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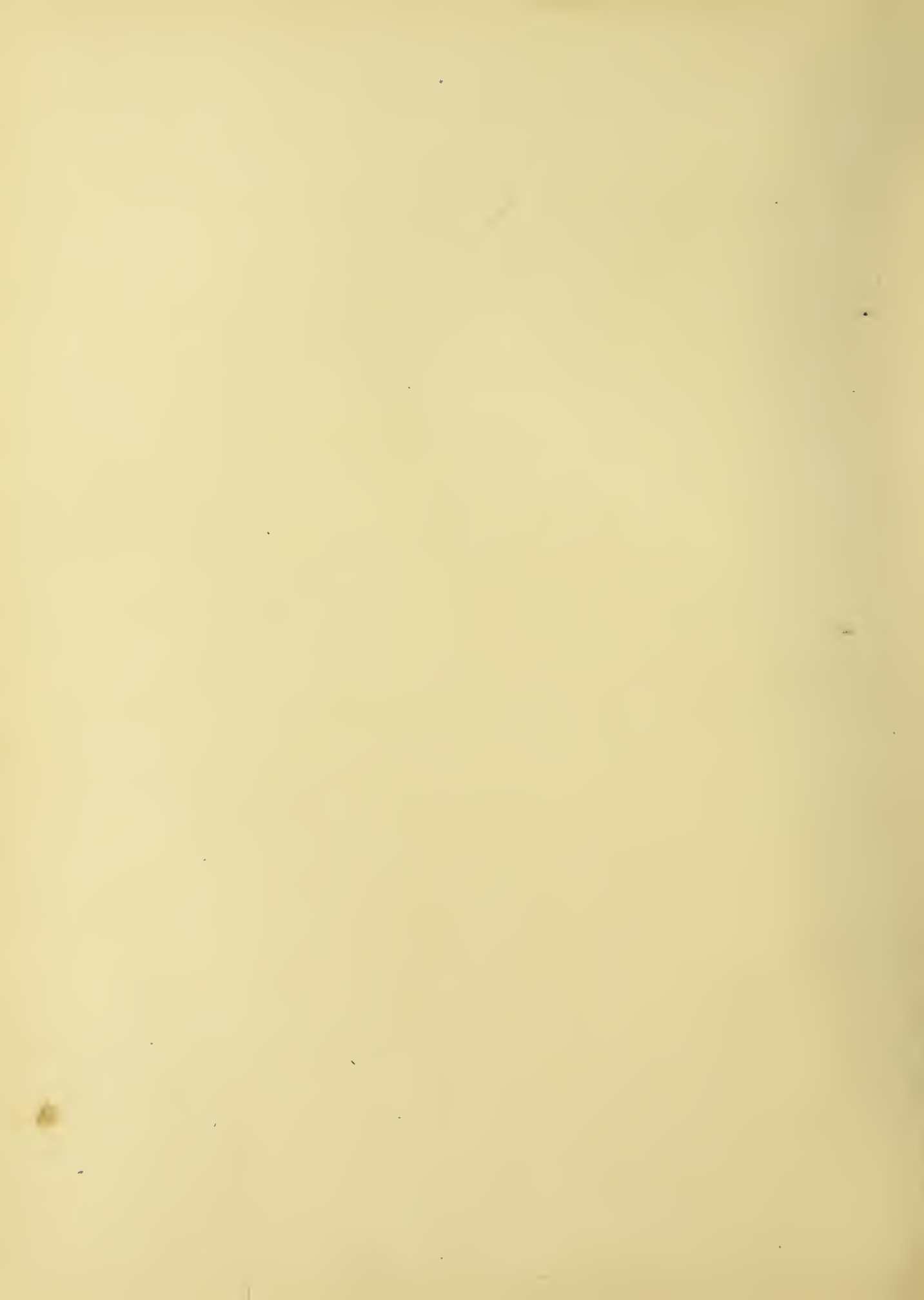
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QUINTILLIAN'S EDUCATIONAL THEORIES.

J. Howard Armitage.

Thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

in the

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in the

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

James Howard Armitage

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Quintilian's Educational Theories.

In order to obtain a more intelligent understanding of the educational theories of Quintilian, it will be necessary to consider briefly those earlier ideals upon which his system is based. Of the Chinese, Indian and Egyptian forms of education little is known and hence whatever effect they may have had upon later systems cannot be traced. With the Jewish forms, we are somewhat more familiar. In the early history of the Jewish race, education was essentially domestic. During the whole biblical period there is no trace of public schools, at least for young pupils. Children were taught by their parents the moral precepts and religious beliefs of the nation. The aim of this teaching was to make them pious, virtuous, the faithful servants of Jehovah, capable of attaining the ideal traced by God himself in these terms: "Ye shall be holy for I the Lord your God am holy!"* To this end their education was directed. These ideas were perfectly adapted to the Jewish temperament but they were too narrow to exert any widespread influence. To a nation that did not accept the religion of the Jews, such a doctrine did not appeal. Furthermore, the spirit of the Jews themselves was jealous and exclusive. Anything of gentile origin was looked upon by them with contempt. They had no desire to come in contact with other peoples and to impress upon them their individuality.

For the germs of a broad and liberal science of education capable of affecting all later systems, we must, therefore, look elsewhere. In the little peninsula of Hellas, we find a people who by the end of the fifth century before the Christian era had carefully wrought out and developed a system the results of which were in every respect

* Leviticus XIX, 2.



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admirable. The subjects taught were few in number but each served an important and well-defined purpose in the development of mental and physical perfection. The branches in which instruction was first given were gymnastics and music or the science of the Muses which included also a preliminary training in grammar. Other subjects were added until the number reached seven which, under the names Trivium and Quadrivium, lasted until the close of the middle ages. The Trivium included grammar, rhetoric and philosophy or dialectics; while arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy composed the Quadrivium. As preparatory to these subjects, pupils were instructed in reading, writing and numbers. By a careful training of the ear and of the vocal organs, an ability to distinguish between accent and quantity was acquired which we have completely lost. Greek pupils were thus enabled in their subsequent study of Homer and the tragic poets to appreciate fully not only the thought but also the subtle music and rhythm of the verse. In numbers also, they became very proficient and by the use of an elaborate system of reckoning upon the fingers were able to compute as high as ten thousand.

When boys reached the age of fourteen, more attention was given to athletics but the body was not developed at the expense of the mind. The aim was symmetry; not great learning without physical vigor, nor a magnificent physique without mental power. The exercises of the palaestra were ^{not} intended to make men professional athletes, but to make their bodies beautiful. The Athenians recognized the fact that excessive bodily training tends to brutalize the character. They saw a practical example of **this** in the case of the Spartans and for this very reason regarded them with contempt. In athletics, as in many other phases of their private and national life, the Athenians observed the maxim of Thucydides, "nothing to excess."

As gymnastics were practiced to develop the body, so music was studied to regulate the soul. Plato, Aristotle and Aristophanes affirm that music is not only the gymnastic of the ear and voice but

also of the spirit and that it is the foundation of all higher life. Plato in his Republic says: "The rhythm and harmony of music find their way into the secret places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, bearing grace in their movements and making graceful the soul of him who is rightly educated, or ungraceful if ill-educated; and also he who has this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art or nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over, and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble and upright, will justly blame and hate the bad now in the days of his youth, even before he is able to know the reason of the thing; and when reason comes, he will recognize and salute her as a friend with whom his education has long made him familiar."*

In the Platonic system of philosophy, the years from twenty to thirty were to be spent in military service and in a study of the sciences, while the next five were to be devoted to dialectics. This branch of education was considered by the Greeks as "the science which held the key of all the rest; which carried back its hypotheses to the very first principles of all in order to establish them firmly; which enabled man to define the essential form of the good, abstracted from everything else, and to travel to his conclusion without making one false step in the train of thought."**

By this brief summary, it is seen that the aim of Greek education was to make man beautiful, active, clever, receptive, emotional; to stimulate in him a love of the abstract, to arouse in him the highest ideals, and to cause him to place the individual above all else. Such a system produced the most gifted and attractive nation of all time, but it failed to bring out those sterner qualities which modern educators delight to call practical.

* Plato's Republic III, 401-2, Jowett's Translation.

** Idem, Quoted from Oscar Browning's Educational Theories.

It remained for a people on the banks of the Tiber to set up a different ideal and then later in their history, when this was found wanting to supplement it by and blend it with the Greek system. The Roman ideal in education during the early days of the Republic was a development of the body not merely that it might be beautiful and graceful, but that it might endure hardships in glorifying the State and in crushing the enemies of Rome; a development of the mind not that it might see in ideas the only reality, and on earth mere phantoms and shadows, but that it might grapple with questions of law, of government, and of political principles; a development of the spirit not that it should exalt the individual above all else, but that it should make him subservient to the State, ready if need be to sacrifice property, friends or life for the public welfare. Such was the system of Cato the Censor, the champion of Roman simplicity, who in a letter to his son said: "Believe me the Greeks are a good-for-nothing and unimprovable race. If they disseminate their literature among us, it will destroy everything; but still worse if they send their doctors among us, for they have bound themselves by an oath to kill the barbarians and the Romans." Though Cato himself learned the Greek language in his old age, it did not change his opinion and a homo elegans was ever to him an object of abhorrence. This doctrine of education, so carefully promulgated and adhered to by the Romans of the early Republic, produced a sturdy indomitable people whose arms were destined to conquer practically the whole known world; whose laws were to be established throughout the Empire and become the source of all subsequent jurisprudence; but a people lacking those aesthetic qualities necessary for the fullest development of man.

Such were the systems of Greece and Rome. Each was perfectly adapted to the people by whom it was devised; each was strong in the points wherein the other was weak; each had a definite aim distinct from but not incompatible ^{with} the other. In fact these types cover practically the whole range of education and all later systems have been

produced by blending, combining and modifying the self-culture of the Greeks on the one hand and the self-sacrifice of the Romans on the other.

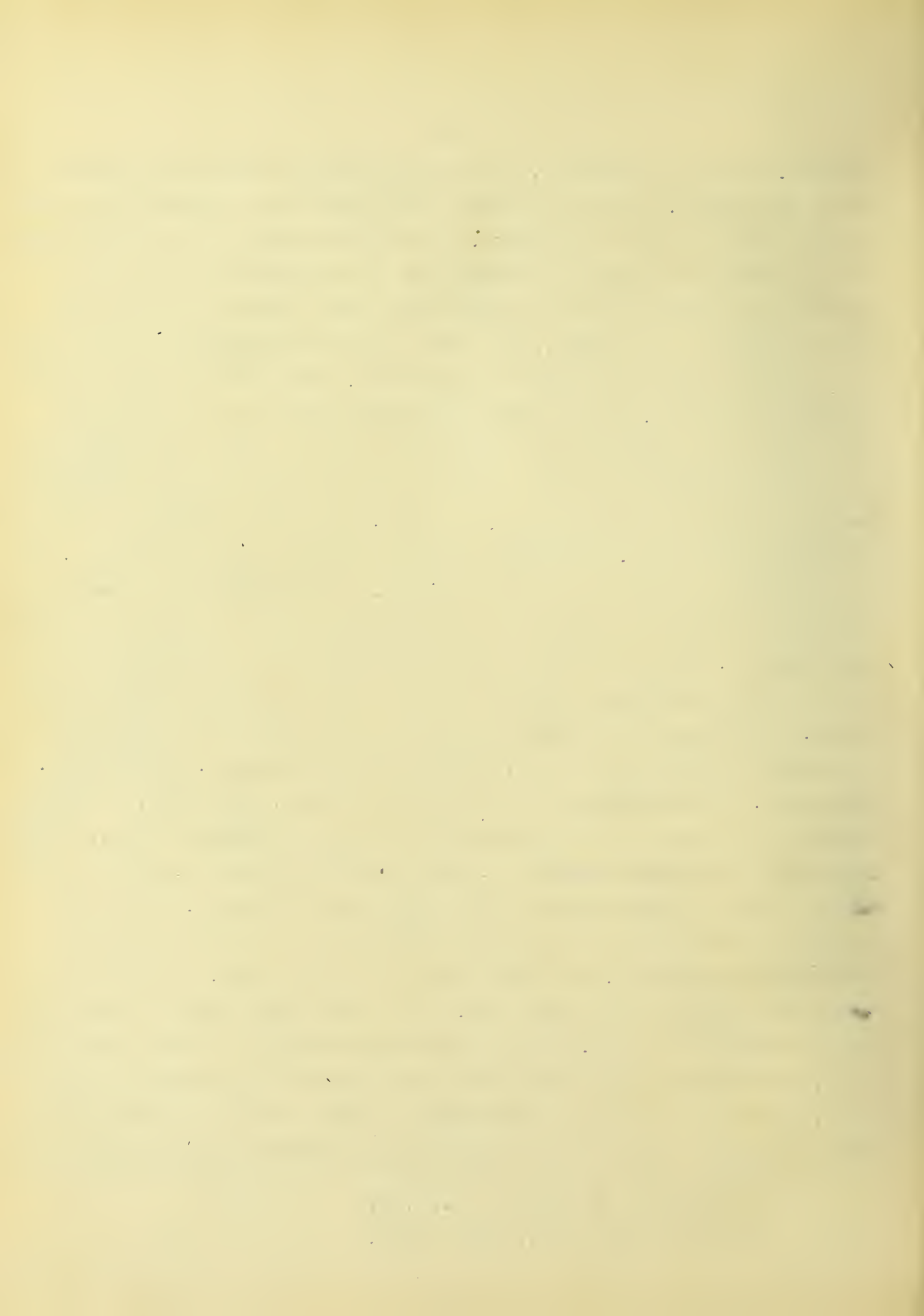
The first successful attempt to fuse these two ideals was made during the closing years of the first and the opening years of the second century of the Empire by Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, a Spaniard who had come to Rome at an early age. His education was very thorough and designed to fit him for public speaking, but this practice he exchanged for teaching and for twenty years he instructed the children of the most distinguished Romans of his time. After his retirement to private life, he wrote his Institutes of Oratory or Education of an Orator. Though the title suggests a specialized work, it is really a broad treatise on the whole subject of education, applicable not only to the profession of law but to every calling in life. He begins with the infant and traces step by step the care and supervision which should be exercised in the development of mind and body to their fullest possibilities. First he lays down the general principle that it is as natural for the human mind to learn as it is for birds to fly, horses to run, and wild beasts to show fierceness. Unteachable persons are no more produced in the course of nature than persons marked by deformity. There are different degrees of ability, some may accomplish more, some less but all may gain something by study if properly directed.

The first and by no means unimportant consideration in the education of a child is his environments and associates in infancy. His first acts of consciousness are to be guided aright and not left to chance. Nothing is to be learned that he must in later life waste time and energy in unlearning. Parents must realize their full responsibility. They must not only exercise the greatest care in their own conduct and speech but they must entrust their child to no one who is ignorant or immoral. The choice of a nurse is, then, a question of the greatest moment. It is from her that the child will learn his first

lessons. If she is ignorant, he may learn faults which will require years to correct. If she is immoral, the pernicious influence she exercises over him will be lasting. "We are by nature," Quintilian says, "most tenacious of what we have imbibed in our infant years; as a flavor with which you scent vessels when new, remains in them; nor can the colors of the wool, for which its plain whiteness has been exchanged, be effaced; and those very habits, which are of a more objectionable character, adhere with the greater tenacity; for the good ones are easily exchanged for the worse, but when will you change bad ones into good?*" This truth, effectively expressed in the figurative language of which Quintilian was so fond, has been recognized by all subsequent educators. Strikingly similar are the words of Froebel, the great German teacher of the past century. In his *Education of Man* he says: "In infancy the human being absorbs and takes in only diversity from without. For this reason even this first stage of development is of the utmost importance for the present and later life of the human being. It is highly important for man's present and later life that he absorb nothing morbid, low, mean; nothing ambiguous, nothing bad. The looks, the countenances of attendants should, therefore, be pure; indeed every phase of his surroundings should be firm and sure, arousing and stimulating confidence, pure and clear; pure air, clear light a clean room, however needy it may be in other respects. For, alas! often the whole life of man is not sufficient to efface what he has absorbed in childhood, the impressions of early youth, simply because his whole being, like a large eye, as it were, was opened to them and wholly given up to them. Often the hardest struggles of man with himself, and even the later most adverse and oppressive events in his life, have their origin in this stage of development; for this reason the care of the infant is so important."** Rousseau is still more pro-

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 1. 5.

** Education of Man, pages 23-24.



nounced than either Quintilian or Froebel. There should be no "hireling nurses, who finding themselves mothers of others' children for whom the voice of nature does not plead, feel no anxiety but to rid themselves of their burden. The mother should care for her child. She is the real nurse. Where there is no mother there can be no child. Their duties are reciprocal; if they are badly fulfilled on the one side, they will be neglected on the other."* Rousseau's is the loftier ideal but it would have been impossible of attainment among the Romans to whom Quintilian wrote. The social duties of the nobility at home were such that nurses were indispensable. Furthermore, there were in every household intelligent slaves more competent in many cases, no doubt, to take charge of the children than were the mothers themselves. Quintilian sought to formulate a system that would be practicable; that would appeal to those for whom it was intended and not repel them because of its ideality.

The next requisite, in the scheme of Quintilian, is the pedagogue whose duty it shall be to have supervision of the child at all times. The choice of the pedagogue is of even greater importance than that of the nurse, for it is in the company of this man that the child is to spend the greater part of his time during that receptive stage when the impressions he receives will affect his whole subsequent career. The pedagogue must be moral and if possible a man of learning but not puffed up on account of it; "for none are more pernicious than those who, having gone some little beyond the first elements, clothe themselves in a mistaken persuasion of their own knowledge; and since they disdain to yield to skilled instructors teach only their own folly."** Here again Rousseau would say that there should be no pedagogue. "As the real nurse is the mother, the real preceptor is the father. He will be better educated by a judicious though ignorant

* Rousseau's *Emile*, pages 11-12.

** *Institutes of Oratory*, I. 1. 8. .

father, than by the most skillful teacher in the world; for zeal will much better supply the place of talent than talent the place of zeal. A father who comprehends the full price of a good tutor will decide to do without one; for it requires more trouble to secure one than to become one himself."*

During this period that the nurse and pedagogue have charge of the child, it is preferable that Greek be spoken in his presence and that he learn this language first. He will of himself learn to speak Latin which is in general use. Not many years, however, should be devoted to the exclusive use and study of Greek lest the pronunciation of Latin be impaired and the foreign idioms become so firmly fixed that they affect the purity of the mother tongue. Instruction ^{in Latin} should, therefore, follow at no long interval. In this way the acquisition of the two languages is possible. Neither will interfere with the other and proficiency in both will be gained at the same time. Of this method of learning languages C. Marcel says: "Nature is our best guide. If an infant be spoken to in a foreign tongue as frequently as in his native tongue, he will become equally familiar with both. He might, in this way, solely guided by nature, learn from the cradle two or three languages without confounding them, if brought into daily contact with persons who spoke them in his presence, as is frequently the case in the higher classes of society, in which children learn the use of several languages. They have governesses of different countries, who always address them each in her own language."** Examples of the practicability of Quintilian's method of learning a language are afforded by the children of foreigners who on coming to the United States at an early age quickly learn to speak English with ease and fluency, while their parents never become proficient in its use.

While the earlier years of a child's life should be devoted to

* Rousseau's Emile, pages 15 and 17.

** Marcel's Study of Language, page 50.

acquiring facility in speaking Greek and Latin, some attention may be paid to other elements of learning. "Why should not that age belong to learning which already belongs to manners and morals?"* The child must do something. What better can he do than learn to read? The mind may be stored with useful facts that depend largely upon memory which not only exists in children, but is at that time of life even most tenacious. Not much can be accomplished, to be sure, before the age of seven, but whatever is done is clear gain. The only danger lies in the fact that the child may conceive a dislike to study which will impede his progress in later years. To obviate this danger, it is necessary to make instruction not drudgery but a source of amusement to him; to arouse his emulation by teaching another before him of whom he is envious; and to encourage his best efforts in every way without making him feel that he is under compulsion.

In learning to read, each step must be taken carefully and only when the child is prepared for it. The letters should be learned not as a mere matter of memory in their order without reference to their form, but the name and the shape of the letter should be associated. This may be accomplished by the use of ivory letters or of letters carved in wooden tablets. The latter will be serviceable also in teaching the child to write, for by following the grooves with the stylus his hand as well as his eye will be trained. The subject of syllables is more difficult but it must not on this account be neglected. When familiarity with combinations of letters is attained, words may be formed from syllables and phrases from words. There must, however be no haste in this matter, "for it is incredible how much reading is retarded by haste. From this source arise hesitation, interruption and repetition as the child attempts more than he can manage; and then after making mistakes, he becomes distrustful of what he knows. Let reading, therefore, be at first sure, then continuous, and

* Institutes of Oratory, I, 1. 17.

for a long time slow, until by exercise a correct quickness is gained*.

In the two preceding paragraphs, we see the germ of the idea which has given rise to the modern Kindergarten. Quintilian saw the possibility of utilizing the energy of childhood by directing it toward a definite object. He believed as did Froebel seventeen hundred years later that children's activities, amusements, occupations,— everything that goes by the name of play may be made instruments for the teacher's purpose; that play may be transformed into work; and that this work is education in the true sense of the term. His suggestion that a number of boys be taught together, and his advocacy of public schools which will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph, show that he fully appreciated the advantage a child gains from associating with a "number of other children of similar age as nearly his equals in power, capacity and scope, as individuality will permit; among whom he finds nothing inexplicable, unattainable, unenjoyable; playmates, fellow-beings in embryo with whom he can assimilate, coalesce organically without giving up self."** In his recommendation of ivory letters and carved tablets, we see the humble beginnings of Kindergarten appliances. They correspond roughly to the seven gifts of Froebel, though they are not, to be sure, so elaborate nor have the purposes which they serve been so carefully systematized. The worsted balls of different colors, the wooden spheres, cylinders, and cubes bisected, trisected and otherwise divided to illustrate various plain and solid figures, their properties and possible combinations, were the product Froebel tells us of fifteen years of study. If a specialist devoted so much of his time and thought to one phase of the subject of education, we must not expect to find perfection in every detail of his predecessor's general discussion of the theme.

Quintilian's method of learning the alphabet suggests the pho-

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 1. 32-33.

** Hailman's Law of Childhood, pages 57-58.

netic method. The letters are not to be learned in their order in parrot fashion but the name and the shape are to be associated. From this it is but a step to associate with the character the particular sound that it has in the word in which it occurs. His directions for forming syllables from letters and words from syllables sounds somewhat antiquated for an author who, in so many other respects, is strikingly modern. In teaching the syllable which expresses no idea before the word of which it forms a part, he has reversed the natural order. The same may be said of his method of teaching disconnected words without reference to their function in the sentence.

A further objection may be made that he placed too much emphasis upon reading as the first step in acquiring knowledge. This is not, however, surprising; for nature study which constitutes so large a part of the work of the Kindergarten had then no place in an educational system. When men understood nature so imperfectly, they could do no more than point out to children its beauties, not its lessons. A knowledge of natural science was not a requisite of an educated man. Of far greater importance was an appreciation of literature and, that this might be as fully developed as possible, Quintilian believed that the child ^{should} waste no time in learning to read. Far in advance of his time though he was, his views on some points were narrow. He was a pioneer in the movement of education and could not grasp all the possibilities and limitations of the human mind. He appreciated only in part that "education," as Froebel expresses it, "must lead the child, must lead the man to unification with life in all directions; it must lead him to full unification in and with himself; it must lead him to full unification with his kind, with his neighbor, with society; it must lead him to the greatest possible unification with nature and her laws; it must lead him to an indissoluble unification with the principle of all being, the Alpha and Omega of all life — with God."* Yet

* Quoted from Hailman's Law of Childhood, page 14.

this phase of Quintilian's system is not to be too harshly criticised when it can be said of the schools of the present day that "they sin against the law of all-sided unification in their exclusive and overweening attention to intellectual pursuits, and in their pernicious neglect and disregard of the physical and moral sides of the child's nature; in the senseless haste with which they introduce the child into the arts of reading and writing, into abstract arithmetic, and numbers beyond the child's power of conception; in their mediæval worship of grammar: in their neglect of direct intercourse with nature and with the study of her forms and laws; in their short-sighted faith in written examinations, percentages and checks; in their wicked practice of entrusting the care of the weakest and tenderest plants to the unskilled hands of immature girls."* If Mr. Hailman is right in this sweeping denunciation of the present school system, and in the main he undoubtedly is, Quintilian's methods for learning to read are not unlike or inferior to those now employed.

When the Kindergarten age is passed and the child has reached the age of six or seven, he is ready to apply himself to learning in earnest. The question at this time arises whether it is preferable to keep him at home under a private instructor or to send him to a public school. The objections, then as now, to public instruction were that such a system is pernicious to morals and that not enough attention is given to each pupil. These objections Quintilian has met in a very satisfactory manner. "Granted that vice may be learned at school, are the homes entirely free from evil influences? Parents enervate their child even in the days of his infancy; they form his palate before they form his pronunciation; they take delight in his immodest acts and utterances; they themselves set him evil examples. The unfortunate child **learns** these vices before he knows that they are vices; and hence, rendered effeminate and luxurious, he does not imbibe inno-

* Hailman's Law of Childhood.

ality from the school, but himself carries it into the school."* If his disposition is good, he will be in no more danger at school than at home; if bad, seclusion from other boys of his own age will not save him.

The second objection, that of lack of personal attention, is shown to be equally groundless. It is not necessary nor is it possible for a teacher to devote all his care to one pupil. There are times when a pupil is engaged in writing, or learning by heart, or thinking, when the presence of any person is a hindrance rather than a help to him. A teacher then who has but one pupil will be idle much of the time and will degenerate into a mere pedagogue. In fact men, unless inferior and conscious of their own inability will not consent to confine themselves to one pupil. Eminent teachers think that they are worthy of a larger audience and are inspired to their best efforts only when they have a number of boys under their charge. In many cases instruction can be given to several at the same time without any extra effort on the part of the teacher. "For his voice is not like a meal which will not suffice for more than a certain number, but is like the sun which diffuses the same portion of light and heat to all."** Thus to the teacher it is a positive gain to have a number of pupils under his care, while it is in no way detrimental to them.

Not only is the school not detrimental to the pupil but from it he derives positive advantages as well. He will gain much from instruction given to others. If another is praised, it will be to him a stimulus; if censured, it will deter him from that improper conduct for which punishment was inflicted. The boy who is reared apart from his fellows is apt to be abashed at the sight of men and to stumble when he undertakes to do in public what he has learned in solitude; or he may become conceited, since he who compares himself to no one else will attribute much to his own powers. Hours of play will be more en-

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 2. 8.

** Idem, I. 2. 14.

joyable and beneficial if a number of boys of the same age are associated. Kinds of amusements can be devised for sharpening their wits which, while they serve as recreation, will be profitable. In their play, too, moral dispositions show themselves more plainly and any evil tendencies can be corrected before they become firmly rooted in the boys' natures. Again if boys are reared in seclusion, they will not develop the communis sensus, the social instinct, which is as sacred a bond as that which binds together those initiated in the same religious rites. They will know nothing of the friendships formed at school which continue even to old age. As an example of the practical results of public schools, Quintilian cites the practice of his own masters and the beneficial effects upon himself and his schoolmates. "The boys," he tells us, "were divided into classes according to their ability in speaking; and thus each one stood in a higher place to declaim, as he appeared to excel in proficiency. Judgments were pronounced on the performances and great was the strife among us for distinction. To take the lead of the class was by far the greatest honor. Nor was sentence given on our merits only once; the thirtieth day brought the vanquished an opportunity of contending again. Thus he who was most successful did not relax his efforts, while uneasiness incited the unsuccessful to retrieve his honor. This method furnished stronger incitements to study, than the exhortations of preceptors, the watchfulness of pedagogi, or the wishes of parents."*

Apart from its bearing on the subject of public instruction, the argument of Quintilian just quoted is of interest as showing the important place speaking occupied in the training of Roman youths. No other phase of education received greater attention than declamation. This was due largely to the fact that the callings open to young men required ability in public speaking. At the present time the great diversity of vocations, each with its own demands for special training,

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 2. 23-25.

makes it impossible to bestow as much time upon speaking as was done by the Romans; yet it is to be regretted that we have gone to the opposite extreme and that a useful and pleasing accomplishment is sadly neglected. As a reason for this neglect, Mr. Murdoch ^{alleges} that the study of the dead languages has left no time to devote to English. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that if but one half of the time were devoted in our school and colleges to a proper study of our own spoken tongue, in connection with an equal amount of training with regard to the features of its written construction that is given to the dead languages, the practical proof of its capabilities as a vehicle of both beauty and power would soon exist in the artistic delivery as well as in the ordinary speech of those who by such study had mastered a knowledge of all its constituent elements of expression."* Mr. Murdoch in his antagonism to Latin and Greek has sought to make them the scapegoats and has forgotten that science, mechanics and many other subjects must bear equal blame. Whatever the cause, the fact still remains that the number of men who are at home upon the rostrum is comparatively few. In our college debates, each man prepares his speech as far as possible with reference to his opponents case, yet with such rigidity that if the other side offers a line of argument different from that anticipated, the original plan must, nevertheless, be carried out. The debaters have, in other words, not become sufficiently familiar with public speaking to enable them to think when they are before an audience. This defect would, no doubt, be remedied in great part if more attention were given to speaking in the earlier training of pupils.

In the public school, Quintilian would have the teacher a man of sound judgment and keen insight into character, that he may ascertain with accuracy the capabilities of his pupils; that he may restrain those who are ambitious beyond their powers; and stimulate those who

* Murdoch's Plea for Education, page 124.

are indolent. "The chief symptom of ability in children," says Quintilian, "is memory, of which the excellence is two fold, to receive with ease and to retain with fidelity. The next symptom is imitation: for this is an indication of a teachable disposition, but with this provision that it express merely what it is taught, and not a person's manner or walk, for instance, or whatever may be remarkable for deformity. The boy who shall make it his aim to raise a laugh by his love of mimicry, will afford me no hope of good capacity. Precociousness is never desirable. There is no real power behind or that rests on deeply fixed roots. He is like seeds scattered upon the surface of the ground which shoot up prematurely; and like grass that resembles corn which grows yellow with empty ears before the time of the harvest. His efforts give pleasure as compared with his years; but his progress comes to a stand, and our wonder diminishes."* The ideal pupil is one who learns easily what is taught him, who asks questions about some things, but who follows rather than runs on before. He is stimulated by praise, delighted by honor, and mortified by failure. Such a pupil will be a joy to his teacher and to govern him will cause no trouble or anxiety.

All boys are not, however, ideal pupils. What then shall be the punishment of the indolent, the mischievous and the vicious? Upon this point, Quintilian raises a question which has been discussed in all its phases from his time to the present day. Though he wrote at a time when corporal punishment was regarded necessary for the proper training of children; when, as Juvenal tells us, sleep was impossible during the early morning hours because of the sound of masters beating their pupils, he expresses his disapproval of this custom in the strongest terms. "That boys should suffer corporal punishment," he says, "though it be a received custom and Chrysippus makes no objection to it, I by no means approve; first, because it a disgrace and a

* Institutes of Oratory, I.3. 1-5.

punishment for slaves, and in reality (as will be evident if you imagine the age changed) an affront; second, if a boy's disposition is so abject as not to be amended by reproof, he will be hardened, like the worst of slaves, even by stripes; and lastly, if one who regularly exacts his tasks be with him, there will not be the least need of any such chastisement. At present, the negligence of the pedagogi seems to make amends for in such a way that boys are not obliged to do what is right, but are punished whenever they have not done it. Besides, after you have coerced a boy with stripes, how will you treat him when he is become a young man, to whom such terror cannot be held out, and by whom more difficult studies must be pursued? Add to these considerations, that many things unpleasant to be mentioned, and likely afterwards to cause shame, often happen to boys when being whipped, under the influence of fear or pain; and that such shame enervates the mind, and makes them shun peoples' sight and feel a constant uneasiness. If, however, there be too little care in choosing governors and tutors, I am ashamed to say how scandalously unworthy men may abuse their privilege of punishing, and what opportunity the terror of the unhappy children affords to others. I will not dwell upon this point; what is already understood is more than enough. It will be sufficient, therefore, to intimate that no man should be allowed too much authority over an age so weak and unable to resist ill-treatment."*

Although Quintilian has many followers at the present time, he is no doubt too emphatic in his denunciation of corporal punishment. Some of the best modern educators affirm that it is most effective and in no sense degrading to pupils. In discussing this subject, Mr. Rosenkranz says: "This kind of punishment, provided always that it is not too often administered or with undue severity, is the kindest method of dealing with willful disobedience, with obstinate carelessness, or with a really perverted will, so long and so often as the higher perception is closed against appeal. The view which sees in the

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 3. 14-17.

rod the panacea for all the teacher's embarrassments is reprehensible, but equally so is the false sentimentality which assumes that the dignity of humanity is affected by a blow given to a child, and confounds self-conscious humanity with child-humanity, to which a blow is the most natural form of reaction, when all other forms of influence have failed."* The Reverend C. Allix Wilkinson in a eulogy of John Keate, head master of Eton from 1773 to 1852, warmly expresses his approval of his instructor's severe methods. "Keate," he says, "was a great scholar, an elegant poet, a capital teacher, and we must not hold lightly the man who has flogged half the ministers, secretaries, bishops, generals and dukes of the present century. Flogging then, on the whole, as we had it at Eton, by the head master alone, in whose mind there could be no element of spite and consequent severity; and with a few twigs of birch applied, as it still is, where it is not pleasant but can do no real harm to any one, I do not hesitate to say I stand up for, let tender mammas and squeamish parents say what they will; and I am quite sure from intercourse with my grandchildren and other boys, that they had rather the system be continued not, as in our time, flogging for everything, but still flogging with certain restrictions. They like short, sharp and all over, better than extra absences, long lessons to learn by heart, or seventeen hundred lines to write out."** Even Pestalozzi does not venture to assert that corporal punishment is inadmissible, but objects to its application when the teacher or the method is at fault and not the children.

In the plan mapped out by Quintilian, the first subject that should receive attention under the public instructor is grammar, provided, of course, the pupils have gained a fair knowledge of reading and writing from their private tutors before entering school. Here as in their earlier education it is preferable that Greek be taught first. It is the older and in a sense the model and foundation of Latin grammar and hence should take precedence. At the very outset it is import-

* Rosenkranz' Philosophy of Education, page 41.

ant that the pupils should master the details in grammar study. "Let boys in the first place learn to decline nouns and conjugate verbs! For otherwise they will never arrive at an understanding of what is to follow; an admonition which it would be superfluous to give, were it not that most teachers, through ostentatious haste, begin where they ought to end, and while they wish to show off their pupils in matters of greater display, retard their progress by attempting to shorten the road. Case relations, parts of speech, irregular nouns and verbs must be thoroughly learned or the pupils' subsequent work will be unsatisfactory."*

There is the same defect in Quintilian's method of grammar study that was noted in his directions for learning to read. He has once more reversed the natural process in that he would have the child learn isolated words and forms and then fit them together to express ideas. He failed to comprehend the fact that "in the school of nature the child never learns isolated words. It knows, understands, enounces nothing but complete sentences. Each isolated word is an abstraction; the child does not comprehend abstractions. It is by synthesis that the human mind commences its growth. The faculty of analysis is the fruit of age, of experience, of reflection."** Mr. Laurie thinks that the study of that phase of grammar, to which Quintilian's directions for learning declensions and conjugations belong, should not be begun before the twelfth year. The knowledge which the child gains before this age is mere hearsay. He may commit to memory rules and definitions but he will not assimilate what he has learned. The abstract and general must always be taught through the concrete.

Quintilian did not, however, believe in dealing wholly with abstractions. His advice is to study all the writers of every class for thoughts as well as for words and technical points. Homer and Vergil are excellent authors with whom to begin, for, while they serve

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 4. 32.

** Gouin's Art of Teaching and Studying Languages, page 45.

as text books in the study of grammar, the pupils in reading them are exalted by the sublimity of the heroic verse and are imbued with the noblest sentiments. The study of tragedies and lyrics is also beneficial if care is taken in the selection. Comedy, too, has its place but only when the pupils' morals are out of danger, for since it deals with all sorts of characters and passions it is not a fit subject for those of a tender age. From a study of the old Latin authors much benefit may be derived, though most of them are stronger in genius than in art. Especially do they furnish a copious supply of words. From them may be gained purity and manliness which is not to be found in the later writers. In lecturing upon the poets, the grammarian must attend to minor points. After taking a verse to pieces, he should require the parts to be specified and the peculiarities of the feet noted. Words that are barbarous, misapplied, or used contrary to the rules of grammar should be pointed out, not to disparage the poet (for ^{him} to license is granted) but to instruct the pupils in figurative language. By this practice, they will learn in how many senses each word may be understood. "But let the tutor, above all things, impress upon the minds on his pupils what merit there is in a just distribution of parts, and a becoming treatment of subjects; what is well suited to each character; what is to be commended in the thoughts, and what in the words; where diffuseness is appropriate and where contraction."* Besides this historical references should be explained but so much attention should not be given to them that the minds of the pupils will be overburdened and no time be left for the consideration of more important matters.

Language is, by no means, the only subject ^{which} should receive the attention of the grammarian. It is under him that a broad foundation must be laid upon which the rhetor may build. Astronomy must be studied in order to appreciate the poets, " for often they allude to the

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 8. 17.

rising and setting of the stars in marking the seasons."* Pupils should also have a knowledge of philosophy, because in almost every poem are numerous passages drawn from the most abstruse subtleties of physical investigation. Music, too, is an essential to the study of grammar which deals with meter and rhythm. To an orator, a knowledge of music is especially valuable; "for music has two kinds of measure, the one in the sounds of the voice, the other in the motions of the body; and in both a certain due regulation is required. Are not these qualifications necessary to an orator, the one which relates to gesture, and the other to the inflections of the voice which in speaking are very numerous? Such is undoubtedly the case, unless perchance it is thought that a regular structure and smooth combination of words are requisites only in poems and songs and are superfluous in making a speech; or that composition and modulation are not to be varied in speaking, as in music, according to the nature of the subject. In oratory the raising, lowering, or other inflections of the voice tend to move the feelings of the hearers; and we try to excite the indignation of the judges in one modulation of phrase and voice, and their pity in another."**

Another subject the usefulness of which has been questioned is geometry. All admit that the thinking powers are excited, the intellect sharpened, and a quickness of perception gained by a study of geometry but they fancy that it is not, like the other sciences, profitable after it has been acquired. This is the common but erroneous opinion respecting this branch of mathematics. Not only is the orator at times to use calculations in boundaries and measures, but from a study of geometry he learns order which is one of the prime requisites in eloquence. "Geometry proves what follows from what precedes and the unknown from the known; and in speaking we draw similar conclusions."***

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 4. 4.

** Idem, I. 10. 22-25.

*** Idem, I. 10. 37.

Geometry often, moreover, by demonstration proves what is apparently true to be false. If students of oratory have learned this method of procedure, it will in many cases be helpful to them in rebutting arguments of opponents.

Quintilian then goes on through the list of studies at that time in the curriculum and shows that each is of service to the student and that a young man cannot reach perfection in his chosen vocation without them. He thus shows himself in favor of a broad foundation, even if the student is to adopt a specialized calling. In defending his position he says: "It is a common question whether, supposing all these things are to be learned, they can be taught and acquired at the same time: for some deny that it is possible, as the mind must be wearied and confused by so many studies of different tendencies for which neither the understanding, nor the body, nor time itself can suffice: and even though mature age may endure such labor, yet that of childhood ought not to be thus burdened. But these reasoners do not understand how great the power of the human mind is: that mind which is so busy and active, and which directs its attention, so to speak, to every quarter, so that it cannot confine itself to do only one thing, but bestows its force upon several, not merely in the same day but at the same moment. Variety, too, refreshes and recruits the mind, while on the contrary nothing is more annoying than to continue at one uniform labor. Accordingly writing is relieved by reading, and the tedium of reading itself by a change of subject. However many things we have done, we are yet to a certain degree fresh for that we are going to begin. Who would not be stupified, if he were to listen to the same teacher of any art, whatever it might be, through the whole day? Ought we to attend to the teacher of grammar only, and then to the teacher of geometry only, and cease to think during the second course of what we learned in the first? While we are studying Latin, ought we to pay no attention to Greek? Or to make an end of my question at once, ought we to nothing but what comes last before us? Assuredly not, for it is

much easier to do many things one after another, than to do one thing for a long time."*

There can be no doubt that change of work in school is advantageous. The interruptions give opportunities for recreation, while the subjects themselves do not all require an equal effort of attention and an equal expenditure of energy. After a difficult lesson, an easy task will afford an opportunity for a partial recovery from the fatigue previously produced. The change of work, therefore, must not be merely a change of subject, or even a change of occupation, but a change in the difficulty of the task. "Change is recreation," says Richter. This doctrine must not, however, be carried too far, for there are times when change of employment is not recreation. "When actual fatigue has spread gradually over the whole frame, and we are tired out for one thing we are tired out for other things also; so that rest, with sleep too, perhaps, becomes necessary before we can recover our buoyancy and enter upon new work."**

That Quintilian overestimated the ability of young pupils to resist fatigue may be inferred from what he says on this point. "No age," he affirms, "suffers less from fatigue. This may seem strange, but it is proved by experience. Minds, before they are hardened, are more ready to learn; as is shown by the fact that children, within two years after they can fairly pronounce words, speak almost the whole language; but for how many years does the Latin tongue resist the efforts of our purchased slaves! The temper of boys is better able to bear labor than that of men; for, as neither the falls of children, ^{which} with [^]they are so often thrown to the ground, nor their constant play, and running hither and thither, inconvenience their bodies as much as those of adults, because they are of little weight, and no burden to themselves, but merely yield themselves to others."***

Modern investigation has shown this theory of Quintilian's

* Institutes of Oratory, I. 12. 1-7.

** Herman E. Lukens, Educational Review, January 1898.

*** Institutes of Oratory, I. 12. 8-10.

to be absolutely erroneous. By a careful series of experiments, Herr Kraepelin has proved that, although with adults the traces of tediousness and ennui were clearly seen, they were not accompanied by any material decrease of working energy. It has been further shown that the effects of abnormal fatigue are much more serious upon the growing body than upon the adult. "Practice makes easier and no doubt reduces the attendant fatigue."* Hence it follows that the adult who has gained strength through practice is not subject to the dangers that beset the youthful beginner. Griesbach in Muhlhausen, Alsace, examined a large number of children at various periods of the day both during the vacation and the regular school year. He found that the variations due to fatigue in a single day during vacation were considerable but that they were less than one half as great as during a day at school. He showed further that at no time of day during the school year were many of the pupils entirely free from the symptoms of fatigue. The recuperation during the night and at the noonday recess was considerable but not complete. From this he has drawn the conclusion that many pupils have not sufficient rest to enable them to begin the day's work in a normal condition of freshness. He found also that the fatigue effects from the purely technical activities requiring no great muscular effort were very slight. For this reason manual activity may with profit be introduced into schools as recreation to relieve mental work which is the most exhausting of all. Dr. Bergstein observed with care and accuracy the effects of one hour's mental occupation, as indicated by the mistakes made. The principal tests were in addition and multiplication of figures. He came to the conclusion that the working power rises and falls during the time of an ordinary recitation, and that it is not well to let lessons last longer than three quarters of an hour; advising to interrupt the continuation of lessons by pauses of about a quarter of an hour, so as to have the children's

* Kraepelin, Educational Review, March 1895.

brain rested, the body moved, and the school-room air changed."*

Up to this point Quintilian's discussion has been concerned with problems in teaching and government which arise while the pupil is still under the grammaticus or intermedius teacher. When he has completed this course, he is ready for the rhetor or teacher of rhetoric whose duty it will be to fit him primarily for the calling of an orator. The age at which boys should be sent to the rhetor depends wholly upon the progress they have made. "The question when should boys be sent to the teacher of rhetoric is best decided by the master, when they are qualified."** They need not, however, when committed to the professor of rhetoric be wholly withdrawn from the teacher of grammar. Their labor will not be increased but that which was confounded under one master will be divided, and each tutor will be more proficient in his own province. Thus Quintilian enters a plea for specialists. Though he favored breadth in education, he saw that however broad the teacher might be, he would not be equally strong in every department of work; that there would be some study which would appeal most strongly to him; and that into this subject he would put his best efforts. A pupil then under two instructors, each eminent in his own field, has greater advantages than if he were entrusted to a single instructor who teaches every subject in the curriculum.

In choosing a rhetor, parent and guardians frequently make the mistake of sending boys to a man of moderate ability with the notion that such a master is not only better adapted for beginning instruction, but easier of comprehension and imitation, as well as less disdainful of undertaking the trouble of the elements. This idea is wholly fallacious for not only is less accomplished by the inferior rhetor but many faults are also inculcated which must be eradicated by future teachers. The task of correcting these faults is heavier than that of teaching at first. "A story is told of Timotheus, a famous instructor in playing the flute, that he was accustomed to ask as much more pay

* Warner's Study of Children, pages 226-227.

** Institutes of Oratory, II. 1. 7.

from those whom another had taught as from those who presented themselves to him in a state of total ignorance."* By this illustration, Quintilian shows that he had no place in his system for novices and blunderers. His demand was always for the best teachers irrespective of the age and abilities of the pupils entrusted to their charge. "If he is an able teacher," he says, "he will know each step that is necessary to take in order to reach eminence and will be able to guide his pupils over every difficulty. He will know the best methods of teaching which is a matter of great importance. As well might it be supposed that Phidias who made Jupiter well could not have wrought the accessory decorations as skillfully as another of inferior powers; or that an eminent physician may be unable to cure trifling diseases. On the other hand, instruction given by the most learned is far more easy to understand. The less capable a teacher is, the more obscure he will be."**

The orator must, then, be a man of the broadest education; but he must be more than this. He must be an example of the strictest morality. His duties will be only half performed if he attends merely to developing the mental powers of his pupils. He must also regulate and discipline their conduct. "Let him," says Quintilian, "above all things adopt the feeling of a parent toward his pupils, and consider that he succeeds to the place of those by whom the children were entrusted to him. Let him neither have vices in himself nor tolerate them in others. Let his austerity not be stern, nor his affability be too easy, lest dislike arise from the one, or contempt from the other. Let him discourse frequently upon what is good, for the oftener he admonishes, the more seldom will he have to chastise. Let him not be of an angry temper, and yet not a conniver at what ought to be corrected. Let him be plain in his mode of teaching, and patient of labor, but rather diligent in exacting tasks than fond of giving them of exces-

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 2. 3-5.

** Idem, II. 2. 6.

sive length. Let him reply readily to those who put questions to him and question of his own accord those who do not. In commending the exercises of his pupils, let him be neither niggardly nor lavish: for the one quality begets dislike of labor, and the other self-complacency. In amending what requires correction, let him not be harsh, and least of all, not reprobative; for that very circumstance, that some tutors blame as if they hated, deters many young men from their proposed course of study. Let him every day say something which the pupils may carry away with them, for though he may point out to them in their course of reading plenty of examples for their imitation, yet the living voice as it is called feeds the mind more nutritiously, and especially the voice of the teacher, whom his pupils if they are rightly instructed both love and reverence."*

Never has the character of an ideal teacher been more carefully delineated. Quintilian saw clearly the duties and the responsibilities that a teacher must assume; he understood perfectly what a teacher must be and how he must conduct himself in order to be a teacher in the true sense of the word; he recognized fully the noble character of the teacher's profession. Of the teacher's influence, Cardinal Gibbon says: "The pupil's character is almost unconsciously formed after the model of his instructor. The impression produced on the youthful mind, by the tutor's example, has been compared to letters cut in the bark of a young tree which deepen and broaden with time."** It is certainly a deplorable fact that so many instructors of the present day do nothing more than impart instruction and neglect the broader sphere of developing noble character; that they spend so much of their time in original research and in producing something of literary value that they have none left to do more than pour a few facts into their pupils at the regular class periods. President John Raymond in answer to the

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 3. 4-8.

** Cardinal Gibbon, North American Review, July 1836.

query, "Why don't you write something?" replied, "because my entire strength goes in daily administration to my educational children."* Surely the reward of such labor will be greater than any literary fame. In speaking of the relation of the instructor to the pupil, Dr. Canfield says: "I have known intimately the faculties of at least four universities, during the quarter of a century given to educational endeavor; and have noted with constant and increasing anxiety the small number of graduates who on returning to their alma mater seek out their onetime instructors with the eagerness and warmth of feeling which mark the recognition of close and friendly relations. The occupant of one chair — one only! — whose students of even twenty years' standing still trusted and loved him, still came to him in person for counsel or for approbation, still asked all manner of favors of him with a confidence born of all these years of glad acquiescence and service — this man was regarded as a phenomenon, an anomaly, and as not altogether above suspicion as to his methods."** This criticism applies with equal force to teachers in general, — to those of the grade school and of the high school, as well as to instructors in universities. Despite these facts, trustees and school boards seem to give little attention to any qualification except scholarship in securing teachers. In the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the question was once asked plainly and directly: "How many of the college presidents now on the floor have made their first enquiry about new men, that respecting their actual and positive power in the school room?" Of the fifteen college presidents who were in attendance, every one confessed that he had not asked, "Can he teach?" as the test question: not one had made the possession of this power the determining factor. What Quintilian pleads for so earnestly is still needed, — a teacher who is more than a machine: a teacher who

* Educational Review, December 1900.

** Idem.

by his kindness and painstaking attention encourages the best that there is in his pupils and does not stunt and warp them in trying to make them conform to certain dogmatic principles.

The subjects upon Quintilian would have the rhetor place the greatest emphasis on declamation and composition. They are indispensable to an orator and no one without careful training in them can hope to succeed in this calling. This was especially true at the time Quintilian wrote. There was not then the opportunity for lawyers to act merely as counsel and to delegate to others the duty of pleading the case. The practice of law consisted almost wholly of forensic speaking.

In their declamations, it is not desirable that pupils confine themselves wholly to their own productions. It is, in fact, better to commit to heart select passages from historians and orators. "From such sources, they will acquire an abundance of the best words, phrases and figures, not sought for the occasion, but offering themselves spontaneously, as it were, from a store treasured within. To this is added the power of quoting the happy expressions of any author, which is agreeable in common conversation, and useful in pleading; for phrases which are not coined for the sake of the case in hand have the greater weight, and often gain us more applause than if they were our own."* The writers who should be read by beginners are those whose style is clearest and most intelligible. Livy is in this respect superior to Sallust, though the latter is the greater historian. In their reading, however, the pupils should be warned against imitating too closely the style of any particular author or age. If they follow Cato, their productions will be dry and unimaginative. If on the other hand they take as their models the later writers, they are apt to become too fond of flowery language and affectation. The authors of every time should be studied, their good qualities imitated, and their

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 7. 4.

faults detected. Such study will contribute more to the improvement of pupils than all the treatises the rhetoricians have ever written.

It is the practice of some rhetors, in assigning subjects for compositions, to give detailed directions and to discuss fully the points they wish brought out, before they require their pupils to write. Others give only the bare outline and, after the composition has been finished, go over it and show wherein it is at fault. "Of these two methods," Quintilian says, "the former is preferable if it should be necessary to follow only one. It will be of greater service to point out the right way first, than to recall from their errors those who have gone astray; first, because to the subsequent emendation they merely listen, but the preliminary discussion they carry to their meditation and composition; and secondly, because they more willingly attend to one who gives directions than to one who finds fault."* The two methods should be united and used whenever occasion requires. In the case of beginners, it is best to give full directions concerning the work that is to be done, but later only a general outline will be necessary. If too much aid is given, they will form the bad habit of following the lead of others and will lose all capacity of attempting or producing anything of themselves. It will be the duty of the rhetor to study the capabilities of each pupil and to determine what directions he needs and what subjects are best adapted to his talents.

The subjects assigned to pupils for composition may, at the beginning, be of a mythological nature, such as the Wolf and Romulus or The Scoria of Numa which serve to stimulate the inventive powers and develop the imagination. Next essays on illustrious characters may be required. Such themes serve a double purpose. They are not only exercises in composition, but in writing of great men pupils will be attracted by their noble traits and will look to their lives as examples and models. Other and more difficult subjects should be treated

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 6. 3-4.

by the pupils as soon as they are prepared for them, such as questions of morality, politics and sociology. This practice should be continued until they are able to write on a great variety of subjects. Their style may, and indeed ought to be at the outset, more ornate than would be desirable in later life. "The remedy for exuberance is easy, barrenness is incurable by any labor."* Another consideration in the choice of subjects is, that as far as possible they be along lines similar to those which pupils will meet when they become men and engage in actual life. "They who think that the whole exercise of declaiming is altogether different from forensic pleading, do not even see the reason for which that exercise was instituted. For, if it is no preparation for the forum, it is merely like theatrical ostentation or insane raving. To what purpose is it to instruct a judge who has no existence? To state a case that all know to be fictitious? To bring proofs of a point on which no man will pronounce sentence? It is mere trifling unless we are preparing ourselves, by imitation of battle, for serious contests and a regular field. In like manner since declamation is an imitation of real pleading and deliberation it ought closely to resemble reality."**

Quintilian's directions for composition are very interesting in view of the great stress that is now placed upon the ability to write correct English with ease. In the paragraph on the selection of subjects, he recognizes the principle that the imagination of the pupils must be stimulated; that they must take an interest in their work or their compositions will be lifeless words; and that they must write because they have something to say and not merely to fill three or four pages of theme paper. He believed that composition should mean more than correct paragraphing, punctuation, capitalization and spelling, in other words, he believed that it must possess vitality. Mr. Samuel

* Institutes of Oratory, II. 4. 6.

** Iden, II. 10. 7-8.

Thurber in discussing the present methods of teaching English says: "Imagine a prisoner condemned to write each day a composition of so many pages, this composition never to be read, but to go each night into the warden's waste-basket and you have almost exactly the case of the school boy in the hands of the English teacher."* In the same article, Mr. Thurber makes the statement that "composition teaching in our schools is impotent if it fail to provide two prime conditions,— a well furnished mind conscious of having something to say, and a listening or reading public to which this something may be said with the hope of giving pleasure."* That these two conditions may be supplied, Mr. Thurber would have the teacher study his pupils individually and give to each a subject of his own for thought and research, showing the possibilities of this or that theme, encouraging each to explore a certain field so as to find something worth telling to which the rest may listen. The second requisite is supplied by the class and the larger this is the better since it is to serve as the audience. As an inducement to careful work a particularly good composition may be printed in the school paper, or read from the platform. The end and aim of a composition exercise should always be publication, and a listening audience should be contemplated from the outset.

Quintilian's further treatment of the subject of education is of a character too minute and technical to admit of a detailed discussion. In the first two books, which have been made the basis of this thesis, he covers practically the whole ground of general education. The latter part of his work deals with the subject of oratory in all its details. Books three to twelve treat of the origin and history of oratory, its division into deliberative, judicial, and panegyric; the method of procedure in each case; the arrangements of the various parts; the kinds of proof to be employed; the nature of refutation; the ends to be attained; and countless other points covering every

* School Review, January 1897.

phase of the subject. The minutiae become wearisome and it is even a question whether his directions respecting minor points are practical. He seems to have lost sight of the ultimate object in his multitude of details.

Quintilian's system is thus seen to be broad, elaborate and exhaustive. It provides for every stage in the development of the moral, mental and physical powers; it leaves nothing to chance; it aims at nothing less than perfection in every detail; it is a plea for a broad and symmetrical culture, not for one-sided intellectuality. That the author should have treated the subject of education only in its bearing upon forensic speaking is natural. Law was practically the one calling open to the youthful Romans of his time. The other two occupations which had held honorable places in the early Republic were no longer attractive. Slaves had displaced the independent farmer and mercenary hirelings had taken the place of the Roman soldiers. The forum was, therefore, the goal of all ambitious young men and a system of education which fitted them for this vocation was ample to meet every need. The discoveries and inventions of later centuries have extended the sphere of knowledge and made imperative the demand for specialists, but for every calling the teachings of Quintilian have some value. He has laid a broad and sure foundation upon which subsequent educators have built. In many particulars, they have changed his design; they have amplified and embellished certain parts; they have remodelled or removed others; but they have not changed the essential character of the work.

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