A Compendious Fourme
A New Edition

Edited by Anne-Fleur Lurvink

Masterscriptie Engelse Taal en Cultuur, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Name student: Anne-Fleur Lurvink
Student number: s1727109
Supervisor: dr. Kees Dekker
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Preface

The dialogue entitled A Compendious Fourme is part of the larger work called A touchestone for this time present expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye. Wherevnto is annexed a perfect rule to be observed of all parents and scholemaisters, in the trayning vp of their schollers and children in learning. Newly set forth by E.H.. Imprinted at London by Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop at the greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange, 1574. It was written by the sixteenth-century English lawyer and writer Edward Hake. A Compendious Fourme is a dialogue between two men: Philopas and Chrisippus. Philopas asks the wise Chrisippus about certain educational and pedagogical matters and he always receives an elaborate answer. Themes that can be found throughout the text are the importance of starting education as early as possible and the traits of a proper education. The dialogue is written in verse and contains a lot of wit, which makes the text a pleasant read. Even though this dialogue is an interesting text in many ways, no modern edition exists. Instead, there are some modern reproductions. This new edition will show that A Compendious Fourme deserves more attention than that.

The purpose of this edition is to give the reader an insight in a didactic treatise from the sixteenth century and to present him with an, in my opinion, invaluable text. Only four original copies can be found in four different libraries. This means that it is an extremely rare text; a text that can tell us so much about schooling and didactic fiction in the mid sixteenth century. Therefore, the introduction to this edition focuses on the context in which A Compendious Fourme was written. It also has a separate section on the correspondences and differences between this dialogue and De Pueris Instituendis by Desiderius Erasmus, on which Hake based his work.

Anne-Fleur E. M. Lurvink
Introduction

I

The Document

This edition contains a dialogue which originates from a book called *A touchestone for this time present expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye*. Whereunto is annexed a perfect rule to be observed of all parents and scholemaisters, in the trayning vp of their schollers and children in learning. Newly set foorth by E.H., Imprinted at London by Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop at the greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange, 1574. The dialogue itself is called *A Compendious fourme of education, to be diligently observed of all Parentes and Scholemaisters in the training vp of their Children and Schollers in learning. Gathered into English meeter, by Edward Hake*. The exemplar used for this edition is a copy of the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library (shelfmark 59531). Its STC number is 12609, and the book can be found in the Rare Books section of the library. In addition, the book can also be accessed electronically through Early English Books Online. The Huntington copy is bound in a page of discarded vellum from a medieval manuscript, which contains fragments of Latin text. Because these texts are not part of the book, they will not be discussed in this edition. The size of the book is octavo, and it contains a hundred and four pages. The book is divided into two sections: the prose part and the dialogue written in verse. Furthermore, some notes are written in the margins.

The document is almost completely in tact. However, the corners of the pages are a little damaged, and there are a few cracks in the paper at the bottom of some of the pages. Occasionally some ink was spilled. Nonetheless, the readability of this document is hardly influenced by this. Because I used a digital version of the book, and did not consult the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library, there may be more damage than I am able to describe, but nothing substantial.

Besides the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Short Title Catalogue lists only three further original copies in three different libraries. This shows that *A Touchstone* is an extremely rare book. The copies are in Boston, Harvard University Library, Houghton

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1 See online Huntington Library Catalog < http://catalog.huntington.org>, HLC record number b1498562.
2 See online English Short Title Catalogue < http://estc.bl.uk>, ESTC system number 006177659.
3 See Early English Books Online (EEBO) < http://eebo.chadwyck.com.proxy-ub.rug.nl/search>
Collection (call number STC 12609); Oxford, Bodleian Library (shelfmark Mal. 546); London, British Library (shelfmark General Reference Collection C36.b.25). The latter copy is imperfect; a note in the online British Library Catalogue mentions that signatures Ez – Ey are missing. I have not been able to track any more copies. The second edition of the Short Title Catalogue mentions as an imprint: ‘Imprinted at London: By [W. Williamson for] Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop at the greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange, 1574.’, but it is not clear where this information comes from.

II
Editorial procedures

Because A Compendious Fourme is written in Early Modern English the language does not require glosses or any other elaborate explanation. The language of the dialogue has not been normalised in any way; the same holds for punctuation and spelling. Changes in typography have been kept to a minimum. The sixteenth-century distribution of v and u has been maintained. The long s, however, has been replaced with a modern s. The original line length and page divisions have also been maintained. Furthermore, the original quire signatures (E-G), instead of modern page numbers, have been used to indicate the pages of the original.

Where necessary, some explanatory notes have been included to allow a better understanding of the text but they have been kept to a minimum. Because the focus is on the text and its readability, the explanatory notes are placed in a separate section at the end of the dialogue. They contain references to persons and some further explanation of certain passages.

III
The author

A Compendious Fourme was written by Edward Hake, who used De Pueris Instituendis by Erasmus and adapted it into his own dialogue. However, since the adaptation by Hake differs significantly from Erasmus’ text, I would argue that Hake is the author of this dialogue and not just the translator, as is implied by the comment in the Short Title Catalogue. Nonetheless, a

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4 See online Harvard Library Catalogue <http://lib.harvard.edu/>, HLC system number 005689345.
5 See SOLO Search Oxford Libraries Online in Bodleian Library <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley>, BLRC system number 014357725.
6 See online British Library Main Catalogue <http://www.bl.uk/>, BLMC system number 001565367.
7 In the version used for this edition signatures A-G³ are used, and signatures Ez and Ey do not occur.
proper understanding of the dialogue and its origins requires some background information about both Hake and Erasmus, but I will limit myself to information that is relevant for this edition.

**Edward Hake**

Edward Hake, who flourished from 1564-1604, was both a lawyer and a literary figure. He was educated by the psalmodist John Hopkins and a student at Barnard’s Inn. After Barnard’s Inn, Hake got a room at Gray’s Inn. Gray’s Inn was, and still is, a society of barristers and benchers in London. Both Barnard’s Inn and Gray’s Inn were part of the four Inns of Court.

In the sixteenth century, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, all lawyers needed to be members of one of the Inns of Court in order to be allowed to practise. Thomas More, for example, was a member of Lincoln’s Inn. Hake wrote much of his poetry during his early years at the Inns. However, he was neither successful as a lawyer nor as a poet in his own time: Hake’s verses have often been referred to as monotonous fourteeners. *A Touchstone for this time Present* was not the only work he published. *Newes out of Powles Churche Yarde a Trappe for Syr MONYE* entered the Stationer’s register in 1567, and even though no copy of the first edition is known it was reprinted in 1579. Hake’s most successful work was presumably *Epieikeia*, composed between 1587 and 1591, in which he discussed moral law.

**Desiderius Erasmus**

Desiderius Erasmus was a humanist scholar and was born in Rotterdam in the late 1460s, probably 1467. Erasmus was an illegitimate child, which is the reason why there is little information on his background. Erasmus’ father was a scribe living in Italy who was educated in Greek and Latin. Together with his brother Pieter, Desiderius first went to the school of Pieter Winckel, who later became one of their guardians. Later the brothers went to the school of the

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8 The dates of his birth and death are unknown.
9 It should be noted that in the biography of John Hopkins by the ODNB it is said that he may have been a schoolmaster, because it is mentioned by Edward Hake. Since Hake’s own account of being educated by John Hopkins (“as being trained vp [...] with the instructions of that learned and exquisite teacher, Maister Iohn Hopkins, that worthy Schoolemaister”), on pp. 25-26 of this edition, is the only account, one should consider the possibility that that statement is false. The fact that Hake mentions his connection with Hopkins could also be a way of impressing the reader and to give the text more authority.
11 Wigfall Green, *The Inns of Court and Early English Drama*, p. 6.
12 Dawson, Rev. of “Epieikeia, A Dialogue on Equity in Three Parts,” p. 308.
13 The Stationers’s register was an early form of copyright; a register of copyrights kept by The Company of Stationers at the Stationers’ Hall. See *OED* s.v. ‘Stationers’ Hall’.
14 Dawson, Rev. of “Epieikeia, A Dialogue on Equity in Three Parts by Edward Hake”.
St Lebuin Chapter in Deventer. When Erasmus’ parents died Pieter Winckel sent the brothers to a school in ‘s-Hertogenbosch where they stayed in a hostel run by the Brethren of the Common Life. There Erasmus and his brother were pressed into a religious life. However, Erasmus wanted to go to a University, and it is no surprise, therefore, that his records of the Brethren are negative and resentful. His resentfulness towards institutions like that of the Brethren is reflected in his work, also in *De Pueris Instituendis*, in which he spends several pages refuting such methods as the Brethren applied. In 1487, at the age of twenty, Erasmus joined the St Augustine congregation at Steyn, near Gouda. He became a priest in 1492.

In the summer of 1499 Erasmus paid his first visit to England, and this was his debut into the scholarly world. In England, he became friends with a group of prominent humanists such as Thomas More, John Colet, Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn and William Latimer. More even introduced him to the then eight year old Prince Henry. Through his followers Erasmus strongly influenced the course of Humanism in England, especially in terms of education. Aristocrats such as John Fisher of Rochester and Lady Margareth of Beaufort were all acquainted with Erasmus, and were key figures in the establishment of Humanism in the Universities. Ultimately, many of Erasmus’ works were translated into English. This is no wonder, for his works were extremely popular, and in the sixteenth century there was a rise of literature in the vernacular.\(^\text{15}\)

Amongst the many important works of Erasmus are the *Compendium Vitae*, his own account of his life, the *De Pueris Instituendis* and the *Adagia*, a collection of adages from Latin and Greek sources in multiple volumes and invaluable for the revival of Classical learning in Europe. Erasmus uses many of these adages in his works, including *De Pueris Instituendis*. Hake copied many of these sayings from Erasmus, which makes the *Adagia* useful for understanding of *A Compendious Fourme*.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^\text{15}\) Boutcher, “Vernacular humanism in the sixteenth century,” p. 191.
\(^\text{16}\) All the biographical information in this section was obtained from the *ODNB* unless otherwise annotated. See the *ODNB* s.n. ‘Desiderius Erasmus‘.
IV
Cultural context

Childhood in Early Modern England

As has been argued by writers such as Philippe Ariès, perceptions of childhood and childhood itself were changing during the sixteenth century, the century in which Hake’s dialogue was published, certainly in comparison with the Middle Ages. By exploring these changes, one can obtain an idea of the perceptions of childhood in Early Modern England. This will help to contextualise Hake’s text and give more of an insight into the place of such a text in early modern didactic literature in England.

Many books have been written on children in the Middle Ages, such as Childhood in the Middle Ages by S. Shahar, Medieval Children by N. Orme and Enfants au Moyen Age by D. Alexandre-Bidon and D. Lett. These are all works that give the reader an insight into children and childhood in the Middle Ages. It can be said that there was indeed a development in the perception of childhood, although, it would be better to call it “an ebbing and flowing of interest in the young over the long term.” Whereas “childhood and adolescence appeared less distinct during the early Middle Ages,” in the later Middle Ages children became more socially and psychologically invested in because in urban environments more career options emerged: children could become merchants and lawyers. In addition, aspects such as health and education also received more attention, and there was a growing sympathy towards childhood.

The emergence of puritanism in the sixteenth century enhanced the focus on childhood. Puritans sought a public amongst the youth, and therefore invested in childhood. Because of the enhanced focus on childhood, the ratio between nature and nurture shifted towards nurture during the Renaissance. The view of children as being soft wax and blank sheets can be found in Hake’s dialogue. He refers to children as ‘lymde walles’ and a ‘sheep’s newe shorn fleese’. Some authors, such as Nicholas Orme, have tried to argue that there was

17 Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, p. 124.
18 Heywood, A History of Childhood, p. 20.
19 Heywood, A History of Childhood, p. 18.
21 Idem.
23 Heywood, A History of Childhood, p. 22.
24 Heywood, A History of Childhood, p. 35.
25 See p.30 of this edition.
no difference at all between the views of children in the Middle Ages and the period Hake lived in. Orme argues that the lack of written evidence about children and childhood cannot be taken as proof that children and childhood were not an issue in the Middle Ages. Instead, Orme claims that the lack of written evidence arises from the fact that those involved with children either could not or did not write. However, the very fact that in the Middle Ages fewer people could write tells us that their educational system was not the same as that in the sixteenth century. By the sixteenth century people recognised the importance of children and childhood, and a lot of thought was given to the idea of a proper education.

_Education in sixteenth-century England_

In the sixteenth century schooling became more accessible to the common people. There were two causes for this development. The first cause is that many schools were endowed, which means that people with a lower income also had access to these schools. In the small communities, many schools offered education for free. The second cause was the change of the curriculum. There was a shift towards humanist education based more on the ideals of daily life. In the lower forms they studied Virgil’s _Georgics_, _Aesop’s Fables_, the _Carmen de Moribus_ in Lily’s Latin Grammar, the _Sententiae Pueriles_ (a collection of moral maxims with the Latin and the English version in separate columns), readings from _Cato’s Distichs_, a selection of Cicero’s _Epistles_, standard religious texts and the _Colloquies_ by Erasmus. For the upper forms, works such as Ovid’s _Tristia_ and _Metamorphoses_ were read, as well as works of Virgil and Juvenal. In addition, William Caxton’s series of didactic books for children, such as _Stans puer ad mensam_ and _Parvus Cato_, were read. Apart from learning how to read and write, another important aspect of the curriculum was the teaching of manners. Whereas for the upper classes, who were more concerned with chivalric training, this kind of education had been traditionally available, for the common people access to such an education meant a potential social climb.

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26 Orme, _Medieval Children_, p. 9.
28 Potter, “To School or Not to School,” p. 103.
29 *Idem*.
30 Chrisippus refers to this as ‘Catoes rime’ in l. 102.
31 For further information also see Clare Carroll’s _English literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth century._
35 Potter, “To School or Not to School,” p. 112.
The determining factor which influenced these changes in education in the sixteenth century was Humanism. Humanism can be defined as “that concern with the legacy of antiquity – and in particular, but not exclusively, with its literary legacy – which characterises the work of scholars from at least the ninth century onwards.”\textsuperscript{36} Within Humanism there was, over time, “a gradual shift from humanism as the practice of an exemplary individual, to humanism as an institutional curriculum subject – a distinct discipline in the arts”.\textsuperscript{37} In the sixteenth century Humanists studied ancient Latin and Greek texts\textsuperscript{38} and focussed on language, literature, moral philosophy, and history.\textsuperscript{39} They were concerned with education in general and with education in ‘humanitas’ in specific, taking an interest in what they thought was the proper form of education, and especially in the transmission of information from the teacher to the student.\textsuperscript{40} In addition, humanism was also concerned with the development of vernacular versions of literature in Latin and Greek.\textsuperscript{41} The influence of Humanism at the Tudor court was significant, and Erasmus’ visit to England played a major role in establishing this influence.\textsuperscript{42} As Grafton argues in \textit{From Humanism to Humanities}: “when cultural and intellectual historians talk of the impact of humanism on sixteenth-century European life and thought, it is generally Erasmian influence in educational establishments that they have in mind.”\textsuperscript{43}

Hake’s humanist background is reflected in all of his works, and especially in \textit{A Compendious Fourme}. The fact that Hake translated Erasmus’ \textit{De Pueris Instituendis}, a Latin text written by a fellow humanist on the education of children, into English shows his concern with humanist values.\textsuperscript{44} From Erasmus, Hake copied the references to famous Latin school texts which can be found in \textit{A Compendious Fourme}. Likewise, Erasmus’ concern with education and social classes returns in Hakes section on convincing the wealthy to invest in their children’s education.\textsuperscript{45} As it seems, the upper classes needed more persuasion than the lower classes. By charging “the aristocracy and gentry with failing to see the value of literacy skills for their heirs,” Hake and Erasmus, are responding to the current events of their time and are

\textsuperscript{36}Mann, “The Origins of Humanism,” p. 2.
\textsuperscript{37}Grafton, \textit{From Humanism to the Humanities}, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{38}Mann, “The Origins of Humanism,” p. 2.
\textsuperscript{40}Grafton, \textit{From Humanism to the Humanities}, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{41}Boutcher, “Vernacular humanism in the sixteenth century,” p. 193.
\textsuperscript{42}See p. 8 of this edition.
\textsuperscript{43}Grafton, \textit{From Humanism to the Humanities}, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{44}All the biographical information in this section was obtained from the ODNB unless otherwise annotated. See ODNB s.n. ‘Edward Hake’.
\textsuperscript{45}See ll. 261-272.
showing themselves to be true humanists. 46 Finally, the fact that A Compendious Fourme is directed at an audience of fathers ties in with the fact that many humanist didactic poems from the sixteenth century were aimed at parents, and especially at fathers. 47 Hake’s work is full of examples from the Classics to illustrate the role of the father in the education of their children. The idea that parents needed to be educated on how to educate their children was very much a humanist idea, indicative of the changes in the perception of childhood in the sixteenth century. 48

V

Hake and Erasmus

Erasmus as an example for Hake

Hake and Erasmus were both humanists and they were both interested in education and pedagogy. Furthermore, they were both authors who tried to bring across their ideas about education and other issues. There are also similarities between their works: In general, it can be said that while reformating Erasmus’s De Pueris Instituendis, Hake stayed close to it in terms of structure, format and argument. The differences appear in the details.

To begin with, Hake maintains the original structure of De Pueris Instituendis, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Hake</th>
<th>Erasmus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Start of education at an early age.</td>
<td>Sig. E7R – F3R</td>
<td>CWE p. 297-313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Wealthy people should also provide their children with a proper education.</td>
<td>Sig. F1V – F2V</td>
<td>CWE p. 302-305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Public or Private School?</td>
<td>Sig. F3R – F3V</td>
<td>CWE p. 325-326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) One or more than one teacher?</td>
<td>Sig. F3V</td>
<td>CWE p. 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Qualifications of a good teacher.</td>
<td>Sig. F4R – G3R</td>
<td>CWE p. 313-335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Corporal punishment</td>
<td>Sig. F5V – F7R; F8R</td>
<td>CWE 325-334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Curriculum and how it should be taught.</td>
<td>Sig. G3V – G6R</td>
<td>CWE 317-323; 335-342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Start of education at an early age.</td>
<td>Sig. G6V – G8R</td>
<td>CWE 342-346</td>
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</tbody>
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46 Potter, “‘To School or Not to School,’” p. 112. For more information on Humanist learning also see Elizabethan Humanism: Literature and Learning in the later Sixteenth Century, by Mike Pincombe.
47 Bailey, “‘In Service and at Home,’” p. 31.
48 Bailey, “‘In Service and at Home,’” p. 38.
Like Erasmus he starts A Compendious Fourme with a dedicatory epistle to a dear friend. Subsequently, he addresses the reader directly in the section called ‘To the Reader’. Erasmus also includes an address to the reader, although his address is in an introduction that is part of the main text of De Pueris Instituendis. Erasmus says “si me quidem audies”, literally translated as ‘if you will hear me’. The sentence can also be translated as “if you follow my advice,” in which case it becomes an adhortation to the reader. After addressing the reader both authors start with the main text.

In the main text Hake generally stays true to Erasmus in terms of content, and his tendency to stay close to the original reveals itself frequently throughout the text. Erasmus’ main argument, the importance of a proper education, corresponds to Hake’s main argument and appears almost literally in his text. However, as we will see, both authors will sometimes develop their sub-arguments in their own ways. For example, the amount of space that is spent on the various sub-arguments differs. In many cases Hake is not nearly as elaborate on his subjects as Erasmus, while in some cases it is the other way round. This can be seen in Hake’s and Erasmus’ argument on private schools. Erasmus spends a few sentences on this subject, whereas Hake is much more elaborate.

In many cases Hake also uses the same metaphors as Erasmus to illustrate his argument. In A Compendious Fourme Chrisippus argues:

For olde men nought remember but
suche things they leardne in youth:
If good therefore bee graft in time,
good fruite thereof ensuthe.

(ll. 66-69)

This passage is copied almost literally from Erasmus: “Ergo si foetus aut nullos aut insipidos gignit arbor curta curam insitionis”, “trees as you may well know, do not grow any fruit, or only inferior fruit, unless they are properly grafted.” The only difference between the two passages is that Hake uses an additional figure of speech by presenting ‘good’, an abstract concept, as that which will be grafted. Both authors, however, are using the image of grafting

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49 See pp. 25-26 of this edition.
50 See p. 27 of this edition.
51 Erasmus, De Pueris Instituendis, Omnia Opera, p. 23.
52 Translation from Erasmus, De Pueris Instituendis, Collected Works, p. 297.
53 Erasmus, De Pueris Instituendis, Omnia Opera, p. 29.
54 Erasmus, De Pueris Instituendis, Collected Works, p. 301.
as a metaphor for the intellectual growth of a child. Moreover, they both speak of fruit that will grow if something, i.e. the child, is properly grafted. In the same section of *A Compendious Fourme*, Chrisippus is of the opinion that many fathers do not take their responsibilities when it comes to the education of their sons. Through the metaphor he gives Philopas, and all the other fathers to whom it may apply, a little set-down. Erasmus extends this argument by providing some more examples of things that need to be adjusted in order for them to become the best they can be. He talks about the training of pure bred dogs and mongrels, and argues that a well trained mongrel shows better behaviour than a poorly trained pedigree. In addition, Erasmus ends his argument with a very firm statement that ‘nature is strong, but education is more powerful still.’

Despite the fact that Hake is less elaborate on this specific subject than Erasmus, his argument is the same.

Another example illustrates Hake’s loyalty to the content of *De Pueris Instituendis* is the passage in which Chrisippus argues that it is important for parents to choose a tutor carefully. In that same passage he emphasises what the consequences are if you do not choose the right one and have several tutors for your child. In the following quotation, a Latin proverb, which also occurs in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, is used to emphasise the importance of choosing the right tutor. If you do not make the right decision and leave your child with a number of different teachers, it can have disastrous consequences:

> for (as the proverbe is)  
> The country Caria was destroyd  
> in such a case as this.  
> So many men, so many wittes,  
> younge infantes are dismayde  
> When that the thing they learne to daye  
> to morrow are vnsayde.  
> (ll. 332-338)

The first three lines, “for [...] this”, are an adaptation of the original lines from Erasmus: “*Multitudo Imperatorum Cariam perdidit.*” As can be seen on p. 36 of this edition, Hake copied these exact lines and placed them in the margins. The fourth line is a literal translation of the Latin proverb “*Quot homines tot sententiae*”. This saying cannot be found in that specific

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55 *Idem.*  
56 Erasmus, *De Pueris Instituendis*, Omnia Opera, p. 43.
passage from Erasmus; however, it is likely that it occurs in one of Erasmus’ other works. The fact that Hake copied the proverb about Caria and even included the Latin original shows that he tried to stay close to the original, or at least pretended to do so. On the other hand, it is also an effective way of showing off his expertise and giving the idea that he stayed true to the original.

Hake also uses many of the same arguments and comparisons as Erasmus without literally copying them. If one compares the following excerpts from Hake and Erasmus, it can be seen that the format is different, but the message is the same.

At first (I saye) eare cares come on,  
  eare vice beginne to growe,  
Let children learne. Such seedes encrease  
  as men in time shall sowe.  
Unto the sheepes newe shorne fleese  
  whereon no dye hath fall,  
You maye such perfect collour cast  
  as likes you best withal

(ll. 124-131)

In his metaphor, Hake uses the sheep’s fleece as a representation of the pureness of children. They have not been spoiled yet; the fleece has not been dyed yet, and if you handle it with care it can have any colour you like. Erasmus puts the same argument a little bit differently:

Do not follow common fashion and opinion by allowing your son’s first years to pass by without the benefits of instruction and by deferring his first steps in learning to an age when his mind will already be less perceptive and more subject to grave temptations (which by that time, in fact, may have entangled him completely in their brambles). Instead, you should straightway begin to search for a man of good character and respectable learning to whose care you may safely entrust your son to receive the proper nourishment for his mind and to imbibe, as it were, with the milk that he suckles, the nectar of education.

(CW pp. 298-299)

A comparison between these two excerpts shows that Hake and Erasmus have the same opinion on this subject, even though they go about arguing it in different ways. Instead of Erasmus’s slightly more prozaic and substantially longer account, Hake drives down the message with the
help of a single image of sheep and undied fleece – one which will have been instantly recognisable to an English audience at a time when wool trade was one of the main stays of the English economy.

A similar situation arises in another argument that Hake copied from Erasmus. This comparison involves the mother’s care for her child from the moment it grows inside her womb. Erasmus argues that while mothers take care of the physical aspects of a child’s health, the fathers should take care of their children’s mental and intellectual health from the moment they are born.\(^{57}\) Although Hake agrees with Erasmus, Chrisippus uses very different words in ll. 96-106:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{For breife, why is that age esteemde} \\
\text{for learning so vnfitte} \\
\text{Whiche all men see so apte and prone} \\
\text{good nourture for to gette?} \\
\text{(ll. 103-106)}
\end{align*}
\]

Chrisippus argues that if a child is old enough to receive ‘good nourture’, he is also old enough to receive ‘learning’, i.e. education.

Hake also followed Erasmus in his argument about wealthy people having a greater need to provide their children with a proper education than the less wealthy. Even marrying a rich wife is no excuse for staying uneducated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{And hath he so in deede good wife?} \\
\text{what, shall he haue such staye?} \\
\text{So much the more he learning needth,} \\
\text{to shield him from decaye.} \\
\text{The larger that the ship is framde,} \\
\text{and frayghted vp with wares:} \\
\text{So much the more vndoubtedly} \\
\text{should be the shipmans cares.} \\
\text{Yea, and so much the more it needth,} \\
\text{a Steers man hauing skill:} \\
\text{Thorow want of whom that frayghted ship,} \\
\text{falthe into daunger still.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{57}\) Erasmus, \textit{Collected Works}, pp. 300-301.
In the first four lines, “and [...] decaye”, Chrisippus argues that even if a son already has a good wife, he still needs to have an education in order to be able to handle his wife. He uses a nautical metaphor to clarify his point: the word ‘staye’ is usually used in relation to ships and means ‘something that supports or steadies something else’. Here, the word refers to the ‘wife’ in the previous line. Chrisippus continues this argument in lines 5-8 by using a ship as a metaphor. By doing this he connects the metaphor of the wife, i.e. the ‘staye’ that supports her husband, to the nautical metaphor of the ship. Chrisippus argues that the more valuable the goods that a ship has on board, the more cares a ‘shipman’ has. Therefore, that shipman (read the father) will have to make sure that his ‘steersman’ (read his son) is properly skilled. The message is clear: wealthy people should also take care of their son’s education – even if they have been able to provide him with a wealthy wife. Erasmus also argues that children should not be spoiled and that the wealthy should take care of their children’s education. However, Erasmus says it in a far less poetic manner as the following passage shows.

Can a child who is brought up to behave impudently be expected to turn out to be a respectful young man? Can we look for generosity in a person who as a child was constantly reminded of the importance of gold and money? Can a young man refrain from extravagant ways if during his childhood he was already quite spoiled long before any beginning had been made with his moral upbringing.

(CW p. 308)

It can be seen that the argument is nearly the same. However, Erasmus used a language that is much more straightforward. He gives clear examples of spoiled children, whereas Chrisippus uses another peculiarly English metaphor. Erasmus often uses less figurative speech to make his point. His metaphors are less striking and often interchanged with straightforward prose. The metaphors in A Compendious Fourme are more frequent and adapted to the English audience.

In sum, the similarities between Hake and Erasmus are telling. They both followed the same ideology and they were both interested in education and pedagogy. These similarities appear throughout the entire dialogue in terms of structure, argument and direct quotations. Nonetheless, there are also clear differences.

58 See OED s.v. ‘stay’
**Hake’s originality**

Besides the change from Latin into the vernacular, the most obvious difference between Erasmus and Hake is the form: Erasmus’ text is written in prose whereas Hake’s text is verse. Hake himself states in his dedicatory epistle that there are two reasons for writing the dialogue in what he called ‘Englishe Meeter’:

First, for that prose requireth a more exact labour then meeter doth, and could not haue been enterprised without going through the whole booke, whervnto my finall allowaunce of time (as is aforesayde) coulde not be aunswerable. Secondly, because meeter vnto the vnlearned (whom I heartily wish to be followers of this booke) doth seeme a great deale more pleasaunt then prose, and doth mitigate (as it were) the harshnes of the matter.

(p. 25)

Making a prose translation was apparently too laborious for Hake because he felt that that would require him to translate everything exactly as Erasmus had put it. Verse, instead, offered greater freedom, not only in terms of time and space, but also in terms of content, imagery and argumentation. Especially the second reason is important for the form in relation to the context. Prose is much more difficult to remember than poetry. Therefore, the fact that Hake’s text is written in meter contributes to an effective transmission of the content.

Hake’s text is not only distinctive because of its verse form, but also because it is presented in the form of a dialogue. The dialogue as a form of didactic voice is a device that had been used for many centuries; in English it goes back as far as the Anglo-Saxon dialogues of Adrian and Ritheus and Solomon and Saturn, but in the Classical tradition dialogues go back as far as Plato. Religious lessons are transmitted through questions and answers in dialogue form. The fact that Hake chose the dialogue form is not only characteristic of him but also of his time, when simulated dialogue as a form of explanatory writing was very popular. Hake’s *Epieikeia*, for example, is also written in dialogue form. It could therefore be said that dialogue is characteristic of Hake in terms of medium.

Hake’s work differs in this respect from that of Erasmus, who also applies a didactic form, but in his case it is the first-person narrative. A first-person narrator and a dialogue are two different narrative voices. This form became more and more popular during the later Middle Ages, because it allowed ‘the personal’ experience to function as a didactic format.

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59 Dawson, Rev. of “Epieikeia, A Dialogue on Equity in Three Parts,” p. 309.
Until then it had been mainly the experiences of other important figures, such as Aristotle, that people drew their lessons from. The *De Pueris Instituendis* is a clear example of this shift towards the parental voice in didactic texts.

Hake also applies the parental experience in his text; however, he makes Philopas the unknowing father who is being informed about the right forms of education by the wise Chrisippus. The choice of these personae is highly functional. Hake’s Chrisippus was modelled on Chrysippos of Soli (c. 289 BC–c. 208/204 BC), an ancient Greek philosopher who was one of the founding fathers of Stoicism and whose work concentrated on the theory of knowledge and on logic. Philopas is not an existing figure but a personified abstraction from Greek ‘φιλόπαις,’ which means ‘loving one’s children,’ whom Hake turns into the benevolent but clueless father. In Hake’s dialogue fatherhood meets Stoic wisdom and learning, in the same way as Hake wants his readers to meet Erasmus and through him the resources of Classical culture.

The differences between Hake and Erasmus appear not only in the form and style of the text, but also occasionally in the content. Earlier, I showed how Hake took over examples and metaphors from Erasmus, even though he sometimes wrote them down differently. The essence of the argument remains the same, but the format of the argument is completely different. There is, however, one clear point of disagreement between Hake and Erasmus: the question of whether it is better to have a private school or a public school. To this question Chrisippus answers that:

> Fewe wordes shal neede the case is cleere:
> 
> all men may plainely see
> 
> That many sooner are reformed by the feare of one,
> 
> Then one instructed perfity,
> 
> by onely one alone.
> 
> Wherefore I thinke there eyther ought to be no schoole at all,
> 
> Or else thath thath same scoole should be a scoole ingenerall.

(ll. 292-301)

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61 *Idem.*

62 See *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Chrysippus’.

63 See *A Greek-English Lexicon* s.v. ‘φιλόπαις’.
Hake argues that children are reformed more easily by one successful schoolmaster than by a private tutor. Therefore, he argues, ‘a scoole ingenerall’, i.e. a public school is the best option. This is a very interesting passage, for Hake uses so few words to make his point – one, however, which he seems quite determined to make. Chrisippus continues his argument by acknowledging the downside of his preferred school system: namely that the ‘common sorte’ cannot always keep up.64

Erasmus approaches the matter differently. He argues that

A public school, of course, is the more common as well as the more economical solution; it is much easier for one schoolmaster to frighten a whole class into submission than to instruct one pupil according to liberal principles. However, while there is no great accomplishment in giving orders to cattle and donkeys, imparting a liberal education to children is a challenge that is both difficult and glorious.

(CW p. 325)

Erasmus argues, albeit indirectly, that he is in favour of private schooling. Furthermore, he develops his argument in a direction that is different from Hake’s. Instead of elaborating on the previously quoted statement, Erasmus proceeds with an argument about the qualities of a good teacher. Leaving the reader with a statement and without further explanation he then proceeds to his next argument. Even though Erasmus does not explicitly state that he favours a private tutor, his argumentation certainly implies it. It can, therefore, not be said that Hake always follows Erasmus exactly “both in regards what should be taught, and the way of teaching it.”65

In addition to differences in style, language and opinion, there is one last aspect that should be discussed: the focus. In this case, the focus is the emphasis that Hake and Erasmus placed on certain matters. This includes the selection of arguments and the amount of space spent on these arguments. For example, Erasmus spends many pages on refuting corporal punishment, an issue which can be explained by looking at Erasmus’ childhood experience with the Brethren of the Common Life.66 Hake, who did not have the same experiences as Erasmus, probably found this less important; in any case he is less elaborate on the topic of corporal punishment. Another example of differences in focus can be found in the part about public and

64 See ll. 313-314.
66 See p. 8 of this edition.
private schools. There is in such issues a clear difference in focus between the two authors. The choices that Hake made often reflect his personal interest.

In conclusion, although there are many similarities between Hake and Erasmus, the differences are just as evident. Hake copied many parts literally from Erasmus, which shows that he often attempted to stay as close to the original as possible. However, there are also some clear differences between Hake and Erasmus. These differences lie in style, form, content and focus, and show that Hake did not just copy the text. Hake adapted Erasmus’ *De Pueris Instituendis* in such a way that *A Compendious Fourme* can be called an original.

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67 See ll. 288-301.
A Compendious fourme of education, to be diligently obserued of all Parentes and Scholemaisters in the training vp of their Children and Schollers in learning.

Gathered into English meeter, by Edward Hake.
To Maister Iohn Harlowe\textsuperscript{1} his approoued friende.

After that the right honourable the Lord chiefe Justice of the common plees had permitted vnto me the othe of an Attourney, thereby admitting me into the number of Attourneys in the common place,\textsuperscript{2} it was perswaded vnto me by certain good friends of mine, for that the name of an Attourney in the common place is nowadays grown into contempt, whether in respect of the multitude of them, whiche is great besides an huge rable of Pettipractizers, or rather Petifoggers, dispersed into euerye corner of this Realme, or whether in respect of their loose and lewde dealinges, which are manifolde, Or whether in both those respectes I knowe not: I say, it was for this cause perswaded vnto me, to dedicate a little time wholy and altogether to my professed studies of the common Lawes,\textsuperscript{3} that I might therby the better enable my selfe to do good in that calling. Wherevpon, resoluing my selfe determinately to followe that purpose, I thought it conuenient to seclude from me all those forreine exercises which might any wayes seeme to repugne, or to be (as it were) a \textit{proposito aliena}.\textsuperscript{4} But (as in those my studies prefixed) being tied vnto solytarinesse in the Countrey, which for my lot, hath hapned vnto me by mariage, after a while I perceiued that, wanting (as I there did) the benefite of mine accustomed conference, it was impossible for me, without some exercise of the minde, to continue, or whith profite to go forwarde in the same. In which respect, I contented my selfe (betwixt whiles and for recreation sake) to resort vnto mine accustomed exercise, but so, as (if it might be) some profite might redound thereof vnto others.

And happening by good lucke vpon a certaine Latine booke intituled, \textit{De Pueris Statim ac liberaliter instituendis}, I gathered compendiously out of the same (as not being able to allowe my selfe time enough from my said studies, to accomplish the part of a Translatour) such certaine summary documents as might seeme sufficient to frame an orderly and good forme of education: which also I haue turned into English meter and that for these two causes especially: First, for that prose requireth a more exact labour then meeter doth, and could not haue been enterprised without going through the whole booke, whervnto my finall allowaunce of time (as is aforesayde) coulde not be aunswerable. Secondly, because meeter vnto the vnlearned (whom I heartily wish to be followers of this booke) doth seeme a great deale more pleasaut then prose, and doth mitigate (as it were) the harshnes of the matter.

Which little booke I do offer vnto you (my approued friend) as a token of my good wyll, in whom, as in my selfe, I do perceiue a special loue not onely vnto this, but also vnto euery other good forme of education: as being trained vp (together with me your poore scholefellow)
with the instructions of that learned and exquisite teacher, Maister *John Hopkins*, that worthy Schoolemaister, nay rather, that most worthy parent vnto all children committed to his charge of education: Of whose memory if I should in such an opportunity as this is, be forgetful, I might iustly be accompted the most vthankefull person in the world, considering that I haue franckly tasted of his goodness in this behalfe: that (if it be not vnseemely so to wishe) would to God I had liued at his feete euen dayes and yeres longer then I did. But to returne, in respect onely of good wyll and loue, I send vnto you these few quaiers, praying you to accept the same in equal part, resorting indifferentlye vnto the consideration of those common affections of loue, which are wont rather patiently to beare reproche, that any wayes to lye hyd and vnknowen vnto the party so beloued. Wherein I rest.

¶Your owne assuredlye Edwarde Hake
To the Reader

What age in infantes is requirde,
    or ere they should bee taught,
What sort of teachers best agrees,
    what schooles bee good, what naught,
Dewe meanes also t’instrukt them well,
    all these good readers here

Within this booke (though small to vewe)
    in largest wise appeare.
With other matters incident,
    which to my simple skill,
For thy delite, I haue discoursed
    and written with good will.
My meaning doe accept for good:
    but pardon thinges amisse.
So shall my penne for thy behoofe
    write greater thinges then this.

The speakers

Philopa.    Chrisippus.

Chrisippus, in these careles dayes
    wherin the blinde are bolde
To force with wordes the truth of things
    wherin each man doth hold
His owne devise for reasons rule,
    his will for perfect lawe,
Wherin each one accountes his words
    for depth of learned sawe:
What thinkst thou in this case of mine,
should Infantes tender yeeres

Bee trained vp and taught in booke
eare wanton Childhood weares,

Or staye til time of greater strength,
that they then better maye
Bee able to sustaine the toyle

that learning lookth for aye?

And whereby theyr so tender sence
more capable maye growe,
To bring foorth fruite of better things
which carefull skill shall sowe?

Of truth it seemthe, twere best that I
my little sonne at home
Should keepe a while in childshe race
and suffer him to rome,

E7R

To playe the wanton yet a while
vntill such time as hee
Through helpe of yeeres may labor beare
and more capacious bee.

¶ Philopas, I perceue in you Chrisippus

as in eache father nowe:
You wishe for fruite of tender soyle
and yet forbeare the plowe.
At first, at first Philopas, when
the minde is voyde of cares,

When heape of vice for want of place
the witte of wanton spares,
While tender age is tractable
while minde is apte to take
Each good precept, and it retaine,

then then your entraunce make.
For olde men nought remember but
suche things they learntde in youth:
If good therefore bee graft in time,  
   good fruitle thereof ensuthe.  

   Esteeme for naught the wordes of suche,  
   as holde that infantes age  
Hath neyther strength to wade with pain  
   ne witte for learning sage.  

   For first of all, thentraunce vn-  
  to learning doeth consist  
In memorye aboue the rest:  
   and all men well it wiste  

   E7V  
That Children haue the aptest wittes  
   both to retaine and holde.  
To supple ware the seale doth sticke,  
   not so to ware that’s olde.  
And for so muche as nature hath  
   to learning vs begotte,  

   Why should wee thinke that learned to sone  
   that nature thinketh not?  
Why should we deeme the study rashe  
   of that same thing to bee  
Whereof by nature seedes are sowne  
   in each yong babe we see?  
Dame Nature in our minds hath sowne  
   the knowledge of each thing:  
Why shoulde wee then make nice those bloomes  
   to better state to bring?  
Besides al this some things there bee  
   though needeful to bee knowne  
Of elder sort, yet those in babes  
   more easily are sowne  
And soner setled than in such  

   as are of riper time  
As Christcrosserowe the skill of tongues
fine tales and Catoes rime.\textsuperscript{12}

For briefe, why is that age esteemde
for learning so vnfitte

Whiche all men see so apte and prone
good nourture for to gette?

E7\textsuperscript{R}

Naye, what wyl children sooner doe
which once haue power to chatte

When as they see no remedye,
than styll to thincke on that?

Howe much more profitable ist
that that same age shoulde bee
Stirde vp with learning than with toyes,
so meane haue his degree?\textsuperscript{13}

For if the Childe haue sense to learne
lewde thinges and trifles vaine,
Then thinck the same hath sense likewise
to learning so againe

For as vpon newe white lymde walles
men painte what likes them best
(Beet good or ill:) so sure it standes
with Infantes tender brest.

At first (I saye) eare cares come on,
eare vice beginne to growe,

Let children learne. Such seedes encrease
as men in time shall sowe.

Unto the sheepes newe shorne fleese
whereon no dye hath fall,

You maye such perfect collour cast
as likes you best withal.

Alas Chrisippus, small it is \textit{Philopas}
(God wotes) that Children can
By helpe of tender sence obtaine:

and (praye) what bootes it than
Therefore the same into theyr heads
which they can not retaine?
Nowe in good soothe, it seemth to mee
but trauaile spent in vaine.

¶ Sweete licour may preserued bee
Chrisippus
as well in brittle glasse
As in the pot framde out of stone
or vessel made of Brasse.

And why should sclender gaine bee lost?
to little geue you more:
And so shall little gaine in time
increase abundaut store.
At least this profite shall ensue
to them through studies toyle,
Theyr mindes shal haue no place for vice
which tender skill doeth soyle.
For nothing better occupieth
the busye minde of man

Then earnest studye wrought with toyle
though happing now and than.
And sure, this gaine ought not to bee
contempnde in any wise:
For what though weake the body bee?
the witte to strength shall ryse.
And then the losse is counterailde,¹⁴
who would not rather craue.
Some losse of strength than losse of witte,
if wishing hee might haue?

Nayth’ lesse it is not ment to make
tough Champions of the same:
But only for the common weale,
good gournours to frame.
Where to their childish strength will serve
and well sufficient be:
Far weaker state than *Milos*\(^{15}\) strength,
will thereunto agree.
And yet if danger ought appear,
through pressing of the mind:
Why should not such as have the charge,
some present easement find?
Let nothing stop the care of skill,
and learning to be had:
It forceth not for lack of game,
let little child be sad.\(^{16}\)
But parents fondly fray their sons,
from toyle that study craves:
Though vilely they neglect such things,
as bring them to their graves.
As filthy surfets\(^{17}\) in their meat,
wherethrough to them do grow
Not only in the body hurt,
but in the mind also.
They bring their infants unto feastes
of strange and divers food:
In banquets that till midnight last,
their presence do them good.
With salt and fresh they fill their gorge
with hot and cold ale
Untill the stomach overcharg'd,
through vomit ease doth seek.
They pinch and crook their bodies in,
the little corps they strain
With garments far unmeet such age,
and to be thought as vain.
They cocke them vp with coats of pride
Abuse of fonde Parentes.
...they use them for their squires,

They make them Cockneics\textsuperscript{18} in their kind
and Apes in their attires.

Not any ways more tenderly
they doe mistrust their strength,
Then when they should be set to schoole,
and brought to booke at length.

Moreouer parents there be some
which when (in tender age)
They heare their children likde for ought,
they straight their state presage.\textsuperscript{19}

This child saith one wil proue wel learnd:
then sayth the father, sure,
I will for him some Prebende or
some Prouostship\textsuperscript{20} procure.
Or else I trust to see him rise
to tipe of high degree:
To be some Iudge, some man of lawe,
or man of dignitie.

\textsuperscript{F2R}
This childe sayth one will make a man,
see how his limmes be pight?
The father straight way saith: this childe
shall be a courtly knight.
Thus thus, to wish in swathing bands
before the childe can speake

They thinke it not to soone at all:
yet if a man man should breake
With them to haue that child brought vp,
and traind in learning so,
As he with skill might vse such things,
as vnto him might gro,
They aunswere that he is to young,
though wordes be biter plaine.\textsuperscript{21}
Of truth of truth (*Philopas*) I
adiudge these men but vaine.

As for the wordes that mothers vse,
my childe hath how to liue,
He shall (I trust) a liuing get
although he neuer giue
Himself vnto such needlesse toyle

and trauell at his booke:
I force them not, they are but fonde,
good grounde they neuer tooke.
But let me see? to aunswere here,
(for so I thinke it best)

These foolish wordes whereon their fond
opinion is increast.

Shee sayth hir childe hath how to liue:
what, how to lyue right well?

Naye, there a strawe. I toulde you I
the mother cannot tell.
What needeth lawe of logicque ought,²²
(sayth shee) er else such like?
My sonne hath landes whereon to liue:
hee needth no learning seeke.
And hath he so in deede good wife?
what, shall he haue such staye?²³
So much the more he learning needth,
to shield him from decaye.

The larger that the ship is framde,
and frayghted vp with wares:
So much the more undoubtedly
should be the shipmans cares.
Yea, and so much the more it needth,
a Steers man hauing skill:
Thorow want of whom that frayghted ship,
falth into danger still.
Farre, far, therefore more bountifull
is he that learning giues,

Then he hath yeldeth heapes of coyne
whereon the body liues.
Which Alexander great declares,
if I were not (quoth hee)
King Alexander, then I wish,

Diogenes to bee.

Wherefore, to fine this long discourse,
lette infancy be taught:
And euen such for whome great wealth
hath great preferment wrought.

¶ Oftruth Chrisippus, worthyly Philopas
you haue dilated this.
Now tell me whether priuate schoole
or publicke better is.

¶ Philopas to discourse this poyn, Chrisippus
what scooles were best to bee:
Fewe wordes shal neede the case is cleere:
all men may plainely see
That many sooner are reformed by the feare of one,
Then one instructed perfitly,
by onely one alone.
Wherefore I thinke there eyther ought
to be no schoole at all,

Or else thath thath same scoole should be
a scoole ingenerall.
Saue first to tell you by the way,
that common scooles require:
Such onely as haue gaind their grounds,

and greater things desire.
For why, where sundry sorts of wits, 
are linckt in scooles degree, 
There generall teaching must be vsde, 
wherewith all though we see 

Some speciall wittes to profit well 
and gather skill thereby. 
Yet commen sorte cannot therewith 
the sondry poyntes espie.

But as the mayster holdeth on, 
as needes he must his course, 
So doth the scholler still sticke fast 
and growe from ill to worse.

¶ Declare this one thing more I pray. Philopas

if greater profit growe 
Through many teachers to a childe, 
or greater else through fewe.
¶ As parents ought most carefully 
herein to make their choyse: Chrisippus

And as they ought most earnestly 
to heare the common voyce, 
And knowe report of him whome they 
doe choose t' instruct their childe: 
Euen so (no lesse) their heede shoulde be, 
(least hope be soone beguiled)

That many teachers they refuse: Multitudo
for (as the prouerbe is) 
The country Caria was destroyd 
in such a case as this. Imperatorum

So many men, so many wittes, 
younge infantes are dismayde 
When that the thing they learne to daye 
to morrow are vnsayde.

F4R
To seeke for reasons in this case,
   no reason vrgeth so:
Suffiseth me to haue that profe
   that practizde parents know.
Yet one thing needely must I ope:
The onely meane to teache,
Now neyther rough nor weery way
   should tender minds appeache,
For why, at first this infants age
   with flattery shoulde be traynd,
   Bycause it hath not skill to knowe
   what proffite may be gaynd.
What honor, fruite, what dignity,
   what pleasure in the ende
   May happe to such as haue deluyght
   to learnings lore to bende.
Which both the maysters gentlenesse,
   and eake\textsuperscript{28} the schollers witte,
For both their partes, may bring to passe,
   and driue the paine from it.
For nothing is more profitlesse,
   nought looseth labour more,
Than whan the maysters cruell trade
   doth feare the childe before.
And make him hate or ere he know
   wherefore it should be looude.
So loue to booke which should be first,
   through feare is first remoude.
\textit{Tradendi ratio.}\textsuperscript{27}
The first degree to lerning is,
The scoolemayster to loue:
Whereby it comes to passe in time,
   as skilfull teachers proue,
That little childe which loued first
his booke for maysters sake:

375 In time through loue to learning doth,
   like loue to mayster take.
For as those giftes are loued most,
   which come from those we loue:
So babes that know not why to loue:

380 for maysters cause doe loue:

Isocrates hath rightly sayd,

that he doth learne most,

That hath the most desire to learne,
   and thinkes no labour lost. 29

385 And as to learne, we learne best
   of those we best doe loue:
So loue to mayster is the cause,
   that loue to booke doth moue.
For parents euen themselues cannot

390 preuaile if they shall vse
To breake them alle by feare and force
   and gentle meanes refuse.
Much lesse the maister may through feare
   through foule and froward meane.

395 Once worke a will vnto the booke,
   but soone vndoe in cleane.

F5R
The chiefe regarde is to be looud,
   then feately 30 doth succeede,
No feare, but frindely reuerence,
   which (to define indeede)
Hath greater charge then cause of feare,
   hath care to shielde fro shame:
Hath doubt to drag and drawe behind,

400 not feare to suffer blame.
How yll therefore doe they foresee,
   the safetie of their childe.
The bewtifying of his braines
   with skill and maners milde

That tourne him in his tender age,
   to gastly mazing scoole:
Where thronizd sits a mayster straunge
   blunt, rude, and half a foole
Oftentimes infected with disease,

inueterate and olde:
Which makes the wayward testie foole
   with little lambes to skolde.
And surely, we doe see there can
   be none so abiect fooles

So base and voyde of sence, but now,
   men vse them for their schooles.
And thinke them meeete to bring vp youth
   to traine them at their bookes:
Where expert men at first doe iudge
   them Asses by their lookes.

And they supposing to haue got
   a kingdome in their kinde,
Aduance themselues with fearful lookes

and set aloft their minde:
Bycause they beare a rule, but not
   in beastes (as Terence sayth)
But in that age which soone (god knowth)
   a little terror frayth.

A man woulde saye it were no schoole
   but slaughter house in deede,
Whence sauing stripes and roaring out,
   no learning doth procede.
What else is this than soone to fraye,

the silly babes from booke,
Who wanting pleasure flattering words
none other pleasure tooke?
And some a man shall sooner kill
then mende with cruell blowes,

445 Where he by fayre and quiet meanes
might bring to learning those.
But this lewde kinde of men (for truth)
ought not to beare the name
Of maysters, but of manquellors, 34

450 so brutish are the same.
And none more fell and frowarde are,
than those which nothing haue
Wherewith tinstruct and teache a childe:
whose doggishe deedes depraue

455 F6R
The due successe of forwarde wittes:
whose roughnesse doth deface
The golden sparkes of natures giftes
which in the childe hath place.

460 A gentle Horse is sooner rulde
with sticke or little wande
Then with a whippe or digging spurre
within the side to stande.
The Oxe likewise beeing to much prickt,
doeth soone caste of his yoke,
And brings to daunger him that driues,
through hap of heauie stroake.
So men must handle forward wittes
as Lyons do their whelpes:

465 The huige and beaute Elephant
the skilfull person helps.
What should I saye? no beaste there is,
no sauage beaste in fine,
Whom violence will not prouoke,

470 and skill to will incline.
But some perhappes will here alledge
theise scriptures for their turne:

Who spares the rode, doth hate the childe,
and who on loue doth burne,

Doth vse the same vnto the whippe:
againe bowe downe in youth
His necke, and knocke him on the side
eare greater age accruthe.

480

F6V

485

And this correction might perhaps,
agree vnto the Jewes:
But Christians to translate these wordes,
far otherwise doe vse.

That, if some one woulde binde vs now

490

vtto the letter bare:

What more absurdly can be sayd?
what wordes worse sounding are,

Than thus to bowe a downe the necke
of little children, and

495

To knocke and thumpe them on the sides

with sticke or with the hande?

What, thinkst thou that we breake an Oxe
to frame him to the plowe?

Thinkst thou we teache an asse to beare?

500

or else that we seeke howe

The tender sense of silly babes
to bende to virtuous lore?

Whose slender handes with fearefull sute
our sauour doth deplore.

505

Nay, let our roddes that we shall vse,
be admonitions mylde:
And if we chide, as chyde we must,
see bitterness exilde.

This whippe, this whippe accustome wee
our children still vnto:
That they being wel brought vp and taught,
may learne what best to do.

Maye finde at home an honest forme
of life, and neuer neede
To hange vpon our neyghbours sleeue
for counsell and for reede.

Lycon, that olde Philosopher,
doth teache and well declare

How that to cheere vp childrens wits,
two spurres most sharpe there are.
The first is prayes, the seconde shame,
with which two spurs must wee

Toule on our children if we looke,
that learned they should be.
And now, if that you seeke to know
what thumps we ought to vse:
Now we should knock our childrens sides
take these, the rest refuse.

Lets watchfull be ti’nstruct them well,
no labour let vs spare,
To teache and traine them vp to good,
let that be all our care.

Some times to reade, and of things redde
again for to require
A iust account: loe these be thumpes
that tender wittes desire.
First lette them learne to loue, I haue
in admiration great,

Good letters and an honest lyfe.
again, with ardent heate

Fowle ignoraunce and filthy life
to hate with single eye:

The one to loue and still to seeke,
the other to defie.
And let their eares be tyckled vp
to beare some one for good
Teniou great prayse, and other some

of whome is vnderstood
Some lewde offence, to haue reproche
and still enduring shame:
So teache them still dame vertues prayse
and vices fowle desame.

This man (say thou) through learning skil
is come to high degree:
This man to welth by learning, this
to power and dignity.
But this againe, through ylll desert
through wante of learnings lore,
Reproche, contempt, and pouerty
hath gaind himself therefore.
These truly be the very battes,
these be the thumpes in deede,

That scollers of sweete Iesu Christ,
will take to them at neede.

¶ Chrisippus I doe well allow,
Philopas
eche worde that you haue sayd:
And sure I thinke that gentle wittes

through terror are dismaye.
F8R
And yet to saye that ragged coltes,
that rude vnruely boyes
Wil be reclaimg trough shame or praise

no no, they count them toyes.
That sauour not of smarting whippes,
which yet perhappes in some,
So never worckes, that they thereby prayse to goodnesse sooner come.

Much lesse through fawning flattering for some much lesse doe waye

The losse of prayse, naye losse of skill, than any losse of playe. 39

¶ To such Philopas, vnto suche, Chrisippus

whome neyther milde request Nor rough rebuke, nor prayse nor shame to learning will inuest.

The smarting rodde (if neede so be) must now and then be hadde

But so, as we doe coldely fight, and not as we were madde.

Yea, bashefully we shoulde lay bare their bodies when we fight:

For nakesnesse to gentle boyes if many are in sight,

A kinde of great reproche doth seeme. and Fabius 40 doth deny That body of a gentle boy in nakednesse should lye.

But some perhaps will say to me, what shall be done with those Whome we to study cannot frame, except it be with blowes?

To suche I aunswere in this wise: what would you seeme to doe To asses or to Oxen, if they come the schoole into?

What? would you not soone driue them foorth into the country soyle, The one to ‘th milne, the other with
the plowe and cart to toyle?
And certainly, no lesse are men
  vnto the plowstaffe borne,

Than is the Oxe: no lesse to ‘th milne,
  than th’Asse with laboure worn.

¶ But so the maysters flocke decayes,
  and there withal this gaine.

¶ Aha, there goeth the Hare away:§

But such no doubt, the common sorte
  of scholemaysters are now:
And yet as wise philophers,
  doe flatly teache vs how

A wiseman we should well discerne,
  as Rhetoriciens eke,
An Orator doth well discribe,
  when as they say: go seeke
And scarcely finde whome thou mayst call
  a right wise man in deede,
Whome thou mayst call an Orator,
  (thereto beholdest such heede:)
So much, and farre more harde it is
  that we should well attone

What he the mayster ought to be,
  as who should say such one
As scarcely may be founde the lyke:
  such one as hardely will
The due prescribed forme accorde
  or can the same fulfill.
But such should be the publique charge
of ciuill magistrates
And of the Ecclesiasticall: yea, of the high estates,
That as the Souldiour trayned is,
and fitted for the fielde,
As singing men are taught to tune
the countuerse they yelde:
So, much more should they see that man
be taught, much more be traynde
That to the worthy teaching trade
hath any way attaynde.

G1

Vespation from his coffers gaue
a certaine yearely fee
To lerned men: that learning so
might well maintayned bee.
And Plinius Nepos did the like.
but if the publique care
Should happe to cease, then euery man
at home must needes prepare
To haue a priuate teacher. But
thou sayst, how then should they
That are not able so to doe,
their children any way
Bring vp to learning? wherevnto
I nothing haue to saye
But this that Terence doth recorde:
when as we cannot doe
Euen as we woulde, then as we maye.
we shewe the trade ynto
Right teaching, as not able we
good fortune for to giue,
Except we wish the welthies ayde
to such as poorely liue.
Now to retourne, I doe mislyke
    that mildenesse should expell
That deare and reuerence which a child
    becommeth very well,
But these who nothing else doe know
    G2R
saue fiercely how to fight,
How would they doe if they should teache
    Kings children whome they might
Not iercke nor strike withouten blame?
    But haplie twill be sayde
That children borne of noble race
    More neerely must be wayde.
And is thy sonne or mine in fayth
    lesse man then any they?
Is not eache fathers childe thinkst thou
    as deere to him, and gaye,
As if the same a Kinges sonne were?
    if fortune be but base,
Then learning and good bringing vp
    must helpe releue his case.
Contrariwise if welthy porte
    doe happen to his lotte,
Then wisdom helpth to guide his welth,
    and shielde his name from blotte.
And though we haue not welth by birth
    though so not honors glee
Nor office, nor renowne, yet sure
    thereto brought vp we be.
And here I leane to brawle and chyde,
    with cruell maysters: here
I wholy ende that poyn: so as
    this one thing may appere:
Namely, that laws and magistrates
condemned are to be
Which euer seeke with paine to pinche,
and neuer doe agree
T’ allure with pleasures and reward:
which ponish still but so,
As they ne warne the fault whereby
the ponishment doth growe.
Right so I thinke of that same sort,
that common sort I say,
Of schoolemaysters which onely seeke
their silly boyes to paye,
To beate and bounse them for their faults
and not t’instruct their minde
So as they may both see and know
from what offence to winde.
Wherein I ende remembring this,
that in eche exercise
Our mindes delight is chieuest cause
that we to skill arise.
In, here Philopas, you haue hearde,
what qualities are meete
For him that shall instruct a childe
again, what thinges vnfeete.
Are wisely to be lookde vnto,
and in the same foreseene:
Whereby you may auoyde such faultes,
as heretofore haue beene
Neglected in that kinde of men.
the scoolemayster you see,
To winne the childe, should seeme a child
and childe againe shoulde be.
And yet I wholy doe mislyke
that that same crooked age
Wherein the second childhood dwelth.
should take the roome of sage
Instructors: for such men in truth
are children euery deale:
They faine not childehoode but in truth
they childehoode doe reueale.
They doe not seeme to stamber, but
they stamber plaine in deede.
I wish such men to be displast
and youngmen to succeede.
And howe this young man now shoulde deale
what forme the same should vse,
What meanes to teach he shoulde retaine
and what againe refuse,
This resteth here to be discust:
and as the proofe doth finde,
Done otherwise the same should deale
in forming of the minde,
Then skilfull Nourse or parents deale
when they the body frame:
Which that he may so imitate,
Lo here insueth the same.

To teache the babe to speake, they first
doe tattle foorth their wordes:
And lispingly they frame their tongue
to that the babe afordes.
Dad dad for father first they giue,
and beade they teache for breade:
And when they teach him drinke to aske,
then din to him is sayde.
And prettily they lispe their wordes
whereto it prates againe:
Annd thus at length as proofe doth teache
the baby speaketh playne.

785 To teache it how to eare, they put
the pappe within their lippes
And from the spoone eftsoones they seeme
to drawe fourth prettie sippes.
Which done therwith they feede the babe.

790 and when they teache to go.
They bende their corpse, and frame their pase
before their infants so,
As what therwith, and with such meanes
as they with pulpits vse,

795 In time the childe hath perfite pase,
be can none other chuse.
And this thing worthy noting is,
their childe they neuer feede
With all that comes to hande, but they

800 obserue with carefull heede

G4R Both what giue and howe to giue:
what quantity to vse:
And eke to feede it laysurely:

805 for if they should infuse
And poure it in with retchlesse handes,
they know they eyther should
Their baby choke, or at the least,
his cloathes woulde be fould.

810 Now therefore, as of lightest meates
and meates agreeing best,
They oft and litle giue them, so
the infants tender brest
In teaching should be framed like:

815 your selfe (Philopas) may
The example best apply, for I
    haue something else to say.
You looke (I know) that I shouldte teach
    what things do best pertayne
To childrens wittes: what first to learne
    which onelye doth remaine
At this time to be handeled here.
    this briefly therefore knowe,
That loue vnto the lattine tongue
    in childhood first should growe,
in use thereof, which easily
    without great studies care
To children comes: but hardly when
    the same more aged are.

Whereo (as hath bene sayde before)
    the fables doe invite
With morall sawes in couert tales:
    whereto agreeth rite
Fine Comedies with pleasure sawst,
    which (as it were by play)
Doe teache vnto Philosophie
    a perfit ready way.
Then sentences and proierbs choyse
    and Apotemes\textsuperscript{51} of men,
Wherin greate wisedome restes, wherin
    great learning aye hath bene.
Which fables and which comedies
    they better farre shall learne,
If once they know the arguments,
    and summe thereof discerne.
The names of Trees, of plants also
    and names of monsters straunge,
With natures of them finely taught,
doth cause their mindes to raunge,
to seeke abroade for farther sight
with longing mindes to know
where this beast liues, where that birde breedes
where this straunge tree doth grow.

In fine, it helpeth very much
the lattin tongue t’ attaine,
T’associate such with whome good skill
in lattine doth remaine

Auoyding still as rockes and clyffes.
oule barbarous words to name
No latin rather lette them speake
than so to speake the same.

And here concluding, this I note,
that in the first degree
Of teaching, this aboue the rest
must well aduerted bee.
That, whatsoeuer pleasaunt is,
what thing so euer eake

Is easie to be vnderstoode,
that children best doe lyke.
For surey as it is absurde
to looke for grapes in spring,
In haruest else to looke for Rose
or such like blooming thing:
So schoolemaysters must well adapt
such things as they shall teache,
Into their childes capacity:
so as the same may reache

And it conceyue, with firme delight:
for pleasure profites much,
And nothing else but pleasure may
allure to learning such:
So as na’thlesse we carefull be
to auoyde all bawdie\textsuperscript{53} rimes
And wanton iestes of Poets vayne
that teache them filthye crimes.
Good stories from the Bible chargde

\textsuperscript{G5\textsuperscript{V}}

\textsuperscript{and from some ciuil style,}
As \textit{Quintus Curtius},\textsuperscript{54} and such like
to reade them otherwise.
Where through by iust degree of skill
from reading shall succeede

\textsuperscript{As eke of congrue vse of speach}
\textsuperscript{a seemely forme indeede}
Of writing well: which naythlesse
\textsuperscript{is difficile: but so,}
As by the maysters skill the same
\textsuperscript{may farre more easie grow.}
Rewardes he must prescribe for such
\textsuperscript{as shall performe their charge:}
But such as neyther mylde request,
\textsuperscript{nor prayse nor promise large}
\textsuperscript{Can bring to better forme of skil}
\textsuperscript{with those, this practise he}
\textsuperscript{Must put in vse: that is to weete\textsuperscript{55}}
\textsuperscript{though they vnlearned be,}
To make them thinke and yet beleue
\textsuperscript{themselves to be of might}
T’encounter with the better sorte,
\textsuperscript{and put the same to flight.\textsuperscript{56}}
And euermore we must auoyd
\textsuperscript{T’ enioye them things to harde,}
\textsuperscript{Or things not needefull to be taught}
or things that may be sparde.
For (Lorde) how are their mindes perplext
how troubled will they be
G6R

When things they cannot vnderstande,
through much obscurity?
But though that something of it selfe
some hardenesse doth containe,
Yet may the maysters policie
make easie that againe.
For like as good phisitions that
doe bitter potions make,
With something sweete doe smeere the pot
that infauntes so may take
The Potion that they would haue drunke
whereby they are alurde
The same to drinke, which else to doe,
they coulde not be procured:
Euen so the skilfull mayster ought
to deale in eche respect:
Things difficult with ease to teach
and leisure to direct.
And yet we may not too too much
mistrust our childrens strength:
For what they cannot learne at first,
that learne they at length.
Though strength they haue not as an Oxe
yet as an Ant they haue:
And oft vnto the Elephant
the little Flye doth seath.
Concepyt doth chiefly hurt a childe,
where if you make but play
Of things that you shall teach him, then
G6V
Concepyt doth neuer fraye.
That one and onely scruple nowe
remains to be discuss,
Which many one full fondely doe
against all reason thrust.

They say the profite is so small,
that children doe obtaine
Before the same be fiue yeres olde,
that labour is in vayne,
And cost ill spent that is bestowde
to bring them vp to booke.
But these men which will this obiect.
these rather seeme to looke
More straightly to the parents purse,
and more to spare the paine

Of maisters, then to well respect
their little childrens gaine.
But graunt the profite be but small
admit it small in deede:
Take rather small than nothing yet,
for that’s the wisemans reede,
And slender howsoeare it be
that that same age shall gaine,
Yet this aduauntage be you sure
shall thereunto remaine:

That greater thinges they shall atchiue
that yere, wherein if they
The smaller things had erst not learnt
they on the same shoulde stay.

I neede not here repeate againe
that certain things we see
In infantes age farre better learnt
than when they greater bee.
And graunt we that they trifling are
and things of slender skill.
Yet they such trifles first atcheue
that greater thinges fulfill.
The painful Crafts man makes account
euen of the smallest coyne,

For why in time, to that same small,
he greater store doth ioyne.
The Goldesmithes rise ere breake of day,
before they well can see,

To winne some time beforeand still,
(though nere so small it be)
The plowman sometimes doth not stick
on days that holye seeme
To binde his sheaues, to shocke and oft
to set a worke his teeme.57

And shall we way for nothing then
the losse of fiue yeres time?
Shall we so hange on harder age,
that we neglect the prime?
When as thers nothing halfe so riche
as time, nor halfe so good
As learning is: oh nothing may
so high be vnderstood.
Here here philopas, here should men

most neerely pinch and spare:
Euen here (I saye) for losse of time,
should be their chiefeest care.
The husbandeman hath good regarde
that no part of his grounde

Doe lye vntilde: for looke what peece
vnfit for grayne is founde,
That he with Osiers58 sets and plants,
or else to pasture layes:
And one way or another still
be fruite thereof doth rayse
Shall we permit the best part then
of all our time to flytte
Without all learnings profite had?
without increase of witte?
New fallow grounde must needs be sowne
with some one kinde of seede,
Or else (euen of it owne accorde)
it brings forth noisome weede.
Like so the tender infants minde,
except the same be taught
With good precepts, it will bring foorth
the thing that’s merely nought.
The minde doth eyther good things yeelde,
if good therein be sowne,
Or if thou nothing sow therein,
with vice tis ouergrowne.
And surely he not smally gaynes,
that vice can well eschewe:
And he that shuts foorth vice doth not
to virtue least accrewe.59
What? wilt thou know how much it helps
tinstruct a childe betime?
why, then behold thou Ouid60 well:
Marcke Lucan61 in his prime.
Vrsinus62 but eleuen yeres olde,
so wonderfull was founde,
That straunge it is to make report,
how farre he did abunde
Great Alexander in his youth,
euen all the partes attainde
Of wisedome and Philosophie:
and with the same had gaynde
Such perfite forme of eloquence,

that had not kingdoms pryde

Withdrawn his mind from studies care

no man could haue denyde

But that amongst Philosophers

(the chiefest of them then)

Not seconde but the very chiefe

accounted he had bene.

But here to fine this long discourse,

your selfe Philopas I

Will haue to witnesse all such thinges

as earst haue passed by.

¶ Consider well what portion and Epilogus.

what deere possession eke

A sonne is: and how flittingly

G8^v

mans minde doth knowledge seeke.

How wayghtie education is,

what hablenesse is founde

In tender childes capacity:

what quicknesse doth abounde.

How easily the same doth learne,

how nature giues consent:

And how they profite most when they

to learned men are sent,

And vnto such as gentle are,

which teach them all by play:

Things easie first, and harder things

when harder things they may.

To these things adde how deere and of

what waight our time should be:

1085 How much it helps to teache betimes,

what fruite thereof we see.

Hesiodus^63 doth flytting call
the wandring age of man:
Whose youth is busy, and whose age
is quite from learning gon.

These things if thou shalt well obserue,
sixe yeres, shall not be seene
Nor yet three yeres before thy sonne
which heretofore hath beene

Neglected (as to this intent)
shall eyther learning gaine.
Or else be well prepared at least,
good learning to obtaine.

FINIS.
Explanatory Notes

1 Maister John Harlow: one of Hake’s friends. No record can be found of him.

2 Common place: reference to the Court of Common Pleas, which was the name of a court for the trial of civil causes. Formerly one of the three superior courts of common law in England. See OED s.v. ‘Common Pleas’.

3 Common Lawes: general law of a community. See OED s.v. ‘common law’.

4 Proposito aliena: a strange plan.

5 Maister John Hopkins (1520/21-1570): a psalmodist and a Church of England Clergyman. He may have been a schoolmaster around 1550. ODNB s.n. ‘John Hopkins’.

6 Quaiers: a quire. A small book or pamphlet; poem or treatise. See OED s.v. ‘quire’.

7 Behoofe: benefit ar advantage. See OED s.v. ‘behoof’.

8 Eare wanton Childhood weares: before undisciplined childhood endures.

9 ll. 70-73: one should discard the argument that infants are too tender for learning.


11 Christercroserowe: The alphabet; so called from the figure of a cross prefixed to it in horn-books. A hornbook is a leaf of paper containing the alphabet (often with the addition of the ten digits, some elements of spelling, and the Lord’s Prayer) protected by a thin plate of translucent horn, and mounted on a tablet of wood with a projecting piece for a handle. See OED s.v. ‘Christ-cross-row’ and ‘hornbook’.

12 Catoes rime: Distichs of Cato, by pseudo-Cato. It was used in education both to teach Latin and as a book of morals. See The Distichs of Cato edited by W.J. Chase.
13 **So meane haue his degree**: and that way reach a state of advancement or degree.

14 **Counteruailde**: compensated. See *OED* s.v. ‘countervail’.

15 **Milo of Croton** (second half of the 6th century BC): an athlete in ancient Greece. He was a famous wrestler and a symbol of ‘brawn rather than brain’. See Stevenson, ‘Milo of Croton’.

16 **Let little childe be sadde**: it does not force a little child to remain sad for lack of games.

17 **Surfets**: indulgence; gluttony. See *OED* s.v. ‘surfeit’.

18 **Cockneics**: a mother’s darling; a child who is tenderly brought up. See *OED* s.v. ‘cockney’.

19 **They straight their state presage**: they immediately make a prediction about their future.

20 **Prebende or some Prouostship**: ecclesiastical preferments. See *OED* s.v. ‘prebend’ and ‘provostship’.

21 **Il. 234-237**: parents do not hesitate to start other aspects of a child’s upbringing; however, when it comes to education they say he is too young.

22 **What needeth lawe of logicque ought**: reference to Chrisippus as a scholar of logic.

23 **Stay**: something that supports or steadies something else. Usually used in relation to nautical elements, here, it refers to the ‘wife’ in the previous line. After this line there is a reference to a ship: a metaphor where a ship loaded with wares should have an extra careful shipman. Hake argues here that if you have a good wife, you also need education, for otherwise you do not know how to handle her. See *OED* s.v. ‘stay’ and pp. 16-17 of this edition.

24 **Diogenes** (400-325 BC): founder of the Cynic school of philosophy. See *Diogenes der Kyniker* by N. Largier.
25 **Caria**: the country of Caria was, according to an ancient Greek saying, brought to ruin because of the large number of its leaders. Caria was a country that was part of different Greek estates. With every war it belonged to a different king. This is what finally led to its downfall. Hake placed the saying, copied from Erasmus, in the margins: *Multitudo Imperatorum Cariam Perdidit*. It means ‘a multitude of leaders brought Caria to its ruins.’ See Adiego, pp. 758-759.

26 **Quot homines tot sententiae**: Proverb meaning ‘as many opinions as there are people’. This refers to the previous proverb. Hake translates it as ‘as many man, so many wittes’ (l. 335).

27 **Tradendi ratio**: manner or art of teaching.

28 **Eake**: also. See *MED* s.v. ‘eke’.

29 **Isocrates** (436-338 BC): Greek orator and political publicist. These lines are from his letter to Demonicus. See *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Isocrates’ and Isocrates, *To Demonicus*.

30 **Feately**: suitability; being suitable. See *OED* s.v. ‘feat’.

31 **Mazing**: bewildering. See *OED* s.v. ‘mazing’.

32: **Terentius** (185/195-159/158 BC): comic poet. His work was intensively used as school reading. He remained a stylistic model and a source of moral sententiae for writers. ll. 431-432 do not occur in *De Pueris Instutuendis*. However, it does contain a passage about the treatment of slaves in comparison to the treatment of children by schoolmasters. Included in this passage is a reference to Terence, *Adelphi*, 73, where he explains the difference in rule between a father and a schoolmaster. Terence himself was an ex-slave who turned into a tutor. See Erasmus, *Collected Works*, pp. 327-328 and *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Terentius, Publius Afer’.

33 **Sauing stripes**: blows that deliver a person from moral or intellectual error. The word ‘stripe’ is often used for a blow or stroke with the claws or hoofs of an animal, but it can also refer to blows from a whip. ‘Sauing’ is used as an adjective, which means to deliver a person from moral or intellectual error. The fact that Hake uses these words in combination with the word ‘roaring’ as a synonym for yelling, shows that he wants to emphasise the similarities between some teachers and ferocious animals. See *OED* s.v. ‘stripe, n2.’ and ‘saving, adj’.
34 **Manquellors**: murderers: See *OED* s.v. ‘manqueller’.

35 **Ecclesiastical 30**: *Ecclesiastes*, 30 does not exist. The saying ‘Who spares the rode, doth hate the childe’ comes from *Proverbs*, 13:24. It says ‘Whoever spares the rod hates their children, but the one who loves their children is careful to discipline them.’

36 **Jewes**: reference to the difference between the Old and the New Testament. The Jews read the old testament as rule, whereas the Christians have the new testament and use the Old Testament more symbolically.

37 **Lycon** (3rd cent. BC): leader of the Peripatetic School from 270/268-226/224 BC. It was his opinion that financial and physical illness was less important than illness of the soul. He also sayd that ‘modesty and love of honour were as necessary an equipment for boys as spur and bridle for horses. See *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Lycon’ and Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 5.4.

38 **Toule**: instigate. See *OED* s.v. ‘toll’.

39 **Il. 572-583**: Philopas refutes Chrisippus’ argument and says that for some boys mere praise and shame, Lycon’s two spurs, will not suffice.

40 **Fabius Maximus** (3rd cent. BC): He fought against Hannibal and was known for his clever strategies. In his youth, however, he was considered foolish and stupid because of his tender and gentle character and his submissiveness towards his peers. He proved them wrong later in life. See Plutarch, *Lives*, Vol. III, and *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. F. Maximus Verrucosus.

41 **There goeth the Hare away**: saying. ‘Here or there the Hare goes away’ means ‘here or there the matter ended’. See *OED* s.v. ‘hare’.

42 **Attone**: reconcile. See *OED* s.v. ‘atone’.
43 ll. 630-645: It is easy to discern wisemen, orators and rhetoricians. However, it is much more difficult to say ‘what he the mayster ought to be’. It is difficult to find a person who has all the characteristics of a good schoolmaster.

44: **Ecclesiastical**: concerned with the affairs of the church; opposed to civil or secular. See *OED* s.v. ‘ecclesiastic’.

45 **Vespasian** (1st century AD): Roman Emperor from 69-79 AD. See *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Vespasianus’.

46 **Pliny the Younger** (61/62-113/114 AD): Latin author. He was concerned with education and his work was, and still is, used in schools. In the original text by Erasmus it says ‘Plinius Nepos’. ‘Nepos’ literally means ‘grandson’; however, here it has a more symbolic meaning, for Pliny the Younger was a nephew and pupil of Pliny the Elder. The lines that follow this reference, refer to his Pliny’s Epistulae 4.13. See Erasmus *De Pueris Instituendis*, Omnia Opera p. 63, note to line 22-23, and *Brill’s New Pauly* s.n. ‘Pliny the Younger (Gaius Caecilius Plinius Secundus minor), Epistulae’.

47 ll. 674-675: these lines are from Terence’s *Andria* 806, “Sic ut quimus quando ut volumus non licet” or do as we can, if we can’t as we would.

48 **Insueth**: establish. See *MED* s.v. ‘instruen’.

49 **Afordeis**: accomplish. See *OED* s.v. ‘afford’.

50 **Eftsoones**: soon after. See *MED* s.v. ‘eftsones’.

51 **Apothemas**: Hake probably means ‘apopthegm’ or ‘apothegm’. A terse, pointed saying, embodying an important truth in few words; a pithy or sententious maxim. See *OED* s.v. ‘apopthegm’.

52 ll. 860-863: rather let them speak Latin then ‘foule barbarous words’. ‘Same’ here means ‘aforesaid’ and it refers to ‘foule barbarous words to name’.
53 **Bawdie**: obscene. See *OED* s.v. bawdy’.


55 **Weete**: know. See *OED* s.v. ‘weet’.

56 **Put to flight**: to put to action. See *OED* s.v. ‘flight’.

57 **Teeme**: team. a set of draught animals harnessed to draw together. See *OED* s.v. ‘team’.

58 **Osiers**: any of several willows with tough pliant branches used in basketwork. See *OED* s.v. ‘osier’.

59 **Accrewe**: profit; accumulate. See *OED* s.v. ‘accrue’.

60 **Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovid)** (43 BC-17 AD): Latin poet who wrote *Metamorphoses*.

61 **Marcus Lucanus** (39-65 AD): author of the *Pharsalia*. See Brill’s New Pauly s.n. ‘Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus’.

62 **Fabius Vrsinus or Fabio Orsino**: son of Paolo Orsini. Came from a family of scholars and did not live to adulthood. See Erasmus, *Collected Works*, p. 579: note 159.

63 **Hesiodus** (700 BC): Greek poet who was roughly a generation younger than Homer. See Brill’s New Pauly s.n. ‘Hesiodus’.
Bibliography

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Hake, Edward. *A touchestone for this time present expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye. Wherevnto is annexed a perfect rule to be obserued of all parents and scholemaisters, in the trayning vp of their schollers and children in learning. Newly set foorth by E.H.*. Imprinted at London by Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop at the greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange, 1574.


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