JOHN MILTON AND HIS RELATION TO MODERN

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

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G.A.T.
JOHN MILTON AND HIS RELATION TO MODERN
PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Part I

Historical and Philosophical Backgrounds.

Modern education is a product of intellectual evolution. The progress that has been made in the field is due to a striving toward ideals on the part of certain personalities who were in turn influenced by the social and economic conditions of the periods in which they lived. Educators in the present world of uncertainty and doubt are looking back over the ground that has been covered to ascertain whether the intellectually conceived ideas of the past have met the educational needs of today. It is true that we have caught a vision of training for citizenship with personal happiness as an ultimate goal. So had Plato, but "we bring out our intellectual heirlooms, dust them off, and pronounce them new." Distinctive traits have been developed in American philosophy. Our education for a democracy must necessarily be democratic, but this too had its roots in formerly created theories.

It is the object of this thesis to show the relationships existing between our modern theories in philosophy of education and those of the great English poet John Milton, in all probability the most cultured European of his time. He offered in the seventeenth century a plan for education that shows great depth of thinking and which anticipated some of our modern educational problems. It will be necessary to trace philosophy and education through the ages preceding and following Milton in order to understand fully the theories he offered and the influence the past had upon those theories.

Knowledge is built upon the foundation of philosophy. Education is the tool used in the building process. When man has appreciated the value of philosophy he has made intellectual progress. The study of the subject is accountable for the "origin and growth of scientific theory; it has deeply affected the history of religion."\(^2\) In recent times the understanding of the strength of this philosophical foundation of knowledge is becoming the answer to our educational problems.

It is extremely difficult to define philosophy, for its meaning is hidden in the confusion of common life. The word philosophy first came into general use in the time of Socrates. It is from the Greek word, *sophia*, wisdom, and

the verb *philein*, to love. "It is the love of wisdom."\(^3\)

Philosophy has been defined as the attempt by use of scientific methods to understand the world in which we live. Today philosophy must interpret an exceedingly complex social, political, literary, moral, and religious world.

The history of philosophy deals chiefly with personalities with their opinions and philosophical systems. The first of these systems of thought is found in the religious writings of ancient India. The central theme of this philosophy is that "all objects of the world and the human self or Ego are reflections of the great universal self."\(^4\) The chief aim of man is to recognize "that all objects of the world of sense are unreal in themselves if regarded apart from the immanent reality of Brahma. The Hindoos were also authors of the philosophical religion of Buddhism. This religion took its name from a teacher born about 369 B. C., whom tradition portrays as a man of the highest ethical ideals. Buddha taught that all our sensuous life is built upon the chimera of unfulfilled desire, that existence is in itself evil, and that the highest ideal of life is the recognition of this great truth of universal pessimism."\(^5\)


Greek thought began with a few vague theories of monism, but it gradually grew until the time of Plato and Aristotle. There it reached its highest point. During this latter period Greek philosophy "emphasized the importance of ethics and the eminent position of man in nature." Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and the Stoics "all interpreted nature in terms of some aspect of human life." Each founded a great school of thought and these schools became the centers of intellectual activity in Greece. In the beginning the ideas of the great teachers were strictly adhered to, but "there was little attempt to apply the ideas of the founders in investigation, research, or even in discussion of new topics." Appreciation and comment became the keynotes of their work, and, as a result, they became artificial and formal. A reverence for the written word, however, that had great influence that was literary, religious, and educational arose. The literature which grew out of the Greek culture was well-known and constantly referred to by Milton.

Plato, a student and follower of Socrates, originated the first system of idealism. We find all his philosophy

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6Arthur Stone Dewing, op. cit., p. 47.
7Ibid., p. 47.
in *The Republic*. He has constructed a Utopia in which he has painted a picture of a better world that may serve as a model of behavior. It is not a practical world but an ideal pattern, for Plato believed that "the only ultimate reality consisted in the ideas, which under certain circumstances could be objectively expressed in the sense-world, or subjectively manifested as the inner nature of the soul. Human knowledge consisted in the reflection on ideas, human goodness in the organic harmony of ethical ideals." ⁹

Aristotle's influence is greater than that of any other Greek thinker. He "stands for the scientific or analytic tendency in Greek thought." ¹⁰ "He established the first great zoological gardens that the world had ever seen" ¹¹ and his collection of botanical and zoological material greatly influenced his science and philosophy. Perhaps Milton received through his readings in the classics his idea of the objective study of nature. "The works of Aristotle came to be for European philosophy what the Bible was for theology--an almost infallible text, with solutions for every problem." ¹²

Some ideas of these masters continued to be stressed in the minor schools which developed from the greater ones, but "philosophy was no longer dominated by political or ethical interests; in time, not even by scientific interests. All was approached from the individualistic point of view... and through these new institutions, with power of propagation and multiplication, Greek ideas overspread throughout the Mediterranean world."\(^{13}\) The University of Athens became a center of classical learning but was closed by Justinian in 529. The University at Alexandria developed and soon "outshone the parent institution at Athens."\(^{14}\) Under the influence of the Ptolemies a great library was collected and the Aristotleian method of investigation was used. Here also "was formulated the Ptolemaic theory of the universe"\(^{15}\) which was the basis for Milton's theory in *Paradise Lost*. The physicist Archimedes and Euclid labored here. The followers of Christian thought Alexandria tried to harmonize Christianity with Greek philosophy and Gnosticism resulted. Many early Christian fathers received their education at this great university before it "fell into Mahometan power (640 A.D.), and all this intellectual activity ceased."\(^{16}\)

\(^{13}\) Paul Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
Greek culture was absorbed by the Romans. They borrowed the Greek idea of government and law and "adopted the religion of a despised sect of a despised race and made of it the religion of the civilized world."17 "The work of the Romans was a practical one of furnishing the means, the institutions, or the machinery for realizing the Greek ideals. Hence they have ever been looked upon as a utilitarian people."18 "If the ideals of modern life are largely drawn from Greek and Hebrew sources, its institutions are even more thoroughly Roman in their origin and nature."19 With the decline of the Roman Empire culture and education decayed. The study of philosophy disappeared while learning and literature degenerated. The Empire passed into the Papacy.

This period between the sixth and twelfth centuries became known as the Dark Ages. The church grew in wealth, number, and influence. "By the thirteenth century it owned one-third of the soil of Europe"20 and "for a thousand years it united, with the magic of an unvarying creed, most of the peoples of a continent."21

17 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 177.
18 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 177.
19 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 177.
21 Will Durant, op. cit., p. 115.
In connection with the Church monasteries sprang up over entire Europe. People fled to them for protection and escape from the corrupt world. Here they took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and henceforth led lives of great self-denial. Eventually it became necessary for the leaders to devise plans for keeping their men occupied. Manual labor was introduced because it had a steadying power. Soon copying manuscripts became common, and with that began the intellectual development. They copied the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, and other religious writings. This activity was not only profitable in giving the monks religious matters to think about, but it also provided more books. Since printing was not known these books were scarce. One of the great contributions of the monasteries was the preserving of literature both by copying and storing.

In order to be good copyists some education was necessary, hence the monks were taught to read and write. Some of them became quite scholarly and when Pagan literature gradually crept in it was read with great interest. There was little change in monastic life and thought from about the fourth to the eleventh centuries and the idea prevailed that education is discipline.

The Christian faith developed into a series of dogma which had to be taught. It was necessary to systematize these dogmas so they would harmonize with the old Pagan ideas and become more easily understood. An exhaustive system, worked out by the Schoolman known as the Philosophy of Scholasticism. "The purpose of Scholasticism was to
find proof for the doctrine which the church leaders had already formulated, and for the statements in the Bible which they accepted on faith because they believed it was inspired." Scholasticism became concerned with logic. "The logic of Aristotle was used as a basis, and then the schoolmen worked out every possible form of argument in the most minute fashion." They "conscientiously nourished and kept alive the glimmer of intellectual light which the Arabians passed on to them from the dying embers of the ancient world" and "gave to the Christian religion the firmest philosophical basis which it has ever had." 

Scholasticism produced many great thinkers. The Schoolmen were all churchmen of whom Alexander Hales was the first. He was familiar with the entire philosophy of Aristotle and applied it to theology. Bonaventure followed the philosophy of Plato, while Albertus Magnus was the first to reproduce the philosophy of Aristotle in a systematic form. Thomas Aquinas was the most influential of all. His chief work is called *Summa Theologica*. He "represents the culmination of scholasticism, and is its authoritative exponent both in

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his own period and in subsequent times. Joannes Dunn Scotus was a critic and a rival of Thomas Aquinas.\textsuperscript{25}

In the later middle ages the new interest in intellectual pursuits, aroused by scholasticism and the Crusades, stimulated the growth of several schools connected with the cathedrals and monasteries. Universities grew out of the schools, the first probably being one which was in connection with a monastery in Salerno, Italy. This was a school for the teaching of medicine and in 1224 became known as the University of Naples. "Chartered institutions, that is those possessing special privileges, quickly came to exert peculiar influence and were rapidly multiplied. During the thirteenth century nineteen of these institutions were created by popes and monarchs; during the fourteenth, twenty-five more were added; and during the fifteenth, thirty more."\textsuperscript{26} "Up to the middle of the fifteenth century, Aristotle controlled the work of the universities."\textsuperscript{27} They became political in influence and gave some protection to freedom of thought and speech. Intellectual life was stimulated. "Education became dominantly moral and hence a discipline or a preparatory training."\textsuperscript{28} These early universities furnished political leaders and governments turned

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 140.
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., p. 145.
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., p. 158.
to them for advice. Political and scientific world problems were studied. For the first time there evolved an intellectual leadership outside the church.

With the Renaissance we begin to approach the opening of modern thought, and because our interest is primarily in the evolution of our own and Milton's philosophy of education, more emphasis will be placed upon its progress in English history.

"By the fifteenth century the spirit of discovery had developed. The great discovery of the century was the discovery of America. The stimulation of the discovery was enormous. It proved that learning is not necessarily confined to that which has been thought."²⁹ A new era which developed slowly was made possible.

As the English mind broadened there was a tendency to turn away from Scholasticism and Aristotellean logic. In Italy Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio influenced literature. These men introduced and made popular the literary works of ancient Greece and Rome. As a result it became popular to imitate the classics. In order to do this, it was necessary to learn the languages in which these classics were written. Nature, ancient history and philosophy held the interest of students. The manners, customs and laws of the Greeks and Romans became subjects of research known

²⁹ J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 121.
as the "humanities". "The idea of human interest dominated the Renaissance movement. The term humanities in its original meaning was very appropriate. It meant those subjects which were peculiarly human." By the sixteenth century this term humanities indicated the language and the literature of the ancients. Humanistic studies began to lose their earlier importance as cultural studies, due in part to a change in the teaching method. "The aim of education was thought of in terms of language and literature instead of life itself, and effort was placed upon the mastery of literature. This narrowed the field of character, to a greater degree than we are willing to admit, portrayed the ambitions of the modern world."

In the schools the teaching of Latin was very formal. Cicero was diligently and thoroughly analyzed. John Colet (1465-1519) was largely responsible for introducing humanistic studies into the English secondary school through his refounding of Saint Paul's Church yard as a New-Learning school which Milton later attended. At first this chosen school was bitterly opposed but later it established the type for nearly all the English grammar schools founded or reorganized. It was for Colet's school that Lily wrote his new grammar which was used for centuries.

30
J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 123.
31
Arthur Stone Dewing, op. cit., p. 70.
Eton College a half century later had thoroughly absorbed the new humanistic studies. In 1635 the Boston Latin School, the first Latin Grammar school in America, was founded by an exponent of English grammar schools, and our secondary education can be traced directly through the English-type Latin Grammar school and the Italian Renaissance.

"There were humanists who advocated a broader education than this. They used Greek and Roman literature because it provided the best means of an education. They sought to make cultured individuals and useful and efficient citizens. They attempted to revive not only the style of the classical writers but to inculcate much of the history and civilization of the ancients. In their program the content was richer and the idea of discipline less rigid."\(^32\) Erasmus was the best known educator of this group. His many books and publications spread classical learning over Europe. His work was purely educational and "designed to reform the many abuses in society that were the outgrowth of ignorance."\(^33\) His struggle against the humanistic thinkers who were reducing the new learning to formalism and his advocation of free education for both sexes are his greatest contributions. Barbarous methods of discipline were condemned by him, but he recommended the study of the child.


\(^{33}\) Paul Monroe, *op. cit.*., p. 176.
He also offered suggestions for good teaching methods. "Few educational leaders of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, and probably none of the important schools, failed to reflect in some degree the educational influence of this great master." 34

Roger Ascham (1515-1568) was the most representative English humanist for "his chief work, the Schoolmaster, was written in the vernacular." 35 "In his time the most commonly used method of teaching was the vigorous use of the rod. Ascham protested against brutal punishments, advocated making schools some pleasant places, and devised a more interesting method of teaching languages than had been in use before." 36

The critical spirit developed in England through the reading and knowledge of ancient literature. Men began to question religious beliefs and practices and the Reformation took place. This had a direct effect upon education in that "it emphasized reason and the right of private judgment." 37 Men were permitted to interpret the Scriptures for themselves and they became familiar with original literary material as the source of ideas. As a result many "discordant sects were formed". 38 Now it became necessary to train men to understand the Scriptures thoroughly.

34 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 125.
35 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 125.
36 Ibid., p. 125.
37 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 131.
38 Ibid., p. 192
and since "woman has the same responsibility for her soul’s salvation as had man, she had to have the same training. It was the duty of the church to furnish schools for all. These schools were established and doctrines were taught. Since it was a privilege to follow their own choice of leaders, there "grew up a keen competition in the field of education." Each church had its own school and "in a remarkably short time denominational schools were established all over the settled parts of Europe and America. The benefits of this competition are beyond measure. Education was, however, not confined to church schools; they also advocated public education and did much to encourage state and local public support for schools. They also advocated an education for broader purposes than the religious, but the elimination of religious doctrines from the public schools did not come till very much later."

Intellectual life became bound within narrow limits. "The education of the schools, higher and lower, took its purpose and received its spirit from this same formal and narrow interest" and a new formalism like that of scholasticism resulted. Greek, Latin grammar and rhetoric,

39 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 131.
40 Ibid., p. 131.
41 Ibid., p. 132.
and other formal subjects took their places in the foreground. We do, however, owe our idea of universal elementary education to the Reformation.

Martin Luther (1483-1546), the great German leader and reformer, had broad educational ideas. He advocated a larger curriculum and urged state support and state control of public schools and education for every child.

The Reformation had practically the same effect in England as in Germany. It was centered in Cambridge and was under the leadership of Tyndale (1484-1536) and Latimer (1485-1555). Monasteries dissolved and new schools were formed that passed under state control where the "Dominant motive was a religious one." Latin remained dominant and the vernacular was ignored. "Until late in the nineteenth century, England left all educational effort either to the family or to the Church."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century while Continental Rationalism was flourishing, the English developed a philosophy of science based upon experience. This philosophy was called Empiricism. An impersonal interest in philosophical and scientific problems was created. Education began to emphasize "phenomena of nature and social institutions instead of language and literature. They wanted to know Nature's laws. This emphasis

\[43\] Paul Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
was called Realism. Two schools of realism arose. One was humanistic or literary realism and the other social realism. The former had as its purpose the mastery of natural and social life through learning about the broader life of the ancients. This required a thorough study of Greek and Roman literature.

John Milton (1608-1674), considered "one of the best expressions of the views of the humanistic-realists," wished to make education more informal. His "program of study in which he included the writings of nearly all of the best writers of antiquity and later times" paved the way for later advancement. He objected to the idea of using formal grammar as an approach to a subject and wished to stress the content side of language, not the formal one. He believed that there was education outside the languages and literature. In his Tractate of Education, to which we also will refer later, he has given us a careful analysis of what he thinks the education of a boy between twelve and twenty-one should be. He had noted that educational results came from the subordination to Medievalism and calls that education an "asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles". He says of

47 Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 85.
the youths lost in medieval learning:

"They do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of Learning, mocked and deluded all this while with rugged Notions and Babblements, while they expect worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purpose not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thought of litigious terms, fat contentions and flowing fees; others betake them to State affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue, and true generous breeding, that flattery, and Court shifts and tyrannous Aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyment of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning mere words or such things chierily, as were better unlearnt."
Thus he proclaimed comprehensive views of educational reforms that were more radical than those of Francis Bacon and which in general can be applied today.

Social-realism advocated education for practical life in the world; a gentleman's preparatory education for a career. Knowledge that did not function was held to be useless. "It was a matter of experience and attitude and application of knowledge to human affairs. Travel was highly recommended for young people in order that they might learn about other people and learn how to get along with them. A happy, worthy, serviceable life guided by wisdom in practical affairs is a nobler objective than bookish learning." Men turned to the study of the material world. Great discoveries were being made and science began to move forward. "The scientists felt sure that they were studying the real reality, because they considered things and forces in nature. These exist independent of human thought and they are real in themselves. We can discover them but we cannot make them." This conception has been called sense-realism. A new method of study evolved. It was one that studied things themselves and not merely reading about them.

"Francis Bacon (1561-1626) developed the method of induction to meet this need." While in the University

49 Ibid., p. 145.
50 Ibid., p. 145.
of Cambridge he became filled with a dislike for scholastic traditions, particularly in the field of science, and left school to travel in France "in order to become somewhat acquainted with men." He resolved to set philosophy in a more fertile path, to turn it from scholastic disputation to the illumination and increase of human good. He rose to political power and great heights in philosophy. His interest was chiefly in the curriculum, and he advanced the idea that educational process should be scientific. He encouraged the use of the vernacular.

He undertook, in his "Instauratio Magna", or great regeneration, "to sum up the present stage of human knowledge, point out the defects which would hinder its future progress, and finally to mark out in broad outlines the method and direction of future science." Of the six parts originally planned, the first two were partially completed, The Advancement of Learning and the Novum Organum, or inductive method.

"He felt that studies could not be either end or wisdom in themselves, and that knowledge unapplied in action was a pale academic vanity." Said he, "To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much...

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54 Will Durant, op. cit., p. 123.
for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humor of a scholar...Crafty men condemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation." 55 "Here is a new note, which marks the end of scholasticism--i.e., the divorce of knowledge from use and observation--and places that emphasis on experience and results which distinguishes English Philosophy, and culminates in pragmatism...The world owes to Francis Bacon the "stimulation which he gave to the empirical and scientific tendency of the whole English race."

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), contemporary and friend of Francis Bacon, "moulded his philosophy in mathematical standards and indirectly defined the attitude of subsequent English naturalism...He may be regarded as the spiritual father of a long line of English empiricists." Knowledge, he believed, is obtained only through sensation. "He transformed the scholastic doctrines into a materialism...and did not hesitate to draw the most disagreeable conclusions if the rigidity of his mathematical

55 Francis Bacon, "Of Studies"--"Essays", as quoted in Will Durant, op. cit., p. 123.
56 Ibid., p. 123.
57 Arthur Stone Dewing, op. cit., p. 70.
method seemed to demand it." "His breadth of view and power of analysis are perhaps greater than the illustrious English philosopher, Locke, but the influence of the latter has been much more pronounced."

John Amos Comenius (1592-1671) may be classed "the first great modern educationist." During his early school life he was cognizant of the many defects in the teaching methods and of the lack of opportunity for universal education. A Moravian, he was banished from his country and settled in Lissa, near the Silesian frontier. Here he found employment in an old-established school of the Brethren, and went about improving traditional teaching methods. It was in this place that he published his Janua linguarum reserata or "Gates of Tongues Unlocked" and was praised by all the learned world. English friends induced him to come to London and attempt a reform in the English educational system. Parliament had shown interest in education and had employed Samuel Hartlib to plan its reorganization. It was to this man that Milton addressed his tractate on Education. Irish war troubles came up and the plan was abandoned. It was only after wandering

58 Arthur Stone Dewing, op. cit., p. 73.
59 Ibid., p. 75.
about Europe, spending some time in Sweden, that Comenius finally settled in the latter country where he published a folio of all his writings on Education.

"Before Comenius, no one had brought the mind of a philosopher to bear practically on the subject of education, Montaigne and Bacon had advanced principles, leaving others to their application. A few able schoolmasters, Ascham, e.g., had investigated new methods, but had made success in teaching the test to which they appealed, rather than any abstract principle. Comenius was at once a philosopher who had learnt of Bacon, and a schoolmaster who had earned his livelihood by teaching the rudiments. Dissatisfied with the state of education, he sought for a better system by an examination of the laws of Nature." 61

According to Comenius, a man should "know all things; should be master of all things, and of himself; should refer everything to God. So that within us Nature has implanted the seeds of learning, virtue, and piety. To bring these seeds to maturity is the object of education. All men require education, and God has made children unfit for other enjoyments that they may have leisure to learn." 62

He believed that the schools had failed to do this. They had neglected many things, even the mother tongue, and had

62 Ibid., p. 135.
"confined the teaching to Latin."

This lack of educational success was due to their failure to follow nature. Learning should come easily and naturally to children. "Education should proceed, he said, in the following order: first educate the senses, then the memory, then the intellect; last of all the critical faculty. This the order of nature...my keeping to this order, Comenius believed it would be possible to make learning entirely pleasant to the pupil, however young."

His most famous contribution is his principle that words and things should not be divorced, but that knowledge of things and words should go together. Things should be learned from nature. He wrote two Latin manuals for children, Janua and Atrium. Milton was familiar with these books and alludes to them in his educational plan.

The scheme of education which Comenius outlined was pre-school and mothers' teaching; public vernacular school from six years to twelve; Latin school; and finish with university and traveling. Education, he thought, should be for girls as well as boys. "He saw that every human creature should be trained up to become a reasonable being, and that the training should be such as to draw out God-given faculties. Thus he struck the keynote of the science of education."

63 Herbert Quick, op. cit., p. 135.
64 Ibid., p. 138.
65 Ibid., p. 70.
"In England the introduction of the 'real studies' was bound up with the history of the 'academies' as those institutions were developed by the non-conforming churches. The beginning of this movement is connected with the humanistic realism of Milton, who styled the institution described in his Tractate, an academy... As was to be expected, the founders of these institutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had little sympathy with the narrow and restricted education that produced their illiberal persecutors; hence the new institutions provided for a much broader training through a curriculum that included many of the new 'real studies'. Preparation for the ministry was yet a prominent, though by no means the exclusive purpose of these schools, hence the classical languages formed a prominent part if not the basal part of the course of study. To these were added a variety of subjects, varying with the institution, including French" and many other subjects. The universities held to the old educational ideas and did not change until late in the nineteenth century.

"The process of learning rather than the thing learned" now became the determining thing in education. This was known as the disciplinary conception. The influence of

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John Locke (1632-1704) on education served to further the interest in this new educational tendency, and his Thoughts became almost a handbook or a charter for the academies. "In the seventeenth century the world was better prepared for ideas than ever before" and John Locke had ideas to give it. He had studied medicine and philosophy. In the latter subject he was led "into the field of epistemology—that is a theory of the nature of knowledge." His statesmanship and experience together with his study in medicine and philosophy aided him in forming his theory of education.

His first requirement of education is a sound body. He believed that health had heretofore been overlooked and gave ordinary commonsense rules to follow. He impressed "upon people the importance of starting children out with strong and healthy bodies, partly because this is desirable in itself, and partly because it is a means of developing the moral and mental phases of life." It is from Locke that we get our "Sound mind in a sound body" phrase. Milton had grasped this idea of physical education and recommended it in his scheme of learning. Locke also held to the idea that education is discipline, but his

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68 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 156.
69 Ibid., p. 157.
70 Ibid., p. 158.
conception of this discipline was broader than those of his contemporaries. Throughout his philosophical writings he emphasized the fact that the aim of intellectual striving should be towards truth and that reason is the guide to it. He felt mental power is gained through exercising the faculties. "If a subject does not get into the pupil's system and become his own it has scarcely any influence in building his character. Hence it would not have disciplinary value." 71

He believed that the aim of education is character and that physical and mental habits offer the means to its attainment. To him the child's mind at birth is a blank tablet upon which experience makes impressions. This is the underlying factor in his theory of learning through the senses. He held that "nothing is ever lost that has once impressed the senses." 72 These impressions are experiences that build character and are but the beginning of knowledge. Memory develops next and finally reason. This training process should increase the mental powers rather than enlarge the intellectual content only. Subjects chosen should be utilitarian. His was the day when training of the faculties was advocated by

72 Ibid., p. 159.
psychologists and this theory became increasingly popular.

Locke was a constructive thinker and not a critic. He felt that "our intellectual possessions are of less importance than our intellectual attitudes. The love of truth is more important than the possession of a particular bit of knowledge. He regarded his own work as a pointing of the way to truth rather than a presenting of anything which could be accepted as final. In his treatise on The Conduct of the Understanding he gives what he believes to be the mind's capacity to seek and discover truth. He was too hopeful that his successors would be able to accomplish results which he had not attained."\(^{73}\)

We must keep in mind that Milton was educated during this period of the disciplinary conception of education. Corporal punishment was inflicted for very slight offences; younger boys acted as servants to older ones. Curriculum content was restricted. Latin and Greek were taught for six to nine years in order to develop appreciation for classical literature.

The eighteenth century was one of discontent. People were presumed to exist for the state, but the state did not exist for the people. Laws were very severe and social life became formal, artificial, extravagant, selfish, and useless. People were held in ignorance, superstition,

\(^{73}\) J. Franklin messenger, op. cit., p. 163.
and fear. The brilliant French philosopher, Voltaire, devoted his life to releasing the human mind from the despotism it was under. Hume and Gibbon in England also belonged to this new enlightenment which attacked the foundations of the state and church, but they were indifferent to the needs of the masses. Gradually this degenerated into selfish indifference, skepticism, and formalism.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), "the first great leader in democracy", advocated education as the birthright of every man. "The Declaration of Independence drawn up by the American colonists is an embodiment of the principle enunciated by Rousseau. Even the phraseology is copied after him." His great work was Emile, in which he gives us his educational principles by drawing a picture of an ideal education for a boy. The church had taught that every child is born a sinner and that the purpose of education was to overcome nature. Rousseau said that nature is the only thing that is good and when a child learns and follows nature's laws life will be harmonious and happy. The natural development of the individual should determine the time for giving him information. He substituted cooperation

74 Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 279.
75 J. Franklin messenger, op. cit., p. 169.
for obedience and learning by experience for rote memory work.

"The naturalistic movement did more to change the spirit and methods of education than any movement ever inaugurated...Rousseau prepared the way and furnished the inspiration for the widespread scientific, psychological, sociological, and democratic movements which have made modern education." He was the forerunner of the educational psychologists Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel.

The psychological tendency in education presented the thought that education is not an artificial acquiring of formal knowledge but an unfolding of capacities. It tried to state this idea in scientific form and apply it in school work. A more scientific interpretation of human nature was now possible, and better methods of instruction could be used. Before this time adult education alone was emphasized; now primary education came to the front. At present we have renewed an interest in adult education, and it is being hailed as something new. Monasticism had thought only in terms of adult intelligence, and the Renaissance also was for a selected type of adult.

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The Reformation considered only adult needs, but Naturalism stressed the rights of children. "Rousseau heralded them, but Pestalozzi secured them."  

Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1826), a German, emphasized the new naturalistic methods. He had no system, but a wealth of ideas which may be read in his *Leonard and Gertrude*. This book illustrated the manner in which he would have children taught ideas instead of words. He established a school at Neuhof where he attempted to carry out his ideas in a practical manner by stressing the value of work and effort. Religion was given an important place in the curriculum and the schoolroom was made pleasant. Rousseau was an inspiration to many educators. Froebel and Herbart visited his school and studied under him. It may be said that each owed the beginnings of their respective systems to him.

John Frederick Herbart (1776-1841) was a philosopher, a psychologist, and a teacher. As has been stated, he saw the value of Pestalozzi's work and set about working out a "psychology which would furnish the basis for effective teaching, and give sound principles upon which a scientific method of instruction could be developed."  

While a professor of philosophy at Königsberg, he established a practice school, partly for the sake of educational

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experimentation and partly for the training of teachers and supervisors. An educational seminar was conducted along with the practice school in which the aim of the entire program was the scientific study of education. This was the first organized scientific study of education in a university. The enterprise proved successful, and a similar plan was followed by other schools.

At present every university of any size has a department of education.

The fundamental principle upon which Herbart based his entire process of intellectual and moral development was his idea that the mind is empty at first but has the capacity to receive and take from the environment. Thus the individual is changed by every experience. "Each experience in part determines the next experience... This gives the teacher a key to intellectual and moral development." The process by which a sensory impression becomes a complete percept is called Apperception.

Increased education gives one intellectual acquisitions by adding to his store of notions. The different problem of the teacher is to give the right apperceptive basis for everything he teaches. He must get the child's viewpoint. "Very much of the behavioristic psychology of today is merely Herbartian psychology expressed in different

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terms. Mind-set and readiness are popular terms expressing this principle of apperception.\footnote{80}{J. Franklin Messenger, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216.}

Herbart developed a formal method of five steps in conducting a recitation, which require the thought process to go back and forth from particular to general and from general to particular. He also advocated correlation of studies. He has had a large number of followers and "many of his views are accepted today under a different phraseology."\footnote{81}{Ibid., p. 227.}

The Froebelian movement came with its emphasis on the importance of the child. This movement was the result of the work of Froebel (1782-1852). The Kindergarten was his greatest contribution. His chief literary work was \textit{The Education of Man}. He believed strongly in the educational value of work and drew lessons from objects of nature. The school he regarded as an institution whose chief purpose was to encourage creative activity on the part of the pupils. He wished every child to have a very early social training through direct participation. Situations were created which were suggestive to the child and which led to self-expression. This is the basis of kindergarten work. He advocated learning through activity and introduced games whereby social training was
secured and pleasures were increased by being shared. Froebel's curriculum was much broader than those of his contemporaries. His was "an education through activity rather than through mere receptivity, a moral training through growth rather than through formal precepts, child life made happy and fruitful through self-expression rather than constrained through repression, fitting for life activities by engaging in life activities, and a recognition of the natural goodness in child nature."82

It is interesting to note that the novelist Charles Dickens influenced the introduction of kindergartens into England, where a few were established as private institutions for the wealthier classes. The first kindergarten in the United States was established by Elizabeth Peabody in Boston in 1860 and was made a part of the public school system by Dr. W. T. Harris in St. Louis in 1873.

The modern scientific tendency in education had its origin in the realism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Great emphasis was placed upon the content of studies; the knowledge of the phenomena of nature; the value of the inductive study method. Nineteenth century life demanded the introduction of the sciences into the curriculum. Studies were "no longer considered to be liberal in proportion to their remoteness from practical bearing, but, on the contrary, in proportion to their

82 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 209.
A liberal education was defined as "one which fits a man so well for his profession, for his life as a citizen, and for all of his activities in life, that he is very much broader than that profession, seeing the import of his life in institutions." The natural sciences contributed largely to the culture of that century. Youth was now free to choose studies since it was not possible to master all of the old material and the new sciences.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was the most noted English advocate of scientific education. His interest was primarily in the curriculum and secondarily in child nature. He said that the function of education is "to prepare us for complete living, not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense." The question then arose as to what subjects would help in complete living. Since the time for education is short, subjects must be evaluated; human needs classified, and a curriculum built to meet them. Spencer classified the activities necessary to make life complete into five groups, as follows: "(1) Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation;"

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84 Ibid., p. 353.
85 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 229.
(2) Those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation;
(3) Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring; (4) Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; (5) Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings."\(^86\)

"It has been said that Spencer sacrificed that which is higher in life--its culture--for that which is lower--its practical advantage. On the contrary, he emphasized the importance of the cultural elements in an entirely new way. His argument is that all these phases of knowledge should be emphasized and that every individual should be permitted some attainment or acquisition in each."\(^87\)

In his essay *Intellectual Education*, Spencer discusses the question of method. In this he echoes and elaborates the principles of Pestalozzi and adds nothing of value. His treatment of physical education was far ahead of his time and his influence in bringing about changes was very great.

Many others were emphasizing the value of science. Thomas Huxley (1825-1895) accomplished more for the actual

\(^86\) J. Franklin Messenger, *op. cit.*., p. 231.

\(^87\) Paul Monroe, *op. cit.*., p. 358.
extension of education in the natural sciences than any other living Englishman. He was less original than Spencer in his educational ideas, but he had greater influence. He was a vigorous writer and speaker and a severe critic of the prevailing practices in education. He recommended the teaching of the Bible in the schools and put forth much effort into getting science into the public schools.

The sciences came into school curricula very slowly. They had been introduced into the German universities during the time of the realistic movement in 1694. In America they did not make much headway until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, while in England they did not make much progress until fifty years later. The academies, high schools, and German real-schools provided for their introduction into secondary education. Geography was added to the elementary school curriculum early in the nineteenth century and physiology followed about the middle of the same century. Nature study had been introduced by Pestalozzi under the form of object teaching. By the end of the century, interest in science was almost universal; people were eagerly watching for more discoveries, and science was taught in the public schools everywhere. Inventions and discoveries were chiefly responsible for this change of attitude, but, in order to insure progress, it is necessary to reach people with ideas as well as inventions. In this service Spencer
and Huxley were leaders. 88

The theory of evolution and the psychology of the American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842-1910) were steps in the direction of organizing changes and theory into "changed habits and practices—in the lives of teachers, in the programs of schools, and in the accepted customs of the community." 89 James applied psychology to education and with the appearance of his Principles of Psychology immediately stepped to the front as a leader of the physical school. It is not unlikely that this "is the contribution on which his fame will ultimately rest; and in any case it is on flashes of psychological insight into the concrete workings of the human mind, rather than on logically reasoned solutions of historic problems, that the value of his more ambitious speculative efforts depends." 90

In James's later life he occupied himself with philosophical interests which may have the general title of Pragmatism. This term had been introduced by Charles Peirce, a writer, in 1878 and James followed his

lead by applying pragmatism to his own philosophy which was uniquely American. "He was carrying on the work of Bacon in turning the face of philosophy once more towards the inescapable world of things."91 "Instead of asking whence an idea is derived, or what are its premises, pragmatism examines its results; it "shifts the emphasis and looks forward"; it is "the attitude of looking away from first things, principles, 'categories', supposed necessities, and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts." 92 "Scholasticism asked, What is the thing,--and lost itself in "quiddities"; Darwinism asked, What is its origin?--and lost itself in nebulae; pragmatism asked, What are its consequences?--and turns the face of thought to action and the future."93

"James did not found a school. He was incapable of that patient brooding upon the academic nest that is necessary for the hatching of disciples. The number of those that borrowed his ideas is small and insignificant beside the number of those who through him were brought to have ideas of their own. His greatness as a teacher lay in his implanting and fostering of intellectual independence."94


92 William James, Pragmatism, p. 222 as quoted in Ibid., p. 558.

93 Ibid., p. 558.

and we owe to his idea of pragmatism the project method of teaching.

The twentieth century arrived with a rich heritage of partially developed ideas. The intellectual world had moved slowly. People had been satisfied to have their children taught as they themselves were taught but Spencer jarred them from the complacency with his demand for an education which would function in daily life. James turned their attention to concrete things and the future. A more progressive thinking was stimulated and experience became the basic factor in education.

The eighteenth century had been a struggle for adult freedom; the nineteenth century sought freedom for women and children; the twentieth century has inherited a freedom of thought, customs, beliefs, and conduct which furnishes a basis for the whole social and intellectual structure of present-day civilization. This freedom is the determining factor of modern education. The church has lost its former influence and the schools cannot teach religion, therefore, it has become necessary for the latter to provide moral guidance and a character building program to fit the changed conditions under which we live. 95

The psychologists look upon education as the process

95 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 243.
of development and emphasize the importance of method. "The sociologists look upon education as the process of perpetuating and developing society; they approach the subject through a study of social structure, social activities, social needs. They conceive the purpose of education to be the preparation of an individual for successful participation in the economic and social activities of his fellows." The big thing that has come to be stressed is that the individual and the social are really closely bound together in human experience.

The principle of evolution was contributed by the nineteenth century and has become the basis of all modern education. Biology, sociology, psychology, philosophy, religion, and political science have all been studied from the standpoint of this principle. The brain is now known to be intimately connected with our mental life. Everything which goes on in the consciousness is permanent because of its effect upon the brain. This means that the character of the individual is modified by whatever experience he has had. In connection with this it has also been discovered that as we go up the scale of evolution we find a gradually increasing cerebrum which means a greater variety of

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reactions, deliberation, choice, judgment, and all that goes with educability. The being with a high degree of educability must be educated or must perish. It is no longer a question of adjusting the individual to his environment, it is a matter of adjusting the environment to the individual. The whole world of human interests results. Associated with this fact of educability is the prolonged period of infancy in human beings compared with that of animals. From this dependence comes the family with its social, political, and economic interests. The power of this weakness has led the world into its present form of civilization. The body and mind are now considered as a unity, though not identical. Secretions of the glands of the body have been found to affect personal reaction on situations. The behavior of man is being objectively studied in terms of physiological responses to stimuli. The emphasis on heredity has been decreased while emphasis on environment has been increased. 97

Since psychology has been accepted as a natural science and laboratory methods have been applied to the study of it, the idea has evolved that practical activities of life can have an application of psychology. In America the learning process has been experimented with and ways of measuring intelligence have been tried. Some progress

97 J. Franklin Messenger, op. cit., p. 249.
has resulted. The greatest contribution that psychology has made during the last ten years has been the method of experimentation. Mental testing, which suddenly grew into popularity, is an application of this. A system has been devised to get a rating of intelligence, not of achievement. If the tests "are not used for more than they are worth they are very valuable in school work." They have been a great help in discovering individual differences.

A scientific study of curriculum construction promises to bring greater changes in education than any other movement. In the past the curriculum grew through addition. Religion only was subtracted from it. It represented an accumulation of our educational heirlooms. New methods of evaluating subjects have now been discovered. Curricula are being studied in fields of child interests, job analysis, activity analysis, and social needs. In this way some of the useless matter that the curriculum contains is being eliminated.

With the increase in the number of vocations, it has become necessary to train persons to earn a living, and the duty of the school is to provide sufficient training to enable a child to support himself. But, in addition to that, he should have something to enrich his life so he will be able to enjoy the culture of modern

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Civilization. It is considered desirable to find this within an individual's job, for knowledge and skill make work more attractive. This can be one of the most effective ways to build character. Vocational guidance promises to make great progress in the near future.

Milton's course of study was planned for a gentleman who had little need of a vocation outside the professions, but he too looked ahead into the future career of the pupil.

Professor John Dewey, now of Columbia University, is the most outstanding American exponent of contemporary philosophical thinking in the field of education. He is partly responsible for the changing attitude toward education. In 1899 he published his *School and Society* which set forth his views. "The book gave heart to the discontented; it offered edge and direction to the movement for modern schooling; it fired the imagination with prospects of close, fruitful linkage between children's school lives and the better life all about them. More than any other single writing, it hastened the pedagogic revolution which we are now witnessing and which still has ample work to perform." He feels that philosophers have been upon a barren quest—the effort to understand the perfect reality back of all the changing appearance in the world. Men have sought security in a practical

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and a religious way. The former is a "method which, by understanding nature in order to use it, has revolutionized the condition of man's living, increased the span of his years, and filled them with satisfactions utterly unknown to earlier times." This practical attitude had not been honored, for the intellect was held to be higher than practical knowledge, but Dewey challenged men to apply intelligence to daily life activities and substitute a search for methods of control for a philosophic study of the absolute. He feels that the heart of our best knowing is doing; that all ideas must be defined in terms of things thoughtfully done. Hitherto we have never connected doing with thinking. "Because feelings, habits, volitions play so important a role, Dewey wants them held up to the light and given as rigorous a study as men ever offered to so-called pure reason...Such is his religion—an idealism of action which is devoted to the creation of a future."

Recently Dewey has stressed in his writings the continuity of man and nature, which is Naturalism; and the nature of man as a living organism reacting to stimuli, which is Behaviorism. He emphasizes the experimental approach to problems and this philosophy is known as

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Devere Allen, op. cit., p. 134.

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Ibid., p. 135.
Experimentalism. "It is one expression of the struggle for democracy in America and in all departments of American life." His greatest book is *Democracy and Education*, where he applies all his philosophy to the developing of a better generation. Philosophy he defines as the theory of education. In the book mentioned, he says, "There is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education."

If we sum up Dewey's entire philosophy it is one of "shared interests." If a child, realizing a purpose, is interested, he is identified with his activity. The interests of a child are determined by responses. Thus we have Dewey applying pragmatic philosophy to activities within the school.

Finally we turn to Sir John Adams, an English educator and a prolific writer on educational reform in practices and methods. He is professor emeritus at the University of London and at present is lecturing at the University of California.

He advocates reform in "reducing children to a common pattern" and emphasizes individualism. He believes that modern national systems of education are increasing standardization within the nations. He says, "It is a

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103 Ibid., p. 301.
practical safeguard of the freedom of the people that the teachers in a national system must be so numerous that they will among themselves provide a fair representation of the general feeling of the body politic; so that unless the government is able to carry with it a considerable body of public opinion it will find it impossible to introduce through the schools any important innovations of thought or practice... The line of greatest interest is the relation likely to exist between the different nationalities in the future. In the meantime national education is a disintegrating influence in the world. Language, national literature, national music, national customs and prejudices are all intensified within the imitation area of the nation. Through the increasing speed of communication men are being more closely drawn together, and we must "have a view of the whole world and not merely of our immediate environment...

We have seen that education is always following in the lines of social development. Can it be that with the knowledge we have acquired of the past, and of the way in which educational development has been accomplished, we are in a position to set out on a campaign of progressive education?... It is true we have reached a point of vantage...

We are able to envisage the whole field... educationally the world

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may be said to have definitively reached the reflective stage. It is no longer nonsense to speak of world-
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education."

It is with the theories of these last three modern philosophies of education that we attempt to show Milton's relationship. In a period of tumult and unrest not unlike our own, he gave to the world his scheme of education which has some practical features that are more than vaguely inspirational and which have been, for the most part, inadequately recognized or even ignored.

"Milton was exceptionally well qualified to write on education. He had experienced at first hand both the merits and disadvantages of the educational system of his day. He had been a teacher for seven years. He was well informed on the educational reform movement of his time and was, of course, thoroughly familiar with the classical writers on education...he had probably read Hartlib's essay on educational reform, and through extensive conversation with Hartlib he must have acquired a good knowledge of Comenius' pansophic schemes. Add to all this, the fact that Milton was a man of integrity and intelligence, interested in public affairs, well-read, and well-informed on continental school practice, and we

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Sir John Adams, op. cit., p. 393-394.
have described a man whose plan of education is worth the consideration of practical people." 106

"And now upon remembering that Milton taught boys, that he wrote school-books, and that his discussion of education, a subject sometimes thought dull, displays an unquenchable faith in the young human spirit and a moral glow which has attracted readers for three hundred years, upon remembering all this one is no longer so sure that he should not be numbered with the teachers. And these should claim him—they need, at all events, his faith in the young human spirit." 107


Part II

John Milton and His Educational Theories

We have reviewed the education and philosophy of the seventeenth century which is really the first thoroughly modern century of English life. It was during this period that John Milton (1608-1674) was born at the Spread Eagle in Bread street in London. His father was a prosperous scrivener who had been disinherited by his father because he had become a Protestant and possessed a Bible; "already there was protest and reform in the blood." The father of John Milton had the means to give his gifted son the opportunity of education which the best tutors and public schools could impart. Milton attended St. Paul's School as a day-scholar and when he was sixteen he entered Christ's College at Cambridge, but he left here in some sort of disgrace about which we know little. It is said that he was flogged and, since flogging was a very usual occurrence in the colleges, this supposition may be true. In a few years he went abroad where he was made much of because of his early poems. Here he filled his mind with knowledge and met many great men who became his friends. When the Civil war broke out in England he hurried home

because he thought it base to be traveling for amusement abroad while his fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home. For some years after his return he conducted a small school for boys. He started with teaching the sons of his widowed sister but soon other boys, sons of his friends, came in and the number increased. "What technical skill the great teacher of Aldersgate street may have had, what discipline he kept, how he managed his markings and rankings, we cannot know; but at least we are sure that in that dingy room, with the dingy London roses blooming outside the window, the ideas of teaching, the ends of scholarship, the principles of education, never were forgotten or lost out of sight."²

When the Commonwealth was well under way and the help of his pen was needed, Milton became at once the champion of the popular cause. For twenty years his pamphlets flooded the press. "He wrote against bishops, against royalty, against the church. He pleaded for the freedom of printing, for the right of rebellion, and, having his own home reasons for turning his thoughts that way, for the liberty of divorce."³ At this time all traditions were being questioned and all institutions were to be remodelled. The school was the earliest object to attract

² Phillips Brooks, op. cit., p. 534.
³ Ibid., p. 533.
an experimental reformer. Bacon had caused a deep dissatisfaction with school method to grow up in the advanced minds of the time. The man who carried over these educational theories of Bacon was John Amos Comenius who "proposed to revolutionize all knowledge, and to make complete wisdom accessible to all, in a brief space of time, and with a minimum of labor." 4

The views of Comenius were introduced and championed in England by Samuel Hartlib, the son of a Polish merchant who had married an English woman and settled in England. England is indebted to him "not only for his efforts to advance piety, learning and morality in the schools, but also for his practical contributions in the field of agriculture and industrial reform." 5 Hartlib had often talked with Milton about education and was much interested in what this schoolmaster had to say. He often suggested that Milton should write down some of his thoughts upon that subject so that they might not be lost. Thus it was "that the busy Milton at last complied, and the result is that we have a dozen pages of his stately prose, in which he pictures his ideal of school-teaching and gives us, it is safe to say, prospectus of philosophic education within which all the progress of our modern schools has been

4 Mark Pattison, Milton (New York: Harper and Brothers, no date), p. 43.

included, and which it is very far yet from outgrowing. 6

This small pamphlet Milton called a tractate Of Education. Since its first appearance that brief essay has gone through over thirty editions--more than any other prose works of Milton. "John W. Good says of its effect on educational thought, that there seems to have been a decided discontented feeling toward the system of education in vogue. Among those who may have been regarded as earlier authorities, none were more referred to and quoted than Milton himself. In many cases his ideas were cited as just the remedy that the interests of educational work most needed." 7 Milton himself had the tractate printed, possibly as a matter of convenience for Hartlib. 8 His plan seems to have been to make this contribution to education a permanent one. Thirty years later he had it reprinted at the end of the second edition of his Minor Poems. Evidently he kept the same attitude throughout the following years.

The tractate is in the form of a letter addressed to Samuel Hartlib and Milton begins by saying "to write now on the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on,

6 Phillips Brooks, op. cit., p. 534.


and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind half diverted for the present in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which, can not but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth and honest living with much more peace...I will not resist therefore, whatever it is either of divine or humane obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary Idea, which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice." So we conclude that although the tractate is short and was hurriedly written, Milton had given much thought to its contents, and that he was dissatisfied with the existing conditions in education.

Milton begins by the principle that the end of learning is to repair the sins of our first parents by regaining the knowledge of God aright; and, because God can only be known in His works, we must by the knowledge of sensible things arrive gradually at the contemplation of the insensible

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and invisible. We must begin with language and we are taught the language of the people who have most industriously searched for wisdom; but language is only the means by which useful things can be brought to us. No man can be called learned who does not know the solid things in language as well as languages themselves. Things and words must go together. The influence of Comenius is shown in Milton's recommendation to proceed from the easier to the more difficult. Milton knew that one of the great shortcomings of the seventeenth century school was "time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment."\(^\text{10}\) This is also true of modern education. We are still teaching and learning some purely traditional subject matter in our schools that is not applicable to life activities.

The famous definition for education which Milton contributed to the literature of the subject follows: "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."\(^\text{11}\) To attain such an education Milton

\(^{10}\) John Milton, op. cit., p. 5.
\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 8.
planned to find a large house and fit it for an academy to house a hundred and thirty boys between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. These boys were to be sons of gentle and noble parentage. No girls were considered as a matter of course. If more than this set number of students applied, "as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city throughout the land; which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere." There was no number of teachers specified. There were to be twenty "attendants" and a master. "Some of these attendants were probably thought of as servants; others were to be instructors. Milton, then, planned his academy for a small and selected group...for boys of a type which we now call "accelerated" and for whom we provide enriched curricula and rapid promotions." "This fundamental idea of Milton's academy served as a model for the educational establishment of the non-conformists after the Restoration. The academy idea was subsequently introduced into America in 1743, and became for a half-century our chief type of secondary education."

Milton's scheme of education falls into three divisions--studies, bodily exercises, and diet. The latter

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he dealt with very briefly by saying that it was to be plain, healthful, and moderate. He gives most space to the studies and bodily exercises.

It was in the studies and intellectual training that Milton would make most changes. There was to be an end of torturous "Latin and Greek theme-making and versifying, and that dreary toiling amid obsolete subleties of scholastic Logic and Metaphysics, which he had denounced in a previous passage, and which he had said made university Education nothing better than "an asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles." Instead of these he would have studies useful in themselves and delightful to ingenuous young minds. Things rather than Words; the facts of Nature and of Life; Real Science of every possible kind: this, together with a persistent training in virtuous and noble sentiment, and a final finish of the highest literary culture, was to compose a new Education. Here Milton and Comenius are very much at one; here Milton and the modern advocates of the Real or Physical Sciences in Education are very much at one. Given a lofty and varied idea of utility, no man has ever been more strenuously utilitarian than Milton was in this Tract."

We would expect Milton to stress languages, for he stated at the beginning that they were instruments of real

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15 David Masson, op. cit., p. 240.
knowledge. "At that time information on all kinds of subjects was looked up chiefly in Latin and Greek books. All modern or medieval books of information, all the standard text-books in the Sciences and Arts, that had been written by Englishmen themselves or by Continentals, were in the common Latin; the library of such books, original or translated, in the vernacular were very scanty."

16 So we find that Milton would have Greek, Latin, Italian, Hebrew, and one or two of its cognates taught. The boys, as "future intellectual, social, and military leaders of the nation, would need to be conversant with the fundamental principles of law, ethics, science, and military tactics. Latin and Greek would be needed in order to attain a cultural sympathy with the classical writers.

The young men would need Italian and Latin when they went on their continental tours after the completion of their studies. Hebrew and its cognates would certainly be needed by those who joined the ranks of the clergy, and for the rest of the students they would furnish the ability to read the Scriptures occasionally in the original. With the possible and partial exception of the Semitic studies then, the content of the course was appropriate for Milton's times and for the boys with whose education he elected to deal. That such content is not well adapted to our own

times and needs may well be admitted."

A hasty survey of Milton's plan would lead one to believe that the scope of the curriculum is too great, but by more careful reading and by plotting out the studies of the tractate for the nine or ten years of the course, one finds the course of study quite reasonable.

"The languages, for example, do not constitute so great a burden as might be supposed, when we consider the great amount of time available for their study. The study of grammar is limited to the 'usefullest' and 'chief and necessary rules.' Composition in foreign languages was not required; not so far as we can tell, were the students required to translate from English into the foreign tongues. Furthermore, Milton did not intend his pupils to learn to speak any language other than Latin. For the others, they needed only a reading knowledge."

As has been stated, this intellectual training was to begin with simple exercises in scientific language study, but rapidly advanced "until it embraces a list of writers whose names might well give pause to the stoutest hearted of modern classicists. Cebes, Plutarch, Quintilian, Plato, Cato, Varro, Columella, Aristotle, Seneca, Celsus, Pliny,

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\[18\]
Ibid., p. 620.
Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Xenophon, Cicero, Euripides, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Hermogenes, Longinus, and Horace are sufficient to indicate the range and compass of his curriculum. These authors are to be read and studied each for a particular purpose, for Milton is nothing if not practical, idealist though he is."

Along with the study of languages, he would have the daily "conning of sensible things (object teaching)," the study of arithmetic, geometry, geography, and astronomy with the use of maps and globes, the elements of natural philosophy and physics, higher mathematics with trigonometry, fortification, architecture, engineering and navigation, and natural history, including minerals, plants and animals, and the elements of anatomy and hygiene. This course of study might be taken for one of our modern secondary or higher school programs. It was certainly an abrupt change from the old scholasticism Milton had experienced in his own education at St. Paul's and Cambridge. Says he, "To set forward all those proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure as oft as shall be needful the helpful experience of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in other sciences, of architects, engineers, mariners, and anatomists.... And this will give to

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them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight."

The third division of Milton's plan was for bodily exercises. Here it may be said that he anticipated Locke. Since Milton was a close student of the classics, it is probable that he received this idea from the Greeks, but he made a step forward when he stated that he would train his students "equally good both for peace and war. Therefore, about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising time in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard and to strike safely with edge or point. This will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; it is also the likliest means of making them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precept to make them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic value and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrongs. They must also be practiced in all the locks and grips of wrestling, wherein Englishmen are want to excel, as need

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may often be in fight to tug, grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enought wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travelling spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned, either whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice composer, sometimes the lute, or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction."21 Thus would Milton obtain objectives of recreation, sportsmanship, mental hygiene, and physical fitness that modern physical education is striving towards.

When the ten years of residence in Milton's ideal but practical academy were over, he would have the young

men travel "if they desire to see other countries... not to learn principles but to enlarge experience and make wide observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honor of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent."

Milton ends his tractate by telling Hartlib that he has not considered elementary education "which yet might be worth many considerations if brevity had not been my scope," and also that his scheme would require teachers with unusual ability. He realized, as he says in closing, that his scheme might "prove much more easy in the essay than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible, according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend."

A great deal has been written, especially since the time of Samuel Johnson, in criticism of Milton's plan of education. The first antagonistic criticism was voiced by Johnson. It was to the effect that Milton's plan was an impractical dream. Johnson wrote:

\[\text{John Milton, op. cit., p. 22.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 23.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 23.}\]
"It is told, that in the art of education, he performed wonders; and a formidable list given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that were read in Aldersgate street by youths between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age. Those who tell or receive such stories should consider that nobody can be taught faster than he can learn. The speed of the horseman must be limited by the power of his horse. Every man that has undertaken to instruct others can tell what slow advance he has been able to make, and how much practice it requires to recall vagrant attention, to stimulate indifference, and to rectify misapprehension."

This doubtful attitude of Johnson had a great affect upon many critics who followed him. Henry Barnard, the American educator, objected to the "multiplicity of subjects embraced in its scope."

Richard Garnett added a new critical note which gave the discussion a slightly different direction:

"It cannot be denied that Milton...would overload the young with more information than it could possibly digest. His scheme is further vitiated by...indiscriminate reverence for the classical writers, in that he extended it to subjects in which they were but children as

compared with the modern... Another error, obvious to any dunce, was concealed by his intellectual greatness. He legislates for a college of Miltons. He never suspects that the course he is prescribing would be beyond the ability of nine hundred and ninety-nine scholars in a thousand, and that the thousandth would die fast."

Garnett's phrase, "a college of Miltons", was widely quoted and elaborated upon by his successors. Among others was the criticism offered by Denis Saurat. Says he:

"The tractate was a hymn of faith in the powers of the human mind... The most remarkable think about it,--and that which has been oftest remarked upon,--is that Milton is selling their task to colleges of Miltons. He puts upon youth much too heavy a burden, because he himself had carried it lightly. We find here again, therefore, a striking example of that tendency of Milton, made up of pride and naivete, and a sort of monstrous modesty to take himself as a normal specimen of human beings and to set down as the rule what fits his case."

Today we are not so certain that the criticisms of

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27 Richard Garnett, op. cit., p. 78.
Milton's educational scheme are sound. It has been pointed out that Milton stated the limitations of the group and that the course of study was appropriate for Milton's time. "If Milton's plan was not too arduous for the students of his own time, it is not too difficult for the present. There is no reason to believe that the capacity of the race has diminished."\(^{29}\)

A comparison of Milton's proposed curriculum with the modern course of study has been made by William G. Carr. It is as follows:

**First Section: Ages 12, 13, 14, Junior High School**

**Grades VII, VIII, IX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MILTON'S COURSE</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>MODERN COURSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Latin Grammar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>English Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Prosody</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>English Composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Instruction through stories</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic fundamentals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry fundamentals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scripture stories</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious doctrine</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>History and Civics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shopwork</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Second Section: Ages 15, 16, 17, Senior High School

**Grades X, XI, XII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MILTON'S COURSE</th>
<th>MODERN COURSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Greek Grammar</td>
<td>English Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography or Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>English Composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Trigonometry</td>
<td>English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Hygiene</td>
<td>Public Speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Moral Precepts</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering subjects, choose one:</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Navigation or.</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture or</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortification</td>
<td>Biology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued practice in Latin readings</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Electives&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Third Section: Ages 18, 19, Junior College

**Freshmen and Sophomore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MILTON'S COURSE</th>
<th>MODERN COURSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew with its dialect, optional</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>English Composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Principles</td>
<td>Logic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>History of Philosophy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Optional*
Third Section: (continued)

Milton's Course  Modern Course

Church History  Economics
Principles of poetic and  Italian
   dramatic composition
Memorization of orations  Biblical Literature

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Fourth Section: Ages 20, 21, Senior College

Junior and Senior

Milton's Course  Modern Course

Logic  Greek
Rhetoric  Philosophy
Oral Composition  Law
Written Composition  Teaching Methods
Theory of Poetry  Practice Teaching
General Reviews  Psychology

12  Italian

60

While the content of his curriculum is no longer
significant, it was significant in the times for which it
was written. Milton was capable and desirous of producing
a workable plan. His contemporaries and close successors
believed that he had done so. Comparing his curriculum
with that of modern times, we find that he has anticipated
many subjects taught at present.
Part III

John Milton and Modern Philosophers of Education

When John Milton said he would "straight conduct you to a hillside, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming," he little realized to what extent he anticipated educational theories of three hundred years hence. Modern philosophy of education that is hailed as new thought may be said to be an evolution of past philosophies. "It is perfectly obvious, that the world has been trying for more than twenty centuries to realize the ends of education set forth by Plato in The Republic. It is not so obvious, but it is quite as true, that the net results of all those tryings is set forth with amazing fidelity, even for our own times, 1 by John Milton."

The following excerpts from the works of John Milton and those of three recent philosophers are given to show the existing relationships in their educational theories. John Dewey and William James represent American thought, while Sir John Adams does the same for that of England.

I Education.

"I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war."


"A society is stably organized when each individual is doing that for which he has aptitude by nature in such a way as to be useful to others (or to contribute to the whole to which he belongs); and that it is the business of education to discover these aptitudes and progressively to train them for social use."


"In any case it is obvious that an important part of the work of education is to make the educand aware of the nature of his environment. Clearly it is not a matter of mere information...The knowledge that counts, the knowledge that is power, is not mere acquaintance with fact, but experience of facts in their relation with one another."


"Education, in short, cannot be better described than by calling it the organization of acquired habits of conduct and tendencies to behavior."

In comparing the above definitions, it is clearly shown that Milton had the modern conception of education. He too believed in education as a means of adapting the individual to his environment through acquired habits.

II Interest.

"But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of learning, and the admiration of virtue; stirr'd up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish, and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberal exercises: which he who hath the art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men."


"Interest means that one is identified with the objects which define the activity and which furnish the means and obstacles to its realization. Any activity with
an aim implies a distinction between an earlier incomplete phase and a later completing phase; it implies also intermediate steps. To have an interest is to take things as entering into such a continuously developing situation, instead of taking them in isolation. Hence to develop and train mind is to provide an environment which induces such activity. On the other side, it protects us from the notion that subject matter on its side is something isolated and independent. It shows that subject matter of learning is identical with all the objects, ideas, and principles which enter as resources or obstacles into the continuous intentional pursuit of a course of action."


"Interest is active. It is not the mere pleasure of contemplation or enjoyment. It is an impulse to further effort... In the ordinary work of school it is quite common and within limits, quite legitimate to use interest in one thing to rouse interest in another... The value of an education is to be estimated by a consideration of the subjects to which the finished educand is sensitive. Your really educated man is one who has something within him that responds to all worthy things. It does not by any means imply that he must have an encyclopaedic knowledge. He may not know in great detail the content of the subjects of general interest, but he will know enough
about all to be roused to intelligent activity when brought into contact with any of them."


"In all pedagogy the great thing is to strike the iron while hot, and to seize the wave of pupils interest in each successive subject before its ebb has come, so that knowledge may be got and a habit of skill acquired—a headway of interest, in short, secured, on which afterward the individual may float."


Milton struck a new note when he advocated interest to stimulate learning. Discipline and duty had been the watchwords in the scholasticism which influenced his own education. He does not tell us how he would "temper them such lectures and explanations" to gain the student's interest, but he realized the need.

III Discipline.

"We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes, herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients
of virtue?...They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin, for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons,... and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire... Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth in the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so; such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point... And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much forcible hindrance of evil-doing."


"Discipline means power at command; mastery of the resources available for carrying through the action undertaken. To know what one is to do and to move to do it promptly and by use of the requisite means is to be disciplined, whether we are thinking of an army or a mind. Discipline is positive. To cow the spirit, to subdue inclination, to compel obedience, to mortify the flesh, to make a subordinate perform an uncongenial task--these things are or are not disciplinary according as they do or do not tend to the development of power to recognize what one is about and to persistence in accomplishment."

"It is clear that in general we ought, whenever we can, to employ the method of inhibition by substitution. He whose life is based upon the word 'no', who tells the truth because a lie is wicked, and who has constantly to grapple with his envious and cowardly and mean propensities, is in an inferior situation in every respect to what he would be if the love of truth and magnanimity positively possessed him from the outset, and he felt no inferior temptations....See to it now that you make freemen of your pupils by habituating them to act, whenever possible, and in the notion of a good. Get them habitually to tell the truth, not so much through showing them the wickedness of lying as by arousing their enthusiasm for honor and veracity. Wean them from cruelty by imparting to them some of your own positive sympathy with an animal's inner spring of joy."


After experiencing the rigid discipline of St. Paul's and Cambridge, Milton protested against harsh disciplinary methods. He would direct the evil doer to well-doing, for he says severe discipline has never made a youth chaste. Dewey also states that discipline is positive. James would train habits into right paths and inhibit by substitution. Adams has little to say about the subject.
IV Nature.

"Besides these constant exercises at home, there is another experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land: learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports for trade. sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily re-dound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies, with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge."

"The classic definition of geography as an account of the earth as the home of man expresses the educational reality... The earth as the home of man is humanizing and unified; the earth viewed as a miscellany of facts is scattering and imaginatively inert. Geography is a topic that originally appeals to imagination—even to the romantic imagination. It shares in the wonder and glory that attach to adventure, travel, and exploration. The variety of peoples and environments, their contrast with familiar scenes, furnishes infinite stimulation. The mind is moved from the monotony of the customary. And while local or home geography is the natural starting point in the reconstructive development of the natural environment, it is an intellectual starting-point for moving out into the unknown, not an end in itself. When not treated as a basis for getting at the large world beyond, the study of the home geography becomes as deadly as do object lessons which simply summarize the properties of familiar objects. The reason is the same. The imagination is not fed, but is held down to recapitulating, cataloguing, and finding what is already known. But when the familiar fences that mark the limits of the village proprietors are signs that introduce an understanding of the boundaries of great nations, even fences are lighted with meaning. Sunlight, air, running water, inequality of earth's surface, varied industries, civil
officers and their duties—all these things are found in the local environment. Treated as if their meaning began and ended in those confines, they are curious facts to be laboriously learned. As instruments for extending the limits of experience, bringing within its scope peoples and things otherwise strange and unknown, they are transfigured by the use to which they are put. Sunlight, wind, stream, commerce, political relations come from afar and lead the thoughts afar. To follow their course is to enlarge the mind not by stuffing it with additional information, but by remaking the meaning of what was previously a matter of course."


"Life is always worth living, if one have such responsive sensibilities. But we of the highly educated classes (so called) have most of us got far, far away from nature. We are trained to seek the choice, the rare, the exquisite exclusively, and to overlook the common. We are stuffed with abstract conceptions, and glib with verbalities and verbosities; and in the culture of these higher functions the peculiar sources of joy connected with our simpler functions often dry up, and we grow stone-blind and insensible to life's more elementary and general goods and joys."

"Nature is a process. The world spirit expresses itself in nature. Since in this sense nature includes humanity, the development of humanity is a part of the natural process. This is the nature that so many of our distinguished educators call upon us to follow. We are to observe nature with diligent and loving eyes, and learn of her. We have to study her methods and base our own upon them.....Even in elementary education the revolt from bookishness has had its influence in naturalising the curriculum. The great development of Nature-Study, and the out of doors methods of studying geography are symptomatic, while the inception and development of the open air school point in the same direction. The school journey is becoming a recognised part of the curriculum of the more progressive elementary schools, and even the 'long school journey,' which involves an expedition of a week or longer, has received official sanction."


Milton was aware of the value of appreciation of nature. The first hand study of it would lead, he believed, to an interest in natural environment and would aid in the study of practical things. It is interesting to note that Dewey maintains a similar attitude in correlating the study of geography and nature; while Adams states that modern education is beginning to recognize
the positive results from out of door methods introduced into the curriculum. The expeditions he speaks of are not unlike those advocated by Milton. James felt that appreciation of nature would enhance the common objects in life and increase their value.

V Social Inheritance.

"And seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom."


"It is of grace not of ourselves that we lead civilized lives....Loyalty to whatever in the established environment makes a life of excellence possible is the beginning of all progress. The best we can accomplish for posterity is to transmit, unimpaired and with some increment of meaning, the environment that makes it possible to maintain habits of decent and refined life. Our individual habits are links in forming the endless chain of humanity. Their significance depends upon the environment inherited from our forerunners, and it is enhanced as we foresee the fruits of our laborers in the world in which our successors live."

"The function of social heredity is to pass on from generation to generation the gains that advancing civilization brings. What education loses through the breakdown of that claim that heredity passes on acquired characteristics is more than compensated by the increased richness of the stores that social heredity is capable of transmitting. . . . A process of abbreviation goes on in the mastery of each subject, and what took mankind a generation to learn may be gathered up by a youngster in a few weeks, sometimes in a few hours."


The wisdom of the past is recognized by Milton as being important enough to render the study of languages a major part of his curriculum. He realized that the ideals, traditions, and wisdom of those who have gone before are important for civilization. In his time the past wisdom meant that of the highly civilized Greeks and Romans; therefore, the short cut to their knowledge would be through being able to read the literature they handed down. Dewey too is cognizant of our indebtedness to our forerunners and looks upon the present as a guide to the future. Adams says that a generation of wisdom may be learned by a youngster in a short period of time, thus eliminating much trial and error. Thus we see that each realized the value of past effort.
VI Citizenship

"The next remove must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may act, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, like such poor shaken uncertain reeds, of such tottering conscience as many of our great councilors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state."


"Civic efficiency, or good citizenship. It is, of course, arbitrary to separate industrial competency from capacity in good citizenship. But the latter term may be used to indicate a number of qualifications which are vaguer than vocational ability. These traits run from whatever make an individual a more agreeable companion to citizenship in the political sense: it denotes ability to judge men and measures wisely and to take a determining part in making as well as obeying laws. The aim of civic efficiency has at least the merit of protecting us from the notion of a training of mental power at large. It calls attention to the fact that power must be relative to doing something, and to the fact that the things which most need to be done are things which involve one's relationships with others....It must be borne in mind that ultimately social efficiency means neither more
nor less than capacity to share in a give and take of experience. It covers all that makes one's own experience more worth while to others, and all that enables one to participate more richly in the worthwhile experiences of others. Ability to produce and to enjoy art, capacity for recreation, the significant utilization of leisure, are more important elements in it than elements conventionally associated oftentimes with citizenship."


"By a system of early selection of the most promising educands, and by providing them with a suitable social as well as intellectual education, it may be possible for the individual to give the best service to the state, while every citizen born into the state may have his chance of full self-realisation....With specific education carried to a high pitch, each man may feel that his store of knowledge is sufficient to maintain his self-respect, even though he has not acquired certain kinds of knowledge that at present are regarded as essential to anyone who claims to rank as educated."


The period of the Commonwealth was one of political strife and social inefficiency. Milton grasped the idea that educating youth for future citizenship might be the
answer to the problems being confronted. The need for social efficiency is still being stressed as may be seen in the statements of Dewey and Adams. Education remains the answer, and the significant fact is that Milton anticipated it.

VII Moral Education.

"By this time years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called proairesis, that they may with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating, to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and hatred and vice; while their young and plaintive affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Euripides, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and those of Locrian remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they chose to close the day's work under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangelist and apostolic Scripture. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics."


"Moral knowledge is thought to be a thing apart, and conscience is thought of as something radically
different from consciousness. This separation, if valid, is of especial significance for education. Moral education in school is practically hopeless when we set up the development of character as a supreme end, and at the same time treat the acquiring of knowledge and the development of understanding, which of necessity occupy the chief part of school time, as having nothing to do with character. On such a basis, moral education is invariably reduced to some kind of catechetical instruction, or lessons about morals. Lessons 'about morals' signify as matter of course lessons in what other people think about virtues and duties. It amounts to something only in the degree in which pupils happen to be already animated by a sympathetic and dignified regard for the sentiments of others. Without such a regard, it has no more influence on character than information about the mountains of Asia; with a servile regard, it increases dependence upon others, and throws upon those in authority the responsibility of conduct. As a matter of fact, direct instruction in morals has been effective only in social groups where it was a part of the authoritative control of the many by the few. Not the teaching as such but the reinforcement of it by the whole regime of which it was an incident made it effective. To attempt to get similar results from lessons about morals in a democratic
society is to rely upon sentimental magic."


"What is needed, in fact, in modern educational theory is a little more of this hopeful element. We are so hemmed in by evolutionary theories with their ramifications into the forces of heredity and environment, that we are unduly depressed, and tend to become hopeless regarding our work as educators. Nothing great can be hoped for in the case of men and women who go about their educational work full of the conviction of how little education can really effect. Certain our our later writers seem to take a positive pleasure in emphasising the limits of education as a moral force....It is common to maintain that knowledge has nothing to do with morals. We are confronted with picturesque contrasts of highly cultured scoundrels and illiterate saints, and are told that instruction may increase the social usefulness of a man, but it cannot affect his character....All action proceeds out of the content of the soul. We cannot think of what has never entered our souls. If 'out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders' and the rest, clearly these must be already in the heart. All temptation is an appeal to the knowledge of evil that is already within us: in other words an appeal to the content of the soul, to the result, in fact, of instruction: not perhaps necessarily the deliberate instruction such
as a teacher would give, but to instruction none the less.... Knowledge is necessary to morality, inasmuch as it supplies the materials about which we can be moral. We cannot be moral in vacuo."


"Your task is to build up a character in your pupils; and a character, as I have so often said, consists in an organized set of habits of reaction. Now of what do such habits of reaction themselves consist? They consist of tendencies to act characteristically when certain ideas possess us, and to refrain characteristically when possessed by other ideas.... Our moral effort, properly so called, terminates in our holding fast to the appropriate idea.

"If, then, you are asked, "In what does a moral act consist when reduced to its simplest and most elementary form?" you can make only one reply. You can say that it consists in the effort of attention by which we hold fast to an idea which but for that effort of attention would be driven out of the mind by the other psychological tendencies that are there. To think, in short, is the secret of will just as it is the secret of memory....

"Thus are your pupils to be saved: first, by the stock of ideas with which you furnish them; second, by the amount of voluntary attention that you can make them
exert in holding to the right ones, however unpalatable; and, third, by the several habits of acting definitely on these latter to which they have been successfully trained."


The fact that Milton was a Puritan might have influenced his ideas on moral education. The church had long been identified with learning and had left its imprint. Today when church and school are widely separated, moral education has become integrated into the school curriculum. Milton would teach ethics through the Greek moralists and the Bible; modern educators through subtle suggestion. The significance lies in the fact that good ethics are still considered as valuable to be taught.

VIII Appreciation of Poetry.

"And now, lastly, will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men at discourse, and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place.... To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art
which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play writers be; and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things."


"Poetry has historically been allied with religion and morals; it has served the purpose of penetrating the mysterious depths of things. It has had an enormous patriotic value. Homer to the Greeks was a Bible, a textbook of morals, a history, and a national inspiration. In any case, it may be said than an education which does not succeed in making poetry a resource in the business of life as well as in its leisure, has something the matter with it—or else the poetry is artificial poetry."


"We all intend when young to be all that may become a man, before the destroyer cuts us down. We wish and expect to enjoy poetry always, to grow more and more intelligent about pictures and music, to keep in touch with spiritual and religious ideas, and even not to let
the greater philosophic thoughts of our time develop quite beyond our view.... We say abstractly: 'I mean to enjoy poetry, and to absorb a lot of it, of course. I fully intend to keep up my love of music, to read the books that shall give new turns to the thought of my time, to keep my higher spiritual side alive, etc.' But we do not attack these things concretely, and we do not begin to-day. We forget that every good that is worth possessing must be paid for in strokes of daily effort. We postpone and postpone, until those smiling possibilities are dead. Whereas ten minutes a day of poetry, of spiritual reading or meditation, and an hour or two a week at music, pictures, or philosophy, provided we began now and suffered no remission, would infallibly give us in due time the fulness of all we desire. By neglecting the necessary concrete labor, by sparing ourselves the little daily tax, we are positively giving the graves our higher possibilities. This is a point concerning which you teachers might well give a little timely information to your older and more aspiring pupils."


As Milton was essentially a poet we would naturally expect him to wish to inculcate an appreciation of poetry into his students. They are to be able to distinguish between good and bad verse and to be given an
insight into things through the reading of great poems.

Dewey gives poetry a place in education as a life resource. James would use it as spiritual food. In either case poetry is considered for its cultural effect and advocated as a means to an end in education.
IV. APPENDIX

A. Bibliography


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