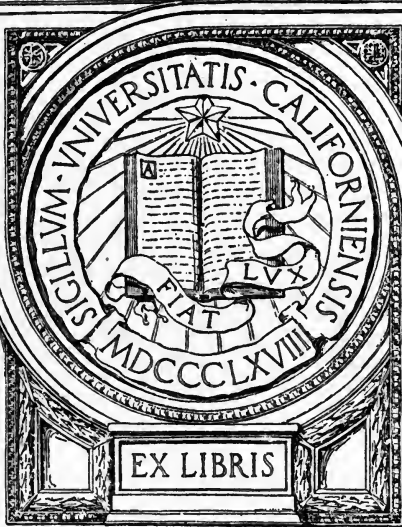




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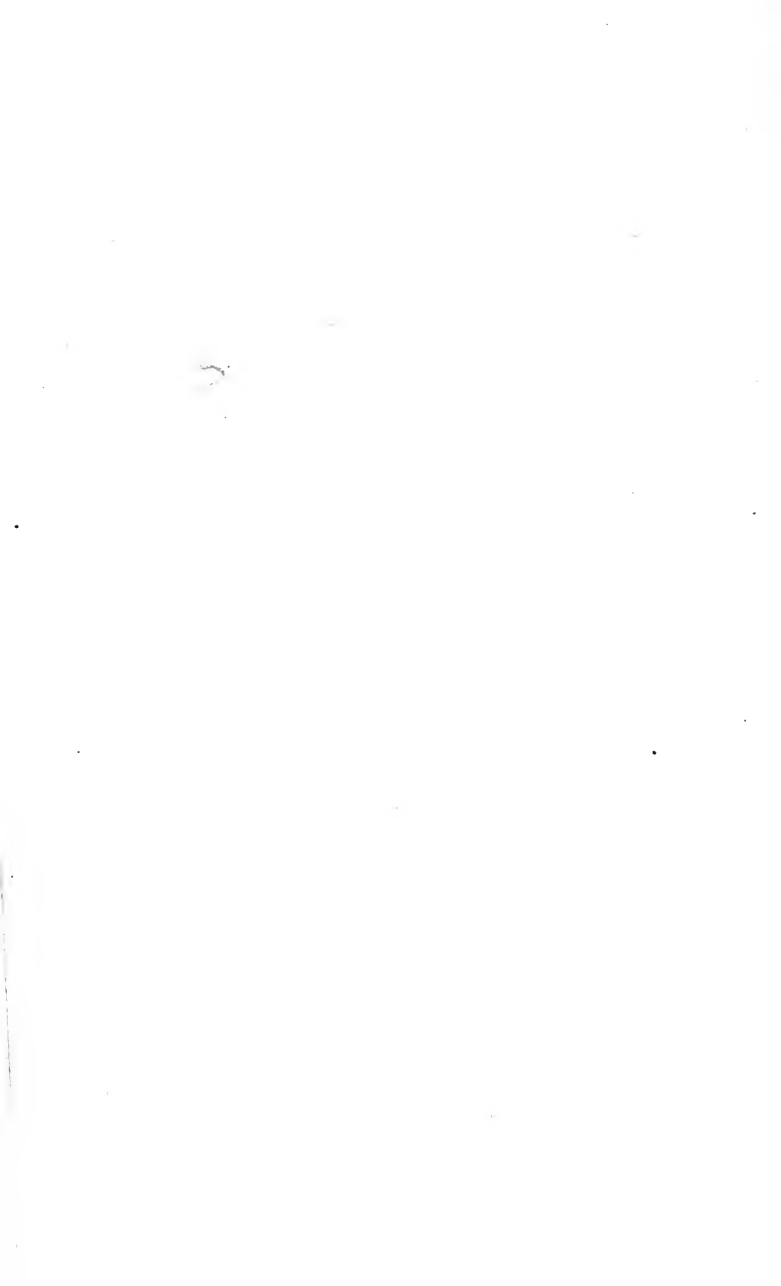


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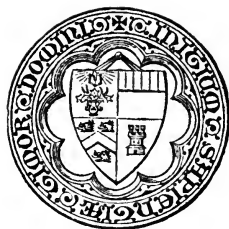


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Aberdeen University
Studies : No. 67



Bishop Burnet as Educationist

Bishop Gilbert Burnet

as

Educationist

being

his *Thoughts on Education* with
Notes and Life of the Author

By

John Clarke, M.A.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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“ I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be proposed for bettering the next age.”

BURNET, *History of my Own Time.*

“ Education is of all our advantages the only one immortal and divine.”

PLUTARCH, *On Education.*

TO THE
ASSOCIATION

PREFATORY NOTE.

Burnet's *Thoughts on Education* is a work little known even to students of education. It was published posthumously in 1761, and as it has never been reissued, copies of it are now scarce. At a time when we are seeking to reconstruct the broken links of educational history and to trace the continuity of its development, it seems worth while to restore to its position a work which in its day formed an interesting contribution to the subject.

The author was a graduate of Marischal College, possibly the most famous of all that ever issued from the University of Aberdeen or from either of its colleges. The local association makes it appropriate that the new edition of the treatise should form a member of the series of Aberdeen University Studies. It is indeed due chiefly to the helpful co-operation of the general editor of the series, Mr. P. J. Anderson,

University Librarian, that the production is now carried through.

The *Thoughts* is not to be regarded as at all a complete, much less an exhaustive, treatise. It consists for the most part of opinions and impressions of an *a priori* nature, based on theoretical considerations more than on actual experience. But it is characterised by vigorous common sense and a lofty spirit of moral and religious sentiment, which are elements of positive value and with which no treatment of education, however scientific, can afford to dispense. Its tone recalls that of the nearly contemporary works, Milton's *Tractate* and Locke's *Thoughts*, from the latter of which many illustrative passages may be drawn.

Besides the *Thoughts* the volume contains some additional matter from the author's writings, especially the *History*, which may, it is hoped, serve to reveal more fully his abiding interest in education and his more mature views on it. His practical activities in the same field are also noted, as well as his own opinions regarding them and his motives in pursuing them.

In order to render the volume more self-

contained and serviceable to those likely to use it, a short Life of the author and other collateral aids have been introduced. The sketch of Burnet's career hardly claims to be a systematic biography. It deals most fully with the earlier part of his life with a view to showing the kind of preparation he had had for writing a work on education. As for the rest, it selects for emphasis those phases of his career which exhibit most clearly his educational interest and efforts. Events and scenes which to the general student, and especially to the historian and the theologian, are of infinitely greater moment, are here passed over very lightly. His life deserves study for its own sake and for the sake of the period to which he belongs, and there are several excellent biographies available for the purpose.

In this connection ample acknowledgment is due and is hereby made to a *Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury*, by T. E. S. Clarke, B.D. and H. C. Foxcroft, with an Introduction by C. H. Firth, M.A. (referred to in this work as *Life*): and to Miss Foxcroft's *Supplement to Burnet's History of my Own Time* (referred to as *Supplement*). They have constantly been laid

under contribution, and usually in conjunction with the *History* itself and the appended *Life of the Author* by his son. Much help has been derived from the notes in Dr. Osmund Airy's edition of the *History*, but as it is not yet complete, the references are all to the 1823 edition, with the marginal pagination of the older folio edition. Assistance has also been afforded by Dr. Burnett's *Family of Burnett of Leys* (New Spalding Club), and by the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. ix.), especially the chapter on Education (xv.) by Professor Adamson, in which, however, Burnet's work is not mentioned.¹

In matters of language the *Oxford English Dictionary* has been invaluable and has been constantly referred to. The following additional points have come to light: the spelling "chimerique" (76), "choice" (72) as a verb, "counter-carre [with]" (39): the Dictionary does not seem to afford any parallels to these.

The aim in the notes has been to explain and elucidate everything that could raise difficulty or doubt. If there is error, it is probably by excess

¹ See p. 83.

rather than defect. In elucidating special points two of my colleagues have given assistance, which is acknowledged in its place in the notes. Mr. Anderson has been assiduous with counsel and help throughout. After all, a few of the allusions still remain obscure. In quotations and references Burnet appears to have relied a good deal on his memory, which though extraordinarily capacious may sometimes have played him false.

The text and original preface are an exact reproduction of the edition of 1761.

JOHN CLARKE.

CHANONRY,

October, 1914.



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THOUGHTS
ON
EDUCATION

By the late BISHOP BURNET.

Now first printed from an original Manuscript.



LONDON:

Printed for D. WILSON, at Plato's Head,
in the Strand. M,DCC,LXI.

TO THE
ARTIST

THE
EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE late Bishop Burnet's abilities, as a writer, are so universally acknowledged, by the best judges, that I flatter myself, the fugitive little piece, which I here offer to the public, will be received with pleasure.

Of its authenticity there can be no doubt, seeing the manuscript is entirely and evidently the Bishop's own hand writing; as appears by comparing it with a receipt granted by him for a year's stipend, in 1665, when he was minister of Saltoun; in the body of which receipt he declares the same to be written with his hand: and in verification of this voucher, nothing more need be said, than that it was furnished by the Right Honourable the Lord Milton, one of the

Senators of the College of Justice, keeper of his Majesty's Signet in Scotland, and the representative of the great Andrew Fletcher Esq; of Saltoun.

The original MS. together with this proof of its being the genuine work of Bishop Burnet, was put into the publisher's hands, (where any person of curiosity may have the satisfaction of seeing and comparing them) by Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Baronet; who found the MS. among the papers of his grand-father, Sir John Cuninghame of Caprington, Baronet, a very learned man and eminent Scotch lawyer in the reign of King Charles II.

Of this Sir John Cuninghame, the Bishop gives an excellent character, in the history of his own times, Vol. I. p. 238. * folio, and seems

* The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one Sir John Cunningham, an

to value himself on the personal friendship and intimacy with which he was honoured by him. This circumstance, added to that of the MS. being found among that gentleman's papers, would naturally lead one to think that it was addressed to him ; were it not that our author gives him to whom he writes the title of a Lord : whereas it does not appear that Sir John was ever raised to the dignity of Lord Advocate, or of a Lord of Session.

eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that kingdom. He was episcopal beyond most men in Scotland, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell ; whereas he thought episcopacy was of a divine right, settled by Christ. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning : he was a great divine and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the piourest men of the nation.

However, it is plain from the contents, that this Essay was written at the desire, and for the use, of some very considerable personage, about the latter end of the year 1668, when the Author, as he tells us, was not quite 25 years of age; having been born, as appears from his life, at Edinburgh, in 1643.

The subject of this little treatise is, most certainly, of a very interesting nature, not only to parents and such others as are more immediately and directly concerned in the right education of youth, but to the whole community in general: and in both these views our Author seems to have attentively and honestly considered it, never losing sight of his Pupils, even from the lisping state of infancy, up to that of ripe manhood.

The counsels he gives, and the regulations he proposes, together with his reasons for them, seem well to deserve the serious and mature

consideration of every parent, guardian, governor, and preceptor of youth : for though every one of these will not, probably, think fit to adopt all his sentiments, in every circumstance ; yet those who do not think with him, may perhaps learn from him to think for themselves.

As to the language, the reader will not expect the English to be so correct, so pure, or so elegant as that of the Bishop's later works, when he considers that this Essay was written near an hundred years ago, in Scotland, and to a friend, without the least suspicion that it would ever be published. It would indeed have been easy to give it a more fashionable dress, by proper corrections of the spelling, the expression, and indeed of the grammatical construction, about which the Scotch, not much used to write in those days were but too careless : but the editor, thinking it would be more satisfactory to the curious, to see how

such an author as Bishop Burnet wrote so long ago as 1668, hath here faithfully and literally copied the original manuscript. In short, he conceived that he could not act otherwise, without taking an unjustifiable liberty with his author, and with the publick.

THOUGHTS
ON
EDUCATION.

THERE is nothing the law of nature doth more oblige men to, than carefully to educate and cultivate their children, this being the truest expression of a father's love. And therefore the philosopher Crates often said that he would goe to the most remarkable place of the city and call aloud, O Fathers, what doe you? so carefully to gather fortunes to your children, and so little to consider what they are, to whom you leave them. And upon good ground did the wise Theban, being asked in the school at Athens, what were the causes of the ruine of a state, reckon one of the chiefe, to be the neglect of the education of the youth. For since there is in man a natural byas and propensity to corruption, it is not to be doubted, but ill disciplined children will prove, for most

part, dissolute and profligate men. The obliquity of trees is easily corrected, if observed while they are young and small ; but after many years growth, neither by force nor industry, can that which is crooked be made straight ; and of this Lycurgus convinced the Spartans, by the whelps both procreated and whelped at once, but by the diversity of their breeding, the one was excellent for hunting, and the other fit for nothing but to lick dishes, and lay by a fire. Of such importance did the Romans judge the education of their youth, that there was one incharged with the inspection of it ; and this office was judged a high trust and a great honour, and was a step to the censorial, if not to the consular dignity.

But besides the bonds of nature and of society, we christians are under a closer tye, since to fathers the care of children is so often enjoined in holy Scriptures ; as likewise fathers become sponsors for their children in baptisme ; and therefore, by that suretyship, are engaged to the

utmost care and diligence in seeing to their christian, virtuous, and rational education.

But all this, I know, is needless to your lordship, whose chiefe care and solicitude about your children is, that they be good christians and wise countrymen, and in whom I have observed no more passionate desire of any thing than of discreet governours, and wholesome rules for improving and polishing the minds of your children: and as this generous care is indeed singular in you, so your humility is to be reckoned among those virtues which shine with the brightest lustre, appearing in this, that notwithstanding of your own great reach in all things, you are yet so distrustful of your own measures in such an important affair, as to ask my poor thoughts about it.

My Lord, my pride were as base as your virtue is noble, if I judged myself capable of advising, much lesse directing you herein: yet so closely is my soul linked to all your concerns, by the straitest bond of a close and entire

friendship, and so ardently do I desire the welfare of your family and hopeful children, that I shall give you a full and copious account of my thoughts on this matter, which though they be no other way useful to you, yet shall at least tell you how often and seriously I think on you and yours, even when I see you not, and how I value not my time nor pains, when any thing that may be the subject of advantage, pleasure, or divertisement to you call for them. I should also preface of my own unfitness for this task from my few yeares, and the small experience I have had in this affair ; but I shall frankly, and without further formality, give you my best and maturest thoughts ; wherein if I come short of your expectation, it is because your opinion of me exceeds my merit. I therefore subject all to your censure, desiring that you will forgive the unpolished rudeness of style in me, who by a long and dayly converse with Clownes am become more than halfe a Bour myselfe.

The first step of our Thoughts, in reference

to children, should be a wise and discreet choice of her who shall be their mother ; for as graffes bear fruit of the kind of the stock whence they are cropt, so often doe children receive deep and lasting impressions of their mother's temper ; and for this cause did the Lacedemonians threaten their King, when he was about to marry a dwarfe, alledging that she would bring forth not Kings but Kinglings. And also parents should avoid all wasting intemperance, and excesse ; for since the minds of children are moulded into the temper of that case and body wherein they are thrust, and the healthfulness and strength of their bodies is suitable to the source and fountain whence they sprung, it clearly appears that persons wasted by drunkenness or venery must procreate unhealthful, crazy, and often mean-spirited children ; though there being so many things joyning in this compound of a man, none of these probabilities must passe for assertions or conclusions.

A child being born, the first care is its

nursing ; and indeed it is an affectionate and Christian piece of the mother's care, recommended by the holy women in Scripture, and the more virtuous in all ages, to nurse her own children, if her nourishment be abundant and good, and if her health and strength will permit ; and to decline it upon any other account bewraies either immodesty, or, a lazy inexcusable softness. That the child sucks in with the milk many spirits, and by consequence much of the nurse's temper, is apparent. She should be therefore well chosen, and particularly she should be free of those vices that infect the body ; such as uncleanness, boldness, or love of drink.

All a child can be then taught is cleanliness ; upon which what a value the ancients set, appears from that a philosopher, among the moral precepts he gives a child, reckons this, to keep his hands always clean ; and besides the suitableness the purity of the mind hath to the cleanliness of the body, a habitual love

of cleanness may prove a good curb to preserve children from many nasty tricks.

The next choice should be of the women that shall keep them after they are weaned, that they be discreet and modest : for many base sluts learne children very early obscene talk and impure actions.

How soon as a child can distinctly pronounce every word, and understands all that is spoken, he should be taught to read, which is usually when they are four years old or five. Then should some of the seeds of religion be dropt into them, that there is a God, a Heaven, and Hell should be often told them, but chiefly the last, which they can best understand : only the terrifying them with frightful stories or visars is a mighty error ; for beside the present prejudice it may occasion by their sudden startling and discomposure, it may nourish and breed in them a bogling humour, which may stick to them and trouble them at a riper age.

They should be also taught some very short

forms of Prayers, the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, or the like, and be made say them, not in their beds, but on their knees, morning and evening ; so that there may grow in them with their years a reverence to God.

For their manners, so green an age is capable of few precepts, habitual lying should be well guarded against ; for this base custom being once acquired in youth will not easily be driven away. The chief occasions of it in them are fear and malice. Severe parents or masters, by their rigorous punishing the faults of little ones, teach them this slavish and hateful sin. The best ward against this hazard is to promise a child a ready pardon for the greatest fault if they candidly confess it : and indeed to teach an habitual ingenuity may well deserve a connivance at great escapes. A humour also of telling ill of those whom they emulate doth also feed this custom of lying ; which is the more to be guarded against, because it is coupled to another evil almost as bad, detraction and envy.

This fault will also be best corrected by a constant pardoning the child accused, and a translating the punishment due to the fault upon the tatter.

Swearing, Obscenity, and terms of Scolding are also to be looked to in Children; but a discreet choice in their servants and play-fellows is the surest preservative against these vices.

As for their Reading we have two errors in our common course: the one is to begin them with a scurvy black letter, and with a Catechism full of long and harsh words, unintelligible to children. Now since it is an universal rule to begin with what is easiest, this way is not to be used. A book of a white and fair letter should be first put in their hands: as also they should begin with the Psalms, where the frequent repetition of the same words together with the plainness of the style, will make their labour easier. In their reading, they should be taught to pronounce fully and plainly, without peeping, tone, or chirping; and therefore I like not their

reading first the Psalms in metre, where the cadence of the line learns them a tone ; but the chief care in reading should be to see that they syllable well, and be exact to do it without book. The officious haste of some masters, to drive children fast through books loseth them in this.

As their memory and capacity groweth, they should be made to get short and select sentences of Scripture by heart, for if a child at six or seven years be made every day to remember one verse, and to repeat them always on the Saturday or Lords Day, he shall know much Scripture, ere he arrive at a ripe age. And this Rule deserves the rather to be followed, because the impressions that are made in that age are well rooted and long-lived.

As for punishing children on this side of seven or eight years old it must be managed with discretion. All the humours, follies, wildness, and indiscretions of children, except those I have above marked, should be passed over in

laughter: for to expect or force other things from children is to contradict nature, which made children children and not men.

Remissness in study should also be little considered: two hours a day till they be six, and three or four till they be seven or eight is penance enough for young children.

If a child need strokes, it must bewray either much weakness in his father or master, or a great frowardness in the child. Praise and kindness are the best encouragements of children, and to reward their diligence and good manners with pretty knacks, gilded books, such ornaments to their clothes as their rank and purse will allow, pieces of money, and gratifications of the palate, will more sweetly engage a child, than any crossgrained carriage. The punishments also of most faults, should be a with-holding these rewards; and if there be another whom the child emulates, to confer them on him. If this prevail not, frowning will not, and should never be used, but in the

very act of correction: for frequent chiding either makes it to be wholly slighted, or alienates the heart of the child from his parent or master. And indeed the philosopher's stone, and master-piece of education, is so to ply a child as to gain his heart, and retain his affection. The faults we intend not to punish, we should not notice, for it is much better a child judge that he misseth the rod, through his master's ignorance or not observance, than that his faults are connived at, and he suffered to behave as he pleaseth; which apprehension may be the source of much evil. Otherways of punishing are scorning children, and publick shaming them out of their follies; which course may be practised with good success, till a child be ten or twelve years of age; but after that it is no more to be practised. Children should be seldom threatened but seldomer beaten, yet when need doth require it, it should be done to some purpose; and the more unfrequent and severe it be, it shall breed more terrour in the

child; for customary or slight corrections make them little dreaded.

But the greatest difficulty in breeding young ones, is whether to do it by publick masters in school, or by private ones at home. The advantages of schools are great; for since emulation is that which presseth children most effectually to their studies in schools, they have many provocations that way; as also company makes all go most vigorously about their work; and besides in a school there are many pretty recreations, which exhilarates children; and therefore undoubtedly a school if well managed, is a speedier and more successful course; but for all this, I should be slow to advise one, whose purse can answer to a private education, to adventure on a school; for I judge the morals of a child to be that which deserves the chieffe care, and the great dissoluteness that must needs be in a rabble of base ill-bred boys, doth much scare me from school education. As also I do not conclude it a good and safe course to

ripen children too fast : for since discretion doth not ripen, but with years, to fill a child's sails with too much wind of knowledge, before he can have the ballast of settled wisdom, seems an error in breeding ; as also by reason of the small encouragement and contempt schoolmasters lye under, few of spirits ply that art except it be for a livelihood till they be fit for mounting higher, and so are more busied in minding the course of life they intend to follow, than their present employment ; and they for the most part neglect children : and as for the ordering their morals, which I account the chieffe part of education, they scarce once mind it, or if there be some few more expert in that employment, their schools are much flocked to, so that the greatest part are much neglected, and the most considerable are less looked too by one who hath perhaps a hundred others to divide his care amongst, than by one whose only and entire work it is to see to him.

But as for emulation, I confess, without it, I

shall expect but small, and slow progress from all children, if they be not singularly rare: it will be therefore a good course to have another learning with the child, not a servant, lest he disdain to enter the lists with him; not one too far beyond him in years and standing, lest he be discouraged; yet one who by all likelyhood may outrun him.

As for the place of education, it seems fittest for persons of quality to breed their children out of their own houses, if their health be any way good and regular; and that because oft the fondness of parents, especially the mothers, is the loss of children; as also in a great family among many servants, especially grooms and footmen, there are many debordings and occasions of corrupting youth; and these also by their vain flatteries spoil children. Great confluence of company will also occasion many necessary avocations to a boy; and too great a table may make a child too much a slave to his belly and taste. A private house, therefore, of some discreet friend,

will be perhaps the best place for a child's education. Thus the Carthaginians put all children of quality, after they were three years old, into the temples among the Priests, where they lived till they were twelve.

For a child's exercises, he should be allowed all that he hath a mind to, if they be not too excessive wasters of his body, and devourers of his time, and a child, from whom parents would expect much comfort, should not be bred too softly, deliciously, or arrogantly; for this debauches them into sordid luxury and effeminacy. They should be therefore taught to eat any thing, and not to expect that every thing be done to them by servants; but learn to put on and off their clothes, and other things belonging to themselves; that so, however their fortune alter, they be early taught to bear a lower condition. Only fine clothes, and variety of them, is an encouragement I would not have denied to children; especially to such as see others of their own rank in good order. And so far have

I adventured to say of children, while their childhood lasts; that is, till they be seven or eight years old; though many of the advices I have suggested may be of use to a riper age.

Having thus dismissed our child, I come next to examine how his boyish youth-hood should be managed; that is, till he be fourteen years old, which is the next period of life. And the first thing here to be thought on, is the choice of a Governour and Preceptour. For if one's fortune can answer this double charge, I would wish these offices were in sundry hands: for as there be few furnished with so much discretion as is requisite in a governour fit or able to teach, or of a temper to stoop to so mean an employment, so there be few able preceptours who are in any degree qualified for the government of youth; they being for most part pedantick, imperious, and trifling people; and further, the authority a governour should preserve, can hardly be kept up in the person of a preceptor,

who by the many quarrellings he must have with the boy, and by the many unpleasant tasks he must put him to, cannot have so deep a share in his affection, as a governour ought to have. If the father be a man of wisdom and virtue, and have leisure and opportunity to stay much at home, he will prove the best governour himself; but when this is denied him, great diligence and care must be had, to make a good choice. Marc Aurele, that he might find good governours for his son, called for all the eminentest in the liberall sciences throw the world, out of which number, after he had used himself all imaginable exactness in trying them, he made choice of fourteen, two for every liberal art; and that he might the better observe their carriage and behaviour, he kept them always nigh himself; and undoubtedly the whole education of the child depends on the fitness of this choice. What a deplorable error is it to intrust youths presently come from college, who cannot govern themselves, and pedants, with the breeding of noble-

men, whose arrogance, ignorance, indiscretion, rudeness, and misbehaviour doe ruine youth.

The two great causes of the penury of governours, are these ; first the contempt that this employment is exposed to, they being held and treated as servants, which makes gentlemen or men of parts disdain it. Otherwise did Aurele the Emperor, who made his son's governours eat at his own table ; and Theodosius who once found his son's governour, Arsenius, standing bare while he was sitting, and ordered that in all time thereafter, his sons should stand uncovered by him, and he sit covered. And as a more respectful way of treating governours would allure many to the employment, so it should conduce much to preserve in the youths respect towards their governour. In Athens wee read that the noblest and best of that state were educators of youth ; such as Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, and Aristotle. The like was also at Rome.

Another reason of the penury of governours,

is the unworthy niggardness of parents, who grudge to give a considerable reward, whereby they may be well maintained and encouraged. It is a frugality, the wisdom whereof I cannot comprehend, to mesnage a youth's fortune, at the loss of his education. What an inexcusable folly is it, to see parents bestow largely for a horse to their son, and for grooms to dress him, and for trimming of his clothes and linnens, and yet stand upon a good salary for a discreet governour. Aristippus having counselled a father to see for a good tutor to his son, he was asked what would that amount too ; he answered a hundred crowns ; the covetous wretch replied, that such a sum might buy him a slave ; Well, said Aristippus, bestow your money so, and you shall have two slaves, the one your ill-bred son, and the other he whom you buy for your money. A large and considerable salary therefore, whereby one may live as a gentleman, if it procure a good governour, is the best mesnaged money the boy can have.

All histories tell us, beside the evidence reason gives for the thing, what advantages youths have reaped from wise educators, and the best and greatest Princes have been those whom philosophers bred. Darius was bred by Lichan the philosopher ; Artaxerxes by Menandre ; Alexander by Aristotle ; Xeniad king of Corinth by Chilon ; Epaminondas by Lysis ; Pyrrhus by Artemius ; Trajan by Plutarque ; and many more.

The measures whereby governours sould be chosen are these ; first, he sould be one that sincerely fears God : for, since that is the chief design of man, it sould be first looked to ; yet superstition in religion sould be none of the qualifications I would desire in one, but one of generous, sublime, and rational maxims, sould be chiefly sought for. Branches of these are virtue, candor, contempt of the world, humility, and meekness ; for one that hath crooked notions or bad practises in any of these, must make a bad governour.

Wisedome and discretion is to be sought in the

next place, without which even a good man will prove a bad governour, if he have not the wise arts of gaining the youth's love, of tyming reproofs, of insinuating precepts, and of moderating his corrections.

A serene good nature is also a very necessary qualification for a governour ; that by his morosenes he may not deterre the youth from his company, but by his sweet behaviour may make him delight in his conversation : yet with this there must be joynd gravity, otherwise he shall quickly lose his authority ; and indeed it is a rare compound to find a just mixture of douceur and gravity. For the want of this did Marc Aurele turn off fyve of his son's governours ; because at table upon the occasion of some buffonery they laughed so intemperately, that they stamped, clapped their hands and frisked with their bodies.

And in the last place, I would chuse one of various learning. I place this last, for indeed I judge learning the meanest piece of education,

and were it not that study preserves youths from idleness and worse exercises, I should not very earnestly recommend it to the breeding of all youth: for indeed the right framing of their minds, and forming their manners, is most to be thought upon: as also, since I would have languages taught by a distinct preceptor, I should not much stand on it whether the governour were exact in them or not: but I would not have him one who hath made one science his whole study; for often confined students have straitned and narrow thoughts; as also one of various literature may give the youth hints of all things, whereby as he shall teach him many things, so the variety of the matters he can discourse of to the boy, will make his conversation more agreeable and pleasant; whereas if he alwaies harp upon one string, that will breed a nausea; but chiefly by giving him ane insight into many things he shall best discover where his strength lyeth, and to what study his inclinations lead him.

Having got a governour as nigh this as can be had at any rate, he must be engaged to love the child and family where he is : for love and friendship are most forcible motives and attractives, which prevail more with ingenuous spirits than all sallerys. Having him thus engaged by true friendship, as you shall be assured of his utmost diligence, so you shall be secure from fears of having him pulled from you by the offer of a greater or better condition ; since friendship in a vertuous mind downweighs all other considerations ; and a change in a governour is among the greatest prejudices a boy can sustain.

Being thus well served in a governour, I should not be very anxious about a preceptor ; being satisfied with any that hath ability and dexterity for teaching these things for which I seek him ; though I could be heartily glad to get one well qualified as to other things, that in case of the governour his sickness or necessary absence, he might in some tolerable degree fill his place.

And so farre of the choice of a governour, on which I have enlarged and insisted perhaps to tediousnes : but I hold it to be the most important matter in this whole work, which being well done, the whole designe is as good as gained.

But next I shall consider how our boy sould be trained up. In the first place, the main care sould be to infuse in him early, a great sense of the Deity, together with a holy reverence to Scripture, joined with a high esteeme of vertuous persones and actions, and as great a contempt of vicious ones. These sould be ever and anon repeated and inculcated in children ; and as their spirits maturate and ripen, so sould the truths of Christianity be further explained to them. And that they may be the more capable to receive these, a governour sould study to illustrate them, by obvious and plain metaphors, whereby as they shall be the more distinctly transmitted into the youth's understanding, so they shall be received with affection, and retained tenaciously : and this way is the more to

be practised because youth is not capable of strong reason ; and this method did our Saviour practise to his young disciples ; and Pythagoras, and all the ancients, taught their profoundest theories and maximes thus. As for vertuous practices, he must be made still to read Scripture, and study to retain much of it, if his memory be good ; he must be taught to pray devoutly, and used to it thrice a-day, good and short forms being given him for that purpose. A reverence for the Sabbath sould also be begotten in him, as also gravity in all the acts of Christian worship, and hearing sermons. All these his governour sould oblige him to by serious and reiterated remonstrances ; but chiefly by his own unaffected example.

He sould also earnestly insinuate to him a love of ingenuity, and by his practice or discourses discover nothing that savours of doubleness : he sould therefore beget in him an abomination at lying. Trajan the emperor, after a long warre with Ceball king of the

Daces, who had often falsly prevaricated, took him and subdued his kingdome, and after his death was educating his son, with ane intention, according to the Roman custome, to restore him his father's kingdome, making him his tributary and vassal ; but seeing him once break into a garden, at night he asked where he had been all afternoon ; the boy answered, in school ; with which disingenuity the emperor was so offended, that all the intercession of the Daces, and many Romans, could never induce him to make good what he had intended for him ; saying alwaies, that he who begunne so early to prevaricate, could never deserve a crown. And indeed disingenuity is the pest to youths.

He must also wean him by degrees from passion, malice, and pettish conceits : and certainly the surest way to root out these humours, is to see that they be not irritated by any provocations, as much as is possible ; for these are bellows and nourishers of these vices, which without such irritaments will die through des-

uetude. To contend against a passionate temper, may well heighten it, but shall never extirpate it : to reprove one for these faults, while he is in the passion, is lost labour ; but when the humour is over and composed, then will it be fitt that he with all gentle calmnes show him the folly of these humours.

He must study to wean him insensibly from the love of his palate, and from softnes ; but this must be done slowly. Only boldnes, arrogance, vainglory, opiniastriety, and talking, must not be much repressed, unlesse they swell to ane extravagant height before one be twelve or fourteen yeares of age ; for these humours are the chieffe incitements that drive boyes to study ; neither are they capable of the contrary impressions ; yet it will be necessary often to discourse to the boy of the excellence of the vertues opposite to these ; and to teach a boy reason in all his actions, and to doe nothing wilfully, a master sould injoyn him nothing but that for which he shews him good reason.

But the vertue which must be most carefully infused in youths, is good nature and gentlenes ; for a boy who is once brought to this point, is capable of all admonitions, and susceptible of every impression.

Now all these vertues sould be taught not by mere precept, but by rational discourse ; shewing the excellence, sweetness, and advantage of them ; and this will be best insinuated by examples brought either from history or experience.

It may seem that these advices are more proper for the age of a youth than a boy ; but any that would rear up a noble superstructure in the minds of youth, must lay the foundation betimes. A frequent and dayly discoursing of these subjects will at long-runne prove notably useful ; for alwaies some what will stick.

As for his letters, the first thing the Grecians and Romans thought on, was to teach their boyes the elegancies of their own tongue ; for which end every city was full of the schooles of rhetoricians :

and perhaps the neglect of teaching boyes the purity and propriety of their mother-tongue, hath occasioned the great rudeness critics judge our westerne languages to be guilty of ; oratory in them having never been made a study before Cardinal Richelieu his erecting that colledge at Paris.

But I confesse I doe not so much approve this way of education so early : for to teach rhetorick or logick (all the difference betwixt these being that the one is reason in a court dresse, the other in a military garb) before one have arrived at a solide understanding of things, is a reversing the right order, which requires that wee know things, before wee think of ordering them. Therefore I judge the teaching of forraine languages to be the fittest work for a boy ; the Latine or French are these in which all learning is now to be found, and so one of these must be exactly known and understood. But because Latine, as it is the ancients and more universall, so by a long politure hath in it I know not what handsomenes

peculiar to itself ; as also by its long reigne in the world hath been and is to this day the language of learned men. I therefore conceive it necessary to presse a boy in earnest to the acquiring, and exact understanding, and facility in this tongue ; but withall I must adde, that I would not so countercarre with a boy, but if I discovered either a great defect in his memory, or ane unconquerable aversion in him, so that no art could subdue it, I would not for that judge him lost, nor drive him so to it as to alienate his mind quite from study ; since he may be a knowing man without a word of it.

And so I equally blame the French, who begin universally to neglect the Latine, and our countrymen, who insist too much upon it, and give over the education of a boy for lost, if he goe not through with his grammaire.

Next I must tell you that the whole manner of teaching Latine in Scotland displeaseth me : and certainly there must be some grand error in teaching it, when dull boyes after mauny

yeeres uselesse study therein, goe to France or Holland, and in six or eight moneths acquire a perfection in these tongues: and why might they not learn Latine as soon?

And first, our grammare, how good soever, or full, it be in itself, is certainly the unfittest to teach by that can be imagined: for it is so tedious, so crabbed, and unpleasant, that it serves rather to scarre than to invite boyes. There is no need for learning anomalys, or all particular rules, by grammare; for these are best taught by practise; and to force boyes to get so many barbarous rules by heart, is to torture rather than to teach them. The rudiments, Lillie's accidence, or Vossius his grammare, are the best; and as to what is wanting in these, it must be supplied by practise. The other way of teaching parcells of manny authors I as little approve; though it be true that variety breeds delectation: yet that desultory way of study losseth them as to a style. I sould therefore choose one or two of the best authors, such as

Caesar and Terence, and oblige the boy to read these over and over again ; by which means he sould learne much better how to forme his stile. As for poets, Virgile alone is worth all for purity and noblenes of stile ; though for his fancy he deserve not the name of a poet, but of a eloquent versifier. These therefore I would have children learne exactly. I sould also advise boyes to be made read Castellio his Bible ; where the knowledge of the matter will facilitate the understanding the language. That translation I recommend for the elegant purity of the stile ; though it be none of the Bibles I most value or approve of.

Another errour in our schooles is, the making boyes speak Latine one with another. I know to manny this will seem a great paradoxe ; since exercise is the properest meanne for acquiring languages : but this holds only where we speake to those who understand better than ourselves, and can correct us when we say amisse. But to boyes to talk one to another

may well learne them a readines of speaking, and a command of words, but will assuredly prove the occasion of ruining them as to all ornacy or purity in diction: for if one in the acquiring any language get at first any wrong sett, it will prove a greater labour to wear out that, than the teaching the whole language; and such confabulations among boyes at play, where their master is not by to correct their errours, will teach them a base and rascally stile.

The unfrequency of the exercising boyes in versions and translations, is also a great error: for this will be found a better mean to inure them to Latine than either grammaires, lessons, or confabulations.

The way therefore I judge properest for teaching Latine, is after a boy hath once well understood the few principles of the language out of a short grammaire, he sould be presently begun to some select author, where in teaching the master sould not only expound the book,

but make him apprehend the propriety of the words and the elegancy of phrase; and with this he sould begin him quickly to translate out of English into Latine, which that the boy may the better understand, he sould, before the boy, translate himselfe the parcell he prescribes for his task, shewing why he makes choice of every word and phrase, and then take away what he hath done, leaving the boy to his own industry. As also, in examining the translation, he sould not be content with bare well constructed Latine, but shew him how every word or phrase sould have been better chosen or placed. And though at first, this work goe on slowly, yet a few moneths exact practise this way, will I doubt not be more profitable than the whole year in the ordinary method.

But that which I chiefly rely on, as to the learning this language, is to discourse much with the boy in Latine, and to make him talk alwaies to his master or governour in that tongue; and by this exercise he shall most

compendiously learne the speaking a good stile ; and shewing oft in discourse, what are the flowers of the Latine, and also gently correcting the boy when he speaks amisse.

Now the reason why this excellent method is so little used, is because few masters have that ready abundance of Latine as to discourse promptly in it without study ; but this to one who well understands the Latine will be soon arrived at, if he but use himselfe often to compose, discourse, and meditate in Latine. And how troublesome soever this may seem, yet he who takes the breeding of a youth to task, sould make it his calling, and so judge himself bound in conscience to spare no pains that may fitt him for ane exact discharge of his duty.

Neither will the labour prove so great as may at first appear : for a few weeks diligent study will overcome it ; after which one shall acquire that which deserved his pains, even though the sense of duty had not exacted it, to witt, a readiness in expressing himself in the best of languages.

It is next to be considered what are these subjects he should entertain his pupil with : they should be therefore chiefly virtuous documents : but because a boy cannot be much taken with long lectures of morality, history should be the frequentest subject of his longest discourses, and by this means as a boy shall be often released from the drudging penance of learning a language, which checker work in his study cannot but much please him, so he shall also learn things, both plain, suitable to his capacities, and usefull. As likewise, since all boys naturally love talking about histories, he shall be hereby much enamoured of his master's company, and made to preferre it to many of his idle games.

Now for an apparatus to history, geography must be first discoursed of, and well illuminated maps must be got, which as they will delight the boy, so will they help much to infix places in his memory.

In discoursing of geography and history, the

method of painters is to be followed, who first draw the ruder draughts, and mark the proportions ; afterwards filling them up with their true colours. In geography therefore all to be told at first going over, is the names and divisions of the several states and kingdoms in the world : but when he goes to give the history of any nation, its government, chieffe rivers, provinces, and towns, must be remembered, not all at once, but as occasion offers in narrating the history. For the account of the state of the world, the boy sould be made first exactly to know the several aeraes of tyme, with the chieffe periods and fates of states ; for without this, did one know never so manny transactions, he deserves only the name of a tale-teller, but not of a historian. After this the boy sould be acquainted with the more particular accounts, especially of the European states, and any pretty particular actions sould be also told him : he sould be also acquainted with the state, progression, and retrogradation of learning, and

with the lives and works of learned men ; but chiefly with the state of the church, and these discourses sould be often interlarded with morall observations : but never sould either boy or youth hear a word of policy ; for this of all things makes them become most arrogant and vain. And woe to that land where the young nobility begin to think of policy, and mending the state : for their arrogant selfe conceit, together with their hardy forwardnes and violence, will not fail to subvert and ruine it, and to this among other reasons I do not stick to impute most of our late disorders. Now a boy being thus discoursed to, he shall profite admirably both in Latine and history, and may be made a good historian 'ere he read one writer. And since history is so easily understood, it must be a very proper exercise for the raw and unripened capacities of a boy. Only a governour must not think much though he be put often to repeat the same things : yet for the boies memory, it were not amisse to make him write downe the

more considerable periods and revolutions of kingdoms ; but these notes would be short and comprehensive, that the boy may not be put to the doleful toil of much writing.

The corrections of a boy are now to be thought upon. A publike punishment, or affront, sould never be hasarded upon after a boy is ten yeares of age ; for this doth too much sink him, if he be of an ingenuous spirit, and too much exasperate him if he be not so. Kyndnes and love will alwaies prove the best charmes : even great faults, if the boy confesse them, and promise amendment, sould be pardoned ; unless they be customary. Faults sould be reproved kyndly, without passion, if the boy be not froward ; neither sould a master correct while he is angry ; for as his passion may make him exceed, so it will drive him to a carriage, whereby the boy shall judge him passionate, and that he is hated by him, whereby all his kyndnes for him shall be lost. And therefore Plato commanded his nephew never

to whip his boy when he found himself any way warmed against him : and if a child have any kyndnes or good nature, the sharpest punishment will be to carry coldly to him, without any shew of kyndnes ; and this, if continued in for a while, will sooner gall him than any thing ; for scourges, if he be of a good cheerfull temper, are quickly forgotten, and if he be otherwise, are too much resented. But this cold carriage must not last too long, least the boy be driven to despaire of recovering his former room in his governour's affection, and so alienate his heart from him.

For recreations, way sould be given to the boy his own choice and inclinations ; only his governour must be by degrees, and in all wisdom, weaning him from childish and triffling ones : and the best course for that, is by substituting better and pleasanter ones in their place. Two good rules for this are, first, as was above marked, to converse so pleasantly and kyndly with him, as that he may account his company

his sweetest divertisement ; the other is, to consider what are the pleasures he is most taken with, and to procure him a refined and polished use of these. If he delight in a garden, and gathering flowers, then let a corner of the garden be made up for him, where he shall have all flowers and plants, or a little nursery ; and thus may he begin to understand the nature and the waies of educating and cultivating plants. If he love musick, then let him be bred with both singing, playing upon instruments, and dancing. If he love limning, painting, or engraving, or any other kynde of mechanisme, let masters and tools be provided for perfecting him in it. If he love tales, provide him with these collections of them that are to be had. And thus by finding out what recreation pleaseth him, things may be so adjousted that even his idlest houres shall not entirely goe to waste, but may be spent in learning and practising what may be matter of use and divertisement in a riper age.

These debauching house-games boies sould not learn ; for as they are profuse wasters of tyme and money, so in boies especially they give too great and frequent irritations to passion and wrath, and they neither exercise body nor spirit. As for other recreations, a boy sould gett large portions of his tyme to bestow on them ; often the whole afternoon, except ane hour before supper, may be well allowed them, and yet tyme enough remaine for study.

The Latine being thus well understood, and easily spoken, the next task sould be Greek ; which were it not that the New Testament is in that language, I sould not very earnestly presse, since for Noblemen it is no otherwise useful ; all Greek books being exactly well translated in this late critical age. But since the treasure of our faith is in Greek, it sould be pressed upon all, not to be willing to owe our knowledge of that to second-hand.

Some account the best method to be the teaching both Greek and Latine together : but

to this I cannot assent ; for unlesse the boy have a strong and regular memory, this counter-charged task will overburden and confuse him ; neither is the study of languages so pleasant a work, that one sould goe out of one rack into another : and therefore all the hours you will spare from the Latine sould be bestowed on a pleasanter study, such as geography, etc. When the boy is at Greek, the same rules are to be observed that were prescribed in the advice for the Latine ; only the ability to discourse in Greek is not to be expected, nor such an understanding of elegancy as is requisite for making translations ; it being enough for gentlemen if they can well render Greek into Latine, though they cannot put Latine in Greek. Yet one must not be loosed from this study till he be able readily to expound any place of the New Testament, upon the opening of the book ; but meane while the boy must continue in the practise of Latine, reading through all the Roman historians, and the best written moderne ones, the

chieffe of which is Buchanan ; and hereby he shall not only retain but improve his knowledge of Latine and history.

The Greek being dismissed, he must still practise in it, reading at least ten or twelve verses in the New Testament every day ; otherwise he shall forget it as speedily as he learned it. All this I suppose may be done to some degree of perfection, even though one proceed with a slow pace, again a boy arrive at twelve or thirteen years of age ; and if the boy his memory be good, and his aversion to language not very strong, upon the same account that I recommended the Greek, I sould also advise him to be taught Hebrew, at least so much as to read and expound with the help of a dictionary, and know the common grammaire ; and this by an able master may be taught, allowing to it but ane hour a day, in a few moneths ; but for Caldaic, Syriac, and Samaritane, though they vary little from the Hebrew, and so are easily understood, yet they are of no necessity, except

the Caldaic ; some portions of the Old Testament being in that language : and this having the same character and grammair, will be a very easy work. But for Arabic, it is not to be meddled with, except the boy have a great genius that way. These three mother-languages, the Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, being thus acquired, must be preserved by frequent and constant exercise : for to disuse a tongue, before one be a master in it, is to lose it.

These being thus acquired, the next study I sould apply a boy to, would be the French, which will be of no difficulty to one who hath Latine, and is a language now most necessary to be known, since all learning is put in French : and even though parents intend their child shall travel, yet it will be fitt they at least perfectly understand it ere they goe from home, whereby a great many moneths, wherein they must idly stay in France, shall be cutt off : and the best way to learne is quickly to begin a boy with a French servant.

This language being understood, Italian and Spanish will be very easy; though to one that intends not to travel these kingdoms, they are of no great use, since there be few books in these languages brought among us. Some there are indeed in Italian, but scarce any in Spanish. As for the Germane, it being no dialect of Latine, and a original language, it will be a hard task, and no way necessary; for almost all their books are written in Latine; and Latine and French will easily carry one through all the lower Germany, if not the upper too, and therefore there is no need to teach it.

And hitherto I have brought our boy through the harshest parts of education, and the most unpleasant both to master and scholar; and at fourteen or fifteen yeares of age, I suppose him to be well seen in the necessary tongues, in history, and geography: and so as by our law he wears out of tutory, he also shall need a preceptor no more; the rest of the work being more rational, and so to be performed by the

governour, who is never so necessary as at this age.

And first I must condemne the applying youths to the study of philosophy ; whereas to judge of a hypothesis of nature is one of the deepest thoughts can enter into the heart of a man, and so requires the greatest maturity of spirit. But though some hints might be given of hypotheses, yet to drive youths to positive assertions, and to make them tenaciously adhere to and defend these, is to overturn philosophy ; but to keep them many years at this, as if it were the only learning, is the losse of youth, and the ruine of literature.

But to begin with the chieffe care ; now is the time wherein the governour sould with all diligence infuse in the youth's mind, the true and solide principles of the Christian religion ; not so much as acquainting him, except by way of historical relation, with the janglings of divines and contravertists ; but he sould chiefly root in him the persuasion of these great fundamental

verities, to preserve him from the poison of Atheisme ; and for other matters, two principles sould be deeply infixed in him ; the one not to be curious or subtile in divine matters ; nor to examine them by the querks of sophistry ; and the other not to be fondly nor superstitiously addicted to one's own persuasion, nor to censure or judge others who differ. How necessary it is to rivet these principles in youth, our present distractions doe sufficiently prove. These foundations being well laid, other superstructures may be slowly reared.

For theology books, I sould advise none to be put in a youth's hand, but such as give accounts of the plain and literal meaning of Scriptures, and therefore the governour sould every day read with the youth considerable portions of Scripture, acquainting him with the several difficulties as they occurre, and with the solutions of them ; and if the youth have any knowledge of criticismes it sould make up one part of their discourses, especially on the Lord's Day, to un-

riddle to him knotty places of Scripture : and this is all for the science of theology fitt to be taught, and indeed he who well understands Scripture, cannot choose but be a good theologue.

But at this age, piety is chiefly to be looked to ; the youth must often hear from his governour serious discourses of God, and the life to come, and be taught to love him and his son Jesus Christ ; he sould therefore presse him to be serious in praier, and sould often in secret pray with him ; as also he sould urge him to meditate often, and to review his life : he must also now study to persuade him of the vanity of the world, and to undervalue all things without him ; to possesse his mind with all calm and tranquill thoughts ; and thus sould he be diligent to forme him in his moralls, to beat down all desire or love of pleasure, and to kindle in him a celsitudê of mind, and a generous desire of doing good to others. Solomon's Ecclesiastes must be often read to him ; and the Stoicall philosophy sould

be explained to him, and Epictetus sould be carefully read to him. These things sould be frequently repeated, and illustrated, and made good, by historical instances, which doe alwaies affect youths more than bare reasonings.

The vices now to be repressed are, love of money, ambition, much talk, a valuing one's selfe for their rank, title, friends, or parts ; but chiefly rash and indiscreet censuring : and all these must be beaten downe by strong reason often repeated. Nothing must now be carried by authority or violence ; the youth must be treated, before others, with respect and kindnes, and not openly twitted or reproved for his faults : yea, it will make private admonitions to be the better received, if he discerne in his governour a care to cover and excuse his faults to others. He sould be caressed with great affection, especially when he is reproved for his faults, that he may not only bear them well, but may be thereby engaged to love his governour, and to observe his precepts.

His governour had also need to look well to himselfe ; for in this age youths are most prying and censorious, and will discern one's weaknes ; and finding any are apt because of it to contemne them, and disregard what they say.

As for their learning, they sould be made still to continue in the practice of the tongues they have acquired, and for further improvement sould get a general touch of most things.

I sould begin with anatomy, as ane easy and usefull piece of knowledge, not troubling the youth to get by heart the names of veins, arteries, nerves, and muscules, but to make him understand the use, function, situation, figure, and dependance of the chieff parts of the body ; and this will be neither a tedious nor ane unpleasant work ; especially if wee be where wee may see dissections. Yet good copper prints will com-pense in a good degree this want, if the youth have a nimble fancy.

Next I would teach him the nature of herbs and trees, with the waies of cultivating and

nursing them ; and as this seems to have been intended by God for Adam his first task, so it is an exercise so full of pleasure, that I know not whether to call it a study or a recreation.

The governour should also acquaint him with the natural history, and the chieffe experiments that are of late made ; and this is the best apparatus for philosophy.

Next he should acquaint the youth with mathematicks ; and to invite him to it, he should begin quickly to show him some of the more pleasant mechanical performances in mathematicks. That which is necessarily to be known to one that would study these sciences is Euclid's Elements, at least his first six books, arithmetick and trigonometry ; and without one's understanding these, one may be a mechanist, but a mathematician shall he never be. For stereometry, algebra, and conic sections, they require more subtlety and patience, than is to be expected from youth, neither are they of such use. For the subalternate sciences of the mathematicks,

it is necessary to give a youth a taste of them. All of the parts of geometry and astronomy he should know exactly, and be prompt in using and managing instruments. The theories of musick, fortification, dioptricks, and the art of dialling, if the governour understand them well himselfe, will be easily learned; but architecture and statues are these which he must know as his fingers; they being so necessary to humane life; since all mechanisme depends upon the force of motion; and in these there will be no difficulty. If the youth have a delight in problemes and theoremes, and be of an active fancy, it will be good to hook him as much as can be to them; for this is by wise men judged a good advice for preserving a state quiet, to engage the young nobility who have active spirits, to mathematical sciences, which carrying their thoughts after them, will preserve them from ambition, and meddling with the state. But in this moderation is to be observed, least their brains be too much stretched with these curiosities.

After the mathematicks are thus explained to the youth, he sould next be acquainted with the hypotheses of philosophy. But to this I would not allow so many moneths as we give yeeres ; and the youth is only to be acquainted with the several sects, and their chieffe grounds ; but must not be byassed to any ; but left at liberty to chuse, in a riper age, what shall seem most sutable to nature's operations, and not to poor pedantick sophistry.

For logick, I see no use for it, except with a great deal of pains and industry to teach youths sophistry, or pedantry at best ; and since that triffling way is now no more used by the learned world, I know not why it sould be taught ; and at most a week would be the greatest tyme I sould allow for explaining the termes of it.

All disputing about philosophy I condemne ; the perfection whereof when acquired, is to make a youth vainly subtile, and contentiously jangling, and may prove a meanne to ruine him as

to all other things. Natural history therefore is all the philosophy I would have insisted upon to youth; which that he may be the more delighted with, he must be furnished with such tooles and instruments as may be needful to trying experiments. And thus may a youth be bred till he be eighteen yeares of age: for all I have advised, if he have a wise and knowing governour, may be taught in a short tyme.

As for his recreations, he sould be accustomed to all manly ones, such as hunting, hawking, shooting, archery, fishing, riding horses, and the like; but it will be fitt his governour goe with him to these, and converse much with him, no more as a boy but as a man. He sould be also studying to weanne him from all fondnes of these exercises, and teach him to use them only as recreations, not making them his work or delight.

For handling his armes, it is true the Romans begun their youth with this early: for at fourteen

they laid aside their pretexta or youthly garb, and gott a shield given them; and so were trained up in feats of armes and mock fights. But I like better the custome of the Carthaginians, who suffered not their youths to handle armes, till they were past twenty; and it feeds arrogance, and exposeth them too much to contention, to begin them so soon with this.

As for making visits, he sould doe it but seldome; for frequency in this is the greatest inlett to idlenes imaginable.

He sould also be further improven in any of these pleasant things he is inclined to; such as musick, mechanicks, or the like.

For correcting him, that must be no more thought upon; for now must he be governed by reason. But the best way to make reprooffs goe deep into his heart, is in private to expresse great sorrow to him for his faults: for this natively done must pierce him through, if he be not of a savage temper; and if he be of ane ingenuous nature, some tymes to give up with

him, telling him that he is no more to be spoken to, will prick him very sensibly.

And so much of the way for managing a youth, till he be eighteen or nineteen yeeres of age ; and after this age his governour shall lay downe that name, and converse with him as his friend, and not as his pupill ; whereby may be his directions shall be more regarded.

He must still goe on with the chieffe care ; improving him further in the understanding of divine matters and Scripture ; and must be giving him clear and rationall accounts of his faith ; that so he may not receive his beleefe as a mere traditionall matter, but taught to build his persuasions upon rationall foundations.

He must also teach him to be observing what discoveries of God appear in all his works and waies, thereby using him to serious reflexions of what events occurre ; that by all things that emerge he learne to admire God : and this is the chieffe and highest part of our fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ. He sould

also presse him much to devotion ; about which at this age youths doe often become cool and slack. A humble reverence and love to God, sould be carefully recommended ; and he sould be often remembered of his defects herein.

Next a noble generosity of mind sould be much preached to him ; that he look not at mean or base things, such as riches, honours, or secular greatnes ; but make vertue and noble goodnes his chieffe designe.

He must also infuse in him a love to his countrey, and duty to his prince ; and that he abhorre broils and incendiaries ; that he listenes not to any tattles against these in authority, especially of the king. To infix this temper deeply, in young nobility, may prove a notable mean to keep the countrey peaceable, loyall, and quiet ; and to drive away factions, and base self seeking from grandees.

He must also recommend modesty much to him, and a hatred of lust and all impurity ; and that the rather if he be robust and hot blooded.

But after and above all, he must give him many a lecture of humility and self distrust : for at this age begin youths to swell with a high opinion of themselves, and a value of their own parts, joynd with a contempt of others ; and this, if not overcome, will deface all the beauty of this fair superstructure. For I account ane opiniastrous and selfe willed youth almost quite lost. He sould therefore often be told what a poor thing man is ; how little he knows or can doe ; and how at best he is but one of God almightie his tools : as also how small a matter learning is in itselfe, how valuable soever it be, compared to other things ; how few things wee know ; how all our knowledge pierceth no deeper than the surface of things ; how impossible it is for a youth to know how to governe himself. These things must he hear upon both his ears. And so much for his manners at this age.

The things he is to learne are, first, discretion, to know how to live in the world ; how to con-

verse, to be silent, to choose friends, to find out peoples humours ; and how to gain love, and the like. These he must be well directed in ; for now must he learne to be a man, and live among them. The Proverbs will doe well for this : and for humane writers, the best I know is the son of Sirach.

He must also be taught to speak properly, and promptly : and for this cause, he sould begin to write essaies upon every thing, to use himselfe, while he is alone, to discourse upon any subject ; for this is the best way to smooth his stile, and to replenish his mind with good thoughts and fancies. Now how necessary this is for all is easy to guesse, but chieffly for noblemen, who by ane elegant expression shall become the more considerable both in parliament and counsell. Wee see the chieffe in all states have been the greatest orators, as all histories assure us.

For study, if he retain and improve in what he hath acquired, I sould burden him with no

more : yet if he be of a composed mind, and moderate spirit, to look discreetly into chymistry, will be a huge addition to his other parts, and may oblige him to love home, and seek a retired life ; which is alwaies the best choice ; none being ever so fit for publicke affairs, as they who shun them, and seek privacy. But if he be of a hot brain, and forward in his acting, this will more prejudice than profite him, and may intangle him so as to ruine his estate, and fill his head with doting fopperies. At this age therefore study sould be used as a recreation.

But one's work sould be to know the world ; and therefore how retired soever I could wish a youth were kept, before this age, now sould he be much abroad, and in all company ; but chiefly among vertuous and generous persons. His governour sould goe often with him, to observe and admonish him, of what escapes he commits : but this must be told him privately, and with all kyndnes.

He sould be allowed, according to the advice of Solomon, all innocent mirth and cheerfulness : but it is the better the lesse he converse with women ; though to be sometymes with the wise and excellent of that sexe, be one of the greatest helps for breeding.

He sould be made to abhorre all affectation, either in his discourse or behaviour ; for alwaies that which is most natural goes best of. He sould be taught to observe a right mediocrity, betwixt simple modesty or rather timidity, and blustering and forward confidence. So much of a youth's breeding.

And now having brought him to the twenty first year of his age, wherein by our law he is declared a man, exempt from all inspection of others, it is fit I also let him goe, and deliver him from the yoke of a governour. But as by our law till he be twenty five years, he hath it in his choice to revoke what he did before he was twenty one years old, I shall therefore follow him with my advyce to that age: all

therefore that hath been formerly taught him must he now begin to consider ; that he may both retain and improve those documents which have been hitherto instilled in him, and make choice of those matters on which he intends to bestow his own study and labour. But chiefly I wish his advance in vertue and seriousness ; that he begin deeply to consider for what end he came in to the world, and how he ought to demean himself in it : and for this effect he shall chuse some noble and vertuous friends, by whose advice and direction he may frame his actions ; avoiding the pestiferous company of dissolute persons, and base flatterers. For a virtuous friend is, next to a wise governour, the greatest blessing of humane life. But how to choice and use such is not my task at present.

The study next fitt for him, is the lawes and customes of his countrey : and without the knowledge of this, he is but a poor nobleman or countrey man. He must therefore acquaint himselfe with the colledge of justice, and study to

get some able lawyer to stay a vacation with him, for instructing him in the forms of law : for this is necessary both to the management of his private fortune, and to fit him for publicke employment, when he is called to it.

Next he must learne to understand his own affairs; not trusting them to chamberlaines or servants, but managing them himselfe : and therefore parents, at this age, sould acquaint their children with the state of their affairs, and commit to their care such portions of their fortune as they may best spare ; that thereby they may see what governement they have, and may know how to antidote their inclinations, if they be either too profuse or too saving.

After this I would desire him to study agriculture, and the waies of improving ground, and begin to keep nurseries, and to inclose ground : for this is both ane honest and profitable exercise, and full of pleasure ; which may also draw a man to love home ; a necessary matter to young men.

He must also study the interest of his country ; that he may consider wherein it may be advantaged. And for this end he is to acquaint himselfe with manufactories ; that he may know what are wanting, which may be set up in the countrey ; as also what better tools and waies are for managing these that be among us.

He should also learne to manage his armes ; but to train him a souldier, is to subvert from the foundations all the pains hath been bestowed upon him. For a camp, unless he be under a vertuous commander, is a Sodom for a young man. To be able and resolute for the defence of his countrey, is necessary for a person of quality : but to be a souldier of fortune, is both ane unvertuous and ungentlemanly course of life.

Only politics he must not study ; nor learne intrigues, except it be for mere information ; for a young man is not capable of that discretion which is requisite for the management of affairs. Though he may be perhaps sufficiently able to contrive and suggest good counsell, yet there is

a certain subtleness, closenes, and leger de main requisite in a states man, which a young man cannot know how to practyse. Yet I would have him much in the company of grave and wise men.

And hitherto I have adventured to sett downe my thoughts of the manner of guiding children. Further I need not, nor ought not, to goe. I need not : for he who cannot manage himselfe at twenty five is past help and hope, unlesse God work mightily upon him. I ought not ; because wanting yet some moneths of twenty five, I sould be grossly impertinent to give direction how to behave in ane age, the experience whereof I have never had. And so farre have I adventured to trespasse upon your leisure and patience : but having seen so much of your goodnes, I know there is no need of manny words to bespeak my pardon. Besides I know even the babblings of friends are pleasing. Excuse the boldnes of this title to which I lay claime : and indeed the manny dear prooffs you have given of the

true, though ill merited, friendship you bear me, makes me without scruple assure myselfe I am so happy as to have some share in your heart ; which I have more reason to be pleased with than the Romans when statues were erected for them in the capitol. Pardon, therefore, pardon, my generous and noble friend, the trouble this hath given you, and believe that it flows from one whose heart is yours, and who counts his thoughts and pen well employed, when they are exercised in any thing that relates to you : and believe me I shall sollicite Heaven for no greater blessing, in things of that nature, than to see all your dear (dear, because they are yours) children, the worthy imitators, and true resemblances of your selfe.

It will appear at first view, that I have sent you rather a modell of what is to be wished, than of what is practicable in educating youth ; and that these are but chimereque ideas. But if you once hitt upon a wise governour, who is I confesse one of a thousand, you shall see the

difficulty and not the following of these precepts, is only chimerique, and that even the dullest, and most indocile boy may, by a cunning artisan, be made a polished man. I recommend you therefore in this, as in all your other concerns to the blessing and direction of the only wise God: which I pray may be the everlasting portion of both yourselfe and children. Adieu.

Ere I absolutely dismiss these thoughts, I shall give you also my opinion of the ordinary way of breeding young gentlemen by sending them to travel.

If the youth be bred for a court, and of a rank that he may probably be sent an ambassador, or appointed to negociate forrein affairs, then it is necessary he travel: but otherwise I cannot see why one shall travell France and Italy, to learne to live in Scotland. All the good most can have in travell, is to look from them, and see manny sundry faces and places; which as it is a poor satisfaction, carrying little or no profit with it, so it engages on still to a

further curiosity, of which there shall be no end. Further, he sees many men; but these are for most part only the canaille; such as use ordinarys: or if he comes to know persons of worth; these will treat him but as a stranger, and converse with him in such general purposes, as shall inform him but little. And since a traveller must not stay long in one place, he shall but begin to know them when he must leave them.

For learned men, except it be the airy vanity to say we saw them, by reading their books we can hear more from them, than we may hope for, from their discourse.

It is true great change and daily variety of company, doth rub off all rusticity, and give a garb, and teach a good behaviour; and this is all most doe or can pretend to. But if a short satisfaction, which is soon forgotten, or a garb which, not suiting with the humour of the countrey, must be laid aside ere the French clothes be worn out, deserves to be once set in

competition against the almost certain hazards a traveller is exposed to, let all wise men judge. And first, that pest of atheisme, which now rageth beyond sea, is a hazard few escape ; all the wits there counting it their glory, to turn the mysterys of faith, scriptures, and piety in ridicule. Some yeeres agoe there was a hazard of gentlemen their returning papists : but now wee may rather expect to get them home atheists ; since there is, in this depraved compound of a man, a farre stronger byasse to atheisme than to popery.

And as for a corruption of their manners, why sould not that be looked upon as assured, among a people who have made their greatest study, ane unmanly idolising of women, and where uncleanness is thought but a sport ; neither is a man judged in fashion if he keep not a courtisan, and where the dialect of speech is to sweare with open mouth ; and by all, even those who are not atheists in principle, a sense of God and piety is hissed at and forgotten.

I mention not the hasards from duellers and robbers, since by the king's severity these are not now so frequent ; neither shall I much consider the impoverishing the kingdome, by carrying so much money beyond sea ; nor the ruine of estates occasioned by travell : for these are considerations without my road. But there is one thing further considerable, that by travelling, and seeing fine and high things, they are made to loath and weary of home.

Upon all these accounts I exceedingly disapprove young men their travelling. Yet a person of a mature spirit, and ripe judgment, who is well confirmed in his religion, and hath a true sense of piety and vertue, and is not of a light or gadding mind, but doth know what to observe and search after, if he be well recommended, may after he is twenty one yeeres of age, with much advantage, spend a year or two abroad. For he may be made capable of larger and freer thoughts ; and may learne to know more of the world and of mankind ; as also he may see a

great many useful things, which our countrey doth not afford ; and by seing even the finest things in the world, he may arrive at a more just understanding of what is best on earth, and so be taught to contemne it. And with the help of effectual recommendations (for complimenting ones are not worth carying) he may get the acquaintance of worthy and wise persons, who may prove kind and good directors to him. But what I say of travelling, I mean only of running beyond sea ; for since wee have not now a king or court in Scotland, it is very proper that the gentlemen be well acquainted with the court of England ; though there be many things there, that make me wish even a short stay among them.

FINIS.

CRITICISMS OF THE *THOUGHTS*.

A.

“Designed as a series of suggestions for the training of a Scottish nobleman or gentleman’s son, it does not make any reference to a university course, and is chiefly remarkable for the general breadth and liberality of the author’s educational ideas. Burnet rightly deprecated the choice of a governor or tutor who was ‘a man of one study only’; and his ideas on religious instruction were in accordance with the latitudinarian tendencies of his later years, and with the dictates of common sense.” Dr. A. W. Ward in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IX., 192.

B.

“Tinged here and there with the utopianism natural at twenty-five, the book is also distinguished by robust good sense. With its

classical and modern 'sides,' it might well interest educationists of the present day. He dissents emphatically from the severity usually practised at the time. 'Nature,' he says, 'made children children and not men.' His method of teaching Latin is admirably practical. Greek, for an ordinary country gentleman, he scarcely recommends, though he considers it an advantage to read the Testament in its original tongue, and from that point of view even Hebrew may be studied," etc. *Life*, 73.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Gilbert Burnet was born on September 18th, 1643, and died March 17th, 1715. His life thus extended from the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant to the first Jacobite Rebellion. Burnet played an important, if not a leading, part in the life of his time. Among his acquaintances and associates he numbered in Scotland the Hamiltons, Warriston, Lauderdale, Leighton; in England all the monarchs from Charles II to Anne, Robert Boyle, Rochester, Lord William Russell, Harley, Tillotson; abroad Leibnitz, Le Clerc, Limborch, together with many others. Throughout his life his pen was always busy and he has left a formidable array of works from *The History of the Reformation* and *The History of my Own Time* down to occasional pieces, pamphlets and broadsides. Burnet is part and parcel of the life of his time;

and his time is one of the most stirring and in some respects important periods in our history. The years 1643-1715 coincide also with the reign of Louis XIV, and thus Burnet's life is related to a period no less momentous in European than in domestic affairs.

His career naturally falls into two parts, the shorter Scotch one 1643-1674, and the longer English one 1674-1715. Included in the latter is the period of enforced residence abroad 1685-1688. In Scotland he was minister of Saltoun, in East Lothian, for five years, 1664-1669, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow for other five, or nearly so, 1669-1674: in England he was Bishop of Salisbury from 1689 to 1715. It is as Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, author of *The History of my Own Time*, that he is best known to posterity.

The family of Burnett,¹ as the name is now usually spelled, is well known and widely spread in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, the chief seats of it being Crathes and Kemnay in Aberdeenshire and Monboddo in Kincardineshire.

¹ See Dr. George Burnett's *Family of Burnett of Leys* (New Spalding Club).

Gilbert's father, Robert Burnet, was fourth son of Alexander, who succeeded to the estates in 1578, and younger brother of Thomas, the first baronet of the house. His mother was Rachel Johnston,¹ a descendant of the Johnstons of Annandale, once a famous Border clan, though her immediate connections had for long been settled in Edinburgh. In the ecclesiastical strife raging at the time Robert Burnet's sympathies were decidedly with the Royalist and Episcopal party, Rachel Johnston's were still more decidedly Presbyterian. The husband was by nature tolerant, broad-minded enough to live at peace with those from whom he differed in religious conviction. The wife was intolerant, narrow and almost fanatical in her adhesion to her creed, like the stock of which she came. Her younger brother was Sir Archibald Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, the framer of the National League and Covenant and one of the most active of the sectaries during the long and bitter civil strife. Robert Burnet refused to sign the Covenant, and in consequence had to

¹ She was Robert Burnet's second wife.

abandon his profession (law), "and was forced three severall times to leave the Kingdome, staying at one time five years out of it". That his practice at the bar was not unsuccessful seems to be shown by the fact that in addition to other estates he was able in 1634 to purchase Crimond in Buchan (Aberdeenshire) "from John Johnston of that Ilk". During the Commonwealth he appears to have been left unmolested, no doubt owing to his brother-in-law's influence, and Cromwell even offered him a judgeship, which however his principles did not allow him to accept. At the Restoration he was elevated to the Bench, and assumed the title of Lord Crimond, but did not live long to enjoy his new dignity, dying within the year (1661). The details of Gilbert's early life are few and far between, as scanty as those of his later life are abundant. His youth was spent in the midst of the struggles of the Civil War, and cannot have lacked excitement. One of its incidents, probably not unique, is thus recorded in the *History* (i., 58); it relates to the year 1651: "I remember well of three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an

order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. . . . they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the public assemblies . . . but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present : the debate grew very fierce : at last they drew their swords : but there was no hurt done." The boy was then only eight years of age, and the facts would be strongly impressed on his memory ; but his comments as represented above are probably coloured by the experience of later days.

To understand the nature of his upbringing, we must bear in mind the character of the parental influence. His father was half a Puritan in sentiment. He was moderate in beliefs and in conduct : "tho he preferred Episcopacy to all other forms of government and thought it was begun in the Apostles' times, yet he did not think it so necessary but that he could live under another form". "He treated those who differed from him in opinion with great gentleness." His mother, on the other hand,

though a good religious woman was, "most violently engaged in the Presbyterian way". She and all her family were indeed "highly and indiscreetly presbyterian," her brother Warriston in particular being "eager in everything and . . . a rank enthusiast". "He had the temper of an Inquisitor," drove all measures to extremes and ultimately by his violence proved the undoing both of his party and of himself. Gilbert had thus in his early days the opportunity of seeing and hearing both sides, and seems from the outset to have inclined, whether by nature or through personal influence, to his father's side. Writing of himself he says: "I had some uneasiness at home, for my mother and all our family . . . were much troubled to see me episcopal, though I did not make haste to declare myself". But that belongs to a rather later date, when he had attained the age of nineteen.

Burnet's formal education was obtained from his father, apparently at Crimond, while the latter lived there in retirement after his return from exile: Gilbert does not seem to have attended any school. Apart altogether from

the merits of private as against public education, such an arrangement, by which the father becomes schoolmaster to his son, seldom seems a very happy one; in the present instance, though ostensibly successful, it produced results which in one less high-minded and dutiful than Burnet might have proved very disastrous. His own account, which is comparatively brief and which covers in part his subsequent course when he had passed from under his father's tuition, is the most instructive commentary. It derives special importance from its bearing on the views expressed on the subject in the *Thoughts*. "I had the chieffe advantage of his [my father's] retirement for he made the teaching me a great part of his care. I was sent to no school but was taught Latine by him with such successe that before I was ten year old I was master of that tongue and of the Classick Authors. I was five years at the Colledge of New Aberdeen and went thro the common methods of the Aristotelian Philosophy with no small applause, and passed Master of Arts some moneths before I was fourteen; but all that while my Father was my chieff tutor, for he made me

rise constantly about four. He perhaps loaded me with too much knowledge, for I was excessively vain of it. It is true he humbled me with much severe correction, in which how much soever I might deserve it by many wild frolics yet I think he carried that too farre, for the fear of that brought me under too great an uneasynes and sometimes even to a hatred of my Father. The sense of this may have perhaps carried me in the education of my children to the other extream of too much indulgence. But when I remember how near I was often to the taking desperate methods this has given me a biasse the other way" (*Supplement*, 454).

In illustration and justification of the methods pursued by the elder Burnet, it must be borne in mind that the age believed in private tutorship as the ideal method of education, especially for a "young gentleman". Schools were available in Aberdeen had they been desired. The age believed, too, that if the rod were spared, the child would be spoiled.

Few other details have been preserved of this period of the author's life. We may glean from external sources the nature of the studies which

Burnet pursued at Marischal College,¹ but he himself gives us little information beyond facts and results. The Burnet family consisted of three sons.² One of the elder brothers was destined for law, and had indeed already been admitted (1656) to the Scottish bar; another was a physician. Their father wished to have all three professions represented in the family, and for this and probably for other reasons had destined Gilbert, the youngest, for the church. No kind of compulsion was, however, applied, and Gilbert, following his personal inclination at the time, chose law, devoting himself for a year to the study of Civil and Feudal law. At the end of the year the attractions of the subject had begun to wane, and he announced to his father that he had thought better of his inten-

¹ This was, of course, "the Colledge of New Aberdeen" in contradistinction to King's College, the more ancient foundation in Old Aberdeen. The epithet "New" has now disappeared. For the record of Burnet's College career see Mr. Anderson's *Records of Marischal College*, ii., 218-220.

² Originally there were eleven children in all, but only these sons and one daughter survived their father's return from exile. See *Life*, 17.

tion, and now wished to apply himself to Divinity. "He [i.e. my father] was overjoyed at this and ran out with many tears into a heavenly discourse of the nobleness of a function that was dedicated to God and to the saving of souls, and charged me to study not out of vanity or ambition, but to understand the Scriptures well, and to have a true sense of divine matters in my own mind. . . . He charged me to treat all who differed from me with gentleness and moderation, and to apply myself chiefly to prayer, the reading the Scriptures, and to the practical part" (*op. cit.*, 455). This must have taken place about the year 1658, and his father continued to the end of his life, three years later, to repeat similar injunctions and exhortations, pointing the moral by the ambition, strife, and covetousness of the accredited representatives of the Church as he had known them. Gilbert had now adopted his profession from conviction; his whole life is a standing testimony that he was unswervingly true to this conviction, and earnestly strove to fulfil the ideals with which his father had sought to imbue him. He was not more than fifteen at the time, but he was no

ordinary youth, and at that period maturity and responsibility were reached at a much earlier age than in our day.

It does not appear from Burnet's own account whether he attended a formal course in Divinity, either in the Aberdeen Schools or elsewhere. Antecedent probability might lead us to suppose that he did so, but the only evidence on the subject seems to be the presumption derived from a codicil to his will. By this¹ instrument he sets aside certain sums of money to the College of New Aberdeen "in remembrance of my education there". The amount is to be devoted to Bursaries for the benefit of students attending four years in Arts and two years in Divinity. A fresh beneficiary is to be received each year in the former, and in alternate years in the latter. Burnet's interest in the Divinity School would naturally be inferred to proceed from the same cause as his interest in the Faculty of Arts, his own attendance at the classes. But it is curious that he should make here or elsewhere so little mention of his teachers or of

¹ See *Records of Marischal College* (New Spalding Club), 392 ff.

the details of his study either in law or theology.

At any rate he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the study of Divinity for the next three years, a period which went far to confirm his character and modes of thought. His first and chief subject of study was the Bible with Commentaries upon the various books: for, as he says (*Thoughts*, 58), "he who well understands Scripture, cannot choose but be a good theologue". Bellarmine and Chamier were his text-books in controversial Divinity, for he wished to hear both sides of the argument. Twenty folio volumes of School Divinity, which he also read, were like to prove a snare to him. Through mastery of them, his vanity was heightened, though it required no addition, and he was tempted to pride himself on triumph in argument over those "who had not suffered themselves to be entangled with that cobweb stuffe". That he also devoted himself to the study of history we may well suppose, in view of the frequency of the illustrations he draws from it, and his later partiality to the subject. He worked hard, but the intensity of his study had no injurious effects

on his health : both now and during later life he “was never the worse but the better for labour and study”.

At the end of three years he had completed his course, and possessed all the credentials and qualifications necessary for passing “the trial of preachers,” a much more searching process than in later times ; before the age of eighteen he had become a full-fledged probationer (1661). His father, who was now approaching seventy, and probably feeling some premonition of the coming end, was anxious to have him settled in a church at once. He apparently induced his nephew, Sir Alexander Burnet, to offer Gilbert a family benefice, and it was only “by the happy Providence of God” that the latter refused it. Though there was no law against it, he felt that one who was not yet eighteen ought not to undertake a cure of souls, “persons of that age are so apt to have a good opinion of themselves”. At a later period he was surprised at his own wisdom in declining such a tempting offer—an assured and ample income, not too exacting duties, and the society of kinsmen, in the centre of whom the valuable living was situated.

Burnet lost his father, as already stated, in 1661, and a year later his elder brother, Robert, the lawyer, was carried off by fever. The whole family but especially, as it would appear, his mother's side of the house, seized the occasion to set on him to give up the Church and turn to law again. But Burnet was firm, and declared that he had put his hand to the plough, and must not turn back. Meantime he pursued his studies in preparation for more efficient service in the church, and subsequently enlarged his experience by travel, to the extent at any rate, of a visit to England. These later studies he began with Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a work for which he conceived a high admiration. He was so charmed with its modesty and charity, and so influenced by its sentiments that he followed for the rest of his life the principles now permanently confirmed, if not inspired, by his perusal of Hooker's great work. Dr. H. Moore's works were next studied, then Smith's *Select Discourses*, Plato and the Platonists, etc. His more secular studies comprehended Philosophy and Mathematics (exclusive of Algebra and Conic Sections), with authorities like Des Cartes and Gassendi.

The visit to England took place either in 1662 or 1663, and embraced London, Oxford, and Cambridge. There he met all the most famous scholars and theologians of the time — Fell, Pocock, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Pearson, Henry Moore, Baxter, Outram, Patrick, Thurscrosse, Thorndike, and many others. The respect with which he was received, and the regard shown him, are evidence of the remarkable attainments and promise of one so young. At Oxford he was much improved in his mathematics and philosophy by Dr. Wallis, “who likewise gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr. Boyle at London”. Mr. Boyle was Hon. Robert Boyle, “the father of modern chemistry,” the introduction to whom proved the beginning of a life-long friendship. From Boyle¹ he imbibed to some extent the taste for experimental Science, but it was his character that chiefly attracted Burnet. “He had the purity of an angel in him, he was modest and humble rather to a fault.” On his

¹ Boyle died in 1692, when Burnet, then Bishop of Salisbury, paid a worthy tribute to his greatness in his funeral sermon.

return to Scotland, after an absence of six months, Burnet was again urged to accept a benefice, this time a rich one in the west, but he again refused.

Meantime he had been making the acquaintance of many of the leading divines in Scotland. Through his mother's family he came to know the chief men among the Presbyterians, his talents and accomplishments claimed attention from his own party, and gained ready access to its leaders. He was not attracted by the writings of either side but like his father he was willing, indeed anxious, to be on friendly terms with all. He was ready to recognise the merits of Presbyterian opponents, and at the same time he was very critical of the faults of the Bishops and their episcopal followers. The "vertuous and generous persons" with whom he became intimate in England or in Scotland, and to whose influence his character owed much, included, in addition to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Nairn, Mr. Charteris, Mr. Drummond, Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Leighton, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Robert Fletcher, and others. These older friends, besides encouraging his studies in

theology, strove to set before him high ideals of life, and to repress faults of character to which he was by nature prone. Leighton's sublimity amazed him, and raised in him "a just sense of the great end of religion as a divine life in the soul that carried a man farre above forms or opinions". He was beyond all others the model after which Burnet shaped his policy and conduct throughout life. Mr. Charteris was a pattern of grave and solemn simplicity, free from vanity or self-conceit, and with no affectation: history, books of travel and mystical divinity were his favourite studies, and the influence of these tastes can again be traced in Burnet. Mr. Nairn, minister of the Abbey Church, Edinburgh, was a scholar and a saintly man. Burnet made him his pulpit model, for, as he says, "his preaching charmed me, ther was a beauty of expression, a trueth of reasoning and a noblenes of thought in it beyond anything I had formerly heard, so I resolved to make him my pattern". Sir Robert Moray, "the first former of the Royal Society" according to Burnet, and its first President, acted the part of faithful friend and admonished and chided

everything he saw amiss in his protégé. "I was very forward," says Burnet in his naïve unreserved way, "and was too apt to shew how much I knew of every thing so he gave me great lessons of humility and modesty." Sir Robert set before him a noble scheme of life as well as of studies; among the latter, Epictetus, and no doubt the other Stoics, were recommended. The Stoic creed had left its stamp upon Moray himself who had schooled himself to an equability of mind and temper that was proof against all external accidents: "things without him seemed to make no impressions on him": like the philosophers, too, he passed in review each night the experiences of the day as an act of devotion and an incentive to adoration. Mr. Drummond and he gave Burnet many a severe chiding; but the moroseness of the former, otherwise a man of generous disposition and sound judgment, rendered his censure somewhat unpalatable. Still all was accepted in the spirit in which it had been designed, and the discipline proved an invaluable blessing as an antidote to swelling pride and vanity. Burnet was in short now receiving the discipline which

he had missed through lack of school training and of opportunities of associating with his contemporaries during the years of adolescence. Moray rendered him a service of another kind by introducing him to the newly founded Royal Society of which on Moray's recommendation he was made a Fellow (March 26th, 1664).

It was on his return from London that Burnet made the acquaintance of Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, "a Gentleman of great vertue and very learned in the Mathematicks". Fletcher had while abroad met Burnet's father and received at his hands great kindness which he now endeavoured to repay to the son. Gilbert was invited to his house at Saltoun. It so happened that the minister of the church, Mr. Scougall, had been nominated Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Robert was on the look out for one to fill his place. As soon as he heard Burnet preach, he fixed on him as Mr. Scougall's successor. Burnet refused the appointment, ostensibly on the ground that he designed travelling for some months before settling down. He probably felt that he was still too young for such a responsible office. But even a stronger reason was his

desire that the vacancy should be filled by his friend Mr. Nairn. Sir Robert, however, would not listen to the suggestion of Mr. Nairn's name, nor would he take any refusal from Burnet. As some months were to elapse before Mr. Scougall's consecration as Bishop of Aberdeen, Burnet was in the meantime at liberty to carry out his project of travelling abroad. So in 1664 before the age of twenty-one he set out on this second journey, which must be regarded as of considerable importance in settling his convictions as well as in enlarging his horizon. His experience of foreign countries is of special interest in view of the opinions he has expressed on the subject in the postscript to the *Thoughts* (77-81). In discussing there the advisability of travel as an item in a complete course of education, he allows the possible advantage to a youth of a visit to the English court—if it be not too long—but roundly condemns travel beyond sea, and draws a lively picture of its hazards and disastrous effects. He seems, however, to regard the age of twenty-one as sufficiently mature to enable resistance to be successfully offered to the temptations that beset a young man's path in foreign

parts. Burnet himself had already, when hardly twenty, paid the visit to England already referred to; when only a little older he starts on a more ambitious tour abroad to Holland, Flanders and France. The record of his life contains no hint of dangers and snares such as in the *Thoughts* he anticipates for the ordinary young man. On the contrary, much is related of the benefits he received from it. For example, one direct outcome was the mastering of Hebrew, which he perfected with the assistance of a learned rabbi in Amsterdam. If that was more or less a fortunate accident, another and invaluable lesson was that, in the language of his son and biographer (*Life of the Author* appended to the *History*, vi., 677), "he likewise became acquainted with the leading men of the different denominations tolerated in that country (i.e. Holland); as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, and the Papists: amongst each of whom, he used frequently to declare, he had met with men of such real piety and virtue, that there he became fired in that strong principle of universal charity,

and of thinking well of those that differed from him, as likewise in an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of religious dissensions, which hath often drawn upon him the bitterest censures from those who, perhaps by a narrower education, were led into a narrower way of thinking". During his six weeks in Paris he studied as fully as opportunity permitted, the tenets and practices of the various sects. He could not get to know any of the Jansenists, but learned something of the Jesuits and did not at all like them: "but I admired," he adds, "the methods of their order and their way of training up youth, which has ever since run much in my mind". Strangely enough he makes no direct reference in the *Thoughts* to the Jesuit system of education at that time the more famous and influential in Europe. Burnet made a point of studying the French methods of preaching especially as exhibited by Mr. Morus, minister of Charenton, but a Scot by extraction, by the Jesuits, and by the secular clergy of Port Royal. From these models he derived some useful hints which he subsequently embodied in his own practice.

After an absence of seven months he returned to Scotland toward the end of 1664, and was immediately carried off by Fletcher to Saltoun. He was still, however, firm in his refusal to accept nomination to the Parish, and as a compromise it was agreed that he should preach to the congregation for a time before seriously entertaining the proposal to become their permanent minister. It was only after he had convinced himself by four months' experience, of his competency for the duties and of the desire of the people to have him that he finally consented to be installed in the charge. The event marks an epoch in his career and is the more important for us as it was in Saltoun that the composition of the *Thoughts* took place.

Fletcher proved himself a considerate patron, a kindred spirit and a true friend. He had taken up Burnet in the first instance for his father's sake, but he soon learned to esteem him for his own. His tastes inclined towards mathematics and philosophy, and by his advice Burnet had while in Holland taken particular note of all "engines and instruments they made use of". After the settlement at Saltoun they

pursued together the congenial subject of mathematics, but alas! for but a little space. The study was cut short by Fletcher's death within the year. While observing for many nights in company with Burnet a great comet which appeared in the winter 1664-1665, he contracted a chill, which speedily proved fatal. According to Burnet, Fletcher's two eldest sons, one of whom became the famous Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, "were then under a very exact education, and in the years most capable of it, so he [their father] intended that I should live in the house with him, and assist both himself in his own studies, and his sons' tutor in instructing them". Thus already at the age of twenty-one Burnet's mind was running much on education and cognate subjects. One can imagine a long letter, such as the *Thoughts* in reality is, being addressed to Fletcher himself regarding the upbringing of his sons, but of course the present treatise belongs to a later date when Fletcher had been some years dead; besides, the style of address proves that it was intended for some one else.

Burnet at the threshold of his professional

career exhibits many of the traits which were more fully revealed and became more pronounced in later years. He had been in large measure self-taught; his tastes were catholic and his attainments very extensive if not very profound. Congenital disposition, home training and experience, foreign travel and acquaintance with the world of letters and of religion conspired to confirm in him principles of large-hearted charity and toleration. In doctrine he was already the latitudinarian, in politics the avowed foe of persecution and the friend of tolerance and liberty. He was single-minded in his zeal to serve God as a minister in the Church, a resolve which continued the dominant note throughout life.

Burnet spent in all some five years in Saltoun up to his election to the Glasgow Chair, and it was toward the end of the period that he composed the *Thoughts on Education*. It may serve to illustrate more fully his attitude of mind and his bearing toward the serious concerns of life, religion in particular, if we glance at the plan he laid down for himself in the performance of his parochial duties during his first ministry. He

was not only preacher but teacher in his parish. He preached twice on the Sabbath and once during the week. Thrice a week he catechised his flock, and in the course of each year every parishioner, old or young, had been thrice examined as to the soundness of his faith and the adequacy of his knowledge. The minister "went round his parish, from house to house, instructing, reproofing, or comforting them, as occasion required; those that were sick, he visited twice a day; he administered the sacrament four times a year, and personally instructed all such as gave notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own necessary subsistence . . . he gave away in charity". Here, as in every office that he undertook, Burnet was a model of unreserved, self-sacrificing devotion to duty. Living contact with old and young, experience of the daily needs of human souls, sympathetic entrance into the weaknesses and ignorances of one's fellows—what better school could be attended by the man who undertakes to instruct a parent on the upbringing and training of his children? In his autobiography he tells us that with the exception of two families his

people were of humble condition, but his assiduous ministrations, especially in catechising, soon brought them all "to such a degree of knowledge that they answered me to the sense of the questions I asked without sticking to the words of any catechisme". He himself read the Bible with great application, committing great portions of it to memory and practising reproduction of them while riding or walking. In private he read the New Testament in Greek with the aid of dictionary and concordance, but without commentary as he wished to form an independent judgment of its meaning and purpose. His zeal and fidelity greatly endeared him to his parishioners so that despite certain ritual observances in worship of which he was guilty even the Presbyterians came to love him—"beyond expression," he says.

Meantime the ecclesiastical position was not a very happy one. It was a time when men ranged themselves on opposing sides, and every one had to take a side. Partisanship was averse to Burnet's nature. Besides he knew too much of both parties to be a zealous adherent of either one or other. By disposition and

training he gravitated toward a mean position, being a puritan prelate or a prelatical puritan. He was jealous of the good name of the sect he had espoused, and toward which his sympathies inclined him, and he was anxious that it should be purged from all abuses and occasions of offence.

Already in the winter of 1662-1663 his mind had been much exercised by the condition of religion and the contentions of the religious parties by which the country was at the time rent. He had written an unsigned letter to Archbishop Sharp, and had had an unsolicited interview with that dignitary by whom, after due admonition on his folly in meddling with matters which he did not understand, he had been dismissed under seal of confidence "with some civilities". Installed as minister of Saltoun he returned to the charge and drew up "a memorial of diverse grievances and abuses" in the Church which he boldly addressed to all the bishops of his acquaintance. This extraordinary document was submitted to a meeting of the bishops convened by Sharp who saw that he was the chief culprit aimed at, and the storm evoked came near to

ousting Burnet from the ministry altogether. The bishops felt that there was too much truth in the charges, but they were loathe to drive a man of such ability and promise into the arms of the opposite party or over to Rome itself. His youth was strongly urged on his behalf, and the result seems to have been a vote of censure, "a reprimand for my presumption," which Burnet at the time regarded as great severity. The failure of his well-meant but injudicious effort had the effect of throwing him back upon himself. He retired from company and pursued an ascetic course of life which brought him to death's door. He abandoned, as he fancied, the vain design of becoming a distinguished scholar, began to read books for entertainment, then turned to mystical divinity, and altogether made himself as unhappy as an able and ambitious young man is likely to do when he finds himself brought up against a stone wall. "I grew to dispise the world," he says, "and had so litle need of wealth that I contemned it. I loved solitude and silence and so I avoided many tentations, but I was out of measure conceited of my selfe, vain and

desirous of fame beyond expression." But all this did not involve any neglect of his duties as a minister. He laboured assiduously and faithfully, and the active calls of duty must have been the salvation of one so morbidly sensitive to the ill success of his schemes of moral and ecclesiastical reform.

Such was Burnet and such had been his life up to the date of the composition of the *Thoughts*. He was, as we know, but as he did not know, only at the outset of his career. He was still young, in many respects very young, and he was in too great a hurry to reform the world. His natural abilities were exceptional, and no opportunity had been lost of improving them. His temperament was ardent and sanguine, and his zeal was animated by a great heart of love. The spirit which in his uncle Warriston forced all opponents into mechanical conformity was in Burnet the mind of Christian charity which includes all in a comprehensive union where each may retain his individual preferences while all work toward a common end. He was learned and eloquent and had carefully studied the means whereby natural powers may be turned

to best account of service and of influence. His personal gifts gained ready access to all circles of society. Whatever faults he may have afterwards exhibited or developed in the sphere of politics, his present failings were chiefly those of youth. Over all his failings and over all his accomplishments the characteristic that reveals itself most prominently both in earlier and in later life is his unswerving loyalty to the Divine master, his sense of vocation in being called to be a preacher of righteousness, the moral force and rectitude no less conspicuous in the court of Charles II. than in the quiet homes of Saltoun. It is on grounds such as these that his reflections on education possess a value yet. What a man of Burnet's character and ability thinks he has sufficient grounds for considering the best preparation for a moral and useful life, can never be wholly out of date.

The remaining events of the author's life, though they constitute the bulk of its interest, must be dismissed much more briefly. They are a part of the history of his own time—the era of persecution and killing in Scotland, of cor-

ruption, decadence, rebellion and finally revolution in England, later of legislative union between Scotland and England and of the beginning of our modern political era.

Burnet had, through Sir Robert Moray, been, on one occasion, introduced to the Duchess of Hamilton, and while staying at Hamilton he made the acquaintance of the Rector of the University of Glasgow. The latter was so much struck by his attainments and conversation that he forthwith prevailed upon his colleagues to offer him the chair of divinity at that time vacant.

Burnet may well have been glad to escape from a position by no means so comfortable as when he entered on it. He was attracted by the prospect of obtaining a sphere of higher and more extended service, together with greater liberty, and though the lamentations of the good people of Saltoun made parting hard, the authority of Archbishop Leighton, who added his solicitations to those of the Rector, clinched the matter. The appointment was accepted, and in 1669 Burnet removed to Glasgow.

During his stay there of four and a half years he had still to exercise great patience, for "the

presbyterian zealots hated him, as apprehending that his schemes of moderation would in the end prove the sure way of establishing episcopacy amongst them : the episcopal party, on the other hand, could not endure a man who was for exempting the dissenters from their prosecutions".¹

His acquaintance with the Hamilton family had two important results. In the first place, he was induced to undertake to write the memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, in connection with which he went to Court, became known to the King and the Duke of York, and made the acquaintance, among others, of the Earl of Lauderdale. Secondly, a friend of the Duchess of Hamilton, Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, and the young professor, had been brought into relations of intimacy, and lived "in great friendship" for some time ; despite the disparity of age—he was twenty-eight, she forty-six—and rank, friendship ripened into marriage soon after Burnet's return from Court in 1672. The marriage was by "an

¹Reference is made under "Burnet's Educational Activities" to the course of study and method of teaching adopted by him as professor.

inexcusable piece of folly" kept secret for two years. When Lauderdale came down to Scotland to hold a Parliament, Burnet was in high favour, and was offered a bishopric, which, however, he declined. Subsequently he became involved in the disputes between Hamilton and Lauderdale, was blamed by the latter for the miscarriage of his plans, and by 1674 had got so mixed up with politics that he found himself forced to resign his professorship in Glasgow unless he cared to risk being "clapped up in prison".

This is the turning point in Burnet's career. He cast himself "on the Providence of God," which directed him furth of Scotland never to return. At this juncture he became known to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, a staunch old Puritan, by whom he was appointed Preacher at the Rolls, an office in which he remained for almost ten years. The lectureship at St. Clement's Danes was soon afterwards added: but as neither charge involved a cure of souls, Burnet was at liberty to devote all his strength to his preaching. In this capacity he soon made himself famous, drew crowds to hear

him, and had reason to believe that by his ministry many "arrived at a better sense of things, and a change of life". His residence in London brought him into contact with all the leading men of the time, and his impressions are recorded in the characters he has drawn of so many of them in his History. His relations with the King and the Duke of York are of special interest for the light they throw on his fearless discharge of duty and assertion of moral uprightness and purity. Already on one of his earlier visits he had expostulated with Charles on his course of life, but had been put off with the reply that "God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure". At the same time the Duke also allowed Burnet to speak to him of the irregularities of his life, and to some extent admitted the charges, but thought a man might not be so very bad, although not a saint. In 1679-1680 Burnet renewed his expostulation with Charles in a long letter, the like of which surely never subject addressed to sovereign. With a manifest sincerity and a solicitude that is almost affectionate he pleads with the King to repent and reform, to remove all "the occasions of sin,

chiefly the women," to abandon the ill example that has drawn so many others into sin—openly and not ashamed—to turn to God Whom he has offended and Whose judgments rest upon the land, and to contemplate that great tribunal before which even kings must some day appear where there will be no regard to the earthly crown, which will be but an aggravation of iniquity, since one in so eminent a position has so dishonoured God. This letter, as Burnet's son justly remarks in his *Life of the Author*, where it was for the first time published, "conveys . . . a much stronger idea of the author's character, than any description can give". To his own account of the incident Burnet adds the naïve remark, "I sought for no preferment". The devotion to duty is tinged with a certain simplicity and even lack of imagination.

He was always rather deficient in the sense of humour and in perception, not to say sense of proportion. He became so intent on what he regarded as a mission that for the moment he forgot all else. If he seems too self-centred, too little detached, it must also be borne in mind that he risked favour and even safety in

devotion to what he regarded as a divine call to testify for righteousness. It is this moral courage that is the redeeming feature of his life all through. And as Canon Hutton remarks (*Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, viii., 299), "His interest lay in personal religion more than in theology". Charles, though he burned the letter after twice perusing it, does not seem to have cherished any implacable resentment, though he spoke of its author "with great sharpness". He had previous to this made Burnet the offer of a bishopric, on certain conditions, which Burnet declined.

Meanwhile Burnet's pen had been busy. He composed his *History of the Reformation*, the first volume of which appeared in 1679 and the second a year or two later.¹ For this work and a sermon on the political situation preached about the same time he received a vote of thanks from the House of Commons. The University of Oxford also took notice of him by conferring upon him the degree

¹A third volume was added toward the end of the author's life (1713).

of D.D. The time was one of alarms of popish plots and general apprehension of what was to happen when Charles died and the throne fell vacant. The fear of "papistrie" which haunted many good men during these ages, and which called forth these efforts of Burnet's, throws light on the sentiments expressed in the concluding portion of the *Thoughts*.

Another of Burnet's works about this time was *Some passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester*. Rochester was, or seemed to be, a brand plucked from the burning through Burnet's labours, first his *History of the Reformation* and then his private ministrations. His life had been that of a libertine; his last days gave evidence of sincere repentance. The shadow of coming events fell darkly upon others of Burnet's friends. The Rye House plot involved in condemnation and death Lord William Russell, one of the leading Whig politicians, with whom Burnet had been closely associated. He was condemned to death and Burnet was called in to minister to him while he lay in prison awaiting execution. This he did with great fidelity and assiduity despite the suspicion and

dangers it was likely to entail and did in fact entail. By a somewhat curious coincidence he had been called to perform a similar service for his uncle Warriston whom he had attended to the scaffold twenty years before (1663). As a consequence of his conduct in the Russell affair Burnet was discharged from his lectureship at St. Clement's Danes. On his return from a short visit to France where he was received with extraordinary favour, he was by order of the King dismissed also from the Rolls Chapel. His last sermon there was on November 16th, 1684. Sir Harbottle Grimston did not long survive, so that in any case Burnet's employment would soon have ceased. To this period (1683) is to be assigned the beginning of the Memoirs or Secret History which afterwards became *The History of my Own Time*. A further solace of the author's leisure hours was the study of Chemistry, for which he built a laboratory. It helped him in his "Philosophicall notions, was a pleasant amusement . . . and furnished . . . a good excuse for staying much at home".

Another crisis was approaching. The King

died in 1685, and his brother James succeeded to the throne. Burnet, who was now unattached, took advantage of the occasion to desire permission to leave England. This being granted, he started at once. Before reaching Paris, his first destination, he lost his wife who for more than a year had been suffering from mental debility. He travelled successively through France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany, writing home his experiences in a series of Letters addressed to his friend Mr. Boyle and published in 1687. He settled in Holland in 1686, first at Utrecht and then at the Hague, where he received a warm welcome from the Prince and Princess of Orange. James was so incensed by the favour shown to him as well as by the publication of his Letters that he insisted on his dismissal from the Dutch Court. This failing, a prosecution for high treason was instituted against him, and finally a design, it was said, was formed to kidnap him or compass his death. But he was in too secure asylum, and the friendship of the Princess Mary who took him into her complete confidence as well as of the Prince himself continued a safeguard from danger.

May, 1687, witnessed an event of much importance in his life, to wit his re-marriage. His second wife was Mary Scott, a Dutch lady of Scotch extraction, noble, accomplished, sweet-tempered, religious—and rich. By her he had a family of five boys and two girls (twins). Two of the boys died in early life. Their mother after a married life of eleven years was carried off by small-pox at Rotterdam while she was on a visit there to settle some matters relating to her estate (1698).

Burnet's share in the Revolution is part of English History. His services marked him out for promotion, and he was at once offered the vacant See of Salisbury. Just as in the case of Saltoun, he solicited that it should be bestowed upon a friend, Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph. The King said "he had another person in view". Burnet was forced to accept, and on Easter Day, 1689, was consecrated to his sacred office. He was sworn Chancellor of the Garter, and a few days later preached William and Mary's Coronation Sermon. On April 3rd he took his seat in the House of Lords. To the duties of his See, he devoted

himself with the utmost energy and enthusiasm, at the same time taking an active share in the discussion of all those great constitutional and religious questions that were agitating the country and the Houses of Parliament. From this time onward the activity of the minister of religion is a good deal blended with that of the party politician, with consequences to reputation which have made Burnet's character more or less matter of debate still.

In 1698 he was appointed tutor to the Duke of Gloucester, the Princess Anne's surviving child, heir presumptive to the throne, then aged eight. The incidents connected with this and with the educational side of his duties at Salisbury are dealt with below.

Among his literary productions at the time were various discourses against Infidelity, Popery, Socinianism and the like. At the suggestion of the Queen and Tillotson these were followed up by *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, which ranks with the most important of his works, but which was not published for several years (1699). Before this Tillotson had died (1694). In the end of 1694 Mary too contracted

malignant small-pox which proved fatal. She was attended on her death-bed by Burnet, her devoted adherent and champion. "I never," he says, "admired any person so entirely as I did her." He has expressed his admiration in *An Essay on the Late Queen*, "a fine rhapsody," as Miss Foxcroft calls it. In 1702 William died. Burnet along with Tenison was with him to the last. Burnet, too, it was that carried the news of the King's decease to the Princess Anne, before whom he shortly after preached the first sermon addressed to the Queen.

Meantime he had married for the third time. On this occasion his choice fell upon a Mrs. Berkeley (formerly Miss Blake), a religious woman, who had already been designated as the step-mother of her orphaned children by the second Mrs. Burnet when she seemed to have a premonition of her approaching end. The marriage proved, as the two previous ones had done, a happy one. The fruit of it was two daughters, but they died in infancy. Mrs. Burnet's affection was diverted to the step-children who owed much to her attention and

care. She, too, predeceased her husband, dying in the winter of 1708-1709. Political rancour fastened on Burnet's marriages as on so many other circumstances of his life in order to bring him into disrepute. A rumour was spread that within a fortnight of his third wife's death he had contracted a fourth marriage: it was utterly groundless. No doubt there is much truth in the remark that his first wife was distinguished for her birth and beauty, the second for her wealth, the third for her piety, but it is impossible to prove, and it would be uncharitable to assume, that these were the husband's sole or chief motives for marriage in any of the cases—or even if they were, that, situated as he was, he was wholly in the wrong.

The reign of Queen Anne is associated with the closing scenes of Burnet's life. During much of it he was, as a leading Whig, involved in all the miserable strife of Whig and Tory, and could hardly escape the adhesion of some of the mud that was then, as now, so plentifully, and often skilfully, flung by both sides. The virulence of Swift, the satire of Dryden and Parnell, with the spleen

of many lesser men, all belong to the closing period of Burnet's career. "For five or six years before his death, our author grew more abstracted from the world. . . . His time, the only treasure of which he seemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner;" and so he wore on toward the end. But his usefulness was not finished, for to this period belongs one of the most excellent and enduring of all his services to religion. The Queen on her thirty-ninth birthday (Feb. 6, 1704) "sent a message to the house of commons, signifying her purpose, to apply that branch of the revenue that was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths, payed by the clergy, to the increase of all the small benefices in the nation". The amount was at the time £16,000, and has since largely increased. The question of the recovery of the church's patrimony was no new one to Burnet; it had attracted his attention when writing the history of the Reformation, and he had brought it under the notice first of Mary and then of William, but it was not till the following reign that the scheme for its restoration attained fulfilment. "Queen Anne's Bounty," as the fund

is now called, owed its inception to the benevolent bishop, as the no less benevolent Queen herself publicly acknowledged. The education of his children had during these years occupied much of the bishop's thoughts, sharing them with the interests of his diocese and public affairs. If it is true that men in general become more avaricious in their old age, he must have been a conspicuous exception, for, as he grew older, his charities became even more lavish. His usual allowance for the purpose was £500 per annum, which he often exceeded, and for two successive years, more than doubled. "No object of Christian compassion," his son assures us, "ever came within his knowledge without receiving a proportionable relief."

Burnet outlived Queen Anne, and saw the accession of the House of Hanover. He preached before the new King ten days after his coronation. Fortunately he did not survive to witness the rising in Scotland which made 1715 a year of sad memory. In March of that year he contracted a severe cold which later turned to pleuritic fever. His case was found desperate, and he prepared for death with a

calmness and resolution worthy of his life. He preserved his senses to the last, continued in acts of devotion and in advice to his family, "of whom he took leave in a manner that shewed the utmost tenderness, accompanied with the firmest constancy of mind". He was so little sensible of the terrors of death that he embraced it with joy, for after a stormy and anxious life he at last entered into rest and peace (March 17th, 1715).

His character has been very variously represented and it is no part of the object of this sketch to attempt to appraise it. His busy and strenuous life during a troubled political and ecclesiastical period brought him into contact with men of all ranks and all shades of opinion. He made many friends and even more enemies, and who shall determine which of them bear the truer testimony of him? He was beyond doubt a man of many gifts, his services were great, his virtues many, his faults not a few. But when the worst has been said, his faults are found to be in large measure superficial—weaknesses would better describe them—his virtues were fundamental and solid. His Latin epitaph,

inter permulta alia, records that he departed this life full of years and of happiness. The outstanding impression made by an unbiassed study of his career and works is that *he was a good man.*

BURNET'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

IN the preceding sketch emphasis has been laid on the portion of Burnet's life which led up to and prepared the way for the production of the *Thoughts*. Other scenes have been but cursorily glanced at, and again chiefly in their bearing on the author's character and opinions regarding, or cognate to, education. His other educational activities have been reserved for separate mention, as it has seemed more useful to present them in a connected form.

The evidence of Burnet's educational interest to be drawn from periods subsequent to 1668 is, so far as relates to the *Thoughts, ex post facto*, and at best not more than indirectly illustrative. But it is not wholly irrelevant; besides, his later views on education and efforts to promote it may be held to possess some intrinsic value and an independent title to be put on record. They may be arranged roughly under the following

five heads: (*a*) Glasgow professorship; (*b*) College for Clergy at Salisbury; (*c*) Tutorship of the Duke of Gloucester; (*d*) Education of his own family; (*e*) Scattered references and in particular the conclusion of the *History*. A word or two may be said on each, but none of them except the last need long detain us.

(*a*) During his four and a half years as professor of divinity in Glasgow education was his *métier*, he is educator even more than educationist. In his professorship in the West he carried out the same general principles as he had already laid down for himself in his parochial ministry in the East. Thoroughness and the unstinted industry and toil necessary to ensure it are its leading characteristics. The scheme of instruction he laid down, if anything, erred by excess, for it "seemed to require the labour of four or five, instead of one man". Each day of the week had its special task assigned, each portion of the day its round of duties. On Monday there was a thesis in Latin by a student with criticism by fellow students and by the professor, on Tuesday a professorial prelection also in Latin, on Wednesday a lecture by way of commentary on the

Gospel of Matthew, on Thursday the exposition of a Hebrew psalm alternately with the constitution and ritual of the primitive church, on Friday a sermon by a student with criticism and model sermon by the professor. Each evening after prayers he gave a short discourse on some portion of Scripture and while testing the progress of the students encouraged them to make known to him their difficulties. His private studies, which were very necessary if he was to acquit himself with credit and to satisfy his own sense of duty, were assigned to the early morning hours, 4-10 a.m. And all this besides the complaints of his clerical brethren to which he had to listen and which he was supposed to transmit to the Government authorities with whom he had at the time some influence. Burnet had a sort of genius or at least instinct for knowledge, he was never so happy as in acquiring or imparting it: he was a born instructor, "Gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche". His claim will be readily conceded that "I applied my selfe for 8 moneths in a year to answer the ends of a professor with the diligence of a schoolmaster" (*Supplement*, 478).

The resignation of his chair was brought about through political trouble and particularly by his quarrel with Lauderdale whose rule in Scotland was then at its zenith.

(*b*) A long gap intervenes between the professorship at Glasgow and the bishopric at Salisbury; fifteen years have elapsed from his demission of the Glasgow chair to 1689, when he was consecrated to the bishopric, and entered the sphere in connection with which he is best known to posterity. On his elevation to the See of Salisbury, Burnet, with characteristic thoroughness, surveyed the whole field of his varied duties and laid down the principles on which he was to endeavour to fulfil them. One of his earliest observations, and the only one which concerns us here, was the deficiency of education of the clerical candidates who presented themselves to him for ordination. He rightly believed that "the ill education of the clergy" was the greatest prejudice under which the church laboured or could labour. The beginning of all reform was to be laid in amendment in this respect. His plan was that he himself should perform the task which the universities professed

but failed to discharge:¹ he would establish an episcopal school of divinity under his own immediate supervision, and thence recruit with properly qualified ministers the vacancies occurring from time to time in the diocese. The experiment was so interesting in itself, and the methods and result so instructive, that the main features of the scheme may be reproduced in its author's own words (*Supplement* 500, 1): "That on which my heart was most set was that which raised such hatred against me especially at Oxford, and answered my expectation so litle that after I had kept it up 5 year at the rate of 300 lib. a year I saw it was expedient to let it fall. I thought the greatest prejudice the Church was under was from the ill education of the Clergy. In the Universities they for most part lost the learning they brought with them from schools, and learned so very litle in them that too commonly they came from them lesse knowing than when they went to them, especially the servitors,² who if they had not a

¹ Cf. *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, ix., c. xv.

² This was the term applied to students who in return for certain services of a more or less menial character received

very good capacity and were very well disposed of themselves were generally neglected by their Tutors. They likewise learned the airs of vanity and insolence at the Universities so that I resolved to have a nursery at Salisbury of students in Divinity who should follow their studies and devotions till I could provide them. I allowed them 30 lib. a piece, and during my stay at Salisbury I ordered them to come to me once a day and then I answered such difficulties as occurred to them in their studies, and entertained them with some discourses either on the Speculative or Practicall part of Divinity or some branch of the Pastorall care. This lasted an hour, and thus I hoped to have formed some to have served to good purpose in the Church; some of these have answered my expectation to the full and continue still labouring in the Gospell. But they were not all equally well chosen; this was considered as a present settlement that drew a better one after it, so I was prevailed on by importu[n]ity to receive some assistance toward their education from college foundations. The analogous term at Cambridge and also at Trinity College, Dublin, was sizar.

who did not answer expectation. Those at Oxford looked on this as a public affront to them and to their way of education, so that they railed at me not only in secret but in their Acts unmercifully for it." At Salisbury circumstances, as on many former occasions, proved too strong; the attempt at reform, though it ended in failure, reveals the deep-seated zeal for education which underlay it. Education, it may be noted, was designed by Burnet to be in the main instrumental, as all true education must be, a means toward consecrated service, whether in the church or in the world.

(c) In July, 1698, Burnet after considerable hesitation and attempted excuses accepted the tutorship of the presumptive heir to the throne, the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, the only survivor of seventeen that she had borne. The bishop had some intimations that he was not a *persona grata* with the princess; he was anxious at the time about the health of his wife, whose death within a short time more than justified his anxiety; but eventually on the insistence of the King [William III.] he consented to become preceptor

to the prince, his governor being Lord Marlborough.¹ The King's preference for Burnet seems to have been a personal one, though a bishop of Salisbury had half a century earlier supervised at least the religious side of a prince's education, Brian Duppa having been assigned that duty by Charles I. in 1645 with respect to the boy who was subsequently Charles II. [cf. Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, ix., 74, 96]. Burnet held the office for almost exactly two years, that is until the prince's death in the end of July, 1700. Of the zeal and fidelity with which his duties in this capacity were discharged there cannot be the slightest doubt. The prince made amazing progress, but there is some reason to believe that the progress was too dearly bought, that in fact the child's precocity was a warning which ought to have suggested moderation of the pace of learning, and attention rather to physical than to mental development and well-being. The relation of body and mind was not then so well understood as it is now, and Burnet shared the ignorance

¹ The distinction of offices is to be noted. Its significance appears from a perusal of the *Thoughts*.

of his time in paying exclusive heed to advance in studies irrespective of the effects being produced in other directions. His course of study as we read it in the pages of the *History* was strong diet, more than sufficient to tax the assimilative capacity of the ablest and most robust pupil. First there came the Psalms, Proverbs and Gospels together with copious explanations. The prince, according to his tutor, had an understanding of religious matters that was "beyond imagination". He showed capacity in many other ways, by putting surprising questions and making acute reflections. On the secular side, geography occupied a prominent position: then constitutional and economic history—forms of government, trade, etc.—Greek and Roman history, Plutarch's lives, "the Gothic constitution, and the beneficiary and feudal laws". Three hours a day of this proved "easy and delighting" to the royal pupil. A letter from Burnet to a Dutch correspondent, the theologian van Limborch with whom he had made acquaintance at the Hague thirty years previously, cited by Miss Foxcroft in the *Life* (354, 355) gives further details of the method of instruction. The following sheds light on

Burnet's views and procedure: "I shall take particular care to place ever before him the best examples. I make Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* my text-book, and have already twice read that book through with him. I shall also endeavour to make the names of Alexander, falsely styled the Great, and of Julius Cæsar, ever odious in his eyes. Their [example] even from the cradle infects nearly all princes with distorted principles. I set ever before him the incompatibility of true piety with superstition and cruelty." The relations of tutor and pupil seem to have been very friendly as, barring malign external influences, they could scarcely have failed to be: the latter in acknowledgment of a "kind letter" from his tutor subscribes himself "your most affectionate friend" (*Life*, 355). An anecdote, it is true, is preserved to the effect that the little duke explained on one occasion to a play-mate his civility toward his tutor, whom he actually disliked, by the remark, "Do you think I have been so long a pupil of Dr. Burnet's without learning to be a hypocrite" (*ibid.*). But the story must be apocryphal: it contains the malice of maturity, at least a reflection of some ill-dis-

posed member of the prince's *entourage*, and is not the naïve expression of a child of ten or eleven: "so long" is also out of place, though no doubt a child's ideas of space and time are very different from a man's. Burnet's "results" were tested once a quarter by five of the King's chief ministers, who professed themselves more than satisfied, "amazed both at his knowledge and the good understanding that appeared in him: he had a wonderful memory, and a very good judgment" (*Hist.* iv., 246). All the promise was cut short by a fever supervening upon the indulgences of a birthday (July 24th, 1700), and so Burnet's tutorship came to an end.

(d) Every parent is potentially a tutor and usually a governor. Burnet, as we have seen, had children both by his second and third marriages, but only the former survived. It seems in fact to have been in great part desire to have a mother to his children, now five in number, the eldest but ten years of age, that induced him to contract his third marriage. The autobiography (*Supplement*, 510-512) describes at length the methods pursued in the education of his three sons, William, Gilbert, Thomas, the last of whom

has in the *Life of the Author* appended to the *History* given but a weak decoction of his father's narrative with little of the flavour of the original. As has already appeared, Burnet's early experience inclined him in the treatment of his children to what even his biographer, the subject of it, regarded as "too much indulgence": his family were to have a better time of it than their father had had. Up to a certain point the method answered, or seemed to answer, well enough and its author was able to thank God that hitherto he had been very successful in it. He planned a noble education for his children, supervising and directing it, and in the matter of religion himself conducting it. At the age of seven the boys were entered into Latin, each under a separate tutor with an allowance of £30 per annum. Their religious instruction of half-an-hour each morning under their father embraced the Scriptures, the Old Testament being gone through once and the New Testament three times, with a commentary designed to interest as well as instruct. Morals were carefully safeguarded and the boys were kept at home despite the disadvantages of want of emu-

lation and the strict discipline which school would have afforded. The time spent on studies was in all five hours per day, and yet the boys "in halfe the time that they must have staid at a school learned at least 4 times as much as they would have done at one;" and they had full time for all kinds of boyish recreations and diversions. "In lesse than 4 years time they went through both Latine and Greek [:] beside the Accidence and Grammar much shortned they went thro Corderius, most of Erasmus's Colloquies, Justin, Phedrus, Corn. Nepos, Terence, Cesar, Salustius and a great part of Livy, all Virgill's Eneids, with many of his Ecclogues, Ovid's Epistles and a great part of his Metamorphosis, many of Horace's Odes and Satires, some of Juvenall's Satires and manny of Buchanan's Psalmes, and to form them to a good stile of Latin as they read Cesar twice over so they translated some parts of him into English, and about a week after they turned it back into Latine, and then compared their performance with Cesar. In Greek besides the Grammar they went thro the Gospells and Acts, some parts of Isocrates and some of

Lucian's Dialogues, and then Homer's Iliad twice over. Thus they went thro the learning of the Languages with great exactness (*l.c.*)."¹

The eldest son, William, godson of William and Mary, was sent as a gentleman commoner to Trinity College, Cambridge, the two younger as commoners to Merton College, Oxford, where they had every advantage of private as well as college tutorship. William was but thirteen when he entered the university : he was removed after two years, without taking a degree, but studied subsequently under a mathematician, Mr. Craig, and made some progress in Mathematics and Philosophy.² Gilbert and Thomas remained at Oxford three years, returning from the place, according to their father, without

¹ This passage when compared with the remarks in the *Thoughts* on the same subject shows that the author's ideas whether on the matter or the manner of education had undergone little modification during thirty or forty years, indeed during the period education was nowhere very progressive. A comparison of the catalogue of works studied with similar lists elsewhere is historically instructive.

² See *Life*, 427, 428. The Cambridge experiment was not a success. The bishop showed little of his wonted indulgence on this occasion.

any of the taints too commonly contracted under such circumstances. Gilbert alone seems to have taken his degree. Foreign travel for three years, in Leyden, Geneva, Italy as far as Rome, and Germany, gave the three youths opportunity of mingling in the best society and learning what was to be learned abroad. At the time of their return early in 1710 the eldest cannot have been much over twenty, while the youngest was barely sixteen. Their father, despite the views expressed in the *Thoughts* on the topic of travel, and the age at which it might be undertaken with safety, was perfectly satisfied with the progress and innocence of his sons on their return, and did not find that the labour and expense bestowed upon them had in this or in any other respect been misapplied. The sons were themselves to record the sequel. The result must be read in the history of their career: if it does not quite confirm the fond parent's sentiments he is perhaps hardly to blame. He seems to have done all that a wise and considerate father could do. After all, it is difficult to determine to what extent formal education is responsible for that complex and inscrutable outcome, a human life.

(e) At various points in Burnet's writings, and on various occasions during his life, the educational interest emerges almost unconsciously. Among his diocesan activities was the support of charity schools, "one of which for fifty children, at Salisbury, was wholly maintained by him" (*Life of the Author*, vi., 723; cf. *Life*, 295, 296).

He early became a member¹ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.² Among his

¹ Miss Foxcroft (*Life*, 377) remarks that the double aim of the Society—religious instruction of the English masses and propagation of religion in the Colonies (Plantations)—"appealed strongly to Burnet, who had always displayed the educational energy even then distinctive of the Scot".

² Professor Adamson (*op. cit.*, 407, 408) says one of the immediate objects of the Society was the foundation of schools for poor children (7-12) in reading, writing, and the Catechism; "all boys and some girls were to be taught to cipher, and all girls were to learn sewing, or some other handicraft". These schools, which obtained a large measure of support during the reigns of Anne and George I., "played a part in our educational history which makes them memorable. They familiarised men with the idea of a system of popular schools centrally directed, yet very closely associated with the several localities in which the schools were placed; they founded the tradition that the 'three R's' are the primary ground of all school work, and they

benefactions to his old parish of Saltoun, education occupies a prominent place : in the language of the present incumbent (*Life*, 79) : "The minister's library, the schoolmaster's salary, the poor of the parish, and the children of the public school, are still benefited by the Bequest which bears [his] name". The share which the University of Aberdeen obtained in the bequest has already been referred to.

But the fullest and most reasoned statement of his mature reflections on the subject of education is to be found in his criticism of its defects in the Conclusion of the History (vi., 647-655). The passages are very instructive in their illustration of the *Thoughts*.

For the purpose of his review of the situation he discusses the subject under three heads, roughly dividing the people into commonalty, gentry, and nobility.

The first were at this time regarded as outwith the pale of the School : the days of equality of opportunity, not to say of compulsory education, were not yet. The body of the people were in first represented that voluntary system to which English popular education owes much."

Burnet's view the happiest in the world, living "the easiest and the most plentifully;" they were sagacious and skilful in the management of all their concerns, but withal grossly ignorant in matters of religion, apparently the only branch of knowledge in which they ought to have been instructed. The clergy are informed of the means to be adopted in preaching, prayer, and visitation so as to reach the heart and conscience of their flocks: the only direct instruction is to be through the Catechism, which is not merely to be learned by rote, but elucidated and fortified by appropriate scriptural proofs: "the doing this constantly would infuse into the next age a higher measure of knowledge than the present is like to be blessed with".

The gentry are next dealt with: they are the worst instructed, and the most deficient in knowledge of their rank in western Europe. The author's bilateral experience enables him to point a contrast of much interest in relation to our present enquiry:—

"The Scotch, though less able to bear the expense of a learned education, are much more knowing: the reason of which is this; the

Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, send private tutors with their children, both to schools and colleges; these look after the young gentlemen mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: they generally go abroad a year or two, and see the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well. Whereas a gentleman here [i.e. in England] is often both ill-taught and ill-bred: this makes him haughty and insolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: so that, after they have forgot their Catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge but what they learn in plays and romances." The university in many cases does not teach them tolerance in religion or sound patriotism, with the result that they become a constant menace to the liberties of their country. Solid knowledge, sound religion, love of country, zeal for liberty, hatred of tyranny—these are the desiderata: but how are they to be supplied? "Plutarch's Lives," says Burnet, "with the Greek and Roman history, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all history, more particularly that of our own nation;

which they should not read in abridgements, but in the fullest and most copious collectors of it, that they may see to the bottom what is our constitution, and what are our laws. . . . A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it ; who practises the true rules of virtue without affectation and moroseness ; who knows enough of law to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice ; who keeps meetings for his county, and restrains vice and disorder at them ; who lives hospitably, frugally, and charitably ; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships God both in his family and at church ; who educates his children well, who treats his servants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants, and all others with whom he has any concerns ; such a man shines, and is a public blessing to all that see him or come near him. . . . If a man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is so turned, that every sort of study or reading is a burden, then he ought to try if he has a genius to any mechanism that may be an entertainment to him : the managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a useful amusement.”

And so it is with any employment, which will fill up the time, usefully it may be, at any rate, innocently, and thus serve as antidote to vice and sin.

The prevalent "errors in education" seem to be suggested by the train of thought into which he has fallen, and he thus pursues the theme:—

"I have often thought it a great error, to waste young gentlemen's years so long in learning Latin, by so tedious a grammar; I know those who are bred to the professions in literature must have Latin correctly; and for that, the rules of grammar are necessary: but these are not at all requisite to those who need only so much Latin as thoroughly to understand and delight in the Roman authors and poets. But suppose a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable aversion to Latin, his education is not for that to be despaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the English and French languages; geography, history, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematics, (if he has not

a genius for the demonstrative,) may make a gentleman very knowing, though he has not a word of Latin; there is a fineness of thought, and a nobleness of expression indeed in the Latin authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life, if he once understands and reads them with delight: but if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the education of an ill Latin scholar is to be given over. A competent measure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation for distinguishing a gentleman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious person: those who think they are there only to pass away so many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, though it is not much practised, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much business, to come and pass away a long vacation or two with a gentleman, to carry him through such an introduction to the study of the law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to prosecute his study in it. A

competent skill in this makes a man very useful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him : it will enable him to be a good justice of peace, and to settle matters by arbitration, so as to prevent lawsuits ; and, which ought to be the top of an English gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament man : to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the public : the parliament is the fountain of law, and the fence of liberty ; and no sort of instruction is so necessary for a gentleman, as that which will qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation."

After further reference to social evils and particularly to the stage as a corrupter of morals he concludes that "upon the whole matter, sloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief sources of all our vice and disorders.

"The ill methods of schools and colleges give the chief rise to the irregularities of the gentry ;

as the breeding young women to vanity, dressing, and a false appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due measure of knowledge and a serious sense of religion, is the source of the corruption of that sex: something like monasteries without vows would be a glorious design, and might be so set on foot, as to be the honour of a queen on the throne."

The nobility, the third and mightiest of the classes, have a corresponding responsibility and ought to be more eminent than their fellows in knowledge and virtue. Their position too in the judicature and in the House of Lords imposes an obligation to acquaint themselves with the rules and principles of law. Their education demands more special and peculiar care, the agents being in each family those described in the *Thoughts*, governor and instructor or preceptor.

"Every person of a high rank, whose estate can bear it, ought to have two persons to manage his education; the one, a governor to form his mind, to give him true notions, to represent religion and virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of geography, not barely describing the maps, but adding to it the natural

history of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the history of the world, and of the various revolutions that have happened in it. Such a view will open a young person's mind: it must be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient government in Greece, but much more that of Rome, must be minutely delivered, that the difference between a just and a vicious government may be well apprehended. The fall of the Roman greatness under the emperors, by reason of the absolute power that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to be fully opened: then the Gothic government and the feudal law should be clearly explained, to open the original of our own constitution. In all this, the chief care of a wise and good former of youth ought to be, to possess a young mind with noble principles of justice, liberty, and virtue, as the true basis of government; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, faction and luxury, from which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

“To this governor (qualified for all this, to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a master for languages and other things, in which this young lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A simplicity of style, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the sudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to see parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expense in other things, yet be so frugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it to which he is born: and they owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal education, as may fit them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further strength

and addition to their family. I have been amazed to see how profuse some are in procuring good dancing, fencing, and riding-masters for their children, and setting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their country. I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be proposed for bettering the next age: it ought to be one of the chief cares of all governments, though there is nothing more universally neglected. How do some of our peers shine, merely by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great estates!"

These reflections at the end of the author's life are little more than an expansion and application of the sentiments of the *Thoughts* composed forty years before. They serve to show the author's abiding interest in education, the conviction of its necessity and the belief in its efficacy. Consideration of the scattered notices taken in conjunction with the more

methodical exposition shows constant return upon the same ideas and the same measures. A conspectus of Burnet's life as educator and educationist may be presented thus :—

Tutor to Fletcher's sons	1665 +
<i>Thoughts on Education</i>	1668
Professor in Glasgow	1669-1674
College for clergy at Salisbury	1689-1694
Tutor to Duke of Gloucester	1698-1700
Tutor to his own sons	1700 +
<i>Conclusion of History</i>	1713

The interval from 1674-1688 covers the years when Burnet was in the wilderness, and all activity except preaching was precluded. Thus it would appear that on every available occasion during the fifty years of his public life, education occupied a leading place in his plans and efforts. The *Thoughts* is no isolated expression of youthful speculation and preconceived ideas. Rather is it a foretaste of its author's deepest and most permanent sentiments, the earliest indication of a lifelong interest. That his first impressions should have been so closely in keeping with the teachings of his later experience may perhaps be accepted as presumptive proof that they

possess intrinsic value. At the end as at the outset of life, education is to Burnet the chief means through which reform of individual and of national life is to be accomplished. He has amply vindicated his right to be heard on the subject.

BURNET'S CORRESPONDENT.

IN absence of definite information we can only conjecture the identity of the nobleman to whom the *Thoughts* is addressed. Sir John Cunningham, among whose papers the work was originally found, must be rejected for the reasons stated in the Preface to the First Edition of the work. Mr. Clarke (*Life*, 72) suggests the Earl of Kincardine, a consideration of whose life, and relations with Burnet, renders the conjecture highly probable. Kincardine is thus described by Burnet (*History*, i., 103): "Another man of that side, that made a good figure at that time, was Bruce, afterwards Earl of Kincairdin, who had married a daughter of Mr. Somelsdych in Holland: and by that means he had got acquaintance with our princes beyond sea, and had supplied them liberally in their necessities. He was both the wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to his country, and fit for govern-

ing any affairs but his own; which he by a wrong turn, and by his love for the public, neglected to his ruin . . . and he was very capable of it, having gone far in mathematics, and being a great master of mechanics. . . . He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could never bias him. He had solid principles of religion and virtue. . . . He was a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy. I may be perhaps inclined to carry his character too far; for he was the first man that entered into friendship with me. We continued for seventeen years in so entire a friendship, that there was never either reserve or mistake between us all the while till his death."

Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, succeeded to the title shortly after the Restoration. Prior to that he had lived abroad in exile, and had had much correspondence with Sir Robert Moray who was also abroad, in which he discussed with evident knowledge "medicine, chemistry, classics, mathematics, mechanical appliances of every kind, especially as adapted to his mining enterprises, divinity, heraldry, horticulture, forestry, pisciculture, mining, and the management

of estates" (*National Dict. of Biogr.*). His marriage which took place in 1659 brought him a large fortune, from which he was able to minister to the royal necessities. He took a leading part in affairs in Scotland after the Restoration, but was at last forced to break with Lauderdale in 1674. He lost the King's favour also and had his name removed ("scraped out") from the English Council (May, 1678). Burnet claimed to have foretold such a result, which had been indeed pretty much his own case also. As Kincardine died in 1681, his friendship with Burnet must have dated from 1664. That the intimacy was not quite so "entire" as Burnet represents, would appear from two letters cited in the *Life* in one of which (104) he complains of Burnet's long absence without excuse, while in the other (131) he says in writing to Lauderdale "I find upon the back of your letter . . . that G. Burnet brags of his interest in me, and of my friendship. I know no reason why he should do so. I had not a letter from him, nor he from me these 14 or 15 months. I have a great kindness for many good things in him, but I am as sensible

as any other of the great want he hath of prudence . . . let him go where he will my sons shall go no more under his care." This was in 1674. Subsequently perhaps companionship in affliction may have drawn them closer together, and Burnet's final impressions as recorded in the *History* may thus have been of continuity of friendship all through. In 1668 Kincardine's children must have been very young, still, quite old enough to arouse interest and concern regarding the problem of their education. Burnet, as appears from the above extract, must have acted as tutor to them for some time, and at a later period (1680) he deploras the loss of the eldest boy (*Life*, 163). On Kincardine's career, as a whole, see Dr. Osmund Airy in *National Dict. of Biogr.*, in his edition of Burnet's *History* (vol. i., p. 188 note), and in his edition of the *Lauderdale Papers* (Camden Society).



ANALYSIS OF *THOUGHTS*.

A. Childhood (up to the age of 7 or 8). Pp. 9-25.

Importance of education proved by references to various ancient authorities. Analogies from trees and dogs. Further duty of Christians.

Author's profession of friendship for his correspondent and of incompetence for his task.

Root of child's education in parents. Wise choice of wife. Parents' motto: "Temperate in all things".

Nursing: mother as nurse. Cleanliness and its moral bearings.

Reading: early religious ideas and instruction.

Lying, its roots and its prevention. Other early faults—swearing, etc. Current errors in teaching reading.

Growth and utilisation of memory. Punishment.

Periods of study.

General principles of reward and punishment.

Private versus public education. Dangers, especially moral, of school. Contempt for teachers.

Emulation.

A discreet friend's house the best place for education.

Exercise, hardening, preparation against possible change of fortune.

B. Boyhood (up to the age of 14). Pp. 25-56.

Choice of governor and preceptor. The father as governor. Reasons for scarcity of governors. Niggardly remuneration and its unwisdom. Generosity here pays: proofs.

Qualifications of a governor: (1) fear of God, (2) wisdom and discretion, (3) good nature joined with gravity, (4) learning. Learning desirable but not essential. Governor to be a genuine friend of family.

Preceptor to have requisite expert knowledge: his relation to governor.

Religious instruction first and main concern: its content and method. Example. Sincerity and truthfulness: illustration. Repression of passion and malice. Treatment of appetite, arrogance, etc. Reason as guide. Good nature and gentleness. Moral instruction to be rational and reinforced by examples.

Rhetoric and logic come after "things". Initial study a foreign language, Latin or French, the former for choice. The French make too little of Latin. Latin badly taught in Scotland. Grammar repulsive, especially its anomalies. Reading of snippets just as bad. Selected author to be read and re-read. Castellio's Bible. Latin conversation among boys ruinous to style. Frequent exercises in translation and re-translation. Summary of approved method. Benefit of Latin conversation with master. The method rarely practicable: defects of masters. Teacher's sense of vocation: his task not insuperable.

History and its moral lessons: agreeable as alternative

study. Geography to be correlated: good maps. Method from general to particular. History includes progress of letters and condition of church. Avoid politics. Illustration from recent disorders.

Repetition unavoidable. Short notes in writing to be made. Discipline without punishment. Passion. Forms of disapproval.

Recreations: transition from amusements. Hobbies—gardening, music, painting, light reading. Profitable use of leisure. House-games demoralising. Liberal recreation.

Greek for knowledge of New Testament.

Simultaneous learning of Greek and Latin bad. Greek as staple: same method as for Latin but without conversation. Rendering of the New Testament *ad aperturam*. Latin to be kept up as well as Greek.

Hebrew the work of a few months. Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, and Arabic. Assiduous practice of languages already learned.

Method in French. Latin a great help. Italian and Spanish. German unnecessary. Preceptor's work finished by the age of 14 or 15. Governor now more necessary than ever.

C. Youth (to the age of 21). Pp. 56-71.

Study of philosophy still premature. Grounding in principles of Christian religion, the great fundamental verities. Scripture the text-book; difficulties to be explained. Qualities to be cultivated—piety, serious thought on life, high purpose and generous desire of benefiting others. Ecclesiastes, Epictetus and other Stoic doctors, with his-

torical illustrations. Treatment of faults, particularly opinionative criticism. Private reproof: affection to be won for virtue. Governor's example.

Anatomy in the concrete; horticulture a recreation rather than study. Natural "history," mathematics (six books of Euclid), arithmetic and trigonometry, algebra, geometry of solids, conic sections. Applied branches—surveying and astronomy, music, fortification, optics. Architecture and statuary indispensable. Mathematical studies as a political sedative.

History of philosophy. Logic futile and useless, its terminology excepted. Controversial philosophy. Natural "history" with experiment.

Age of 18 reached. Manly recreations—riding, hunting, shooting, etc.; their subordinate position. Examples of Carthage and Rome.

Infrequent visits. Hobbies.

Reason succeeds discipline. Effect of governor's sorrow. Governor as friend.

Rational basis for religious convictions; devotion and reverence.

A generous ideal—patriotism, obedience to law, purity of morals.

Besetting sin of pride and self-will: humility, discretion and tact. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as aids.

Art of expression: its power attested by parliament and history. Chemistry useful. Knowledge of the world. Governor still of service. Selection of female society. Affectation.

At 21 pupil by law a free agent.

D. The Young Man (between 21 and 25). Pp. 71-77.

Full responsibility only at 25. Ruminations on mental acquisitions and consideration of great ends of life. Virtuous friends.

Study of laws and legal procedure. Mastery of private affairs under parents' guidance.

Agriculture and reclamation of waste ground. Improvement of manufactures for national well-being. Skill in arms. Life in camp the very plague. Political intrigue a snare. Qualifications of a statesman. Twenty-five the limit of an author still under that age. Honoured friendship the excuse for what has been adventured.

May the dear children be true replicas of the father! All depends on governor: the true artist will produce a masterpiece even from refractory material. Adieu!

Postscript upon Travel. Pp. 77-81.

Unless for diplomatist foreign travel an incentive to idle curiosity. Knowledge of men acquired only superficial: books more informative than their writers.

Provincialism a trifle compared with risks, formerly of popery, now of atheism. Abroad, immorality is a jest, profanity the colloquial dialect. Duelling and robbery, wasting of the nation's substance, discontent with home. Travel suitable for the mature; unsafe before 21. It liberalizes the mind, expands views, exhibits limits of human attainment, sometimes procures useful friends. Scots, of course, must make acquaintance with English Court—the shorter, the better.

NOTES.

P. 3. *The Editor's Preface*: The editor has not revealed his identity. We can add little to what he has said of the discovery, publication and authenticity of the work. Though not included in the "Catalogue of all the Books I have written" (*Supplement*, 513), it appears in Flexman's list appended to the *History*. Burnet may have forgotten it or not reckoned it a formal work, but merely a long letter, which had passed out of his possession. The internal evidence of authorship is nowhere positive, but is throughout strongly presumptive, e.g. the religious tone so closely in keeping with the author's character, the reflection of early personal experience in regarding education as a burden and penance to children, the variety of studies. The references in the text to Clowns (12) and to his age (75 in particular) fit exactly the hypothesis.

Lord Milton: Nephew of "the great Andrew Fletcher, Esq;" whose name he bore before elevation to the Bench, born 1692. He was made a Judge in 1724, and was greatly trusted by Argyll, Walpole's representative in Scotland. In the '45 he rendered important service, and after its suppression, devoted himself to the development of the resources and commerce of Scotland. Died 1766.

P. 4. *Andrew Fletcher*: He was son of Burnet's patron, for whom see the sketch of the author's life. His
(173)

life extended from 1653 to 1716. He lived in exile for many years, and travelled over a great part of Europe. He was always in opposition, and after the Revolution was opposed to William III. almost as much as he had been to Charles II. He opposed the union of the Parliaments too. He was in large measure republican in sentiment, but thought the people unfit to rule themselves! He wrote several works, *A Discourse of Government*, etc.

P. 4. *Sir Alexander Dick* was third son of Sir W. Cunningham of Caprington, and on succeeding to the baronetcy took the name of his mother, who was daughter of Sir James Dick of Prestonfield. He was a distinguished physician, and was the first to cultivate the rhubarb plant in this country. He lived from 1703 to 1785.

Sir John Cunninghame: In commenting on the passage from the *History* quoted in the note, Dr. Airy says that Sir John Cunningham of Lambrughton was one of the counsel assigned to defend Argyll at his trial in 1661, was made a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1669, was suspended from the bar for opposition to Charles II. in 1674, was member for Ayrshire in 1681, died 1684. Other allusions to him in the *History* are ii., 469, 512.

P. 5. *piousest*: "Is that Scotch?" is Swift's comment. The following occur in the text—*eminentest* (26), *ancienter* (38), *properest* (41), *frequentest* (45). "Vile Scot," as Swift might have said!

a Lord: See separate note above (162).

Lord of Session: The same as Senator of the College of Justice. On college of justice see note on 72.

P. 7. *learn . . . to think for themselves*: This is, of

course, admirable counsel, but to be used with necessary qualifications. Such independence is of most fatal consequence when it ignores facts already established: no subject has suffered more than education from ignorance of this kind. For recent opinions on the permanent value of the work see separate note (83).

P. 7. *Scotland, and to a friend . . . the Scotch, not much used, etc.*: The author himself apologises for the "unpolished rudeness of style" (12), but his birthland can hardly be made an excuse for it. As the Bibliographies of the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Liter.* show, the Scotch were very "much used to write in those days."

proper corrections, etc.: In absence of more specific information it is difficult to determine how much the editor means to embrace in the sweep of his criticism. Burnet was not at any stage of his literary career a purist in style. Perhaps there is little more cause to cavil here than elsewhere. Apparent exceptions are noted below as they occur. It is certainly much "more satisfactory" that the editor decided against taking liberties with the text.

P. 9. *Crates*: The remark is attributed by Plutarch (*On Education*, vii.) to Socrates. The original is to be found in Plato (*Clitophon*, 255 D).

the wise Theban: The philosopher Crates is to be carefully distinguished from others of the same name, of whom there were several, the most distinguished the Athenian comic poet. "The philosopher Crates," though a native of Thebes, seems to have spent most of his life at Athens, where he became a pupil of the cynic Diogenes and subsequently one of the most celebrated of the Cynic

philosophers. He flourished toward the end of the fourth century B.C.; in 328 he was in Athens and 307 at Thebes. From his practice of calling at every house in Athens in order to rebuke the inmates he received the surname or nickname of the "Door-opener".

P. 9. *a natural byas and propensity to corruption*: Here at the very first step in education, or before it, is the parting of the ways. The oft-quoted opening sentence of Rousseau's *Emile* reads "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man". That points to the other route. Froebel's remarks on the subject are very judicious and correspond closely to observed facts (*Education of Man* (translated by Hailman), 8, 9): they illustrate, too, the argument from "the obliquity of trees". "We grant space and time to young plants and animals because we know that, in accordance with the laws that live in them, they will develop properly and grow well." "The grape-vine must, indeed, be trimmed; but this trimming as such does not insure wine." "Nature, it is true, rarely shows us that unmarred original state, especially in man; but it is for this reason only the more necessary to assume its existence in every human being, until the opposite has been clearly shown; otherwise that unmarred original state, where it might exist contrary to our expectation, might be easily impaired." The preacher had reached a similar conclusion: "Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions". For purposes of education it is unnecessary to assume original sin. Observation reveals a condition so uniformly of a certain character that

the "unmarred original state" is always more or less "contrary to our expectation".

P. 10. *Lycurgus convinced the Spartans*: The anecdote is from Plutarch (*On Education*, iv.). The Spartans were a little slow in deducing the moral. "Breeding," of course, refers to upbringing and not to pedigree or stock.

Lay by a Fire: The intransitive use of the verb, now such a mark of illiteracy, was not regarded as a solecism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It probably arose through confusion with the past tense of "lie". See Oxford English Dictionary, *sub voce*, vii. 43, where numerous examples of the usage are cited. The word used in Plutarch is an adjective meaning wanton, mischievous.

Of such importance did the Romans, etc.: The statement seems a strange one. At Sparta there was a *παιδονόμος*, but no such office existed at Rome, at any rate during the period when the censorship or consulship was an honour open to all. In imperial times there was the honorary *princeps juventutis*. Domitian advanced Quintilian, grammarian and rhetorician, to the titular office of Consul about 100 A.D.

Incharged is merely equivalent to charged, but the prefix suggests the same meaning as in en-trusted.

we Christians: The remark, characteristic of Burnet, presents a phase of education which in an evolutionary age like ours requires to be kept in mind. It is introduced at once as an addition to natural law and as a qualification to the examples just cited from heathendom.

engaged to: Bound to bestow.

P. 11. *Your lordship*: See 162 ff.

P. 11. *wise countrymen* = sound patriots. Public service as an educational end was prominent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries just as it had been in classical times. If later it was somewhat obscured, it has been rediscovered, and as "social service" now occupies a leading place in every scheme of the objects of education, cf. 72.

Governours: See below, 25 ff. with notes.

reach: capacity, compass of mind—perhaps originally a metaphor from "reach" of arm or the like.

P. 12. *hopeful children*: The epithet has come to be in some sort "ornamental," all children are "hopefuls". Whether the noble lord's children showed any special promise or whether the language like the rest of the passage is simply that of compliment or adulation, we have no means of judging. The age was tolerant of a good deal of latitude in such matters: even yet sentiment and expression do not always strictly coincide.

full and copious: The terms are comparative. That the "account" seems to a modern eye so brief and sketchy may be regarded as a measure of the growth of the subject during the past two-and-a-half centuries.

divertisement: Diversion, amusement, entertainment. The word recurs, 50.

call: In strict grammar should be "calls," subj. "anything" unless it is to be taken as subjunc., "when" being nearly = if.

preface of: In my preface, or by way of preface, make mention of.

few yeares: Under 25: cf. 75.

P. 12. *censure*: Judgment, opinion, criticism, but here without implication of reproof or blame.

unpolished rudeness, etc.: Cf. Preface 7. Swift would heartily have endorsed the remark. Here are a few of his criticisms taken at random on Burnet's *History of my Own Time*, the most carefully elaborated of all his works: on the remark regarding Leighton: "His style was too fine," he comments, "Burnet is not guilty of that". "Rare style!" "very modest"; "a Scotch dog"; "great nonsense"; "nonsense, or a printer's mistake," are other of his comments. In the author it can scarcely be more than a manner of speaking with deprecating modesty. Indeed the whole tone is out of keeping with that of the portion of the Autobiography dealing with the period, in which he confesses, "I was out of measure conceited of my selfe, vain and desirous of fame beyond expression".

With the not too complimentary reference to his parishioners as "Clownes," cf. the statement of the Autobiography that they "were of a low form two considerable families only excepted".

The first step: The treatment follows closely Plutarch's (*On Education*, ii.). The story of the Lacedæmonian king (Archidamus) is from the same source. The author may also have had in view Plutarch's description of the Spartan system of education so far as it related to the regulation of marriages. See *Life of Lycurgus* in Langhorne's Translation (*Grecian Lives*, 1876), 35. Eugenics as a science is now claiming a voice in education; its practical application at Sparta reached a point to which it is not likely soon to be again carried.

P. 13. *Kings, Kinglings* : βασιλεῖς, βασιλεῖδαι.
wasted by drunkenness : From Plutarch (*op. cit.*,
 iii.).

crazy : Refers here to body rather than mind, diseased, sickly : cf. "a crazy ship".

this compound of a man : There may be an allusion to Plutarch's treatment of the subject (*op. cit.*, iv.), where "natural ability, theory, and practice" are specified as the elements that go to make up perfection. For the expression cf. 79.

P. 14. *holy women in Scripture* : Sarah and Hannah are conspicuous instances. Otherwise the sentiment is derived almost entirely from Plutarch (*op. cit.*, v.).

That the child sucks in, etc. : A similar belief is found among many savage tribes, ancient and modern, e.g. in regard to the drinking of blood, mingled with milk given to children.

cleanliness : The universal experience of mankind approves the parallel between external and internal cleanness. But the analogy must not be pressed too far, else it becomes a pernicious and depressing falsehood. After all, "there is nothing from without a man that . . . can defile him". Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 39) remarks of the Spartans, "they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged in the great favour of baths and oils, except on some particular days of the year". A clearer distinction might with advantage be drawn between cleanness and cleanliness.

suitableness : Analogy, fit or close relation.

P. 15. *learne* : The use of "learn" as equivalent to

“teach” is now a vulgar error, but at earlier periods of the language was quite idiomatic. It recurs frequently in the text.

P. 15. *when they are four years old or five* : Rousseau's views present an interesting contrast (*Emile*, 81-83). “Reading is the scourge of infancy. . . . At the age of twelve, Emile will hardly know what a book is.” “We usually obtain very surely and very quickly what we are in no haste to obtain. I am almost certain that Emile will know how to read and write perfectly before the age of ten, precisely because I care but very little whether he learns these things before the age of fifteen.”

a God, a Heaven, and Hell: cf. Locke, *Thoughts*, §§ 136-138. He insists on “a true notion of *God*” as the foundation of virtue, and virtue is the first and most necessary item in the education of man or gentleman. Elsewhere (*Of Study* in Appendix to Cambridge Edition of *Thoughts*, 196), he states that heaven is “our great business and interest,” and the knowledge of the way to it “ought to take the first and chiefest place in our thoughts”. But neither heaven nor hell forms with him a special topic in the child's training. Like Burnet, Locke deprecates ideas of spirits and goblins, and servants' stories “of *Raw-head and Bloody-bones*, and such other Names as carry with them Ideas of something terrible and hurtful”. These are the “frightful stories or visars,” i.e. visions, apparitions.

a bogling humour: A disposition to take alarm at imaginary dangers or bogies, to be the subject of superstitious terrors; cf. Locke, as above, on the effect of *Bug-bear* Thoughts. For “humour” see note on 69, and compare the passages there referred to.

P. 16. *the Doxology*: Apparently the "*Gloria in excelsis*".

For their manners: As for.

capable of few precepts: Rather, is wholly incapable of learning by precept. Children at the age in question (4-5) learn by doing, through imitation: "precepts" are unintelligible for the most part, and rules of any kind must be very few: they merely confuse and distract.

habitual lying: The diagnosis of the chief causes as fear and malice has a good deal of truth in it. But besides, children deviate from strict truthfulness in mere wantonness through exuberance of imagination. They have to be taught to recognize and observe the limits of reality both in fact and in language. It is only at the stage of conscious or purposed deception that "fault" comes in.

Ingenuity: Ingenuousness, frank truthfulness. Perhaps the "slavish" sin of falsehood suggested the contrast of truthfulness as befitting a freeman (*ingenuus*). The word recurs below (34): cf. "disingenuity" (35), and "ingenuous" (32, 48).

Escapes: The term is again misleading, according to current usage, "escapades" being the modern equivalent. The word recurs (70).

a humour also, etc.: This has reference to "malice" above. Humour = disposition, tendency, habit, cf. 15.

P. 17. *Translating*: Transferring. The wisdom of the precept may be seriously called in question, cf. 19.

P. 17. *swearing, etc.* : Plutarch (*op. cit.*, xiv.) says : "We must also keep our sons from filthy language. For, as Democritus says, Language is the shadow of action."

terms of scolding : Scolding terms, abusive language.

servants : See below, 23.

scurvy black letter : In this sense of vile, worthless, contemptible, "scurvy" is archaic and obsolescent : here it seems to be most nearly represented by "repulsive". The black letter of the old printers, introduced about the year 1600 according to the Oxford English Dict., well deserves the epithet. Cf. "rascally," 42. The "white and fair letter" is the clear Roman type. The directions regarding attractiveness of form added to suitability of material, as well as those regarding repetition and beginning with what is easiest, are, of course, very sound in principle. But modern opinion would scarcely approve the Psalms as a first Reading Book. We have come to recognise the child's interest in the concrete and the personal, and we frame our early text-books accordingly.

To pronounce fully and plainly, etc. : The counsel is still in place, indeed urgently necessary in many quarters. Reference may be made to some admirable remarks on the subject in Rousseau (*Emile*, 39) : "peeping" is much the same as "chirping," being applied to the voice of young birds or the like, "to cheep, chirp, squeak". The word seems a mere variety of "pipe". Cf. *Isaiah*, viii., "wizards that peep and that mutter". "tone" = uniform tone, sing-song.

P. 18. *learnes* ; See note on 15.

P. 18. *loseth*: Here used in the transitive sense of causes to lose, inflicts loss upon, damages, ruins, destroys.

a child at six or seven years, etc.: Memory is physiologically very susceptible and retentive from the age of five or six up to ten or twelve. Provided the child's capacity and trustfulness at this age are not imposed upon or abused, the method suggested in the text may be used with great advantage and to the economy of later effort. The attainments gained at this period "are well-rooted and long-lived". A parallel is again to be found in Plutarch (*op. cit.*, xiii.). "And especial attention, in my opinion, must be paid to cultivating and exercising the memory of boys, for memory is, as it were, the storehouse of learning."

those I have above marked: i.e. falsehood, tale-telling, swearing, etc.

P. 19. *to contradict nature*: It is curious and interesting to find the appeal to "nature" even in Burnet. He could not foresee how the term was one day to be used and abused: fortunately he does not spell it with a capital! "the law of nature" (9) and "the bonds of nature" (10) had already been mentioned, and the word recurs several times.

penance enough: The assumption underlying the term is suggestive: in itself it hardly seems justifiable. Cf. 45, 52 below, with note on the latter.

bewray: indicate, bring to light, disclose, expose: the word is unconnected with "betray," which sometimes translates it.

praise and kindness: cf. Plutarch (*op. cit.*, xii.). "But praise or censure are far more useful than abuse to the freeborn, praise pricking them on to virtue, censure

detering them from vice." Locke is a consistent advocate of praise and commendation as the most effective of incentives to virtue and study. The child is thus encouraged to maintain the good name (Reputation) he has acquired: his self-respect and *amour propre* are enlisted and become additional stimuli of great power.

P. 19. *gratifications of the palate:*

"ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi

Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima".

The method is a very ancient one, but nearly obsolete nowadays outside the nursery.

sweetly: pleasantly, agreeably.

carriage: bearing, attitude, demeanour. Cf. 49.

a with-holding these rewards: a great principle of discipline underlies this negative method of punishment, one far too little availed of by modern teachers.

to confer them on him. See "translating" (17) and note.

P. 20. *frequent chiding*: "nagging" is one of the worst methods of discipline, perhaps the very worst.

the philosopher's stone: Transmuted, or would have done so if it had been discovered, the baser metals into gold: the image is not too strong to symbolise the conversion of youthful antagonism and aversion into confidence and affection. The citadel of "Mansoul" is the heart: it once captured, the city is at the victor's disposal.

we should not notice: The maxim may have been derived from Plutarch (*op. cit.*, xviii.): "And it is good to seem not to notice some faults, but to extend to them the weak sight and deafness of old age, so as seeing not to see,

and hearing not to hear, their doings. We tolerate the faults of our friends; why should we not that of our sons?" Mr. Thring (*Theory and Practice of Teaching*, Cambridge, 1883), 239 repeats the advice: "A little judicious blindness and deafness is a great virtue in a wise teacher". The advice is admirable, but the "judicious" must not be overlooked.

P. 20. *scorning children*: To scorn is to express scorn towards, to jeer, mock, deride, ridicule. This mode of treatment or "publick shaming" must be used very sparingly, if at all, at any stage. Cf. 48, 59.

seldom threatened, but seldomer beaten: seldom beaten, seldomer threatened would be quite as accurate. Threats are generally a sign of weakness and thus impotent. On the other hand, if effective they are very liable to overshoot the mark and to stimulate the child's imagination morbidly. They generally affect the more sensitive children who do not acquire them. Occasions of punishment if rare should be memorable, "to some purpose".

P. 21. *whether . . . publick . . . or private*: The topic was a favourite one among the Romans, and has received attention from several of our own older writers. In the modern world it has hardly more than speculative interest, for democracy demands not only a public but a universal and compulsory system of education. Nevertheless, a consideration of the pros and cons as set forth in the book may bring home to us some of the risks of a method which we have come to regard as of the very nature of things. Locke's bitter denunciation of public education, which may have been coloured by his own early experiences

at Westminster (*Thoughts*, § 70), should be read in connection with Quintilian's advocacy of it (*Institutes of Oratory*, Bk. i., c. ii.). Mulcaster, also a public teacher, is a strong supporter of Quintilian (*Positions*, 184, 5). "What," he exclaims, "doe these two wordes import, *private education*? *Private* is that, which hath respect in all circumstances to some one of choice. . . . *Education* is the bringing up of one, not to live alone, but amongst others . . . your end shalbe *publike* your meane shalbe *private* . . . how can *education* be *private*? it abuseth the name as it abuseth the thing." Later on he sums up (190): "Use common scholes to the best, joyne a tutor to your childe, let *Quintilian* be your guide, all thinges will be well done, where such care is at hand, and that is much better done, which is done before witnes to encourage the childe". Not only has the child to be trained to occupy a place in society, but he is himself a social creature. He requires the companionship of his fellows, and without it is in an artificial atmosphere. The value of pupils' influence on one another is now universally recognised: the give-and-take of school life is a necessary ingredient in education, possessed of endless possibilities of sympathy, co-operation, control, direction. Monarch and millionaire alike give practical testimony to the necessity. Plutarch was not unaware of the risks of public education: "He" (the father), he says, "must also be on his guard against the viciousness of his sons' schoolfellows, for they are quite sufficient to corrupt the best morals" (*op. cit.*, xvii.).

P. 21. *provocations*: Appeals, incentives: there is no sinister meaning. Cf. Hebrews x. 24, "to provoke unto love and to good works".

P. 21. *company*: A favourite topic of Locke's; under this heading it is that he introduces the subject of public *versus* private education. Here the sense is "companionship".

exhilarates: The concord may be defended as a kind of *ad sersum* construction, "which" being equivalent to "the existence of which (pretty recreations)". But it may be a slip or "a printer's mistake".

answer to: Meet the demands of, afford. Cf. 25.

a rabble of base ill-bred boys: Cf. Locke (*loc. cit.*), "But how any one's being put into a mix'd Herd of unruly Boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap, or to rook at Span-farthing [two of the games of boys at the time], fits him for civil Conversation or Business, I do not see". It may be observed that education at the period connoted of boys.

P. 22. *ripen children too fast*: Precocity is a real danger of school life, especially in children of highly strung temperament. Its disastrous results, though in ways different from that indicated in the text, have frequently appeared: it calls for the most vigilant care.

wind . . . ballast: The metaphor is not very happy: it may contain an autobiographical reflection.

Small encouragement and contempt, etc.: The state of matters referred to is notorious. It is within living memory that teaching has become an independent profession with a special course of preparation for it. Nor is the evolution of the pedagogical function even yet everywhere complete. In Scotland, till well on in the last century, teaching was largely a stepping stone to the ministry,

often a refuge for "stickit" ministers; it was taken up also by students as a make-shift until a definite career had been decided upon. But the profession itself, even as now organised, ought to contain within its own sphere more opportunities than it does for advancement, "for mounting higher". Cf. 25-27, *infra*.

P. 22. *contempt*: The introduction of a "the" would render the meaning clearer, for, of course, "small" does not belong to "contempt": "lye under" contains a zeugma, "the small encouragement [they receive] and the contempt they lye under".

(*looked*) *too*: The preposition (to). The old printers appear to have prided themselves upon the number of ways in which they could represent the same word: they vary the form in a given passage as carefully as we do the phraseology and sound. In spelling, variety was their rule much as ours is uniformity.

one hath perhaps a hundred, etc.: Quintilian (*loc. cit.*, §§ 9, 10) draws an almost opposite conclusion from the same premises: "every eminent teacher delights in a large concourse of pupils, and thinks himself worthy of a still more numerous auditory. But inferior teachers, from a consciousness of their inability, do not disdain to fasten on single pupils, and to discharge the duty as it were of *pædagog*".

as for emulation: One of the most prominent features in the Jesuit schools of the period. Even Rousseau, the avowed enemy of competition in every form, coolly resorts to it in order to interest an indolent boy in running: he adopts a similar method in teaching drawing.

P. 22. *most considerable*: The pupils of highest social condition, cf. 69.

P. 23. *Singularly rare*: Quite exceptional.

not one too far beyond him: Cf. *Emile* (108): "I do not wish him to have any other rival than myself. . . . In holding the pencil I shall follow his example; and at first I shall use it as awkwardly as he does. Were I an Apelles, I would appear to be no more than a dauber." The pupil who is overawed and paralysed by the distance between himself and his master may be inspired and stimulated by the example of a companion whom he may hope to overtake or even surpass, or who, on the other hand, "may outrun him".

out of = outside, away from.

their [children] . . . their [own houses] . . . their [health]: The third "their" is used in reference to "children". We shall meet below several instances of similar confusion.

a great family among many servants: In these old schemes of education it was a person of quality, a young gentleman, a nobleman, my young master, that was to be brought up, and hence the risk from servants of low breeding or morals. Readers of Locke's *Thoughts* are very familiar with the dangers of such *company*. Plutarch has a somewhat remarkable passage on the subject of public or common education (*op. cit.*, xi.): "I should prefer to make my teaching general and suitable to all; but if any, through their poverty, shall be unable to follow up my precepts, let them blame fortune and not the author of these hints. We

must try with all our might to procure the best education for the poor as well as the rich, but if that is impossible, then we must put up with the practicable."

P. 23. *debordings* : excesses, the metaphor is from the overflowing of a river, which passes due bounds.

vain flatteries : "We must keep our boys . . . from flatterers . . . there is no race more pestilential, nor more sure to ruin youths swiftly," etc., etc. The whole passage should be consulted (Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xvii.), cf. 72.

avocations : Here in the literal sense, what calls a person away from (*a, voco*) his employment or business, a distraction : in current usage, that which calls a person from everything else to itself, that which engrosses his attention, in other words, his occupation, employment. The whole treatment rests on a conception of education as of a privilege reserved for the few.

taste : In the literal sense, palate.

P. 24. *the Carthaginians* : It was no uncommon thing, indeed it was the rule rather than the exception in the ancient world, for the priests to be the repositories of learning and hence the agents in the instruction of youth : the temples were naturally the schools. The abbeys and Cathedrals of our own country were the earliest schools, the abbots and monks the first teachers. The practice of the Persians as described by Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, Lib. i., c. ii., 3 ff.) is quite analogous. In this description Xenophon had at the back of his mind the example of Sparta. Before the differentiation of the professions, the same person was at once priest, lawgiver, physician and teacher. The history of the pro-

fessions is that of gradual specialisation in each with ever increasing intensity.

P. 24. *to bear a true condition* : This was a favourite maxim with the ancient philosophers: "to be neither over-elated in prosperity nor over-depressed in adversity" is, according to Plutarch (*op. cit.*, x.), of the greatest importance. "Aequam memento rebus in arduis Servare mentem" will readily suggest itself to readers of Horace.

fine clothes : If children are to be children, they must be allowed to romp and play without undue restraint. Fine clothes are not for ordinary wear, if self-activity is to have spontaneous expression. Spencer has some sensible remarks on the subject in his chapter (iv.) on Physical Education. cf. 159.

P. 25. *till he be fourteen years old* : Modern psychologists have discovered so many characteristics and crises in the child's development that it is difficult to fix upon any dividing lines that will not meet with criticism from one side or another. The multiples of six distinguish with approximate accuracy childhood (up to 6), boyhood or girlhood (6-12), and youth (12-18).

Governour and Preceptour : We learn from the passage itself that the oversight and regulation of conduct, moral training, was regarded as much the more important side of education and was the special function of the governor. Instruction was a secondary matter, and so mean an employment might be committed to anyone who had sufficient technical skill and knowledge. A governor might be dispensed with if the father had leisure enough to undertake the duties. The preceptor, also called tutor,

was an expert but, as has already appeared, his craft was held in little esteem. "Teacher" now includes both functions, though "government" must still be assisted by the co-operation of the home. One of our earliest treatises dealing, *inter alia*, with education is Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour*. His educational agent is "a tutor, which shulde be an auncient and worshipfull man". The significance of the title of the work is not educational at all: the author explains it in the preface addressed to Henry viii.: "And for as moch as this present boke treateth of the education of them that hereafter may be demed worthy to be governours of the publike weale unto your hyghnesse. . . . I therefore have named it *The Governour*".

P. 25. *answer*: See above, 21.

Sundry: different, referring to two only.

pedantick, imperious, and trifling people: Holofernes in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* may be taken as the classical example of the character as here described. The original is supposed to have been Richard Mulcaster, quoted above (21), and it must be confessed that the style of *Positions*, Mulcaster's great educational work, affords some ground for the identification. The scenes in which Holofernes appears are the best commentary on the text. Act iv. 2 contains the following: "*The preyful princess pierc'd and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket*":—the first line of his "extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer". Again he describes his gift "a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions". Sir Nathaniel, the curate, addresses him: "Sir, I praise the Lord for you; and so may my

parishioners; for their sons are well tutor'd by you, and their daughters profit very greatly under you: you are a good member of the commonwealth". "Too too vain; too too vain" said of him by Armado may perhaps illustrate "imperious".

P. 26. (*must be*) *had*: Used, employed.

Marc Aurele: His son was Commodus, who ill repaid the care spent on his education. The allusion has not been traced.

liberall sciences: The well-known seven liberal arts of the mediæval world, continued into the old undergraduate curriculum of seven subjects in the Arts curriculum of the Scotch Universities. The equivalence of "science" and "art" in this connection is noteworthy.

throw: Through. Cf. note on "too" (22).

P. 27. *whose (arrogance)*: The antecedents are "youths" and "pedants".

penury: Scarcity; "governours" is used in what is called by the grammarians an objective sense: there is a scarcity of suitable governors.

Theodosius: His sons were Arcadius and Honorius, neither of whom did much credit to their instructors.

In Athens: This is matter of common knowledge. Socrates had as his pupils or at least auditors all the most famous men of his day—Pericles, Plato, Alcibiades, Critotulus, etc. Plato's most celebrated pupil was either Demosthenes or Aristotle, Aristotle's Alexander. Epicurus' favourite pupil was Metrodorus, who predeceased him: Hermarchus succeeded Epicurus as head of his school.

The like was also at Rome: The most notable

instance is Seneca, tutor of Nero; and Quintilian may be regarded as another example; later Plutarch, as noted below (29), had Trajan as his pupil. The remark is hardly true of republican times, during which the mother was often the most important agent in education.

P. 28. *mesnage*: Manage, with the added idea of care and economy in the management. The three forms *mesnage*, *menage*, *manage* seem in usage to have been a good deal confused with one another. *Mesnage*, *ménage* are etymologically distinct from *manage*.

trimming: To put in good order, embellish, decorate.

stand upon: Haggle over, hesitate about, make difficulties about.

Aristippus: The incident is narrated in Plutarch (*op. cit.*, vii.) and also in Diogenes Laërtius (ii., 72). The only material difference in the accounts is in the amount of the fee, which in Plutarch is 1000, and in Diogenes 500 drachmae. As the drachma was worth $9\frac{3}{4}$ d., the latter would seem to be Burnet's authority, though even thus 100 crowns (£25) would be only approximately the equivalent of 500 drachmae (£20 6s. 3d.). Aristippus of Cyrene, founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, was a disciple of Socrates, but deviated far from his master's teaching. Horace apparently was an admirer of his, their mode of life having a good deal in common. See *Epist.*, i., 1, 18; i. 17, 23. Aristippus flourished in the early part of the fourth century B.C.

he (was asked): The "he" is redundant, being merely a repetition of "Aristippus". Cf. "a boy . . . he" (47).

P. 28. *he [whom you buy]*: The syntax requires "him".
a large and considerable salary, etc.: "Undoubtedly ther be in this realme many well lerned, whiche if the name of a schole maister were nat so moche had in contempte, and also if theyr labours with abundant salaries mought be requited, were righte sufficient and able to induce their herers to excellent lernynge, so they be nat plucked away grene, and er they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But nowe a dayes, if to a bachelar or maister of arte studie of philosophie waxeth tedious, if he have a sponne full of latine, he wyll shewe forth a hoggesheed without any lernyng, and offre to teache grammer and expoune noble writers, and to be in the room of a maister: he wyll, for a small salarie, sette a false colour of lernyng on propre wittes, whiche wyll be washed away with one shoure of raine. For if the children be absent from schole by the space of one moneth, the best lerned of them will uneth tell wheder *Fato*, wherby Eneas was brought in to Itali, were other a man, a horse, a shyppe, or a wylde goose." Elyot's *The Governour* (Croft), i. 165-7. Cf. above 158.

P. 29. *beside*: Besides, in addition to.
best and greatest Princes, etc.: The superlatives provoke question. Some of the examples are to the modern mind not very convincing.

Darius . . . Lichan, etc.: Alexander the Great was a pupil of Aristotle, who wrote for his use a treatise on government and whose influence was visible throughout Alexander's life. See Plutarch, *Alexander* (430). Cf. above 142. Epaminondas, the famous Theban general, received instruction from Lysis a Pythagorean philosopher from

Tarentum who had found a refuge in Thebes. See Corn. Nepos, *Epaminondas*, 2.

The statement that Plutarch was tutor to Trajan rests chiefly on the authority of Suidas: it has been called in question. Cf. Merivale, *Hist. of Rome*, vii., 213, n.

Chilon was one of the seven wise men of Greece but the reference to his educational activity seems lost in the mists of antiquity. The same remark applies to the remaining instances cited in the text. We are not even certain which Darius or Artaxerxes is referred to. Plutarch in his life of Pyrrhus makes no allusion to Artemius.

P. 29. *The measures, etc.*: Standards, criteria means of estimating (value or worth). They are stated in this and the following paragraphs as (1) the fear of God, (2) wisdom and discretion, (3) good nature, (4) learning. It is characteristic of Burnet to place religious requirements in the forefront. No one can study his life without being convinced of the entire sincerity of his claim for sacred interests as supreme. He is careful to base the claim on all that is most worthy of man—reason, generosity, nobility. "Virtue" is applied in a somewhat narrow sense, apparently nearly equivalent to integrity, uprightness, honesty, for the other items in the catalogue are all what we should distinctly regard as "virtues". It is interesting to note that the motto of the author's university now reads: "Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini," though it was adopted only at the Union of the Colleges (King's and Marischal), in the year 1860.

Design of man: "Of" is used objectively, God designed man so.

P. 29. *Wisedome* : The term is comparative, and here means hardly more than tact, or "discretion". Locke, who makes it the second of the four essentials of education to be gained by *the pupil*, defines it thus (*Thoughts*, § 140) : " *Wisdom* I take in the popular acceptation, for a Man's managing his Business ably and with foresight in this World". The order of the requirements with him is Virtue, Wisdom, Breeding, Learning.

P. 30. *moderating* : Applying in moderation, skilfully regulating amount, nature, and time.

sweet : Explained by "douceur" below. The expression suggests to the modern mind a lady. Cf. "sweetly," (19), and other derivatives.

just [mixture] : Equal, fair, well proportioned.

Marc Aurele, etc. ; "This" refers to "gravity," a quality held in the highest esteem by the Romans. Its opposite "levity," unseasonable jesting, was an unpardonable offence, lack of seriousness and responsibility being peculiarly obnoxious to them. Nor were they far wrong. For the facts cf. 26.

And in the last place, etc. : With this whole paragraph compare Locke (*Thoughts*, § 147) : "You will wonder, perhaps, that I put *Learning* last, especially if I tell you I think it the least Part. . . . *Learning* must be had, but in the second Place, as subservient only to greater Qualities. Seek out somebody that may know how discreetly to frame his Manners : Place him in Hands where you may, as much as possible, secure his Innocence, cherish and nurse up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad Inclinations, and settle in him good Habits. This

is the main Point, and this being provided for, *Learning* may be had into the Bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by Methods that may be thought on." This is almost a repetition of the text.

P. 31. *for indeed the right framing of their minds, etc.* : It seems somewhat of a contradiction that study should be disparaged, the more as it is confessedly the instrument of virtue. The adoption of virtue as the great object of education involves learning as the means. That ought to be enough to show its high value and import.

confined students : Students restricted to a narrow curriculum. It is a truth that becomes more and more necessary to be remembered as studies extend into the multitudinous ramifications of the present day. A true perspective, free alike from distortion and exaggeration, especially in relation to the curriculum, is a prime desideratum of the educator. The pupil's "nausea" is a happy touch though it might be more likely to arise from a stormy passage, "wind of knowledge" without "ballast of settled wisdom" than from monotonous harping! Plutarch (*op. cit.*, ix.) says: "For to harp on one string is always tiresome and brings satiety; whereas variety is pleasant always whether to the ear or eye".

ane (insight) : See note on 81 below.

where his strength lyeth : The remark is very practical. How many boys have been surfeited with excess of the same unvaried diet and contracted in consequence distaste for all intellectual effort, or mayhap have discovered when almost too late that they actually did possess some capacity! Cf. 153, 154.

P. 32. *ingenuous* : See note on 16 above.

sallerys : The word is spelled in the modern way 28.

change in a governour : Locke says of the selection of a Tutor (*Thoughts*, § 92): "In this Choice be as curious as you would be in that of a Wife for him; for you must not think of Trial or Changing afterwards". The advantages, indeed necessity, of continuity in instruction and training are but very insufficiently realised even yet by teachers and especially by parents. The difficulty of avoiding change is nowadays much greater than it formerly was. Change is one of the "greatest prejudices" to teacher and pupil alike.

the governour his sickness : This curious usage recurs: "Cardinal Richelieu his erecting" (38), "Castellic his Bible" (41), "the boy his own choice" (49), etc. "His" may have originally represented a genitive or possessive termination—es, which we now write 's (governour's). But the separate existence of the pronominal possessive got so firmly established that the plural form is also used. "of gentlemen their returning" (79), "young men their travelling" (80). A form such as "gentlemen's returning" would be inharmonious to a degree.

P. 33. *a great sense of the Deity* : Whose existence had already been carefully impressed (15). Similarly Locke (*Thoughts*, § 136) regards "a true Notion of *God*, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all Things" as the foundation of virtue, the first essential, as already noted, in his scheme of training.

maturate : Mature; the word is now obsolete.

P. 33. *obvious and plain metaphors*; Metaphors are as a rule anything but obvious and plain to children. Probably parables or illustrative stories are the kind of instruction he means to advocate. "Did our Saviour practise" (34) suggests this.

P. 34. *Pythagoras*: Very little authentic information exists regarding Pythagoras, nor has he left any writings. The statement in the text may be true of him, as it certainly is of Plato and many other ancients. A host of sayings and opinions, probably most of them apocryphal, are attributed to him; but they are not specially characterised by the features mentioned in the text. See Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xvii.

A reverence for the Sabbath: The fourth commandment seems to have been a hard saying all along. This member of the decalogue is not infrequently regarded as now inoperative, or at least optional, prescribing a duty dispensation for which is easily procured. There may be many different ways of exhibiting "reverence," it is true; but the duty and the privilege involved cannot readily be detached from the other commandments, which we regard as binding on all for all time.

his own unaffected example: A commonplace, but one that each new generation has to learn. Chaucer's beautiful lines are a *locus classicus*:—

But Cristes lore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taughte but first he folwed it him-selve.

insinuate: Introduce gently, gradually: the word is used in a good sense. Cf. 37.

ingenuity, disingenuity (35). See above, 16.

doublenes: Duplicity. The classical term

seems more expressive for the more sophisticated methods of wrong.

P. 34. *Trajan, etc.* : Trajan conducted two wars, 101, 104 A.D., against the Dacians under their king Decebalus, of which "Ceball" is a curious corruption. According to the Romans, Decebalus exhibited bad faith throughout. At any rate he was defeated at every point, and anticipated the disgrace of being led in triumph to Rome by putting an end to his own life. The emperor, in order to celebrate his victory, assumed the title of Dacicus. It is generally supposed that the famous column of Trajan was erected in commemoration of the victory. Ceball's son seems to have been a prevaricator like his father, and Trajan may have been justified in preventing future trouble in the manner described.

P. 35. *according to the Roman custome* : Professor Souter has furnished Armenia, Palestine, Thrace as illustrations belonging to the period of the early empire.

irritated : Stirred up.

irritaments : *Irritamenta*, incitements, a term which replaces it in the succeeding paragraph.

P. 36. *opiniastrity* : Obstinacy, stubbornness; also written opiniatry. A commoner form is opiniatry, the adjectival form is opiniatre or -astre. The words are all obsolete, having been replaced by opinionative and its derivative substantive.

reason (in all its actions) : Though the utility of such a counsel has been called in question, there is little doubt of its soundness; but naturally the "reason" of a boy is not that of a full-grown man. Cf. "rational" a little below.

P. 37. *susceptive* : Susceptible. It is a pity that both terminations have not been preserved and utilised as, for example, in sensitive, sensible, and the like.

some what will stick : Again a mixture of metaphors, the rearing of a building and its external adornment. The frequent and daily discourse is thought of as laying on the colour, applying the plaster or paint, in which connection the partial adhesion is quite appropriate. But this, too, is an unfortunate view of education which should not be merely an external polish or veneer.

the first thing, etc. : The statements are substantially true of the Greeks. Quintilian in the first book of the *Institutes of Oratory*, particularly cc. viii., xi. lends colour to the first one regarding the Romans. But in the republican days many of the leading Romans were very ignorant of letters. Men like Cæsar and Cicero were exceptional : besides, they received their rhetorical training in the Greek world.

P. 38. *Cardinal Richelieu* : Founded the Académie Française, which held its first meeting July 10th, 1673. For the form "Richelieu his," see note on 32.

all the difference, etc. : One of the happiest turns of expression in the treatise, deserving of more currency than it enjoys.

The educational principle is simply another form of the well-known and universally accepted maxim, from the concrete to the abstract. Begin with the actual language ("know things") and subsequently apply to it, if so advised, principles of an abstract character ("think of ordering them").

forraine : See note on 77.'

P. 38. *all learning is now to be found*: The argument is deserving of consideration. Latin is to be learned: (1) because of its content, the value of its literature; (2) for the sake of its form, the elegance (handsomenes) acquired through long elaboration and refinement (politure); (3) because it remains the living language of scholars, and a person who is to converse with them must be familiar with their medium of speech.

I know not what: = a certain, somewhat of, a mere translation of *je ne sais quoi*, or of its original, *nescio quid*: it is really I-know-not-what, a compound adjective.

P. 39. *Men. I*: "I therefore conceive" is the apodosis to the "because" clauses, so that the punctuation is at fault: a semicolon instead of the period after "men" is the most natural correction. The author probably forgot his "because".

Countercarre with: Cross, run counter to. The verb does not seem to be noticed in the Oxford English Dictionary. The word (spelled "contre-carre") is mentioned as subst. meaning "an opposing force: a direct resistance or check". It is marked as both rare and obsolete. The construction would have been helped by the insertion of "that" after "but".

without a word of it: The classicist might take exception to this, but experience has amply proved its soundness. "Knowing" is used in the literal sense = "of knowledge," hence "intelligent," "well-informed," "educated".

blame the French, etc.: This represents the other side of the question. If the Scotch bestow too much,

the French bestow too little attention upon Latin. The full truth is that the pupil must have a chance of discovering and of showing wherein his strength lies, whether on the linguistic and human side or elsewhere. The French influence on our language is visible in the form "grammaire," which occurs below.

P. 39. *teaching Latine in Scotland*: In Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland* much information founded on Burgh records is given regarding the condition of classical studies in the schools of Scotland from the Reformation onward (pp. 330 ff.). One of his authorities (339) is drawn from the very period with which we are concerned, being the course of studies in the Edinburgh High School of date 1640. His inference from the whole evidence is that in schools like the High School of Edinburgh and the Grammar School of Aberdeen the present course of classical studies is substantially what it has for centuries been, "though," he adds, "it may fairly be doubted whether even these great schools lay now so deep and stable a basis as their predecessors in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries". Burnet's criticism has reference rather to the method itself than to the skill or success with which it was applied. His views are remarkable for that age and in one so young: they show both independence and insight and it is a pity they did not receive greater publicity and attention at the time. Cf. 153, 154.

Hardly any analogy exists between Latin studied as it must be and the study of a living modern language learned in the country in which it is spoken.

P. 40. *our grammaire*: Grammar (Latin) as taught by us.

P. 40. *crabbed*: Cf. "Scurvy" (17).

rather to scarre than to invite boyes: The criticism is hardly yet out of date. The grand mistake of all exclusively grammar teaching is the assumption that grammar is an end in itself. Grammar, in this connection, is strictly subservient to the main end, acquaintance with the language and thereafter the literature; it should therefore be reduced to a minimum and occupy a subordinate position. The study of the science of grammar is another matter, and is certainly not for beginners in a language. "There is no need for learning anomalys" with the rest of the sentence is as true as it has always been, and greatly requires to be laid to heart.

barbarous rules: The more so as they were in Latin. See note on "another errour, etc." (41).

The rudiments: The "Dunbar Rudiments," the work of Andrew Simson, schoolmaster and minister of Dunbar, was according to Grant (*op. cit.*, 359) "the first grammar written by a countryman [i.e. Scotchman] which really took possession of the Scottish schools". Published in 1587 it "continued to be one of the most popular books of the kind in Scotland, until a more learned grammarian, Thomas Ruddiman, produced, in 1714, his famous *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*, which superseded all other grammars". Ruddiman's *Rudiments* is a name that calls up associations of youth in some still surviving.

Lillie's accidence: Lillie's grammar published in 1513, is another of the ancient text-books that have survived till present memory. The author, William Lily, Lilly or Lilye, was appointed by the founder, Dean Colet, first

master of St. Paul's School, an office which he held during the last eleven years of his life, 1512-1523. He was born in 1468. Numerous references to Lillius, as he is called, occur in early Scottish School records.

P. 40. *Vossius his grammair*: For the form of expression see above, 32.

Gerard Voss or Vossius was a Dutch scholar, professor at Amsterdam during the latter part of his life. His death took place in 1649 as the result of an accidental fall from the ladder in his library. Voss wrote several books on grammar and rhetoric, mention of which is made among our early text-books. He must not be confused with John Vaus, a famous Aberdonian scholar and teacher, who published the earliest Latin Grammar written by a Scotman. It was printed in Paris in 1522.

parcells: Portions, extracts.

variety breeds delectation: A translation of the maxim "variatio delectat". See quotation from Plutarch in note on 31.

losseth: See above, 18 (loseth): "loss" is a variant for "lose". The proposed method of instruction may be compared with that advocated by Ascham or by Locke in the same subject. The variety of suggestions for reform indicates that current methods did not command general approval.

P. 41. *though for his fancy*: A curious literary judgment, almost unaccountable if the writer had read his author. One wonders, too, whether he knew Dante.

Castellio his Bible: Sebastian Castellio or Castalio was for a time a colleague of Calvin at Geneva,

but parted from him on account of difference of opinion, and ended his days in poverty at Basle in 1563. His Latin version of the Old and New Testaments, published in 1551, was dedicated to the English monarch, Edward VI. Locke refers to the occupation of his latter days (*Thoughts*, § 91). Castalio's *Latin Bible* and *Sacred Dialogues* were in use in Scotch schools at the time.

P. 41. *none of the Bibles, etc.*: none = not one. Castalio's life was embittered by theological disputes with Calvin and Beza. But probably Burnet had some definite and specific objections to his Bible.

Another error, etc.: According to the statutes of the Grammar School of [Old] Aberdeen, published in the third edition of Vaus's Grammar, pupils were to speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or "Hybernice," probably Gaelic. Grant (*op. cit.*, 162) remarks: "The custom of speaking Latin in school and during play-hours made the practice universally observed prior to the last century, of teaching the Latin tongue wholly by a Latin grammar, not so senseless as might at first sight be imagined, and it may be observed that, while the admirable custom of speaking Latin prevailed, there were more learned scholars and masters than have existed since our knowledge of that language has been derived from books only". "A Latin grammar" means a grammar written in Latin, not merely dealing with Latin. Possibly Burnet's "barbarous" (40) may be meant to include that element of difficulty: in any case "not so senseless" is very faint praise indeed. The weakness of the method is forcibly brought out through the arguments in the text.

P. 42. *ornacy* : Grace, elegance.

learne, teaching, teach : The contrast of forms, without difference of meaning, within so small a compass is striking. Cf. note on 15.

confabulations : Conferring, conversation.

rascally : Vile, debased. See above, 17.

unfrequency : Memories of the Bursary Competition in the University of Aberdeen as it existed half-a-century ago might render the charge an unexpected one at least in regard to "versions," i.e. retranslation, rendering into Latin. But the complaint, which, of course, refers to a much earlier period, is of a piece with the previous criticism of the excessive employment of grammar.

P. 43. *propriety . . . elegancy* : Some facility of manipulation must first have been acquired.

begin him quickly to translate out of English into Latine : It is quite certain that composition, as the more difficult exercise, should come some time later than translation. In the latter case, once an idea is grasped, the form, i.e. the native idiom, presents little or no difficulty. But in composition, the Latin equivalents must first of all be found, then they must be pieced together, and the result though perfectly grammatical may not be Latin at all. Until idiomatic usage has been to some extent mastered, the pupil has no model on which to base his constructive efforts and no criteria by which to test their success. Hence elementary composition reduces itself to a grammatical exercise. Latin composition is particularly difficult inasmuch as it involves the fusing of the ideas and the casting of them in a new mould. Every consideration points to

its introduction at a comparatively advanced stage, when the pupil has amassed a good deal of concrete linguistic material which may be used in his new constructions.

P. 43. *before the boy*: The counsel is sound, if judiciously applied. To young pupils the initial stages of Latin are often rendered unnecessarily distasteful and repulsive by being made unintelligible. Limits of time must be observed, for there comes a stage when the pupil must rely upon himself alone.

Every word or phrase: This also presupposes a knowledge of ordinary uses and idioms. It is a choice of the "court dresse" most suitable for the occasion.

moneths: months: the longer form is obsolete. It recurs more than once.

discourse (much with the boy): Talk, converse. Compare 41 above.

P. 44. *learne the speaking*: the context seems to show that "he" refers to "master or governour," "learne" being as before equivalent to teach: teach the speaking of, teach him to speak. The whole paragraph is carelessly constructed: "and" before "shewing" is otiose if not an absolute error.

that: (*ready*). Such.

study: Premeditation: "without study" = extempore.

use: Accustom.

takes . . . to task: Takes as his task, undertakes; cf. the biblical "take to wife".

deserved: Earned, and thus repaid.

the best of languages: Admiration and love of

the language have made the author very jealous of the wrongs done it through mistaken methods of teaching.

P. 45. *entertain . . . with*: Treat his pupil to, employ in the further instruction of his pupil. There is an idea also of making things more agreeable and attractive to him.

documents: Instruction, lesson, perhaps with an implied suggestion of either proof or warning. The word is obsolete in this sense; cf. 72.

history: The obvious superiority of the concrete form is now largely availed of: history, including biography, exhibits morality in action, and is in every way preferable (at this stage) to "long lectures of morality;" variety (chequer work) is thus imparted to a curriculum the staple of which is linguistic and "variety breeds delectation".

drudging penance: cf. 19 and note.

usefull: a word of ill omen in the literature of education, but here quite innocent. It is nearly equivalent to "serviceable," it has reference to morals and is without materialistic implication; cf. 50, which throws light on the author's application of the word. "Use" and "useful" recur frequently.

much enamoured of, etc.: This tendency is too often associated with prigs.

preferre . . . idle games: Perhaps.

apparatus: Preparation, accompaniment, a means of aiding, help; cf. 61.

P. 46. *the ruder draughts, etc.*: This is the method "indefinite to definite". H. Spencer's treatment of the subject is familiar (c., ii.) "Only as the multiplication of experiences gives material for definite conceptions . . .

only as the various classes of relations get accurately marked off from each other by mutual limitation; can the exact definitions of advanced knowledge become truly comprehensible. Thus in education we must be content to set out with crude notions." The first vague impressions are by experience rendered definite and precise, the hazy outline by degrees receives definition and content.

While this describes one phase of early mental attainment and continues to be a form of psychical experience, it is not to be inferred that we have here the best method of teaching either geography or history ["several aeraes of tyme, etc."]. The procedure advocated in the text is in both instances deductive: current opinion and usage approve the converse method, which in this connection is best described as synthetic—a putting together in large and ever larger generalisations the details, at first isolated, which are gained by actual experience. In geography the earliest observations are those of home and neighbourhood, gradually extending outward to district, county, country, kingdom: in history the details of biography, battle, siege, campaign, society, public life, etc., are finally unified into that comprehensive study which we denominate history. "The state of the world," "the several aeraes of time" are the very last stage, the coping stone of the whole structure.

P. 46. *In geography, etc.*: The co-ordination of studies is excellently described. To this extent "Concentration" is in place.

For the account, etc. See note above. The "particular" "transactions"—lives, events, incidents—are

possessed of concrete interest and form the basis and content of more extended views.

P. 46. *pretty* : Fine, worthy of admiration.

P. 47. *morall observations* : The moral had, as a rule, better be allowed to insinuate itself. The "self-referent" attitude of the pupil, as Professor John Adams calls it, will ensure this.

policy : This difficult and ambiguous term seems here to be nearly equivalent to statecraft, tinkering with the constitution. Burnet had in 1662 tried his hand at reforming ecclesiastical abuses. Archbishop Sharp, to whom he had addressed "an unsubscribed letter," told him in the course of an interview "that young men understood not government and ought not to meddle in it" (*Supp.* 40). Burnet was nineteen at the time. See the Author's Life above.

stick : Hesitate, cf. Lat. *haereo, haesito*.

our late disorders : The troubled years that followed the Restoration are still painful in recall. See the Author's Life.

he (shall profite) : Redundant : cf. 28.

'*ere* : The apostrophe is a mistake, however it may have arisen. It may be due to confusion with e'er (ever), the more as "ere ever" ("or ever," Book of Daniel, vi. 24) was a frequent combination. The correct form occurs below.

history is so easily understood : Probably the writer of the *History of the Reformation* and the *History of My Own Time* would have chosen to express himself differently at a later period of his life. In any case the term "history" would first require to be defined.

P. 48. *the doleful toil of much writing*: Much writing is to a youthful pupil a veritable penance. One of the very worst faults of present-day education in Scotland is the excessive number and length of so-called "exercises" prescribed for home work. Each master and mistress ignore the claims of every subject but their own, and seldom is any effective control exercised over them. Only the very best pupils can come up to the demands, and even they do so at ruinous cost to future efficiency. The others find means of making a show of compliance! One obvious outcome of the practice is the ruin of handwriting in the secondary schools, whose standard in this respect is very low. "Write down" is shown by the context to refer to short abstracts, a wholly justifiable method. The evils of excessive written work need not blind us to the necessity of independent effort by the pupil and means of exhibiting its results. The question is, as at many points in education, one of degree or amount.

corrections: i.e., by way of discipline.

a publike punishment: See note on 59 below

Cf. 20.

exasperate: Punishment is a moral agent; if it merely provoke and harden, it is worse than useless. But the disciplinarian must assure himself both of the alleged resentment and, if it exists, of its cause. Reaction to punishment is greatly dependent upon constitutional temperament. Other factors are the current modes of thought in a community and the forms of correction to which a pupil has been accustomed in earlier life. Cf. "resented" below.

kyndnes and love: Cf. 19, 20 above.

P. 48. *promise amendment*: As the great purpose of "correction" is moral reform, the earnest of amendment involved in penitence is a sufficient reason for dispensing with punishment. But some guarantee beyond a mere profession may be necessary that the repentance is genuine and permanent. Cf. "candidly confess it," 16.

unless they be customary: In this case a bad habit is implied, and that may require different treatment.

without passion . . . while he is angry: Personal gratification in inflicting punishment is wholly out of place. Punishment is to some extent impersonal, though the display of vexation or even of indignation in its infliction may lend to it added weight. As a rule, some interval should elapse between a serious offence and its punishment, but it must be short lest the association of wrong-doing and penalty be lost. In the public schools in one part of the kingdom the interval is fixed at ten minutes.

Plutarch (*op. cit.*, xiv) has stated the principle more comprehensively: "The tongue must be under control, so must the temper and the hands". He has some very apt illustrations, too:—Archytas of Tarentum said to a lazy and negligent steward, "You would have caught it, had I not been very angry." Plato entrusted to his nephew the punishment of a gluttonous slave in the words, "Go and beat him, for I am too angry". The latter example may be the origin of the reference to Plato in the text.

he (is hated by) him . . . his . . . him: An inexcusable jumble, the more as the pronoun has in the preceding three or four lines been already used five times in reference to "master". The same kind of

carelessness in Burnet's *History* excited Swift's ire and ridicule.

P. 48. *Plato . . . nephew* : Speusippus, son of Eury-medon and Plato's sister, Potone, succeeded his uncle as head of the Academy but died after eight years (317-339 B.C.). His early career had not given very much promise, but Plato by his method of life and example, without any formal rebuke, converted the youth into a devoted adherent.

P. 49. *warmed* ; By passion.

carry : Bear or conduct oneself. Cf. "carriage" below, and see note on 19.

cold carriage ; Cf. Locke (*Thoughts*, §§ 57 ff.), "cold and neglectful Countenance," "a like Carriage of the mother," "every Body else should put on the same Coldness to him," etc.

least (the boy) ; Lest.

alienate : The meaning is—lest the boy turn his affection from the master : the sense of "alienate" is not quite the usual one, unless indeed the author has again got mixed with "his" and "him".

by substituting ; The text represents a combination of two constructions : the best course is to substitute ; this is best done by substituting. The counsel is in itself very sound. Diversion, replacement, substitution rather than abolition or destruction is the procedure at many points in education, especially where feeling is concerned. See James, *Talks to Teachers*, c. vi.

P. 50. *divertisement* : See 12.

the pleasures he is most taken with ; The boy is to be allowed and encouraged to cultivate his natural tastes,

to be indulged in any innocent hobby. "Pleasures" is not a very happy term; "recreation" lower down is better. Of course, the principle is a correct one, much employed in our time in order to provide pleasant and profitable ("use," end of paragraph) occupation for spare time.

P. 50. *educating . . . plants*; A very interesting use of the much abused and long-suffering "educate".

dancing; It is strange that it should not stand upon its own legs, as a mode of motion or experience, but be ranked as a mere accompaniment of music.

limning: Perhaps illuminate is the special sense intended, but the word may be little more than a synonym of paint. It is also applied to painting in water colours.

adjousted; "Adjoust" seems to be a different word from "adjust," for which it is here used, things may be so fitted, arranged, disposed, toward one another, etc. See Oxford Eng. Dict., *sub voce*.

P. 51. *house-games*; Possibly cards and dice are the games that the author has chiefly in mind; at any rate we know from several sources that boys at the time had to be forbidden playing such games for money.

often the whole afternoon; An advanced view even for our time. See Report of Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) (1903), (18), for similar sentiments. The "other recreations" probably included games of ball, among them hand-ball and perhaps golf. Archery was decadent by Burnet's time, though it had been a favourite pastime earlier, and is mentioned as in vogue in schools as late as the seventeenth century.

P. 51. *Greek* : The author's position is quite clear and unmistakable. Greek serves no purpose in life, is not "useful" except as the key to the treasures of the New Testament, the path to the fountain head of our religion. As such it is worthy the attention even of "noblemen". There are no theories of the mental discipline to be derived from it. Its literature has been accurately translated and what else is required for secular purposes? Of course, this would not now be accepted as a full statement of the case.

P. 52. *counter-charged* : The metaphor may be explained by the assumption that Latin and Greek are litigants opposed to the pupil. When he has met one charge, solved one difficulty, say that contained in comprehending the meaning of a Greek passage, there is a counter-charge in the other language, he has to grapple with the difficulty of rendering the meaning into Latin. The old rule, "one thing at a time," saves all "counter-charges". The remarks above regarding Latin Composition may be compared.

neither is . . . so pleasant . . . one rack into another . . . a pleasanter study : Burnet carries with him the *στίγματα* of his early study under his father. He had little of the enthusiasm or joy of the real classical student. Cf. "penance" (19), and note.

discourse : Talk, as above.

upon the opening of the book : Still spoken of as *ad aperturam* translation, shortened for *ad aperturam libri*, which the text translates.

Roman historians : The demand seems a large one. Possibly the author may have been thinking of writers

like Sallust, Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius, but he can hardly have meant to omit Cæsar, Livy, Tacitus, etc.

P. 53. *Buchanan*: George Buchanan, one of the most famous of Scotch scholars and Latinists, was tutor to both Mary Queen of Scots and to her son James VI. He wrote in Latin a *History of Scotland*, published in 1582, only a month before his death. He was born in 1506.

again: Against (the time, that), before.

aversion . . . not very strong: A curious way of indicating a boy's turn or taste for linguistic study. It reminds one of that maximum of commendation frequently bestowed by Scotchmen "no that ill".

Chaldaic, Syriac, and Samaritane: The relations of these Semitic dialects are not easy to disentangle. The Jews are said to have learned Chaldaic, a language much like Hebrew, during the Captivity: the portions of the Old Testament referred to as written in it are parts of Ezra and of Daniel. Syriac is Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine in our Lord's time. Samaritan was a dialect, perhaps inferior, of Aramaic, both being descended from the older Hebrew. The Samaritan Pentateuch had come to light shortly before Burnet's day, and seems to be still a problem. Milton (*Tractate on Education* (Cambridge), 15) would have "the *Chaldey*, and the *Syrian* Dialect" included in his ideal curriculum.

P. 54. *mother-languages*: The immediately preceding context shows the application of the term to Hebrew, while the remarks that follow show it in regard to Latin: but the reference in "Greek" is not evident. Professor Souter suggests that the idea may have been derived from the use

P. 58. *he who well, etc.* : A fine sentiment, to which point is given by the almost epigrammatic form.

without (him) : Outside of, external to—a Stoical as much as a Christian tenet.

beat down : Metaphorical, subdue, overthrow.

celsitude : Exaltation, loftiness (*celsitudo*) : obsolete.

Solomon's Ecclesiastes : The remark derives special point from "the vanity of the world" a little before.

Stoicall philosophy . . . Epictetus : Stoicism was a great power in Rome during the first century A.D., numbering among its adherents many of the noblest spirits of the time—Tacitus, Thrasea Paetus, Seneca, etc., and in the following century, the philosopher-emperor M. Aurelius. Epictetus is to be added as a devoted adherent and leader of the sect. He flourished during the latter part of the first and early part of the second century. Though he left no writings, his pupil Arrian, the well-known historian of Alexander the Great, published a summary of his discourses in the Manual (*Enchiridion*) which is still extant, and which Burnet no doubt had in his mind. The Stoic philosophy had considerable influence in the development of Christianity, and this, added to its affinity to Christian doctrine in many points, accounts for the introduction of it in this connection.

P. 59. *historical instances . . . bare reasonings* : Cf. 46, and note. The advice here is sound, though it runs counter to what was suggested in the passage referred to.

one's selfe for their rank : "Oneself for one's rank" is the correct form, but might sound pedantic in a

work like the *Thoughts* which was in the first instance a semi-private letter to a friend. "One's self" shows the original form, but "their" is colloquial and inferior.

P. 59. *censuring*: Cf. note on 57.

carried: Managed.

to cover and excuse his faults to others: "The wise Locke" says (*Thoughts*, § 62). "The Rebukes and Chiding, which their Faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave, and impassionate Words, but also alone and in private: But the Commendations Children deserve, they should receive before others", etc., etc. Cf. 20, 65, 66.

P. 60. (*to contemne*) *them*: The language is obscure: the nearest reference is to "one's": see note on "one's self," etc., above.

touch: The word suggests external polish or adornment: cf. "some what will stick" 37 and note. Plutarch says much the same thing but adopts a different image (*op. cit.*, x.): "Next our free-born lad ought to [pursue] a course of what is called general knowledge, but a smattering of this will be sufficient, a taste as it were (for perfect knowledge of all subjects would be impossible)".

anatomy: "Most things" are a very varied assortment and much of the information on them must be of a very superficial character, "a smattering," absolutely a touch: "easy . . . piece of knowledge" is quite in keeping; to the anatomist the remark will hardly appear to be serious.

muscules: Muscle, Lat. *musculus*, a little mouse, from the resemblance.

P. 60. *dissections*. *Yet good copper prints* : The method is at any rate superior to mere verbal description. It would be still better to *make* the dissections and to *draw* the figures.

compense : Compensate.

nimble : Quick, i.e. if in imagination he can translate the prints back into the realities they represent.

P. 61. *nursing* : Tending, rearing ; the verb is obsolete in this sense, but "nursery" is not. Cf. 50 (educating), 73.

a study or a recreation : The best commentary is Bacon's *Essay Of Gardens*, "the purest of human pleasures".

natural history : The term used to include the whole range of nature—biology, chemistry, physics, etc. ; "experiments" would apply either to physics or chemistry, but the special mention of chemistry lower down (70) may suggest physics here. Cf. 64.

apparatus ; Preparation, equipment, see 45.

mechanical performances . . . mechanist ; Mathematics has a practical side, and is taken to cover mechanics, now a part of physics.

stereometry : "The art of measuring solid bodies and finding their solid contents". (*στερεός* = solid.)

subtlety ; A student whose mathematical talent was deficient urged in self-defence the contention that mathematics required "low cunning," which was foreign to his nature.

of such use ; The same criterion again : but why should such a judgment be passed on these sciences ?

subalternate ; subordinate, almost equivalent to "applied," in this connection.

P. 62. *geometry* : Apparently the practical side, mensuration, land-surveying: that was the original meaning and application of the science (earth-measuring, γῆ, μετρέω.)

The theories of musick, etc. : A comparison may be made between the somewhat formidable demands of the text and similar lists of Elyot, Milton, Locke—and Mr. Squeers.

dioptriks : The portion of optics that deals with the laws of refraction; catoptrics deals with those of reflection.

dialling : The act of constructing dials, i.e. of sun, moon, etc.

statues : What is meant by knowing statues? Is it to understand statuary, as knowing architecture is to understand *its* laws? If so, how is statuary “so necessary to humane (human) life” as architecture?

as his fingers : At his fingers’ ends.

since (all mechanisme) : The connection with the preceding statement is not by any means evident. One might suspect that some words had dropped out before “since”.

fancy : Imagination. Cf. 60.

hook : Attach.

medling with the state : Cf. “policy,” 47.

least (their brains) : Lest, as above, 49.

stretched : Exercised, strained. A metaphor derived from limb or muscle.

P. 63. *several sects . . . chieffe grounds* : Only the history of philosophy is to be taught, the adoption of a philosophic creed most agreeable to the nature of things being left over to mature age and to independent choice.

In much the same way the historical method was advised in controversial theology (56).

P. 63. *logick* : The spirit of Bacon was abroad and dissatisfaction was spreading against instruments of instruction that added no real knowledge, but at best enabled the learner to render a reasoned account of what he knew. Locke's view of Logic is quite analogous: "Be sure not to let your Son be bred up in the Art and Formality of disputing . . . unless instead of an able Man, you desire to have him an insignificant Wrangler, . . . priding himself in contradicting others; or, which is worse, questioning every Thing, and thinking there is no such Thing as Truth to be sought, but only Victory, in disputing" (*Thoughts*, § 189). Cf. 38.

disputing : Arguing.

contentiously jangling : Cf. 56.

meanne : The singular was formerly used habitually where the plural (means) would now be employed. "Meannes" is used at least once in the treatise "this meannes".

P. 64. *Natural history* : See on 61. The tendency to identify natural "history" and natural "philosophy" appears here.

only as recreations : The principle is important, especially for the young.

delight : Chief or main satisfaction, the one pleasure in life. There is, of course, no reason why the pleasure of sport should be taken sadly. But it *should* be taken in moderation and in subordination to more serious purposes in life.

P. 64. *For (handling his armes)* as for.

P. 65. *pretexta* : The toga praetexta, bordered (as the term means) with purple, was at that age or a little later discarded for the toga virilis which was self-coloured, the natural colour of the sheep's wool, approximately white when clean.

a shield given them : This may be a confusion with Sparta, as Professor Souter suggests.

to handle arms : Mr. Quick (*Educational Reformers*, 67) remarks of Rabelais that his attention to physical education was not for the purpose of health but "to prepare [his pupil] for the gentleman's occupation, war".

it feeds arrogance : The remark probably reflects personal experience in that troubled age.

natively : Naturally, plainly, straightforwardly.

to give up with him : To give him up, to cease to expostulate with, or waste pains upon, a hopeless subject.

P. 66. *telling* : The word has no grammatical connexion: in thought it depends upon some such word as "governor," to be supplied—" [for the governor] to give up with him".

converse with him as his friend : "A Father will do well, as his Son grows up, and is capable of it, to *talk familiarly* with him; nay, *ask his Advice, and consult* with him about those Things wherein he has any Knowledge or Understanding". The whole passage (Locke, *Thoughts*, § 95) should be compared.

rational foundations : The positive teaching of early life dealing mainly with facts and events merges into explanations of underlying principles which render religion

rational: the pupil has to be taught, in fact, to give a reason of the hope that is in him.

P. 66. *observing*: Observant of.
of [*what events*]: On.

P. 67. *remembered*: Reminded, caused to remember.
his (chieffe designe). *He (must also) . . . him*.

The pronominal difficulty again: the meaning is, however, plain enough.

incendiaries: The combination of the personal agent with the abstract charge (broils) is awkward. The word is used figuratively of those who stir up strife by using inflammatory language or the like. The subjunctive is rightly used in "abhorre," but there is a lapse into the indicative in "listenes".

against . . . of: A rather careless combination: he seems to be thinking of slanderers *of* the King.

P. 68. *opiniastrous*: Another of the adjectival forms of this word: see note on 36. With the sentiment cf. Proverbs xxvi. 12: "Seest you a man wise in his own conceit? There is more hope of a fool than of him."

other things: Plutarch has a fine passage (*op. cit.*, viii.) on the value of education which Burnet may have had in mind. "All other human blessings compared to this are petty and insignificant." Noble birth, wealth, glory, beauty, health, strength [= "other things"] are all accidental or evanescent, "but education is of all our advantages the only one immortal and divine". It "is of the first and middle and last importance".

manners: Chiefly in their moral aspect, morals, character.

P. 69. *humours* : Disposition rather than whims. The old theory of the four humours on which health, mental as well as bodily, depended, still colours the language. Cf. the use of the word 15, 16, 18, 35, 36, etc.

among them : I.e. among men, although only "man" has been used. The author's practice of deviating from the strictly logical mode of expression is again in evidence.

humane : Human, i.e., merely human, uninspired. Cf. 62, 72.

Son of Sirach : The apocryphal book *Ecclesiasticus* : it is introduced by a "Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach".

to replenish : Essay writing is an admirable exercise at this stage, but it can hardly be said to replenish the mind : it will stimulate manipulation (thoughts and fancies) of the material gathered from observation and reading. But the accumulation of resources is the real replenishing.

more considerable : Cf. 22.

greatest orators : Quintilian's great treatise (*Institutes of Oratory*) shows how many ingredients go to make up the perfect orator. The power of ready and "elegant expression" is, of course, not to be despised ; but it is only one element. "Conference" may make the "ready man," but reading alone can make the "full man".

P. 70. *to look discreetly into chymistry* : Discreetly is moderately, not unduly : to bestow the attention becoming in an amateur, not to devote oneself to it exclusively as a profession. In the author's character of Charles II.

(*History*, i., 94) occurs the statement that "he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a prince". The original sketch shows even more clearly that it was bad form (not "discreet") to be possessed of too much knowledge of technical details: "in the architecture of ships he judges as critically as any of the trade can do" (*Supplement*, 49). The passage in the text suggests that chemistry was not specially in the author's mind in speaking of natural history above.

P. 70. *parts*: Accomplishments.

acting: Action, behaviour.

this will more prejudge: In "this" apparently, the study of chemistry is referred to: "prejudge" is the same word as "prejudice," its equivalent here, though the meanings are now different.

admonish him, of: Remind of and, in process of so doing, correct.

escapes: See note on 16.

P. 71. *advice of Solomon*: Eccl. xi., 9, is in point; "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth," etc. On the whole, Solomon's pædogy as represented in Scripture was distinctly severe and repressive.

affectation: Locke has much to say on this defect which he regards as peculiarly the product of education (the proper Fault of Education). He defines it as "an awkward and forc'd Imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the Beauty that accompanies what is natural". He places its treatment at a much

earlier stage than Burnet, in order to warn and guard against it (*Thoughts*, § 66).

P. 71. *right mediocrity* : No general reference is intended to the "golden mean;" the remark applies specifically to "too much" and "too little" in speech or conduct as productive of affectation.

yoke : The idea of the *burden* of education is very persistent in one who had borne the yoke in his youth.

as by our law : I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. James Duguid, for an explanation of the passage. By the law of Scotland the power of revoking acts done in one's minority holds good during the period mentioned, provided not inconsiderable damage, in legal phrase "enorm lesion," has arisen in consequence of them. The period thence derives the name *quadriennium utile*. See Bell, *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, 2098, etc.

P. 72. *documents* : See 45.

make choice : It would be a happy thing if every young man could defer the choice of a field of labour until he were capable of rationally exercising it. The cases are very rare and altogether exceptional in which this can be done. There are, however, some advantages in an earlier choice, for education can then be correlated with profession in the most direct way. The danger and the pity are when not choice but necessity precipitates the youth into an occupation for which he may or may not have taste or capacity. Educational thought and effort have of late directed themselves toward a solution of this pressing problem.

demean : Behave, conduct, himself : Cf. de-

of these languages and these alone in the inscription on the Cross.

P. 54. *Since all learning is put in French*: Here again the substance of the language is what appeals to the author.

French servant: Would not the "nobleman's" pronunciation or perchance his morals be thus endangered? The general idea is carried out in our time by the employment of a well-educated young Frenchwoman as nursery governess.

P. 55. *Germane*: The remarks that follow may remind us of the changes in relative importance of languages that two and a half centuries have brought about. The kinship of German and English might have suggested itself as a set-off to the difference between German and the Romance languages.

a original: The hiatus sounds strange especially after the habitual use of "ane".

lower Germany . . . upper: The terms are used loosely; they are derived from the elevation of the country at different points, north and south.

harshes . . . most unpleasant: Harping still on the same string!

(well) seen: Versed, skilled, proficient; common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries usually with adverb ("well," "ill," etc.).

tutory: State of being under a tutor, equivalent to tutorship or tutelage and denoting the legal condition of pupillarity.

P. 56. *nature*: The use of the term here and below (63) in connection with "philosophy" is noteworthy. It

seems to refer to the *ultima ratio*, the constitution of things, the great realities which lie behind the material and phenomenal world.

P. 56. *to overturn philosophy*: The true philosopher is the man with an open mind, never a partisan.

janglings of divines: The view expressed regarding controversial theology is quite in keeping with the previous one regarding philosophy. Burnet had experienced too much of it not to speak with feeling.

contravertists: Usually "controvertist," the same in meaning as controversialist.

P. 57. *Atheisme*: See 79.

curious: The word has such a variety of shades of meaning that it is not altogether easy to decide which should here be attached. From the parallelism of subtle (subtle) it would seem to mean "prone to draw fine distinctions, nicely critical".

censure: See above, 12. The meaning seems more decided here, to criticise, implying disapproval.

Our present distractions: This is of a piece with "late disorders," 47, which see.

solutions . . . unriddle to him knotty places (58): The spirit and method mark the coming professor of divinity. The procedure was pretty closely followed by Burnet at Glasgow. "Unriddle . . . knot" is, of course, a combination of two discrepant figures.

P. 58. *all for the science of theology*: The meaning of "for," a word with literally scores of uses, is rather elusive; it is probably the "for" of reference = that concerns, with respect to, regarding, about.

meanour. The meaning "to lower" belongs to a word of different origin, if indeed the use has not arisen through a mistaken association of *demean* with the adjective "mean".

P. 72. *effect* : Purpose.

to choice : Diligent search has revealed no parallel to this use of "choice" for "choose" as verb. The converse "choose" for "choice" as subst., is seen in such phrases as "to make choose," "to take choose," which occur in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

country man : See 11.

colledge of justice : The definition of the Dictionaries runs: "In Scotland, the supreme civil courts, composed of the lords of council and session, together with the advocates, clerks of session, clerks of the bills, writers to the signet, etc.". The general meaning is higher courts of justice, the Court of Session.

P. 73. *parents . . . sould acquaint* : See Locke as referred to on 66. "Nothing," he says, "cements and establishes Friendship and Good-will so much as *Confident Communication* of Concernments and Affairs," i.e. by father to son (*op. cit.*, § 96).

gouvernement : Power of management or control.

antidote : Provide an antidote to, furnish a remedy against. The word is rare as a verb.

keep nurseries : I.e. of herbs and trees. Cf. 61.

P. 74. *manage his arms* : Cf. 65 and note. Of course, the age of the "person of quality" is now "past twenty," and there is less risk of arrogance being bred.

souldier of fortune : The *miles gloriosus* has been

a long standing character, not yet quite extinct. Captain Dugald Dalgetty of "the Mareschal-College of Aberdeen" is the most natural illustration in this connection. The Scotch guards of Louis XV and men like Marshal Keith have done a good deal to redeem the name.

P. 74. *politics*: See note on "policy" 47.

P. 75. *a certain subtleness, closenes, and leger de main*: The remark may be read in the light of the author's character. Whatever his other qualities, he was even to the end of his days too frank and naïve to attain to statesmanship, at least as thus defined. In particular, he was lacking in reticence ("closenes") and could never be taken fully into the confidence of his confederates or party. His failings may have leaned to virtue's side, but they were none the less a drawback and at many points in his career an obstacle to his advancement. Legerdemain ("light of hand, *léger de main*,") as it is now commonly written, has an enormous variety of forms. Its original meaning was "sleight of hand, jugglery," but it is also used, as here, in the figurative sense of "trickery, deception".

unlesse God work, etc.: Cf. Locke (*Thoughts*, § 87), "If it be any Father's Misfortune to have a Son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do but pray for him". The remark is made of the child who has proved incorrigible even under the repeated application of "the rough Discipline of the Cudgel".

wanting some moneths of twenty-five: This fixes the date of the work as the early part of the year 1668, Burnet having been born on Sept. 18th, 1643. See Life of the Author, and cf. 12. The passage is of importance

as indicating the relationship between the author and his correspondent. Despite the language of compliment, it has the ring of sincerity.

P. 76. *Romans when statues were erected for them in the capitol* : The Capitol was crowded with temples, shrines, and statues. Among the last were those of many famous men and "the most conspicuous must have been those of the seven Kings of Rome" (Platner, *Ancient Rome*, 286).

a modell ; That is, an ideal.

chimereque, chimerique (77) ; Chimeric, chimerical, i.e. imaginary, fanciful, fantastic. No other instance of the spelling "chimereque" seems to occur.

one of a thousand ; Perhaps in reference to Eccl. vii., 28, "one man among a thousand have I found". But it may be merely one of the colloquialisms derived from numbers, which are common to all ages and nations. For the sentiment cf. 29-32, and notes, particularly that on "change in a governour" (32).

P. 77. *artisan . . . polished* : The conception of education is again the external one, a rough block wrought by a *skilful artist* into a polished statue, *homo factus ad unguem*. Of course, the metaphor is old and common.

Ere, etc. : The remainder of the work is of the nature of a postscript, on the subject of travel. With the whole passage, Ascham's views should be compared (*Schoolmaster* (Arber's Reprints), 71 ff).

forrein ; Of the various ways of spelling the word "foran" would seem to be etymologically the most correct (Lat. *foraneus*). The "g" of "foreign" is quite out of

place, and has been introduced through false analogy, as is also the case in "sovereign". Cf. 38.

P. 77. *to learne to live in Scotland*: This view of travel is a very narrow and indeed mistaken one. It is largely modified, if not actually contradicted, by what follows in 80, 81.

engages on: The form implies an idea of motion, a leading *on* to and engaging *in*.

P. 78. *ordinarys*: The ordinary is the meal ordinarily or regularly provided at a fixed price as distinguished from one specially ordered. According to Scott, it was a new institution in the days of James I. "In the 17th cent. the more expensive *ordinaries* were frequented by men of fashion, and the dinner was usually followed by gambling; hence the term was often used as synonymous with 'gambling house'" (Oxford Dict.). But Burnet has chiefly in mind people of low class (*canaille*).

purposes: An old meaning was "discourse, conversation". Here it may signify either on such general topics, or in such general terms.

For learned men: The opinion is not in keeping with the author's own experience, for he thought he had profited greatly by his personal intercourse beyond sea with the Dutch and French, the divines in particular. The journey had been undertaken in 1664 when he was but 21. See Life of the Author. "For" = as for.

give a garb: Bestow grace, elegance, style. The word is repeated a few lines below, where it is brought into contrast with "clothes".

most doe: The reference of "most" is obscure

and uncertain. At first blush it seems to refer to young men that go abroad, as if the meaning were, this is all most youthful travellers attain to. Another possible sense is—this is all most changes, or most varieties, or opportunities of company do. The general sense is pretty evident, and in absence of greater explicitness we may have to rest content with that.

P. 78. *But if*: “If” almost = whether, the clause being dependent on “judge”.

P. 79. *pest of atheisme*: The “of” of apposition, the the pest consisting of atheism, or simply, atheism, the pest. With the sentiments, cf. Ascham (*op. cit.*, 82): “They [the Englishmen who have travelled in Italy] care for no scripture. . . . They mocke the Pope: They raile on *Luther*; They allow neyther side . . . they plainlie declare, of whose schole, of what Religion they be: that is, Epicures in living, and ἄθεοι in doctrine.” ἄθεοι godless or Atheists.

gentlemen their: See 32.

papists: Ascham after a reference to “our Godlie Italian Chirch at home” goes on to speak thus of the “Italianated” Englishmen whom he had described as atheists: “yet commonlie they allie themselves with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree together in three proper opinions: In open contempte of Goddes worde: in a secret securitie of sinne: and in a bloody desire to have all taken away, by sword and burning, that be not of their faction.”

this depraved compound of a man: The text of Ascham’s argument is the Italian proverb, which he quotes in the form—*Englese Italianato, e un diavolo incarnato* (an

Italianated Englishman is a devil incarnate), "that is to say, you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum devils in life and condition" *op. cit.* (78). For the expression, cf. 13.

P. 79. *manners*: See 68.

unmanly idolising of women: Cf. Ascham, *op. cit.*, 85.

with open mouth: A proverbial expression.

P. 80. *the king's severity*: If the reference is to Charles II., it seems rather pointless in dealing with what happened over sea, unless indeed this particular risk was incurred in travelling through England *en route* for the Continent.

without my road: Outside my path, beyond my treatment.

mature spirit: The time makes all the difference, but the author has been by no means clear in his specification of the age until this point.

gadding: Wandering, roaming, unsettled: the word is used figuratively.

if he be well recommended: If he have good introductions. Cf. "effectual recommendations" a few lines further on.

P. 81. *and so be taught to contemne it*: A somewhat unexpected conclusion, though quite in keeping with the spirit of the whole work. It seems to come in as a sort of afterthought as though the preacher had for a moment forgotten the "application," which he now brings in.

effectual recommendations . . . complimenting: Introductions must give access to people who are really worth knowing and will take trouble to direct the young man

(effectual). Mere complimentary or formal ones, e.g. to officials or persons on whom there is no claim, are useless.

P. 81. *running beyond sea* : The final words are the emphatic ones, antithetical to "the court of England ;" but "running" also implies a stigma, purposeless haste.

not now : The echo of regret seems to linger in the words, which suggest also a rather more recent date than that of the Union of the Crowns. The thought may be of some progress of Charles I. or the Coronation of Charles II. by the Scotch.

many things there : Burnet had seen something and was to see more of the Court of Charles II. A dozen years later (1680) he addressed to Charles his famous letter, expostulating with the King upon his course of life and his devotion to "so many sinful pleasures". Even in 1668 the King's character was well known.

among them : By a strange coincidence we take leave of the author labouring with the pronominal difficulty ; does "them" refer to "things" or to "court" used collectively ? The latter seems the better and more natural—those English courtiers.

ane : The author is by no means consistent in his use of the various forms of the indefinite article before a vowel or h. *Ane*, the original form (= one), *an*, *a*, are all found, the first becoming the usual form towards the end of the work. See 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 31, 34-6, 39, 41, 44-6, 55, 56, 60 ff.

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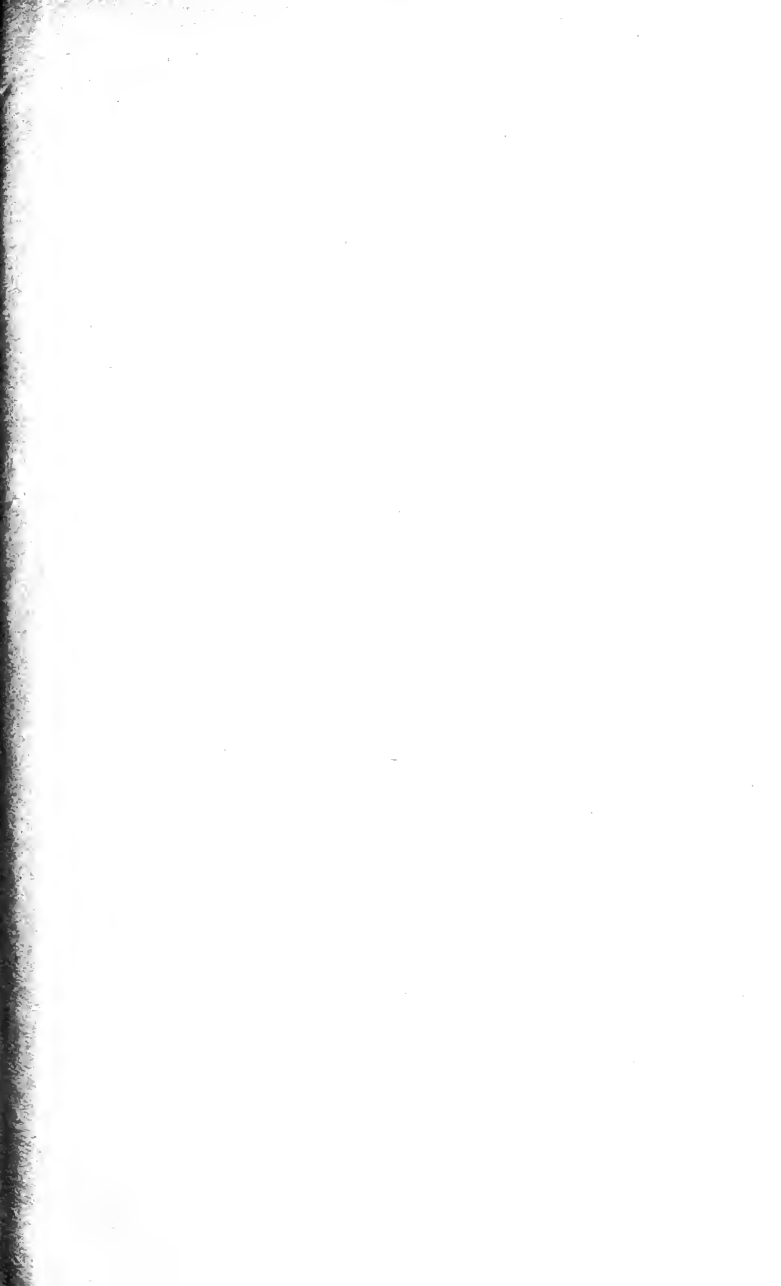
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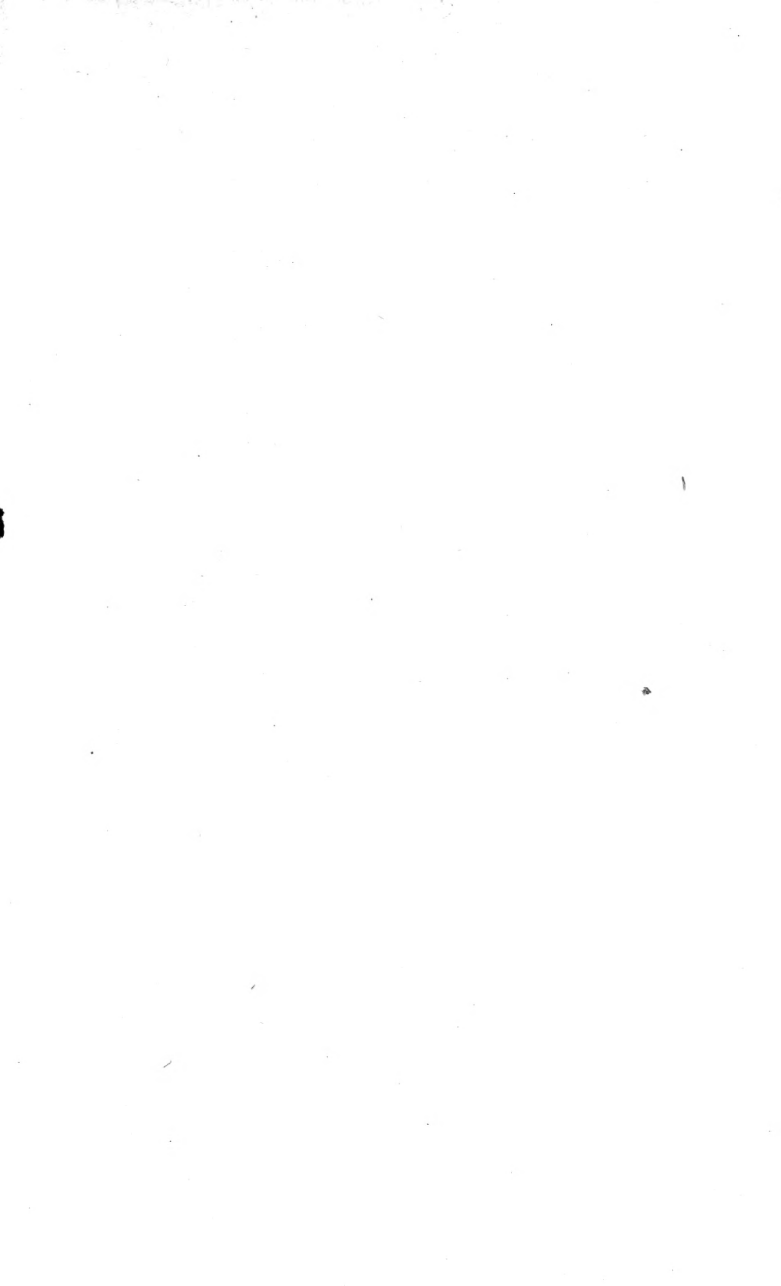
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