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Curriculum Objectives of the Elizabethan Grammar Schools

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CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES OF THE ELIZABETHAN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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PREFACE

The following paper is the result of extensive research in two fields: History, the record of men's thoughts and deeds, and education, through which men have been led and inspired to profound thought and great deeds. The author considers herself fortunate in having been able to concentrate in these two areas which she has always found of special interest. In addition, the history of education and its relationship to an era have often been considered of slight importance by some historians - an attitude and neglect that need to be rectified.

On the completion of this work, a sincere debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. William Trimble of Loyola University, for his encouragement in this undertaking, for the time he generously gave in guiding each step of the work, and for sharing his own valuable insights into English history. Gratitude is also extended to the members of the seminar from which this paper developed, for their criticisms and suggestions. It is also necessary to note that this work would have been impossible without access to the valuable rare book collection of Newberry Library and gratitude is owed to the directors and librarians who assisted the writer on numerous occasions. Finally a word of thanks must be recorded to the author's Community who provided the time for this work and assisted in preparing its final form, and her family who generously supplied transportation on many occasions.
INTRODUCTION

To understand the society of a given period in the history of man it is essential to give serious consideration to the education of that era both as the reflection of the thoughts and aspirations of men and as an important formative element in their lives and in succeeding generations. This fact that has been generally acknowledged for all periods of history is no less true for the Elizabethan era. The existing pattern of education as well as the changing direction and role that evolved are a key to many elements which aid a clearer understanding, not only of Elizabethan times but that of English society for following centuries. Thus, it is to be regretted that historians have often neglected this area.

It is the object of this paper to examine closely one phase of Elizabethan education, namely, the grammar school. There are several reasons why the English grammar school is of particular interest in the last half of the sixteenth century. Although this particular educational institution was a medieval creation, not one of Elizabethan England, the people of the latter time directed one half of their charitable contributions to education towards the foundation of grammar schools.\(^1\) This fact is indicative of a definite concern

regarding the whole framework of reference of which secondary education was the center. The causes of this attention and the expectations that accompanied the generosity of the age show clearly what the English gentleman of the sixteenth century was to be, and what was to be his role in society and his role in the newly established Church of England. 

In the opinion of the author the most revealing factor in any plan of education is the content of the curriculum. However, since the curriculum is greatly determined by, or at least largely influenced by, those who establish, support or control schools it is necessary also to consider the groups in Elizabethan society who carried out these functions. A third great influence on education was the writing of certain gentlemen and educators of the day. While these writings did not have a wide audience they did often reach the founders or masters of schools and helped to set an ideal to be achieved. Lastly, to test the effect of the grammar school on the Elizabethan social scene it is important to try to arrive at some concept of how widespread their influence was and also what groups of society were able to take advantage of their program. 

Before proceeding it is better at once to establish, even briefly, certain facts concerning the English grammar school. It was, in the beginning, a medieval institution usually attached to a monastery, a cathedral, or a university. It provided education for young boys from approximately their seventh to their fifteenth year, after which they enrolled in the university; thus, essentially it was considered from the viewpoint of being the preparation for university
studies. The scholars were expected to know how to read and write English before entering the grammar school. This would have been learned either in the home or in the "petty school" as the primary or elementary school was called. The medieval grammar school concerned itself with the first half of the classical liberal arts program, the trivium, which included grammar, logic and rhetoric. As time went on, though, the program gradually narrowed to dwell primarily on the first mentioned, the study of grammar. While the most common type of grammar school in the fifteenth century was the chantry or church school, there were a few free grammar schools even at that early date. The sixteenth century saw the gradual separation of the grammar school from other institutions but the structure of the schools remained very much the same, as will be shown subsequently.
CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT OF ELIZABETHAN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Motivation of Founders

The transition from medieval to early modern grammar schools is not distinguishable by a sudden change of direction or a revolution of existing methods, but this transition can be studied from the viewpoint of control and foundation. Perhaps the most unique phenomenon of the later Tudor period was the increasing concern shown by the middle-class laity in secondary education, an area that previously had been almost exclusively provided for by the Church.¹ This is not meant to imply that the English government and the English Church neglected education. Both groups worked to encourage the growth of schools but their involvement lay more in the realm of control than foundation, which will be illustrated later. The government also made an indirect contribution to the growth of grammar schools by creating a situation of relative stability, one in which commercial expansion could take place. Manufacturers and merchants were enjoying a period of growth with a resultant accumulation of capital, while in some rural areas farming for gain was replacing subsistence farming.² This

²Jordan, p. 61.
increased affluence is reflected in the increasing amount of money spent on education.

From 1550 onward benefactors concentrated their interest not only on founding schools but also on strengthening those in existence. The contributions to education, in general, were greater during the Elizabethan period than those of any other era. By the end of Elizabeth’s reign a grammar school could be found in almost all corporate towns and a large majority of these were made possible by the endowments of wealthy gentry, merchants, tradesmen or corporate guilds. A few such schools were Merchant Taylors, Rugby, Harrow, and Westminster.

The motivation underlying grammar school foundations varied. The middle class saw education as an avenue to prestige and the eventual breaking down of the medieval class structure. This class structure had assured to the nobility, learned or unlearned, a privileged position. However, it became increasingly evident that in the post-Renascence and post-Reformation world an education was the tool to a better and more prosperous life; that the privileged places in society were no longer reserved only for those of high birth. An uneducated nobility could no longer count on a monopoly of the goods of society; while education now became the cure for low birth or poverty and a means of ascending the social ladder.

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3Jordan, p. 248.


The second important motive for the foundation of schools was the growing conviction that education was the basic ingredient of a strong and prosperous state. Englishmen began to realize that the strength of a country lay not only in its military power but that government policies must be formulated by wisdom acquired through learning. Rulers were expected to be learned, able and virtuous in order to direct the commonweal. This attitude was fortified by several educators of the time, who insisted that all learning had a public end which was the good of the commonweal. Civil policy was traced from law and the possibility of law back to learning, showing that the state depends on the quality of its education. It was also considered by some, the duty of a nation to extend that education as widely as possible, for in this way the whole society was strengthened. Others stressed how much potential England failed to realize because its rulers were not well-trained intellectually. Schools were no longer to be primarily for clerics but for young men who were to be prepared for public life, and it was the duty of every patriotic citizen of means to encourage this

broadening of the scope of education. The future glory of England depended on good schools, which were considered to be nurseries of learning and virtue and which produced men of true wisdom and goodness, who were both to rule and obey.\textsuperscript{10} The foundation of many schools by town authorities is evidence of this belief. Also the gentry and the newer aristocracy of merchants, now with greater economic strength, but not possessing political or social position, were willing to share the burden of providing schools for this new, broader interpretation of education.\textsuperscript{11}

Some writers even went further and held that a general education was essential to man no matter what his vocational calling. Christopher Wase, headmaster of Dedham Royal Free School, insisted that education was due to man by his very nature, not by his station or occupation. Every man should have the opportunity to prove himself capable of higher studies.\textsuperscript{12} Obviously, Wase was a proponent of public school education where each man took his place by industry, not by birth. There was evolving a change in society's attitudes toward the existence of poverty, misery and ignorance and some individuals among the wealthy were assuming responsibility to alleviate these, especially the latter. The importance of public grammar school education was also emphasized by John Fortescue, who superintended the studies of Queen Elizabeth


\textsuperscript{11} Jordan, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{12} Christopher Wase, Considerations Concerning Free Schools as Settled in England (Oxford: At the Theater, 1678), pp. 3-6.
for a time. He believed such education to be an instrument of national policy and hoped to see princes and gentry educated side by side to help create unity of governmental administration.¹³

Although known primarily as a soldier and navigator, Sir Humphrey Gilbert showed an interest in the furthering of quality education. His anxiety for the lack of education among those who were the prospective leaders of England prompted the devising of a special plan of education for the noblemen and wards of Her Majesty's realm.¹⁴ Thus the educators, the merchant class, the town authorities and the noblemen themselves, saw the growing necessity of an education that increased in quantity to reach all classes and occupational groups of society. This was not agreed to by everyone, of course, but the seeds of the idea were planted.

**General Objectives**

The increase of quantity, however, did not lead immediately to a corresponding change in the quality or type of education provided. In all the sixteenth-century treatises on education there was a recurring pattern which stated the major objectives of the Elizabethan grammar school. The specific wording varied but always the essence was the same, to inculcate the truth of religion, honesty in living

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and right order in learning. 15 The statutes for many of the grammar schools also indicated the same objectives. For example, the statutes of Guisborough instructed the schoolmaster to teach freely, and their emphasis was to be upon grammar, honest manners and godly living. 16 At Westminster schoolmasters were to bring up the pupils to be pious, learned and gentlemanly. 17 As characteristic of the humanistic education of northern Europe these objectives were not viewed as separate goals, but rather as a unity in which the acquisition of piety stimulated learning, learning aided culture and each in turn contributed to the growth of piety.

The educator perhaps most responsible for the introduction of this humanistic concept into the schools was John Colet, the first master of St. Paul's school, which was founded in 1509 by the Mersers' Company of London. The statutes, which he prepared for this school, although formulated previous to the time being considered, became the model for many of the Elizabethan grammar schools; therefore, it is valuable to consider them. 18 As his main objective Colet expressed the desire that the children of St. Paul's be brought up in good manners and literature. The statutes were divided into seven sections, the

15 Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. iii j.


18 Nicholas Carlisle, Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales (London: W. Bulmer and Company, 1818), II, 71-76.
first four dealing with those who would govern and administer the school. He called for a highmaster to head the school and laid down demanding qualifications for anyone who would hold this position. As well as learned, he was to be a man whole in body, honest and virtuous, and paying careful attention to religious matters. These same stipulations were exacted of the surmaster or usher, who would assist the highmaster. A chaplain was to be procured to care for the religious needs of the scholars. The fifth section of the statutes dealt with the admission of the children, providing for the acceptance of those from all nations and countries if they could read, write, recite the Catechism and pay the admission fee.

Colet next stipulated what should be taught at St. Paul's, namely, good Latin and Greek literature and the Catechism in English. The statutes conclude with a system whereby, the Mercers' will provide for the upkeep of the school and a system of inspection for the carrying out of the purposes of the foundation. The influence of these statutes can be seen in the provisions for such schools as Manchester and Merchant Taylors'.

Considering the usual disagreement among modern educators even as to the major objectives of education this unanimity of purpose was a noteworthy fact. There were, of course, a few voices of dissent in sixteenth-century England, but even these, as will be seen later, differed more in emphasis than in basic principles. All Englishmen of the time expected their grammar schools to further the religious

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devotion, the gentlemanly conduct and the intellectual ability of
their sons. To accomplish this goal, many of them contributed generously,
searched for good masters and subjected their young people to a
difficult schedule of studies, a strict set of religious exercises
and a rigorous personal training.
CHAPTER II

ELIZABETHAN EDUCATORS AND THEIR THEORIES

Concern over the quality of education in this period of progress and expansion led many educated gentlemen and some practicing schoolmasters to take pen in hand in an effort to awaken their fellow Englishmen to the need of improving the careful upbringing and education of youth. There were several factors causing an increase in educational literature in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the early part of the first of these two centuries, Humanism had spread rapidly through the efforts of such scholars as Linacre, Grecyn, Colet, Erasmus and More, whose emphasis on the study of the classics in Latin and Greek was eventually to have a great influence on the schools.¹ Later others were ready to take up the cause of the Humanists such as Roger Ascham and Sir Thomas Elyot.

The failure of the Elizabethan schools to measure up to their potential caused concern among those in the field of education as well. Ill-prepared schoolmasters, working with poor materials, frequently confused discipline with learning.² The political and religious controversies of the early sixteenth century had not dealt too kindly with education either, and the atmosphere was not favorable to the endowment

²Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 4.
and maintenance of schools, as it was to be in the later part of the
century. St. Anthony's and St. Paul's were in decline by mid-century
while Westminster, Eton and Winchester were all in danger of collapse.  

It should be recalled also, that due to the improvements in print-
ing, books were gaining in popularity and availability, so that by the
second half of the sixteenth century every gentleman of any distinction
had to have a library. The books most sought after for such a collec-
tion were, of course, English translations of the classics, but books
of admonition and instruction for teachers and parents, as well as
text-books for children, were also being published more frequently.

In the present study of educational writings only five authors
will be analyzed at length: Sir Thomas Elyot, Roger Ascham, Richard
Mulcaster, William Kemp and John Brinsley. This selection is, of
course, very limited and does contain notable omissions such as William
Lily, Edmund Cote, Nicholas Udall and several others. The selection
was made however, with a definite purpose in mind. It is the author's
belief that these particular writers had a decided impact on English
education, though not necessarily an immediate one. They also provide
two views of the problems of education; Elyot and Ascham illustrate
the humanist's views, while Mulcaster, Kemp and Brinsley exemplify the
practical, experienced views of the schoolmaster.

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4 Charlton, p. 239.
Sir Thomas Elyot

Although Sir Thomas Elyot's works were published prior to the Elizabethan period, it is of value to examine both the man and his writings due to the strong influence they had on later authors such as Roger Ascham, and also because of their popularity in later Tudor times. Sir Thomas Elyot was born about 1490, the exact date being unknown, the son of Richard Elyot, a lawyer who served the English government both under Henry VII and his successor, and Alice Eynden; thus, he grew up in an atmosphere of public service. The place of his birth is also vague except that it was in the west of England, possibly in Wiltshire. His early education was provided for in his home, probably by his father, and it is evident that he was widely read in the classics, both Latin and Greek. In 1510 Elyot entered the Middle Temple of the Inns of Court to prepare himself to follow in the steps of his father and pursue a career in public office. There are indications in his later writings that he did not enjoy his time there, feeling that boys were sent to the Temple too soon and could benefit by some previous study of philosophy. Elyot proceeded in 1516 to Oxford University, possibly at St. Mary's Hall, and there he received a bachelor of arts degree in 1519 and a bachelor of Civil Law degree in 1524. During his stay at Oxford he still remained dissatisfied with the education he was receiving, this time with the emphasis on logic and civil law.

To compensate for what he was not receiving from his formal education, Elyot began to pursue the newer humanistic studies in the homes of Sir Thomas More and Thomas Linacre. His associations with More had
an important effect on his life. It was here, most likely, that his first interest in translating the Latin and Greek classics into English was aroused. Some of those evaluating his public life feel that his friendship with More decreased his opportunities for advancement after More fell into disfavor with the King. Elyot, however, tried to make known that he conceived as his first duty, loyalty to the monarch. It is also possible that Elyot met his wife, Margaret Barrow, while she was studying in More's household.

Though his studies and interest in scholarship never ended, Elyot, embodying what he later was to advocate strongly, entered into public life, serving as chief clerk of the King's Council from 1524 to 1530. During the crucial time when Henry VIII was attempting to obtain his divorce, Elyot was sent as ambassador to the Court of Emperor Charles V, with the difficult task of securing the Emperor's neutrality in the marital dispute. As a leading member of the gentry, Elyot also served several times as sheriff and justice of the peace and in 1542 he represented the borough of Cambridge in Parliament.5

Elyot's place in history, however, was not to be secured as a result of his career in public service but more significantly through his writings. His first work, The Boke Named the Governour, published in 1531, was by far to be the most popular and widely recognized of all, being reprinted three times within his own lifetime. Since it deals with education it will be described at length below. Between 1532 and 1536, Elyot published several classical translations: Isocrates' 5

The Doctrinal of Princes; The Sermons of St. Cyprian; The Rules of a
Christian Life, by Pico della Mirandola; and Mutarch's The Education
or Bringing Up of Children. During this period he also collected and
had printed a collection of adages from classical writers and the Fathers
of the Church. In 1533 Elyot wrote two dialogues dealing with the pro-
blem of advising rulers, Pasquil the Playne and Of the Knowledge which
Maketh a Wise Man. His interest in and knowledge of medicine became
evident with the publication in 1536 of The Castel of Helth, a treatise
on medicine which while not appreciated by scholars was popular enough
with the general public to be reprinted six times by 1548. Though
perhaps not significant in medical history it is considered by some to
be the earliest important manual of health originally written in English.
What has subsequently been considered to be Elyot's most significant
contribution to learning was almost unknown when it was written in 1538,
but it was intended only for serious students of classical Latin. This
was a Latin-English Dictionary which was not necessarily the first such
volume but no doubt was the first to incorporate the teachings of the
humanists. Elyot's humanistic approach to life is also evident in a
work which appeared in 1540, The Defence of Good Women, in which from
the classical writers he recalled examples of wise and learned women.
The Image of Governance (1541), was a compilation, by Elyot, of many
notes on the life of Emperor Alexander the Great. His last work seemed

6Lehmberg, pp. 133, 164. All data concerning Elyot, not other-
wise authenticated, was taken from the work by Lehmberg.
to be specially chosen, *A Preservative Against Death* (1545), which is
meditative form considered temptation and the devil and perhaps can be
seen as an opportunity to oppose certain teachings of Luther and Calvin.
A year later Sir Thomas Elyot died at Carlton in Cambridgeshire.

There have been many attempts to determine the motivation behind
the writing of *The Boke Named the Governour*, the reasons ranging from
patriotism to currying favor from the King. The latter accusation is
based on Elyot's praise of monarchy and the unlimited power of the
monarch. But though some would call it a justification for Tudor despotism, the main concern of the book is the proper mental and physical
training of those children who would be the future members of the govern-
ing class, and an exposition of the ideal virtues which they should
possess. The entire work is based on the humanistic system of education
and is filled with examples from classical antiquity. It is also be-
lieved by some that Elyot hoped to win over to the ideas of the New
Learning, the English governing class whom he often accused of negli-
gence and indifference in the education of their young.7 To secure a
wider audience, Elyot wrote the book in English and *The Governour* thus
became the first humanistic treatise on education to be written origi-
nally in English.8

In his theory of education, Elyot laid great stress on the impor-

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7 Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London: Thomas
Berthelet, 1553), p. 36.

8 S. S. Laurie, *Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from
tance of the early, highly formative years of a child's life, when training and example are of the utmost concern. He would begin their training in Latin by having them name the objects around them, showing the importance he placed on learning the language, but at the same time he decried the empty memorization and imitation of authors that many of his contemporaries advocated. He described those who would only pay attention to the study of tongues to trumpets making sounds without purpose.  

It can be concluded that Sir Thomas Elyot, through his writings, especially The Boke Named the Governour, acted as a bridge between the earlier English Humanists who wrote mainly in Latin, and the later flowering of Elizabethan literature and thought. And by using the vernacular to express his thoughts he assisted in bringing the world of humanistic ideas to his fellow Englishmen.

Roger Ascham

The writings of Elyot had a decided influence on a man whose work was to become equally popular and helpful to the cause of

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9Elyot, p. 25.
10Elyot, p. 18.
11Lehmburg, p. 4.
humanistic education, Roger Ascham. Ascham had fairly humble beginnings, being born in Kirkby Malze, Yorkshire, in 1515 or 1516, the son of a steward for a local baron, Baron Scrope of Bolton in Wensleydale. His first education was obtained at the local grammar school but then he was placed in the household of Humphrey Wingfield, a Suffolk lawyer, a royal commissioner, and in 1533, Speaker of the House of Commons, who resided near the village of Branham. It was here Ascham studied Latin and Greek under the tutelage of one R. Bond. At the age of fourteen he proceeded to Cambridge, to St. John’s College, where he was fortunate enough to come into association with such men as Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith. It is believed that the former had the strongest, individual influence on Ascham’s taste in authors, his educational views, and his ideas for Latin and English prose. During his stay at Cambridge he became interested in a wide program of learning which included philosophy, rhetoric, history, drawing, singing and musical instruments. His greatest talent, however, seemed to lie in writing, due to an excellent style and fine penmanship, for which reason he often transcribed letters for the college officials.  

In 1534 Ascham received his bachelor of arts, was nominated for a fellowship in his college and received his master of arts in 1537. His association with Cambridge did not come to an end though, for he served as a regent and then as a college reader in Greek. When Sir John Cheke resigned as public orator

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12 Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), pp. 18-19. All data concerning Ascham, not otherwise authenticated, was taken from the work by Ryan.
at Cambridge in 1546, Ascham was elected to succeed, and took the post.

Despite these positions he held, Ascham did not seem to have a very definite career in mind which caused him to be criticized by some of his biographers as one who spent a lifetime seeking royal patronage. If this is true, his first success came in 1548 when he was hired as a tutor in Latin and Greek for the Princess Elizabeth. His good fortunes continued with his appointment in 1550 as secretary to Sir Richard Morison, the newly appointed ambassador to Emperor Charles V, and in 1554 he was made Latin Secretary to Queen Mary. In the same year he married Margaret Howe, of whom little is known. His last official post, in 1558, was that of Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, who also gave him, though a layman, the canony of Wetwang in York; during these years of public service he continued his studies and his connection with Cambridge. He appeared to be frustrated, however, in that in neither area, public life nor scholarly circles, did he really achieve greatness during his lifetime. During the last years of his life, Ascham spent his time aside from his duties in writing and attending informal scholarly gatherings.

The first literary accomplishment of Ascham was a book presented to King Henry VIII in 1544, on the "art of shooting" or Zoophilus, as it was called. That it was written concerning a very English matter in the English tongue for Englishmen was emphasized by the author in his introduction, which indicates that Ascham was trying to illustrate

13 Ryan, p. 3.
the possibilities of vernacular prose. He would also have known that at the time archery was a highly popular sport being encouraged by the government, and the correctness of this idea is proven by the fact that as a reward for his book he received from the government a yearly pension of £10.

While in Germany in 1552 Ascham produced his second work which never achieved great popularity but was actually a more significant piece of work. Intended only as a prologue of a larger future book, Ascham wrote an eyewitness account of German political history from 1550 to 1553 which he called a Report and Discourse of the State of Germany. To understand the importance of this small account it must be remembered that there were few authors who concerned themselves with political matters at that time.

As is often true of men who leave their mark on history, Ascham did not live to see his most famous work in finished form or the renown it subsequently achieved. It is believed that he had begun work on The Scholemaster about 1563 and completed it in 1566 but did not have the funds to publish it, so it was only after his death that his widow sent the manuscript to the printer John Day who then published it in 1570. Whether she was aware of its potential or simply trying to find a way out of financial distress is not clear, but its success was almost immediate since it had to be reprinted in 1571 and was reprinted three times by 1590.  

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15 Ryan, p. 253.
According to the introduction of The Scholemaster, Ascham's inspiration for the book grew from an after-dinner discussion in the chambers of Sir William Cecil with certain "personages" over an incident that had recently taken place at Eton. Several scholars, after being involved in a minor infraction of rules, had run away from the school for fear of a beating. This led Ascham to question what really promotes the end of a school, which is learning - love, alluring the scholar on, or punishment, driving him on. The discussion eventually moved to a broader plane, concerning the whole nature of learning and the methods practiced at the time; these two topics took shape as the main divisions of The Scholemaster, which are firstly, the teaching and bringing up of youth and secondly, the ready way to the Latin tongue. The manuscript which evolved has come to be considered, along with The Governor, the most influential of Tudor treatises on education.

The frequent use of the treatise by those interested in the Elizabethan period is due to the fact that it summarizes well the prevailing theories of education and points out the major problems. There is little in the book that is original; but according to Ascham's own philosophy of learning, it acted as a mirror of classic thought relying heavily on the writings of Plato, Cicero, Xenophon, and Isocrates, along with those of later Humanists such as Sturm, Elyot, Erasmus, Vives, and Cheke. Thus through precept and example, he laid down as essential

16 Ascham, The Scholemaster, Preface.
17 Ryan, p. 251.
for the education of youth in the classics, the principle of imitation which will be explained later.

Showing an insight into sound pedagogy, Ascham also dealt with the task of parents and schoolmasters to discern the capabilities of children or as he described it, "to make the right choice of quick or hard wittes."

At times, he held, parents were too quick to relegate a quiet child to the ranks of the slow or to punish a child for what was the fault of nature. Dwelling at length with the problem of discipline, he urged schoolmasters be chosen who, understanding the nature of children, could control their own anger and bad temper so as to correct children in the spirit of future improvement rather than of past revenge. He proposed the motivation of love in place of fear, the instrument of gentleness rather than beatings, as being most conducive to good learning.

A warning was issued to society, however, that good schoolmasters would not be obtained unless parents were more willing to recompense the schoolmaster justly for his labors.

Following Elyot's example, Ascham also made a plea for the education of the nobility for the good of the state. He must have noted a definite lack here for he urged parents to protect their offspring from any possible bad influence at Court. The book ends with an appeal for training in manners and, on the other hand, a warning against allowing the young to come under the influence of Italian writers or, above all, against exposing them to travel in Italy. The only exception

Ascham made to this catigation was Count Baldesay Castiglione's The Courtier, a treatise on the manners of a nobleman, to which he gave high praise.\(^20\)

The second book of The Scholemaster dealt with the practical guides to developing a facility with the Latin tongue, which Ascham felt could best be accomplished by learning some grammar, but mainly by concentrating on reading, especially classical authors. The reader would, first of all, study the content and style; then work to develop a similar literary style. The manner in which this development took place will be discussed later.

Lastly, while assisting the development of education, The Scholemaster also was a step forward in the development of the English language. Ascham's English prose style was not of the finest quality, but the fact that a work containing such high praise of the classics was written and printed in English gave another needed impetus to the movement for the use of the vernacular.

Richard Mulcaster

Of the educational writers being considered here, Richard Mulcaster is by far the most important in this writer's estimation, but at the same time, he is the one whose inclusion in this discussion is the most difficult to justify. This is due to the fact that, as will be seen, Mulcaster was the most far-sighted and original educational thinker of his day, but sadly he had the least influence on the school

\(^{20}\) Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 20.
practices of the time. The seed of thought was there however, and it was to grow, though very slowly, through the centuries.

Born in 1530 or 1531, probably at the old border tower of Brackenhill Castle on the river Lune, Richard Mulcaster was the son of William Mulcaster, whose ancestors traced themselves back to an old border family who had aided in repelling the Scots from England. He was fortunate in being sent to Eton while the highly reputed schoolmaster, Nicholas Udall, presided there as headmaster. It is believed that the seeds of his own later severity as a master were laid there. From Eton he was elected scholar of King’s College, Cambridge, but he moved on to Christ’s Church, Oxford, where he earned a master of arts in 1556. Being interested in Eastern languages, he became well-versed in Hebrew and was considered one of the best Hebrew scholars of his time.

In 1558 he was in London acting as a schoolmaster, although there is no record of what school it was, but he must have established a fair reputation, for in 1561 he was chosen the first headmaster of a new school being founded by the Merchant Taylors' Company. This post he was to hold for twenty-five years and during his tenure there he was to publish both of his important books. Apparently, he was very independent in character and at times gruff and tactless in manner, for his relations with the governing board of the Merchant Taylors' Company were often strained over policy and over the recompense of his labors. For example, Mulcaster admitted to the school over 250 boarders, which, while encouraging as a sign of success, was beyond the number of scholars
the Company had allowed for. Several times Mulcaster was asked to resign because of such matters as this, as well as his borrowing of money and making speeches that were overly long, but always he was reinstated for some reason. 21 The duration of his mastership was probably due to his ability as a teacher; two well-known Englishmen who studied under Mulcaster were William Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes. His departure from Merchant Taylors' finally came in 1586, when he resigned over a refusal of the Company to increase his salary. 22 In April of 1590 he was made vicar of Cranbrook, Kent and in 1594, the prebendary of Gatesbury, Sarum.

Through the influence of one of his old scholars, Mulcaster returned to London and the role of schoolmaster in 1596. St. Paul's school that had achieved a fine reputation in its early years due to the efforts of John Colet and William Lily, had suffered a decline under the poor masters who had followed them; thus, the governors were anxious to secure a master who could restore the prestige of the school. Serving on the board at the time was Lancelot Andrewes, who had studied under Mulcaster at Merchant Taylors'-and held him in great respect. It is recalled by some that Andrewes had Mulcaster's picture hung above the door of his study and that his will showed a legacy that was left to the schoolmaster's son, Peter. Mulcaster accepted the offer which


Andrewes encouraged the board to make; thus becoming at sixty-six years of age, the highmaster of one of the most important and well-known schools in England. For the sixteenth century, Mulecaster had the good fortune of a very long life. He remained at St. Paul's until 1608 when he resigned to retire to a post given him previously by Queen Elizabeth, that of rector of Stanford Rivers, Essex, where he died in April of 1611 at the age of eighty-one or eighty-two.

In contrast to Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham, Mulecaster wrote his two books on education with twenty-two years of practical experience as a schoolmaster behind him. He used this fact to strengthen the arguments of his first book written in 1581, Positions Wherein Those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie for the Training Up of Children. This work was not written as a book of methods for teachers but to voice certain principles of education which Mulecaster had come to consider of vital importance in the process of child development and learning. By dedicating the volume to Queen Elizabeth, he hoped according to his dedicatory epistle, to indicate the important subject with which he dealt and the wide audience it should have.

Many of the principles laid down in Positions were and still are considered fundamental to the accomplishment of the educator's goal. In the first place, Mulecaster called for the education of the whole man

23McDonnell, Annals, p. 164.


25Mulecaster, Positions, p. 11.
showing that he had absorbed humanistic influences. In his estimation the soul and body, being co-partners throughout life, must be trained together and he devoted thirty of his forty-five chapters, to describing the way in which he would accomplish this task.26 Looking upon physical fitness as essential to good moral character, he provided a pattern of exercises and sports for the schoolmaster to follow to insure the healthy development of his scholars.

A second important area where Mulcaster showed great insight, was in the realm of educational psychology, although his ideas were not couched in today's terminology. He believed that parents and teachers often became so concerned with the matter of their teaching that they neglected to consider the person of the child and the individual differences of children. Due to a "variety of wittes" and physical conditions, the accomplishments of scholars differed, but watchful parents could determine the natural abilities of children and develop these.27 Individual differences were also recognized by Mulcaster in considering the length of time required for children to learn. In this area his ideas coincide with progressive ideas by not setting a time limit on any given course but allowing the child to move on when finished or to take more time without receiving pressure to complete the work in a set time.28 Also outlined was the process of learning which he described

26 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 40.
27 Mulcaster, Positions, pp. 19, 25.
28 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 259.
as the "witte to conceive by, the memorie to retaine by", and the
ability to discern what is good and what is evil. His criticism of
boarding schools, it is true, might have been influenced by his own
position in a large city; but since he held that children need the in-
fluence and example of their parents, he advocated attendance at a near-
by school.

As an experienced schoolmaster, Mulcaster had probably learned
much himself by trial and error, and had under him many ushers who had
to learn their profession in the same way. This may have been what led
to his suggestion for teacher training colleges and other professional
schools for which there would be pensions available. Mulcaster also
observed that since the early years of education are by far the most
important, they should be directed by the best teachers. Noting that
this was not the case in his time, Mulcaster proposed increasing the
rewards of those who would direct the child's first introduction to
formal learning.

Two other significant principles of Mulcaster are developed in
Positions, the education of girls and the use of the English language.
His ideas on these two topics will be discussed later in detail, but
it can be noted here that Mulcaster's second book published just one

29 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 27.
30 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 116.
31 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 239.
32 Mulcaster, Positions, pp. 235-236.
year later, The First Part of the Elementarie, was concerned mainly with the writing of the English language. These two books were his only major works. In 1580 he penned some Latin verses and he prepared a Latin catechism for St. Paul's in 1599. His last manuscript seems to have been a eulogy for Queen Elizabeth in 1603.

That the educational theories of Mulcaster did not make an impact on English education was truly a loss, but there seem to be many factors that militated against their diffusion. While his writings were all in English, his style was awkward and overly elaborate so as to discourage their reading, even by later scholars. The Positions, published in 1581, remained out of print for three hundred years, when a facsimile edition was issued in 1838, and the Elementarie has never been reprinted. Another possible hindrance to the acceptance of his ideas may have been his own personality, for he seemed to lack the ability of tactfully presenting his arguments so as to gain support. His independent spirit and the self-assurance he had in the correctness of his views appeared to some to be merely conceit. Since his rediscovery, however, Mulcaster has gradually been given many honors, such as credit for laying the foundation for a science of education.33

William Kempe

The small book, The Education of Children in Learning, published in 1588, has been considered by some to be the clearest presentation of the philosophy underlying the Elizabethan grammar school curriculum; yet, its author, William Kempe, has for the most part remained an obscure figure in history and his work, as far as can be determined by this author, never went beyond this first edition. In fact the only two sources that seem available to the student of English education that deal with Kempe, differ radically about his identity. Since it is impossible at present to determine the absolute accuracy of either account and its references, both will be presented here. It is to be hoped that some future historian of English education will be able to uncover more data on William Kempe, for his contribution to this field would seem to merit this study.

The noted British biographer and Shakespearean scholar, Sir Sidney Lee, presents the author of The Education of Children, as a graduate of Trinity Hall, Cambridge with a bachelor of arts in 1580 and a master of arts in 1584. The register of Cambridge lists a William Kempe in its rolls for those years. From Cam-


bridge, this Kempe proceeded to Plymouth where he was schoolmaster from possibly 1581 to 1605. The Education of Children was dedicated to William Hawkins, the mayor of Plymouth, which might indicate his connection with that town, but it is difficult to verify since one of the town's historians claims that there exists no complete list of the schoolmasters of Plymouth. 36

In a two-volume work attempting to reconstruct the grammar school education of Shakespeare, Thomas Whitfield Baldwin describes the author of The Education of Children as a former scholar of Eton, and compares his plan of education with that which was practiced there. 37 Kempe's name appears on the Eton College Register as a scholar from 1586 to 1591, receiving his bachelor of arts in 1593 at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and a master of arts in 1597. 38 This William Kempe was then employed at Colchester as the master of the grammar school there from 1598 to the time of his death in 1637. 39

In addition to The Education of Children, two other works are credited to Kempe, A Tract Denouncing Ballard, Babington and


Mary, Queen of Scots (1587), and, The Art of Arithmetick in Whole Numbers and Fractions (1592), neither of which, has ever been reprinted.

One of the outstanding features of The Education of Children is Kempe's very reasoned and logical approach to the problem of educating the young which he considered, in his day, a serious one. In his Epistle Dedicatories, he blamed the corruption and iniquities of his generation on the fact that men had grown careless and slack in bringing up the young; that they took more care to provide wealth for their offspring than wisdom. 40 His book is divided into three parts: the dignity of schooling, the utility of schooling, and the method of schooling. Beginning with the manner by which God taught His people in the Old Testament, Kempe traces the importance of learning through the "schoole of the Hebrews" and the school of the Gentiles or Greeks. During these centuries, he reminded his readers, God was the acknowledged author of discipline and learning but man was his instrument and messenger. In the next stage, however, the dignity of learning increased since God sent as His messenger His only Son, the Savior, Jesus Christ, which event inaugurated the school of Christianity. Through the efforts of the Apostles, the Fathers and the Doctors of the Church, through the medieval universities such as Paris, through King Alfred, and through the Universities

40 Kempe, n.p.
of Oxford and Cambridge, learning continued to grow and flourish. Kempe's recounting of the glorious past of learning all led up to his conclusion of the first part, in which he asked his readers to imagine a scene in which all these heroes of the past would confront with their accomplishments the people of his time. The reaction Kempe expected to achieve was, of course, one of shame for their negligence.

To prove the utility of schooling, Kempe drew a comparison between England and the barbarous nations who were unlearned. Because they lacked learning, they lacked laws, civil policy, an honest means of securing a livelihood, and lastly, because they had no knowledge of God, they lacked the hope of salvation. It was only learning that secured these good things and made it possible for men to be good. At the same time, however, learning did not exist for personal gain but was to be employed for the profit of the commonwealth and the glory of God. England was in need of counsellors, judges, justices, rulers and preachers as well as of merchants and mariners. Kempe concluded this section with a plea for Englishmen to use their talents to promote all good learning and knowledge.

Lastly, Kempe turned his attention to the various practical points of education. To the consolation of the schoolmaster, the author pointed out that besides a good master and good doctrine, the process of learning demanded a scholar both apt and willing to learn. He believed that it was the parents' role from the child's earliest years, to nurture his natural abilities and receptivity to education through supervising his speech, play and friends, as
well as providing a well-ordered home in which he could develop. The selection of a good schoolmaster is another prime responsibility of the parent because, as Kempe explained, besides precept or law, children had to see the precept put into practice. The suggested method was for the child to learn the precept, to note examples of the precept in other men's works, to imitate the example in some work of his own and then to construct his own example, not relying on imitation. The role of imitation, however, came out again very strongly. Reminding schoolmasters that the principle of virtue is based on the hope of honor and the fear of punishment, he encouraged recreation and rewards for those who diligently applied themselves. In this section of his work, Kempe also dealt with curriculum, which will be referred to later.

This small volume made a valuable contribution to education, not in the sense of any original insights or principles, but in synthesizing the educative process in a systematic way.

John Brinsley

The works of John Brinsley take one out of the strict dates of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but his inclusion in this group seems justified by the character of his writings, which are usually placed in the history of education beside those of Mulcaster and Kempe. Very little is known about the life of John Brinsley, and much of what has been recorded comes from the autobiography of William Lilly, a famous astrologer of the seventeenth century.
Brinsley's birth is placed at 1564 or 1565, but the place is unknown. In 1580 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where he received his bachelor of arts in 1584 and his master's degree in 1588. Subsequently, he became a minister of the Word and school-master of the grammar school of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. It was here that William Lilly came as a scholar in 1613 and later recorded his impressions of his master as one of great ability for the instruction of youth in the Latin and Greek tongues, this opinion being substantiated by the fact that many of his scholars went on to the universities. 41

That Brinsley was a true Humanist, is evident from the authors Lilly became acquainted with at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, such as Cato, Aesop, Tully, Ovid, Virgil and Horace. The young scholar was also introduced to Greek through Camden's grammar and Homer's Iliad, and was briefly exposed to Udall's Hebrew Grammar. Logic, however, was absent from his program, as Brinsley held that it was a subject to be pursued in the university. 42 Although it may be dangerous to judge a teacher's ability from one pupil, Brinsley seems to have been successful in his work with Lilly, who noted that in the last two years of his studies, he could speak Latin as well as English and produce extemporaneous verses upon any theme.


42 Lilly, p. 5.
Lilly also prided himself on being a better grammarian than the ministers who came to examine the scholars. In addition, all of Lilly's classmates went on to Cambridge, though he could not join them due to financial difficulties.

Lilly recalled Brinsley as very severe in his life and conversation and eventually his strict Puritan ideas caused him difficulty with the Church of England. Due to his refusal to conform wholly with the ceremonies of the Church of England, he was forced by the Bishop's officers to resign his position as schoolmaster in 1620 after which he went to London where he lectured until the time of his death. 43 Little is known of his private life, except that he married a sister of the Bishop of Norwich, Joseph Hall, and there are records of one son, John, born in 1600, who entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1615 and following in his father's footsteps became a Puritan divine and author. 44

Besides the two works of Brinsley which will be analyzed at length, he also produced between 1615 and 1624 an eight volume work called The True Watch and Rule of Life, several multi-volume translations of the works of Cato, Virgil and other classical authors, and Children's Dialogues.

43 Lilly, p.6.
The Grammar Schoole. Brinsley's first major educational work, was published for the first time in 1612, reprinted in 1627 and finally again in 1917. It appears to be the practical reflections of a school-master as he wrestled with the daily problems of teaching. Following a typical classical format, he described what experience had taught him about methodology through a supposed dialogue of two schoolmasters, Spoudeus and Philoponus. The latter is seeking the best way to teach, meaning of course to teach the classical languages and religion; Brinsley, on the lips of Spoudeus laid out in detail the principal methods to be used. As all schoolmasters of his time, Brinsley placed great emphasis on the Classical languages, and one half of The Grammar Schoole deals with their transmittance.

As is shown by the space devoted to the teaching of Latin and Greek, Brinsley adhered to the thought of his time; yet, he also dealt with other factors, some of which were not often emphasized among teachers. For example, he lamented the fact that some scholars did not continue to develop their facility with the English language once they entered the grammar school, and proposed the standard that English should be developed proportionately, as the student advanced in Latin. Brinsley was almost unique in directing his attention to writing, suggesting detailed methods for the schoolmasters to give their scholars training in this art. Along with Mulcaster, he urged the better training of masters and ushers, and gave a logical analysis of the ideal

administrative structure of the grammar school. The volume ended with several chapters on discipline and school routine, in which, though Lilly remembered Brinsley as severe, the author cautioned schoolmasters at length to moderate their anger. Nevertheless, he quickly added that to spare the rod when necessity required it is to harm the child.

A Consolation for Our Grammar Schooles, published in 1622, could be considered a sequel or enlargement of The Grammar Schoole; the former being more general, dealing with principles rather than with methods. Its publication is traced back to the plans of the Virginia Company of London to establish a college and school in the new American colony of Virginia, for which Brinsley's book was to provide a course of study. The school in Virginia did not materialize, but it is also doubtful that Brinsley's book would have served its purpose. Rather than laying down a specific course of study, it did something which in the course of history has been far more valuable; it presented an early seventeenth-century psychology and philosophy of education.

In his opening paragraph, the author emphasized the importance of education for the glory of man and the common good. From this principle, he moved logically to the necessity of good schools and excellent schoolmasters, which in areas such as Ireland, Wales, and Virginia, were as yet still absent from the scene. In these areas, to which

he was particularly addressing himself, it was only education that would root out ignorance and superstition. As a good pedagogue he warned schoolmasters, however, that they would have to be ready to adapt their methods to the land and the people.  

It is interesting to note, though, that his concept of adaptation did not envision any change in curriculum; thus, the main subject would continue to be Latin.

That he wrote as an experienced schoolmaster is a point he emphasized to his readers. His ideas, he stated, were not taken from his own "conceit," but only from reading, trial and the observation of different courses, and after attempts to see a demonstration of everything. Not relying even on all of these methods, he would then confer with other learned men to obtain their judgments and lastly he would yearly re-evaluate his methods. Brinsley concluded with a moving exhortation to teachers, pleading with them to remember the sublimity of their role and cautioning them against discouragement or neglect.

In the educational works of each of the above authors, it is obvious that the general objectives of the Elizabethan grammar

50 Brinsley, A Consolation..., p. 15.

51 Brinsley, A Consolation..., pp. 11-12.

52 Brinsley, A Consolation..., pp. 42-51.
school were upheld, while simultaneously new principles and ideas were introduced and old ones criticized. It is beyond one's reach to measure accurately the effect that these writings had, but the fact that three of these men were schoolmasters makes it possible to conclude that, though the sphere may have been small, they had some influence. Secondly, it is not difficult to meet numerous references to Ascham and Elyot in educational writings of the sixteenth century, as well as in many school statutes, which indicate that they did have some influence on both the teachers and the founders of schools. In the following study of the grammar school curriculum further reference will be made to their opinions.
CHAPTER III

A CLASSICAL CURRICULUM

Latin, Greek and Hebrew

The acquisition of a secondary education in the sixteenth century indicated above all else that the young scholar had been exposed to the fundamentals of what was considered to be a classical program of learning. This was intended, as Ascham wrote, to make him ready for the university.\(^1\) For others this classical education was still the key to the professions of law and medicine. Positions in the higher civil service and diplomacy demanded the ability to speak Latin, for Latin was considered the key to all scholarship of the past and also to contemporary philosophy, science and literature. Even to the businessman, Latin had its uses for accounts and records. To all, finally, the classical languages were the necessary symbol of culture and learning, a belief that was greatly reinforced by humanism.\(^2\) The humanists saw in such an education the opportunity to develop a person who would excel in well-ordered and prudent thinking; one who would have self-discipline, gravity and decorum. Through the study of Latin, the

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\(^1\)Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 30.

\(^2\)Brown, pp. 10-11.
scholar was exposed to the great characters of the past who were cultured and refined by reason of their erudition; thus, through the example of their writings, immaturity and "boorishness" would be overcome in young Englishmen.

The classical program of the Elizabethan grammar school concentrated so completely on the first subject of the trivium, grammar, that to the contemporary mind, learning and the mastery of Latin grammar became identical. The Greek and Hebrew tongues were also taught in some schools but the main study in all was Latin. William Lily, the first schoolmaster of St. Paul's in London, whose Latin grammar written in cooperation with John Colet was the official text of the Tudor era, stated in his preface that the rudiments of Latin grammar were the basis of all future progress in learning. The stated purpose of Ascham's The Scholemaster was to present a plan for teaching children to understand, write and speak the Latin tongue, which always led to wisdom and eloquence. Ascham even warned against too much study of such sciences as music, arithmetic and geometry. These, he felt, while sharpening the intelligence of men, did not prepare them to take their place in society. A man who spent all his time concentrating on the sciences became a solitary who, losing the sense of good manners, was not able to associate well with other men. But contrariwise, the learning of Latin and Greek perfected both intelligence and good

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manner. The author, Thomas Hobey, in the introduction to his translation of the Courtier, proposed that a knowledge of Latin and Greek not only furthered learning but rather was learning itself.

The details of what the learning of grammar entailed differed from school to school, but one might consider the following curriculum as fairly representative. In the first form, the scholar was to learn the basic facts of the Latin tongue, the sounds, spelling, parts of speech and sentence construction. This was a long, arduous task designed to create walking Latin dictionaries. In the second form the drilling of grammar would continue, but added to this was the task of translating Latin authors. It is necessary to note, however, that this work of translation was carried out not for the aesthetic appreciation of the content but for the purpose of analyzing the style and use of words which later the scholar would be expected to imitate. The exception to this pattern were authors who were read, not only for their style, but because their content related to religious beliefs or training in manners. For the purpose of studying and imitating style, the most commonly used authors, judging from school statutes were Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust and Horace. In most schools this process was continued in the third and fourth forms while introducing the writing of Latin and the composition of verses and themes.

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5 Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 5.

In the fifth form, if the school were fortunate enough to have a master learned in Greek, that language would be introduced in the same manner. It is believed, however, that few schools were that fortunate. William Lily was perhaps one of the first to teach Greek, when he was headmaster at St. Paul's in London. Colet, in the statutes he wrote for that school, recommended the teaching of Greek if possible. The first Greek grammar that was widely used was that of Glanvill published in 1530, but a later one by William Camden became the standard text of the seventeenth century. Ascham held that the greatest learning of all times was contained in the writings of the men of Athens such as Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclid, Herodotus and Demosthenes. Elyot recommended introducing the child to Greek at seven years of age, by which time he would be using Latin as a familiar tongue. For the early years, Elyot suggested such authors as Homer and Aristophanes, while later the scholar would take up Xenophon, Aristotle and Plato.

Hebrew was in some schools introduced in the seventh and eighth forms. It was learned in the same manner as Latin and Greek. First, the grammar was started and then authors read, especially some books of the Old Testament such as the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Job. Composition work in Hebrew, however, was rare. The importance

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7 Carlisle, II, 76-77.
8 Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 17.
9 Elyot, p. 25.
of Hebrew as the sacred or holy language is evident from the references to it by educators such as John Brinsley. He felt there was no better way for a scholar to spend his time than memorising or meditating on the sacred words of Scripture. This attitude was strong in the post-Reformation era with its emphasis on Bible reading, but it is not evident that Hebrew was taught to any extent in most grammar schools.

Practice and Imitation

The key words in this entire process were practice and imitation and the schools provided ample opportunities for both. To learn well the rules of grammar, phrases called Vulgaria were composed and memorized. These collections of English phrases and sentences with the Latin equivalents helped the scholar to learn the best constructions and expressions. Scholars also stored up in their notebooks eloquent expressions of authors called commonplaces, which could be used at appropriate times.

Practice in Latin was also facilitated by the rules of such schools as Magdalen, Eton, Shrewsbury and Harrow, which required that the scholars speak only Latin in school and at play. This practice was not uniformly enforced, but the statutes of Harrow called specifically for two monitors to note the fault of those who spoke English.

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13 J. Fischer Williams, Harrow (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), p. 28.
Imitation was considered by Ascham to be the way all wise men learned and the only way to master a tongue. He warned his scholars against paraphrasing Latin authors, but counselled them instead to make faithful translations. They were first to translate the Latin work into English; then return the English to Latin and compare this with the original copy. Lastly, they would retranslate the work for practice. These translations were kept in three books which could serve as lifetime guides. An education of young boys based on drill and imitation with long hours of classroom work necessitated a fairly strict regime and discipline. In woodcuts of the sixteenth century a schoolmaster was often seen holding a birch rod, yet there appeared no anxiety on the part of the majority to change the structure of the school system, and thus ease the discipline.

Call for Reform

In the later sixteenth century, however, a few voices were heard urging alterations in the grammar school curriculum. Some proposals called only for a moderate change, while some struck at the basic philosophy of the accepted program.

William Kempe in his treatise to parents lamented the neglect of logic and rhetoric in grammar school training. In his scheme the first five forms were to be devoted to an introduction to Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but the subsequent years then were to be spent on logic.

and rhetoric, with one half year devoted to an introduction to arithmetic and geography. Kempe was not alone in his advocacy of a more comprehensive curriculum. Other writers also called for logic to aid the scholar in distinguishing the true from the false, and rhetoric which gave him the ability to persuade others to the truth. Such subjects as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, architecture and physics were called for. One writer compared the educators and scholars of his day who insisted solely on the learning of tongues, to men who value the bark more than the tree, the shell more than the kernel.

Another classical proponent who urged modifications was Elyot. In his work The Governor, previously discussed, he acknowledged the importance of Latin and Greek training but added that pleasant and relaxing exercises such as music, painting or carving should be interspersed. In the study of Latin he advocated a shorter period of time spent on grammar in favor of a greater effort to understand the content of the Latin writers. He specified also the study of logic and rhetoric and geography, and was one of the few to mention history directly.

In the early seventeenth century John Brinsley, while upholding the learning of languages, urged that they be taught with more emphasis on understanding and reason than memorization and drill. To counter-

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15 Kempe, n.p.
16 Stafford, pp. 24-26.
17 Elyot, pp. 20-33.
18 Brinsley, A Consolation..., p. 42.
act those who criticized the schools for not equipping a boy to earn a living, Brinsley urged that the grammar school must consider preparation for a profitable employment in Church or State. \(^{19}\) His curriculum noted arithmetic, but this he felt could be mastered in a few hours since its main use was a fluency in noting page and chapter numbers. \(^{20}\) The main departure Brinsley made from the accepted course of study was to recommend daily exercises in the English language if this were done without detriment to the study of Latin. He expected the scholars to have been prepared to read English before entering the grammar school. \(^{21}\)

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's proposed curriculum for Queen Elizabeth's Academy in 1570 illustrated a tendency toward a more liberal program. While preserving the trivium, Gilbert suggested the study of moral and natural philosophy, civil policy, mathematics, cosmography, astronomy, civil law, the art of defence, dancing, music and modern languages. This would have been a great change from the traditional secondary education but Elizabeth never acted on his proposal. \(^{22}\)

Possibly the greatest contribution Richard Mulcaster made to the development of English education was his adherence to the principle that changing times might demand a changing curriculum. He greatly abhorred old traditions that could not be changed merely because they had been right in the past or brought contentment to the majority of people in

\(^{19}\) Brinsley, *The Grammar Schoole*, p. 10.


\(^{21}\) Brinsley, *The Grammar Schoole*, p. 16.

\(^{22}\) Gilbert, p. 3.
the present. 23 One of these traditions which he renounced was the sole concentration on the Latin tongue; in his treatise Positions, he argued from numerous viewpoints for the inclusion of English in the program of the grammar school. Recognizing languages as tools he lamented the loss of time spent in studying languages to obtain learning. He maintained that a child should read what he first learns to speak and that he should also be taught to write good English as well. In his opinion Latin and Greek did not hold all that was worthwhile; there was much in English that was significant and uplifting. 24 To Mulcaster, no language of itself was finer than another, but depended on what use was made of it.

This was not the only change he advocated in the curriculum, but rather he promoted a general liberalizing of the existing structure. Reading, writing, art, music, language, physical development, professional or vocational training, law and physics were all to be included in a complete education. He believed strongly that everyone who was able should have a classical education, but he also recognized differences in talents and abilities which might destine some for more practical subjects. 25

Despite these attempts to provoke a transformation of English secondary schools the resulting reforms were few. An indication of the

23 Mulcaster, Elementarius, p. 6.
24 Mulcaster, Positions, pp. 30-31.
25 Mulcaster, Positions, p. 28.
situation might be surmised from the fact that the Lily grammar remained the standard grammar school text for three-and-one-half centuries. Society as a whole still maintained that the English gentleman, no matter what his talents, birth or future plans, was partially formed through a firm grounding in the Latin language and close contact with the thoughts and expressions of the past.
CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Ideal Standards

The second important end of the grammar school was the instilling of good manners, which to the Elizabethan was the equivalent of virtue and high moral character. The stress laid on this aspect of development can be attested to in numerous ways. One indication was the popularity of the so-called "courtesy" books such as Seager's School of Virtue, Rhodes' Book of Nurture, The Institution of a Gentleman and others.\(^1\)

One of the most celebrated books was the classic Italian work of Count Baldessar Castiglione, The Courtier, which was translated into English in 1588. Although this was originally written for the nobility at court, it became a popular work and the final word about a nobleman's behavior according to the Renascence pattern.\(^2\) Brinsley recommended the use of the School of Virtue as one of the principal means of introducing children to the rules of civility. It was written in verse which could be easily memorized by the scholar.\(^3\)

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\(^2\) Arrowood, p. 405.

\(^3\) Brinsley, *Grammar Schoole*, p. 18.
The teaching of manners also was often combined with other subjects. One of the first tasks a young boy was given was to memorize the Latin poem, *de Moribus*, written by William Lily, which was a versified summary of proper classroom conduct.  

The Elizabethan concept of the gentleman was actually quite similar to that of medieval times. The standards of nobility were adopted and absorbed not only by the sixteenth-century nobility but by all who wished to be successful. Great importance was attached to external conduct since this was the sign of culture and achievement. A gentleman was bound by his birth to be courteous; it was an essential part of his nature. It was only one who possessed good manners that would be sought out for counsel and leadership. Training in good manners was also seen as a means for establishing personal discipline within the personality of the scholar, thus he would be led to a good moral life. To many educators of the time it was not learning that held first place in a school nor was their success in this field the criterion by which they would be judged; rather, they would be judged by what foundations of virtue they had implanted in the scholar and in what manner knowledge was employed.

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5 Rhodes, p. 14.
6 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 16.
The general traits which the schools were expected to develop in young boys were usually precisely defined. Quietness or gentleness was highly prized and sought for in a young man's demeanor. A "still man" was likened to a castle which could withstand many things without disturbance, quarrelling or complaining. One means of determining the possession of this virtue was the manner of speech. Scholars were continually reminded to cultivate a pleasing style of speech, one which would be both unaffected and gentle. Another habit which was closely watched was the scholars' carriage and posture both in school and in the streets. He was, among other things, to walk demurely without allowing his head to hang down.

**School Discipline**

That the development of these traits was seriously pursued in the grammar schools can be seen from the statutes of many schools and also from the records of their daily practices. The statutes were usually very definite on the standards of manners and morals expected of the schoolmaster. To cite just one example, the statutes of Westminster required that the master be of high repute, honest and pious so as to make his pupils gentlemanly and industrious. The statutes were often

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8Rhodes, p. 15.
10Seager, n.p.
11Leach, p. 497.
more specific about the qualifications of character than about intelectual ability. At Sandwich Grammar School in Kent it was prescribed that the schoolmaster was not to be a common gamaster and haunter of taverns, not to indulge in extraordinary expenses in apparel nor otherwise to be an infamy to the school and a bad example to the young, but always to show an example of honest, continent and godly behavior. Other schools added to this that he be of grave behavior, of sober and honest conversation, one who did not smoke, play cards or other unlawful games.  

The statutes were also careful to encourage and demand the teaching of manners in the young. St. Paul's statutes required that the group of purveyors who visited the school should investigate the instruction of the scholars in good manners as well as in literature.  

The schoolmaster at Harrow was enjoined to see that the scholars did not appear in school uncombed, unwashed, ragged or slovenly and to punish severely lying, stealing, fighting, filthiness or wantonness of speech. Several school statutes mention strong punishments for swearing, the use of ribald words, lewd books or songs. At Oundle the scholar was to receive three stripes for

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12Watson, pp. 130-131.
13Carlisle, II, 71.
14Williams, p. 45.
every ribald word used in school or elsewhere. At Giggleswick the scholar was to be corrected severely for any misdemeanour or irreverence at school or abroad, to parents, friends or strangers. He was also to be dealt with severely for complaining of correction given him by the master or usher. Expulsion was the punishment meted out at Heath for rebelliousness to commands and severe punishment was in order for swearing, lying, laughing and vain shouting.

Since the quality of moral virtue and gentlemanliness ideally desired by the Elisabethan educator was not completely natural to the young boys, it was the task of the school to assist them in acquiring these traits as habits, as powers and as a science. The entire atmosphere of the school was to be one of good order with all aspects of the daily schedule carefully laid out and rigidly adhered to. The School of Virtue described the manner of proceeding to school. The scholar was to salute those he met along the way with his cap removed. When he arrived at school he was to greet the master with great reverence, his cap under his arm and bending his knee. He was then to proceed to his place and immediately apply himself to his lessons. Upon leaving school the scholars were to walk in careful order without shouting or bellowing. Neither were

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15 Carlyle, II, 218.
16 Watson, pp. 133-135.
17 Cleland, p. 163.
18 Kempe, a.p.
they to gaze or gape about but proceed on their way with a grave
countenance and saying few words. This conduct was considered to
be evidence that they were growing in grace and virtue.19 The scholar
in school was not to be too ready to speak since a quick tongue was
evidence of a lack of deep judgment. His voice, however, when employed,
was to be audible, strong and manlike, not soft, weak or womanish.20
All work was to be carried out quietly and at some schools there were
solemn warnings concerning the closing of doors; in some cases it is
interesting to note, the masters could not keep their families at the
school for fear of causing disturbance.21 As exhorted in Lily’s
de Moribus, the scholar was to avoid noise, contention, scoffings,
lies, thefts, loud laughter and fighting. He was not to imitate those
who wasted their time on trifles or have undue concern about money or
mundane affairs. He was to be clean of person, of clothes and of
tongue and always well equipped to begin his work.22

That these customs were carefully checked on can be seen
from the system of correction used. The school did not hesitate to
punish a lack of good manners in the scholar by the use of a birch.
While the punishments of the Elizabethan grammar school were
severe they were concerned about the best way of impressing the

19 Seager, n.p.
20 Ascham, The Scholemaster, pp. 4-7.
21 Brown, p. 114.
22 Watson, p. 107.
importance of obedience and lowliness. The grammarian and headmaster, Edmund Coote, in his popular educational work, *The English Schoolmaster*, gives an exercise in reading which recounts an incident illustrating this idea very clearly. A young boy who neglected to remove his cap to a gentleman on the street was given a blow for his behavior, whereupon he ran away. The gentleman pursued him and repeated the same punishment several times. The boy was very happy for he saw clearly his bad habit and could then improve.23

To assist in keeping a careful check on the scholars' actions the schoolmaster usually appointed monitors or custodes. These would observe the scholars when they were out of the sight and hearing of the master to check on the speaking of English and also on any idleness and failure to comply with the rules of the school. Their task was to prevent rudeness, irreverence or unbecoming behavior in the streets, at church or at play.24

The daily schedule of an Elizabethan grammar school was a rigorous one with studies from six until eleven and from one to five or six in the afternoon, a usual total of from eight to ten hours. The masters were wise enough to realize that the scholars needed diversion from such a program and so recreation and games were allowed. Care was taken, however, that these were agreeable

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with the conduct of young gentlemen. All recreations and sports that were "clownish" or perilous for mind or body were forbidden. Brinsley recommended weekly one part of an afternoon for play as a reward for diligent study but cautioned against too much play as being overly distracting.\(^{25}\)

Concerning which contemporary sports were gentlemanly and which had value, there was little agreement among educators. Some school statutes gave specific lists of those permitted and those forbidden. Archery seemed to be the most highly approved and gambling and cock-fighting the most soundly denounced. Elyot and Mulcaster both emphasized the necessity of physical development for mental and cultural well-being. Mulcaster devoted one-third of \textit{Positions} to this topic, and in \textit{The Governor}, Elyot advocated wrestling, running, dancing, and swimming, making the Greeks his model.\(^{26}\) Ascham held that a gentleman must be skilled in all courtly exercises. He should be adept at riding, playing at all weapons, archery, shooting, running, swimming, dancing, singing, hunting, tennis and playing an instrument.\(^{27}\) In general, though, the actual practice of the schools came nowhere near to these ideals. Games or physical exercises were only tolerated, not encouraged, and rarely organized as such. And often, time listed as holidays or recreation was actually spent

\(^{25}\) Brinsley, \textit{The Grammar Schools}, p. 301.

\(^{26}\) Elyot, p. 40.

\(^{27}\) Ascham, p. 19.
in writing exercises, compositions, or being examined on catechism.

Unified Program

The development of manners was not left entirely, however, to indirect or negative means. The scholars were to be led to read and interpret authors who would give them an example of virtue, godliness, honest behavior and a knowledge of humanity, and lewd authors were to be avoided.\textsuperscript{28} One of the books used for this purpose was the work Of Civility by Erasmus. Erasmus believed that a child's manners must be cultivated from the earliest years. True nobility and learning must have their foundation in courtesy, good bearing and mannerliness, which have their origin in self-respect and respect for others. He presented explanations of the requirements of good manners in terms of dress and demeanor of body for Church, meals, play and public occasions.\textsuperscript{29} Another Latin book frequently translated for its contents as well as grammar was De Quattuor Virtutibus by Mancinus, which presented moral maxims and standards for a gentleman.\textsuperscript{30} Cato's Disticha de Moribus was a common text-book which dwelt on the virtues necessary for a good life. Widely used because of its simple Latin it presented such topics as adversity, sobriety, contentment and frugality. Mulcaster considered it too serious and stoical, but it was one of the most popular text-

\textsuperscript{28} Carlisle, II, 717.

\textsuperscript{29} Watson, pp. 105-106.

\textsuperscript{30} Dominicus Mancinus, De Quattuor Virtutibus, trans. Alexander Barclay (London: John Gawood, n.d.)
books of the sixteenth century. Other such works used to reinforce character development were the writings of Cicero, Aristotle and Xenophon.

Thus by employing such means as the reading of English "courtesy" books, the regulation of school discipline, systems of rewards and punishments, control of recreations and sports and the use of choice texts, the Elizabethan educators sought to develop the well-cultured young man. The accomplishment of this goal was a true measure of a successful school. Good manners and grace were the marks of the well-educated and a sign of high moral character. It was only such a man that was a credit to his Church and to the realm of England, and it was the role of the school to provide England with many such men.

\[31\] Watson, pp. 121-122.
CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS FORMATION

Elizabethan Interest in Religious Education

Medieval grammar schools were almost without exception conducted in connection with monasteries, churches or cathedrals. During the Reformation many of these schools were suppressed while others, especially during the reign of Elizabeth, were opened, often under lay auspices and support. The change in religious allegiance or control, however, did not mean that the area of religious development was considered any less important. There were numerous indications that religious instruction and religious observances formed an integral part of the curriculum even in schools founded and administered by laymen. The first purpose of promoting good learning, according to William Kempe, was that God may be glorified, idolatry overthrown, truth advanced, the Church of God beautified and the country blessed.¹ John Brinsley wrote that all learning is vain unless it leads to a deeper understanding of religion and to an increase in grace. He feared that unless the learned caused religion to grow, their condemnation would follow.² It was the knowledge of God that was the beginning of all wisdom.

¹Kempe, n.p.

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three duties of the Englishman were to God, to the King and to the realm. His success in life was the fulfillment of these. 3

The educators, statesmen and the more enlightened citizens of England undoubtedly wanted the religious education of the young people of the realm to continue for the spiritual welfare of those concerned, but there was also a realization that a god-fearing population had decided advantages for a unified and prosperous state. Through religion the position of the monarch could be glorified. Kings were God's Lieutenants and were called gods after their Father by the wise Hebrews. No man had a right then to decide that a King was too rigorous and God's commandment did not permit a King to be overthrown. 4 The connection between Church and State was an intimate one and their interests were inseparable. This situation increased rather than diminished in post-Reformation days. The Crown truly controlled the Church in England and one of the main tasks of statesmen was to encourage the growth of a loyal Anglican populace, and one of the major tools at their disposal was the grammar school and it was utilized fully.

Since the first step in building up loyalty was to be assured of the trustworthiness of all schoolmasters, each one had to be licensed by the bishop of the diocese in which he taught. Many schools required the schoolmaster to take an oath that he would teach the true religion as explained by the government, and at Winchester College, for example, he had yearly to declare his faith and opinion in favor of the Queen's

3 Cleland, p. 100.
4 Cleland, pp. 115-116.
supremacy in the chapel before the assembled Warden, fellows and scholars. Neither was the schoolmaster to associate with Papists on threat of expulsion. Lord Burleigh advised Queen Elizabeth that education would be much more effective than persecution to root out Papist ideas. He counselled her particularly to be careful of allowing licenses to be given only to those whose loyalty was certain.

Official concern over religious education was evidenced by the inclusion of three articles in the Injunctions of the Queen in 1559, which dealt with this matter. Teachers were reminded to teach and inspire the children to reverence the true religion as set forth by public authority and further to teach them inspiring sentences of Scripture. Local priests were also required by the Injunctions to instruct the youth of their parish for an hour and a half every Sunday and holiday on the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief, the Lord's Prayer and to explain the catechism as set down in the Book of Common Prayer. In these Injunctions there was only one reference to the intellectual aspects of the schools, that which enjoined all the schools to use the grammar approved by Henry VIII, the Lily grammar.

The Queen's government attempted to enforce this policy through


the bishops of the realm. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, in 1580, the Council blamed the falling off from membership in the Anglican Church to a number of lowd schoolmasters who were infecting the youth and reminded the bishops that it was their duty to examine all teachers regarding religion. An effort to check into this matter is evident from a request made by the bishops in June of 1580 for a list of schoolmasters in their dioceses, where they taught, and if any were under suspicion for being "backward" in the religion as established by the laws of this realm. ⁸ That care was taken in the choice of a schoolmaster is also indicated by the numerous injunctions and visitations of the bishops. Archbishop Parker's Diocesan Articles and Interrogatories for Canterbury in 1560 questioned whether the schoolmaster was of sincere religion as set forth by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions. ⁹ Archbishop Grindal's Articles for the Province of York in 1571 included a section on the schoolmaster which was almost identical to that of Parker's. In July of 1577 the government took proceedings to remove corrupt schoolmasters and discussed means of encouraging conformity to the true religion. ¹⁰ And in 1583, Archbishop Whitgift ordered the Bishop of London to hold general examinations of

⁸ Leach, pp. 524-525.
⁹ Price, III, 85.
all schoolmasters on the soundness of their religious beliefs.\textsuperscript{11}

The bishops did make efforts to control the religious teaching of the schools, but there is no assurance that they were really able to accomplish this fully. Their efforts were aided, however, by lay Protestants themselves, especially those who had been in exile on the Continent during Queen Mary's reign. These were extremely anxious that the new religion should be included in the curriculum and therefore, they kept a careful watch on the schools. No matter how learned, schoolmasters were examined closely first of all for their religion and integrity.\textsuperscript{12}

John Brinsley expressed a common fear by stating that if care in the selection of schoolmasters were neglected, Popish schoolmasters would rise up, pour in superstition, and corrupt and deceive tender minds. The believers of God's true religion had to be diligent in seasoning youth in the truth of Christ, just as the Popish schoolmasters tried to establish idolatry. These fears were compounded when the Jesuits attempted to restore Catholicism in England.\textsuperscript{13} Brinsley also lamented the fact that some men placed all their intelligence and studies in the grammar school at the service of the anti-Christ, intending thus, to overthrow the nation and to advance the reign of Babylon.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[13] Brinsley, A Consolation..., p. 44.
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He expressed the hope that his writings would do good for the Church and the nation.  

From these facts it can be concluded that the interest of the Elizabethan government in the grammar school centered upon its utility as an instrument of encouraging uniformity. The grammar school became identified with the Anglican cause as opposed not only to Roman Catholicism but also to the growing influence of Puritanism. For the Puritans placed great importance on education and were willing to support it generously. They also considered the schools as a principal means of assisting the spread of the true kingdom of God on earth.  

The objectives of controlling religious education were not entirely negative. It was realized that the spread and understanding of the Protestant faith depended on the development of scholars. To the Anglicans and the Puritans this meant the training of theologians who could refute the arguments of Catholic scholars. The new emphasis on the reading of the Bible necessitated also a more literate people. It was such motivation as this that helped in the founding and re-establishing of schools.  

Religion Curriculum

The specific role of the grammar school in developing religious attitudes and fostering religious conformity consisted in formal

14 Brinsley, The Grammar Schools, p. 36
15 Jordan, pp. 281-282
religious instruction, creating a religious atmosphere, and in enforcing church attendance. Besides religion being the key motivation of all learning and the foundation of the entire curriculum it was also a definite school subject. The Catechism was one of the first books the scholar was introduced to. The publicist, John Brinsley, laid down a detailed method for the teaching of catechism. Every Saturday at the end of the regular school week and in preparation for the Sabbath, the scholars were to spend one half-hour in memorizing and reciting the answers to the catechism questions. He urged the master to make certain he understood every word and to divide up responses and examine the scholar backward and forward. This memorization was the absolute minimum of the religious knowledge required.

The first catechism of the period was originally part of the Book of Common Prayer which was issued in 1549. This had been enlarged by Bishop Poynet and by Dean Nowell of St. Paul's, who both published catechisms; in 1571 that by Nowell became the officially approved text and the one memorized by most boys. In such a catechism the basic content, the hard-core of religious beliefs, was the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

That the learning of catechism was promoted strenuously can be seen from the injunction of the government, the visitation articles of

17 Kemp, R.P.
19 Wood, p. 175.
the bishops and the school statutes. Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559 made the teaching of catechism from the Book of Common Prayer obligatory on the part of all parsons, vicars and curates. The Injunctions of Bishop Horne for Manchester College enjoined that scholars must diligently be taught catechism in Latin by the schoolmaster and usher every Sunday, weekday and holiday until they could recite it, after which it was to become an ordinary lesson under the direction of the usher. This pattern was carried out in many dioceses as shown by Bishop Guest's Injunctions for the diocese of Rochester, in which every grammar schoolmaster was required to teach the catechism in Latin. School statutes also demanded the teaching of catechism. At Harrow every boy was to be taught the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments and the Catechism, first in English and then in Latin. This prescription was common to almost every school of the period.

The Queen's Injunctions of 1559 also urged the reading and memorization of inspiring passages from the Bible, and as can be judged from Bishops' directives and school statutes, this also became a fairly common practice. Archbishop Grindal in his Injunctions for York in 1571 referred to this practice. The statutes of Cundle required the schoolmaster to prescribe sentences of Holy Scripture for the scholars which

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20 Cardwell, I, 195.
21 Frere, III, 132.
22 Frere, III, 160.
23 Williams, p. 28.
24 Frere, III, 291.
would encourage them to goodness. 25 The use of the Bible gradually increased through the influence of Protestants returning from the Continent and became an officially established school subject by 1604. 26

**Religious Practices**

Daily school practices also served to impress upon the scholar the importance of religion. Almost all school statutes required daily prayers, usually at the opening of the school day, at midday and at the close of the day. These prayers were specified in the statutes themselves, often being Psalms or the Lord's Prayer but occasionally prayers composed by the founder or master. They were to be said kneeling and frequently to be offered for the intentions of the founder. For example, at Harrow the first thing done in the morning and the last thing done in the evening according to statute was the recitation of prayers composed and read distinctly by the Master and answered reverently by the scholars with "Amen." 27

The schools also became a means of enforcing regular attendance at Church among the young. The schoolmaster was held responsible by most statutes for seeing that all his scholars attended weekly services and was also responsible for their conduct during the services. The statutes for the school at Sandwich are fairly representative. They stipulated that the scholars were first to assemble in the school house


26 Watson, p. 60.

27 Williams, p. 24.
from where they were to proceed in twos to the parish church. The master
or usher was required to be with them to supervise their conduct and to
see that they had with them a Latin or English prayerbook. They were to
sit apart in the church so they could more easily be watched. The day
following, the schoolmaster was also responsible for examining the ex-
cuses of those absent or tardy, and taking appropriate measures for any-
one who had been irreverent. 28

A primary objective of attendance at services in the Protestant
liturgy was to hear the sermon. The scholars were obliged to listen
attentively and in many cases to take notes about the content of what
was said. Ascham gave directions on the taking of these notes, which
was to be done without disturbing others. They were to record each
doctrine propounded, the proofs given, and the reasons and uses of the
doctrine. In the upper forms the sermon was to be analyzed into text,
division, exposition, doctrines, proofs, reasons, uses and applications.
In the margins of their notes they were to record any references to
Scripture used by the preacher. The following day the sermon was used
as an exercise to be translated into Latin or read ex tempore in Latin.
In the higher forms the scholars might be asked to report the sermon
without using their notebooks. The master was also to question them on
the most difficult points of the sermon. The object of these exercises
was not only to insure learning but also to keep them from disorder in

28 Carlyle, I, 603.
church. 29 Though it is doubtful that all of these measures were used by most schoolmasters it was the common practice to encourage scholars to hear a sermon with profit and also to examine them on it in some manner. Many statutes enforced this practice.

From the laws and practices mentioned above it is obvious that there were specific religious goals which Elizabethan society hoped to achieve through the grammar school. And, foremost among these goals it was through the schools that they intended and they tried to perpetuate the particular tenets of their own creed.

CHAPTER VI

EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

Schools and Schoolmasters

To precisely determine the influence of a social institution upon its contemporary society, is a difficult task under any circumstances, but when one is dealing with the schools of sixteenth-century England, this objective moves almost beyond reach. Many factors contribute to this problem, such as the lack of systematic and complete records of schools and enrollment, the volatile religious and political scene of the period, and the failure of historians of following centuries to preserve, evaluate and interpret those records which did survive. The first two factors are in a sense related. Before 1500, as stated previously, the majority of English grammar schools were Church-affiliated, whose status was drastically changed by the Reformation. Many of these Church schools were closed by King Edward VI as part of the effort to root out Catholicism and establish the Anglican Church, and historians, until comparatively recent times have dwelt on this aspect of the Tudor school policy to the neglect of many other features. More recent studies have shown that while many grammar schools were closed, some of these were shortly reopened through the initiative of laymen, and numerous other were founded, especially in the Elizabethan era. Those following the theory that the early Tudors destroyed grammar-school
education in England tend also to over-estimate the quantity and quality of schools in pre-Tudor days, using as the basis of their judgment the medieval schooling as it existed at its high-point rather than basing their judgment on a comparison of the schools as they actually were at the end of the fifteenth-century.\(^1\)

To try to arrive at an estimate of the influence of grammar schools on the society of Elizabethan England, it would be expedient to determine to some degree the number of schools that did exist. There is no single source that can supply these statistics and those who have attempted to provide a number differ widely on the results of their research. In quoting and interpreting such figures, care must also be taken to determine on what basis the count was made: some historians surveyed only the schools founded during Elizabeth's reign; others, all those schools in existence at the time. Furthermore a distinction is needed between schools which were closed permanently and those which were closed but then reopened. For example, different historians have listed the number of schools founded during Elizabeth's reign as 137, 150, or 192.\(^2\) Another study of the existing schools lists 281 about which there is definite evidence for during Elizabeth's reign; 51 lacking evidence for that particular time but having data for the years immediately previous or following, nine other schools whose existence is doubtful and two that were founded between 1558 and 1603 but actually

\(^1\)Charlton, pp. 89-90.

\(^2\)Stone, pp. 9-10.
began operating at a later date.\(^3\) Accepting all these figures would place the total number of schools in England at 343.

However, W. K. Jordan, a leading historian of today, is critical of these figures. He has made a detailed study of various social institutions, including schools, from the viewpoint of their support by voluntary contributions, in ten counties and cities of England: Bristol, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Kent, Lancashire, London, Norfolk, Somerset, Worcestershire and Yorkshire. Although his study covers a wider span of time, 1480-1660, the numbers differ sufficiently to give rise to further debate about the number of schools founded. In the ten counties cited, the study lists 437 schools founded or refounded and endowed, while also listing 105 which were founded but left unendowed. Projecting that there were probably at least an equal number of schools in the other areas of England, the author concluded that the estimates of grammar school foundations for the Elizabethan period have been far too low. By 1660, using these figures, there was one grammar school for each 4400 people. In all but two of the counties listed there was a grammar school within twelve miles of most residents, while in none, was there a city or town lacking an opportunity for secondary education.\(^4\)

It being very unlikely that the number of schools would have tripled in the first half of the seventeenth century, these figures indicate the existence of a greater number of schools during Elizabethan times. The

\(^3\) A. Monroe Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (New York: Columbia University, 1908), p. 11.

\(^4\) Jordan, pp. 290-291.
figures remain, however, an estimate so no final conclusion can truly be reached.

There is, though, some certainty that in most towns of 2000 inhabitants or more, there did exist a grammar school and that many larger cities had two, such as Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Salisbury, Oxford, Lichfield, Plymouth, Rochester, and York. In Middlesex, which included London, there were 61 grammar schools founded between 1480-1660.

A contemporary writer noted that every parish was to have a schoolmaster and while this ideal was not reached the number was growing.

An equally important factor in regard to the number of schools is the size of the enrollment of the respective schools and the problem this presents is easily recognizable. It would be misleading, even if possible, to reach any average number of pupils per school. The size of schools differed radically, depending on many variables such as the location of the school, the size of the endowment and the will of the founder. The extremes can be found in Penryn, a school endowed by Queen Elizabeth for the education of three boys, to the largest of the Elizabethan schools, Shrewsbury, with an enrollment of 360 scholars. The small school was not an exception as can be seen by Worcester, founded for the education of twelve boys and Bath for the education of ten boys. Besides Shrewsbury, there were other larger schools also, such as Merchant Taylors' with 250 scholars and St. Paul's with 153 boys; these two schools being in the city of London could be expected to have a

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5 Jordan, p. 291.

6 Stubbes, II, 21.
higher enrollment than those in other sections of the realm.\textsuperscript{7} The largest number of schools, nevertheless, listed an enrollment that varied between forty and sixty.\textsuperscript{8}

With few audio-visual materials and a minimum of outside guidance, the influence and success of the grammar school depended largely on the quality and ability of the schoolmaster and his assistant, the usher. Several excellent schoolmasters have already been mentioned, such as John Colet, William Lily, Mulcaster, Kemp and Brinsley, all of whom were well-educated and capable. On the other hand, Adam Martindale, a yeoman's son, recalls in his autobiography a different type of schoolmaster from the days he spent at St. Helen's Free Grammar School in Lancashire. There he was under the direction of five teachers in a lesser number of years, some of whom were "drinkers", ill-prepared and extremely harsh.\textsuperscript{9} One might wonder if the emphasis on the high moral character necessary for a schoolmaster, found in school statutes, was not caused by a prevalent lack of the same in practising masters. Ascham and Mulcaster both lamented the scarcity of excellent schoolmasters and the latter laid much of the blame for this dilemma on the refusal of society to grant the schoolmaster his proper place in public prestige.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{7}Stowe, pp. 188-189.
\textsuperscript{8}Stowe, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{9}Adam Martindale, \textit{The Life of Adam Martindale} (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1845), p. 11.
\textsuperscript{10}Ascham, \textit{The Scholemaster}, p. 4; Mulcaster, \textit{Positions}, pp. 235-236.
The salary of a schoolmaster lay somewhere within the range of £10 to £25 a year, to which might be added in some schools fees levied on the scholars, while in addition the master was usually provided with living accommodations on the school grounds. Nevertheless, many schoolmasters had to find other means of earning money, especially in rural areas. Coupled with, if not caused by, the low salary of the schoolmaster was his low social status, which did not too easily attract fine, intelligent men, but mainly drew those who lacked ambition to attempt a career in government, law or landholding. Some men became schoolmasters on a temporary basis while preparing for another position and it was not uncommon that some were not university graduates, who depended on the knowledge of Latin they had acquired in the grammar schools themselves. This was particularly true of ushers, who taught for a few years to earn their way to the university.  

Even in cases where the schoolmaster was well-qualified there are evidences that grammar school teaching was looked upon as a necessary task but not as a creative art and there was little variety introduced. It is related of Richard Mulcaster, that in the morning he would "exactly and plainly construe and parse the lessons to his scholars," after which they would proceed to work while Mulcaster napped for an hour. At the hour's end, the scholars would be heard and if any errors occurred, punishment would follow. The methodology of teachers it must be added seems to have been as static as the curriculum.

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As to the actual influence of the schoolmaster, it would appear that good schoolmasters often had great influence on the lives of those under their charge, as seen in the case of Mulcaster and his scholars, Spenser and Andrewes, and likewise in the case of Brinsley and his scholar William Lilly; but it is doubtful that as a group, schoolmasters had significant influence on the community or society in which they lived and labored.

**Scholars' Background and Status**

Along with a school building and a schoolmaster, there is a third essential element in the success of an educational institution and this is a group of learners; so to obtain an adequate picture of the Elizabethan grammar school one must arrive at some concept of those who attended the schools. It is through the scholars who proceeded from those halls of learning that some degree of influence might have been possible and their impact on their environment would obviously vary according to their status and opportunities in society. The heterogeneous school enrollment of the sixteenth century is somewhat revealing and can serve as a basis for some valid projections possibly on the sphere of influence the schools possessed.

To establish the general school policy in regard to enrollment, let it be said, that with very few exceptions, the Elizabethan grammar schools were open to all boys, regardless of race, nationality, or social standing. In fact, pride was taken in the fact that sons of
gentlemen, yeoman and merchants often studied side by side.\footnote{13} The register of Repton grammar school illustrated this diversity of background for among the first twenty-two names listed, there were sons of five gentlemen, seven husbandmen, nine yeoman, two weavers, a carpenter and a tanner.\footnote{14} It is necessary to note that this situation did not continue in later centuries for reasons that will be explained shortly. Of the numerous statutes examined by this writer, there was only one incident of exclusion noted, that of the statutes of Merchant Taylors', which forbade the admission of members of the Jewish race.\footnote{15} This qualification was not introduced into the statutes, though, until 1731.

While admission requirements were simple to meet on the above basis, there was one qualification that was stringently required at most schools, that of scholarship. The young boy had to be willing to accept unhesitatingly the strict regime and hard work of the program, as well as show some degree or hope of successful achievement. In many schools he additionally had to be able to pay the necessary fees, but if he could show potential talent, it was likely that financial problems would disappear.\footnote{16} Considering the present day programs of foreign exchange


\footnote{15} Carlyle, II, 54.

students, it is interesting to note in the sixteenth century a reference to four students from Muscovia, who were sent to England to attend Manchester, Eton, Cambridge and Oxford for the purpose of mastering English and Latin. 17

To determine how extensive was the social effect of grammar school education, it seems advantageous to examine the use of these institutions by the various classes of Elizabethan society. It must be kept in mind, however, that such class distinctions are in certain areas rather nebulous, for England was at the time, socially and economically, in a transitory state. For example, a yeoman farmer through the acquisition of additional property or certain improvements to his home and lands, might be gradually accepted in his county as a gentlemen farmer. Frequently, one will also find historians making different classifications. The following discussion of the relationships between Englishmen and education will consider the aristocracy or nobility, the gentry, the yeoman, the middle class and lastly, the rural and city poor or lower classes.

The increasing awareness among the nobility of the necessity of an education has already been briefly cited. With the emphasis on education in the modern world it is probably difficult to conceive of a time when the well-born were not only unlearned but were proud of such a situation. But before the introduction of humanism into England the nobility were indifferent, if not scornful, of education, which they

considered an endeavor for those who had to earn a living. The nobleman was born to hunt, to dance, to carry and train a hawk, or as one noble supposedly claimed, "I'd rather that my son should hang than study letters." A contemporary critic lamented that some of the arguments against education would lead one to conclude that ignorance was an essential mark of a nobleman.

These, no doubt, were extreme examples, and a change gradually evolved in the sixteenth century that saw the process of education move up the social scale as well as down. Many nobleman themselves, as well as schoolmasters and government officials, began to see that the nobility in the new age, were in danger of losing leadership in society unless they could intellectually keep pace with the rising gentry and mercantile classes. Edmund Dudley urged the nobility to insure the education of their sons for he forewarned them that poor men's children would be given positions of authority if the nobility were not qualified. Others who showed such concern were Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Laurence Humphrey and Lord Burghley. Gilbert's volume has already been noted; Humphrey documented his advice on education in a book called The Nobles, published in 1563. While he never published a full length educational volume, Lord Burghley played an important role in bringing about the education of the nobility. He encouraged learning among the upper classes by making himself guardian and educational director of many

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18 Stone, p. 674.
19 Cleland, p. 134.
20 Einstein, p. 60.
21 Einstein, p. 53.
fatherless noblemen and used any opportunity that arose to foster scholarship. Thus, by example he helped to create an atmosphere in which education became more fashionable. 22

Even after many nobility became convinced of the necessity of education, there still remained the question of how this learning should be obtained. There were many sons of knights and peers who attended the local grammar schools, such as the sons of Sir John Wynn, who attended Eton; those of Sir Percival Willoughby at Rugby; the heir of Robert, Earl of Salisbury at Sherborne; and the sons of the Earl of Chesterfield who were trained at Repton. 23 In the sixteenth century, though, there were still many sons of noblemen who were educated privately in their own homes or in the households of other noble families.

The social heterogeneity of the grammar school, however, was not destined to endure; for by the seventeenth century the nobility began to concentrate the education of their children in a few fashionable grammar schools such as Shrewsbury, Westminster and Eton, where according to tradition they could develop with those of their kind. 24 In those schools where the nobility did remain in attendance with those of other classes, they were usually marked out with some sign of distinction. In a contemporary account, one critic chastises the sons of the rich and of the nobility for filling up the grammar schools so that the

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22 Stone, p. 679.
23 Stone, p. 685.
24 Stone, p. 686.
poor could not find room or scholarships. 25

At a time when land ownership still remained the main symbol of wealth and prestige, the gentry or the country gentlemen were an important and influential group. In the Parliament of 1584, out of a total membership of 460, there were 240 members who considered themselves country gentlemen. 26 Thus, they have been called the leaders of England’s political life and the “kings” of the countryside, who more than any other group, set the standards of society. The country gentleman was usually identified by the fact that he owned land, had tenants and a rent roll and lived in a relatively imposing home. 27

That the gentry placed great importance on education is shown in one way, from the money they were willing to invest, which is estimated about one-third of their total charitable contributions. 28 Many were responsible for the foundation of schools in their local areas, such as Andover founded by John Hanson, Dedham by William Littlebury, and Yarm by Thomas Egglestaffe, all of them of the gentry class. 29 Usually the founder stipulated in such cases that his heirs and kinsfolk were to be taught free in the school. Not all, however, would attend the local schools; some young gentlemen were sent to schools in London for the

25 Harrison, I, 77-78.
27 Nettestein, pp. 45-46.
28 Jordan, p. 344.
29 Stowe, p. 15.
purpose of making acquaintances that might prove useful to them in the future. In any case, the gentry gave great care to the education of their sons, especially to the eldest, to prepare him to take charge of the estate, to obtain a position in the government, to become a lawyer or a local justice of the peace. All of these roles were gradually demanding a university training, which in turn presupposed a grammar school background. It was education as well as increased wealth that contributed to the "rise of the gentry" in the sixteenth century.30

The sixteenth century also saw a transition in the status of the yeoman which makes it difficult to sharply define his position. A contemporary description of a yeoman was given as one who had an annual income of forty shillings from freehold property.31 The distinction may have been precise in theory but in practice the yeoman might easily have crossed the barrier and found himself a gentleman.32 The yeoman benefited in this century from the end of the manorial economy and the sale of the monastic lands. While they were an ambitious class, always striving for improvement, they were also a proud class and loyal to their origins; many very wealthy farmers, long accepted by their neighbors as gentlemen, never discontinued adding "yeoman" to their names.33

30 Neale, pp. 32-33.
32 Neale, p. 32.
33 Schmidt, p. 11.
As opportunities increased, the yeoman was very anxious to obtain for his children the education that often he had not been able to have; therefore, it was very likely that he would send his sons to the local grammar school.\textsuperscript{34} Frequently, the yeoman's will would stipulate that the earnings of a certain portion of land were to be set aside for the education of his sons.\textsuperscript{35} Thus, it was not surprising to find sons of yeoman among the ranks of bishops and government officials.

Some wealthy yeoman went so far as to provide for the establishment of schools, the most notable example being the foundation of Harrow by John Lyon, yeoman, who himself drew up the statutes and rules in 1590. Before founding this school Lyon had provided for the education of thirty poor boys of the parish.\textsuperscript{36}

The desire displayed by yeoman to obtain an education was not exclusively for social prestige. As farming for profit increased, the yeoman needed to be able to handle accounts, and to keep written evidence of his affairs since this was given precedence in the courts to verbal testimony.\textsuperscript{37} The educated yeoman, nevertheless, was probably still in the minority by the close of the sixteenth century, and many arguments were proffered against an education, both for him and for the farm

\textsuperscript{34} Notestein, p. 79.

\textsuperscript{35} Tawney, p. 134.

\textsuperscript{36} Walter Druett, Harrow Through the Ages (Uxbridge: King and Hutchings, Limited, 1935), p. 127.

laborer or husbandman. Adam Martindale, the son of a yeoman of Lancashire, recalled in his autobiography that it took great persuasion on the part of his neighbors and friends to convince his father to allow him to attend the grammar school, St. Hellenas. After finally winning consent he was frequently called home in mid-term to help with the work of the farm. 38 An early seventeenth-century tract, The Courtier and the Countryman, attempted to prove the wastefulness of an education for a farmer. It held that the only learning necessary was that which enabled one to say his prayers, know the prices at market, write a letter, record births and marriages, and make a will. No education was needed to plough, to sow and reap. 39

For present purposes the definition of the middle class will include the emerging merchant class and the former sons of countrymen, who became lawyers, secretaries to noblemen, and clerks. There are possible, of course, other interpretations: some would call the wealthy merchants, the commercial gentry, since often their wealth was invested in land; or the new Tudor aristocracy, because of their growing influence in politics. 40 In any case, the merchants were increasingly aware of the value of an education, both for practical purposes and for the political and social advantages it promised. A great number still held

38 Martindale, p. 11.


that the practical education of the merchant could best be supplied by his apprenticeship in boyhood to a good businessman, but others, such as John Periam, were ardent believers in a broader education. Periam's father had made a fortune in the tin trade and John inherited this business, but, in addition, served as the mayor of Exeter in 1563 and 1572. He had been "brought up in knowledge and learning" before being apprenticed; thus, he also sent his son to Exeter grammar school and then on to Oxford. Most of the merchants of Exeter, though, sent their sons to the grammar school and then they were initiated into a seven-year apprenticeship prior to going into business.  

The lawyers, secretaries and clerks depended on an education for their positions and for advancement. While many lawyers, of course, were among the sons of gentry, there were also sons of businessmen and even occasionally, sons of yeoman, who received their legal training at the Inns of Court, which again would presuppose some grammar school training.

Tudor England being still primarily an agricultural country, ninety percent of the people lived out their lives in small rural communities. The villages differed in size, but for example, the average town in the Midlands had a population which ranged from 300 to 500 people.  

In these villages there were gentry and yeoman, but there were also husbandmen and laborers. In the families of the latter there

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was little opportunity for the formal education of young boys, the children usually being trained to help with the work of the farm. Women and children could be very helpful in such tasks as picking up stones and weeding.\footnote{Russell, pp. 21-37.}

Crawley, a small village with a population of 200 to 250 people, can serve as an example. Although situated within five miles of the town of Winchester, there is no record that any boy from Crawley ever attended the well-known grammar school located there. It is recorded that book learning was scarce in the village until the nineteenth century, when most inhabitants were still indicating their signature by a sign of the cross. The first elementary school was established by the rector of the parish in 1832.\footnote{Norman Gras and Ethel Gras, The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 149-150.}

The sons of the poor who made their way to a larger town or city probably secured a living by working as a servant in some household, or being apprenticed to an artisan of some type. Although there may have been more opportunity for education in the city, it is questionable that there was any more time due to the demands of one's position. Very little is recorded, however, about the people in these positions so it is not possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions.

Poverty, of itself, does not seem to have been an insurmountable barrier to schooling. From an examination of school statutes it can be seen that many founders intended, and schools were attempting to give
the poor the opportunity of a grammar school education. It must be noted, however, that the word "free" often found in the title of English grammar schools is frequently misleading. "Free" usually meant that the school was open to the sons of all freemen, while in some cases it indicated that the school had enrolled both free scholars and paying scholars. Some schools provided their services free of charge for scholars living within their parishes, but frequently the term was a complete misnomer because, while originally the founder had endowed it as a school free from fees, the funds in time became insufficient and fees would have to be charged. In some cases, the charging of tuition was due to the schoolmasters' desire to implement their salary.  

While few schools were entirely free, many were, according to statute, to give preference to poor men's children, as at St. Alban's, where they were to be received before others. A substantial number of institutions had specified in their rules that a certain number of scholars of limited economic means were to be elected to each. Some statutes were very specific on this matter, such as those of Westminster, which provided for twelve poor men, Colchester, sixteen, and Merchant Taylors', one hundred. The specifications were often more general, stating only that the poor should be accepted and, in some cases, a poor scholar could find employment within the school to finance

45. Stowe, pp. 94-95.  
46. Carlisle, I, 516.  
47. Carlisle, I, 90; 424; II, 51.
his education. Thus, theoretically a grammar school education in the
sixteenth century was not the prerogative of the well-born nor the wealth-
y, but from this one must be cautious of generalizations, since many
other practical factors enter into the actual attainment of the goal
besides admission requirements.

Lastly, while there was little discrimination in English grammar
schools on the basis of social standing, economic status or nationality,
there was one area that remained an almost universal cause for restric-
tion, that of sex. Although the obvious intellectual ability of such
women as Queen Elizabeth, the daughters of Thomas More, and Lady Jane
Grey, were admired and even written about in the sixteenth century by
such leading figures as Vives, Ascham and Elyot, society saw little need
for the formal learning of women. In fact, not only did they fail to
see the need, but some thought of it as a danger, comparing a woman
with an education to a madman with a sword, which he handles not with
reason but only on impulse. Others, who denied women an education, felt
they were protecting her, for if she could read, she might be led to
"books of love" in foreign tongues which would endanger her virtue. One
final argument considered education an occupation for leisure; therefore,
since woman was given to man for his service, she had no time for
education.49

Those persons whose opinions were not quite as strong as those

48 Stowe, pp. 125-127.
49 Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman (Houston: The Elsevier
mentioned above, generally agreed that young women needed an education but were not in accord as to what that education should entail, nor where it should be obtained. The most common opinion held was that young maidens should be educated in their homes or other respectable households, in their religious duties, good manners and the care and supervision of a household. Some few would add to that possibly singing, dancing, and playing a musical instrument. Usually the instruction was given by the mother, while in some cases tutors would be brought into the home. Such an education was considered practical, since a woman so brought up, could later manage her own household and provide the proper early training for her children. 50

Muleaster addressed himself to this question at some length, though careful to reaffirm the prior right of the male members to an education, since he considered them to be naturally more able and politically more employable. Yet, he held that maidens should be instructed, although for different reasons than young boys. He pointed to the fact that in England women in the past had been educated, that they had shown an ability for learning, and that learning had produced excellent effects. To prove his last point, he drew examples from the Greeks but, of course, his most conclusive proof was Queen Elizabeth. His curriculum for young women was much the same as the prevailing custom but significantly he did add reading and languages. 51

While those who advocated a public school education for girls were


51 Muleaster, Positions, pp. 132-182.
almost non-existent, there were a few isolated examples of where it may have taken place. The statutes of the Bambury Grammar School allowed for the entrance of a small number of girls who were not to remain beyond the age of nine years, nor after they had mastered the reading of English. 52 Two interesting questions arise over woodcuts of the sixteenth century; one, which was used as the seal of the Governing Body of the schools of the County of Rutland, depicting six pupils gathered around the schoolmaster, four being boys, but the other two, girls. 53 Secondly, the frontispiece of Edmund Coots's *The English Schoolmaster*, also pictured girls in the class group. 54 However, there is no record of a public school founded for girls until 1617, which was Ladies' Hall at Deptford and in 1628 there was a school at Stepney, Mrs. Friend's, which also educated young women. 55

It may be concluded that the grammar school of the sixteenth century reached out to many areas of England and to many classes of her people. Still the statistics of one grammar school for every four thousand people show that England was far from having truly universal education or a highly literate people. Nevertheless, the figures for the sixteenth century certainly show signs of growth and vitality in the area of education.

52 Stowe, p. 127.
53 Carlisle, II, 323.
54 Coots, p. 15.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the sixteenth century grammar school education illustrated several important aspects of society - aspects difficult to categorize for certain paradoxes appear. The curriculum indicated a decided pragmatism in the training of the young. On the intellectual plane, grammar and the reading and speaking of Latin, Greek and Hebrew were conceived of as tools. These opened the learning of the past to the scholar and provided him with the opportunity to secure certain favored positions in his society. However, there developed such a preoccupation with the facility of handling these very tools that the means became the end. When this occurred, the learning of tongues was really no longer pragmatic nor functional. There were few who were able to perceive the development of this situation and thus the pattern of education was slow to change. As a result there was little original research or scholarship in the sixteenth century in English education, but rather imitation and a knowledge of the skills of the past were the intellectual virtues sought and acquired. Elyot, Ascham and other humanistic writers did an immense good in awakening England to the value of learning and in particular, classical learning, but the approach and methods they affirmed were also to do harm, by making adaptation to changing times less conceivable. There were men who struck out for improvements, such as Mulcaster and Brinsley, calling for a renewed emphasis on thought.
and meaning in the teaching of language and the classics, as well as skill in the mechanics of rhetoric and composition, but they were voices in the dark. The well-educated gentleman remained one who could construct fine Latin sentences like those of Terence or compose themes like those of Cicero. These practices did produce, nevertheless, men who had learned sharp mental discipline and an ease with the languages of the classics, if not guidelines for the practice of politics, nor mathematics for the accounts of the merchants.

A second desirable quality in the Elizabethan gentleman was self-discipline. The educated man was to be completely in control of himself at all times and in all circumstances. His exterior conduct was an important indication of inner control and thus the school was to provide a rigorous training in manner and bearing. In some schools this led to an almost stoical regime which dampened initiative and self-expression. Tradition and custom became the by-laws of grammar school foundations and conformity to the accepted, highly detailed etiquette, a singular sign of success. On the other hand this regime developed young men accustomed to meeting demanding requirements in their daily living, which undoubtedly prepared them for a life of service to their society.

By far the most important function the grammar school was expected to perform was the task of religious formation. The school was the means by which Elizabethan society hoped to rear its children and their descendants in their religious beliefs. It was through education that God's true religion was to be fostered and the superstitions of the past were to be destroyed. Tolerance or liberty of conscience was still
far from being envisioned. Church allegiances may have been changed but
they were not erased, and the control of the Anglican Church over educa-
tion, now more completely joined with state power, left little room for
academic freedom.

The growth in the number of grammar schools in the Elizabethan
period was indicative of a definite concern for education, though the
statutes and practices of these schools show little originality or
experimentation in curriculum or methods. The schools did gradually
incorporate young men, regardless of their status, either of birth or
of economic advantages, so that public grammar school education, which
had its greatest advocates among the landed gentry and upper mercantile
classes, moved both up and down the social scale. Considering these
facts, the influence of the sixteenth century grammar school, while
still limited in scope, can be said to have a decided role in the for-
mation of a broad cross section of Englishmen.

In conclusion, the recurring goals in all three areas of the
grammar school, the intellectual, the cultural and the religious, can
be described as unity and uniformity. These are not to be considered
only in a negative aspect, since education in any given period has
within it a certain amount of indoctrination. Part of the function of
education is to preserve and bequeath to succeeding generations a
valued heritage. Yet education must also be an opening to the future,
to growth and to new horizons. From this study of the Elizabathan
grammar school it would seem that while the former function was highly
successful, the latter was sadly neglected. The grammar school
preserved the learning and the courtly manners of the past but it did not help men of different religious beliefs to live together in peace. Our ultimate judgment necessarily must be that sixteenth century grammar school education was a strongly conservative force in an era of dynamic change in many areas of life.
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One of the widely used Latin books which was translated for the dual purpose of learning Latin and good manners.

The autobiography of a Puritan minister of Lancashire which in simple narrative form depicts the life of an ordinary Englishman.

Proposes a curriculum for the ideal elementary school but also discusses the necessity of learning for the public good. The writing is obscure in style and difficult to follow but the ideas are important because they propose a change in direction.

A statement of the author's arguments concerning the early education and training of children. Like the author's other work it is involved and difficult reading.

Outlines a plan for developing personal virtue in the young nobleman. It stresses the belief of a divine plan for nobility and nobility's role in society.

A combination of a manual on child-rearing and book of etiquette for those who assist or wait-on nobility. The text is partially in verse.

A book of verse which lays down a standard of good conduct and manners for those who aspire to a position of importance. Contains also an assortment of prayers recommended to scholars.

A collection of documents, letters and other papers pertaining to British history from the reign of Elizabeth I.

Enumerates various complaints of sixteenth century England through a discussion held by members of that society. Each, the merchant, capper, knight, and so on, presents his grievances to a learned doctor who attempts to relate the causes and remedies.
   A reprinting of the early text book of Latin grammar plus an extensive introduction on early Tudor grammarians.

   A contemporary Puritan criticism of the society of the late sixteenth century. The author points out what he felt were weaknesses in the law, education and spirituality of the times.

   A prolonged argument for the existence of free-schools throughout England and also for the education of all boys despite their future occupations.

   Though not a major figure of the Tudor era, Chamberlain's letters give an informal and personal view of the times.

2. Secondary Works

Books

   A collection of essays on medieval and modern education from the time of Alfred to the nineteenth century. The author attempts to establish some of the historical roots of English education. The essays vary in quality and scholarship but on the whole the work is valuable.

   An attempt to reconstruct the curriculum of an Elizabethan grammar school as it possibly contributed to the development of Shakespere. An emphasis on authors and texts is used and the work is well-documented.

   A biographical history which is not valuable for a study of curriculum other than for the school ordinances which are recorded.

Provided a concise overview of the foundation, curriculum, methods and horarium of the grammar school. An extensive bibliography and an index to the schools of the period are included.


The author analyzes the nature and role of women in Elizabethan society and considers how society prepares her to fulfill this role. Included is an extensive bibliography.


Through a study of local records and histories, the author has attempted to reconstruct the life and environment of the yeoman - the ordinary citizen of Tudor and Stuart England. It is the product of careful research and has a valuable bibliography.


Provides a brief history of the grammar schools of England including their foundations, early headmasters and in some cases their statutes.


A study of the sources and main spokesmen of English humanism and the change in the social order brought about particularly as it effected the nobility and the landed gentry.


An excellent study of Renaissance education in the broad sense; that is, not only what transpired in English schools but also the interaction of society and education in the England of that period. The book is well-documented and interesting reading.


A listing and short biography of past Cambridge fellows.


A summarized history of education in England emphasizing the relationship that existed between the state and the schools. The book includes a table of statutes, court cases and documents that deal with this topic.
Draper, F. W. M. Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School, 1561-1961. This work relies heavily on the first history of the school written by Wilson but presents an interesting evaluation of Mulcaster.

Druett, Walter. Harrow Through the Ages. Uxbridge: King and Hutchings Limited, 1939. A narrative history of the town of Harrow from its earliest development to the twentieth century. While not a scholarly work, it does give valuable information concerning the Harrow Grammar School.

Einstein, Lewis. Tudor Ideals. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921. The author attempts to reconstruct the spirit of the sixteenth century, which he sees as an era of rapid change, from a study of the Crown, the individual, and the ideals of life and thought. The work is documented but the foot-notes are inadequate for the purpose of research.

Ferguson, Arthur B. The Indian Summer of English Chivalry. Durham: Duke University Press, 1960. Traces the gradual decline of the chivalric traditions in society and education during the fifteenth century and how they were gradually replaced by the humanistic ideals of the Renaissance.


Gras, Norman S. and Gras, Ethel G. The Economic and Social History of an English Village. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. A detailed study of the village of Crawley, Hampshire, in England, as representative of the small medieval village. The author traces the development from medieval to modern times and a large amount of statistical material is included.

Graves, Frank P. A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Presents a history of the development of education in Europe from the viewpoint of the growth of individualism and the influence of humanism. It gives only a broad coverage but does
contain valuable references and places England alongside developments in other countries.

Gretton, R. H. *The English Middle Class.* London: G. Bell and Sons Limited, 1919.
A study of the development and growth of the middle class in England from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries. The work provides a good overview.

Contains an essay on the education of the aristocracy in the Renaissance which describes the training and reading habits of young nobility.

A collection of essays presented to Sir John Neale. The above essay portrays the social and political life of the merchants in the city of Exeter.

A detailed and scholarly study of the pattern of English society as shown through the benefactions given to various charitable causes of the time. The financial support given to education is carefully examined.

A study of some of the important educators from the Renaissance into modern times among which are Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham. The book is not well-documented.

Being the first full length biography of Elyot, this volume is an extremely valuable account of the author's life as well as a thorough analysis of all his writings in their historical context. An extensive bibliography is included.

Lupton, J. H. *A Life of John Colet.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1887.
A documented biography of this English humanist with an explanation of his role in the foundation of St. Paul's School. Included are the full statutes for St. Paul's School and the Catechism written by Colet.
A history, based on manuscripts, which deals with the founders, studies and customs of the college. Included are the school statutes.

An excellent history of the first half of the sixteenth century giving the social, as well as the political background for the Elizabethan period.

A well-documented analysis of the major works of Elyot from a philosophical and literary viewpoint. Emphasis is given to the Governour as Elyot's principal work and his thought is placed in context with the humanistic tendencies of his time.

An up-dated history of St. Paul's tracing the story of the school through the work of its various headmasters.

A general account of the school, its foundation and curriculum.

An historical study of the House of Commons in Elizabeth's reign, emphasizing the characteristics of its members as well as the manner of elections and its work and accomplishments. Valuable for this study is the analysis of the educational background of its members.

A study of the society of the early seventeenth century from the viewpoint of the different occupational and social groups and institutions. It is popularly written but has valuable chapter bibliographies.

Traces the development of the public school system in England. The bibliography includes a list of grammar school histories.

The author has rewritten the works of Mulcaster in a more modern English style but has also added a biography and critical evaluation of Mulcaster.


An ecclesiastical, political, social and economic history of this particular county.


Collection of essays on men who played a significant role in the development of educational methods or the science of education. Among these "prophets", Mr. Quick has placed Ascham and Mulcaster.


An overview of society in Elizabethan times including a chapter on education and the social order.


A major study of this not too well-known figure. The work is well-documented and objective while at the same time it is interestingly written.


This volume in the Folger series on Tudor and Stuart civilization gives a good summary of this particular class of people as well as an excellent bibliography for further research.


A scholarly study of the income and economic position of the gentry as exemplified by the situations of three Englishmen: Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Thomas Cullum and Sir Thomas Cornwallis.


Deals with the masters, curriculum, pupils and physical aspects of the school but has little documentation.


Displays the place of women in English society from earliest times to the middle of the nineteenth century through the biographies of various representative women.

*The listing and short biographies of Eton Scholars.*


Presents the social changes of the sixteenth century as they affected the aristocracy and threatened their position. It also explains the resulting change in attitude toward education. Well-documented it contains valuable references.


A detailed and highly documented account of the administration and program of the schools. Contains valuable references and statistical materials.


Studies the change that was taking place in this century in the field of agriculture and shows the effect of this on all of society.


A history of the curriculum and methods of the schools from the invention of the printing press to 1660. It included excellent extensive bibliographical information and many excerpts from school statutes and text-books of the era.


Traces the history of Harrow from its foundation through the nineteenth century. Contains the ordinances and statutes of the school.


Although a very laudatery account, this work contains many documents, letters and primary source references.


A study of the influence of state religious policy upon the educational development of England.

Worth, Richard N. *The History of Plymouth.* Plymouth: W. Brendon and Sons, 1873.

Although not scholarly, there are in this work a few brief references to the Plymouth grammar school that are not available elsewhere.
Because of the growth of middle-class influence on the grammar school this work is valuable. An attempt is made to define the attitude of the middle-class toward morality, education and leisure.

Periodicals

A summary of Fortescue's theory of education for the well-born and in particular those interested in the profession of law.

An essay striving to prove that by the later part of the sixteenth century, the aristocracy came to take a vital interest in procuring an education. The argument is fortified by the registers of schools.

A study of the ideal gentleman as seen through his social position, occupations, morality and education. Included is a lengthy bibliography of primary sources concerning this topic.

The author presents evidence that English was taught in the Tudor grammar schools, if only indirectly. Cited in substantiation are the writings of Ascham, Brinsley and Mulcaster.

Defines what is meant by the new Tudor aristocracy and how they were affected by humanist thought.

A commentary on the writings of Mulcaster showing his modern thought and urging a greater study of his work.
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Mother M. Donald Lynch, I.B.V.M. has been read and approved by a member of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

February 9, 1967

Date

Signature of Adviser