformation is attributable to want of method. Of Comenius' two immediate precursors in the field of education, Bacon and Ratke, Laurie's views on the former will likewise be dealt with later, but his discussion of the work of Wolfgang Ratke represents a convenient starting-point to the


4. Foster Watson 1895.

5. Remacle 1909 (p. XIV)

6. Laurie 1904 (p. 13)
study of Comenius. Ratke, unlike Bacon, did not confine his interest to the higher education but, as a Lutheran, was concerned with the education of the people as a whole (7). Yet he was descended from Bacon in two essential respects, namely method and encyclopaedism—conceptions which he transferred to the education of children—, though directly influenced only by the 'Advancement of Learning'. (8). Education engaged his attention because he believed that reform in the school would lead to reform in the state, and a uniform system of education, by harmonizing belief, would put an end to religious disension. His object was to reform method rather than revolutionize the subjects of instruction, but he regarded the vernacular language in each country as an essential starting-point for the teaching of foreign tongues. In the true Lutheran spirit he aimed at making education universal and in general his methods were sound (9). He never published a full exposition of his system, but Laurie gives a rearranged version of von Haumer's account of Ratke's general principles (10).

The latter, when put into practice at Roeten in 1619, did not work out but too much was expected of them, and historically we must recognize, Laurie declares (11), Ratke's originality, freshness, and even audacity. He advocated two great innovations: firstly, not only the simplification of instruction in Latin and other tongues but the subordination of the study of language to the realities of knowledge which it contains, and secondly, the introduction of the study of the mother tongue. In present-day terms the first would imply concentration on modern languages, relegation of Latin and Greek to specialists, and assigning a secondary place to 'pure literature'. The significance of the second was appreciable in an age when Latin grammar, then Greek, and finally the abstract terminology of rhetoric constituted the chief material of education. In Laurie's opinion (12), the defects of the scheme consisted in its too purely intellectual character, its belief in the efficacy of mere knowledge, its suppression of linguistic discipline, and its lack of philosophic depth. To Ratke's credit it should be remembered that he hoped to attract to learning by introducing good methods and to improve relations between master and pupil by

7. op. cit. (p. 33)
8. op. cit. (p. 34)
9. op. cit. (p. 37)
10. op. cit. (pp. 39-43)
11. op. cit. (p. 45)
12. op. cit. (p. 47)
putting discipline in the hands of a 'scholarch'. His intellect was original and suggestive rather than constructive, and so we have in Comenius similar educational principles expounded and organized into a system. The leading postulates of all sense-realists Laurie sums up as faith in method (13), a belief that languages can be learned more quickly than is commonly supposed, and the conviction that language is to be taught for the sake of the things it contains. Ratke's personal failure he ascribes to his character, the exclusively theoretical groundwork of his scheme, the jealousy of others, the wrong application of his own principles, and his lack of instinctive feeling for the art of teaching. But his torch was seized by John Amos Comenius who became the head of the sense-realistic school and whose writings have a present and practical as well as a historical significance, since they contain nearly all the now recognized rules of method. A short bibliography of the writings of the Ratichian school is appended to the discussion of Ratke's work (14).

For convenience of reference Laurie's account of the life of Comenius can be divided into five main periods: the Moravian period from his birth in March 1592 to the autumn of 1627, the Polish period from 1627 to August 1642, the East Prussian period from 1642 to May 1650, the Hungarian period from 1650 to June 1654, and the Dutch period from 1654 to his death in November 1671. The sect of Moravian Brethren to which Comenius' family belonged was connected by direct descent with the reformer Huss and even in Laurie's day numbered only about 5000 in Europe and 7000 in America (15). Though they acknowledge an episcopate, the bishops have little power and the sect is characterized by simplicity of faith and earnest personal piety. Comenius himself, who was of Slavonic stock and spoke the Czech tongue, lost his parents while still a child and did not begin the study of Latin till his sixteenth year (16). But he imbibed the simple teachings of the brotherhood and remained to the end of his life a Moravian at heart. His evangelical spirit, while not afraid of science, appreciated the humanism of past ages only in a half-hearted way. Laurie attributes his(17) early insight into the defects of educational method partly to the lateness of the age at which he began Latin. He was appointed in 1614 to the rectorship of the Moravian school at Prerov, where he endeavoured to introduce improved methods

13. op.cit.(p.49)
14. op.cit.(p.50)
15. op.cit.(p.51)
16. op.cit.(p.53)
17. op.cit.(p.55)
of instruction and discipline. Ordained two years later he was set over the church at Pulneck in 1618 and given superintendence of a recently erected school there. The three years following constituted the only period of tranquility he ever experienced in his native country (16), for in 1621 Pulneck was captured during the Thirty Years' War by the Spaniards and all Comenius' property was destroyed. He was forced to live in retirement during the next six years but occupied his thoughts with schemes of restoring religion and piety by reforming the education of the young.

In 1627 Comenius had to take refuge in Poland and was appointed rector of the Moravian gymnasium at Lesna, where he began to reconstruct his methods from the foundation and to give them a philosophic basis. Laurie says (19) he was acquainted with almost all previous writers on education, except probably Ascham and Mulcaster. To this period belong eleven books, including the 'Didactica Magna' first written in Czech though unpublished in that form until 1849 (20), and the celebrated 'Janua' on which Comenius spent three years. Its aim was to simplify and graduate the teaching of Latin, and to teach both words through things and things through words. On publication its success was so great that the book was translated into fourteen languages (21). In 1632 Comenius was elected Bishop of the Moravians in succession to his father-in-law. In 1638, stimulated by an invitation to visit Sweden to reform education there, he resumed work on the 'Great Didactic' and translated it into Latin. But Comenius' real ambition was a complete statement of the circle of knowledge, which he called 'Pansophia', and the establishment of a permanent institution for the furtherance of science, in which his pansophic ideas could be carried out (22). Accordingly, at Hartlib's invitation he visited London in 1641 and endeavoured to interest the English Parliament in his scheme. He remained there a year but the outbreak of the Civil War disappointed his hopes, and in 1642 he went to Sweden at the instance of Ludovic de Geer, a Dutchman settled in that country. Comenius was granted several

18. op.cit.(p.57)
19. op.cit.(p.61)
20. op.cit.(p.63)
21. op.cit.(p.67)
22. op.cit.(p.73)
interviews by Oxenstiern, but was eventually persuaded to give up his pansophic labours and elaborate his didactic treatises at Elbing in East Prussia under the patronage of de Geer. In the meantime, however, he published his 'Pansophic Diatyposis' at Danzig in 1643 (23). He revisited Sweden in 1646 and was directed to publish the results of his work at Elbing which amounted to five volumes. These included in particular the 'Methodus linguarum novissima', which Laurie declares (24) to be the most elaborate of all his treatises on method, except the 'Great Didactic'. Comenius was always prepared to admit the imperfections of his books, on the plea that no one man could all at once correct the mistakes of the past. In 1650 he was invited by the Prince of Transylvania to go to the town of Patak to advise in the reformation of schools, and while he was there Comenius published fifteen works including the famous 'Orbis Pictus'. But the most characteristic and important of the works of this period, Laurie says (25), was the 'Schola pansophica'. At Patak he planned a little Latin republic, with its own customs, laws, senate, and religious services, in the form of a pansophic seminary. The lower division, actually organized, was to be a three-class school with a view to instruction in Latin along with real things, while the upper division was projected as a seven-class school in which boys from the age of twelve were to be instructed in 'all things that perfect human nature'. So exaggerated were Comenius' conceptions of the possibilities of education that he believed he could manufacture a man (26).

On the death of Prince Sigismund Comenius left Patak in 1654, and in his valedictory address he stated what his objects in school reform had been. They comprised an attempt to make the acquisition of Latin pleasant, to introduce a better philosophy into school work, and to create a higher tone of morals (27). He returned to Poland until 1656 when Lesna was destroyed in the Swedish wars and once again Comenius lost all his property. He was then invited by Laurence de Geer, son of his former patron, to come to Amsterdam where he was

23. op. cit. (p. 78)
24. op. cit. (p. 79)
25. op. cit. (p. 82)
26. op. cit. (p. 83)
27. op. cit. (p. 84)
Swedish ambassador. On his arrival there Comenius undertook a critical survey of all he had written, in order to confirm, retract, or modify his opinions as published from time to time. In consequence, the 'Ventilabrum Sapientiae', his treatise of retrospect and revision, is the most significant of the ten educational works of this period. He found nothing to retract in his 'Didactica Magna', but defended the syncretic method (i.e. of analogy by parallels in nature) employed in it (28). Indeed, most of the corrections made were relatively unimportant and pointed in the direction of greater simplification. Convinced that in principle he was right, Comenius acknowledged certain errors in detail but in general regarded his method as being so absolute in character as to be of almost mechanical application (29). Nevertheless, the final aim of all his training was the bringing of the work of the school into harmony with moral and religious aims. In his 'Traditio Lampadis' he handed over his didactic work to be carried on by others and commended his labours to God. Laurie says (30) that little is known of Comenius' domestic life, but he was twice married and five of his children survived to adulthood. After seeing through a complete edition of his didactic works in four volumes at the end of 1657, he continued to live in Amsterdam until his death in 1671. He spent his last years diligently replacing materials for his great pansophic work destroyed at Lesna, but no further didactic works were published. Laurie finishes his account of Comenius' life with a complete bibliography of the educational works and a selection of his theological and miscellaneous writings (31).

The four parts into which Laurie's general discussion of Comenius' educational system is divided, deal respectively with the 'Didactica Magna', the 'Methodus linguarum novissima', the Textbooks, and the organization of a Pansophic School. The lengthiest of these is the first, which is itself subdivided into four sections dealing with the aim, method, art and organization of education. It is impossible to do more than indicate the main lines of the argument and refer to specific portions of the text for detail. The pansophic schemes of Comenius are the key to his intellectual life and educational aims, Laurie says (32), and as a type of the realistic and encyclopaedic school of educationists he will

26. op. cit. (p. 88)
29. op. cit. (p. 91)
30. op. cit. (p. 95)
31. op. cit. (pp. 97-100)
32. op. cit. (p. 106)
probably never be superseded. The 'Great Didactic' arrests our attention first, because it was put forth as a systematic treatment of the whole question of education. In the general statement of Comenius' aim Laurie enumerates five propositions (33), but the essential requirements are summed up in the words 'knowledge, virtue, and piety'. The seeds of these are given by nature, but knowledge, morality, and religion themselves have to be striven for. As regards method Comenius takes as his guide the operations of external nature, but the parallelism is forced throughout and often fanciful. The business of the educator is to discover how the pupil may be made to learn 'surely, easily, and solidly' (34). Nine principles in connection with the first, and ten with each of the others, are detailed, and thereafter some suggestions for school management in relation to sure, solid, and easy instruction are given (35). The latter are necessary in view of the encyclopaedic nature of the course contemplated, but Comenius believed that by beginning early, pursuing good methods, and basing linguistic instruction on the realities of knowledge, it was quite possible to put the pupils through a pansophic curriculum. Laurie agrees with the contention that a considerable number of boys can be taught together in one class, though criticizing Comenius' failure to specify a limit, and in general he describes the eight practical directions given for teaching a large class as mostly admirable (36).

As regards the art of education, Comenius realized the labour which his conception of the school demands of the teacher, and so he inquired into the obstructions that retarded the work of the schools. Having discovered eight obstructions, generally the negation of positive rules of method already mentioned, he discusses each in turn (37). After dealing with the general art of teaching, he proceeds to apply method in detail to the teaching of the three branches of all sound education, - knowledge, morality, and piety, - and to school discipline. The term 'knowledge' comprises the sciences, the arts, and languages. Science is the knowledge of things, and four conditions, leading in turn to nine very useful rules, are essential to a knowledge of the sciences (38). By the arts Comenius means reading, writing, singing, composition, rhetoric,

33. op.cit.(p.108)
34. op.cit.(p.115)
35. op.cit.(p.130)
36. op.cit.(p.132)
37. op.cit.(pp.137-145)
38. op.cit.(pp.145-8)
and logic, and eleven rules are given for training youth to the praxis of things (39). Languages are taught as the instrument of acquiring learning and wisdom, and of communicating them to others. Accordingly, only necessary languages are to be learned, and they comprise the vernacular, the languages of neighbouring nations, and Latin as the common tongue of the learned. Eight rules, designed to make the acquisition of languages short and easy, are set forth (40). Knowledge, however, is only preparatory to the true end, the pursuit of philosophy, and in the section on method applied to morality sixteen rules for instilling morality are detailed (41). To method as applied to piety Comenius gives great prominence, although it cannot be said that method is successfully exhibited in its relation to religious instruction. After laying down the three sources of piety, - the Holy Scriptures, the world of nature, and human intuition, - and enumerating the three ways of cherishing piety, - meditation, prayer, and self-examination, - Comenius establishes twelve rules to be attended to in religious teaching (42). He discouraged purely classical studies not only because they usurped the place of subjects having a practical bearing on life but also because they did not promote the true ends of a Christian school. Finally, on school discipline, Comenius considers the end, matter, and method (43). The object of discipline is the prevention of recurrence of an offence, but it is to be exercised solely in matters of morals and not of studies, and violent remedies, which should be resorted to before a boy is despaired of, are to be applied in extreme cases only. Laurie then appends some precepts taken from the 'De Sermonis Latina Studio', entitled 'Practical Hints to the Teacher of a Class'.(44).

The section dealing with the general organization of a school system is more interesting. Comenius believed that for the complete education of youth twenty-four years should be set apart, at the end of which the pupil might go forth to the business of life truly instructed, truly moral, truly religious. This period should be divided into periods of six years with a school suited to each period. Thus we have infancy, boyhood,

39. op.cit. (pp.148-151)
40. op.cit. (pp.153/5)
41. op.cit. (pp.157-160)
42. op.cit. (pp.161-2)
43. op.cit. (pp.163-5)
44. op.cit. (pp.166-9)
adolescence, and youth, with the mother school, the vernacular school, the Latin school (gymnasion), and the university (academia) (45). In all these schools the same things will be taught, but each subject will be adapted to the stage of progress. In the mother school the external senses will be exercised, in the vernacular school the imagination and memory, in the Latin school the intellect and judgment, and in the university those things which reduce the mind to harmony. The first two types of school will train the population of both sexes, the third those boys who aim at being something higher than artisans, and the fourth will form the future teachers and guides of others. Camenius then develops fully the idea of the mother school, and Laurie adds further details on discipline, children's occupations, and bodily health from his separate treatise on the mother school (46). The vernacular school corresponds to our primary school and should be for all, including those who will later go on to the Latin school. The function of the vernacular school is to teach to everyone all that will be of use for the whole of life (47). In the Latin school there should be an encyclopaedic course, including four languages, which would comprise the seven liberal arts and in addition physics, geography, history, ethics and theology (48). Finally, every department of knowledge should be handled in the universities, and in this connection Comenius gives his views on the selection of suitable students and on the conditions of graduation (49).

Part II deals with Comenius' work on language-teaching, which Laurie says is his only important treatise on method in addition to the 'Great Didactic' and the book on the mother school (50). It consists of thirty chapters but the first five contain nothing new. In the subsequent ones, which are more instructive, the principles laid down in the 'Didactica' reappear with special application to Latin, though now reached analytically instead of syncretically. Latin is to be preferred to all other languages, partly because it is the vehicle of all learning, partly because it is the common language of the learned, partly because it is an excellent introduction to other tongues, and partly because it is easier than Greek. There is no special difficulty in learning Latin, but there are three evils to be overcome as regards method. Firstly, Latin is taught abstractly.

45. op.cit. (p.170)
46. op.cit. (p.175)
47. op.cit. (p.177)
48. op.cit. (p.181)
49. op.cit. (pp.183-4)
50. op.cit. (p.188)
without a prior knowledge of the things denoted by the words; secondly, boys are pushed into the intricacies of grammar too rapidly; and thirdly, they are expected to take impossible leaps instead of a step at a time. Comenius gives (51) some account of the various proposals for reform current in his time, before stating his own method. The whole question is taken up afresh and dealt with analytically. Under the heading of general didactic eighty propositions are worked out in thoroughly scholastic style. Then Comenius passes to special didactic, and applies these general principles to the method of teaching science, arts, and language. When he comes to language Comenius explains that being co-extensive with all knowable things, it is more difficult to learn than any one department of knowledge. It is to be learned quickly by constant familiarizing with examples, pleasantly by means of clear precepts, and solidly by continual practice. It is evident, however, that without artificially constructed books Comenius' method could not be carried out (52). The procedure of acquiring a thorough knowledge of Latin, and the power of writing it elegantly, is by means of analysis, excerpts, and imitation. Mutatis mutandis, the method of studying language is applicable to all arts and sciences, and Comenius recommends the construction of systematic compendiums of all subjects on the ascending scale of his Latin textbooks (53).

Part III discusses these textbooks and the way of using them. In the writing of textbooks Comenius had his predecessors, as for example Lubinus and Bateus. His general plan was to conceive a course of elementary lessons on things, by means of which he would necessarily call into use all the normal vocabulary of Latin. The primer is the 'Vestibulum' which comprised in the first edition over 1000 Latin words, arranged in seven chapters, dealing with things and their properties (54). In the second edition the plan was slightly altered, the number of words being increased to 5000, and in 1657 Comenius published the Auctarium, which was intended to serve as a revision of the work done. The second textbook was the famous 'Janua', the first edition of which comprehended 8000 words under one hundred chapter-headings which take a survey of all nature, even including morals and religion. Laurie comments (55) incidentally

51. op.cit.(pp.193-5)
52. op.cit.(p.202)
53. op.cit.(p.205)
54. op.cit.(p.207)
55. op.cit.(p.215)
that in the chapter on marriage and the family, for instance, there occur statements "which are very curious as showing the freedom with which things were spoken about to the young of 250 years ago". In this book Comenius with great labour and ingenuity gave effect at the same time to his conceptions of the substance of school-instruction and the method of teaching languages. In the second edition of the 'Janua', constructed on the same lines as the first though much more elaborate, the vernacular is discarded and Comenius deserts nearly all that is most characteristic and original in his system, except his encyclopaedism (56). In the third textbook, called the 'Atrium', the sentences are longer and the treatment of each subject is more ample. The end in view is the familiarizing of the pupil with idioms of the language and introducing him to rhetoric.

Laurie acknowledges that any boy who had mastered it would be quite competent to attack Caesar, Sallust and the easier orations of Cicero, but would not have been prepared for reading the poets (57). Then he proceeds to discuss three subsidiary textbooks, of which the first is the 'Orbis Pictus'. Simpler than the first edition of the 'Janua', it is a more suitable schoolbook than the second edition of the 'Vestibulum' and in it Comenius applied his principles more fully than elsewhere, for there are pictures of the objects treated in the lessons. Hence the editions and sale of the 'Orbis Pictus' far exceeded those of even the 'Janua', and it was for some time deservedly the most popular schoolbook in Europe. The 'Schola Ludus', (58) a school drama in which the language of the 'Janua' and much of the 'Atrium' is introduced, comprises 5 acts, 21 scenes, and fifty-two dramatis personae. Though the characters represent the various departments of knowledge, anything more dreary than this sportive 'Janua' it is impossible to conceive (59). Finally, the outline of a textbook of Greek is to be found in the 'Ventilabrum Sapientiae'. As might be expected, it is Latin-Greek, having for its object an introduction to the Greek Testament. In concluding his account of the textbooks Laurie remarks (60) that Comenius himself admitted in his old age that he had departed from his own principles in attempting to teach too much within a limited time.

56. op cit. (p. 218)
57. op. cit. (p. 222)
58. op. cit. (p. 225)
59. op. cit. (p. 226)
60. op. cit. (p. 228)
In Part IV the inner organization and instruction-plan of a pansophic school come under discussion. Of the external organization of a school-system already dealt with in the "Great Didactic", Laurie says (61) that the existing educational systems of modern Europe, and particularly of Germany, are a tribute to Comenius' sound judgment, even though the organization of instruction is not in accordance with his pansophic aspirations. In Comenius' discussion of internal organization a Latin school is kept in view, which would consist of seven classes from the age of twelve. The three lowest would be called 'philological', and would be designated vestibular, janual, and atrial respectively from the textbooks they used. The fourth would be 'philosophical' and would give a rational account of things, the fifth would be 'logical' and would give discipline in reasoning, the sixth would be 'political' and would give instruction in laws and the social order, and the seventh would be 'theological' and would instruct in the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven (62). Each class was to be divided into groups of ten boys, presided over by a 'decurio' responsible for order, and all school work was to be done in school. There were to be two half-holidays weekly, a fortnight at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, and a month at harvest-time. A detailed statement describes the work of the seven classes (63), in the course of which the pupil would be formed to a whole and complete humanity in respect of things, tongues and piety before entering on the business of life.

Laurie says (64) in his brief critical survey that the object of his volume has been to present Comenius himself to the reader, not as he himself may understand him. Comenius' inspiring motive, like that of all leading educationists, was social reform. Humanism had no attractions for him and still less had the worldly wisdom of Montaigne. The most conspicuous illustration of the absence of art in Comenius is to be found in his school drama. But he inherited in its completeness the educational spirit of the reformers, and while knowledge, virtue, and piety sum up his educational aim he has mainly the last two in view. In the department of instruction his characteristic merits were to teach morality and godliness from the first, to give milk to babes, and to recommend a kind and patient manner of enforcing procedure. "Had Comenius done nothing more

61. op.cit (p.229)
62. op.cit. (p.232)
63. op.cit. (pp.239-243)
64. op.cit. (p.248)
but put forth and press home these truths", Laurie claims (65), "he would have deserved our gratitude as an educationalist". But, further, he related knowledge to virtue and godliness, and in this field the leading characteristic of his educational system was his realism. Here acquisition of the ordered facts of nature and man's relation to them was his great aim. Both he and his followers confound knowledge with wisdom. It is in the department of method that we recognize Comenius' chief contribution to education (66). The mere attempt to systematize was a great advance, even if Comenius had to content himself with vague and unscientific first principles. He believed that the processes of the growth of external things had a close resemblance to the growth of mind, and Laurie himself is disposed to concede that the observation of the former is capable of suggesting many of the rules of educational method (67). A simple enumeration of his principles will satisfy us that Comenius, even when his precursors are given their due, is to be regarded as the true founder of modern method. As specially applied to language his method simply repeats in a new form the faults of his time, for the boy's mind is overloaded with a mass of words. Like all reformers he was over-sanguine. His merits here were the introduction of the principle of graduated readingbooks, simplification of Latin grammar, teaching of the foreign tongue in the vernacular, and insistence on method in instruction. His views on the inner organization of a school were original, and have proved themselves correct in all essential respects: the same may be said of his scheme for the organization of a state-system. In short, when we consider that Comenius first formally developed educational method, reformed language-teaching, introduced the study of nature into schools, and advocated a milder discipline, we are justified in assigning him a high place among modern educational writers. Even as regards his encyclopaedic proposals, Milton and Locke shared substantially the same views (68).

These views are expanded in a chapter on Comenius in the 'Educational Opinion', a tercentenary address on his birth in March 1592, delivered in Edinburgh and Birmingham and first published in 'Educational Review' in 1892. The whole educational world was alive to the occasion, Laurie says (69), although

65. op.cit.(p.251)
66. op.cit.(p.254)
67. op.cit.(p.255)
68. op.cit.(p.258)
69. Laurie 1903 (p.138)
forty years earlier his name, chiefly associated with the 'Orbis Pictus', had been known to historical students only. This neglect is attributable partly to the ephemeral nature of his ecclesiastical works and partly to the hostility aroused by his educational writings. He frankly acknowledged his indebtedness to his forerunners, Vives, Bacon, and Ratke — to the first he owed only suggestion and stimulus, to the second his philosophy and the content of the curriculum, and to the third the conception of method as determined by the inductive process of mind. But in his educational conceptions and in the development and expounding of method Comenius was wholly original. Laurie enumerates (70) nine characteristics of Comenius as an educator: firstly, every human being is to be educated simply because he is a human being; secondly, the final aim of education, being pansophic, is threefold, knowledge universal, virtue, and religion; thirdly, knowledge as a human possession must be expressed in the vernacular of each nation; forthly, if encyclopaedic knowledge is to be acquired, even in its elements, everyone must begin in the infant school; fifthly, the problem of laying this broad foundation is the question of method, which is solved in Comenius' central work, the 'Great Didactic'; sixthly, the building up of the mind by means of the materials of education must be an organic process, the clue to which is to be found in nature; seventhly, Comenius reformed language-teaching and began a new era in textbooks by advocating the teaching of words through things; eighthly, he was far ahead of his time as to discipline, believing that wise culture, not coercion, is needed to make the seeds of knowledge, virtue, and piety grow to maturity; lastly, as regards the education of girls, he was two hundred and fifty years in advance of other men. It is an easy matter to pick holes in Comenius (71). He failed to see that the mind is built up, not by universal knowledge, but by its own native energy in using a little will. Nor is the pansophic basis in elementary education to be advocated, save in a restricted sense. Further, despite the moral and religious ends of education, he was anti-humanist in his views on the aesthetic and literary. Finally, he had no psychology to speak of and was compelled to rely on the frail support of analogy as the groundwork of his principles (72).

70. op.cit.(p.149)
71. op.cit.(p.155)
72. op.cit.(p.156)
b) Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance.

This volume, comprising a number of essays on modern educationists somewhat loosely held together by an outline of historical development, falls chronologically into two parts. The first, to which nine chapters out of a total of sixteen are devoted, deals with the period from 1320 to 1600 (which Laurie calls 'The Renaissance'), and the second, consisting of the remaining seven chapters, discusses the period from 1600 (designated by Laurie 'The Modern Period'). An examination of the contents reveals that both parts are overweighted in some directions and that they suffer from serious lacunae in others. For instance, four of the chapters in the first part deal with the Renaissance in general terms while Erasmus, Vives and Mulcaster are mentioned only in footnotes, and in the second part no less than three chapters are given over to Locke whereas, by Laurie's own confession (1), some account of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart (who are not even mentioned) is essential to any reasonably complete understanding of the development of modern thought in education. Laurie does not claim, it is true, to cover the whole field and in general what he does deal with is treated fairly exhaustively, but even so one or two of the papers, in the first part particularly, are relatively slight.

The first three chapters on the Renaissance represent an expansion of two articles contributed to the 'School Review' in 1896, to which Laurie adds a fourth on the universities. The remaining five chapters deal with Sir Thomas Elyot, Rabelais, Ascham, Loyola and Montaigne, two of them having previously appeared in earlier volumes of addresses. In the second part, apart from the chapters on Locke, Laurie discusses Bacon, Comenius, Milton and Spencer, two of these also being reprints from previous collections of papers and that on Bacon simply an excerpt from the Introduction to the 'Comenius'. The large amount of space devoted to Locke is justified by Laurie's expressed opinion that his 'Thoughts', taken with his 'Conduct of the Understanding', is the best treatise on education ever written, with the possible exception of Quintilian.

The Renaissance, Laurie says (2), is the name given to the period which saw the revolt of the intellect of Europe against mediaevalism in all its forms. The first period of the revival, extending from 1320 to 1450, grew out of the speculative spirit which arose from the freedom of discussion connected with the mediaeval universities, the contact with Byzantine and Arabic learning through the Crusades, and the enjoyment of human intellect in its own creations manifested

1. Laurie 1903 (p. VI)
2. op.cit. (p. 3)
in the beginnings of national vernacular literature. It was reason, as a free and even rebellious activity, that was the common source of the three main streams in which the new movement ran - art, religion, and science (3). Man was impelled to seek the satisfaction of utterance in beautiful forms through language and other media of artistic expression, of a deeper sense of the immediate relation of the human spirit to God, and of the pursuit of truth for its own sake. It is evident that the Renaissance was not dependent on the revival of Latin and Greek literature, although the more active minds were inevitably drawn to what was ready-made. It is, however, correct to say that this first period, largely literary and artistic in character, was chiefly Italian (4). The second period of the revival, extending from 1450 to 1600, may be dated from the fall of Constantinople and the dispersion of Greek scholars. It was the religious aspect, a longing for 'reality' in divine things as opposed to mere dogmatic form, that mainly characterized this period, the intellectual and moral forces of which were to be found chiefly north of the Alps (5). The scientific stream, in the wake of the other two, began to study nature as a system of laws and to supersede scholastic a priori constructions by knowledge based on the observation of facts (6). A brief survey of this sort, though necessarily inadequate, is essential to an intelligent comprehension of education as affected by the Renaissance. From these considerations it follows that the study of language became the common bond between the promoters of the revival, because Latin and Greek, on the one hand, held the key to the models of literary excellence and Greek and Hebrew, on the other, to the primitive record of the historical faith (7). Nevertheless, it would be a great error to suppose that the influence of the Renaissance on education was restricted to language, for the humanistic school embraced much more than grammar and style. The humanists, it is true, educated the few while we have now to give the higher education to all above a certain age. Hence, though the restoration of antiquity gave the chief direction to the work of the secondary school, it is no longer possible to humanize the modern schoolboy by means of Latin and Greek without a liberal use of translations and a familiarity with vernacular literature and national history (8).

3. op. cit. (p.6)
4. op. cit. (p.7)
5. op. cit. (p.8)
6. op. cit. (p.9)
7. op. cit. (p.13)
8. op. cit. (p.17)
The typical school of the first Renaissance was that of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua, the success of which was due to Vittorino's genius in organizing a school on the basis of a humanism which neither exaggerated the claims of the ancients nor broke with the medieval Christian ideal (9). Vittorino's method was sufficiently influenced to regard a sound body as the condition of a sound mind but his supreme aim was the penetration of the Christian life with classical culture. Nor did he exclude other subjects of instruction for he held that variety of work promoted greater energy of mind in the pursuit of the dominant studies. He did not believe in corporal punishment and, like all great educators, could dispense with it, save in the very last resort. The moral training of the pupils was accomplished not by coercion but by personal influence and supervision, and the school was characterized by a clearly defined ethical character. Among the writers on education in Italy under the impulse of the first revival Laurie enumerates four whose treatises all (10) breathe a common spirit. The methods of teaching and discipline advocated in them he regards as sounder than any prevalent during the second period and far in advance of the practice of secondary schools down to his own time (11). In the second period of the Renaissance Laurie comments on the work of three practising educators. The best results of the revival were not felt north of the Alps until Trotzendorf became rector of the school at Goldberg in 1521 (12). The prefectural organization of this school and the friendliness between master and pupils anticipate in a remarkable way what is related of Dr. Arnold. Latin alone was spoken and the school was called a 'second Latium'. Trotzendorf himself, Laurie says, was a very eminent schoolmaster. A second example of school instruction under humanistic influence is to be seen in the gymnasium founded by John Sturm at Strasbourg in 1537. Sturm was a typical disciplinarian and his great idea was to make Latin meet all the requirements of modern life. As a schoolmaster his strong points were his powers of organization and the accuracy of the work he demanded from each class. His gymnasium, indeed, became the model of the Jesuit schools and of all the secondary schools of Europe. Furthermore, Sturm wrote extensively on education. But, in Laurie's view (13), the third of these educators, Michael Neander, rector of the cloister school

9. op. cit. (p. 20)
10. op. cit. (p. 22)
11. op. cit. (p. 23)
12. op. cit. (p. 25)
13. op. cit. (p. 26)
at Ilfeld, had a more living mind than either of the others, for his teaching and curriculum showed that he possessed the true Hellenic spirit in fuller measure. The realism of humanism was nobly illustrated at Ilfeld, where Neander brought the young mind into direct contact with a wide range of literature, rhetoric, dialectic, history and also with the world of nature.

In all these schools there was a combination of religious with humanistic aims which never wholly ceased to characterize the secondary schools of Europe, but the curriculum was soon narrowed and the methods degenerated. The intellectual effort and moral courage required to organize a humanistic school were rapidly exhausted and there was no agency for maintaining a scholastic aim and method (14). Nevertheless, some gain was left for the world: firstly, classical books remained, and secondly, grammar was simplified. But the great scheme of the evangelical humanists of a vernacular education for all had to wait three hundred years on political enfranchisement for its full recognition (15). In the universities the main reforms were the introduction of Latin literature, Greek, mathematics and the genuine Aristotle, while the study of civil law had more reference to the spirit of antiquity and the groundwork of medicine was more scientific. These higher institutions, however, were essentially conservative and responded very slowly to the claims of humanism. Textbooks were still scholastic in form, and the complaints of Bacon and Milton were fully justified. This conservatism Laurie attributes (16), partly to the political issues everywhere at stake and partly to the inadequate preparation of prospective students in the secondary schools. As a record of the university scheme of the humanists Laurie gives (17) an account of Buchanan’s proposals for the reform of the University of St. Andrews, published in 1570, and Morgan incorporates (18) an abstract of this interesting piece of historical research in his chapter on the Universities after the Reformation. The want of books largely determined the method of teaching for even after the invention of printing they were scarce, and while learning without books unquestionably had its advantages, education could never have been wide-spread (19).

14. op. cit. (p.29)
15. op. cit. (p.30)
16. op. cit. (p.33)
17. op. cit. (p.34)
18. Morgan 1927 (p.130)
19. Laurie 1903 (p.36)
After this survey of the Renaissance Laurie proceeds to study the characteristics of the revival in education in the writings of representative educationists. He begins with Sir Thomas Elyot whose 'Governour', he says (20), was unknown save to the learned until H.H.S. Crofts' edition of 1880. The book is of historical interest for two reasons, firstly because it was the first treatise written in English in the spirit of the earlier Italian humanists, and secondly, because it must have influenced Roger Ascham. Laurie does not attempt to expound the whole of the 'Governour' but simply lets Elyot speak for himself. Elyot's remarks on the method of teaching literature, he asserts (21), are beyond all question "the best ever written in so far as my knowledge extends". As regards discipline he was much in advance of his time, a genuine believer in the power of education, an admirable representative of the fine humanism of da Feltre, and one of the most charming writers on education that ever wrote (22). It is interesting to note that Foster Watson, referring to Laurie himself, speaks (23) of "the kindredship of spirit in large-mindedness of treatment of education, which links together - though separated so far in time - these two great educationalists". He points (24) out that the educational aspects of Elyot's work had been completely ignored in standard histories of education until the appearance of Laurie's short account of it. The treatment of Rabelais is likewise rather brief: his aim, Laurie says (25), was the expansion and enrichment of the human mind as opposed to the overloading of it with the subtleties of formal grammar and scholasticism. He urged the study of science through personal contact with nature and advocated instruction through the senses, but in spite of this it is absurd to call him a realist. He had a moral and intellectual aim and recommended humanistic instruments for its attainment; hence he was no more a realist than Montaigne (26). To Rabelais must go the credit of having called attention to the poetic enjoyment of nature as an element in education, and he was the first in modern times to urge the importance of physical training. The large and liberal curriculum which he contemplated suggests that both Milton's 'Tractate' and Locke's 'Thoughts' owed, through the medium of Montaigne, not a little to Rabelais (27).

20. op.cit. (p.38)
21. op.cit. (p.44)
22. op.cit. (p.45)
23. Foster Watson 1907 (p.VII)
24. op.cit. (p.XXIV)
25. Laurie 1903 (p.47)
26. op.cit. (p.53)
27. op.cit. (p.54)
In a note on Erasmus Laurie says there can be little doubt that Ascham was as largely influenced by him as by Quintilian (28). His essay on Ascham, first published in 1892, is of more importance than any previously considered. Ascham, whose 'Scholemaster' deals with the classical languages and literatures as instruments of education, is what Laurie regards as the pure humanist in education, a conception he explains (29) as the formation of the human mind by literature and the study of the beautiful in expression. The title of Ascham's book indicates that he is dealing with specifically school education rather than with general questions, though despite his self-imposed limitation he cannot in fact escape the latter. His object was to show what a humanistic training really is, but inevitably he dealt first with the acquisition of Latin, which was to be the vehicle of the training (30). Laurie's discussion of Ascham's educational theory examines six main points, of which the first is the method of teaching and learning Latin. In the second section, dealing with the criticism of contemporary methods, the uses of translation, paraphrase, metaphrasis, epitome, and imitation are considered in turn, and Laurie states (31) in conclusion that he doubts if more sound criticism on the literature of Greece and Rome is to be had than may be found there and in the tenth book of Quintilian. The third section treats of the importance of knowing more than one language and the fourth of school discipline. Many of Ascham's remarks on this topic Laurie regards as applicable to his own time: discipline was a very important part of the treatise and Ascham's school-method had for its motive a moral purpose. He was in general an advocate for love rather than fear (32). In the fifth section, on virtue, Ascham's educational aim is reviewed and Laurie speaks of him as "a man of simple and direct outlook, of strong and manly sense, of moral purpose and vigour" (33). Hence he had a higher purpose than culture in the humanistic sense, for training to virtue is his main interest. But since a better method and a milder discipline are preconditions of the attainment of this higher aim, he lays most emphasis on them. The last section deals with gymnastic and music, and Laurie points out (34) that while Ascham advocated gymnastic as a pastime only, without recognizing its moral aim, he did attach a moral value to music-

28. op.cit.(p.55)
29. op.cit.(p.62)
30. op.cit.(p.66)
31. op.cit.(p.74)
32. op.cit.(p.76)
33. op.cit.(p.79)
34. op.cit.(p.82)
teaching. In general, his method was a sound and sensible one and, although he did not deal with the art of education on psychological principles, his keen and vigorous mind could hit very near the mark without formal psychology. Had his own Cambridge college founded a lectureship on education, restricted to Quintilian and Ascham, three hundred years earlier, the whole course of English education would, in Laurie's opinion, have been powerfully influenced (35).

Passing to Ignatius of Loyola Laurie claims that the Jesuit Order, founded by him, was in some respects the greatest educational movement of the second period of the Renaissance (36). Primary education received its great impulse from the Reformers but secondary education generally was left to the Jesuits to undertake. Their schools, in which the central subjects of instruction were classical Latin and the elements of Greek, were far in advance of Protestant institutions, though they did not approach in breadth of study such outstanding schools as those of Sturm, Neander and Trotzendorf. The reason for their excellence is contained in the word 'organization', embracing a deliberate ratio studiorum, a system of carefully graded classes, and the practice of many sensible rules of method in teaching (37). In addition, discipline was comparatively mild and great attention was paid to the health and bodily vigour of the pupils. The Jesuits did not write much on pedagogy, but their system embodies a pedagogy and even their higher instruction was far from contemptible. Their teaching was, however, restricted by church requirements and anything beyond Latin and scholastic philosophy was considered dangerous to the faith. For similar reasons they did little to advance the education of the masses but rather concentrated on those whose business was to lead and govern. Consequently, we may say with confidence that the essential characteristic of the humanistic revival was alien to the Jesuit spirit, that obedience and faith resting on authority virtually sum up the educational aim of the Order, and that formalism characterizes all its methods (38).

Laurie's essay on Montaigne, which first appeared in 1882, is another of the more important chapters in the book. Educationally the true successor of Rabelais, Montaigne was an ardent student of ancient literature though neither scholar, nor philosopher, nor theologian, nor politician (39). His way of looking at life

35. op.cit.(p.83)
36. op.cit.(p.86)
37. op.cit.(p.88)
38. op.cit.(p.90)
39. op.cit.(p.94)
was singularly fresh and original, and having no philosophical purpose to serve he set down his thoughts as they occurred to him, so that, after the lapse of more than three hundred years, he continues to speak to us with all the freshness of a contemporary. "Few writers say so many wise things as Montaigne does", Laurie declares (40), "and no one appears so little solicitous about convincing others that his sayings are wise". His views on education were the fruit of his positive philosophy of negation, since a happy, useful and practically wise life unconsciously determined the substance of his educational theory. In considering these views we must keep Montaigne's personal character before our minds, for if ever there was a man distinguished for 'sweet reasonableness', Laurie says (41), that man was Montaigne. Nevertheless, it is clear that he had received no intellectual or moral discipline and that his nature stood in need of it. The manner of his own education did not cure his manifest defects of character, and his views on the education of the young, which Laurie examines in five respects, are very much a reflex of that experience. As regards the end of education Montaigne held that a man should be trained up to use his reason and to virtue. The capable man of affairs, fit to manage his own business and to discharge public duties, is his educated man (42). Philosophy, having virtue for its end, is the highest fruit of education, and the function of the educator is to lead the pupil to recognize the essential beauty and charm of virtue and philosophy. Secondly, as regards the materials of instruction, Montaigne believed that despite individual differences among children it is better to give the elements of knowledge to all alike. From the first, the simple and practical lessons of philosophy can be inculcated and indeed the child's mind is more open to such teaching than to reading and writing. "Montaigne is generally classed by educational writers as a realist", Laurie maintains (43). "Those who so write, write, it appears to me without understanding". Monroe comments (44) on this statement as follows: "Considerable difficulty is experienced in classifying Montaigne as an educational theorist. Professor Laurie holds that he is a humanist; Mr. Quick that he is a realist; many other educational students classify him as a naturalist".

40. op.cit. (p.95)
41. op.cit. (p.101)
42. op.cit. (p.104)
43. op.cit. (p.106)
44. Monroe 1905 (p.455)
Most modern humanists, Laurie concedes (45), would not go so far as Montaigne in their opposition to words. The study of Latin and Greek he regarded as merely ornamental, and he would have a man learn thoroughly his own language first and then that of his neighbour. The elements of the sciences, history, and bodily exercises would all have a place in his public school, which would certainly be somewhat after the fashion of a German Realschule. The leading purpose of all his instruction would be ethical and humanistic and the only respect in which the curriculum would be realistic would be the subordinate place assigned to Latin and Greek. Laurie points out (46), however, that Montaigne, like Milton and Locke, thinks only of the education of the few. Thirdly, on the question of method, Montaigne has less to say but he touches on all the most important principles - the organization of instruction, the classification of pupils, the importance of examination as a part of good method, and the necessity of assimilation by sifting the evidence for oneself. Fourthly, of intellectual and moral discipline Montaigne says nothing, nor does religion or a high ideal of personal life enter into his scheme of education. Hence we may convict him, in Laurie's opinion (47), of having left unwritten the two chief chapters in educational theory. Lastly, with respect to school discipline, Montaigne is in substantial agreement with the great majority of eminent writers on education, namely, that if a good method is followed instruction will become pleasant. Physical punishment fails of its aim, but Montaigne did not forbid coercion in some form when all other means were unsuccessful. He merely protested against the scholastic tyranny of his time. Taken as a whole, his educational views, though defective, were sound in their substance and main purpose. As is to be expected from his own upbringing, everything with him is too easy (48).

The characteristics of the Modern Period in education Laurie considers to be, firstly, belief in the power of mere knowledge to educate the human mind; secondly, a tendency to advocate the study of physical science as opposed to the humanities; and thirdly, the application of the inductive method to instruction(49). The appearance of Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning' in 1605 was destined to place educational method on a scientific foundation. The essay on Bacon, which was first published in the 'Comenius' in 1881, is not, however, particularly noteworthy. He, himself,

45. Laurie 1903 (p.107)
46. op.cit.(p.110)
47. op.cit.(p.113)
48. op.cit.(p.115)
49. op.cit.(p.119)
Laurie says (50), was not aware of his relations to the science and art of education, but simply taught that we know inductively. The educational bearing of this is nevertheless manifest, for if we can tell how we know, the method of intellectual instruction is settled scientifically. One of Bacon's chief services to education was his inclusion of it among the sciences to be studied. He called it 'tradition', in the sense of handing down our acquired intellectual possessions to our successors, but in speaking of the subject he was influenced by the new gospel of basing our conclusions on accurate observation and a sound method of rational procedure. In his reform of method Bacon was not thinking of psychology but simply of the matter of knowledge. It no doubt followed that we should teach inductively, but we owe to his successors the full exposition of what was implicit in his thought. Bacon and his school were thus the founders of modern method in education, though occupying themselves with the content and not the form of thought (51). A more advanced psychology now claims to base the inductive method of instruction on a study of the mind itself. Nevertheless, we find in Bacon pregnant seeds of reform as regards both substance and method in education: he attacks the scholastic tradition of the universities, he sketches a pansophic ideal, he emphasizes the importance of method, he recognizes teachers as students of an art, and he stresses realistic studies. In short, he represents the transition from the old world to the new and is to be revered as the first of the moderns (52). Though we fail to find in Bacon a developed system of education, there are many hints which suggest a method as well as a curriculum of instruction. Of his conception of the encyclopaedic university, for instance, Laurie states (53) that it would be no exaggeration to say that were all the universities, technical colleges, laboratories, botanic and zoological gardens of Europe and America rolled into one, his great pansophic ideal would be only approximately attained. It was not within Bacon's purpose, however, to elaborate his views in their specific relation to the ordinary school (54). In so far as the study of the realities of sense finally placed education on a scientific basis Bacon was the father of realism, though not himself a realist in the modern sense of the term (55).

50. op.cit. (p.120)
51. op.cit. (p.122)
52. op.cit. (p.123)
53. op.cit. (p.130)
54. op.cit. (p.135)
55. op.cit. (p.136)
Emitting the chapter on Comenius already dealt with, we pass on to the paper on Milton which originally appeared in 1888. It is possibly the most significant of all Laurie's educational biographies, and Morris acknowledged (56) that, next to Hassen's "Life of Milton", it was of chief assistance to him in the preparation of his authoritative edition of the 'Tractate'.

The first impression given by Milton's treatise is disappointing but we must bear in mind, Laurie says (57), that it was only a brief statement written at the request of his friend Hartlib. Hence it reads more like a summary of opinions to be afterwards elaborated than a complete treatise, and so, because of the condensed character of the style, it demands close attention to be thoroughly appreciated. To some extent Milton was a realist and encyclopaecist like Comenius, but he differed from him in two respects. Firstly, he sought the study of reality in the ancients whereas Comenius sought it in modern science, and secondly, he did not have in view the education of the people as a whole but only of those who had time for prolonged study. Both were alike, however, in disregarding language and literary expression as containing at the primary stage the elements of knowledge and discipline. At the adolescent stage both did recognize art in language as an ornament, but the peculiar discipline of mind given by the comparison of a modern with an ancient tongue is not even alluded to by either (58). In his examination of Milton's scheme of education Laurie is unusually thorough. As regards the end of education, for example, he considers (59) it worthwhile disentangling six propositions that we may clearly comprehend Milton's view. Quick also evidently esteems this analysis of sufficient value to incorporate it in full in his own account of Milton (60). With Milton's aim all will concur, but objection must be taken to his assumption that language is merely an instrument for the knowledge of things. As regards the materials of education Laurie points out (61) that Milton had in view the secondary and university periods of instruction. He gives a list of books in use at Milton's school in Aldersgate Street (62), and sums up his scheme of secondary education as "at once realistic, encyclopaedical, and technical" (63). The university curriculum, on the other hand, is humanistic but, having regard to the substance of what is studied, it is 'real-humanistic' (64).

56. Morris 1895 (p. v)
57. Laurie 1903 (p. 160)
58. op. cit. (p. 161)
59. op. cit. (p. 162)
60. Quick 1890 (p. 214)
61. Laurie 1903 (p. 163)
62. op. cit. (p. 164)
63. op. cit. (p. 166)
64. op. cit. (p. 167)
Laurie then goes on to discuss Milton's views on gymnastic, and on moral, religious and aesthetic training, noting that he attached importance to music as an educational agency (65). Of school discipline Milton says little but suggests coercion, if need be, in an incidental way.

Laurie's criticism of Milton's proposals is twofold. In the first place, he takes exception to his scheme of instituting 'isolated boy colonies' as fundamentally unsound (66). Never an advocate of boarding-school education, Laurie held that boys learn by contact with the world as it is and acquire in their own families the best kind of moral and intellectual training. Secondly, he believed that Milton absurdly exaggerates the aptitude of boys and the capacity of teachers (67). The extensive course of reading recommended in his scheme of intellectual instruction would not be practicable, even if it were educationally sound. The substance of Milton's theory is that the real-naturalistic is alone of value up to the age of eighteen or nineteen. In nineteenth century terms what he proposes is that only those going to the university would waste time on Latin and Greek, which would be superseded by modern languages as the channels of realistic knowledge and the vehicles of philosophy and literature. The pursuit of knowledge doubtless involves much hard work, but the mental discipline necessitated by his curriculum is not valued by Milton. Hence his theory of education must be ranked among those schemes which hold that knowledge accomplishes everything (68). The final stage of instruction, admittedly, comprehends all that is best in humanism. Milton's prime defect is that he takes into account only a limited class of the community, with the result that his educational views are narrow, but even for the needs of that class his curriculum is inadequate. The mass of boys would enter life unhumanized by their education, with minds congested rather than disciplined. But he does stand out conspicuously as an advocate of direct moral instruction in an age when the practice of the schools was to rely on the dogmatism of religious creeds. Another serious omission was his complete disregard of method, in place of which his treatise presents us merely with a bad ratio studiorum (69). Nor can we approve of his giving a practical turn to play, for the essence of play is that it shall be useless. Because of these defects it has been

65. op. cit. (p. 170)
66. op. cit. (p. 173)
67. op. cit. (p. 174)
68. op. cit. (p. 176)
69. op. cit. (p. 178)
the habit of schoolmasters to ignore Milton's 'Tractate', though there is much that is valuable in it. As Morris says (70), the case for Milton is summed up by Professor Laurie, who puts his ideas into modern language. (71) Briefly, Milton condemned exclusive instruction in Latin and Greek, and formalism and verbalism in teaching; he advocated nature-instruction and practical handwork, and pleaded for direct moral instruction; he denounced attempts at composition without material to write about; and he recommended the study of the real both of sense and of the humanities before the organic arts, technical instruction in its widest sense, gymnastics, and the teaching of Latin grammar by means of the English tongue. Greatest of all was his profound conviction of the efficacy of education to mould the youth of a country to virtue, generosity, and sacrifice. To class Milton among the realists is only a partial truth; he stands by himself, and Laurie calls him a classical encyclopaedist (72).

Locke Laurie regards as the most important English writer on education next to Ascham, and he devotes considerable space to him because, in his opinion, no writer on education surpasses him despite the limitations of his personal experience (75). Of the three chapters on Locke two discuss his 'Thoughts on Education', and the third deals with his 'Conduct of the Understanding'. The defects of the first of these books arise from Locke's ignorance of the routine of the school, while its merits arise from the paternal relation in which he stood to his pupils. This taught him that daily moral training had far more effect in producing the ultimate result aimed at by all wise educationists than instruction in the narrower sense. Yet he was led to underrate the importance and difficulties of instruction, and small significance can be attached to his treatment of method as applied to moral training. He seems to have been ignorant of Comenius and Ascham, but he must have known Milton's 'Tractate' and the influence of Montaigne is conspicuous (74). Like Milton he does not think of the education of the people but considers only that of a young gentleman, and as he presumes that education is domestic his remarks are not always applicable to schools. His educational aims may be summed up as vigour of body, virtue and good breeding, and (subordinate to these) knowledge or mental acquisition. The first and second of these aims are discussed in the first chapters, but the treatment of the body, dealing with physical hardening

70. Morris 1895 (p.XXX)
71. Laurie 1903 (p.179)
72. op.cit. (p.180)
73. op.cit. (p.181)
74. op.cit. (p.182)
and diet, is brief (75). There is a much fuller discussion of virtue and morality under four main headings: firstly, Laurie gives Locke’s views on habit in relation to early training in virtue and the hardening of the body and mind, but remarks (76) that the latter is irrational; secondly, he discusses authority as the fundamental principle of training, but considers (77) that Locke pushes the necessity of establishing a feeling of awe in the child’s mind a great deal too far; thirdly, he deals with the enforcing of authority by means of punishments, in relation to both moral training and instruction, and rewards; finally, he speaks of the substance and method of moral training. The method is almost wholly by training, not by instruction, and as regards the substance there follows a discussion of various vices and virtues. Though Locke neither exhausts these nor even follows any intelligible order in discussing them, Laurie says (78) there are few books better suited to form an elementary manual of morals and manners.

The second chapter deals with knowledge or learning, and here Locke is a utilitarian in the sense that a boy should learn what will be useful to him in the conduct of ordinary affairs (79). Furthermore, he is cyclopaedic because he advocates the learning of the elements of many things. As regards the materials of instruction he was a realist though not a naturalistic one, but it must be admitted that he had the conspicuous defect of inability to comprehend the education to be found in literary expression or the discipline yielded by grammatical studies (80). This discussion likewise is dealt with under four main headings. Of method Laurie says that though Locke makes many pertinent remarks, it did not occur to him that it had a scientific basis in psychology. Thus his suggestions are to be designated wise expedients rather than methods strictly so called. He is right in holding that the success of instruction depends on the activity of the pupil’s mind, but wrong in saying that everything must be made pleasant and attractive. As regards the matter of knowledge Locke gives clearly to understand that this is quite secondary to virtue, wisdom and breeding. Nevertheless, Laurie feels (81) it incumbent upon him to give an account of this portion of Locke’s treatise, and a large number of school subjects

75. op.cit.(pp.184-5)
76. op.cit.(p.188)
77. op.cit.(p.190)
78. op.cit.(p.201)
79. op.cit.(p.203)
80. op.cit.(p.209)
81. op.cit.(p.210)
are discussed, ranging from reading to natural philosophy. In the section on the 'recreative' Laurie points out (82) that when we reflect that Locke was a physician, his almost total omission of all that comes under the head of gymnastics is strange. In speaking of bodily exercises at all he has in view only those which make an accomplished gentleman, such as dancing, music, and riding. Lastly there is a discussion of the qualifications of a teacher and his personal relation to his pupil.

In the 'Conduct of the Understanding' the theme is the training and discipline of the intelligence, and many sound rules of general method are vividly illustrated (83). Under the head of 'method generally', Laurie enumerates five main principles, and then proceeds to discuss 'discipline of the intellect'. He claims under this second head that the 'Conduct' is the necessary supplement to the 'Thoughts', and so it is to this valuable essay that we must go if we wish to know Locke's idea of the proper aim of intellectual education, which is discussed under 'words, judgments, and reasonings' (84). This work, Laurie concludes, throws fresh light on Locke's position as a realist and cyclopaedist, for we find on his own showing that the sole educational aim embraces not only virtue in the moral sense but also 'virtue of the intellect'. Indeed, if we read his system back from its admitted aim we find it in complete discord with the prevalent tone of the 'Thoughts', as regards intelligence and instruction (85). Hence, in respect of both the intellectual and moral aims of education, Locke, properly interpreted, is though unimaginative, more of a humanist than a realist. In his conclusion Laurie says (86): "I claim Locke as essentially a humanist, who had gone astray on the subject of language and discipline in his 'Thoughts', while he corrected himself in his 'Conduct of the Understanding' '. The supreme defect that detracts from his humanistic claims was his entire ignorance of the relation of the aesthetic emotions to moral and religious education. But in spite of his attitude to language and literature and his encyclopaedism, Laurie regards him as the greatest of all educational writers.

The inveterate subjectivity of Laurie's criticism is fully

82. op.cit.(p.218)
83. op.cit.(p.222)
84. op.cit.(p.225)
85. op.cit.(p.232)
86. op.cit.(p.234)
revealed in his chapter on Herbert Spencer which is the least satisfactory of all his essays and consequently merits only brief comment. Laurie (87) asserts that he had not intended to speak of the educational system of any contemporary, but had decided to make an exception in the case of Spencer whom he regarded as the most eminent and logical representative of the naturalistic school of philosophy. His own system of education, as Remacle explains (88), "was in fundamental opposition to that of Herbert Spencer. The latter advocated a utilitarian education in which scientific instruction was at once the essential means and the end". Laurie, after pointing out that Spencer's aim of 'complete living' practically means the adaptation of man to his environment, attacks his contention that science is the knowledge and discipline of most worth (89). He is more concerned, however, with Spencer's special treatment of moral education, not so far subjected to adverse criticism as attention had been mainly directed to the intellectual part of his treatise. He does concede that Spencer's chapter on method, as a collection of recognized precepts lucidly put, is worthy of perusal by both teachers and theorists (90). The main points of the lengthy criticism on the aims and methods of moral education are stated by Laurie himself. He claims (91) that Spencer's ideal aim in education and his standard of morality are false; that his method of moral education is merely a rule, of restricted application, to help in selecting punishment in certain cases; that despite much sound practical advice, the whole argument is confused and misleading except for the view that sympathy is the moral instrument of approbation and disapprobation; and that Spencer's moral training, by its exclusively negative and deterrent character, would only incidentally secure the positive results at which the parent and teacher aim.

87. op.cit.(p.235)
88. Remacle 1909 (p.XV)
89. Laurie 1903 (p.236)
90. op.cit.(p.238)
91. op.cit.(p.261)
Sources:

(a) General -


W. P. Graves: Great Educators of three Centuries, 1912.

S. S. Laurie: Educational Opinion from the Renaissance, 1903.


R. H. Quick: Essays on Educational Reformers, 1890.


(b) John Amos Comenius:

E. Bones: The Teacher of Nations, 1942.


do. Comenius, 1931.

S. S. Laurie: Life and educational Work of J. A. Comenius, 1881 (7th Ed. 1904)

(c) Other Educationists:


J. W. Adamson: The educational Writings of John Locke, 1912.


do. The Teacher's Rabelais, 1921.


R. H. Quick: Locke on Education, 1880.


Aldis Wright: The English Works of Roger Ascham, 1904.
ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL PRACTICE.

It is for historians to determine the value of Laurie's works on the Mediaeval Universities and Pre-Christian Education as contributions to the literature of history. They can be discussed here only for the light they throw on Laurie's thoughts about education in general, but in that respect they are certainly valuable. Darroch says (1) that the account of Pre-Christian education is the most important of Laurie's historical writings, and Duggan (2) recommends it as "an excellent review of ancient education". There seems to be more doubt about the trustworthiness of the account of mediaeval education, and historians of the standing of Powicke and Emden have not been slow to pass adverse criticism on it. In their revision of Hastings Rashdall's classic work they state (3): "Laurie's 'Lectures on the Rise and early Constitution of Universities' (London, 1836) is a brilliantly written little book, but it is unfortunately full of inaccuracies and misconceptions, old and new." They do not, however, specify, save in two instances (4), what these misconceptions are. American standards are apparently less stringent, for Reisner concedes (5) that Laurie's book "although old, continues in the main to be a reliable account of the subject", and Graves (6) even goes so far as to place Laurie's treatise on the same footing as Rashdall's, as "standard works on the universities in general". The 'Mediaeval Universities' preceded the 'Pre-Christian Education' in date of publication by nine years, but for purposes of discussion it seems more logical to reverse this order in the interests of the chronology of the subject-matter.

1. Darroch 1913.
a) Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education.

In his introduction Laurie points out that it is only when a nation, by virtue of an ordered civilization, has an idea of individual or national life that it has anything to teach us educationally. Systems of education arise when such nations ask themselves self-consciously how they may attain their ideal of life in the persons of their children. A question of this sort implies thought on the nature of man and the conditions of national permanence, and so a nation's education is largely determined by its moral and spiritual leaders. These have until recent times been more or less identified with a priesthood, or where no organized priesthood has existed as in the case of China, Greece and Rome, with a political aristocracy in whose social policy moral and religious conceptions have been embodied. In the historical evolution of the educational idea Laurie traces three stages: firstly, the unpremeditated education of national character and institutions; secondly, education as a matter of public concern though without systematized purpose; and thirdly, education as a definite state interest. At this level education tends to pass out of the hands of the family, but the family, as the true moral unit in the fabric of the state, ought never to be superseded as the chief agency in the education of the young. For the laws and institutions by which the state is protected ultimately depend upon the family influence on the affections and sentiments of man's nature. Consequently, a nation may achieve an advanced state of development without attaining to the third stage of educational evolution. Indeed, the only nations of pre-Christian times which did in fact attain to that stage were the Chinese and the Spartans. None of the ancients had developed the conception of education as a human right. The Greeks and Romans thought chiefly of the upper half of society, and although in Egypt, Judea, Persia and China, theoretically only poverty stood between the meanest citizen and the highest education, the Stoic and the Christian were the first to believe in the inherent right of every human being to claim education for himself.

The book itself is divided into four sections, dealing respectively with the Hamitic, Semitic, Uro-Altaic, and Aryan races. Each section discusses exhaustively the national characteristics, political constitution, religion, and literature of the various peoples subsumed under it, but Laurie's

7. Laurie 1900 (p.6)
8. op.cit. (p.8)
general conclusions as to the educational system which evolved are all that is relevant to the present purpose. Of the four principal races the individual nations which in each case found the highest expression of the racial capacity for civilized life were, in Laurie's opinion (9), the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Chinese, and the Greeks. But quite apart from the superiority of the Egyptians among the Hamites, Laurie considered that they were the most interesting of all ancient peoples for the antiquity and complexity of their civilization, and in consequence he devotes the whole of the first section to discussing the education of the ancient Egyptians. The education of the young Egyptian was through the religion, morality, law, and social customs of his native land (10). The lower classes grew up too patient of toil and oppression but there prevailed a mildness of disposition and simplicity of life which an organized educational system might not have secured. They compared very favourably as regards moral training and religious sentiments, Laurie believed, with the lower classes of his time in Great Britain. Despite a marked individuality in their keen practical intelligence, however, there was a complete absence of the personality which comes from the free exercice of self-conscious reason, and although reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic were accessible to all who desired instruction, there is no evidence that the labouring class received any benefit save in exceptional cases. The vital question in connection with Egyptian education, Laurie says (11), is whether the professions were open to all. The existence of a caste organization indicates that children generally followed the occupation of their parents, but the important point is that the way was open for clever boys. The aim of higher education was the scribe, whose social position was equivalent to that of a university graduate. There must have been two classes of scribes, a lower class who conducted commercial and family affairs, and a higher class who studied at the central temple schools and became expert in administration. The priesthood was the highest order in the state and all the learning of the Egyptians was to be found in their colleges at Memphis, Thebes and Heliopolis (12). The mathematics which was such

9. op. cit. (p.11)
10. op. cit. (p.39)
11. op. cit. (p.41)
12. op. cit. (p.45)
a prominent feature of Egyptian higher education was not a science in the Greek sense but chiefly practical. No deliberate effort was made by state or church to raise the standard of culture among the people generally, and even for the few a liberal education was undreamed of. Nevertheless, it was not want of education that restricted the advance of Egypt for it had an educational system, relatively speaking, as widespread and effective as that of Europe up to the beginning of the nineteenth century (13). The fact is the race was incapable of great exploits in the region of philosophy and religion. So far then from contemplating with astonishment the achievements of Egypt we are filled with wonder, Laurie states (14), that 5,000 years of opportunity produced so little. Hence, the surprising failures, as well as the astonishing successes, make Egypt so instructive a chapter in the history of the human race.

The Semitic races comprise the Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians and Phoenicians, briefly discussed in one section, and the Hebrews treated at great length in another. The greatest of these races as regards general culture were the Babylonians, the most warlike the Assyrians, and the most spiritual the Hebrews (15). Like the Egyptians, the Semitic races were of a serious, prosaic, practical, matter of fact character, except for the Hebrews who showed a certain narrow loftiness of genius. Since they alone influenced the education of the world, the Hebrews are of chief interest to us. No materials exist for a history of education among the Arabs, but from a very remote period a considerable body of lyric poetry was handed down by rhymeclogists (16). We must allow, however, a certain educative effect to unwritten literature, as the memories of oriental nations were facile and retentive to an incredible extent. There can be no doubt that writing was known long before the Christian era but very few could write. In the case of the Babylonians the fact that comfort and luxury attained great perfection and that their architecture was executed with a certain vastness of imagination, implies a highly developed technical education (17). There can, however, have been no education in the literary sense or even ethical education of the family. On the other hand

13. op. cit. (p.46)
14. op. cit. (p.48)
15. op. cit. (p.51)
16. op. cit. (p.52)
17. op. cit. (p.57)
the education of the few was by no means despicable, and the literature on which it was based was extensive. On the practical side considerable progress had been made in astronomy, arithmetic, mathematics and mechanics. The interest in astronomy was, however, not so much scientific as with a view to astrology, and medicine was not a subject of serious pursuit since diseases were caused by evil spirits (18). The higher education was not confined to the priestly class, but extended to the body of scribes although they did not enjoy such a high social prestige as in Egypt. Many of the upper classes also shared in it to some extent, and though nothing is known of the schools and teachers, instruction was probably individual. About the Assyrians there is nothing to be said which has not already been said about the Babylonians, except that, inhabiting a more elevated country, they were a more vigorous people. Like the Egyptians, the Assyrians paid tribute to a god of letters (19). Finally, the Phoenicians were the Semites famous in history for their commercial enterprise. They had material aims similar to those of the Assyrians and Babylonians but in a grosser form. With Phoenicia is associated the invention of symbols for numbers and an alphabet, but these were probably derived from Egypt (20). As intermediaries between East and West they played an important part in the history of civilization, influencing Greek art and building the Temple at Jerusalem, but they have little to teach us save by way of warning.

In the case of the Hebrews, by far the most famous of the Semitic races, the central religious conception of the Jewish mind was from Moses downwards a great educative force both in its rudimentary and universalized form (21). Nevertheless, it is necessary to look at their education as it existed at different periods of their civilization, and we may distinguish four epochs. During the first period, extending from the emigration from Egypt down to Saul, the Hebrews were still largely a pastoral race. National unity was none the less profoundly felt and the education of the people by this idea was going on. National

18. op. cit. (p.59)
19. op. cit. (p.62)
20. op. cit. (p.64)
21. op. cit. (p.78)
songs were handed down with the national history, and writing in the form of stone inscriptions, if not also on parchment, was known although it was the accomplishment of only a few. Even the education of the priesthood must have been confined to preserving the Mosaic tradition (22). In the second period, extending from Samuel until the return from the Babylonian captivity in 538 B.C., the Hebrews had become an agricultural nation, but there is not yet any evidence in the case of the mass of the people of instruction other than oral. Music, dancing, and song were practised, and at this time many of the psalms were composed. In higher education the most interesting fact during this period was the rise of the prophets, from among whom came the great Jewish intellects (23). Essentially a lay order, they stood in much the same relation to the religious and social life of the time as the monastic orders in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They constituted colleges of the nature of theological institutions, in which music, sacred poetry, and the profounder aspects of theology were studied. Writing became customary, and while the education of the people as a whole cannot be said to have altered its domestic form, this is not true of the higher section of society from David onwards. There is no reasonable doubt that writing and reading were pretty widely spread in that quarter, but it does not follow that there were 'schools' in our modern sense (24). The most important development of the third period, from the decree of Cyrus in 537 B.C. to the birth of Christ, was the rise of the scribes, into whose hands the whole law and its application to the affairs of life gradually fell. They established schools in the porches of the Temple and in synagogues, and though it was a great fall from the schools of the prophets to those of the scribes, all the learning of the time was concentrated in their schools. It was shared by the priesthood and higher laity, and comprised not only mathematics and astronomy but, from the third century B.C., Greek literature and philosophy as well. Among the masses of the people an educational change of even greater significance was the gradual institution of synagogues throughout the land. "We can easily see", Laurie declares (25), "that the influence of these local schools of religion must have been incalculable". They represented the prototype of the Christian parochial system, but it cannot be inferred that even as late as 200 B.C.

22. op.cit. (p.79)
23. op.cit. (p.81)
24. op.cit. (p.83)
25. op.cit. (p.87)
instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, except as home teaching, reached more than a small proportion of the population. The national literature continued to furnish the principal material for teaching in the schools, but a knowledge of Greek formed an essential part of a good higher education (26). The chief educational feature of the fourth period, from the birth of Christ onwards, was the extension and consolidation of the scribe (now called Rabbinical) schools. The fact that the majority of Jews could neither read nor write in the generation preceding the birth of Christ is comparatively unimportant as it was true of England 100 years ago. Primary schools only became general a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem and are consequently hardly pre-Christian, since nothing later than the second century B.C. can be regarded as of purely Israelitish growth (27). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the Jews were the first to insist on the education of the whole people. The Talmudic writings, Laurie claims (28), contain so much that bears on education as understood by the Jew when brought under humane Hellenic, if not also Christian, influences, that a few remarks on this stage of Jewish educational history are added to the account. He concludes by stating (29) that the Jews were eminently a race of theological genius as the Greeks were a race of aesthetic genius. In their writings the personal relations of man to God were expressed in a language never reached by any other nation, but at that point all true progress of the intellect and imagination ended, for the scientific and dramatic spirit were alike alien to the Jew.

Passing to the Uro-Altaic races Laurie explains (30) that except under post-Christian influences they have never exhibited a capacity for progress in literature, arts, or science beyond a certain fixed point. Their highest development is to be found in China which has existed as a civilized power for 5,000 years, and what he has to say of these races must be confined to the educational development of the Chinese. China had a consciously organized scheme of education long before any other Asiatic or European people, for

26. op.cit. (p.92)
27. op.cit. (p.93)
28. op.cit. (p.95)
29. op.cit. (p.98)
30. op.cit. (p.103)
although Egyptian education existed from an earlier date it was never an organized system. The particular point of interest in the Chinese system is that it suggests many considerations regarding the state organization of education and the mode of testing ability and learning that bear directly on contemporary European and American education (31). It may be gathered from this that Laurie deals not with specifically pre-Christian education in the case of China but rather with the system existing in his own day. Of the general character of the Chinese he says (32) that on the whole it is child-like, gentle, kindly, and peaceful, though combined with much cunning, suspicion, trickery, and immorality. With them the governing conception is not value for self as a personality but the sacredness of the family, and the Chinese have made little or no progress for over 2,000 years (33). Philosophical speculation and physical science are absent, literature chiefly consists of a bald kind of history, and art in the higher sense - notwithstanding delicacy of execution and considerable imitative power - does not exist. Nevertheless, we have to recognize the fact that for at least 4,000 years the Chinese have had a settled system of life and government and that for nearly 3,000 years education has always been for them a matter of national importance. The present system, it is true, was fully organized only about 700 A.D., but education was general throughout China from the time of Confucius (500 B.C.) (34). The competitive system may be said to date from the second century B.C., and if no form of education whatever reaches the lowest stratum of the population it is certain that all have the opportunity of acquiring the knowledge requisite for the state examinations. Laurie discusses in detail the elaborate examination system and concludes (35) that its end is not to promote philosophical speculation, scientific investigation, or even literary excellence, but merely to ascertain fitness for the public service by testing the acquisitive, retentive, and reproductive powers of the candidates. The barren intellectual results of the educational curriculum of the Chinese are due to the purpose, method and character of the studies. Their characteristic qualities of mind have full scope in productions such as encyclopaedias and topographical work which demand chiefly industry, detailed accuracy, and discriminating judgment (36). Even the moral results are far

31. op.cit. (p.104)
32. op.cit. (p.106)
33. op.cit. (p.107)
34. op.cit. (p.121)
35. op.cit. (p.132)
36. op.cit. (p.147)
from being so high as might be expected in a nation whose whole energies are set in the direction of moral and political training. Honesty is not a conspicuous virtue and honour does not exist. Though the political and social aim of the system is to a large extent attained, in that the Chinaman is generally a good son, a good subject, and an industrious labourer, the education given, as measured by Aryan standards, leads at best, morally and intellectually, to mediocrity (37). Not that the course of education is anti-humanistic, but restriction of aim and intense personal competition can deprive even liberal studies of their liberalizing influence. Finally, the 'didactic parallels' which Laurie draws from Chinese education, are that those who are enamoured of inelastic state-systems, or who advocate secular education, or who hold that educational success is to be measured by external examinations, or who regard with suspicion aesthetic and spiritual ideals, or who believe that teachers and inspectors are heaven-born, will find in China what they desire to see (38).

The remaining section of the book, comprising five-eighths of the whole, deals with the Aryan races in which are included the Hindus, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Though the civilization of Persia is much later than the Egyptian or Semitic forms, the branch of the Aryan race in India, Laurie asserts (39), may claim an antiquity for civilized forms of life second only to Egypt and Babylonia. It so happened, however, that the Hindus succumbed to the influences of nature, which developed in them characteristics very similar to those of the Egyptian and Semite, and in consequence it was in the Persians that the true Aryan spirit first clearly declared itself. In approaching the education of a country like ancient India, we are at once met by the great and all-influencing social fact of caste (40). Wherever a distinct sacerdotal hereditary caste existed in ancient times, the higher education of a country was practically appropriated to it, and in so far as instruction may be met with outside this circle it must inevitably be, for the mass of the people, of a very slight and perfunctory character. Indeed, the aim of such education would be chiefly the furnishing of a limited portion of the people with the necessary mercantile arts of reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic. The earliest civilization of India may be embraced within the period 2,000 to 1,400 B.C., and the

37. op.cit. (p.143)
38. op.cit. (p.150)
39. op.cit. (p.155)
40. op.cit. (p.157)
Brahmanical caste-system gradually grew up between 1200 and 1000 B.C. "By caste we mean that kind of social organization", Laurie explains (41), "by which the natural divisions of the people are authoritatively fixed and made hereditary". The divisions were into priests, warriors, merchants, labourers, and besides these a still lower class, called pariahs, standing outside the social organization altogether. Laurie concludes (42), however, that the system was never quite so iron as has been sometimes represented. The ethical virtues of a race whose highest hope was personal absorption in the Universal, were temperance, patience, docility, resignation, and obedience to civil and ecclesiastical authority. About 1000 B.C. there arose Brahmanic settlements, closely approximating to collegiate institutions of learning, which developed into important colleges, such as that at Benares (43). The curriculum embraced, in addition to all the astronomy and mathematics known, theology, philosophy, language, and science, as well as the whole of the national literature. Hence, we must recognize in the highest Hindu education a fully adequate course of liberal study. Furthermore, it seems certain that these schools were not only open to the warrior and merchant castes, but that the latter were expected to take advantage of them. The only exclusive privileges of the Brahmans were the functions of priest and teacher (44). The lowest caste, however, learned nothing; but we may say that for 1000 years B.C. the Brahmanical education was extensive and thorough, and shared in to a certain extent by a considerable number of the second and third castes. Entirely oral in the first centuries, it later included reading and writing, and an introduction to epic literature, the sacred books of Vedic hymns, and probably also to mathematics. Apart from this instruction, the second and third castes received their education from the laws, traditions and customs of their country as handed down through the family. To Laurie it seems, however, that the village commune took the place of the family as the organ of the education of tradition, because of the subordinate position of woman among the Hindus (45). As regards method and discipline,

41. op.cit. (p.159)
42. op.cit. (p.160)
43. op.cit. (p.169)
44. op.cit. (p.170)
45. op.cit. (p.172)
teaching took the form of servile acceptance of tradition from the lips of the master and discipline was gentle, except in the extremest cases. In certain elementary adventure schools of post-Christian times writing, reading, and the elements of arithmetic were taught, largely by a system of mutual instruction among the pupils. "Dr. Bell took his moniterial system, Laurie says (46), "from what he saw at Madras".

Laurie's estimate of the Persians is a high one. Their empire, although accounts of its rise are difficult to understand, was an important factor in the general history of the world and an immense advance as a humane and moralizing agency on the barbarous empire of the Assyrians (47). Notwithstanding a despotic form of government, the Persians when compared with other oriental races were virtually a free people. Their disposition was towards equity, mercifulness of administration, and mildness of character. At their best there was also a freshness and nobility of mind among them which represent a new phase of humanity altogether. We already feel half way to Greece, Laurie claims (43), for along with these qualities we find in the Persian a charming friendliness and Hellenic grace of courtesy. The religious system was supremely ethical and gave a distinct value to the individual personality, hence the chief virtues were truth-speaking and courage. The national characteristics are of interest to the student of education for the reason that the Persians, though we know little of their educational methods, are to be regarded as marking a step in the progress of the human race generally, and that the current religious and ethical beliefs constituted their education. As there was no educational system in Persia, there is no evidence, apart from the wealthier classes, of any education beyond what the national customs and institutions, and the religious beliefs and rites, would necessarily give to all citizens (49). We do know, however, that boys of the higher classes were brought up together in central and departmental court-schools where they were trained in various military exercises, in the course of which great attention was paid to their education in truthfulness and self-control. We may perhaps see in such schools an anticipation of the mediaeval schools of chivalry (50). "The Persians were not an intellectual

46. op.cit. (p.176)
47. op.cit. (p.131)
48. op.cit. (p.183)
49. op.cit. (p.190)
50. op.cit. (p.191)
people like the Egyptians, Chaldees, Hindus, and Chinese", Laurie says (51). "Life, with all its activities, was dear to them". The distinctive characteristic of their education is its devotion to physical and ethical training. Outside these, education, either as instruction or discipline, did not exist. Women do not appear to have had any save domestic training, but they held a higher position in the family life than was usual in the East. In the Persian idea of God, most nearly allied to the religious conceptions of the Jews, there was a possibility of progress, and it is difficult to understand why the nation did not advance.

In the Greeks we find united the two leading characteristics individually exhibited by the Persians and the Hindus, namely, a certain simplicity of faith and morals accompanied by freedom of spirit, in the one case, and profound philosophic contemplation and literary excellence, in the other (52). We recognize in them the loftiest, deepest, and richest expression of the genuine Aryan spirit. The Greeks, above all other races before or since, seem to have lived. Humanity in all its breadth and variety, free from the overshadowing idea of God as a being of exacting claims, was represented in this wonderful people (53). Nevertheless, we must admit that the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, were light-minded, frivolous, vain, of a shallow aesthetic morality, talkative, untruthful, scheming, and pleasure-loving. Furthermore, apart from the philosophers and dramatists, they were in no sense a religious people, nor distinguished by a high conception of abstract duty. Hence they were deficient in reverence, and incapable of that feeling of obligation to supreme law which marked the Roman. Their true religion was Art, but it fell far short of the Jewish, Persian, and Hindu conceptions of a supreme being and man's relations to him (54). The position of Athenian women not only seems incompatible with the women of the great dramatists but there is even something oriental in the Ionic conception of the place of a wife. But it was these very characteristics, and especially the personal freedom in which they had their roots, that constituted the versatility of the Greeks. They had a genius for perception and expression in every kind of human emotion and intellectual activity. We owe to them cur logic and

51. op.cit. (p.192)
52. op.cit. (p.195)
53. op.cit. (p.216)
54. op.cit. (p.217)
philosophy, the beginnings of science, the advancement of mathematics, the finest forms of history, of poetry, of the drama, and the arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting. In their education the civic idea of service to the state was dominant, just as in China the family idea, in India the caste idea, in Egypt the class idea, among the Jews the theological idea, and among the Persians the virile military idea was dominant (55). But national education did not mean in any part of Hellas what it means in Europe now. The larger number of the inhabitants, composed of foreign residents and slaves, were excluded, and the education given both at Sparta and Athens was the instinctive product of the life of the people rather than the deliberate result of educational discussion and theory. It is difficult to determine the date of the first schools in Greece, but we may fix it not later than 600 B.C. at Athens and possibly about 350 B.C. in Sparta (56).

Laurie's discussion of educational practice among the Doric and Ionian Greeks, and the contrast between them, occupies two lengthy chapters. After a brief treatment of Cretan education, he deals in some detail with the Spartan system under the four heads of infancy, boys, young men, and the education of women. He notes (57) in passing that the power of music in forming the character was recognized by the ancient Egyptians, and still more by the Greeks, to an extent which is almost unintelligible to us moderns. The education of the Spartans was governed by the idea of bodily and mental discipline, but a certain religious and civic training was obtained through their songs, tales, and rhythmical laws. It was public both in the ordinary sense and in the sense of being open equally to all free-born children. We have in Sparta as near an approach to state-socialism as the history of mankind has yet exhibited, and so it is not only a valuable contribution to the history of education, as an interesting educational experiment, but also instructive to the political philosopher (58). Passing to the chief representative of the Greek spirit, the Athenian, Laurie points out that Athenian education was a reflex of Athenian life. While leaving the

55. op.cit. (p.222)
56. op.cit. (p.226)
57. op.cit. (p.237)
58. op.cit. (p.243)
education of the citizen by the parents free, the state prescribed certain general rules. In a full treatment of the question he states (59) that the schools were private undertakings, though subjected to a certain moral control and to the general superintendence of the public authorities. Neither in school nor during the ephic period had the Athenian a hard time, but discipline was severe and the rod was freely used. Since women had no schooling their education was wholly domestic. As regards method in general, there was none consciously thought out (60). In his final chapter Laurie speaks of the higher education in the fifth century B.C. and afterwards. We can detect the beginnings of higher education from 460 B.C., but the best results of the higher educational activity are to be found in the school of Isocrates in the fourth century (61). Assuming a good preliminary education in grammar and literature and recognizing the importance of mathematics and astronomy as a valuable discipline, he rested the whole higher education on language as an instrument of thought. Hence we must look upon the School of Isocrates as the mother-university of Europe (62). Laurie can find no grounds for the decadence of the Athenian higher schools until 200 or 250 years after the birth of Christ, and he asserts that for 700 years at least Athens, in spite of the rivalry of Alexandria, governed the higher education of the civilized world. In conclusion, he claims (63) that the Hellenic educational idea, more or less conscious, always was self-control, excellence, and grace of expression. It is perhaps to be regretted that Laurie makes no attempt to expound Greek educational theory, but in a note on Aristotle, whom he regards as a representative spokesman, he gives (64) us his reason: "The history of education is one thing and the theoretical views of philosophers another".

In passing from the Hellenic races to the Roman people we meet the human spirit in a less captivating form, but in this new field of educational study the personality of man, his self-conscious worth as an individual, and his supremacy over the conditions of his own life are conspicuous.

59. op. cit. (p. 254)
60. op. cit. (p. 276)
61. op. cit. (p. 288)
62. op. cit. (p. 289)
63. op. cit. (p. 294)
64. op. cit. (p. 295)
The bent of the Roman mind was essentially practical and prosaic, the chief legacy of thought that it bequeathed to humanity being moral energy and jurisprudence. The latter is still studied as the basis of all modern law, and, as Laurie says (65), Roman law, indeed, is itself a civilization. In religion the Romans were unquestionably devout and serious, and there was a distinct ethical element in their conception. In social life, while the practice of monogamy was not peculiar to them, they seem to have been the first to recognize in full the honour paid to the wife as head of the household (66). The tradition of character, civic life and duty was the main source of education for the first 350 years of the life of the city. In his chapter on the historical development of Roman education Laurie finds it necessary to speak of three successive national periods. During the first period, from the earliest times to 303 B.C., education was chiefly domestic and had for its aim the formation of the 'vir bonus', summed up in the words gravitas, honestas, fortitudo, prudentia, and iustitia (67). The moral and religious training that Sparta aimed at giving compulsorily through its public system, the Roman aimed at giving freely through the parents. Nevertheless, from the fourth century B.C. reading and writing were probably as widely known as they were in civilized Europe in the beginning of the eighteenth century (68). In the second period, from 303 to 148 B.C., Roman education remained substantially the same till about 250 B.C. From then onwards there gradually grew up in the ordinary ludi a higher linguistic education than had yet been known, though education was still not mainly in the hands of the school-teacher. The mass of the people received no instruction save the rudiments of reading and writing, and we are justified in saying that literary education cannot be regarded as beginning till about 233 B.C. (69). In the third period, from 148 B.C. till imperial times, education can no longer be said to be specifically Roman but rather Greek education coloured by Roman character and aims. From this time forward Greek language and literature were regarded as indispensable elements in the higher education. The education which had humanitas, or culture, for its aim was finally established by 128 B.C. at latest, but the line which Hellenic studies took was grammatical and philological rather than aesthetic. Women

65. op.cit. (p.303)
66. op.cit. (p.309)
67. op.cit. (p.320)
68. op.cit. (p.323)
69. op.cit. (p.329)
shared in the literary culture of Rome only to a restricted extent. In the schools discipline was severe and the hours were long. The fact that teachers taught for money influenced the ancient mind, as regards their social status, to an extent which we fail fully to comprehend (70). A whole chapter is devoted to a discussion of the writings of Quintilian, in whom we see the highest type of teacher that the ancient world produced, with perhaps the single exception of Isocrates. His works contain much practical instruction for the teacher of all time, and the prominence given to him is justified (71) by the fact that he has governed all modern education since the Renaissance. In his final chapter Laurie deals with education in imperial times and, while admitting a decline in the educational aim, he refuses to subscribe to the view that education was decadent during the first two centuries of the Christian era. "The third century, I consider", he says (72) in conclusion, "was the century of decadence, and also of the rise of the Christian schools."


This book, like the 'Institutes of Education' and 'Language and Linguistic Method', is in the form of lectures which, Laurie says in his introduction, he would have delivered in his annual course if there had been time. The volume, which is one of the most interesting of Laurie's historical works because of the ideas on higher education contained in it, is somewhat amorphous, but seems to fall fairly naturally into three almost equal parts. The first five lectures deal with pre-university mediaeval education, and, by a slight re-arrangement of the order of the remaining ten, five lectures are devoted to the discussion of the constitution and curriculum of the early universities and five to the growth of some of the individual universities themselves. The five lectures in this last section deal respectively with Salerno and Naples, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, and Prague. Laurie's reasons for selecting these particular institutions for special consideration may be briefly stated as follows. Salerno (technically speaking never a fully constituted university and later absorbed into the University of Naples), Bologna and Paris were not only the three primary studia generalia in point of time, but each specialized in one of the three higher branches of study - medicine, law, and theology - which characterized the university movement.

70. op.cit. (p.346)
71. op.cit. (p.355)
72. op.cit. (p.409)
Oxford and Cambridge are of interest largely because of the collegiate system which dwarfed the university. Finally, Prague claims attention as being, if not one of the earliest universities formally founded, the first to be founded after Europe had had experience of the university system. Although universities, as we understand the term, are a phenomenon of the modern world, there were important centres of learning in the ancient world. Indeed, Athens was more to the ancient world than Paris was to Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (1); but Alexandria came nearest in form and organization to the modern conception of a university (2).

The Athenaeum at Rome, which specialized in law, the new university founded at Constantinople at the end of the fourth century, and the famous law school at Berytus are also worthy of mention (3). The seven liberal arts of the trivium and quadrivium, representing the range of human knowledge and intellectual activity, were studied solely in the interests of general culture, and even where a specialized training existed, as medicine at Alexandria and law at Rome, it was subordinated to arts in the widest sense (4).

The decay of ancient education and the rise of Christian schools may be said to have taken place soon after the death of Plotinus about 205 (2250) A.D. The influence of the Church, though hostile to humanitas, cannot be regarded as merely negative, for it acted as an antidote to the degeneracy of the Hellenic schools. The latter were, however, tenacious of life but, having ceased to promote either the spiritual or the material interests of men, they were doomed to die in spite of the efforts of emperors to stimulate their activity (5). The positive contribution of Christianity was twofold: firstly, divine sanction of the common brotherhood of man, and secondly, enhancement of the sense of personality. Preparation for a hereafter necessitated some measure of education and so catechetical schools began to grow up at the end of the second century (6). The narrow conception of this education, however, had the unfortunate result of substituting authority for the free movement of reason and of divorcing man from the interests of this world for those of the next. It took nearly fourteen hundred years before the

1. Laurie 1886 (p.3)
2. op.cit. (p.5)
3. op.cit. (p.7)
4. op.cit. (p.12)
5. op.cit. (p.16)
6. op.cit. (p.22)
possibility of the union of reason with authority and of religion with Hellenism could be conceived (7). By the end of the fourth century the church had gained control over education and the rise of monasteries initiated both a new conception and a new machinery. The founding of the Benedictine order was particularly important and their transcriptions of manuscripts placed succeeding generations under an incalculable obligation (8). The Benedictine communities extended the blessings of elementary instruction to many preparing for secular vocations, but the mediaeval machinery was hard put to it to give the merest rudiments of learning to the regular clergy. Despite the revivals of learning during the seventh century in England under Alcuin and Bede and in Spain under Isidorus, education even in the best monasteries seldom went beyond the trivium (9). Throughout the middle ages there was a shortage of manuscript books due to the inflated price of parchment which resulted from the Saracen occupation of Egypt. At the close of the eighth century it may be said that mediaeval education, in contrast to that of the ancient world which brought youth into contact with the substance of literature and the realities of knowledge, was disciplined by the formal and instrumental in its most barren shape.

The invitation of Alcuin to the court of Charlemagne in 782 led to the founding of the famous Palace School, designed largely for the laity, at Aix-la-Chapelle (10). Of Alcuin himself Laurie records the opinion: "He was an estimable man, and a good administrator, but of no original genius, and cast in a monastic mould" (11). As the result of a decision of the Council of Aachen in 317 on the subject of monastery schools there evolved three types of mediaeval schools: firstly, the inner schools for oblati, secondly, the outer schools for non-monastic clergy and laity, and thirdly, in connection with cathedrals, episcopal schools which had developed out of the earlier catechetical schools. There is no evidence for supposing, Laurie says (12), that the genesis of universities is to be seen either in the Palace School

7. op.cit. (p.25)
8. op.cit. (p.31)
9. op.cit. (p.36)
10. op.cit. (p.43)
11. op.cit. (p.47)
12. op.cit. (p.49)
constituted by Charlemagne or in the reform of important schools which he carried out at centres such as Bologna and Paris. Such schools, though possessing privilege, lacked large permanent endowments, without which the maintenance of learning in a state is hardly practicable. "By 'learning' we mean", Laurie explains (13), "the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and without reference to its value in the economic market". Indeed, the existence of the modern university was made possible only by the introduction of the economic motive. In the episcopal schools the master was a canon of the cathedral and the chancellor exercised a general supervision over all schools for the clergy in the diocese. Educational provision both in these and in the outer monastic schools was generally democratic, and the sons of serfs and nobles might often be found sitting side by side (14). The three great text-books in use were the "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii" of Martianus Capella, the 'De Consolatione Philosophiae' of Boethius (of whom Laurie claims (15) that had the whole of his works been available, the course of mediaeval higher instruction might have been of a very solid character), and the 'Etymologiae' of Isidore of Seville, an encyclopaedia in twenty books which constitutes a valuable record of the state of knowledge at the beginning of the seventh century. In the inner monastery schools instruction and maintenance were free, but in the outer and cathedral schools the latter had to be paid for. The head of the cathedral school came to take precedence over the other canons after the dean, and from the tenth century exercised the power of granting a 'licencia docendi' to anyone acting as a teacher in any school in the diocese. The instruction given was generally crude and unenlightened; literature and humanism were absent from the course of study, and both science, which demands free investigation, and philosophy, which means unfettered thought, were impossible (16).

The appointment of Scotus Eriugena to the Palace School under Charles the Bald marked an epoch in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages and Rabanus Maurus is to be regarded as a man of considerable original genius as well as of great learning, but otherwise there is little advance to report in the two and a half centuries following the death of Charlemagne (17). Nevertheless, the early half of the ninth

13. op.cit. (p.51)
14. op.cit. (p.65)
15. op.cit. (p.67)
16. op.cit. (p.73)
17. op.cit. (p.76)
century perhaps did more for education, in proportion to the means available, than any period since. In the east the torch of learning burned brightly among the Arabs and Christian teachers were made welcome at Saracen schools. If the Christian schools did not promote learning, at least they conserved it until certain changes in the social condition of Europe by the beginning of the twelfth century made the establishment of great central schools possible. The reorganization of municipalities and the growth of the guilds led to a demand for schools in the more important commercial towns, and the city schools which arose in response to the demand had two important new characteristics. Firstly, they were often outside direct church control, and secondly, instruction was given in the vernacular, not in Latin (13). The universal domination of the Catholic Church had created a spiritual European commonwealth and a common language which made communication between different countries possible. The arts curriculum in the high-class episcopal schools in many towns was reasonably good and, according to Laurie's view of educational history, the great studia publica or generalia arose out of them (19). It is probable also that the Crusades introduced men to a standard of learning among the Arabs unknown in Europe and resulted in a general external influence which Laurie designates 'the Saracenic impulse'. The actuating causes directly contributing to the birth of universities, however, were threefold: in the first place, the need for specialization due to the accumulation of learning; in the second, the growth of lay feeling in connection with certain professions; and in the third, the actual departmentalization of studies at Salerno, Bologna, and Paris. Specialized studies certainly always presumed a prior course in arts but in other respects the studium generale might consist of only one specialty, since the 'generale' implied open to all and not an encyclopaedic curriculum. A studium generale is defined (20) by Laurie as "a privileged higher, specialized and self-governing school open to all the world, free from monastic or canonical rule, its privileged including the right of promotion". Both the form taken by their constitution and the graduating system were powerfully influenced by the trade guilds.

Paris and Bologna were the models on which the European system came to be based, but Laurie finds evidence of earlier specialized instruction and a collegiate constitution at Salerno (21). Since the first specialized schools were not founded, however, it is impossible to fix the date of their rise,

13. op.cit. (p.95)
19. op.cit. (p.98)
20. op.cit. (p.104)
21. op.cit. (p.105)
nor does there seem to be any organic unity of succession with either the ancient world or, apart from the Saracenic impulse, the Arab schools of the East. Indeed, the primary purpose of the infant universities was a professional one with severely practical ends - the needs of the human body in the case of Salerno, the needs of men as related to each other in a civil organism in the case of Bologna, and the needs of the human spirit in its relations with the unseen in the case of Paris (22). The characteristics of a studium generale were, firstly, a specialized school for men open to all, secondly, free teaching and free learning, and thirdly, an autonomous organization of teachers and scholars (23). A studium might, in the first instance, comprise more than one 'universitas', a term originally denoting simply a community and in no way implying that the curriculum was 'universale'. To begin with there were no recognized university buildings and the doctors taught where they could, but as numbers increased some sort of organization became necessary. This led to the growth of the 'nations', which played so prominent a part in mediaeval university life. Both at Bologna and Paris each nation chose a representative who voted in the election of a rector, but at the latter the masters had complete control of the organization owing to the youth of the undergraduates. In both places, apart from the governing body, there was a 'consortium' of masters which gradually broke up into faculties. The rectors with the procurators (at Paris) and the consiliarii (at Bologna) exercised great power and enjoyed high social prestige. The chancellor, though the titular head of the university, merely conferred degrees, except in England where, Laurie says (24), "he governed as well as reigned". The fact that he was an ecclesiastical dignitary does not derogate from the position of the mediaeval universities as autonomous lay communities independent of, but not antagonistic to, the Church. Admittedly, the Pope kept a watchful eye for possible heresies but the universities were in the main regarded as defenders of the faith. Even at Paris the chancellor was for long the real head of the university, and the rector attained to first place only by degrees (25).

"Whether or not it will be possible for universities ultimately to maintain their freedom under a democratic social system, is a grave social question", Laurie declares (26). The

22. op.cit. (p.109)
23. op.cit. (p.172)
24. op.cit. (p.132)
25. op.cit. (p.136)
26. op.cit. (p.138)
example of France where the idea of an autonomous commonwealth, or republic of letters, has, under democratic influences, utterly disappeared, is not encouraging. Commenting on this a third of a century later, Duncan MacGillivray stated (27): "The universities still preserve their autonomy, but perhaps, as the late Professor Laurie feared, theirs is the fate reserved by Polyphemus for Odysseus, to be eaten last". In the mediaeval universities the source of power was the nations as regards discipline and privileges and in the masters as regards studies. It might appear at first sight that the election of the governing body of rector, procurators, and eventually deans, at Paris by the members of the university as a whole was on thoroughly democratic lines, but Laurie maintains that non-regent masters had a voice only in important deliberations and that normally voting was restricted to those engaged in actual teaching. Consequently, the suggestion that university governors should be chosen by graduates scattered all over the world would have seemed, even to the most republican academic mind of mediaeval times, "as it unquestionably is, supremely ridiculous" (28). The reference here appears to be a proposal made by the Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland in 1378 to increase the influence of the General Council on the University Court (29). Laurie does, however, himself suggest safeguards to prevent the regent masters identifying the general academic welfare with their own advantage. His fear is that if the power of the consortium magistrorum is not felt in every part of the body academic, the universities would degenerate into mere examining boards and the professors would be degraded into tutors (30).

The very large numbers of students at the earliest universities, estimated as between twenty and thirty thousand at Paris, Bologna, or Oxford, may have been exaggerated, though it is well to bear in mind that attendants and cooks were enrolled as cives, and that universities provided the sole training grounds for the professions from the age of twelve onwards. At the same time it is difficult to visualize how so large a number of the youth of Europe could afford the expense of residence away from home (31). The endowments of cathedral

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28. Laurie 1886 (p.192)
29. Morgan 1933 (p.49)
30. Laurie 1886 (p.193)
31. op.cit. (p.196)
schools were certainly used to assist needy students to study abroad and the monastery hospitia offered free accommodation to travelling scholars. During the first two centuries of the existence of universities students had to enrol with some master, and breaches of discipline were punished by the rector, but there was much licence among those who had no serious purpose of study and even to-day we see the survival at Oxford and Cambridge of rules and restrictions originally framed for little boys or licentious youths. It was, therefore, for disciplinary as well as academic or charitable purposes that colleges arose. The right of internal jurisdiction, a privilege enjoyed by the early universities, was the outcome of privileges granted in the ancient world to scholars, transmitted through the Church, as benefit of clergy, back to scholars again (32). The formal constitution of faculties was another interesting development of university organization; the word, at first used to denote simply a 'branch of study', came later to mean 'those teaching and studying the same group of subjects'. In the latter sense it implies separate corporations, such as those at Paris after the split between arts and theology in 1260, each electing its own dean who sat with rector and procurators on the governing body. There were four traditional faculties but there might quite well be twenty, though in Laurie's opinion it is a historical blunder to separate the pure sciences from arts (33). The rise of faculties was closely connected with the graduating system, and the faculties acquired the privilege of examining and promoting candidates for degrees, although master's degrees were actually conferred by the chancellor. The higher faculties of theology, law, and medicine were constituted at Paris between 1260 and 1270, but their organization was already implicit long before that.

The question of precedence among the faculties is difficult to determine since the angles from which it can be approached tend in different directions. On grounds of antiquity arts has a strong claim to priority, but if advanced instruction be taken as a criterion, medicine might dispute the claim. If the authority of the Pope, who exercised a general supervisory right over the early universities, is acceptable, theology is named first in his earliest letters to Paris. Finally, if it is held that subjects which have no direct professional bearing occupy a higher position in the

32. op.cit. (p.203)
33. op.cit. (p.206)
temple of knowledge than those which are directly practical in their relations, arts might again claim pride of place, but it may reasonably be objected that many of the studies required for the professional equipment of doctor or lawyer must also be classed as pure sciences. "To determine so complex a question on general principles", Laurie concludes (34), "would, I suspect, be impossible". In the first instance, only the arts faculty, to which all students were held to belong until they attained the doctorate in one of the higher faculties, was represented on the governing body, but the other faculties achieved representation when their deans were admitted to sit with the rector and procurators at Paris (35). Graduation at first simply conferred the right to teach, or in medicine to practise, after a certain length of attendance at a university and the passing of an examination conducted by those already in the position of teachers. The practice grew up partly out of the ancient custom of the granting of a licencia docendi by the chancellor of a cathedral and partly by analogy with the guild organization in three grades - apprentice, companion, and master. To begin with, specific titles were not awarded and terms, such as 'magistri' and 'doctores', were used in a purely generic sense. When the organization became more settled and formal examinations were introduced, 'magister' was gradually confined to arts and 'doctor' to those who had further specialized in theology, law, or medicine. "But to reach so advanced an organization as this", Laurie says (36), "required a century and a half".

The licencia docendi (or medendi) conferred the right to the mastership, which was merely a formal admission to the body of masters. Public disputation was equivalent to the chef d'oeuvre presented by the aspirant to the mastership in a guild. Because of the closer connection at Paris between the arts school and the university, the degree of bachelor of arts arose there to mark the completion of the trivium but it had, Laurie believes (37), a prospective rather than a retrospective significance. In time, however, the baccalaureus was adopted in all faculties to mark the half-way house to a full degree, and the terms magister and doctor took on a specific meaning as titles formally conferred in accordance with certain regulations. The establishment of this custom may be fixed at the beginning of the thirteenth

34. op.cit. (p.211)
35. op.cit. (p.214)
36. op.cit. (p.217)
37. op.cit. (p.220)
century, by the end of which each faculty had a recognized graduation scheme in three grades (33). They were 1) bachelor, 2) licenciate or master, 3) doctor (except in the faculty of arts). The doctorate in law or medicine required seven, and that in theology eleven, years of specialized study after completing the arts degree. According to Laurie, the doctorate in law could be taken in either civil or canon law, or in both, and he claims (39) that D.C.L., and LL.D., are the respective historic survivals of this practice. As matriculation often took place at twelve or fourteen the bachelorship was awarded very young, and in France and Germany the trivium has, very properly, been relegated to the secondary school while the universities are reserved for specialist studies. In Laurie's view, a compromise is likely in Great Britain, but at least boys of seventeen ought to come up to the university prepared to enter upon an academic treatment of arts subjects. At the same time, the master's degree should demand high attainments in some special branch of study and so he calls (40) for the restoration of the baccalaureate in Scotland - a reference to the abolition of the B.A. degree after the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1353 (41).

The distinction between regent and non-regent masters evolved out of a discussion which arose in Paris in the thirteenth century. The regents carried their pupils through the whole curriculum for the bachelor's and even the master's degree until the development of literary and scientific studies necessitated specialists, who were then known as professors. Since universities have a double function as at once teaching schools and academic institutes for the advancement of learning, a professor who neglects to fulfill both functions is merely a regent if not, in a sense, a fraud (42). The highest function of a university education is not the culture of the individual since it must always be narrow and, from the psychological nature of the case, egotistical. Nor ought the rewards of study, such as fellowships, to be given to those who can find in clerical or scholastic posts a return for excellence in classics or mathematics, but utilized for the encouragement of pursuits which do not 'pay' (43). The

33. op.cit. (p.223)
39. op.cit. (p.230)
40. op.cit. (p.231)
41. Morgan 1927. (p.140)
42. Laurie 1886 (p.232)
43. op.cit. (p.235)
The medical school at Salerno probably grew out of the Benedictine monastery, established at Monte Cassino in 529 A.D., in which the monks studied and expounded Hippocrates and Galen. These facts, Laurie considers (43), "are sufficient to establish a direct connection with Greek medicine long before the Saracen influence was felt in Europe" - a statement which appears to conflict with an assertion made by Graves (49):

44. op. cit. (p. 269)
45. op. cit. (p. 271)
46. op. cit. (p. 274)
47. op. cit. (p. 284)
48. op. cit. (p. 112)
49. Graves 1910 (p. 77)
Laurie and Mullinger give more prominence to the influence of the Saracen medical writers than does Rashdall. For more than a century before Constantine took refuge there about 1065, Salerno was known locally as a 'civitas Hippocratica', but it was his European reputation that placed it in the front as a great specialized medical studium publicum (50). The first state examinations in medicine were instituted in 1137 when the Duke of Salerno, Roger II, required all practitioners in his dukedom to possess the licencia medendi conferred by the college under his authority. The date at which the schola Salernitana was organized as a collegium is uncertain but it was a public school as early as 1060 and a privileged school from 1100 (51). A three years' arts course was required as a preliminary to the five years' medical course, and when the fame of Bologna as a law school and Paris as a theological centre led the Emperor Frederick II to add these studies to those already existing in the south of Italy, Salerno was absorbed as a collegium into the University of Naples which he established in 1224. The constituting of a university is defined (52) by Laurie as "the granting of a charter of incorporation to a community of learned men, securing these men as teachers in a certain position of dignity and emolument, and giving them as a corporate body powers to confer privileges in connection with the professions".

The great name associated with the rise of Bologna as a law school was Irnerius, who rediscovered Roman law for Europe and by his labours contributed to the progress of civilization effects which it would be difficult to overestimate (53). Bologna, first formally recognized in 1158, grew from small beginnings until there were said to be, at the time of Roger Bacon, 20,000 students. So large a lay community was new in the history of Christendom and, for purposes of organization and protection, students from the same part of the world came together and formed 'nations', which were "free self-governing societies within the universitas" (54). Nations existed at Bologna no later than the latter half of the twelfth century, and in the second decade of the thirteenth they combined to form the universitas ultramontanorum and the universitas citranontanorum, comprising respectively eighteen and seventeen nations, each of which elected its own rector and governing body. The gradual assumption of rights is a noteworthy feature of universities prior to the foundation of the University of Naples in 1224, but thereafter papal recognition, giving

50. Laurie 1886 (p.113)
51. op. cit. (p.116)
52. op. cit. (p.117)
53. op. cit. (p.128)
54. op. cit. (p.132)
European validity to their degrees, was of great importance, if not essential, to them (55). In the democratic organization of Bologna the professors had no prerogatives over the students in the election of the governing body and were equally subject to the authority of rectors and consiliarii. To the original universitas, or faculty, of civil law were added a faculty of canon law about 1150, a joint faculty of arts and medicine in 1316, and a faculty of theology in 1360. The latter was a universitas magistrorum only and in so far as its students shared in the administration of the university they did so as arts students (56).

The distinguishing feature of Paris is that, in Laurie's view, it arose directly out of, and not as a mere offshoot of, the cathedral school of Notre Dame (57). Theology was already taught there at the beginning of the twelfth century by William of Champeaux who might almost be regarded as the founder of the university as a specialized school, but his successor in the headship of the cathedral school, Abelard, was to Paris what Constantine was to Salerno and Irnerius to Bologna (58). Abelard's career demonstrates for the first time the intimate connection between the university movement and freedom of enquiry. The precise point at which Paris became a university is difficult to determine but Laurie considers it inaccurate to say that the central and surrounding schools constituted a universitas much before 1140. Nations existed in a rudimentary form about 1150, but at Paris, on account of the youth of the students who were predominantly in the arts faculty and not pursuing professional studies after an arts course, the consortium magistrorum seems to have been the original basis of organization. Collegiate foundations grew up partly to help poor scholars and partly to encourage postgraduate studies, since every pursuit outside the professional or money-making had to be artificially fostered in medieaval times even more than at present (59). Theology was at first classed as one of the liberal arts, civil law never flourished as being a rival to canon law and too exclusively vocational, but medicine was added to the curriculum about 1200. A disruption in 1229 led to the separation of theology from arts, and also resulted in a secession of masters and students to other centres, including Oxford and Cambridge. It was a blow from which Paris

55. op.cit. (p.136)
56. op.cit. (p.140)
57. op.cit. (p.141)
58. op.cit. (p.146)
59. op.cit. (p.156)
never quite recovered but it teaches us that the early universities regarded themselves as autonomous organizations, consisting in their own opinion of a community of teachers and scholars which elected its own governors and regulated its own studies without intervention (60). The organization of Picard, Norman, French, and English nations evolved between 1200 and 1220, and each nation, by the votes of both students and masters, elected a procurator to the governing body which had jurisdiction in matters of discipline and privileges, while the consortium magistrorum regulated the studies (61). The rector, originally only head of the nations, became successively dean of the arts faculty in 1274 and head of the university in 1341, after which the function of the chancellor was restricted to conferring degrees. The eminence of Paris during the Middle Ages is to be attributed to the study of philosophy, comprising at that time the interpretation of material as well as mental phenomena. By the beginning of the fourteenth century any university was regarded as incomplete which did not provide for instruction and graduation in all four faculties and hold from a recognized papal or royal authority the power of doing so (62). Paris offers a good illustration of the distinctive characteristics of early universities - the nature of the instruction, the assumption of rights subsequently confirmed, the imperium in imperio, and the conception of a literary republic which chose its own governors, regulated its own studies, and dispensed its own justice.

That Oxford and Cambridge were largely arts universities probably accounts for the absence of outstanding names, as compared with the specialist universities, in their early history. Nevertheless, in the case of Oxford at least, evidence of higher instruction is afforded by Robert Pulleyne’s lectures on theology about 1130 and a course in civil law given by Vacarius about 1149 (63). The whole question of assigning dates depends on the criterion by which a university is judged, that is to say the provision of specialist teaching or the formal adoption of a constitution such as that of Paris. On the first count, the university life of Oxford may be said to date from about 1140 and that of Cambridge from about 1200, while on the second, their university organization took its form about 1230 after the migration from Paris (64). But their constitutions,

60. op.cit. (p.163)
61. op.cit. (p.165)
62. op.cit. (p.167)
63. op.cit. (p.237)
64. op.cit. (p.242)
though modelled on Paris, showed certain peculiarities. For instance, the chancellor exercised at Cambridge the authority of the rector of continental universities and ratified the acts of the two houses of regents and non-regents by whom he was elected. The regents alone regulated studies but both houses managed property and questions of privilege. The regents, and not the students, were responsible for the annual election of two proctors. A similar system obtained at Oxford but the chancellor had even greater power than at Cambridge (65). The youth of the undergraduates necessitated, as at Paris, supervised lodgings for students and to meet this want halls and colleges arose. The term 'college' was applied primarily not to buildings but to a corporation of individuals having a common purpose (66). Later it came to denote an endowed hall at which free quarters were provided in return for adherence to the regulations of certain statutes. The foundation of Walter de Merton furnished a model for all succeeding colleges both at Oxford and Cambridge, and set a 'secular' and 'liberal' example by excluding monks and friars from its membership and the vocational pursuits of law and medicine from its curriculum of studies.

Finally, some consideration of the University of Prague has value in throwing what Laurie calls 'a retrospective light' on debatable questions in university history. It was formally founded by Charles IV in 1348 as a studium generale in all the faculties and we may consequently expect to find in its constitution the conclusions to which the best mediaeval minds had come as regards higher education (67). The fact that Charles had previously obtained papal sanction and that the Pope in his bull nominated the Archbishop of Prague to the chancellor-ship, indicates recognition of him as 'supreme arbiter' in university affairs (63). As at Paris, the rector who had jurisdiction over all members of the university in civil, disciplinary, and criminal matters and a general responsibility for administration, was chosen by the representatives of four nations, but the election took place twice yearly. The original 'congregation', in which masters and students had equal votes, was superseded by a 'council', consisting of two procurators from each nation, and by the end of the fourteenth century Prague developed into a universitas magistrorum (69). Degrees were awarded in only two

65. op.cit. (p.244)
66. op.cit. (p.249)
67. op.cit. (p.255)
68. op.cit. (p.257)
69. op.cit. (p.259)
grades - bachelor in all faculties and master in arts and theology or doctor in medicine and canon/civil law. The young bachelor had to swear that he would teach for two years in the university, that he would promote the university's interests to the best of his ability, and that he would not accept a similar degree from another university. The bachelorship was a faculty promotion but the chancellor had the power of granting the licencia docendi, after which admission to master or doctor simply conferred membership of the appropriate faculty (70). Eventually the faculty of law constituted itself into a separate university, retaining only the chancellor as a common link with the other three faculties. From the order observed at public ceremonials Laurie deduces (71) some ingenious conclusions. Firstly, the precedence of faculties was theology, law, medicine, and arts; secondly, before a student entered a higher faculty a course in arts was required but, while the bachelorship was sufficient for law and medicine, the licence or mastership was needed in the case of theology; and thirdly, the deans of faculty did not sit on the governing body with the rector and procurators.

The idea of a university may have existed, in a sense, at Athens or Alexandria, but strictly speaking it is a modern conception (72). Even to-day, however, the function of universities is still debated, although opinion in favour of their being at the same time institutes of free scientific enquiry and schools for training appears to be growing. They are to be jealously guarded in respect of the first function, which is the investigation and propagation of truth; the second function is the furnishing of ideals and principles of action which give direction and purpose to character (73). It follows from this that the two tendencies which the governing members of universities have especially to guard against are the use of their resources for the enrichment of individuals at the expense of the academic good, and concentration on the practical aim of their existence to the detriment of their scientific function (74).

70. op.cit. (p.261)
71. op.cit. (p.265)
72. op.cit. (p.287)
73. op.cit. (p.290)
74. op.cit. (p.291)
Sources:

(a) General -
W. Boyd: A history of Western Education, 1922
P. R. Cole: A history of Educational Thought, 1931.

(b) Ancient Education -
J. Drever: Greek and Roman Education (Teachers' Encyclopaedia, Vol.VII), 1912.
S. S. Laurie: Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education, 2nd Edit. 1900.

(c) Mediaeval Education -
S. S. Laurie: The Rise and early Constitution of Universities, 1886.
R. S. Rait: Life in the Mediaeval University, 1912.
N. Schachner: The Mediaeval Universities, 1938.
SECTION III - ART OF EDUCATION
CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIONAL REPORTS.

Of great importance as a memorial to Laurie's skill in the practical sphere of education are the reports which he published in one connection or another during his official career. On the one hand, there are those dealing with the hospital system, produced at the request of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh in 1863, the general effect of which is well stated by Hole (1): "As a consequence of these reports, the Merchant Company obtained the Act of 1869, and the movement for the general reform of hospitals and educational endowments was set on foot". On the other, we have those dealing with rural education in the north-east of Scotland, produced in connection with Laurie's work as Visitor to the Dick Bequest and addressed to the Trustees in 1865, 1890 and 1904. The practical effect in this instance is succinctly expressed by Morgan (2): "Much of the beneficial influence the Bequest has exerted in such a marked degree on education in the three north-eastern counties was undoubtedly due to his guidance". But the reports are not simply statistical and financial surveys: they are also treatises on education. Harrison (3) describes the account of the 1863 investigation as "a report which is a classic as far as the hospital system is concerned"; Morgan (4), elsewhere, states: "Laurie's reports to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest are standard authorities on Scottish education", a judgment similarly expressed by Clarke (5). Strictly speaking, the reports on the Merchant Company hospitals were not directly connected with Laurie's official life and some explanation of the circumstances which led up to their appearance is essential before examining the documents themselves.

The hospital system, on the model of Christ's Hospital in the City of London (founded in 1553), was introduced into Scotland under the will of George Heriot who died in 1624 (6). By 1855 there were over a dozen similar foundations in the country, but the Argyll Commission (appointed

1. Hole 1884 (p.130)
2. Morgan 1927 (p.116)
3. Harrison 1920 (p.26)
4. Morgan 1929 (p.195)
5. Clarke 1922
6. Morgan 1927 (p.103)
in 1864, to inquire into the schools of Scotland) reported (7) adversely on their management in its third report, which was published in 1868. The hospital system, it was implied, was not economical as judged by its educational results, and the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, which controlled four hospitals, "took action at once", Harrison says (8), "preferring to reform their schools themselves rather than allow outsiders to interfere". The matter was first raised at a meeting of the governors of George Watson's Hospital on 3rd April 1868 (9) when the Master of the Company, Mr. J.S. Duncan, moved that the education committee of the hospital should a) consider the existing course of study in relation to the subsequent careers of the boys, and b) invite 'one or more experienced gentlemen' to examine the various classes in the hospital and test the success of the actual teaching. In a subsequent report to the governors, the education committee, Duncan says (10) "unanimously resolved to request Mr. Simon S. Laurie, Secretary of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland, to carry out the instructions of the governors, as, after the most careful enquiry, they were satisfied that he was a gentleman possessed of such experience and independence of character and position that the governors might thoroughly rely on receiving from him an impartial and candid report of the real state of the present internal management of the hospital". The instructions actually given to Laurie were to report on the instruction and discipline not only of George Watson's Hospital but of the other three hospitals as well (11), and he showed, Duncan declares (12), "such deep interest in the system of hospital training generally that, in addition to these reports, he has added a fifth document, entitled 'General Remarks on Hospital Training'". Laurie submitted these reports to the Merchant Company on 15th June 1868 and they were published on 3rd July of that year. Despite the fact that they were preceded by the publication of the first of the Dick Bequest reports, they will be accorded priority of treatment as an isolated, though important, incident in the early part of Laurie's career.

7. op.cit. (p.105)
8. Harrison 1920 (p.26)
9. Heron 1903 (p.284)
10. Laurie 1868 (p.66)
11. Laurie 1868 (p.117)
12. op.cit. (p.67)
(a) **Reports on Hospitals under the Administration of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh.**

The four institutions on which Laurie reported were Daniel Stewart's Hospital, George Watson's Hospital, the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and the Free School run in connection with James Gillespie's Hospital which, curiously enough, was an asylum for indigent old people and therefore not a 'hospital' in the educational sense. The consolidated report comprising, in addition to the four particular and the concluding general reports, a report by the education committee to the governors of George Watson's Hospital introducing the remit and summing up the recommendations, is a document of 131 pages. The whole is of considerable historical importance, but of special interest to the educationist are the general remarks on hospital training, and the account of the Merchant Maiden Hospital which, in the great volume of his educational writings, characteristically represents the only specific reference that Laurie ever made to the education of girls as distinct from that of boys. In some respects it is unfortunate that the private nature of the investigation made it difficult for him to speak with complete candour, but it is not difficult to read in his cautiously expressed comments an unqualified disapproval of the system as a whole. He himself says (13): "I have been led to conclusions even much larger and more antagonistic to the present constitution of things than I have felt myself at liberty here to record. These conclusions too have been reached in spite of the fact that the funds of the Company are so well administered, and the hospitals as a whole are so faithfully and anxiously conducted, as to defy animadversion from the most hostile". The solicitude for not inculpating individuals Laurie extends also to the teaching and domestic staffs of the hospitals. "It is gratifying to be able to record", he says elsewhere (14), "that the opinion which prevails in many quarters, that they are institutions characterized by inefficient work, and filled with half idle officers, is utterly without foundation. Whatever conclusion may be formed of the results of hospital education, this is certain, that the headmasters, assistants, and matrons all of them are fully occupied, and zealous in the discharge of their duties. In this respect, as well as in their general administration, I am satisfied that the hospitals connected with the Merchant Company can bear the minutest investigation".

13. op.cit. (p.130)

14. op.cit. (p.49)
In actual size the three hospitals did not greatly differ at the time of Laurie's visitation. The smallest and educationally by far the most efficient was Daniel Stewart's, which was an institution composed of 68 resident boys "almost wholly drawn from the upper labouring or quite the lowest middle class" (15). The largest was George Watson's, which had 83 residents and 20 day boys, all of whom were of the merchant and middle class. The age range of the inmates was in both cases between seven and fifteen years. The Merchant Maiden had 75 resident girls between the ages of seven and seventeen, of much the same social status as the boys in George Watson's. Finally, James Gillespie's was a day school for poor boys between the ages of six and twelve. There were 200 boys on the roll at that time, but, says (16) Laurie, "the school is merely an elementary one, and that of a humble kind. High profession is made in no branch of study". In the case of the three hospitals, superficially at least, the curriculum offered did not diverge to any marked degree from that which might normally be expected at the present day in a good secondary school. The difference would be qualitative rather than quantitative, though there are one or two important omissions even in the number of subjects offered. In Daniel Stewart's what Laurie terms the 'sectional' organization of instruction (by which he means that each class had one master for all subjects) was in force, while at George Watson's and the Merchant Maiden the now more usual 'departmental' (or specialist) system was employed. Though less economical of teaching power Laurie regarded the latter as the better arrangement (17). French was taught in all three institutions, Latin in the two boys' hospitals (with a little Greek in the case of Watson's), and German in the girls'. The most conspicuous lack was the total absence of any form of science.

In these reports the sureness of Laurie's touch as an educationist is as apparent as ever. When discussing the question of science teaching in connection with Daniel Stewart's time-table he says (18): "Those who expect more than this are vainly looking to the school to supersede the special training of the workshop or counting-house - a work which does not belong to the school, but to masters of trades. The present sudden outcry for 'technical' education is not, however, without significance, and points to the necessity, long admitted by educationists, of introducing into schools instruction in

15. op.cit. (p.19)
16. op.cit. (p.110)
17. op.cit. (p.22)
18. op.cit. (p.21)
the elements of some of the sciences, while the future health and intelligent conception of our industrial organization, forces upon us, it seems to me, with even more urgency, the importance of instruction in the laws of health, and in the broader and more intelligible facts and principles of political economy". He further suggests (19) that, save in exceptional cases, German should be taught in place of Latin in the upper division of the school. Speaking of the instruction given in drawing, he remarks (20): "Drawing is at present treated (as in most schools) as an accomplishment. It ought rather to be regarded in schools as an educative instrument". On the question of gaps in instruction, due to the haphazard organization in George Watson's, Laurie makes the profound observation (21): "If instruction were not a process whereby the more complicated was evolved out of the more simple, and the general out of the particular, education would be an meaningless term, and the teacher would appeal, as of old he did, to the memory alone". Similarly, in connection with the same school, he comments (22) on the use of corporal punishment as follows: "The maintenance of the discipline of the hospital seems to me to require a too free use of the strap. Where this is the case the fault is in the masters not in the boys; and of such a state of things the headmaster, who is the source of all discipline, must accept the responsibility".

Laurie's views on the education of girls might be held to be somewhat coloured by the Victorian background in which he lived, but he did not commit the error of confusing equality with identity which rather characterized his age. In evaluating the educational methods in a hospital for girls it is necessary to take a different standard from that adopted in the case of boys. "There is at present a strong current of public opinion in favour of the claims of girls to a school training similar to that given to boys. This claim", he says (23), "I should be the last to question". At the same time there are two facts to be taken into consideration, firstly, the different mental constitutions of boys and girls, and secondly, the practical requirements of the future life of girls as contrasted with those of boys. Girls who profess to be properly educated should know something of cooking, sewing, laundering, and music, and it is manifestly unfair to demand

19. op.cit. (p.34)
20. op.cit. (p.30)
21. op.cit. (p.47)
22. op.cit. (p.59)
23. op.cit. (p.81)
such attainments in addition to all that boys are supposed to know. Even if it were possible to make the time-table yield a little to pressure, Laurie declares himself opposed to the multiplication of studies as both unsound in theory and hurtful in practice. "I think most men of cultivation will say", he contends (24), "that the most able women whom they have known - I mean those of largest capacity, of the deepest moral power, of the freshest imagination, of the most ready wit, and of the most open intelligence - have been those who, in the strictly scholastic sense, knew least. The truth is, that the intellect of woman is a very delicate growth, and that it is interwoven with her imagination, her affections, and her moral emotions much more intimately than in man. It expands more as an harmonious unity, and is as likely to be crushed and tarnished as fostered by the unskilful hand of man put forth to mould and educate". Though he does not profess to go deeply into the question of mental differences, we may safely conclude, Laurie thinks, that what disciplines the mind of a boy will not necessarily discipline to the same degree that of a girl. "While youths are best educated by the formal in study", he continues (25), "girls, after the age of thirteen, are best educated on ideas, just as before thirteen they are capable of true education mainly through the affections". Commenting on the excessive religious observances of the hospital, he says (26) further: "It is not by overdoing religious duties that the female mind will be brought under religious influences. It is always sufficiently accessible to spiritual truths, as these appeal to the affections, or elevate the hopes of the soul. Masters incur a serious responsibility not merely by foregoing the opportunities afforded them of reaching the tender mind, but also and not less by obstructing the open avenues to the heart by formalities and over-instruction". Finally, the analytic powers of the female mind, which Laurie considers to be naturally weak, require special strengthening exercises. "It is not without cause", Laurie asserts (27), "that the education of girls of all classes is so much a thing of unconnected facts, dead words, and superficial accomplishments, and fails to reach and vitalize the intelligent soul. It is not the fault of the teachers alone; it is the overpowering tendencies of the taught which drag the instruction, whatever may be the method pursued, into certain ruts".

24. op.cit. (p.82)
25. op.cit. (p.83)
26. op.cit. (p.85)
27. op.cit. (p.100)
Passing to Laurie's final report, one can hardly help being struck by the educational wastefulness of the system in general. To judge from comparative figures which he quotes (28), it would appear that, out of an annual expenditure of £11,496 on the three hospitals, only £2,229 was devoted to strictly educational purposes. That, so far as mere instruction went, results of a very satisfactory kind might be attained in such institutions, Laurie was prepared to concede, but he did not consider the system a wholesome one, either morally or intellectually (29). In the first place, there was a lack of vitality about the inmates. "The fixed hours for every act, the unvarying round from day to day, the necessity for acting in masses, the regimental routine in which every duty is embedded, inevitably tend to the destruction of individuality" (30). Morality then becomes, by losing its root in principles and personality, either a habit of fear or a hard duty externally imposed. Secondly, the hospital boy was without the support and obligation of the affections, the most powerful of all the binding moral forces which operate while a boy's principles and habits are being formed. "Family life, and the ties which gather round it and grow out of it, he knows nothing of" (31). Thirdly, the foundationers were deprived of "the incalculable benefits which boys receive, both morally and intellectually, from listening to the conversation of their elders", and also of "that cultivation of tenderness and unselfishness which frequent contact with little children fosters" and the finer feelings best promoted by intercourse with sisters and female relatives. Nor were the evils confined to the children but affected the parents too, by relieving them of their natural obligations. Since the motives influencing the hospital boy were almost entirely of a selfish kind, his character tended to become either suspicious and sullen or else plausible and evasive. The distinctive hospital dress too was liable to serve as a badge either of superiority or inferiority, according as it led the inmates to think of themselves as a select few or the contrary. Even in stating the case Laurie confesses to an inability to distinguish between moral and intellectual influences. "Everything which tends to destroy individuality and weaken affection, and remove those daily fluctuations of hope and fear", he affirms (32), "which are the experience of boys more freely brought up, limits the activity of the intellectual powers".

28. op.cit. (p.131)
29. op.cit. (p.117)
30. op.cit. (p.118)
31. op.cit. (p.119)
32. op.cit. (p.121)
The chief incidental evils of the hospital system Laurie enumerates as follows: The monotony and certainty of the life tend to produce mediocrity; originality, spontaneity, and imaginative force disappear, with the result that no new interests develop; the limitation of numbers and lack of change in the constituent elements of the school deaden intelligence and stunt moral growth; the more or less similar punishments awarded for house and school faults, essentially different, must cause difficulties in discipline and lead to the confounding of moral distinctions; the constant supervision, as well as stirring up rebellious feelings and preventing the growth of self-reliance, is vexatious to both teachers and pupils - "the masters and boys see too much of each other", he says (33), "and act as mutual irritants". The wants of such institutions he sums up (34) under the three heads of moral and intellectual ventilation, self-dependence, and family life. None of them, he contends, can be thoroughly supplied through any modification of the existing system, but he proffers some suggestions designed to palliate the evils of it. Among the recommendations was an all-round plea for increased freedom - in choice of dress, in selecting new books for the library, in walking out during play hours, in breaking routine with frequent half-holidays, in the use of excursions to the museum, and field-work, as aids to teaching. Another recommendation was the fostering of parents' interest in the institution by sending the children home at week-ends, supplying each with a weekly report-card to take home, and by giving a fortnight's holiday at Christmas and Easter, as well as six weeks in the summer. A further recommendation aimed at increasing variety of social intercourse by means of occasional entertainments to tea given by the headmaster and matron, by throwing open the day-classes to a limited number of fee-paying pupils, and by encouraging more sports, providing gymnastic appliances and musical instruments, and devoting a minimum of one and a half hours daily to play.

Unhappily, many of the remedies, partial though they were, would be inapplicable to a hospital for girls - "their case", Laurie admits (35), "is one less capable of being remedied by any palliative measures". Consequently, the real solution in each instance would be to strike at the root of the trouble by converting the boys' hospitals into boarding establishments and sending the foundationers for their instruction.

33. op.cit. (p.122)
34. op.cit. (p.123)
35. op.cit. (p.126)
to the High School, or some similar establishment, and by converting the girls' hospital into a fee-paying day-school at which the foundationers, boarded out with relatives or friends, would receive their education free. It is interesting to note in passing that Laurie found, contrary to his own expectations, the evils of the hospital system "to be even more conspicuous among girls than among boys" (36). The education committee of George Watson's Hospital, "encouraged", says (37) Heron, "by the opinions of an educationist of the standing and experience of Mr. Laurie", cordially concurred (38) with these conclusions and recommended that the report, on its general principles, should be approved by the governors (39). The governors duly adopted the recommendations, and Laurie's reports were brought to the notice of the Education Commissioners and officials in Downing Street (40). On them were based the provisions of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, introduced into parliament by the Lord Advocate on the representations of the Edinburgh Merchant Company, which received the royal assent on 26th July 1369 (41). Thus it came about that "in later years it was the opinion of competent authorities that the great extensions that took place in secondary education in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland were mainly due to the influence of the various reports drawn up by Laurie "(42).

(b) Reports addressed to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest.

Laurie's writings in connection with the Dick Bequest, on which he served as visitor and examiner for over fifty years, comprise the three reports mentioned above and a short account of the administration written in 1381 and published in a volume of essays the following year (1). The benefits of the Bequest extended to the rural schools of the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, less the royal burghs of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and Forres (to which Fochabers and Peterhead seem later to have been added). The

36. op.cit. (p.128)
37. Heron 1903 (p.286)
38. Laurie 1868 (p.69)
39. op.cit. (p.71)
40. Heron 1903 (p.288)
41. op.cit. (p.292)
42. Morgan 1929 (p.198)
1. Laurie 1882 (pp.175-183)
most important, exhaustive, and historically valuable document is the Report of 1365, since subsequent writings largely serve to bring the statistical data up to date and to re-state the principles on which the administration of the Bequest was based in the light of altered educational and social circumstances. Even the first report is best understood when read in conjunction with one published in 1354 by Laurie's predecessor, Professor Allan Menzies, entitled 'A Report of twenty-one Years' Experience of the Dick Bequest'. Both the 1365 and 1390 Reports contain historical sketches of the development of the parochial school system of Scotland, and the latter also includes a most interesting comparison (from manuscript sources) of past and present, by means of which Laurie clearly proves that the 'good' old times of the 1330's were in fact 'bad' old times. The first half (2) of the 1365 Report consists of advice and educational principles written for the benefit of the teachers participating in the Bequest; it was afterwards republished in a slightly modified form as a treatise on primary education and has already been discussed in Chapter VI.

(i) Report of 1365. The Dick Bequest, which in 1364 yielded (3) £4,344. 13. 9. Laurie describes (4) as "not a charitable or eleemosynary endowment, but a reward for good scholarship and efficient teaching". Briefly, its three objects were (5) scholastic attainment in the teachers, efficient instruction of the pupils, and literary advancement in the schools. The principles of the administration were therefore designed to further these ends, firstly by an annual examination in literature and science to be completed at some time by all beneficiaries, secondly by a mark for 'merit in teaching' awarded by the visitor as a result of his inspection of the school, and thirdly by a bonus for instruction in the 'higher branches', namely geography, English composition, Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics. The examination, held by the Trustees annually in September, consisted (6) of ten subjects, viz. Latin, Greek, English, History, geography, physics, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and trigonometry, and the candidates had to pass in each one within three years of

2. Laurie 1865 (pp. 5 - 204)
3. op. cit. (p.208)
4. op. cit. (p.215)
5. op. cit. (p.222)
6. op. cit. (p.224)
their appointment as parochial schoolmaster. Laurie appends (7) the papers set in 1864, contending that the fact that graduates frequently failed in their first attempts was an indication of the high standard, but Simpson considers (8) that he is inclined to overestimate the difficulty of the examination. The necessity for so highly educated schoolmasters, Laurie explains (9), was due to the fact that, in consequence of the inadequate development of a middle school system in Scotland, the parochial schools had always been required to prepare pupils for the university. But the practice he regarded as defensible on less directly utilitarian grounds: "My observation of schools has long led me to conclude", he states (10), "that superior scholarship is only an exhibition, in a specific direction, of superior qualities of the intellectual and moral nature as a whole, and that the powers and conscientiousness exhibited in the attainment of knowledge will, as a general rule, be found available in the practical work of life, whatever that may be".

The machinery for arriving at individual payments from the fund was somewhat complicated: each depended partly on what was called the 'statistical elements' (comprising (11) average attendance of the scholars, number learning the higher branches, salary paid by the heritors, amount of the fees, number of exemptions from fees, and the scholastic attainments of the teacher), and partly on the mark for merit in teaching (the aggregate of which was limited to one-sixth of total annual fund available for distribution (12)). The Trustees did not object to the exercise of certain part-time offices, such as session-clerk, registrar, or inspector of the poor (the last of which Laurie personally regarded (13) as the "most incompatible with the proper discharge of school duties"), but they disallowed regular pastoral work on the part of those beneficiaries who were licentiates of the Church. Speaking of certain changes which had taken place since 1854 Laurie mentions the admission of eight new schools, and the decision made by the Trustees to give a certain value to the successful teaching of music in the merit in teaching mark (14). The number of schools which qualified for Privy Council grants had

7. op.cit. (pp.358-71)
8. Simpson 1947 (p.120)
9. Laurie 1865 (p.220)
10. op.cit. (p.227)
11. op.cit. (p.230)
12. op.cit. (p.231)
13. op.cit. (p.236)
14. op.cit. (p.240)
risen from one-sixth to two-fifths, but the Trustees had had to make direct representations to the Lord President of the Council against the proposal contained in the Revised Code of 1864 to reduce grants by the amount of any endowment enjoyed by schools so aided (15). Of the 154 parochial schools in the three counties 134 participated in the Bequest and each was inspected by the visitor once in two years. In the intervening year the report of the Presbytery was accepted as sufficient (16). At the request of the teachers the visitation took place during March and April since during the summer months many of the older children were absent on agricultural work. Laurie's own view, however, is that the importance of the classes was in proportion to the youth of the pupils, and as a consequence he makes (17) the following reservation: "Believing, as I do, that the chief faults of Scotch parochial schools have been, and still are, defective organization, haphazard discipline, comparative neglect of the junior classes, undue postponement of the essential studies - writing and arithmetic - , and a tendency to relaxation of effort at the season at which agricultural operations begin, I am not certain that summer visitation does not, on the whole, best fulfil the purposes of the Dick Bequest". Regarding the conscientiousness of the teachers, he had never to the best of his recollection found a master absent from his post except for sufficient reasons (18).

The notes of his visitations, in which he comments on instruction, discipline and organization of the schools, are particularly interesting material. Reading, which was taught to almost all the pupils, he considered on the whole good, but defects in the teaching were neglect of deliberateness, emphasis and expression. Writing, taught to far fewer, was very satisfactory in the senior classes but Laurie regrets (19) "the late age at which children exhibit any proficiency in it". The fault was attributable to the bad system of charging fees according to the number of subjects taught instead of a composite fee covering all the basic subjects, and this 'great educational mistake' affected arithmetic as well. "The parents seem to imagine", Laurie says (20), "that by requiring that only reading and

15. op.cit. (p.242)
16. op.cit. (p.245)
17. op.cit. (p.247)
18. op.cit. (p.248)
19. op.cit. (p.269)
20. op.cit. (p.270)
spelling shall be taught to their children for the first two years of their school life, they secure a greater amount of attention to these two subjects, both on the part of pupils and teacher, than would be given were writing and arithmetic added. The chief weakness of the arithmetic teaching, apart from the late beginning, was the inability to work out problems involving thought, and Laurie makes (21) appropriate suggestions for improvements in method. The teaching should begin earlier and take a more concrete form in the first stages; at every stage greater prominence should be given to mental arithmetic; principles should be explained on which the rules taught depend; figures should be interpreted in terms of the numbers they denote; above all, accuracy should be insisted upon. On the subject of music Laurie remarks that singing lessons were of comparatively recent introduction into the schools of the three counties. Although the sol-fa system was chiefly in favour, the best singing and the most thorough training were found in the schools which preferred the ordinary notation. Even where music was well taught, however, Laurie suspected (22) that its powerful moral and religious influence in the formation of character were not properly understood. Too small a proportion of the pupils, he considered, received instruction in geography, which was mistakenly regarded as a 'higher subject', though in reality "the most 'elementary' of all subjects" even if not ranking among the indispensable ones (23). Defects in the teaching were the manner of introducing the subject, the presentation of flat maps before the children had been familiarized with a sphere, the almost total omission of physico-industrial geography, and the limited attention given to map-drawing.

History seems to have been taught only in so far as it was included in the English reader, consisting, in Laurie's words (24), of "a succession of names, confused genealogies, dates, causeless and eventless battles, with here and there a dozen lines about a heroic man or deed". The

21. op.cit. (p.275)
22. op.cit. (p.277)
23. op.cit. (p.278)
24. op.cit. (p.280)
teaching of English grammar Laurie considered 'very fair' in the average school, but a want of accuracy and precision vitiated the teaching in many cases (25). English composition, at certain stages a 'higher subject', received a good deal of attention, but in some cases went from writing to dictation directly to narrative composition without practice in sentence-construction (26). General organization was the great weakness in the schools - a defect which Laurie attributed to the fact that the majority of teachers, though graduates, were untrained professionally - and in this respect they were "very far behind the majority of schools south of the Tweed" (27). Discipline was generally sufficiently well enforced without excessive severity of language or sanctions, and though corporal punishment was not excluded, it was usually regarded as a last resort (28). In the higher sense discipline was, however, less successful: politeness and cleanliness, for example, were not insisted on, nor was attention directed to pleasing environmental conditions. Good external arrangements, Laurie argued, extend to the poorer classes the refinements of civilization and make them to some small extent sharers in the higher qualities of mind from which such refinements spring. "Well-lighted, well-ventilated, well-cleaned, well-arranged classrooms", he says (29), "are not only the best external aids to the mere doing of the day's work: they are also moral agencies".

Direct moral instruction, being in the hands of men who had, in many cases, added a theological training to an arts course, attained satisfactory results but, in Laurie's opinion, a more systematic course of moral instruction would have been more effective (30). This extenuation did not, however, apply also to the religious instruction (based on the earlier books of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Shorter Catechism), about which he comments (31) adversely, as regards both content and manner of presentation.

25. op.cit. (p.282)
26. op.cit. (p.286)
27. op.cit. (p.289)
28. op.cit. (p.293)
29. op.cit. (p.295)
30. op.cit. (p.297)
31. op.cit. (p.299)
The historical and dogmatic aspects of the Old Testament were stressed at the expense of the more important facts and truths of the Gospels, and in any case the teaching began at too late an age. Although no longer used for purposes of grammar and spelling, the Bible, it is implied (32), was still often employed as a reading-book. Passing on to the higher instruction, Laurie says (33) that more advanced English composition was taught in all schools with considerable success, and in many cases the results were admirable. Latin and Greek were well taught also, but Laurie considered that greater thoroughness in out-translation and the substitution of Latin verse-making for some of the time spent on prose-composition would be an improvement. The mathematical teaching included mensuration, Euclidean geometry, and elementary algebra. The provision of such higher instruction ensured that "in the north-east of Scotland, if nowhere else, the pathway to learning and eminence is not only theoretically, but practically, open to the poorest" (34). Examining the contention that there had been a decline in the teaching of classics, Laurie produces statistical evidence to prove (35) that, in the Dick Bequest area at least, "Latin is much more extensively taught than it was thirty-five years ago, and Greek more extensively". That in the rest of Scotland there might be a decline in the teaching of Latin in rural schools he admits as a probability, attributing it partly to increase in travelling facilities to burgh schools and partly to the type of training given in training-colleges.

The teachers in the Dick Bequest schools were almost without exception graduates of Aberdeen University, and four-fifths of them were also licentiates in theology (36). Laurie admits the technical efficiency of the professionally trained teacher but believed that the graduate, notwithstanding his lack of training, had moral qualifications for the work of a teacher, implicit in his struggle to reach the university, which were wanting in the more shallow product of the training-college whose every step had been made easy by government grants (37). He also admits that nine-tenths of those

32. op.cit. (p.303)
33. op.cit. (p.304)
34. op.cit. (p.305)
35. op.cit. (p.307)
36. op.cit. (p.310)
37. op.cit. (p.312)
graduates regarded teaching only as a temporary avocation, likely to lead to preferment in the Church; but, in the absence of a graded system of schools offering advancement to elementary school teachers, such a state of affairs was inevitable (33). Laurie classified the 130 schools on a five-point scale as inferior 8, fair 33, good 34, very good 40, and excellent 15 (39). Fees were generally paid quarterly but were remitted in the case of more than 10% of the pupils on grounds of poverty (40). The method of fee-paying indirectly affected attendance and organization, and Laurie deprecated weekly payments as tending, on the one hand, to encourage parents to withhold those children who had missed a part of the week until the beginning of the next, and, on the other, to facilitate enrolments at too frequent intervals. Thus even in 'the favoured counties' less than 50% attended more than 140 days out of a possible annual total of 235 (41). The schools were generally well-built, but less attention was paid to sanitary arrangements than in England and the school furniture, though sufficient, was not up to American standards (42). The apparatus was barely adequate, and school libraries were not only seldom met with but composed of books the children did not care to read (43). Laurie's characteristic historical sense prompted him to record the school-books then in use in the schools (44). The average income of the parochial school-masters in 1863 was £122. 6. 3, of which the Bequest contributed £31. 11. 8. (45). The average enrolment per school in 1864 was 118.9 pupils, with a daily attendance of 71.4 (52.1 boys to 19.3 girls), and the age-range was 6.3 to 13 years from entering to leaving (46). The homes of the majority were within 12 miles of the school, but in some cases up to four or five miles away. The school hours in summer were from 9.30 to 4 p.m. with an hour for

38. op.cit. (p.314)
39. op.cit. (p.326)
40. op.cit. (p.330)
41. op.cit. (p.332)
42. op.cit. (p.335)
43. op.cit. (p.336)
44. op.cit. (p.337)
45. op.cit. (p.340)
46. op.cit. (p.341)
lunch, and in winter from 10 a.m. to 3.15 with only half-an-hour's break. The long vacation lasted for six weeks, beginning in the third or fourth week in August on account of the harvest (47). The fees for reading and spelling were 2/- per quarter, for the over-eights who learned the other basic subjects 5/- per quarter, and for the higher subjects 7/6 per quarter; only in 16% of schools were they payable in advance. In the area covered by the Bequest illiterates numbered 631 (reading) and 3922 (writing) out of a total of 272,361, but Laurie argues that if these had been reckoned from the over-twelves instead of over-tens, the numbers would have been greatly reduced (43). Over a period of ten years the average enrolment per school was 112.7 pupils, of whom 111.2 learned reading, 83.2 writing, 65 arithmetic, 48.7 grammar, 52.9 geography, 4.8 mathematics, 6.7 Latin, 1.5 Greek, and .5 French; singing from notation was taught in about 20% of the schools, navigation in some sea-coast schools, and drawing only occasionally (49). Education, taking account of fees collected but disregarding Privy Council grants and the statutory provision of accommodation, cost 21/- per pupil per annum. Of the school-masters Laurie says (50) in conclusion: "Conscientiousness, thoughtfulness, courtesy, and openness and fairness of mind, I have found to be characteristics of the great majority of the teachers".

(ii) Higher Instruction as illustrated by the Administration of the Dick Bequest. This brief account contains, Laurie suggests (51), "a practical lesson suited to the present circumstances both of England and Scotland". The provision of higher instruction in rural schools was an urgent problem that would one day have to be faced in England as well as Scotland. By 1831 German had apparently been added to the higher subjects and a number of girls had begun to learn it (52). For the first time Laurie was able to produce statistical evidence that attention to higher branches was not detrimental to the teaching of the primary subjects. "An examination of the blue-book by the Board of Education for Scotland", he says, (53)

47. op.cit. (p.342)
48. op.cit. (p.343)
49. op.cit. (p.346)
50. op.cit. (p.349)
51. Laurie 1832 (p.175)
52. op.cit. (p.180)
53. op.cit. (p.181)
"shows that the Dick Bequest schools gain more per head from the parliamentary grant for the ordinary subjects of the Code than rural schools in the rest of Scotland". He stresses (54) the political and social aspects of an educational system "which realizes the true, and only true, democratic idea, in presence of which all questions of suffrage are superficial and trivial".

(iii) Report of 1890. Of this document Foster Watson says (55): "Anyone who has missed reading the report has omitted to acquaint himself with a remarkable educational document. On rising from its perusal, one feels that truth is stranger than fiction. It is a veritable educational romance....Professor Laurie's report is a valuable piece of educational literature". The Act of 1872 had necessitated some modifications on the part of the Trustees of the Bequest. They now stipulated as a condition of participation a minimum salary of £30 per annum for every school-master, together with a house and the fees of the scholars (56). Where the School Boards had combined several small schools into one larger school in the interests of economy and efficiency, the Trustees required a minimum salary of £200 and a house for the headmaster, plus an expenditure on staffing of £60 (in addition to government grants and pupils' fees), by the School Board (57). As a result of the change-over, the Bequest visitor ceased to be "the chief lay educational authority in the North-East", by competition with government inspectors (58), and the requirements of the Code became mandatory in all schools. Though improvements in buildings, apparatus, organization and classification took place, there was a slackening of attention to the higher branches of instruction all over Scotland in the three years following 1872 (59). Accordingly, in 1876, the Trustees authorized (60) the visitor to award, in favour of the higher branches, a larger proportion of marks for 'merit in teaching'. Already by 1878 evidence quoted (61) from the Moncrieff Commission indicates progress in this direction and by 1883 there had been a steady increase in Latin,

54. op.cit. (p.183)
55. Foster Watson 1895.
56. Laurie 1890 (p.27)
57. op.cit. (p.28)
58. op.cit. (p.31)
59. op.cit. (p.33)
60. op.cit. (p.35)
61. op.cit. (p.36)
Greek, and modern languages (62). Thereafter, any apparent decline was to be accounted (63) for by altered social conditions, such as the requirements of examinations other than university entrance and a broader criterion of advanced work than the traditional Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. "What we want to do", Laurie says (64), "is to educate the people, not to make ministers, or doctors, or lawyers of boys who would live lives as worthy and as useful to the State in some (so-called) 'humble' sphere of social activity, while, at the same time, we give a fair chance of rising to the cleverest boys and girls".

In fact, the standard of previous periods had been maintained in 80% of the schools, and a slight decline in Greek and Latin in 1839, as compared with 1833, was counteracted by an increase in mathematics and modern languages (65). Indeed, the instruction given in the schools of Moray was "never quite so high as it has been during the past ten years, while the schools of Banffshire (the premier county of Scotland in the matter of education) never, as a matter of fact, came within sight of the excellence they have attained during the past ten years. As to Aberdeenshire, however, I regret to say that I do not think progress has been made"(66). Taken all round, the higher education in the three counties was more satisfactory than ever before, "especially if we take into consideration the greatly improved education of girls, in which there has been a change amounting to a revolution"(67). In 1889 90 out of 123 schools connected with the Bequest were teaching higher subjects (68), and 112 of the school-masters were graduates, two being also LL.D.'s of Aberdeen University (69). Their average salary was £140 per annum, to which the Bequest in 1888 had contributed a further £30. 8. 2. per head. The schools were co-educational but Laurie expresses (70) a preference for separate girls' schools taught by competent mistresses. The average enrolment per school was 173.4 pupils and the daily attendance (during 1888-9) 113.9, of whom 97.3 were.

62. op.cit. (p.40)
63. op.cit. (p.46)
64. op.cit. (p.47)
65. op.cit. (p.48)
66. op.cit. (p.54)
67. op.cit. (p.56)
68. op.cit. (p.76)
69. op.cit. (p.79)
70. op.cit. (p.91)
present more than 140 days out of a possible total of 206 (71). Subjects were taught as follows: English to 173, writing to 171, advanced arithmetic, grammar, and geography to 62.5, mathematics to 3.8, Latin to 13.9, Greek to 1.9, and French or German to 7.8 pupils.

(iv) Report of 1904. "Those who take a large national view of education", Laurie says (72) with the knowledge of work well done, "have recognized in the Dick Bequest an important instrument for promoting contentment among the rural population of a country. Every parent feels that he has the opportunity of securing a good education for his children, which may also mean industrial or professional advancement". Nevertheless, the scheme in operation since 1890 had introduced profound modifications into the administration of the Bequest. Gone were the personal inspection of efficiency in teaching (for which the annual reports of government inspectors were substituted) (73) and the examination of scholarship (for which compulsory graduation was required in section 27 of the scheme) (74). The focus of attention was now almost exclusively on the higher subjects, and the only pupils recognized for the purpose of the Bequest were those remaining on after having completed the Merit Certificate (75). The minimum salary of the schoolmaster was fixed at £135 per annum and a house, exclusive of payments made by the Bequest (76). The grants also were made on a different basis and might not exceed £50 in all (77), a fixed sum of £15 and capitation grants, for teaching the higher branches, not exceeding an additional £35 (under section 28 of the scheme) (78). In practice, the Trustees awarded (79) up to £15 of this latter sum simply on the number of pupils in receipt of higher instruction and the remainder on the number of passes obtained in a special annual examination set yearly for the pupils in Latin, Greek, French, German, mathematics, agriculture, and plant study. For financial reasons the number of participating

71. op.cit. (p.117)
72. Laurie 1904 (p.7)
73. op.cit. (p.6)
74. op.cit. (p.120)
75. op.cit. (p.15)
76. op.cit. (p.80)
77. op.cit. (p.13)
78. op.cit. (p.121)
79. op.cit. (p.94)
schools was limited to 130 (30).

The contents of this report, being largely concerned with polemics on the Codes of 1399 and 1903, are of less intrinsic interest than its two predecessors, but Laurie endeavours to show that since 1390 the character of the schools as educational institutions had been fully sustained (31).

In 1903 2609 out of 21,359 pupils were in advanced classes, and of these 1358 had gained either the intermediate or the higher Leaving Certificate - a test specifically designed for secondary schools (32). Laurie's returns showed that 2139 were learning French and Latin, 1933 mathematics, 311 German, and 145 Greek. In this latter subject the totals showed a decrease, as compared with 1889, but the numbers learning the other four had largely increased (33). "The general result is that the efficiency of the schools is higher than ever", Laurie remarks (34), "and the extent to which they are used as a passage to higher institutions and the work of life has not yet sensibly declined". The remainder of the report is devoted to pleading the cause of the rural schools whose existence was threatened by legislation then imminent. For a number of reasons Laurie was opposed to the creaming of the rural schools and the transfer of the better pupils at an early age to centralized secondary schools. Such a policy would have the effect of alienating the parents and discouraging the teachers. Now, in Laurie's view, the living education of a country depends (35) mainly on the interest which adults take in the work of the schools, on the one hand, and the class of teacher who can be drawn into a profession offering a field for the exercise of high intellectual and moral attributes, on the other. Another danger which he discerned was a tendency in the direction of vocational instruction to the prejudice of a liberal education. He makes (36) his own position clear, in the face of the challenge: "The object of the State in educating the people is not so much the equipping of future citizens for their work in this or that special industry as the disciplining of the young to the vigorous exercise of their intelligence; and above all,

30. op.cit. (p.15)
31. op.cit. (p.12)
32. op.cit. (p.16)
33. op.cit. (p.17)
34. op.cit. (p.13)
35. op.cit. (p.43)
36. op.cit. (p.44)
training them up to the moral and religious ideal of the nation to which they belong".

Sources:

(a) Merchant Company Hospitals.

T.J. Boyd: Educational Hospital Reform, 1871


A. Heron: The Merchant Company of Edinburgh, its Rise and Progress, 1903.

S.S. Laurie: Reports on the Hospitals under the Administration of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, 1868.

A. Morgan: Makers of Scottish Education, 1929 (Chap.VI).

(b) Dick Bequest.

W. Barclay: The Schools and Schoolmasters of Banffshire, 1925.


A. Morgan: Makers of Scottish Education, 1929 (Chap.VIII)

An account of Laurie's educational work would not be complete without some reference to the evidence, oral and written, which he gave before Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees dealing with educational administration, partly because the frequency with which he was called on as a witness testifies to the importance attached to his opinion on such matters, and partly because in the course of that evidence the expression of his ideas adumbrated on many occasions subsequent practice. Altogether, in the course of his career he was consulted by seven Royal Commissions, two Departmental Committees, and one select Parliamentary Committee on various questions relating to education. This is hardly surprising in view of a contemporary opinion which states: "It is a satisfaction of the highest kind to have among us, as our honoured leader, a man who a quarter of a century ago advocated almost every single educational reform in Scotland which has become actual, and in the stout and eager fights for which he can justly say, Quorum pars magna fui" (1). Laurie's whole life was, in fact, closely bound up with the administrative expansion in education which characterized the second half of the nineteenth century in Scotland.

a) The first occasion on which his advice was sought in this way was by the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Schools of Scotland under the chairmanship of the Duke of Argyll in 1864. This Commission had the task of surveying the existing provision for education in Scotland before the passing of an Act which should amend and extend such provision (2). As secretary to the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland, Laurie was summoned before the Commission on 14th November 1864 to give an account of the schools and training-colleges under his supervision (3). These consisted of the 201 Assembly Schools founded and maintained by the Committee since 1824 in districts inadequately provided for, and the training-colleges in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Of the other schools connected with the Church of Scotland Laurie could speak

1. Foster Watson 1895
2. Morgan 1927 (p.164)
3. First Report 1865 (p.31)
at first hand only in connection with those parochial schools in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray which came under his supervision as Visitor to the Dick Bequest. In these three counties, however, such schools numbered about 130 out of 153. Laurie was at least able to give statistics of the schools throughout the country which, though they did not come directly under the Education Committee, were under the general management of the Church of Scotland. They comprised, in addition to the Assembly Schools mentioned above, 1057 parochial and parliamentary schools (the latter founded in 1838 following on a redistribution of parishes which had taken place in 1825), 120 sessional schools (managed by the kirk-sessions of churches in urban areas), 200 society schools (originally founded by the S.P.C.K.), 30 ladies' Gaelic schools, and 304 subscription and endowed schools. Laurie gave a satisfactory report on the conduct of these schools and an interesting account of the annual presbyterian visitation in the case of the parochial schools.

b) Laurie's most valuable work in this field was rendered in connection with the second Royal Commission to which he was called as a witness, namely the Commission appointed on 12th September 1872 under the chairmanship of Sir T. E. Colebrooke Bt. to enquire into the endowed schools and hospitals in Scotland. The third report issued by the Argyll Commission in 1863 and Laurie's own reports on the hospitals under the management of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, published in the same year, made it seem necessary for a responsible body to make a thorough enquiry into the endowments throughout the country and revise, where possible, the outmoded system on which many of them were conducted (4). Accordingly Laurie was nominated secretary to the Commissioners, and the terms of reference given to the Commission were "to enquire into the nature and amount of all endowments in Scotland, the funds of which are wholly or in part devoted, or have been applied, or which can rightly be made applicable to educational purposes, and which have not been reported on by the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858; also to enquire into the administration and management of any hospitals or schools supported by such endowments, and into the system and course of study respectively pursued therein; and to report whether any and what changes in the administration and use of such endowments are expedient, by which their usefulness and efficiency may be increased" (5). The Commission took nearly three years

4. Morgan 1927 (p.106)

5. First Report 1873.
to complete this great task and the final report was issued on 15th February 1875. In the course of their investigations the Commissioners amassed a great deal of valuable information regarding endowments, etc. which took a further fifteen years to sort out fully.

In addition to his general function of secretary, Laurie was deputed along with J. M. D. Meiklejohn to act as Assistant Commissioner to enquire into certain large local endowments not covered by the Commissioners themselves, and their reports are to be found in the Appendix to the third report (6). Furthermore, when the Dick Bequest was being investigated he was called as a witness, as to its management, along with the clerk to the trustees (7). It is also of interest to note that during the investigation of the Bell Bequest, the question of utilizing part of the funds, rendered surplus by the provisions of the Act of 1872, for the purpose of founding chairs of education at the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews was first mooted (8). The Commissioners, however, although sympathetic to the idea, were not inclined to consider that the recommendation of such a project lay within their powers (9). A final point of interest in connection with Laurie personally is the account given of the influence of his reports to the Merchant Company on the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869 (10).

c) The next Commission to which Laurie was called to give evidence was the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Scottish Universities in 1876 under the chairmanship of Lord Justice-General John Inglis (11). On the 2nd October of that year, shortly after his appointment to the newly instituted Bell chair of education, he appeared before the Commissioners (12). The chief points in his evidence related to the institution of a preliminary examination before attendance at a Scottish University should count for graduation, the reform of the regulations for graduation in arts, the provision

6. Vol.I. 1875 (p.191)
7. Second Report 1874 (p.211)
8. Second Report 1874 (p.261)
9. Third Report 1875 (p.142)
10. Third Report 1875 (p.22)
11. Morgan 1927 (p.140)
of retiring allowances for professors to encourage them to resign their chairs at a reasonably early age, the reorganization of the entrance bursary system, the recognition by the Scotch Education Department of the University training of teachers, and the limiting of the powers of so heterogeneous a body as the General Council to interfere in University teaching and policy. Laurie recommended that the old Scottish system of a general degree in arts should be substantially retained but with a greater number of options in the first two years and a greater degree of specialization in the third. He advocated the founding of lectureships in French and German, a chair of Celtic, and, with a view to ensuring the idea of historic continuity, chairs of history and the history of philosophy. He urged the retention of the professorial in preference to the tutorial system of the ancient English Universities, but suggested the institution of fellowships with teaching duties as a means of increasing the efficiency of University teaching. He considered that entrance bursaries should be pooled and awarded on the basis of an examination as at Aberdeen but with a minimum value of £25 per annum to obviate undue privation on the part of students. Finally, in order to encourage teachers in training at central institutions to take as much of their general education as possible at the University, a minor degree or literateship should be instituted to mark the satisfactory completion of two years of the arts course.

d) One result of the findings of the Colebrooke Commission on endowments was the passing in 1878 of another Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act which included in its provisions the setting up of an executive Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Justice-Clerk James Mombrieff to deal with the recommendations of the previous Commission (13). In addition, under the 11th Section of the Act of 1878, the terms of reference required the Commissioners to enquire into "the conditions according to which the parliamentary grant for public education in Scotland may be most advantageously distributed for the purpose of promoting education in the higher branches of knowledge in public and state-aided schools, especially in those districts in which there are no higher class public schools" (14). The Commissioners decided to investigate this aspect of their remit separately and in taking evidence in that connection they called upon Laurie as their first witness (15). His evidence

13. Morgan 1927 (p.108)
15. Special Report 1881 (p.1)
was given on 3rd March 1879 and he stated that, so far as higher instruction in rural public schools was concerned, the experience of 24 years led him to believe that there had been a decline in such subjects as Latin, Greek, and Mathematics which he attributed to the working of the Code of 1873. He proceeded to discuss means of improving the current state of affairs and recommended that the grant to teachers of the higher subjects should not be awarded on a capitation basis, since in smaller schools there might not be a sufficient number of pupils, so far advanced, to act as an incentive to the schoolmaster to exert himself specially for their sakes. He would have inspection amended to include the impression of a whole class instead of individual pupils in it. He considered that the 'standards' organized by the Code contributed to the efficient management of a school but would add additional higher standards above those at present recognized. This might entail the provision of certificated assistants to the rural schoolmasters but the extra expense would be well justified. But the most important step must be the more efficient preparation of teachers, if the standard of instruction were to be really raised. Laurie deprecated the narrowing effect of the training-colleges and recommended the extension of university education to all those capable of profiting from it. Again he urged that the universities themselves should encourage this by establishing a two years' course to run parallel to the training-college courses for Queen's Scholars, leading up to a recognized qualification such as the Literateship in Arts. Summing up his evidence he suggested four steps which might be taken to improve the quality of instruction in the higher branches of knowledge given in rural public schools: (1) by training teachers better, (2) by increasing teachers' salaries when they were employed on higher subjects, (3) by calling on the parish rates to pay certificated assistants to help them with the lower work, (4) by devoting some of the endowments freed by the Act of 1872 to this cause.

On 28th May of the same year Laurie gave further evidence to the Moncrieff Commission (16). On this occasion he appeared with Principal Sir Alexander Grant and Professor MacPherson of the chair of Scots Law, representing the interests of Edinburgh University. They came to protest against the scheme prepared by the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, and submitted to the Commission in the form of a draft provisional order for the approval of the Home Secretary. They claimed that

16. First Report 1880 (p.69)
this scheme ignored a codicil in Heriot's will bequeathing ten bursaries to Edinburgh University. Laurie who knew the history of Heriot's Hospital from having reported on it in 1863 (17), argued with considerable skill and quoted a parallel case of private bursaries being administered by the Senatus of Aberdeen University. He was also able to cite the history of the ten bursaries in question from Bedford's History of Heriot's Hospital, and pointed out that, if shortage of funds were the reason for the economy, the Governors of the Heriot Trust could earn £5,000 per annum from Government Grants by introducing very slight changes in their schools to bring them into conformity with the requirements of the Code.

e) The powers granted to the Moncrieff Commission proved to be insufficient for the purpose of reorganizing existing endowments, and in 1882 a third Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act was passed appointing a new executive Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Balfour of Burleigh to complete the task (18). Once more Laurie came forward as a witness and on 15th July 1885 he appeared, together with Professor Calderwood of the chair of moral philosophy, representing the interests of Edinburgh University in connection with the Bell Residue Fund (19). Their plea was that in default of £200 per annum, promised by the Treasury at the time of the foundation of the Bell chairs but subsequently not upheld by Parliament, the annual revenues of the chairs would not be sufficient to attract men of standing in the future unless, like Laurie himself, they happened to be fortunate enough to hold additional appointments which would supplement their income. They therefore urged that the Trustees of the Bell Residue Fund, who contemplated disposing of some surplus funds in the form of bursaries, should rather be persuaded to devote the money to increasing their own foundations at St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Principal Tulloch and Professor Meiklejohn appeared on behalf of St. Andrews University.

On 23rd July Laurie appeared again in connection with the Dick Bequest (20). He gave an account of the working of the Bequest from 1873 onwards, subsequent to the account he had already given to the Colebrooke Commission. He recommended

17. Morgan 1927 (p.105)
18. Morgan 1927 (p.110)
19. Third Report 1886 (p.277)
20. Third Report 1886 (p.333)
that for the future grants from the Bequest should be given only in respect of the higher subjects when taught above the fifth standard. He deprecated the suggestion that the effects of the Bequest should be confined to a few central schools at the expense of higher instruction in the many rural schools, but agreed that its operation might be limited to one particular school in each parish. He did not approve the inclusion on the governing body of representatives either from the three counties concerned or from Aberdeen University, but thought that the detachment of the governors in Edinburgh contributed more to the efficient administration of the Bequest.

On 1st October 1835 he was present at a meeting of the Commissioners in Aberdeen to explain the position of the Keith School Board which wished to ventilate a grievance about the rejection of certain proposals by the Bequest Trustees (21).

f) In 1835 with the revival of the office of Secretary for Scotland the Scotch Education Department, originally founded by the Act of 1372, was definitely separated from the English Department (22), and at the end of the following year a Departmental Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. C. S. Parker, M.P., "to enquire into certain questions relating to education in Scotland". The other members were Mr. R. B. Findlay, Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick, and Mr. Henry Craik (permanent secretary to the reorganized Department), and the two questions which chiefly occupied the attention of the Committee were, firstly the provision for the training of teachers, and secondly the provision for secondary education in Scotland. Laurie came before them on 3th January 1837 and gave evidence concerning the training of teachers (23). He expressed the opinion that those Queen's Scholars attending University Classes should be excused all work by the Training Colleges during the winter months, but that the latter bodies should continue to exercise supervision and be responsible for tutorial work in the case of such students. He urged that the recognition at present accorded only to graduates by the Department should be extended to the Literateship in Arts in the case of men and the University Certificate in Arts in the case of women. He considered that the present period of three months' teaching practice for graduates who had taken the university class in education was probably adequate, although the actual number of hours spent in teaching might be increased with advantage. He

21. Third Report 1836 (p.472)
22. Morgan 1927 (p.197)
23. Third Report 1833 (p.28)
recommended that immediate steps should be taken to increase the number of Gaelic-speaking students in training. He was careful to point out that he was in favour of training-colleges delegating the general education of their students to the universities only where the students were well qualified to profit by the arrangement, and he did not think that the universities should be made responsible for taking over the complete training of teachers. He was against the suggestion of raising the students' fees to offset the deficit in the cost of running the training-colleges, nor did he consider that combining them under one management would help matters much, unless they were taken over by the Government. These views of Laurie's were substantially supported by written evidence which he submitted to the Departmental Committee on behalf of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland on 26th January 1887 (24). In comparison with English training-colleges, such as the National Society's foundation at Battersea, the Scottish Colleges produced a greater number and a better class of teacher for a smaller sum per head, according to the statistics published in the Departments' blue books. Certain modifications in the first year of the two-year course for Queen's Scholars were proposed, and the suggestion was put forward that the successful completion of the University Literateship in Arts should excuse from the necessity of taking the second-year examination. It was further urged that the best of these Scholars should be given grants and encouraged to remain a third year at the University in order to complete their degree and so raise the status of the teaching profession.

Laurie's evidence on the second question of higher education was given on 16th April 1887 (25). He stated his conviction that headmasters of secondary schools should be professionally qualified and enjoy the privilege of choosing their own assistants. The latter should possess an appropriate honours degree and evidence of professional training. To meet such cases the Schoolmaster's Diploma had been instituted at Edinburgh University, and in time it should be made compulsory. On the question of management of such schools Laurie expressed the opinion that in large burghs they might come under the school board, but not in rural areas where every penny of the rates spent on education is grudged. But on the whole he favoured a county basis and in most areas, by such an arrangement, a rating of ¾d in the pound would probably be sufficient.

24. Second Report 1883 (p.1)
25. Third Report 1883 (p.93)
to finance secondary education throughout the county. It might even be feasible to set up five or six large supervisory boards for the whole of Scotland, provided as much as possible of the actual management of individual schools were left in the hands of local managers. The standard of secondary education in Scotland would have been raised if the universities had twenty years ago instituted an entrance examination. He recommended the setting up of a national examination board by the universities acting for the Department. Formal inspection of secondary schools should be triennial but their efficiency might be tested annually by the institution of a Leaving Certificate. The examination for this should be conducted in each school and two types of certificate - classical and modern - be awarded. In exceptional circumstances a candidate who was not otherwise a pupil of the school concerned, should be allowed to take the examination. The recognition of the claims of new schools to secondary status should be a function of the Department, and in districts where secondary education was adequately catered for by the provision of such schools, higher instruction should not be given in the public schools; but in rural areas higher instruction must be provided in the public schools by the institution of seventh and eighth standards. Finally, in order to discourage local boards from down-grading higher class public schools so that they should qualify for government grants on the existing system, Laurie advised that a special grant should be awarded to all secondary schools recognized as efficient by whatever central body might be set up to supervise the organization of secondary education.

g) The compulsory registration of teachers by analogy with the medical profession was a question which exercised the minds of leading authorities in the various teachers' organizations during the last decades of the century, and attempts were made on several occasions to secure legislation to that effect. In 1890 two independent bills were introduced into the House of Commons, one by Sir Richard Temple and the other by Mr. Arthur Acland, both seeking to achieve this end (26). Accordingly, a select parliamentary committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir William Hart-Dyke Bt., Vice-President of the Council, to investigate the question and report. The Committee began to take evidence in March 1891 and Laurie, who was president of the Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland for that year, was called before them on 17th April 1891 (27).

26. Rich 1933 (p.267)
27. Report 1891 (p.80)
He insisted strongly that an essential requirement of registration must be not merely graduation at a university but some form of professional training. In answer to questions he gave a very full account of exactly what he considered necessary by professional training, both theoretical and practical. A central council would have to be set up in London, preferably independent of the Education Department but having representatives from that Department and from voluntary teachers' organizations. The Council would have the right of deciding whose name should appear on the register, and Laurie would allow it to exercise disciplinary powers analogous to those of the General Medical Council for the medical profession. Regarding the actual form of the register to be kept, he suggested a simple alphabetical list undifferentiated as to the grade of teacher since, as far as real qualification to teach was concerned, a kindergarten mistress might well know more than the Headmaster of Eton. Laurie gave it as his opinion that very often what was taught was of less importance than how it was taught and how the mind was trained by it. At the same time, registration should include the actual subjects the teacher is qualified to teach, and additions would only be made to those particulars when the central council had been satisfied of proficiency in a new subject. Laurie stressed the importance of training for secondary as well as primary school teachers, including those in the great English Public Schools, and stated that he did not see why Eton should be worse taught than any middle-class school in the country, in so far as the professional qualifications of its masters were concerned. To cope with the increased demand for training which would follow any legislation making certification a compulsory condition of registration by the central council, he suggested that chairs of education should be set up at the ancient universities, possibly endowed by the Education Department, and that the residential training colleges should be prevailed upon to offer non-residential courses of six months to university graduates. Additional provision for training would be made by voluntary institutions, such as the College of Preceptors, which would no doubt arise to meet the demand and whose efficiency would be recognized by the central council. The substance of this evidence was published by Laurie in "Teachers' Guild Addresses" (23).

23. Laurie 1892 (p.233)
h) As a result of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1892, an annual grant, which came to be known as the Equivalent Grant, was paid to the Scotch Education Department to augment certain of their recurrent grants. Under Section 2 (1) (b) of this Act the sum of £60,000 was to be annually devoted to the encouragement of secondary education. Since there was no recognized machinery for dealing with this matter, a Departmental Committee was appointed, with the Earl of Elgin as chairman (29), to "enquire as to the best means of distributing the Grant in aid of Secondary Education in Scotland". On 31st May 1892 Laurie gave evidence to this Committee (30). He urged the setting up of an executive Commission to reorganize the secondary education of the country on a proper basis. As to the distribution of the Grant he would like to see the expenditure largely determined by local bodies, but he advocated the building and equipping of central intermediate schools with it. Such schools should not, however, be detrimental to the higher instruction given in rural public schools. The instruction given in the central intermediate schools should be more specialized and advanced, and some sort of selection of the pupils permitted to attend them should be made. Laurie recommended that special county committees should be appointed to manage these schools, and grants to them might be conditional upon the local county council contributing an equal sum out of the rates. In the large burghs the existing school boards might deal with the distribution of their share of the grant, which should be divided out in proportion to the population in each area. Though the greatest freedom should be allowed to the county committees and burgh boards in using the money in accordance with the needs of each district, a general supervision of the expenditure should be exercised by some central body to be set up either by the proposed executive commission or by the Scotch Education Department.

1) The findings of the Inglis Commission of enquiry into the Scottish Universities, though submitted in 1878, did not result in legislation until 1889. In that year, however, the Universities (Scotland) Act was passed, and one of its provisions was the establishment of a Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Kinnear to give effect to certain recommendations contained in the Act (31). During the negotiations for the incorporation of University College, Dundee, in

29. Morgan 1927 (p.181)
30. Report 1892 (p.14)
31. Morgan 1927 (p.141)
the University of St. Andrews the question arose as to what provision should be made for the training of teachers since no training-colleges had been established in the area. Evidence on this matter was taken from leading educationists, and in that connection Laurie was called before the Commissioners on 12th January 1393 (32). He gave as his opinion that practical training might quite well be combined with a graduation course, but that he was not in favour of the proposals put forward by the University of St. Andrews itself, based, in his opinion, on Articles 122 and 127 of the English Code. These proposals, though practicable, Laurie did not consider the best means of advancing the training of teachers in Scotland. In view of the portion of the Equivalent Grant allotted to Secondary Education, there would be an increased demand for trained teachers and St. Andrews University might certainly play a part in preparing some of these. He would not, however, recommend the founding of another training-college but would place St. Andrews in a different scheme to be made applicable to all the Scottish Universities. This would consist of 60 special scholarships, of the value of £35 a year, open to any who could pass the preliminary examination and who would engage to take up the teaching profession. The existing training-colleges would have to be retained for the benefit of those who were not competent to enter upon a university course of training, but there was no point in perpetuating the present system by founding new ones. The only additional provision that would have to be made at St. Andrews would be the arranging of the practical part of the training, for which Madras College could offer excellent facilities. Laurie then described a scheme which he had himself put forward as early as 1373 and which, though approved by the Education Department, had fallen through for lack of co-operation from St. Andrews University. To assist the Bell professor of education at St. Andrews University, a master of method from among the staff of Madras College would have to be appointed and some arrangement made for the teaching of singing and drawing to the students in training. The actual diploma would be awarded by the university but the Scotch Education Department could appoint an assessor on the examining board. The practical side of the training would occupy five hours per week for five months during the last year of the graduation course. The system in vogue in England of day training colleges attached to the university colleges, though largely initiated by Laurie himself, suited the needs of England better than those of Scotland. He went on to urge the necessity for the Scotch Education Department to give official recognition to the Schoolmaster's Diploma awarded by Edinburgh University. In conclusion, if any of the
intending students under the scheme proposed were to fail to take the preliminary examination at the first attempt, they might enter the Junior classes of the university and try again at the end of their first year. In that case they would qualify for the Literateship in Arts at the end of their third year, instead of for the M.A. But the very lowest standard that should be accepted for students in this category would be a pass in the first class in the Government examination for Queen's Scholars, with a special mark in Latin.

j) The last Royal Commission by which Laurie was consulted on educational matters was that appointed in March 1394 under the chairmanship of Mr. James Bryce M.P., to investigate the state of secondary education in England (33). On that occasion his evidence took the form of a written reply to a ten-point questionnaire, sent by the Commissioners to prominent educationists throughout the country, and was submitted on 2nd July 1894 (34). It dealt with the institution of leaving examinations, inspection, relation of primary and secondary schools, the training of teachers, local authorities, the central authority, and the question of further education. Laurie expressed himself in favour of some form of leaving examination but considered it should be neither compulsory nor of an unduly high standard. To avoid straining pupils no distinctions should be awarded, but a pass in at least 5 subjects, including English, should be demanded. Inspection should take the form of visitation of the school by an inspector appointed by the central authority, but in order not to cause unnecessary local dislocation, once in three years should be sufficient. Regarding the relationship of primary and secondary schools Laurie advocated the establishment in urban districts of central secondary schools which should be the only source of higher education. Such schools should also be established where practicable in rural areas, but here advanced instruction should be encouraged in elementary schools as well, along the lines of the work carried on in the schools under the administration of the Dick Bequest. The Commissioners included an account of this work, in the form of a summary of Laurie's 1890 Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest, in another part of their report (35). As regards nomenclature Laurie suggested that for the compulsory period of schooling all schools should be called primary and thereafter secondary,

33. Adamson 1930 (p.451)
34. Report 1895 Vol.V. (p.407)
35. Report 1895 Vol.V. (p.506)
save that the grammar type of schools leading on to universities might be called 'high schools' and the technical type of schools leading to commercial life be called 'intermediate schools'.

The training of teachers he spoke of as the most important of all the questions under consideration, and referred the commissioners to his evidence before the Select Parliamentary Committee. Once more he urged the importance of certification and registration of teachers. The professional training of teachers should be undertaken by the Universities and University Colleges, and as a suggestion of the lines along which they might work, Laurie appended to his evidence the regulations for the Schoolmaster's Diploma awarded by Edinburgh University.

On the subject of local authorities, Laurie recommended that boroughs of more than 10,000 inhabitants should have their own education authorities but otherwise these should be on a county basis, except in very large counties. The education authorities should be elected as ad hoc bodies or else education will tend to be treated as of subordinate importance. The composition of these authorities should be to the extent of about one half members elected by the borough or county council, and the remainder representatives from universities, primary and secondary teachers, and possibly one or two nominees of the Crown. The duties of these authorities would be to provide secondary education, both of the grammar and technical type, to suit the needs of each locality, but not for the present to interfere in primary education. They would have to be granted restricted rating powers and handle the government grants for science and art instruction. Regarding private adventure and the Public Schools, Laurie would offer these the opportunity of being inspected for purposes of general recognition, but would not subject them to the supervision of local authorities nor ought they to receive financial aid from rates or central grants. He considered that uniformity of system was to be deprecated and variety of types of school encouraged.

On the subject of a central authority, Laurie recommended the formation of a Board of Education under a minister. Secondary education was no longer the simple question of the provision of grammar schools leading to the universities but the continuation of all forms of post-primary education leading on to commercial colleges and business life. To avoid overlap, the central authority for elementary and secondary education should be one and the same, mainly consultative and consisting to a large extent of paid educational experts in order to ensure a continuous policy resting on recognized principles. The greatest difficulty was likely to be the limitation of powers of such a Board since it was vital to a sound national system that the boroughs and counties should have the utmost freedom in managing their own education. Further education Laurie regarded as an integral part of an organized system of secondary education and,
as such, it should come under the supervision of local authorities but be subject to inspection from the central authority. Continuation and evening schools were the only means of obtaining advanced instruction open to the working classes. University extension lectures, on the other hand, he considered rather for the middle classes and, in consequence, they should be self-supporting and be left outside the jurisdiction of both central and local authorities.

Sources:

a) First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Schools of Scotland, 1865.

b) Second and Third Reports, and Appendix to Third Report, of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the endowed schools and hospitals of Scotland, 1874 and 1875.

c) Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Universities of Scotland, 1873.

d) First Report of Royal Commission on Endowed Institutions in Scotland under Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878, and Report in terms of the eleventh Section of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878: 1880 and 1881.

e) Third Report of Royal Commission on Educational Endowments (Scotland) under Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882: 1886.

f) Second and Third Reports of a Committee appointed to enquire into certain questions relating to education in Scotland, 1883.

g) Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bills, 1891.

h) Report of a Committee appointed to enquire as to the best means of distributing the grant in aid of secondary education in Scotland, 1892.

i) General Report of the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889: 1900.

CHAPTER XIII

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Forty years ago Darroch pointed out (1) in an appreciation written at the time of Laurie's death that the volume of his work on education was much greater than that of any other writer since or during his time, and that, furthermore, his writings had a wider circulation and a greater influence than those of any other British educationist, with the possible exception of Herbert Spencer. Since Laurie's death, however, none of the educational works which in most cases ran to several editions during his lifetime, have been republished and his influence as an educationist, once considerable, has now faded. But it is important that this quantitative aspect should not be over-emphasized, for already at that time Darroch recognized that the unique and characteristic mark of Laurie's educational writings was not so much in their extent or influence as in the fact that they attempted to lay down a definite scheme of education and to establish it upon a philosophic basis. Now, the exponents of the new pedagogy in searching out a surer footing for the study of education, tend increasingly to limit the range of their subject and to realize, more clearly than the pioneers did, the boundaries of their field. This change in the conception of the educationist's function is strikingly brought out (2) by the late Professor Findlay: "In earlier days men like Locke in England, Herbart in Germany, or Laurie in Scotland, did attempt these bolder flights; endowed with great philosophic insight, and experienced also as instructors of youth, they expounded a complete system; setting out with a noble ideal for humanity, they deduced from this a complete scheme for the work of the schoolmaster which, if steadily pursued, would educate youth to perfect man. These were great achievements, and as examples for study are beyond praise: it derogates nothing from these famous thinkers to say that

1. 'Educational News' (N.S.), Vol.III (p.256)
the practical value of their systems has depreciated with the passage of time. The example of these great thinkers is scarcely likely to be imitated, for, with the increasing specialization of function which characterizes the modern world, we shall not again find a philosopher to compare with these great minds of the past, who framed a system of ethics and philosophy which could be reduced to the terms of an educational manual.

The diffuse nature of Laurie's published works makes evaluation of his worth as philosopher and educationist a matter of some difficulty, but there can be little doubt that it is insufficiently acknowledged. Certain bibliographies such as the Cambridge History (3) and the Cambridge Bibliography (4) of English Literature, by cataloguing Laurie's writings separately under education and philosophy without cross-reference, tend to encourage an artificial distinction between the two sections of his work and to represent him as a kind of curious case of literary schizophrenia, impelled as it were along the path of paedeutics by his professional interests and along the divergent path of pure philosophy by his deepest personal interests. But the fact is that a clear understanding of the educationist presupposes at least some acquaintance with the philosopher, and indeed the more metaphysical of his disciples, such as Remacle, Pringle-Pattison, and to some extent Sorley, contend that the work of the philosopher is the more notable achievement. Laurie's philosophical interests were as wide as his treatment of education and he was equally at home in the fields of ontology, epistemology, and ethics. It might reasonably be claimed that his 'Metaphysica', which Martineau regarded (5) as an "ingenious and original little book", was his most outstanding contribution to the literature of philosophy, but his earliest and most abiding concern seems to have inclined rather in the direction of ethics. We even find so distinguished a moral philosopher as the late Professor Seth frankly acknowledging in 1897 that Laurie's 'Ethica' was a book to which he probably owed more than to the work of any other living writer on ethics (6). Furthermore, it is to Laurie's

reaction to the impact of certain social trends on his conception of the higher ethical life that the development of his ideas on education is due. His deprecation of the rigid departmentalization of modern life, of the fragmentation of knowledge into highly specialized branches, of the materialism fostered by the advance of applied science, and of the threat to personal freedom implicit in the growth of bureaucracy, led him to propound four cardinal principles on which his educational philosophy may be said to rest.

In the first place, as regards the educational end, he held that morality, consisting in the formation of the good will, is the chief end of all education. Consequently, premature specialization, or the tendency to educate the child for specific service to the community rather than simply for manhood or womanhood, is a grave educational heresy. Secondly, as regards the educative process, he contended that wisdom, depending upon the development of the reasoning powers, is more important than knowledge. Hence encyclopaedism, or the tendency to store a child's memory with mere facts rather than train him to think for himself, cannot be too strongly discouraged. Thirdly, as regards the content of education, he insisted that it is national tradition, as contained in the literature and history of the race, which chiefly educates. Thus sense-realism, or the tendency to exalt the study of physical science over the humanities, is a third source of false doctrine. Finally, as regards the administration of education, he believed that the state ought never to disregard the influence of the family as of supreme importance in the education of the young. Accordingly, over-centralization, or the tendency to sacrifice local variation to the demands of executive uniformity, is to be resisted in the interests of freedom. In short, Laurie held that education should be liberal (as opposed to utilitarian), universal (as opposed to particular), humanistic (as opposed to realistic), and distinctive (as opposed to uniform). Furthermore, he believed that if education rests on principles it must be no respecter of persons, and so at all stages there should be a certain basic curriculum obligatory for all. In the light of increased psychological knowledge this contention is no longer acceptable to modern educationists. The Consultative Committee's 'Report on Secondary Education' in 1938 rejected the supposition, commonly held till about thirty years earlier, that "at this stage the mind could best be developed by a basic education of a humanistic type providing a general foundation

7. Spens Report, (p.122)
of culture, applicable to every child without regard to individual differences or to subsequent specialization of careers". An examination of the underlying assumptions on which the view was based certainly reveals difficulties in the way of its acceptance.

Laurie's conception of education is essentially disciplinary, but the unity of the mind to be educated is implicit in all his teaching. Hence, the moulding of the pupil's will and the development of his reason are identified as one process. But before the mind can be 'formed' it must be 'informed', and in consequence, the 'formal' studies, which are pursued for their disciplinary value, must be preceded by instruction in the 'real' studies, which are taught for their intrinsic value. Indeed, because of the peculiar difficulties involved in effectively disciplining more than a small proportion of school-children, the necessity for thoroughness in instruction becomes apparent. Accordingly, Laurie attached great importance to method in teaching, believing that even in the case of 'real' subjects assimilation can effect a lower form of discipline to which all are more or less amenable, namely 'training'. Similarly on the moral side, because of the intangibility of the ethical life, he stressed the value of the aesthetic approach, believing that the appreciation of art contributes indirectly to the formation of spiritual ideals. It follows from this that Laurie's whole theory of education depends upon the validity of the doctrine of 'transfer of training' and the faculty psychology with which it is closely associated. The faculty training which he advocates is not the arbitrary multiple form, in which each faculty is assigned to and trained by a separate subject, but the more reasonable unitary form which postulates that one group of subjects can be made to train all the faculties. Even so, the entire theory of mental discipline has been subjected to severe criticism on the basis of systematic psychological research, and it is now doubted that the mind as a whole, or its individual 'faculties', can be trained merely by exercising them. But the doctrine of formal discipline has not been entirely discredited and the investigations have been largely confined to the purely cognitive field. Consequently, the affective-conative (or moral and emotional) aspects of the process, as Sir Cyril Burt points out (8) in a masterly appendix to the Spens Report, have been overlooked. Burt further inclines to the view that, even in the broader implications,
the reaction against faculty psychology may have gone too far, so that valuable distinctions, over-emphasized perhaps by the earlier classifications, are now in danger of being lost.

These controversial questions of theory have influenced practical educational issues less than might be expected, and nearly all the enlightened ideals of modern pedagogy are foreshadowed in Laurie's teaching. He attached great educational importance to the activity of children and advocated both physical training and hobbies as an integral part of the curriculum. He strove to secure a milder school discipline by deprecating the use of corporal punishment. He endeavoured to lighten the burden of examinations by seeking to exclude competition from the school. He insisted on the unity of the educational process by stressing the education of minds rather than the teaching of subjects. He believed that the education of girls is of equal importance with that of boys, though he did not regard co-education as the best means of achieving equality. And he held that education is an inalienable human right, even if at the same time he did not think it should be, except in necessitous cases, a free social service. As an educational theorist Laurie might be classified among the neo-humanists, but there is something of the eclectic in his educational doctrine. His insistence on 'use' as the criterion by which the teacher's success must ultimately be judged tends in the direction of realism, and his emphasis on the individual excellence of each man as an ethical personality has a tincture of naturalism in it. Laurie's identification of humanism with linguistic studies is in line with a well-established tradition, but he widened and modified the classical conception of language in an important particular. While retaining as necessary the study of Latin, he advocated, as a substitute for Greek, a thorough training in the vernacular language and literature and in national history as the primary essential of the modern liberal education. His insistence on the teaching of English was in the highest degree salutary, but he had little sympathy with - and perhaps understanding of - the new scientific humanism of T. H. Huxley. The truth is that, despite his early training under Forbes and Kelland, Laurie never quite succeeded in correcting a natural bias towards the linguistic side of education. It is a significant fact, for instance, that none of his papers on methods of instruction deals with the teaching of any branch of science or mathematics.

Laurie's reputation as a historian, particularly in America, has been, paradoxically, more enduring than his fame as a theorist. While little mention of his educational
philosophy is now to be found in contemporary writings, most books on the history of education still quote his historical works as sources of reference. Yet Laurie himself made no serious pretensions to eminence as a historian, and in fact expressed some diffidence as to his qualifications in both his main contributions to the history of education. In the preface to his 'Mediaeval Universities' he claimed to address not historical experts but merely those who wished to know something about mediaeval education, and in the preface to his 'Pre-Christian Education' he similarly pointed out that the book was a historical survey and not a history. In the more mature of his writings the influence of Hegel's 'Philosophy of History' is apparent, for Laurie himself looked on history with the eye of a philosopher. He was more concerned with an interpretation of the facts before him than in verifying small matters of detail and, in consequence, his works have been regarded by professional historians as lacking in accuracy and scholarly exactness. His approach was insufficiently objective and his account of history has something characteristically whimsical and personal about it. Nevertheless, Laurie was one of the earliest writers to take a wide general view of the place of education in history and to regard it historically as a phase in human evolution. Indeed, he believed that a nation's educational history in the widest sense was co-extensive with the history of its civilization, as expressed in its intellectual, moral, and aesthetic products more particularly than in its material successes or achievements in war. The professional historian of its schools, it is true, must be content with a narrower view of the scope of the term, but, as Henderson says (9): "Professor Laurie defines the education with which he as an historian deals to be 'the means which a nation, with more or less consciousness, takes for bringing up its citizens to maintain the tradition of national character, and for promoting the welfare of the whole as an organized ethical community'". Such a conception of the history of education marks an advance on his original starting-point in the 'Comenius', but it is interesting to note that in his last historical work Laurie reverted to the older biographical method, having learned by experience, as he explains in the preface to his 'Educational Opinion', that for students of education a general historical outline of opinion is uninformative as compared with an analytical exposition of educational doctrines themselves.

It is in the practical sphere of education, however, that Laurie's reputation, though most anonymous, seems most secure. His strong and original personality made itself felt, but often unostentatiously, in all the great educational movements of last century. As is to be expected, his most suggestive activity was directed towards improvements in the preparation of teachers, both in extending professional training and in gaining academic recognition for the study of education. On both these counts he had to labour under great disadvantages. In the first place, he had occupied his chair for twenty years before the Education Department saw fit to accept his Diploma in lieu of the normal certification for teachers; and secondly, the university authorities were unable to recognize education for purposes of graduation until he had been teaching the subject for sixteen years. "Notwithstanding these disabilities", wrote (10) David Ross at an early period, "the Edinburgh Chair of Education has been most successful under the direction of its able occupant. The class has steadily increased in numbers and is now the largest optional class in the university". Twenty years later, in a tribute to Laurie on his retirement, Sir Ludovic Grant said (11): "His class, which in 1876, the year of its institution, only contained twelve students, had risen last session to ten times that number". The happy accident of his dual position as university professor and secretary to the Church of Scotland training-colleges enabled Laurie to do invaluable service towards co-ordinating the training of teachers with the work of the Scottish Universities. The successive steps he took were the modification of the Scotch Code in 1873, the modification of arts courses with the L.A. in 1880, and the establishment of the Schoolmasters' Diploma in 1886. But he also had a profound influence on the development of the study of education in England. Stimulated by the institution of the Bell Chairs, J.G.Fitch as early as December 1876 cogently urged (12) the foundation of similar professorships in connection with the English Universities and in particular spoke highly of Laurie. An account of the events leading up to the institution of the University of London's Teachers' Diploma in 1883 is given by Ross (13): "The success of the Edinburgh

10. D. Ross 1883 (p.30)
11. Laureation Address 1903
12. 'Contemporary Review',Vol.29 (pp.95-116)
13. Ross 1883 (p.31)
Chair encouraged the College of Preceptors to apply to the University of London, and in January 1379, the Convocation of that University appointed a committee to inquire, firstly, whether it was advisable to institute examinations in the theory and practice of education, and secondly, what was the best form for such examinations to take. As a member of Convocation of the University of London, the writer is in a position to state that the evidence of Professor Laurie had the largest share in influencing that body not only to undertake examinations in education, but also in determining the special form which the examinations should take. Laurie's influence in the movement which culminated in 1890 in the establishment of university training departments is described by Morgan (14): "It was largely due to Laurie's influence that a similar system for the university training of teachers spread into England. Laurie suggested the establishment of Day Training Colleges in connection with the English universities, and the suggestion was ultimately carried out."

Laurie's labours in the cause of education were, however, by no means confined to his own specific department. As Foster Watson said (15) of him: "He was in fact a leader in every educational advance of his time." His adaptability to the field of primary education is indicated by Simpson (16): "The Reports drawn up by Professors Menzies and Laurie for the Dick Bequest Trustees seem to show that, although they were more familiar with university education when appointed, they brought to their work thoroughness, insight and vision." Indeed, by 1893 the fame of Laurie's work in these schools had been bruited abroad as far as Paris, where the Grande Encyclopedie (17) spoke of it in these terms: "In no district in the world to-day does so large a proportion of children in rural areas receive so complete an education". Scarcely less valuable was his work for the organization of secondary school education in Scotland, as compiler of reports in 1868 not only on the Merchant Company Hospitals but also on George Heriot's and James Donaldson's Hospitals (18), as collector

14. Morgan 1929 (p.197)
15. Foster Watson 1911
16. Simpson 1947 (p.61)
17. Vol.21 (p.1041)
18. J. Strong 1909 (p.209)
of data on educational endowments from 1372 to 1375, and as secretary to the Scottish Association for the Promotion of Secondary Education from 1376 to 1379. In later years he was also associated with the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, an organization for which he drew up a scheme in 1391 of the educational requirements of Fifeshire for the utilization of the Residue Grant (19). Then, in the sphere of higher education he laboured unceasingly for the reform of the Scottish Universities in the light of modern needs and not least for the university education of women. The work of the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association which Laurie did so much to bring into being, assured for women at Edinburgh many of the benefits of university education, in arts at least, twenty-five years before they were admitted to the official arts courses in the university. Remacle's estimate (20) is, accordingly, not excessive: "When a comprehensive view is taken of his work in the practical sphere, he can be said, without fear of exaggeration, to have chiefly inspired the reform in primary, secondary, and higher education of his country".

There can indeed be no doubt that Laurie possessed educational genius in an altogether exceptional degree and that the consistent quality of his thought, despite many obvious prejudices, entitles him to supreme rank among writers on education. There is hardly a page of his writings which does not sparkle with profound and original aphorisms on the purpose of education, and there is scarcely an educational problem at present confronting practical teachers to which he does not offer some solution. The wonder, then, is to account for the decay of his influence. Two facts sufficiently explain it. In the first place, the experimental and scientific method of modern psychology has outmoded Laurie's speculative and dialectical mode of thinking. Empirically, it is true, he to some extent adumbrated many modern trends. He was not far, for example, from the concept of mental age, nor from Spearman's noegenetic laws, nor even from certain Freudian conceptions, such as analogous physical and psychical causality, the determining influence of the unconscious, and the supreme importance of early childhood. In the second place, the nature of his thought and the manner of its exposition are highly eccentric. His philosophic isolation derives, says Pringle-Pattison (21),

19. Selected Reports of Committees of County Councils, etc', 1891.
20. Remacle 1909 (p.XIV)
21. 'The Student' Vol.VI (p.474)
"partly from his habits of solitary independent thinking, partly also from the very intensity with which he realized his own leading conceptions". Metz (22) also stresses this: "Laurie remains just himself; more so than any other British thinker of his time, and his doctrine, therefore, must be understood in its own light. It is like a soliloquy, a conversation with himself alone, neither heeding others nor proceeding out of any antecedent intercourse with others". Moreover, hardly any of Laurie's educational works was written specifically as a book; with the notable exception of the more scholarly works on Comenius and Pre-Christian education, they were either selections from his official reports (as the 'Primary Instruction'), or courses of university lectures (as the 'Mediaeval Universities', 'Linguistic Method', and 'The Institutes'), or collections of articles (as the 'Educational Opinion' and the volumes of addresses). Notwithstanding conscientious revision in successive editions they preserve traces of their origin: the titles are odd or involved, the construction is clumsy, and the style heavy and obscure. Hardly surprising, therefore, in an age of 'streamline', though none the less regrettable, that such cumbersome works have not survived. Pedagogical literature is, however, the poorer for this circumstance.

Laurie's writings reveal an open and inquiring mind, well-stored with the wisdom of the past and rich in the lore of English and classical literature. His views are at all times moderate, and though occasionally there is excess of thesis in his argument, he generally succeeds in raising the discussion about education to a level rarely attained by professional treatises. It is indeed a great gain that a man of Laurie's quality of mind concerned himself with education at all, and when allowance is made for the limited amount of psychological knowledge available in his time we can only marvel at the logical and consistent nature of his educational theory. It is perhaps to be regretted that his experience was so exclusively bound up with his native city, from which, except for six years in his youth, he seems never to have been absent for more than a month or two at a time. But his interests were not circumscribed by his environment: he was a frequent visitor to the Continent of Europe, a corresponding member of the National Educational Association of America (23), and, in addition to

22. Metz 1938 (p.429)

23. 'Who was Who 1897-1916' (p.414)
thirty-five years' personal visitation of the three northeastern counties of Scotland, he lectured in the course of his duties in cities so diverse as Aberdeen, Birmingham, Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, and Manchester. Not least he was a great Scotsman, in whom the traditional praefervidum ingenium Scotorum is well exemplified. It would be difficult to commemorate more fittingly his great work for education than in the words of Darroch's gracious epitaph (24): "As a thinker and writer on education, he had no equal in his day and generation."

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J.G. Fitch: The Universities and the Training of Teachers (Contemp. Review, December 1876)

Sir L.J. Grant: Laureation Address (Scotsman, 27 July 1903)

"H.M.": Article 'Laurie' in Vol. 21 of 'La Grande Encyclopedie', c.1893.

D. Ross: Education as a University Subject; its History, present Position, and future Prospects, 1883 (a very rare pamphlet by Maclehouse, Glasgow).

24. 'Educational News' (N.S.), Vol. III (p. 256)
APPENDIX I - LAURIE'S WRITINGS

(a) Books, in order of appearance, with Publishers. Subsequent editions mentioned only where there is a change of publisher.

1859 Fundamental Doctrine of Latin Syntax (Constable).
1861 Series of Reading-Books for Schools (Constable).
1865 Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray (Constable).
1866 The Philosophy of Ethics (Edmonston and Douglas).
1867 Primary Instruction in Relation to Education (James Thin), 5th Edition 1898 (Oliver and Boyd).
1868 Notes on certain British Theories of Morals (Edmonston and Douglas).
1868 Reports on the Hospitals under the Administration of the Merchant Company, Edinburgh. (Ravenscroft).
1881 The Life and educational Works of John Amos Comenius (Kegan Paul), 2nd Edition 1884 (Cambridge University Press).
1882 The Training of the Teacher and other educational Papers (Kegan Paul).
1884 Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta (Williams and Norgate).
1885 Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason (Williams and Norgate).
1888 Occasional Addresses on educational Subjects (Cambridge University Press).
1890 Report on the rural Public Schools of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray (Constable).
1892 Teachers' Guild Addresses (Percival)
1892 The Institutes of Education (James Thin), 2nd Edition 1899 (Oliver and Boyd).
1901 The Training of Teachers and Methods of Instruction (Cambridge University Press).
1903 Studies in the History of educational Opinion from the Renaissance (Cambridge University Press)
1904 The Dick Bequest Trust (Constable).
1906 Synthetica, being Meditations epistemological and ontological (Longmans, Green and Co.)

(b) Pamphlets not incorporated in the above.
1889 The University and Scottish University Reforms (James Thin).
1892 The Equivalent Grant and Scottish Secondary Education (Neill and Co.)
1898 Secondary Education in Scotland (Williams and Norgate).
1899 The Scottish Code of 1899 and Other Matters (Oliver and Boyd).
1902 The Decentralizing Policy of the Board of Education in England (Cambridge University Press).
1903 The Code of 1903 and Freedom in Education (Oliver and Boyd).

(c) Classification of the various writings.

A. Major Educational Works:

I. Theory of Education - Primary Instruction in Relation to Education, 1867.
Language and Linguistic Method in the School, 1890.
Institutes of Education, 1892.
II. History of Education - John Amos Comenius, 1881.
Rise and early Constitution of Universities, 1886.
Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education, 1895.
Educational Opinion from the Renaissance, 1903.

III. Collections of Essays - The Training of the Teacher and other educational Papers, 1882.
Occasional Addresses on educational Subjects, 1888.
Teachers' Guild Addresses, 1892.
The Training of Teachers and Methods of Instruction, 1901.

IV. Administrative Reports - The Hospitals under the Administration of the Merchant Company, Edinburgh, 1865.
Education in the Parochial Schools of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, 1865.
The Rural Public Schools of the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, 1890.
The Dick Bequest Trust, 1904.

Series of Reading-Books for Schools, 1861.

C. Major Philosophical Works:

Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta, 1884.
Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason, 1885.
Synthetica, being Meditations epistemological and ontological, 1906.

D. Minor Philosophical Works:
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D. Ross: Education as a University Subject, its History and Prospects, 1833.


M. Sadler: University Day Training Colleges, their origin and growth, 1911.


N. A. Wade: Post-Primary Education in Scottish Primary Schools 1872–1936, 1939.

II. Philosophic Background:


R. Metz: A Hundred Years of British Philosophy (pp.429–33), 1938.

F. Munker: Wissenschaftliche Ströemungen in der modernen englischen Paedagogik im Anschluss an A. Bain und S.S.Laurie, 1912.

T.K.Oesterreich: Die Philosophie des Auslandes vom Beginn des 19ten Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gagenwart (pp.133–4), 1928.

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A. S. Pringle-Pattison: The Late Professor Laurie (The Student, 17 March 1909)

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Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature 1922, Vol.III.
The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 1940, Vol.III.


VI. Miscellaneous:

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J. G. Fitch: The Universities and the Training of Teachers (The Contemporary Review December 1876).

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