ROGER ASCHAM
AND HUMANIST LEARNING IN TUDOR ENGLAND

by
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A THESIS

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PREFACE

Roger Ascham was probably the greatest teacher in Elizabethan England. The period is graced with the name of his most famous and most spectacular pupil - Elizabeth Tudor. His life was dedicated, if indeed to anything, to the Greek ideal of "a sound mind in a sound body." In addition, he reached a zenith as probably the greatest Latin letter writer in England. This achievement is all the more remarkable since his era was one of scholarship in the language of ancient Latium and of Rome. Yet, he is without a biographer, except in short sketches prefacing the editions of his writings.

The purpose of this thesis is to collect some of the thoroughly scattered material and look a little more closely at Ascham as a student, scholar, and particularly as a teacher. Every effort has been made to work with source material. Old English spellings have been modernized to provide continuity, uniformity, and smoothness of reading. Exceptions will be found in original book titles.

Making a study of ideas is like steering a tricky passage between the perils of Scylla and Charybdis. In narrow straits the channel is often both deep and indeterminate. The navigation of such a passage, even on my unlearned and far from comprehensive level, would have been impossible were it not for the generous assistance
of a number of people. In expressing my gratitude, the problem is not the paucity but rather the abundance of material.

I am most grateful to Dr. B. C. Weber for inspiration, for the use of his personal library, and for the corrections and ideas which he offered. To Dr. J. F. Ramsey my appreciation is acknowledged for his help with the prose style, and for his emendations and suggestions. Both rendered invaluable, and highly esteemed, guidance after reading the manuscript of the thesis. I would also like to thank Mr. V. C. Grosse for his courtesies in making a third reading of it.

At the same time I should like to express my appreciation to the personnel of the Amelia Gayle Gorgas Memorial Library. In particular, I should like to thank Mrs. Vivien Lawson and her entire staff for their cooperative and cheerful assistance in securing materials. The libraries of Princeton University and Yale University were both kind and patient in making materials available.

Finally, though not lastly, I owe a debt of gratitude, without summation, to my wife.
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Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION

Education in sixteenth century England was mostly available at schools in even the small towns and villages, although frequently only for rudimentary instruction, if the parents and children desired to avail themselves of it. In these schools the curriculum and hours of study were carefully prescribed. School would often begin at six o'clock in the morning, going until five o'clock in the afternoon, six days each week, with no summer vacations. There the young students would face six hours of Latin and Greek before lunch and another four hours in the afternoon. On Sunday the only requirement was that the young scholars should take notes on the preacher's sermon, discussing and translating it into Latin prose or verse in school the following day. For good conduct, or for special occasions, the students might receive a one-half holiday on Thursday.

Children were often admitted to the grammar schools conducted by the chantries or to the monastery schools

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without charge. Primarily, the schools and private education were for the benefit of the "men-children". However, it was neither unknown nor uncommon for girls to be admitted to the grammar schools or for them to receive a private education.

The rise of education in England was at first connected with religion, with only those of religious orders receiving or giving learning. In the English countryside the grammar and chantry schools were a partial provision for public education, in addition to the private tutors employed in increasingly larger numbers by the aristocracy. With the dissolution of the greater monasteries went many of the facilities by which a child might have learned his Latin grammar. Even more deleterious to the cause of education was the confiscation of the chantries, as the majority of them had supported a grammar school. Although their confiscation was for obvious monetary reasons, the

5 Joshua G. Fitch, Educational Aims and Methods. Lectures and Addresses (London, 1900), p. 239.
English government had charged that the chantries tended to foster "superstition and errors in Christian religion" and that they were responsible for "the continuance of the said blindness and ignorance...." In the Crown's premeditated hunger for income even St. Paul's in London was not spared from the ravages of the despoilers.

After the confiscations new grammar schools were to have been established. The Crown did not always follow this policy. A number of bills were passed by the House of Commons establishing free schools in the towns. In this manner 51 schools were established in the reign of Edward VI, 20 in Mary's reign, and 136 in the long reign of Elizabeth I. Private individuals also were important, both for financial and influential assistance, in the founding or refounding of many schools. Yet, there was

8 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 217.
9 J. W. Adamson, loc. cit., p. 182.
12 Henry Gee & W. J. Hardy, op. cit., p. 328.
14 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 223.
no great expansion in either the total number or in the capacity of the grammar schools. Nevertheless, the founding or refounding of a free grammar school was a notable event in the English town.

In England the later period of the Renaissance was coincident with the Reformation, giving the revival of learning a religious characteristic lacking in the Italian Renaissance. Since the English Reformation resulted in an Erastian settlement, and since the Renaissance was reciprocally influenced by the foundation of a nationalistic church, sixteenth century English humanism characteristically became secularized. The period was marked with a tremendous energy expressed in politics, church reform, commerce, travel, and voyages of discovery. As a mirror of these energetic expressions a typically national English literature was created in an era whose name is graced with that of its most spectacular queen, Elizabeth.


16 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 231.


18 W. G. Hoskins, op. cit., p. 52.
Humanistic learning began to change in England, becoming more nationalistic under Henry VIII. An effort was made to please a learned King on whose pleasure could depend the beginning of a future or the end of a life. The awakening of the reform movement gave birth and nurture to the growth of the universities and to the spread of secular learning. In turn, these three factors created a demand for learning in all branches of knowledge, opening a vast market for humanist writers.

Royal control over the universities increased with the disappearance of the monks and friars and with the appointment of the Regius Professors who owed their position to the patronage of the Crown. With the ecclesiastical turmoil and the dissolution of the monasteries, there was a decline of classical learning. Consequently, English humanism passed beyond classical letters to the literature of national, if not popular, England.

Before the humanist culture moved into England it had matured in Italy. By the middle of the sixteenth century this culture began dying in the land which had given it birth. Yet, the off-springs of this humanism were kept alive in England. Fanned by the stirring

19 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 224.


21 Linton C. Stevens, "Humanistic Education and the Hierarchy of Values in the Renaissance," Renaissance Papers:
intellectual interests created in the English Reformation movement, the coals of curiosity provided the spark for much of the energy in humanistic learning. Too, the spread of wealth created a middle class eager for learning. Likewise, the factors which gave birth to this learning created the variation characteristics, primarily national, which dominated the culture of Elizabethan England.

This, then, was the humanistic pattern of England into which Roger Ascham was born. He was a man who perhaps reflected more than he influenced the changes in learning in sixteenth century England, although his life was no small part of either. His life spanned the sometimes awkward, often eclectic transition from international Latin humanism to English national literature. Through the frustrations and changing values which he experienced, his writings often provide a kaleidoscopic mirror of contemporary thought and culture.

Roger Ascham was born at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire about 1515. He was the third son of Margaret and John Ascham, steward to Lord Scrope.


of Bolton. John Ascham had an unblemished reputation for honesty and uprightness of life, characteristics which undoubtedly influenced his children. Of the English yeoman class, John Ascham was not financially able to provide his children with the benefits of a formal education, relying on patronage to care for their educational needs.

The brightness of Roger Ascham's genius and his great affection for learning, along with his propensity for study, did not go unnoticed. Sir Humphrey Wingfield took the young boy into his own house to care for his


26 John & J. A. Venn, comps., Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900, Compiled by John Venn (Cambridge, 1922), I, 43. See "Appendix A" at the end of this work for Ascham's genealogy.

27 Roger Ascham, Toxophilvs, the Schole of Shootinge, Conteyned in Tvvo Bookes. To all Gentlemen and Yomen of Englande, Pleasuante for theyr Pastyme to Rede. English Reprints, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1868), p. 3. This citation is taken from the introductory notes.

28 Sir Sidney Lee & Leslie Stephen, eds., Dictionary of National Biography, Second edition (London, 1908-1909), I, 622. Since Lee wrote the article on Ascham, the work will hereafter be referred to by the familiar title, Sir
learning, becoming Ascham’s first patron. There, at Wingfield’s house in Lancashire, Roger was introduced to the world of Latin letters under the guidance of his teacher, Richard Bond. With an increasing love for humanistic learning, and with the encouragement of Wingfield, Ascham attained the elements of the learned languages in preparation for entrance into Cambridge.

Sidney Lee, D.N.B.


The education of Roger Ascham, along with his travel, was an example of both the aim and the method of his later educational philosophy. This method was based on the ancient languages of Greek and Latin, with emphasis on the history and classical literature of ancient Rome and Greece. Service to the commonwealth was the aim, though often, as in his own case, changed to the quiet enjoyment of life or to the active pursuit of wealth, both of which appeared to escape his grasp. Quite naturally his educational ideas were an extension of his own experiences and of the influences in his life. The more vivid impressions began at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1530. Under the patronage of Sir Humphrey Wimgfield, Ascham began his college education.

The bright lights of learning had shifted from Oxford University to Cambridge. Brilliant students who were to become the outstanding leaders in England inherited at


2 James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from
Cambridge the rich tradition of the Renaissance. After Ascham had enrolled, he became friendly with Garrett, the bookseller, with whom Erasmus had probably lodged, discussing at length the habits of that scholar. John Cheke, who was to become the teacher of Ascham, had been a student of Erasmus. Thus, the tradition of humanist learning permeated the University.

A group of outstanding scholars were to gather at Cambridge during the time that Ascham was there. They formed the link between the ideals of the men in the earlier period of the Renaissance, as More and Colet, and the more vernacular, nationalistic ideals of later Elizabethan learning and letters. This change becomes all the more evident in reading Ascham's letters covering the period. Thomas Fuller, the seventeenth century writer and historian, epitomized his position; "Indeed, Ascham came to Cambridge just at the dawning of learning, and stayed therein till the bright-day thereof, his own endeavors contributing much light thereunto."

the Royal Inductions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles The First (Cambridge, 1884), p. 43.


4 Vivian de Sola Pinto, The English Renaissance, 1510-1688, with a Chapter on Literature and Music by Bruce Pattison (New York, 1938), p. 50. Cheke later became Ascham's main teacher. Ascham always respected Cheke, and gave him credit for the learning which he, Ascham, had attained. Their friendship was close. Cheke always gave whatever assis-
When Ascham arrived at St. John's, Dr. Nicolas Metcalf was master of the college. An impartial man, he was a father to everyone in the college, helping to collect money in order to support the poorer students. He improved considerably the financial condition of the school. He seemed more than willing to give financial and moral support to the young scholar from Yorkshire.

As Ascham began his studies his tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert, a Fellow of St. John's, whose friend George Pem­ber, a fellow student, took an active interest in the new scholar. Later, Ascham was taught by John Cheke, the foremost Graecist in sixteenth century England. In his subsequent writings Ascham praised Cheke and the dons at Cambridge. They liked him, and they helped him. All had an
tance within his power to help Ascham in securing appoint­ments and offices.

5 Ibid., p. 50.


8 J.B. Mullinger, op. cit., p. 19.

9 Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and the Profane State, ed. cit., I, 104.

active interest in Ascham and in his work. To each he attributed much of the success and learning which he and the college attained prior to the middle of the century. Cambridge at that time was the center of the New Learning. The term is sometimes used not so much to refer to the revival of classical learning as to signify the new religion, particularly Lutheranism. Thus, a contemporary scholar would refer to Cambridge as "the chief nursery in those times of the favourers of true religion and solid learning." This trend was noticed throughout England, with references to it in the official documents of Henry VIII. Henry would be requested to supply officials who had attended either Oxford or Cambridge rather than those who might still be inclined toward the Catholic Church. Thus, Ascham, with a number of other students who later became the religious and lay leaders of England, seemed to favor the New Learning, leaning toward Lutheranism while it was still possible to remain a national Catholic under the Henrician settlement.


Life at Cambridge for Ascham was quiet and peaceful. He later longed to return to it, describing his preference for life at St. John's. He referred to the "problem fire" where the scholars would gather after dinner around the fireplace and discuss questions. In his letters he would speak of "mine hostess Barnes", who kept a tavern near Cambridge, of "fat capons" and "good fellowship" there at the school. Thus he seems to have enjoyed his studies. Furthermore, as John Cheke lectured in Greek he would tell of Italy and Greece, firing Ascham with an enthusiastic desire to travel.

One of the great factors at St. John's which influenced his life and consequently his educational ideas was the proficiency he developed in both Greek and Latin. Pember encouraged him to teach Greek to the younger boys in order to learn the language better himself. Students would come to his chamber to hear the Greek authors explained. He then adopted Cheke's method of pronunciation. Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of the University, admitted that Erasmus had begun this new pronunciation. However, Gardiner commanded that it be


15 Great Britain, State Papers, Published Under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission (London, 1830-1852), III, 463.

16 Henry Ellis, ed., Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries with Notes, and Illustrations by Sir Henry Ellis (London,
stopped, referring to the "arragonce of youth". Through
this can be gained some knowledge of the extent and minute-
ness of the learning in Greek pursued at Cambridge at the
time.

The other great factor in his education was his
appointment as a Fellow of St. John's. He had entered
Cambridge at the age of fifteen, not unusual for that
period. He had taken his B.A. from St. John's in 1533-
1534. Ascham held the post of Fellow from 1534 until his
marriage in 1554, concurrently holding the position of
Public Orator of the College from 1546-1554. As such,
he was the first lecturer on Plato's dialogues at Cam-
bridge. He later stated that had it not been for Dr.
Metcalf he would not have been elected a Fellow. At

18 1843), pp. 13-14.

17 Isaac Disraeli, Amenities of Literature, Consisting of
Sketches and Characters of English Literature. Edited
by his Son, the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, Chancellor of Her
Majesty's Exchequer. New Edition. (New York, 1871), I,
415.


19 Samuel Johnson, The Works of Samuel Johnson..., New

20 Great Britain, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic,
of the Reign of Henry VIII..., arranged and catalogued by
190, 283. The new pronunciation of Greek consisted of a
different way of pronouncing the vowels. Erasmus and Cheke
claimed this "new way" had been the way the Greeks pro-
nounced them and that mediaeval scholars had erred.
Gardiner said that it was impossible to tell how the Greeks
had pronounced their language. Therefore, he insisted
the time, Henry VIII was involved in splitting England from the Holy See at Rome. Ascham, while a student, spoke against the pope while his application for the fellowship was pending approval. He was called before the Seniors and before Dr. Metcalf. At the meeting, all the Fellows were informed by the learned doctor that it would be considered most presumptuous that any should vote for the election of the young scholar. However, Dr. Metcalf, while a papist and while showing an outward appearance of disapproval, managed to secure his election as a Fellow on March 23, 1534. In July of 1537 he received the M.A. degree and the following year was appointed Greek Reader at St. John's.

The year 1540 seems to have been a turning point in university education. The monks and friars had disappeared with the establishment of the Regius Professorships at the

that the "new pronunciation" be stopped.


23 John Venn & J.A. Venn, comp., Alumni Cantabrigienses..., (Cambridge, 1922), I, 43.

universities as the first installment on the long-awaited royal support of education in England on the higher level. Two daily public lectures were given, one in Greek and one in Latin. The study of Greek became the reigning pursuit in those days on the university course. John Cheke was appointed the first Regius Professor in Greek by Henry VIII.

25 James Bass Mullinger, op. cit., p. 43.

26 Roger Ascham, English Works..., ed. cit., p. 280.

27 Sir Sidney Lee, ed., Dictionary of National Biography, second edition, (London, 1908-1909), I, 623. It is interesting to note the absence of specialization in learning in that period. It was considered quite proper and normal for Ascham to try for a mathematical lectureship in 1539, although he did not obtain it. He later referred to mathematical heads as rather narrow and unlearned.


29 Isaac Disraeli, op. cit., I, 410.

30 Great Britain, Letters and Papers, op. cit., XVII, 348. In the universities, the Regius Professorships were created, endowed, and filled by appointment of the crown. Scholars are not agreed on the appointment of Ascham as a Regius Professor in Greek at Cambridge. cf. Karl J. Holzknecht, Sixteenth Century Prose, (New York, 1954). Holzknecht says that Ascham became the first Regius Professor of Greek in 1537. However, according to the Annual Register of the University of Cambridge the professorship was not established until 1540. cf. Lionel Braham, "Roger Ascham and the Regius Professorships," Notes and Queries, CCI, (September 1956), 373-374. Braham says that Ascham probably held one of the five Regius Professorships created by Henry VIII in 1540, although the only mention to this effect is in Dr. Johnson's memoirs of Ascham. cf. J.B. Heidler, College Years; Essays of College Life, Selected and Edited by Joseph Bunn Heidler, (New York, 1933), p. 9, in which he edits excerpts from the Scholemaster and says that Ascham was the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. However, it appears that perhaps Ascham never
While Ascham was at Cambridge, or associated with it, he came into contact with some of the most illustrious men of the era. These friendships proved the basis for many of his life-long relationships. That they affected him profoundly is of course obvious. It is, however, perhaps worthy to observe the interrelationship of some of these personages as contemporaries of Ascham, since his later life evolved to a series of appeals to them for assistance, and since their ideas affected his own so profoundly. The two major persons were Cheke and William Cecil, later the chief minister of Queen Elizabeth. From Cheke, he obtained many of his educational ideas. From Cecil, achieved the honor of this distinction. Cheke, as pointed out above, was appointed as the first Regius Professor in Greek at Cambridge, holding the office until 1551. At that time he resigned the post, recommending Nicholas Car, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for it. Car was then appointed on October 12, 1551 by order of the Privy Council acting in the name of Edward VI, according to John Strype, in The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt...., New Edition, (Oxford, 1821), p. 36. The Regius Professors were the highest in the universities. They were the only positions in the universities which could be held after marriage. cf. Mullinger, op. cit., p. 148. Thus, while in Germany, Ascham wrote to Cecil, desiring to read the Greek tongue at Cambridge and be made "free and journeyman in learning", pointing out that he had "already served out three apprenticeships at Cambridge". This may refer to his length of time as Fellow or as Lecturer of Greek. Vide Henry Ellis, Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men..., op. cit., p. 16. With an appointment as Regius Professor, which Cecil could well secure from the young Edward VI, Ascham would be free from the pressures placed on the Fellows. Thus he desired to "be bound to no other statutes nor acts in the University" when asking Cecil for the appointment in 1552, shortly after Cheke had retired from the position. Vide Roger Ascham, The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, Now First Collected and Revised With a Life of the Author; by the Rev. Dr. Giles, edited by J.A. Giles,
he secured much of his living which brought him into the political court of the reigning monarch. Cecil was at St. John’s with Ascham and Cheke, later marrying Cheke’s sister. When she died he married one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Coke, Mildred. Ascham knew Mildred quite well, and through her and her knowledge of Greek, he no doubt retained much of his influence in the court of Elizabeth. Another fellow student, Nicolas Bacon, married one of the other daughters of Coke. She was the translator of Bishop Jewel’s *Apology* and the mother of Francis Bacon, a woman learned both in Greek and Latin. Other contemporaries of Ascham with whom he formed a small society of humanists included Thomas Lever, his life-long friend at Cambridge; Edmund Grindal, a Fellow at Pembroke Hall who later became Archbishop of Canterbury; James Pilkington, a Fellow at St. John’s who became the first Protestant Bishop of Durham; Roger Hutchinson, a Fellow of St. John’s and later of Eton; and Edwin Sandys, later a Marian exile and then Bishop of Worcester. Most of the influential lay

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(1864-1865), I, 332, hereinafter referred to as *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, edited by J.A. Giles. Thus, some scholars feel that Ascham had neither the freedom, income, nor prestige that a Regius Professorship would have offered had he attained such a post. Also, Sir Sidney Lee points out that Ascham left Cambridge in 1539, visiting his parents in Yorkshire. As he contracted a fever which prevented his return for two years, he was absent from Cambridge until 1541. *Vide D.N.B.*, I, 623; This event came during the period when the professorships were established and lectures by Cheke and the other four began.

and ecclesiastical leaders of Elizabethan England were graduated from Cambridge during the middle third of the 35 century. The fraternity of scholars and bishops with which Ascham maintained correspondence was enormous and important.

The first extant written material by Ascham on his educational ideas and philosophy is embodied in *Toxophilus, The Schole of Shootinge Conteyned in Tyvo Bookes*, published in 1545 by Edward Whitchurch, in London. He designed the book to defend his own practice of archery and to secure a pension from the king. Ascham wrote it while at Cambridge, dedicating it to Henry VIII as a homecoming gift. Actually, he had finished it before Henry VIII left for France in July, 1544. There had, however, been no opportunity for the young scholar to present it until after the return of the royal personage. Stephen Gardiner helped him by bringing the book before the Council and making it possible for Ascham to see the king. Thus, Ascham, with his dedication apology, presented *Toxophilus* to Henry VIII in the p. 268.


picture gallery at Greenwich. Later, he gave the young Prince Edward a presentation copy. Edward appeared not as impressed as his father, and gave the book away, which explains its presence in the library at Bramshill House. Henry liked it and gave Ascham the pension he most wanted, in the amount of ten pounds. This had been one of the primary reasons why Ascham had written the volume.

When he had returned to Cambridge in 1541 he was penniless. He still held the Fellowship, but felt he needed money, offering his services to Edward Lee, the Archbishop of York, whom he knew well. The Archbishop had been accused of being difficult to work with, but he evidently respected Ascham as a scholar if not as a theologian. Ascham translated Oecumenius' Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to Titus and Philemon, editing the work


37 Ibid., p. ix.

38 J.A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, (New York, 1926), p. 278.


40 Great Britain, Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Presented to Both Houses of
while translating it from the Greek into the Latin. As he returned to Cambridge the translation was published there in 1542. Archbishop Lee granted him a pension for the work, even though the Archbishop was dissatisfied with it, since Ascham had given a tacit approval of married clergy.

Then, in 1544, the Archbishop died and Ascham's pension ceased, increasing his financial difficulties. In that same year his brother Thomas died. Later in the year his father and mother, who had lived together for 47 years, died on the same day, almost on the same hour. Dissensions arose in the University. To get away, he wrote to Redman that he wanted to travel in the suite of an English ambassador going abroad. At the same time, as if anticipating failure in his suit, he wrote to Sir William Paget to use his influence in securing for him the Regius Professorship of Greek at Cambridge, since Cheke was leaving to become the tutor of the young Prince Edward.

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42 Ibid., I, 623.

43 John Archer Gee, *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, with a Critical Text of the Original Treatises and the Letters*, (New Haven, 1928), pp. 80-81. The argument between Lupset and Archbishop Lee was long and bitter. Lee, with an older scholastic education, disliked many of the ideas of Erasmus. Lupset defended the "Prince of Humanists" and accused Lee of being too sensitive and "so captious that no one can endure you".
This suit he also lost. In addition his body was weak, his health bad, and when he turned to archery for the sake of his health, he was accused of neglecting his studies. Within a few months he asked Archbishop Cranmer for a dispensation in order that he might eat meat rather than fish on fast days, since his health was bad. Cranmer granted the request. Thus, it appears to have been a depressing period for him, impoverished, ill, his friends leaving the University and acquiring high positions in the state, while his own stature as a scholar was not making any appreciable improvements. In a successful effort to obtain a pension from Henry VIII and at the same time to defend his position with regard to shooting with the bow he wrote the first book in the English language on archery. In this work he expressed several of his educational theories which he later elaborated or changed.

The Toxophilus is of course a book primarily devoted to the improvement of archery and the advancement of "shooting" with the bow. However, in it is the genesis of three of the main concepts of his later educational philosophy, concepts which were to meet the reader at each

45 Ibid., I, 624.
46 Roger Ascham, Toxophilus..., edited by Edward Arber, ed. cit., p. 3.
turn in his later book, the *Scholemaster*. Richard Mulcaster, the later sixteenth century educationalist, said that "both for training the archer to his bow, and the scholar to his book, hath showed himself a cunning archer, and a skillful master." For Ascham education revolved around three aims and methods:

1. education for the good of the commonwealth
2. the development of the *uomo universale*
3. the use of education for moral training.

Ascham's love of learning, it has been said, did not make him cosmopolitan, but rather made him nationalistic. This can be carried to the point where it no longer holds, inasmuch as he retained a considerable influence in the cosmopolitan and universal fraternity of Latin speaking and writing scholars. Yet, he emphasizes the patriotic character of the book at a time when English patriotism was high. He had no doubt of his country's supremacy both in peace and in war. Taking the unscholarly method

48 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 314.
50 Lee and Onions, op. cit., II, 381. "Shooting" in the early part of the sixteenth century referred to archery.


of expressing himself in the vernacular, he states that he had "written this English matter in the English tongue, for English men". Undoubtedly, it would have been easier for Ascham to have written in Latin, since English had not developed as a vehicle of communication on a higher level. Significantly, he felt it necessary to apologize for the use of English in 1545, while he uses English as a matter of course only two decades later.

Criticized for his aversion to shooting, Ascham renders both an answer and his reasons for his participation in the sport. He ties shooting, as a form of exercise, and learning together, both to serve the ultimate function of good to the common wealth rather than the advancement of the individual. He states that he wished England would use as the foundation of youth the "bringing up children in the book and the bow: by which two things, the whole common wealth both in peace and war is chiefly ruled and defended withall." As such, it was a book on archery in time of peace. Yet archery as a sport and as

53 Vernon Hall, Jr., Renaissance Literary Criticism; a Study of its Social Content, (New York, 1945), p. 158.

54 "Roger Ascham," The Spectator, LCIV (March 18, 1905), 406-407.

55 Roger Ascham, English Works, ed. cit., p. x.


a weapon was vanishing. His close friend, Sir Thomas 59
Smith, had even armed his servants with guns. The
introduction of firearms, the arquebus, caliver, and musket
were rapidly replacing the long bow. Ascham said that if
"shooting" could speak it would accuse England both of
unkindness and neglect. At the same time, he accuses
noblemen of selecting the wrong sons for learning. Thus,
Ascham criticizes the neglect of both learning and arch-
ery. Unless the situation was corrected, he predicted a
decrease in the stature and strength of England. By ap-
pealing for better education for the good of the nation
rather than appealing for the advancement of the individ-
ual, he placed a much greater stress on the final aim of
education as service to the commonwealth. Thus, "if youth
be grafted straight, & not go awry, the whole common wealth
will flourish thereafter."

The second major theme appears to be his inclination
toward the development of the *uomo universale*, which he was
to emphasize later to a much greater degree in the *Schole-
master*. He selected the form of a Platonic dialogue for

58 James Pilkington, *The Works of James Pilkington*, B.D.,
Lord Bishop of Durham. Edited for the Parker Society by the

59 John T. Curry, "'Three Guns'," *Notes and Queries*, CCX
(August 27, 1904), 169.

60 Ruth Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

the work. From this point he advances toward the philosophy employed by the Italian humanist Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua. He felt that "earnest study must be recreated with honest pastime." Even Erasmus, Ascham pointed out, had, for the lack of a better exercise, taken his horse and ridden about the Markette Hill near Cambridge.

The third point, and the one to which he applies his greatest writing artistry and certainly his most devastating skill, is the position which education plays with reference to the development of a moral philosophy in the child and the man of later life. For this reason he wrote it, as he says, "intending none other purpose, but that youth might be stirred to labor, honest pastime, and virtue, and as much as lay in me, plucked from idleness, unthrifty games, and vice." He then describes the prevalence of gaming in England, strongly censuring the existence of vice. All through his life he railed against vice, in words if not in action, and pleaded the cause of puritanical virtues for Englishmen. Perhaps significantly

63 Ibid., p. 111.
most of the ecclesiastical leaders and all of the Puritans and Separatists who marshalled their forces against the Anglican Church in Elizabethan England were graduates of Cambridge.

Ascham stresses the virtue of shooting over dicing and playing cards, all of which he seems to have been well acquainted with. For him shooting was the most honest pastime and had the least occasion to have naughtiness attached to it. Yet, shooting was criticized as bordering on the idle if not the evil. This synonymy was not correct in his eyes. Idleness was considered the "enemy of virtue, the drowner of youth, ... the green pathway to hell," and while "other vices have some cloak of honesty, only idleness can neither do well, nor yet think well." His denunciation of dice was vehement. Later, he was accused of remaining poor as a result of too many losses at dice. Indeed, his intimate censure of the game betrays a most minute knowledge of the subject. Puritanically violent in his denunciation of it he often appears to be not only a heavy loser, but an ill-tempered, vitriolic one.

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expressing the opinion that "dicing surely is a bastard born, because it is said to have two fathers, and yet both naughty." Thus, when weighing subsequent ideals and actions, he appears to have applied the criteria of an ethical morality, the value to the commonwealth, or the development of the individual as measured in the concept of the *uomo universale*.

These criteria experienced an apparent acceptance by Englishmen during the following two decades, reaching a point of obvious expression in the *Scholemaster*. By these measurements, Ascham could determine the goodness or badness of the contemporary English society, condoning that which was good, condemning that which he thought bad. Within that time a new emphasis in education began to appear. This change influenced Ascham, and, concurrently, he influenced the change. Thus, in 1545 he stated that "a child by three things, is brought to excellency. By aptness, desire, and fear." The child could be better than his fellows by desire and aptness, since "fear of them whom he is under, will cause him to take great labor and pain with diligent heed." From this position he was to reverse completely his thoughts, especially with respect to fear as a factor in learning.

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It is difficult to determine the extent of his readers of the *Toxophilus*, or to judge its influence, if any, on English society. The most immediate result, and perhaps the one for which the author was most grateful, was the pension from Henry VIII. That the book continued to be known by Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth I may be judged from the fact that Ascham referred to it each time he applied for another pension, which in all cases was granted.

With the publication of this volume, an increase in the number of books in English was noted. If we may accept the evaluation of Sigr. Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador, archery was certainly improved in popularity and practice. In 1557, in his report to the Venetian Senate, he stated that it was the proper and natural weapon of the English, and that all classes of people and all the professions extensively practiced it as a common exercise. Perhaps this was one of the results of Ascham's book. Another more practical result of the book was the favor which the University and the Court gave the young scholar, favor which altered his position financially and materially. In 1546, he succeeded John Cheke as Public Orator of his University. In this capacity he conducted the

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official correspondence. Careful and meticulous, often writing several drafts in order to obtain the selected phraséology he wanted, the letters indicate that he dis-
inguished himself for his handwriting. An expert in calligraphy and a learned scholar, he was called to render his services to members of the royal family.

76 Roger Ascham, Toxophilus, ed. by Edward Arber, ed. cit., p. 5.
78 Lee and Onions, eds., op. cit., I, 289.
Chapter III.

ASCHAM'S SERVICE TO THE ROYAL FAMILY

The appointment of Roger Ascham as a tutor in the royal household was a continuation of an educational policy established by the crown. Catherine of Aragon, while queen of Henry VIII, had begun a program of education for the Princess Mary, following the precedent of her husband. Henry VIII had originally been trained and educated for the clergy. Thus, his learning was of the very best offered in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For the royal princess the education was also to be of the best, even though clerical training was out of the question. Catherine secured the most outstanding scholars for Mary. Linacre compiled a Latin grammar for the child. Juan Luis Vives, a refreshing figure, was brought from Spain, writing a "Plan of Studies for Girls" to direct Mary's learning. Meanwhile, Henry VIII disdained no advancement for himself in learning.

Thus, it was an atmosphere of some intellectual curiosity into which the Princess Elizabeth was born at Green-

2 Ibid., p. 13.
wich. While still a baby, she was transferred to the House at Hertford, away from her father and mother. She was placed in the care of persons like Katherine Ashley, who indulged the young princess perhaps more than was wise. Yet, Elizabeth could not lean on the stepmothers whom her father led in rapid succession to the royal bedchamber, until the older, more mature Catherine Parr became queen. Henry VIII appeared determined to obtain the greatest scholars in all England for the education of the members of the royal household.

Members of the Cambridge group gradually grew in stature with the royal family. On July 10, 1544, John Cheke was appointed tutor to the young Prince Edward. He was selected to give "better instruction of the Prince, and the diligent teaching of such children as be appointed to attend upon him." Ascham, preferring the quiet of Cambridge, recommended his favorite pupil, William Grindal, for the corresponding position with the Princess Elizabeth. Through Cheke's influence, the recommendation was accepted and Grindal became her tutor. In view of Cheke's former posi-

4 Ibid., I, 415.
5 George P. Rice, Jr., The Public Speaking of Queen Elizabeth, Selections From Her Official Addresses (New York, 1951), p. 27.
tion of leadership at Cambridge, subsequent appointments of tutors were through his influence. Since the education of Prince Edward was considered the most important, Cheke assumed a position something like a commander-in-chief of education in the royal family.

About John Cheke gathered a small group who were to distribute their influence throughout England. A young noble, William Cecil, married Cheke's sister, although she died within a short time. Sir Anthony Coke, a man noted for his four learned daughters and for his educational ideas, was also a tutor for Prince Edward. Cecil later married one of those daughters versed in Greek and Latin. Another member of the group was Aylmer, the learned tutor of Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk. Ascham was a close friend of each in this scholarly group and was in a position to use their influence. This appears to be the beginning of the later connection between the Elizabethan court and the new ideas in education, a connection indicated by the presence of Ascham in

7 Great Britain, State Papers, ed. cit., I, 764.
9 Ibid., I, 200.
11 Ibid., p. 12.
12 "Roger Ascham," The Spectator, XCVIII (January 5, 1907), 17.
the private chambers of the queen and of the learned Cecil in the public court with his tremendous influence and power.

From this time forward Ascham yielded a considerable amount of sway over the education in the royal family, particularly with respect to the Princess Elizabeth while William Grindal was her tutor. He maintained close contact with Kate Ashley Astley, Elizabeth's teacher and nurse. To her he would write and express his good will, commending her in overseeing the house of Her Grace Princess Elizabeth, requesting gentleness and the kindling of love for learning in the education of the young girl. He exchanged Latin letters with the student, while she grew to respect Ascham and admire his learning. With the accession of Edward VI, "he being then but ix years of age, and yet imbued with notable virtues and great learning," the role of tutor in the royal family must have increased in importance. The possibility of an accession to the throne for each of the children seemed a little nearer.

13 J.E. Neale, op. cit., pp. 16-17. Neale gives Ascham a tremendous amount of credit for his influence over the Princess Elizabeth even while Grindal was her tutor. Perhaps he over-emphasizes the point.

14 Katherine Susan Anthony, Queen Elizabeth (New York, 1929), p. 22.


16 J. E. Neale, op. cit., p. 15. Vide Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. cit., I, 75-76, 87, 158-160. The letters to the Princess Elizabeth are, of course, in Latin, since
William Grindel, who had been the favorite pupil of Ascham before joining the Lady Elizabeth as tutor, died of the plague. The date of his death is not established, but it is known to have been before January 22, 1548. Ascham wrote to Dame Ashley, expressing his grief at the loss, ambiguously intimating that she could use whatever friendship she might have to help him secure the post. At the time, Elizabeth was living with Queen Catherine Parr and her husband, the Admiral Seymour. Ascham wrote to Elizabeth, expressing his condolences. They perhaps exchanged correspondence which is not now extant, for three weeks later Ascham wrote to Cheke and told him that the princess wished to have Ascham for her tutor. Seemingly, the queen and the admiral wanted Goldsmith. Ascham was not slow to request the help and influence of Cheke in writing in English would, at that time, have assumed the insult that the recipient was not literate.

17 Richard Grafton, Grafton's Chronicle; or, History of England. To Which is Added his Table of the Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and Mayors, of the City of London. From the Year 1189, to 1558, Inclusive, (London, 1809), II, 499. Hereafter referred to as Grafton's Chronicle.

18 J.E. Neale, op. cit., p. 15.


20 Roger Ascham, The English Letters of Roger Ascham, Edited From Manuscripts with Notes, a Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Albert McHarg Hayes. Accepted by the Department of English, June 1, 1933. Hereafter referred to as The English Letters of Roger Ascham. This appears to have been a carefully edited series of letters carefully typed and notated. The letters themselves
securi~ the appointment. Thus, it was through the influence of Cheke that Ascham received the appointment as tutor to the young princess.

The fifteen year old Elizabeth was involved in a scandal with Admiral Seymour, the uncle of the youthful Edward VI. The week after Whitsun in 1548 she was sent away from the Admiral, and he was soon to face condemnation for the affair. At this point Ascham was thrown into the web of court intrigue. He came to despise the court as a "slippery way", later accepting it as not only a means of livelihood but a path by which he might be able to leave some small inheritance for his wife and children. Ascham was with the princess at Cheshire, at the home of Sir Anthony Wingate. There, amidst the defense of her virtue appear to be both valid and scholarly, neither of which adjectives seem to fit the notes and comments of the editor. Thus, they are to be used with care, although the actual task of editing the letters appears good. The letter quoted from in this instance is in the B.M. Additional, 33,271, f 39b, as yet unpublished.


23 Ibid., I, 160-162.


25 Samuel Haynes, ed., A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1542 to 1570..., (London, 1740), p. 99. Hereafter referred to as A Collection of State Papers. Haynes prints some of the testimony given before the Privy Council as the confession of Katherine Ashley. The Admiral would go to
and of her friendship with the Queen, she applied herself
to her studies, becoming not only a diligent but a very
apt student.

While with the Lady Elizabeth at Cheshire, Ascham
managed to retain his contact with his colleagues at Cam­
bridge and his friends throughout England. Actually, the
education of Elizabeth, Edward, and the Lady Jane Grey
seems to have much in common. There was a considerable
degree of understanding between the princess and the king,
Edward, her half-brother. Ascham was continuously
advised of the progress that Edward was making in his
studies, writing to John Sturm, the great Strasburg educa­
tor, and discussing the exact course of studies which

Elizabeth's room, "and if she were up, he would bid her
good morrow, and ask her how she did, and strike her upon
the back or on the buttocks familiarly, and so go forth
through his lodging." Thus the scandal reached proportions
where Elizabeth felt it necessary to reaffirm her virtue.
This undoubtedly influenced her application to her studies
Council of England. New Series. (London, 1890-1897), II,
238. Also, George Rice, op. cit., p. 28. Also, vide
Katherine Anthony, op. cit., pp. 35-40.


W.A. Wright, ed. cit., p. 240.

28 Beatrice White, op. cit., loc. cit.

29 Sir Robert Naunton, The Court of Queen Elizabeth:
Originally written by Sir Robert Naunton, Under the Title
of "Fragmenta Regalia", With Considerable Biographical
1814), p. 3. Hereafter referred to as The Court of Queen
Elizabeth.
Edward was pursuing. At the same time he taught Edward to write, using a fine hand for which he was noted. Too, he was a very close friend of Aylmer, the tutor of Lady Jane Grey. Ascham praised both of them. Later he used the situation as an illustration for gentleness in education, since Aylmer was kind while the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's parents, were well-known for their cultivation of fear and respect in the child.

The situation at Cheshire not only called for gentleness with the princess but rather demanded it, since it would have been most inappropriate if not inopportune to have used some of the methods then in vogue in England. But beyond the use of fear in learning, Ascham had the opportunity to use several of the educational theories on which he later expounded at length in the Scholemaster. There is no question but that he exercised a strong and constructive influence on Elizabeth. As her master in language and calligraphy, Ascham helped her develop the beautiful handwriting for which she was well-known later as queen. She was trained in the flowing Italian style hand.

30 T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., I, 236.

Elizabeth was thoroughly grounded in the classics and in the ancient languages, two foundations which Ascham considered essential in the acquisition of learning. Each day he began the morning reading the Greek New Testament to his mistress. The morning schedule was arranged in what he believed the ideal manner. It included the Greek Testament and the Greek classical authors, such as Isocrates, Sophocles, and Demosthenes. These would be translated into English and then translated back into the Greek. The afternoon was devoted to Latin, including Cicero and Livy. In addition, she studied the vernacular languages of Italian and French. Elizabeth had a copy of the Meditations of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and translated them from the French into English. There is no indication that she was familiar with the Heptameron of the same author.

32 Richard Davey, op. cit., p. 264. cf., Mary R. Price and C.E.L. Mather, A Portrait of Britain Under the Tudors and Stuarts, 1485-1688, (Oxford, 1954), p. 212. The subsequent retelling of the episode of Ascham with Lady Jane Grey at Bradgate has given rise to the idea that he was also tutor to her.

33 "Roger Ascham," The Spectator, XCVIII, (January 5, 1907), 17. "Gentleness" in learning became one of Ascham's main pedagogical concepts.

34 George Rice, op. cit., p. 27.

35 Katherine Anthony, op. cit., p. 27.

36 Sir Sidney Lee and Charles T. Onions, eds., op. cit., I, 288. There is extant a small book of prayers and meditations written by the princess, with versions of them in Latin, French, and Italian, showing the different styles of handwriting with which she was familiar. They reveal some of the charm of her calligraphy.
Elizabeth responded well to the use of Ascham's double translation method. In addition, he used this with his "bedfellow" while at Cheshire, John Whitneye, with complete success. His mistress quickly acquired the ability to speak distinctively Greek, Latin, Tuscan, Spanish, French, and Dutch, although she remained a little weak in the Greek tongue. It is significant that her translation studies included religious writings with a strong Lutheran leaning. Thus, when John Hooper, a favorer of the reformed religion, wrote to Henry Bullinger, the advocate of religious reformation, he praised not only her knowledge of the "true religion" but also her ability and proficiency in Greek and Latin which enabled her to defend her position.

Ascham's departure from Cheshire followed the pattern forming in his life: a rather aimless and an apparently unthought-out desire to leave any situation which might be unpleasant or unprofitable. He had previously distrusted the ways of court life. That distrust had now


39 George Rice, op. cit., p. 47.

40 Roger Ascham, English Works of Roger Ascham, ed. cit., pp. 240-241. Roommates and spouses were often referred to as "bedfellows".

turned to an active dislike. In July of 1549 he wrote to William Ireland and Edward Raven, his close friends at Cambridge, making the nostalgic request that they care for his college room and for the things he had left in it. He had tried to make a visit to Cambridge but the Princess Elizabeth had prevented that. He expressed the wish to return to Cambridge for good the following Michaelmas, in the latter part of the coming September, if he could get leave. There is every indication that Ascham longed for the quiet life of St. John's with its scholarly atmosphere in lieu of the court intrigue and bustle surrounding him each day with its minutely ordained court etiquette. With a growing dislike of court life, Ascham simply left the service of the princess. The quarrel with the steward of his mistress appears rather the occasion than the reason for his departure from the royal study. Thus, toward the end of the year 1549, Ascham left the Princess Elizabeth without her consent, later regretting his abrupt

42 Hastings Robinson, ed., Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich..., (Cambridge, 1846-1847), I, 76. Hereafter referred to as Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation.


44 Roger Ascham, The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J.A. Giles, ed. cit., I, 166-170. This letter seems to sum up his inate desire to return to and stay at Cambridge.

"Cogito ad vos iterum ad festum Michaelis, hoc est, ut perpetuo vobiscum maneam, si hoc cum bona dominae venia
action, as she always seemed to remember it. In the following January he wrote to Cheke, trying to explain the situation, hoping that he could either get help to pursue his studies at Cambridge or that he could spend the next two years abroad with some envoy of the king's. He wrote to Cecil and promised to explain things more fully at a fitter time. His desire to return to St. John's was then accomplished; yet he was already seeking influence from Cheke to leave it to go abroad.

Through the help of John Cheke the restless scholar secured his appointment abroad. Sir Philip Hoby had been ambassador to the court of Charles V for two years and wanted to return to England. One of the Gentlemen of the Privy Council, Sir Richard Morysine, had been in Wolsey's household and later a servant to Cromwell and propagandist for Henry VIII. Since then, he had come much closer to the royal court, going with Nicolas Wotton and the Earl of Southampton to bring Anne of Cleves to

impetrari possit, quod certe vix spero; favet enim mihi unice." p. 167 of this letter.

45 Ibid., I, 173-176. There is no information as to the nature of the quarrel. However, it reveals that the tutor had no overwhelming influence over the princess and her household.

46 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 319.


48 Ibid., I, 176-178.
England, teaching her how to play cards as an English woman would. He had then been appointed ambassador to Danmark. When the Privy Council met on June 11, 1550, at Greenwich, Morysine was appointed as ambassador to the Emperor. He was a well qualified and an increasingly important personage in English court circles. A position as secretary with him would have been considered the top secretarial post among the English ambassadors in view of the current European situation. We may well assume that Ascham was appropriately delighted when Cheke notified him shortly thereafter of his appointment to that post.

While leaving England, Ascham headed South from Yorkshire where he had been visiting when he received Cheke's letter of the appointment. He went by to see the Lady Elizabeth, still at Cheshire, sometimes spelled Cheshunt or Cheston, and affected a reconciliation with her. After spending nine hours at the White Friars in London, talking with Sir John Cheke, he went to Billingsgate for

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departure. Ascham had been appointed the keeper of King Edward's library, with a handsome salary, again through the good offices of Cheke. Since he had never performed any of the duties of the office, and since he was now leaving the country, Cheke persuaded him to resign the office. Ascham then left to spend almost three years in Germany with Morysine. In many respects they were the happiest years for him and are the most enjoyable for the researcher. In his letters the complaints are much less frequent, the characterizations sharper, and the observations keener.

As the normal two year period for ambassadors approached an end late in the summer of 1552, Ascham began laying plans to resume his life in England. He was always academic, and perhaps he was always more at home while at St. John's College in Cambridge than in the courts of either England or Germany. From Villach in Carinthia he

56 Ibid., I, 626.
59 Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., &c. &c. &c. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire (London, 1883-1906), I, 114. These are often termed the Cecil Manuscripts and will hereafter be referred to by this title of common usage. Regretfully, this study on a preliminary level allows neither the time nor scope of subject matter to make a more detailed study of Ascham's life while in Germany. That period yields some of the most fascinating documents that he produced. However, only near
wrote to Cecil, telling him of his desire to return to the quietness of St. John's and his studies. He requested Cecil's help in securing for him a position as Greek teacher at St. John's, unbound by any other acts or statutes of the University. Unless he could secure an appointment as a Regius Professor he could not marry and remain connected with the University. At that time he still retained the titles, and pensions, as Reader in Greek and as Public Orator, both of which would be surrendered along with his celibacy. He had already submitted a formal proposal for marriage to a certain "A.B.", and thus was interested in getting an alteration of the university rules in his favor. To help Ascham, in the official correspondence Morysine praised him highly to Cecil.

Ascham wrote to Cecil again, from Spires, asking that if the position of teacher was not available he be appointed to an office in court or an ambassador abroad. His

the end of his journey, when he began making plans for the continuance of his scholarly career, does the available material approach the periphery of the subject matter at hand.

60 "Roger Ascham," The Spectator, XCVIII (March 18, 1905), p. 407. Also, see Elbert N.S. Thompson, Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance (New Haven, 1924), p. 102. Thompson quotes Ascham, "There is no such quietness in England, nor pleasure in strange countries, as even in St. John's College to keep company with the Bible, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Tullie."


solicitations for aid from Cecil became more frequent. Often he flatly refused to accept a post in court. Sometimes he was willing to accept any provision that Cecil might be able to secure for him. His letters to his friends back at Cambridge form a pattern of the gradual transition from writing in Latin to writing in English, the later becoming more frequent. Then his quest for a secure living in England was abruptly ended. In February of 1553 rumors had


64 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. cit., I, 330-334.

65 Ibid., ad passim. The longest letter which Ascham wrote from Germany, addressed to John Astley, gives a penetrating picture of the princes and courts in the mid-sixteenth century Empire. It was later published as A Report and Discourse Written by Roger Ascham, of the Affaires and State of Germany and the Emperour Charles His Court, Durynge Cer­taine Yeares, While the Sayd Roger was there. It was print­ed by John Daye at London, without a date. Written in the later part of 1552 until after 25 June, 1553, in response to a letter asking for information on Germany, it was pub­lished later. Giles says the Report was published in 1552, but since Ascham mentions the above exact date while only half-way through the letter, Giles' publication date is subject to question. cf. Sir Sidney Lee, ed., D.N.B., ed. cit., p. 627. Also, George W. Hallam, "An Ascham Borrowing From Erasmus," Notes and Queries, CC (March 1955), p. 97. cf. also, Roger Ascham, Toxophilus, ed. Edward Arber for an English Reprint, ed. cit., p. 6; also, John & J.A. Venn, eds., Alumni Cantabrigienses, ed. cit., I, 43. These refer to an edition of the Report published in 1553. cf. Roger Ascham, The English Works, ed. cit., p. v. Vide also, J. C. Maxwell, "English Anti-Machiavellianism Before Gentillett," Notes and Queries, CXCIX (April 1954), 141. These refer to a probable edition in 1570, pointing out that the Report was only written in 1553. Although Giles' edition of Ascham's works is considered more complete, Wright's edition of his English works is generally accepted by many
been reported to the effect that Morysine was shortly to be recalled. On July 6, 1553, Edward VI, yet a boy, died of consumption. Shortly thereafter, Queen Mary wrote the Emperor that she was recalling Morysine. Ascham returned to England to mend the fences between himself and the man who could now grant him new pensions, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

as the more scholarly. In view of the possible time before which Ascham could not have completed the Report, and since there would scarcely have been enough time to publish it prior to the beginning of Mary's reign, it is possible that it was not published until after Ascham's death in 1568. Had it been published during or before 1553, it is scarcely possible that even Queen Mary could have easily disregarded the strongly anti-papal bitterness which pervades the work. The publication of the work in 1553 would have served to call attention both to Ascham and his violently anti-Catholic views at a time when he sought security through obscurity. Finally, there is no mention of the work in any of the correspondence of the period prior to 1570, while Ascham was wont to always point out any concrete accomplishments which he had done in an effort to further his petitions for pensions or preferment in the court. He would have abhorred its publication during the reign of Mary and prided greatly in its publication during the reign of Elizabeth. Mary would have disliked it for its anti-Catholicism, Elizabeth for its intolerance and irrevocability. cf. also, Isaac Disraeli, op. cit., p. 416. He says the diary of Ascham has not come down to us in any form. cf. John & J.A. Venn, op. cit., that the diary was published in 1553. The reference is probably to the Report, classifying it as the diary. However, the Report is a summation, rather than a running account. Ascham's letters to his friends at Cambridge give parts, or possibly portions, from any diary that he kept, to which he referred several times. Unfortunately, his Latin letters have not yet enticed the translator's touch, since they would provide a most interesting and valuable source of material with reference to Charles V, et alii.

With the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary the old patents which Ascham held were invalidated. In order to survive in Catholic England it must have appeared essential to him to alter both his religious convictions and his friendships. He probably conformed outwardly to Catholicism, although Bishop Gardiner protected him and Thomas Smith, another scholar, from an inquisition into their private lives. Gardiner had been made Lord High Chancellor. He and the queen allowed Ascham to continue a silent if not open worship in the Anglican Church. Gardiner was urged to interfere with the religious liberty of Ascham, but he continued to allow toleration.

Queen Mary indicated an attitude of acceptance towards the more outstanding scholars of the period. At first, for

67 Richard Grafton, *Grafton's Chronicle*, ed. cit., II, 532. See also, Richard Davey, *op. cit.*, p. 264. Davey says that Ascham corresponded with the Duke of Suffolk and knew of Lady Jane Grey's elevation to the throne beforehand. Davey states that Ascham advised Hoby, who was then also at the court of Charles V, and Morysine as to the course of action they should take. However, this seems to credit Ascham with much more political acumen than is thus far known of him. cf. Philip Lindsay, *The Queenmaker...* (London, 1951), p. 137. Ascham may have been an enemy of Northumberland.

68 Royall Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

69 J. A. Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 280.


71 Samuel Johnson, *op. cit.*, XII, 324.

his part in the Lady Jane Grey episode, John Cheke was placed in the Tower. Even the Lady Elizabeth did not escape this threat of a more violent action, though she too was later released. But an indication of Mary's attitude is shown by the fact that on 11 September 1553 she granted a warrant for fifty pounds "towards the relief of Sir John Cheke and his children." Ascham must have grieved to see Cheke later captured, forced to recant, and then die a melancholy man within a year, in 1557. Ascham, however, mentions nothing of the fate of his friends.

The new reign also called forth a change in his friends, for the old ones were now out of favor in the court. Bishop Gardiner, to whom Ascham had not directed a personal letter for the past seven years, now became an old friend, and an influential one. Consequently, Ascham inundated him with solicitations for favor and letters of praise. Conversely, Ascham wrote not one letter to his Protestant friends in England. His scholarly friend John


74 Ibid., pp. 70-71. The writer makes the error of dating Elizabeth's imprisonment as 18 March 1553 rather than 1554.


Sturm had written a number of letters to officials in England in an effort to help Ascham secure a position in the court. Letters to Ascham appealing for an answer to his correspondence were unanswered. Only once did Ascham write to Sturm, a Protestant, not even thanking him for his efforts to help, and arranging to have the letter delivered by the papal messenger. Thus, some degree of conformity by Ascham during Mary's reign is represented in his efforts to secure a prebend and in the partially self-inflicted alterations of his friendships.

In the autumn of 1553 Ascham secured the appointment as Latin Secretary to the queen. The appointment was the result of the influence of Stephen Gardiner. For this post he was paid a pension of twenty pounds annually. In addition, Ascham secured a renewal of the patent which Henry VIII had originally given him for Toxophilus, Mary doubling the pension to twenty pounds. These grants were neither given so freely nor in such humorous circumstances as he later told Queen Elizabeth. His troubles and delays may be seen from his letters setting forth a series of pecunious pleas from October until the following May.

77 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. cit., I, 443-448.
78 Beatrice White, op. cit., p. 332.
79 J. A. Muller, op. cit., p. 278.
81 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. cit., I, 412.
With rare coins and books from Germany, and even a clock which he called "my dearest jewel," given to him as a remembrance from his "dear friend" John Sturm, Ascham finally secured his patents and his income, much of which was far past due. Sir William Petre, who handled the affairs for the crown, received the clock and in turn graciously helped Ascham obtain a grant from the crown of a lease on a farm at Walthamstow, in Essex, called Salisbury Hill. Ascham secured this profitable lease at the abnormally low rent of twenty pounds annually.

Yet, his financial troubles increased, particularly after his marriage to Margaret Howe on June 1, 1554. His letters indicated his financial embarrassment. At the same time, he was an efficient and good Latin Secretary to the

82 Ibid., ad passim. See also, pp. 381-419. See also his letter to Queen Elizabeth, ibid., II, 152-161. Factual information given in the writings of Ascham appear to be unusually accurate, except where they concern him in his solicitations for favor and pensions. In pleading for an appointment as Regius Professor in 1544 he advised Sir William Paget he had written the public despatches of the university for the past twelve years. (Giles edition, I, 50.). This, of course, is an exaggeration of the time involved. Later, when trying to secure the appointment as Latin Secretary from or through Gardiner, he informed the latter that he had held that position under both Henry VIII and Edward VI. (Giles, I, 381-385). He had certainly not held that position under Henry VIII, advancing to it only at the end of the reign of Edward VI. Morysine had asked Cecil, as also had Ascham, to relieve the present incumbent, Peter Vannes, of his duties in the job and replace him with Ascham. Vide William Turnbull, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, ed. cit., pp. 230-231. Cecil wrote this letter on November 28, 1552. Thus, Vannes still held the office at that time. Also, Ascham did not return to England to assume the duties of the office until the death of Edward VI, at which time the patent was no longer valid.
queen, using his fluent and facile Latin style in writing to the highest officials and prelates of western Europe. Reginald Cardinal Pole thought highly of him, using him to translate his letters as legate to the pope.

When Queen Mary died on 17 November 1558, Ascham's position again changed. He seems to have become settled on his income and his complaints of poverty had ceased. Too, he seems to have made the adjustment to court life and was apparently successful in his suits for pensions and favors. Yet, the change in queens affected him.

The change was no less noticeable in the educational philosophies if not in the practices. Political, educational, and intellectual factors were changing, almost synonymously with the reigning sovereigns. Some of these

Lastly, he advised Queen Elizabeth of a humorous and speedy renewal of the patent by Queen Mary, when he was soliciting an extension of the patent for his children. However, it appears that only after several months and a sizeable collection of gold coins, books, and other gifts, along with some very pleading letters, did Gardiner and Petre have the patents issued and the money paid. Consequently, Ascham's claims of past service must be judiciously examined.

factors were to influence Ascham in his writing of the Scholemaster. For England was to be ruled by a new queen, who as a princess had been a student of Ascham's, a highly gifted, well-educated woman of twenty-five, Elizabeth.

87 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 324.
Chapter IV.

HUMANIST LEARNING IN THE ELIZABETHAN COURT

On the morning of November 17, 1558, the House of Commons received a message to attend the Upper House. There, both assembled together, they watched the Lord Chancellor stand before them and declare "that God had taken the Queen to His mercy, and had furnished us with another sovereign Lady, my Lady Elizabeth." In a short while the Venetian, Michiele, said that "every lord in the Kingdom was seeking to enter her service himself, or place one of his sons or brothers in it, such being the love and affection borne her." Had he been more cynical he would have added that the nobility soon considered it to be not only the proper but the profitable course of action.

Yet, this illustrious queen, though loving emulation, was almost above it. To be in her service the young noble would have to feel at ease in a literate, educated, cosmopolitan atmosphere, even though this atmosphere was not always present in the court. For Elizabeth was one of the outstanding products of the Renaissance education. This


2 Albert Frederick Pollard, op. cit., p. 178.
vain woman who could now exchange her previous personal trials for problems of state was a child of the Renaissance rather than of the Reformation. To her, learning was only one accomplishment preparatory to an even greater one -- the governing of a commonwealth. At the same time, learning was a prerequisite. While Ascham was insular and English to the core, she was more so, boasting of being "mere English".

The chroniclers, writers, teachers and statesmen praised her learning, placing her in the exalted position of a magnificent, if not altogether practical, example of higher education. In securing favors from her Ascham would quite naturally and expectedly laud her learning and goodness. When writing to Sturm, after a long silence, he described her in glowing terms, elevating her learning and knowledge, saying that "neither at court, nor in the universities, nor among our heads in church or state, are there four of our countrymen who understand Greek better than the Queen herself." She had wit, depth of judgement,

3 Vivian de Sola Pinto, op. cit., p. 50.
4 Grebanier, et alii, op. cit., p. 266.
5 Roger Ascham, The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J.A. Giles, ed. cit., III, 65-75. It appears that the usually accurate Giles errs in printing this letter as the dedication letter of the Scholemaster. Ascham wrote this letter to Elizabeth on 30 October 1566. Actually, the volume was not published until after Ascham's death by two years, at which time Margaret Ascham wrote a dedication letter to Sir William Cecil. Giles was probably misled by the fact that the letter is printed "preceding" the Scholemaster in both
quick concept and speedy expedition, eloquence, skill in languages, and "none knew better the hardest art of all others, that is, of commanding men." She would speak to Parliament "in a most excellant phrase of speech and sentence," winning them "with comfortable words." It thus ceases to amaze that learning, wit, eloquence, and skill of expression were such highly sought and carefully nurtured characteristics.

Under the leadership of Elizabeth England had a burst of energy in schools and in education. Archbishop Matthew Parker, writing to Sir William Cecil in 1563, spoke of "perceiving then her godlie zeal to the furtherance of learning..., even where the stipend went out of her own coffers." The important and significant connection between the Elizabethan court and the new ideas of education was close.

the 1761 and the 1815 editions of Ascham's English Works.

6 Hastings Robinson, ed., The Zurich Letters, (Second Series). Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Translated from Authenticated Copies of the Autographs, and Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Hastings Robinson. (Cambridge, 1845), p. 67. Also, vide Lucy Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, 4th edition, (London, 1819), 1, 92-102. This contains a large number of quotes from Ascham's Latin letters to Sturm, especially with reference to Ascham's ideas of the character of Elizabeth.

Roger Ascham undoubtedly played a consequential role in this connection, along with others in the court, notably Leicester and Burghley. The letters of Ascham to Cecil show their close friendship and give some indication of the influence of the new humanist learning on the court. The former was well acquainted with Cecil's wife, who was quite literate in Greek and to whom Ascham often sent regards in his letters to Cecil. An environmental change in court may have influenced Ascham. In his earlier years he had an avid distaste for court life, where "to follow, fawn, flatter, laugh and lie lustily at other men's liking" was a common practice. That he became at least partially

8 Great Britain, Journals of the House of Commons, ed. cit., I, 81.


10 Henry Ellis, ed., Original Letters, Second Series, ed. cit., II, 269. The Archbishop may have spoken with more hope than truth of the parsimonious queen.


12 Sir Sidney Lee and Charles T. Onions, op. cit., II, 188.

13 Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (New York, 1955), p. 70.


15 Elbert N.S. Thompson, op. cit., p. 150.
reconciled to if not proficient in this art may be determined from the number of offices, favors, pensions and patents he secured. Too, he obtained a position for his younger brother-in-law in the house of Ambrose Dudley and felt qualified to direct the boy on how to win favor at the court.

A change is almost discernable in the relative position of the nobility and the court. In Elizabethan England there was no Thomas Wolsey rising from a butcher's son through the ecclesiastical route, nor a Thomas Cromwell coming up from a blacksmith's son through the Inns of Court, no great low-born figures rising to power in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The aristocracy held these posts, improving themselves under the stimuli resulting from the union of the court with the humanist learning. In 1563 a bill was introduced into Commons that would mandatorially make all future chancellors, commissaries, or officials of bishops be graduates of one of the universities. In preparing for Elizabeth's first Parliament, Cecil, a great patron of learning, drew up a scheme which would bind the nobility by law to bring up their children in learning, requiring them to attend some university from

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the ages twelve to eighteen. He would set aside one-third of all university scholarships to be reserved exclusively for sons of gentlemen. Cecil inferred that he would force the nobility to be educated, by act of Parliament if necessary.

This indicates both a recognition of the lack of learning on the part of the nobility and at the same time reveals a determined interest by the gentry in improving their situation. The first half of the century was marked by aristocratic ignorance coupled with open defiance to an improvement in the situation. As late as the reign of Edward VI there were peers of Parliament who were unable to read. In this period the number of people who could read exceeded those who could read and write. There was a great deal of complaint about the lack of education on the part of the aristocracy, the well born who were ignorant, indifferent to learning, and who preferred to stay that way. John Skelton's verse expresses the situation:

"Noblemen born
to learn they have scorn,
but hunt and blow a horn,
leap over lakes and dikes,
set nothing by politics."


19 Robert Livingston Schuyler & Herman Ausubel, eds., The Making of English History (New York, 1952), p. 217. This chapter in the work listed is a reprint of J.H. Hexter,
As has been previously indicated, education was mostly available to those who wished to obtain it. In the early part of the sixteenth century the nobility simply wanted no part of learning. Richard Pace, the successor of Dean Colet at St. Paul's, often repeated the story of a noble who one day protested vehemently at the table that he would rather see his son hanged than learned. "It becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skillfully, and elegantly to carry and train a hawk," while the knowledge of books belongs to the sons of rustics. There was some resentment and ridicule in the landed gentry toward learning in this half century. Thus, even a noble, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, said that the most part of the gentry were good for nothing.

Before the approach of the mid-century, their education was in many cases deficient if existing at all. The universities were filled, but chiefly with the sons of yeomen, who sought the upward climb through the routes of


20 James Anthony Froude, History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth (New York, 1872), I, 53.


22 John Archer Gee, op. cit., p. xi.

23 Ruth Kelso, op. cit., p. 113. See also Schuyler & Ausubel, op. cit., p. 215, for the quotation which is given in part.

24 William Harrison Woodward, Studies in Education During
ecclesiastical or legal education. As for private education, Sir Thomas Elyot, in the Boke Named the Governor published in 1531, complained of the gentry: "If they hire a schoolmaster to teach in their house they chiefly inquire with how small a salary he will be contented and never do inserche how much good learning he hath." Ascham, in his Toxophilus published in 1545 accused the gentry of selecting their better sons for the life at court, leaving the unfit, poorest equipped son either for learning or for the priesthood. Yet, there appears to be a change in the decade of 1540 to 1550, a change by which the Scholemaster was conceived and to which Ascham dedicated it.

Erasmus, before he died, noted the change in the attitude of the gentry toward education. "Heretofore the heart of learning was among such as professed religion. Now, while they for the most part give themselves up, ventri luxui pecuniaeque, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court and the nobility." In


25 Ibid., p. 302.
26 J.A. Froude, op. cit., I, 52.
the spread of secular education there was an increased interest in training sons of the bourgeoisie for the professions. But a rather complacent attitude, witnessed by the tacit acceptance of the religion of the reigning monarch, made the nobility somewhat averse to a concentrated study of theology. At the same time their prestige in war was being shaken by the demands for peace and by the introduction of firearms and new methods of warfare against which the gentlemen cavalry was not effective. The result was that the aristocracy openly realized that they had to establish claims to offices in the government. The best and only way to establish those claims was through education. This helped to form the basis of the ideal of public service at the end of a gentle upbringing. As one of the results, England witnessed the growth of a tremendous interest by the royal family and the gentry in learning. Gentlemen began acquiring a clerical education.

English Works. Ascham disliked the aristocracy, with the exception of those who could grant a pension or influence. Of some of them he quipped, looking at their aspirations, "Some to desire to be in the Court, which be borne and be fitter rather for the cart."

29 J.A. Froude, op. cit., I, 53.


31 Ruth Kelso, op. cit., p. 31.

32 J.H. Hexter, loc. cit., p. 16. The author of the article
The change appears to come in the decade of the 1540's. At that time there was a great degree of scholarship at Cambridge in particular, with Cheke and Ascham as the two greatest scholars, plus others like Aylmer, Bucer, Smith, Haddon, and Watson, to name only a few. There was a need in the government for officials who were graduates of either Cambridge or Oxford. The aristocracy, and not only the top nobility, swarmed to the universities and to the Inns of Court. The increasing numbers of the sons of nobility began pushing the sons of the poor out of the scholarships. Ascham complained that for the most part only the sons of the rich were being admitted to the university. He further stated that they came not to arrive handles a most difficult and evasive subject in a very scholarly manner. He ends the article with the suggestion of a revision of some of the ideas of social structure and functions of the English Renaissance. This he had neither the time nor space to do in the article. He suggests the revision by thinking in terms not of the decline of the nobility and the aristocracy but of its reconstruction. (p. 20).

33 W.H. Woodward, op. cit., p. 296.
35 Schuyler and Ausubel, op. cit., p. 220.
37 Great Britain, State Papers, ed. cit., III, 463.
at any eminent proficiency and perfection in learning but simply to qualify themselves better for offices in the state by acquiring a veneer of superficial knowledge. At Canterbury an effort was made to exclude some of the sons of the poor, reserving the school for the nobility. The gentlemen of the Canterbury School Commission demanded that all but men of good birth be excluded. Archbishop Cranmer objected, saying that often the poor were more gifted than those gentlemen born. He was told that the sons of ploughmen should plough, the sons of tradesmen should ply their trade, while "gentlemen's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth." Cecil would have reserved one-third of the scholarships for the aristocracy, awarding them not on ability but on birth. So it does not appear that the nobility had an aversion to education.

1845), I, 179.

40 James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535 (Cambridge, 1873), p. 624. Mullinger has taken a quote from a letter of Ascham's which was reprinted in Strype, Memorials of Cranmer, I, 242. Even though the title of this first section of Mullinger's work would suggest that the letter was written prior to 1535, Mullinger has followed a train of thought with a disregard for chronology in this instance. See the letter from Ascham to Cranmer in Giles, I, 63-70, dated January 1545, in which he complains to the Archbishop of the current condition of studies at Cambridge. See also, Giles, I, 121-122; I, 148-149; and I, 149-151, where Ascham over-exaggerates and speaks of the fear of the total downfall of the university.

41 Henry Barnard, ed., English Pedagogy. Education, the School, and the Teacher, in English Literature. Republished
The high standard of private education in aristocratic homes indicates a higher level of learning. The royal family demanded the very finest tutors, bringing them from all of Western Europe. Aylmer was in the home of the Duke of Suffolk. Lord Mountjoy, who had been tutored by Erasmus in college and who himself had been a tutor to Prince Henry, tried to obtain the best Latinist in England for his son. Ascham was working with Archbishop Lee at the time and declined the offer. Yet, it indicates the quality of education now desired by the nobility as compared to the first half of the century. Thus, by the third quarter of the 16th century, three out of every five matriculating as filii plebei at Oxford described themselves as gentlemen's sons. The nobility appeared anxious for the very finest learning, for in this way they were in a position to give good service to the commonwealth.

from Barnard's American Journal of Education, second edition, (Hartford, 1876), p. 122. This work shares a common denominator with several other works written by American educationalists, namely, errors of fact. Barnard, in only a very short space while writing on Ascham, makes the error of crediting him as being the tutor in Greek to Edward. Actually, Edward was taught by one whom Ascham considered the greatest Graecist in all England, John Cheke.

42 J.H. Hexter, op. cit., p. 18.
44 J.H. Hexter, loc. cit., p. 15.
45 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, I, 35-37.
46 Schuyler & Ausubel, eds., op. cit., pp. 219-220.
Yet, with all this interest in education by the nobility, Roger Ascham remains one of the most outstanding and outspoken critics of the aristocracy after the middle of the century. This is one of the features which seems to leap from almost every page of the *Scholemaster*. Beneath this tone of criticism may be noted an underlying characteristic. Ascham had little affection for the mass of common people. His criticism of aristocratic ignorance is based more on the quality of their education, or lack of it, than on an unmitigated ignorance on their part. Actually, he thought little of noble birth. As previously seen he would sometimes stretch a fact to prove a point, and thus his criticism of ignorance in the nobility which promoted the writing of the *Scholemaster* may be taken in the light of his tendency to exaggerate. As such, he remains almost alone in his unveiled criticism of aristocratic ignorance. He even takes to task the Earl of Leicester for having neglected his Latin and his humanistic studies for the more practical study of Euclid. At that time, Robert Dudley was praised by all for his scholarship, and may have been the chief patron of learning in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, superior to Burghley.

48 Elbert N.S. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
himself. Ascham, in his Scholemaster, accused "wise" men of taking more care in selecting a trainer for their horses than a schoolmaster for their children, proved by the fact that they paid the one 200 crowns each year and the other 200 shillings. He complains of the neglect of literature and learning among the English gentry, pointing out that the French gentry did not disdain things of the mind. He said that young men who grow glutted with vanity soon loath all learning and good counsel and that these young men are rich and great men's children.

Of the Elizabethan court he is even more critical. He looked about the court and reported that he could not tell

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50 Sir Sidney Lee & Charles T. Onions, op. cit., II, 188-189. The bond between Ascham and Dudley was close until the last few years of Ascham's life when a relative of the Earl's by the name of John Dudley became involved with Ascham over some land. Ascham held the prebend of Wetwang, out of York Cathedral, and sought to restore some lands to the prebend. Dudley wished the land for himself. Finally, Elizabeth ordered the Archbishop to surrender the lands to Ascham without further delay. Prior to that time, Ascham had named one of his sons for Dudley. Dudley Ascham was the god-son of Leicester and looked to him for patronage. See also Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters (New York, 1955), pp. 142-143. Leicester was the favorite of Elizabeth, but did not have enough learning. Since he had a high position, he was obliged to acquire learning.

51 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 193.


53 Roger Ascham, English Works, pp. 204-205.
whether there were any who made "neither count of virtue nor learning.... Yet, I hear say, some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned: and perchance, they count it their shame to be counted honest also, for I hear say, they meddle as little with the one as with the other."  

If there was a trend toward education of the nobility the question arises as to why Ascham took such pains to criticize the aristocracy for ignorance. He seems to have considered that they were learning the wrong things. He railed against those who took no side in the religious question, who complacently accepted it as either Protestant or Papist and continued to seek their own pleasure and private profit. Too, the study of Greek was becoming almost antiquarian. That left only Latin, and that language seemed to be having its troubles against the increasing use of English in business, letters, schools, and in the government. To his fine humanist mind steeped in the classics, both languages were essential. "For even as a hawk flieth not high with one wing; even so a man reacheth not to excellancy with one tongue." For him, they  

54 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. John E.B. Mayor (London, 1863), pp. 53, 42-43. cf. Elbert N.S. Thompson, op. cit., p. 150, who prints a part of the above quotation, By making it a direct statement of Ascham's, instead of a rumor which Ascham is reporting, Thompson unduly strengthens Ascham's censure of court life. Ascham was so puritanical that he considered it terrible that the young men of the court did not render a virtuous blush when they heard a naughty word.
were the foundation of all society. To dislike Aristotle and Tully would likely lead to the disliking of even greater matters with a dissentious head in religion and a factional heart in the commonwealth. Yet the study of Latin was made more difficult by the methods then in vogue. Thus, Ascham criticizes the aristocracy but gives a practical aim for their improvement in education.

For the future of the commonwealth he believed the sons of the nobility would have to improve their education. Thus, for them, in 1563 he began writing The Scholemaster, or Plaine and Perfite way of teachyng children, to understand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate brynyng vp of youth in Gentlemen and Noble mens houses.... This book was for the nobility. It was to be their pattern, not that of the common teaching in the common schools. To have touched on public education would have been but a "small grammatical controversie, neither belonging to heresy nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince."

57 Roger Ascham, English Works, pp. 273-274.
58 Ibid., pp. 243-244.
59 J.H. Hexter, loc. cit., p. 17.
60 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 171.
Ascham was perhaps one of the more qualified men of England to write on the education of the nobility. He and Walter Haddon had been two of the great scholars of England at the court of Charles V. The three years in Germany had placed him in a more extensive field of observation and had brought him into contact with remarkable men. He had wandered about the streets of the cities through which he passed, listening to conversations, going through the shops, searching for old coins and books, hearing lectures and sometimes missing his dinner or finding that his party had already ridden out of town. In England, he was on close terms with most of the great scholars and statesmen, while he was also intimately acquainted with members of the royal family during the past two previous reigns.

Ascham began the book on the morning following a dinner at Windsor on 10 December 1563. At the table the question of punishment in schools was discussed among the eminent statesmen and scholars. Later, according to

61 Ibid., pp. 187-188.
62 Ibid., p. 188.
64 Isaac Disraeli, op. cit., I, 411.
65 Clare Howard, English Travellers of the Renaissance (London, 1914), pp. 41-42. The travels of Roger Ascham, as shown in his Latin and English letters would make a most fascinating and useful study, particularly with reference to the court of Charles V from the years 1550 to 1553.
Ascham, he was in the queen's chambers when Sir Richard Sackville came up, offering to educate at his expense the boys of both of them. Ascham was to write the precepts. He wrote the first draft, probably finishing it before the end of 1563-1564.

While continuing to write on the Scholemaster Ascham remained in his official position of Latin secretary to the crown and in his unofficial position as tutor to the queen, daily reading Greek and Latin with her. His patron, Sir Richard Sackville, died in 1566, and he did not write the draft of the second book until two years later, shortly before his own death.

While in the beginning he had intended to write only a short treatise on some of the primary points of education and present them to Sackville for a New Year's present, the project grew as he made further explorations into the subject. As the Elizabethan settlement in religion

66 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 175.
67 Ibid., pp. 175-177.
68 Ibid., p. 176.
70 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, ed. cit., p. 221. Mayor includes several pages of notes on The Scholemaster which are valuable and also includes, at the end, the testimonies to Ascham by some of his contemporaries.
became accepted, the fervor of anti-Catholic criticism gradually decreased. In the first draft of the first book Ascham allowed his anti-papal sentiment to race unbridled, with violence, anger, bitterness and intolerance darkening some of the passages of the draft. These, however, were omitted when the manuscript was prepared for printing in 1570, possibly due to the weakening of religious fervor in the Elizabethan court.

Sir Richard Sackville, as under treasurer of the Exchequer and first cousin of Anne Boleyn, the queen's mother, seems to have been an excellent first patron of Ascham on the Scholemaster. Ascham then spent what little money he had, Sir John Cheke having apparently given him some. Ascham then borrowed from Sturm, and used, as he says, that which "was left me in reversion by my old masters Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero." He makes no mention of Cecil as a patron of the work, although Margaret, Ascham's widow, must have secured Cecil's patronage before publication. At the time, Burghley was Chancellor of Cambridge, and Margaret was perhaps fortunate in securing his patronage, since patrons then felt an obligation. She thus dedicated the work to him.

73 George B. Parks, loc. cit., ad passim.
The first edition of the *Scholemaster* was published and "printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate" in London. Successive editions in the sixteenth century were published in 1571, 1572, 1573, 1579, 1583, and 1589. Later editions were published in the next three centuries. Perhaps the very soundness of his educational ideas has made them commonplace through acceptance. Looking at them in their contemporary setting, however, they appear

75 Roger Ascham, *Whole Works*, III, 84.
78 Roger Ascham, *English Works*, pp. 173-174. Also, see John E.B. Mayor's and Edward Arber's edition of the *Scholemaster*, *op. cit.*, cf. Giles, III, 65-75, where he prints one of Ascham's letters as the dedication to Elizabeth.
80 Roger Ascham, *English Works*, p. v. Wright adds the qualifying phrase, "according to bibliographers." The 1589 edition, printed by Abell Ieffes, is the best known edition. There is some doubt as to the 1571 edition, which even Arber does not recognize as valid. Vide Charles Edward Sayle, compiler, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge (1475-1640)* (Cambridge, 1900-1907), I, 162. Since Sayle lists the 1571 edition as being on the shelves of Cambridge Library it appears safe to assume that the edition was printed, unless an error was made in the printing date, not uncommon at the time. Also, see IV, 15 of the same work for a listing of Ascham's works at Cambridge. See also Cecil Kay Edmonds, "Huntington Library Supplement to the Record of its Books in the Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, IV (October 1933), p. 4, listing some of the ecclesiastical literature and expositions of Ascham.
at times both superfluous and labored. Perhaps the rapidity of the editions along with the rather chatty sections of advice give some indication to their novelty, if not their success, at the time. There is as much variation in the lists of his precepts cited by modern authors as there are authors who have considered them. Yet, above all else, Ascham states quite clearly his aim, telling what he considers the final achievement of his student should be. In the second book he gives the method by which he hopes to achieve that purpose.

See also, Lionel Braham, "Johnson's Edition of Roger Ascham," Notes and Queries, CCI (August 1956), 346-347. The biography commonly attributed to James Bennet seems to have actually been written by Johnson, giving Bennet the credit. Also, an explanation is made of the error made by Boswell in listing the wrong date of publication of the edition.

81 Richard Garnett & Edmund Gosse, eds., English Literature, an Illustrated Record in Four Volumes (New York, 1903-1904), I, 330. This is a large, heavy work, beautifully illustrated from the literary point of view. The editors have allowed an error by a misprint in the date of Ascham's birth, listing it as 1514. (I, 329).
Chapter V.

ASCHAM'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY: HIS AIMS

To provide a manual for the young knight about to enter into the service of the court, Baldassare Castiglione, the Italian humanist, had written Il Cortegiano. In this work he outlined the "very perfect gentle knight" in terms of delicate accomplishment, of manly proficiency in sport and war, and of high ethical and intellectual sentiment. Following the pattern of Italy, there was not too much emphasis on religion, per se. Sir Thomas Hoby, Ascham's friend, published a translation of the work in 1561 in England. The interest in how to become a gentle knight was keen, and this book helped to give a pattern for the accomplishment. That it was familiar to the court is indicated by Ascham's approval of it, with his request that it be even further read and studied. It was one of a series of Italian translations which were to bring some of the humanist educational ideas to England, such as the


2 Sir Sidney Lee & Charles T. Onions, op. cit., I, 273. See also, Cecilia M. Ady, loc. cit., 293.

value of learning for statesmanship, the interaction of body and mind, and the joy of work.

There was a definite connection between the ideal of literary art as the humanist aim and the highest and best thought on things human. The faith in the possibilities was limitless. To achieve the ideal of the gentle and perfect knight, guided by ethical principles, successfully performing the functions of state, it would be necessary for the aristocracy to provide for the education and training of their children from early youth to manhood, constantly keeping before them the final aims, the purpose for which the child was being educated. Ascham outlined both the end result and the means to attain it. He viewed education as embracing not merely school training but all culture of the mind and body. Thus, the Scholemaster was designed to develop a dignified and well-ordered character, based on "truth in religion, honesty of living, and right order in learning." For Ascham regarded learning as a means, not as an end. This attitude distinguished him

4 Cecilia M. Ady, loc. cit., p. 294.

5 S.S. Laurie, op. cit., p. 65.

6 Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism (Toronto, 1939), pp. 77-78. The author, when referring to the faith in the ultimate possibilities of a Renaissance education, adds the illuminating statement that "that faith was not annually sapped by the spectacle of alumni reunions."

7 Richard Garnett & Edmund Gosse, eds., op. cit., I, 332.
from some of the earlier English humanists and from most of the Italian humanists.

The end, for which learning was a means, may collectively be termed the aims of Ascham's educational philosophy. The first, and in many ways the most important, aim was the development and education of the aristocracy for better service to the commonwealth. Ascham used this ideal as one of the primary reasons for the writing of the Scholemaster and as an inducement to learning. He had become far more practical in his educational aims than he had been in the period prior to 1553. After service in the court as the Latin Secretary for both Mary and Elizabeth I and after he had observed the change in the educational pursuits of the aristocracy, Ascham altered the aims which he had originally placed on the value of humanistic learning.

Essentially, there is a continuity from mediaeval pedagogical theory to that of the Renaissance. The main variation is that Renaissance educational theory was geared to the training of lay leaders. This variation, to a large extent, was an outgrowth of the increased interest of the lower nobility in learning. The creation of a new


9 Douglas Bush, op. cit., p. 79. At this point Ascham's educational philosophy helps to set the tenor for the practicality of English educational thought. This trend became increasingly accelerated as the sixteenth century enters the final quarter in England.
Tudor aristocracy, with its accompanying wealth as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries and the secularization of ecclesiastical property, brought two new problems to the nobility. The first was a problem of placement of the younger sons, and the second, the acquisition of a cultural background. The solution could be found in education of the aristocracy for public service, simultaneously recognizing the desire of the Tudor monarchs for a subservient nobility bound to the crown in a tightly knitted court circle. Sir Thomas Elyot, in the Boke Named the Gouernour, echoes this practical ideal of service to the commonwealth.

In the alteration of the final aim of aristocratic education the universities played a great part. This is primarily shown in the increase of royal control over them and in the change in the studies. The Injunctions of 1549 decreed that non-regent masters of arts should restrict themselves to the study of one of the three professions—law, medicine, or divinity. The study of language was thereby eliminated, and along with it much of the classical literature in Greek and Latin. These subjects were to be mastered in the normal course of learning of the three professions.


11 J.H. Hexter, loc. cit., p. 15.

12 James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from...
more practical professions, with no fourth order of tongues and sciences, per se. Roger Ascham was the only one who complained of this change toward a more practical curriculum. He wrote to Cecil and said that "if some be not suffered in Cambridge to make the fourth order, that is, surely as they list to study the tongues and sciences, the other three shall neither be so many as they should, nor yet so good and perfect as they might." He wanted some, including himself, to "be bound to profess no one of the three, but bond [sic] themselves wholly to help forward all." His complaint ignored, his request unanswered, Ascham launched an attack on the product which the university was producing.

Since changes in basic university laws usually represent a de jure recognition of a de facto situation, and since no one else complained of the change, apparently the students were already pursuing a more practical education at Cambridge. If so, Ascham's inconsistent criticism becomes more comprehensible. Prior to his entry into direct court circles as Latin Secretary, he complained of the university accepting the sons of rich men for the most part. Then the aristocracy were sending their misfit


13 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. J.A. Giles, ed. cit., I, 353

14 James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from
sons for learning. The students were not properly and
diligently studying. Ascham criticized the libraries,
saying that even among Archbishop Cranmer's books there
were "many authors which the two universities could not
furnish." Ascham told the Archbishop that Cambridge was
in "so depressed a condition ... that abroad it retained
not so much as a shadow of its ancient dignity." He then
admitted that the "Universities be instituted only that the
realm may be served with preachers, lawyers, and physi-
cians" in writing to Cecil in March of 1553, but he com-
plained that all of the old pillars of learning were being
taken from the universities with the injunction eliminating
the fourth order of languages and science. Ascham had
not accepted the new educational orientation. He was
willing, and wanted, to return to the university, quietly
pursuing his studies, blissfully ignoring the more

the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535 (Cam-
bridge, 1873), p. 624.

15 Roger Ascham, English Works, ed. W. A. Wright, ed. cit.,

16 Hugh Latimer, Sermons and Remains, ed. George Elwes
Corrie, ed. cit., I, 179.

17 Albert Frederick Pollard, Thomas Cranmer and the English

18 Hugh Latimer, op. cit., I, 178.

19 Henry Ellis, ed., Original Letters of Eminent Literary
Men, ed. cit., p. 16.

20 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ed. J.A. Giles, ed. cit., I,
332; I, 342; I, 350-354; I, 381-385. Ascham vacillated
practical proclivity that English educational practice, if not theory, had taken.

Education was to be used for the common weal, not for personal pleasure or a contemplative life. Once Ascham had accepted this ideal his criticism changed. After being in the court for a decade, he could observe the aristocracy more closely and determine more keenly the needs of the English commonwealth. Yet, in writing in 1563, he praises St. John's College highly, telling how Trinity College was founded from St. John's, since that latter institution was so richly endowed with fellows, scholars, order of learning and discipline of manners, and with an excellent master. St. John's, as a major portion of Cambridge at that time, "stood in this state, until those heavy times, and that grievous change that chanced anno 1553, when more perfect scholars were dispersed from thence in one month, than many years can rear up again." Ascham then blamed Queen Mary for all the troubles which had come to Cambridge. "All which miseries at length, by God's providence, had their end 16 November 1558." He praises again between returning to Cambridge or working in the Court. He would have been embarrassed to return, since most of his fellow students were now in high state positions. He was afraid that at Cambridge "men might think strangely of my behaviour if need should compel me still to run to mine old hole, where I must be subject to the pleasure of men's talk concerning my returning thither." (Giles, III, 333).


22 Roger Ascham, English Works, ed. W.A. Wright, ed. cit.,
the students at Cambridge, saying they shall likely grow to reach the ideals "to the honor of learning, and great good of their country." By reversing his earlier criticism of the universities Ascham likewise imbeds the grain of doubt as to the veracity of his later remarks. By recognizing the change in the orientation of learning on the part of the nobility, the evolution of Ascham's educational aim becomes more apparent.

The ideal which Ascham accepted and nourished in his *Scholemaster* was that of learning by the noble and gentle born to play their part in the commonwealth as ambassadors, soldiers, statesmen, and diplomats, serving in the myriad of public positions. It was an ideal of public service at the end of a gentle upbringing. Thus, Elizabeth en-

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23 Roger Ascham, *Whole Works*, ed. J.A. Giles, *ed. cit.*, III, 238. Giles says that the 16th was the day of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, although modern historians fix it at the 17th. Ascham probably considered that Mary died the night of the 16th, with Elizabeth coming immediately to the throne. Actually, Mary died in the early morning hours of the 17th.

24 Ibid., III, 238. Ascham has turned completely in his criticism, now blaming Mary. That was probably the more expedient, since Mary was both Catholic and dead. Too, at this point he provides one of his most charming literary inconsistencies. In writing to Cecil in 1553, appealing to be permitted to continue in the fourth order of tongues and science, he believes he can help the university. Many of the older and wiser men had left, since it was required on marriage. He realizes that his study there cannot be directly useful to the commonwealth, yet "I know likewise all woods be planted only either for building or burning; and yet good husbands in serving use not to cut all down for timber and fuel, but leave always standing some big ones,
dowed schools for boys but not for girls. Nothing was done for them. While the idea of a classical education arised a greater interest for women, that interest was not transformed into action. This conception of service to the commonwealth was primarily held by the sons of the nobility, and was a strong influence on them. Their obligation was not to the reigning prince or princess but rather to the commonwealth. Thus, Ascham expressed what might be considered his first major educational aim in the Scholemaster:

And to say all in short, though I lack authority to give counsel, yet I lack not good will to wish, that the youth in England, especially Gentlemen, and namely nobility, should be by good bringing up, so grounded in judgement of learning, so founded in love of honesty, as, when they should be called forth to the execution of great affairs, in service of their Prince and country, they might be able, to use and to order, all experiences, were they good were they bad, and that, according to the square, rule, and line, of wisdom learning and virtue.

to be the defence for the new spring." Ascham wanted to be one of those good big trees left standing at Cambridge. (Giles, I, 353). In 1563, he says that the students at Cambridge will do well "if some old doterel trees, with standing over nigh them and dropping upon them, do not either hinder or crook their growing." (Giles, III, 238). Ascham had definitely changed his values.

27 Duncan Taylor, op. cit., p. 49.
28 Mary Agnes Cannon, The Education of Women During the Renaissance. A Dissertation Submitted to the Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy (Washington, 1916), p. 97. As Miss
To Ascham these gentlemen and these sons of the nobility would help govern England if not rule it. Their education would therefore have to be oriented toward that end.

The second major aim which Ascham had in mind was the development of the ideal often referred to as *uomo universale*. The revived study of humane letters affected the aims of a chivalric education and disposed it, as Ascham says, "to join learning with comely exercises." As a lover of sports he advocated the learning of the manly arts along with the classics. His educational philosophy has a combination of the moral, spiritual and bodily health concept of training along with the formal learning. The ideal of the *uomo universale* had matured and flowered in the famous school of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua. Ascham followed many of these precepts, while strengthening the emphasis placed on the religious and moral factors. His ideals of education for service in the commonwealth while developing the individual are, of course, closely

Cannon points out, the exceptions are all the more outstanding for their singularity. They would include the daughters of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More, Sir Anthony Coke, and the Duke of Suffolk. See also, Carroll Camden, *The Elizabethan Woman, A Panorama of English Womanhood, 1540 to 1640* (London, 1952), pp. 39-58.


allied. He wished that besides doing extensive reading and gaining a knowledge of the tongues and learning, "young gentlemen should use, and delight in all courtly exercises, and gentlemanlike pastime." He felt that learning should always be mingled "with honest mirth, and comely exercise." 

Some scholars consider the ideal of the well-rounded man, the uomo universale, as one of the cardinal theories in European Renaissance educational philosophy. Conversely, some consider that this was an ideal of the Italian Renaissance and that there was none of it in the northern part of Europe. Ascham seems to have accepted these ideals without major modification, adding to them emphasis on Christian as well as ethical morality, giving at the same time a nationalistic orientation. Strangely, there is no outstanding example of virtù in England. Ascham did not attempt to give birth to this ideal by using it as the goal of an education. He favored the one but not the other. The development of the uomo universale simply for the sake of

33 George E. B. Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 252.
35 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 216.
37 J. H. Hexter, loc. cit., p. 15. The question in point is not merely one of semantics. The Italian Renaissance produced the ideals of the uomo universale and of virtù. Yet these remained grounded in a classical foundation unaffected by the growing emphasis on religious morality to the north of the Alps, along with the growth of the nationalistic feelings which were not to touch Italy for many
attempting to achieve virtù was not a part of English pedagogical theory. He wished to develop the uomo universale, but for far more practical reasons, with primary importance placed on service to the commonwealth rather than preparation for a contemplative, ars gratis artis, individualistic life.

Ascham approved of some of the social graces. He highly condoned music, if kept within reasonable limits. With the fear of an excess in music, he quoted a translation from Galen, "Much music marreth man's manners." For Ascham, the development of the whole individual was not only desirable but necessary, including all that the common conception of a gentleman dictated.

Therefore, to ride comely; to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun; to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim; to dance comely, to sing, and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt; to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally, which be joined with labor, used in open place, and on the day-light, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.

He adds that even the cockpit is a fit place for a gentle-

years. In the north there were practical variations in the final goals of the student, along with a relative absence of unfettered and unlimited patronage.


40 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, III, 139-140.
man, promising to write on it. Ascham prided himself that he loved all exercises and pastimes that were fit for his nature and ability. By natural disposition and by judgement he delighted in "a merry, pleasant, and playful nature."

A third major aim of Ascham, although not one of his better ones, was the establishment of a code of ethical morality. He placed a great emphasis on moral and philosophical substances, on the values of life with respect to the individual and the group. Vives, his predecessor in the royal study, had written of Catholicism and learning, "All the arts and all learning are but as the pointless play of children if religion be lacking." The Spanish scholar, while in England, could contribute to the growing trend of English moralistic writings. English humanism tended early to be concerned with the moral aspects of a humanistic philosophy. This tendency remained one of the major alterations of Italian humanism as applied in the northern part of Europe. It became one of the cardinal

42 Ibid., p. 216.
points, as a Christian idealism, of Renaissance educational theorists. Thus, there was a close connection between moral and religious values in both educational practice and theory. Ascham, though having a high respect for Erasmus, mitigated the latter's statement that "the first and most important part is that the youthful mind may absorb the seeds of piety." While neither surprising nor original, Ascham joined the ranks of humanists in this search for a rather elusive ethical standard of morality.

Ascham accepted the practicality of English educational theory with one of its aims and chief concerns being the production of men who were guided in action by moral standards. He emphasized the close relationship between virtue and good letters, stressing the inter-dependence of each on the other. Learning was the antidote of vice, the companion of virtue.

The true medicine against the enchantments of Circes, the vanity of licentious pleasure, the enticements of all sin, is ... sour at the first, but sweet in the end, .../being/ the study of virtue, hard and irksome in the beginning, but in the end easy and pleasant.

So the essence of the English gentleman was goodness. As

47 Daniel D. McGarry, loc. cit., p. 198.
49 Daniel D. McGarry, loc. cit., p. 207. Ascham called Erasmus "the honor of learning of all our time." ( Scholemaster, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, ed. cit., p. 56). While praising Erasmus for his learning he criticized him for much of his writings. Yet, he seemed to be quite familiar with them.
far as Ascham could determine, this ideal would be one of the end products of learning rather than spring from a simple acceptance of a religious faith.

Consequently, the spectacle of deriving the major portion of his ethical morality from classical sources rather than from the Bible becomes more understandable. One segment of his literary criticism is on a moral basis. Yet he spared the classics, often with their high level of literary quality and low level of morality, from his attacks. They provided an example and the people of his day could see no evil in them while studying the perfect Greek and Latin. At the same time, the revival of chivalric ideals popularized the books on knighthood. Ascham severely criticizes Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d'Arthur as a simply terrible example for the education of the young gentlemen in England. He points out that "those be counted the noblest knights, that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adultries by sublest shifts." His

Too, Ascham found the lost part of Book II of Erasmus' Antiparbari about 1550 at Cambridge. He offered it to Froben, the famous Renaissance printer, who had already brought out a complete edition of Erasmus' works. Vide Jervis Wegg, Richard Pace, A Tudor Diplomatist (London, 1932), pp. 175-176.

50 Ruth Kelso, op. cit., p. 121.
51 Douglas Bush, op. cit., p. 77.
52 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, III, 154-155.
53 Ruth Kelso, op. cit., p. 70.
Puritan mind was diametrically opposed to these as criteria for the evaluation of knighthood, while the evils that the daily reading of such a book "may work in the will of a young gentleman, or a young maid, that liveth wealthily and idly, wise men can judge and honest men do pity." However, since it had been received into the chamber of the queen, he minimized its deteriorating factor. His criticism was not based so much on its un-Christian principles as on its perversion of the true ideals of the gentleman, with the subsequent aberrations.

While Ascham's principles of ethical morality are drawn largely from classical sources he nevertheless reveals a very strong anti-Catholic bias coupled with a very weak endorsement of the Anglican Church, more by implication than statement. He would use education as a bulwark of the new religion. Therefore, being almost Puritanical himself, he sought support from the patron of the Puritans,

54 "A Great Tutor," The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art, CXLIX (March 6, 1915), 249-250.


56 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 231. That Ascham was familiar with the book becomes immediately obvious, since he describes and names each seduction. What popularity Morte d'Arthur would have lacked prior to this time it certainly would have obtained after publication of the Scholemaster.

57 Ibid., p. 231.

58 Elbert Thompson, op. cit., p. 149.
Leicester. Ascham at no time mentions the Anglican Church per se, referring always, on the few occasions where he discusses religion, to the "new religion." He was openly critical of the growing lackadaisical attitude in religious fervor, telling the nobility that their coldness in religion would set an example throughout England. To rail on Luther and mock the pope, choosing neither side, disdaining religious fervor, might lead to a disdain of affairs in the commonwealth. Even in his letters written as Latin Secretary Ascham reveals a zealous antagonism toward the Catholic church. Yet, withal, he devotes more time and places greater emphasis on the development of an ethical morality than on a Christian morality.

Ascham maintained that the adults were providing a very poor example for the youth of England. He criticized the immorality of court life. This immorality was

59 Eleanor Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 230-231. Thus, after Ascham's death, his first biographer, Edward Grant, edited his Apologia doctrissimi viri Rogeri Aschami, Angli, Pro caena Dominica, contra Missam et eius Prestigias: in Academia olim Cantabrigiensi exercitationis gratia Inchoata, publishing the work in 1577, dedicating it to Leicester. In it Ascham reveals his strongly anti-Catholic sentiment.

60 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 220.

61 Ibid., pp. 232-233.

62 Rigg, J.M., ed., Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Affairs, Preserved Principally at Rome, in the Vatican Archives and Library (London, 1916), I, 154-155. Also see Hastings Robinson, ed., The Zurich Letters, (Second Series) Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the
reflected in the training which the young gentlemen received at court. From seventeen to twenty-seven was "the most slippery time: and especially in the court, a place most dangerous for youth to live in, without great grace, good regard, and diligent looking to." He thus stressed the need for moral discipline and training for young gentlemen between these ages. Ascham excused this diversion in subject matter on the basis that if a young gentleman's eyes became entangled with vain sights and his ears filled with filthy talk, "the mind shall quickly fall sick, and soon vomit and cast up, all the wholesome doctrine that he received in childhood." With the idea that Italy was

Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Translated from Authenticated Copies of the Autographs, and Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1845), p. 150. These letters indicate the violence, bitterness, antagonism, and complete intolerance with which Ascham and his Protestant friends attacked Catholicism.

63 George B. Parks, loc. cit., p. 314.

64 A.L. Rowse, op. cit., p. 530. As to court manners and morals, Ascham even criticized the nobility in court who scorned and mocked the efforts of the officials of London in enforcing proper dress. He thinks he has reached the pinnacle of ill judgement when he has seen a mob of common people improperly dressed at the city gates while "this bold disorder was winked at and borne withal in the court." (English Works, p. 221.)


66 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 222.


68 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 204. Ascham began the Scholemaster with the notation that he was concerned primarily with the child between the ages of seven and seven-
the maternity ward for all evil and that the importation of
Italian immorality was bringing English gentlemen to the
brink of abrogating all ethical values of life, he launched
his most virulent, and in many ways his most skillful,
attack against the Italian influences in England.

Ascham's fourth and final major aim was the countering
of this Italian influence in England. Beginning with the
imitation of the classics, Renaissance ideology gradually
turned to the imitation of other countries, particularly
and naturally Italy, since much of the revival of learn-
ing had begun there. Thus, Italian influence became the
greatest foreign influence in Renaissance England, followed
by the French and lastly by the Spanish. Italy became
the fashion, the Mecca of English scholars, artists, doc-
tors, lawyers, merchants and bankers, statesmen, and
budding diplomats. All went to Italy to perfect their
chosen field. In Mary's reign the Italian influence
probably reached its apogee with the return of a Catholi-
cism nurtured in Italy, in theory if not in practice. It
was said that Reginald Cardinal Pole made "use of none but

70 Conyers Read, *The Tudors; Personalities and Practical
Italians for his confidential servants." There existed a belief that many young gentlemen of England had to travel abroad, particularly leading a long life in Italy. Thus, with the exception of Wolsey and the elder Cecil, all the great statesmen of Tudor England were men of Italian training. Even Ascham's ideal scholar, Sir John Cheke, had studied with Thomas Wilson at the University of Padua.

All of the Italian transplants of culture could not survive in England, a reaction beginning in the sixteenth century. Elizabeth began complaining of the numbers of young gentlemen who crossed the Channel and were educated on the continent, since they also received some knowledge of Catholicism. Thus, in this period the statement was made that "there is an ancient complaint made by many that our countrymen usually bring three things with them out of Italy: a naughty conscience, an empty purse and a weak stomach." Apparently, the reaction against things politics in Sixteenth Century England (New York, 1936), p. 47. Hereafter referred to as The Tudors.

71 Henry Ellis, Original Letters, Second Series, ed. cit., II, 239. Inasmuch as Ascham served with Pole in the court of Mary, this statement of the Venetian may be taken judicially. However, it may have influenced Ascham to refute even more vigorously all traces of the previous reign.

72 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 223.

73 Conyers Read, The Tudors, pp. 54-55.

74 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, ed. cit., p. 223. Mayor includes this information in his excellent notes. He has taken it from Thomas Wilson's Dedication to his translation of the Olynthiacs published in 1570.
Italian reached such as extent that the Italian John Florio, himself somewhat of a Puritan, felt it necessary to make an effort to inculcate a taste of the Italian language and literature while avoiding the "wickedness" which Ascham describes.

Ascham led the way in denouncing the influence of the Italian books, even while they were growing in popularity in England. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign the sensual Italian type book began to appear on the London market, incurring Puritan objections. While writing the original draft of the Scholemaster or in revising it after 1565, Ascham claimed that the number of these translations was increasing, with more being published within the past few months than had been seen in England for many years.

75 Conyers Read, The Tudors, p. 47.
76 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, p. 222, cited from Mayor's notes.
77 Cecilia Ady, loc. cit., p. 299.
79 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, ed. cit., pp. 223-224. This is taken from the notes which Mayor has appended. A "ballett agaynst fylthy wrytinge" was published in 1561-1562, with another published in 1563-1564 against ribald and scurrilous songs. The Puritans complained again of the lewd books and ballads. Whitgift, later the Archbishop of Canterbury, replied that he realized it might perhaps be a fault to suffer their publication when they touched on manners. "But it were a greater fault to suffer books and libels, disturbing the peace of the church, and defacing true religion." Mayor has gotten this from Whitgift's Works, Parker Society, III, 572, note 9. Thus, it appears that unless the book fitted into the last category,
In the period 1566-1567 a number were published or reprinted, indicating the popularity of the Italian translations on the London market. He had previously mentioned that some gentlemen read the merry tales of Boccaccio with much delight. Although the Decameron, which may be termed the compendium of the Italian-type stories, did not appear complete in its translated form until 1620, excerpts were in William Painter's Palace of Pleasure, a collection of "merry tales". Ascham was also familiar with The Prince, condemning Machiavelli for his ideas.

Ascham was against stories of this nature. He wanted a severe censorship of the press to eliminate the publication of such books. In an abortive attempt to

it would not be banned. Their popularity continued to grow, with ever-increasing numbers of translations, such as those of Boccaccio.

80 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 231. See Appendix E.

81 George B. Parks, loc. cit., pp. 324-327. See also Cecilia Ady, loc. cit., p. 293. Both of these authors list and name several books and authors of the period.

82 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 201.

83 Roy Lamson & Hallett Smith, eds., op. cit., p. 503. The Palace of Pleasure is a three-volume work of huge proportions. With deference to whatever Elizabethan piety existed, Painter omitted the three rarest and most risqué tales of Boccaccio. Even in our own enlightened era the "merriest tale" usually is printed in the original Italian at the most active section of the tale.


85 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 230.
secure support he claimed they were the product of the Catholics, adding that "more papists be made by your merry books of Italy than by your earnest books of Louvain". He pointed out that the books lead to vanity, mischief, and vice, all unknown to England before they were translated. Thus, they lead the young men and women away from all religion. "For they, carrying the will to vanity, and marring good manners, shall easily corrupt the mind with ill opinions, and false judgement in doctrine: first, to think ill of all true religion, and at last to think nothing of God himself, one special point that is learned in Italy, and Italian books."

Ascham also feared the moral danger to gentlemen who traveled into Italy. Instead of going to Italy to polish his manners and learning how to become the perfect courtier, Ascham advocated Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. This book, "advisedly read, and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wis, than three years's travel abroad spent in Italy."

He had visited in Italy for nine days and described the sin, adultery, bad manners, and dishonesty of living which

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86 Vivian de Sola Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

87 Vernon Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 203. See also, Ascham's *English Works*, p. 230. Louvain, which Ascham had visited, was a famous seat of learning on the continent and an active center in the dissemination of Catholic literature.

he had seen. Italy, to his mind, had changed. "Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world. Vice now maketh that country slave to them, that before, were glad to serve it." Thus, he asserted that those who would venture into Italy went there to serve "Circes" only. "And so, being mules and horses before they went, returned very swine and asses home again; yet everywhere very foxes with subtle and busy heads; and where they may, very wolves, with cruel malicious hearts."

Abhorring the influences of Italian learning and travel on religion and morals, he claimed that the true religion was being subverted. He gave what he termed an Italian proverb: "Inglese Italianato e un diable incarnato." The young gentlemen returned to England after becoming the polished courtiers with their manners and "courtly courte-

89 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 231.
90 J. B. Black, op. cit., p. 276.
91 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 234.
92 Ibid., p. 223.
93 Ibid., p. 228.
94 Ibid., pp. 233-234.
95 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, III, 156.
sies." But according to Ascham, their morals were subvert-
ed, while their affectations made licentious love all the
easier. Thus, he wanted to reduce the moral danger to
youth of life in Italy.

Ascham ended "The first booke teachyng the brynging vp
of youth" with this tirade against Italy and the Italian
influences. He had stated his general aims of education.
In these, he is far more personal, and thereby more origin-
al, than in his methods.

96 Roger Ascham, *English Works*, p. 235. He expressed this
rather strongly. "For commonly they come home, common
contemners of marriage and ready persuaders of all other to
the same: not because they love virginity, nor yet because
they hate pretty young virgins, but, being free in Italy,
to go whither so ever lust will carry them, they do not
like, that law and honesty should be such a bar to their
like liberty at home in England. And yet they be, the
greatest makers of love, the daily dalliers, with such
pleasant words, with such smiling and secret countenances,
with such signs, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost, be-
fore they were purposed to be made, with bargains of wear-
ing colors, flowers, and herbs, to breed occasion of ofter
meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and
that &c. [sic]."

97 George B. Parks, *loc. cit.*, p. 314. See also Mayor's
edition of *The Scholemaster*, notes, p. 222. The English
government, before the end of the century, placed restrict-
ions on travel abroad.
Chapter VI.

ASCHAM'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY: HIS METHODS

In an age when the study of the classics was so pre-dominant in learning it was natural that Ascham would draw extensively on the ancients in formulating his methods of teaching. Of these classical writers, Ascham specified Plato, Aristotle and Cicero. A friend of almost every able statesman and "honest Scholar" in England, and a member of an unorganized European circle of humanists, he quite naturally used many of the current humanist ideas. Quintilian, the first century Roman rhetorician; Sturm; Cheke; Philipp Melanchthon, the German reformer; and others all had an influence on Ascham's ideas. Stark originality in an era void of copyrights was infrequent, if existant, and reserved to greater minds than Ascham's. His presentation and the manner and style which he used were more significant than either the origin or the simple expression of his educational ideas.


2 Patrick Fraser Tytler, England Under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary; with the Contemporary History of Europe, Illustrated in a Series of Original Letters Never Before Printed. With Historical Introductions and Biographical and Critical Notes by Patrick Fraser Tytler (London, 1839),
The men and ideas with whom Ascham was familiar were both great and varied. Often borrowing from some of the literary figures of the Renaissance, and more often without giving due credit, Ascham compounded the methods by which he would have the English aristocracy founded in sound learning to serve the commonwealth. Since outside influences had a rather large impact on him, particularly with reference to methods, in which all humanists were interested, it will not be amiss to glance at some of the scholarly figures in Ascham's life.

Erasmus, "Prince of the Humanists," passed to Ascham much of the tradition of the older schools of humanistic thought. While the two never met, Ascham inherited a great part of this legacy through friends and through a study of the writings of Erasmus. Ascham was a close friend of James Pilkington, the Bishop of Durham; Aylmer, the former tutor of Lady Jane Grey and then the Archdeacon of Lincoln; Ascham had been intimately acquainted with

II, 120.


4 Preserved Smith, Erasmus; A Study of his Life, Ideals and Place in History (New York, 1923), p. 188, also p. 316. See also, George W. Hallam, "An Ascham Borrowing From Erasmus," Notes and Queries, CC (March 1955), 97. For mutual connections and people through which the ideas of Erasmus passed to Ascham, see John A. Gee, op. cit., p. xi. Also, see Jervis Wegg, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

5 Foster Watson, op. cit., pp. 406-407. Watson says that Ascham profitted from the acquaintance of Pilkington, who
Archbishop Cranmer as a scholar; Edward Grant, the Master of Westminster and Ascham's first biographer; and with Martin Bucer, the German humanist who came to Cambridge. Ascham was familiar with many of the European humanists, corresponding with many of them, including Philipp Melanthon, "The Praeceptor of Germany"; Osorio da Fonseca, the Bishop of Lisbon, the learned writer of De Justicia; Petrus Textor, the humanist Rector of the University of Paris; Pierre de la Ramée, known as Petrus Ramus, the great French humanist who exchanged letters with Ascham on educational methods; and Gonzalvo Pérez, one of the

began the use of some of Ascham's educational ideas before publication of the Scholemaster. The situation was probably reversed, since Pilkington did nothing until after the first draft of the Scholemaster had been completed. Ascham probably gave him several ideas to try out.

6 Richard P.B. Davey, op. cit., p. 358. Aylmer soon rose even higher, becoming the Bishop of London in 1576.


8 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 308. Grant edited some of Ascham's works, prefacing the edition with his Oratio de Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami, published with an Epistola Dedicatoria to Elizabeth in 1576. Johnson depends mainly on this for his short prefatory biography.

secretaries of Philip of Spain and the translator of Homer's Odyssey into Castilian, and also the father of the notorious Antonio Pérez. Ascham derived many of his ideas from Juan Luis Vives, Mary's tutor, although he failed to acknowledge their origin. Other than the classical writers, most of Ascham's major borrowings came from Sir John Cheke and Johannes Sturm. To them alone he gives credit where due. These two were his closest friends, while the former was Ascham's greatest teacher. From his own experience, from Cheke and Sturm, and from his knowledge of classical literature he assembled his methods.

although Ascham never met Sturm.

10 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 249.


12 John T. Curry, "Roger Ascham and Ioannes Ravisius Textor," Notes and Queries, CXXIII (June 10, 1911), pp. 441-443.

13 Sir Sidney Lee, The French Renaissance in England, ed. cit., p. 326. See also, Lewis Einstein, op. cit., p. 312. Ascham and Ramus exchanged letters on educational methods. Too, Ramus' Greek grammar and elements of geometry were in general use in Elizabethan schools and colleges. Lee points out that in this manner the ideas of Ramus were a vast influence on Elizabethan thought.

14 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 291. Also, see J.G. Underhill, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

In achieving some of his goals Ascham advocated a simple abstinence of things bad and the accomplishment of things good. To eliminate or at least diminish the Italian influence in England he wanted a censorship of the Italian books and a termination of travel into Italy. To develop the whole individual, the *uomo universale*, would require fit and proper exercises and training beyond the scope of the schoolmaster but within that of the individual student.

In an effort to simplify the acquisition of classical language and literature Ascham wrote "The second booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tong."

Learning was one of the means by which the sons of the aristocracy were to develop an ethical morality and at the

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Introduction by Foster Watson (Cambridge, 1913), pp. xxxv-ixxxviii. Hereafter referred to as On Education. See also, J.G. Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Vives had been a pupil of Erasmus, probably beginning at Bruges in 1514. He had published many of his educational ideas, besides those presented to Queen Catherine of Aragon for the education of the Princess Mary, in his book *Introductio ad Sapientiam* printed in Antwerp in 1524. After his banishment from England, Ascham might quite freely borrow his ideas. Their transition from Vives to Ascham was direct. Sir Richard Morysine had been a student at Oxford while the Spanish scholar was lecturing there. (J.G. Underhill, *op. cit.*, ad passim.) Then, Morysine translated the above work into English ca. 1540, as *An Introduction to Wisdom*, and it was used as a small manual for students. (Vives, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.) Then, Ascham was with Morysine for three years in Germany, where they read together daily.

same time prepare for a career of service to the nation. To have expounded on the merits of learning would almost appear to have labored the obvious. Yet, there was a trend toward an extreme practicality on the part of some of the nobility, a trend using experience as a method of preparation rather than the use of learning as a method. Even Erasmus said that "experience is the common schoolhouse of fools, and ill men: men, of wit and honesty, be otherwise instructed." Ascham pointed out that the "nobility, without virtue and wisdom, is blood indeed, but blood truly, without bones & sinews: & so of itself, without the other, very weak to bear the burden of weighty affairs." This combination of virtue and wisdom was, in Ascham's mind, to be obtained by learning. That learning was to be grounded on the classics, from which his ideals of ethical morality sprung and to which he ascribed all wisdom. He had particular reference to Latin, especially since much of the Greek literature had been translated into Latin.

The rise of education was connected with the Latin, and to some extent the Greek, tongue. Latin was the key


20 Sir Sidney Lee & Charles T. Onions, *Shakespeare's England*, ed. cit., I, 236. A bishop carried this even further, saying that "we have now no need of the Greek tongue, when
to learning and culture, the ladder to success and prefer-
ment, the medium of communication past the elementary stage
in school. As the language of the learned and of the
church as well as of legal forms, Latin held a supreme
position. Learning it by experience was out of the ques-
tion. To avoid Latin was the equivalent of shunning all
learning until the more practical studies were made avail-
able to those who desired them. Thus, the queen's favor-
ite, the Earl of Leicester, was not versed in Latin but had
experience of a sort. Designed for high places, he was
obliged to acquire learning. He soon left the Latin of
Tully for the geometry of Euclid, for which Ascham took the
liberty of criticizing him. To have witnessed the deser-
tion of Latin by Leicester must certainly have influenced
Ascham to write more strongly of the value of learning
over experience, since Leicester was a powerful, courtly,
experienced favorite of the queen, a man whose influence
at that time would have been felt throughout the court.

The first method by which Ascham would prepare the
sons of the nobility for service to the commonwealth would
be by learning, rather than by experience; much of this

all things be translated into Latin." Needless to say,
Ascham highly resented this remark.

21 Joshua G. Fitch, Educational Aims and Methods, Lectures

22 Daniel D. McGarry, loc. cit., p. 199.

experience would presumably be gained by travel. A nobility governed by learning and wisdom was like a ship adept at using tide and wind under a skillful master. Without both learning and wisdom the nobility would be a ship carried by highest tides and greatest winds without a master, sunken upon the sands or broken upon the rocks. The only practical method of acquiring this wisdom was by learning.

Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty, and learning teacheth safely, when experience maketh more miserable than wise. He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience. An unhappy master he is, that is made cunning by many shipwrecks; a miserable merchant, that is neither rich nor wise, but after some bankrupts. It is costly wisdom that is bought by experience.

To make easier the acquisition of this learning, embodied only in the whole of the Latin language and literature, Ascham had assembled his critical analysis of the methods through which this was to be accomplished.

Thus, the leading topic of the Scholemaster concerns the method of using the classical languages and literatures as instruments in the education of youth. Enthusiastic humanism, such as this, was one of the cardinal themes of Renaissance educational theories. While not worshipping the classics as such, or wanting a reversion to Greek and

24 Eleanor Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
27 Ibid., p. 214.
Roman culture, the humanists used the literature as models, finding in the classics the fruition of their own thoughts. Even the histories, so important in training for service to the commonwealth, were written in Latin. For these reasons emphasis was placed on the learning of Latin and Greek and, simultaneously, on moral training. Thus, from the Latin histories and literatures employed in study and in leisure the humanists derived their moral ethics and sought to develop a refined literary taste in their contemporary society.

While Erasmus wanted and used Latin as a living language, Ascham, following the lead of Sturm, wanted the language as a conveyance of literary expression. For Ascham, the language was the supreme medium of communication, although he gradually turned to the use of English, probably in order to be understood better by his readers. Yet he retained and enhanced his facile and fluent Latin style. In high letters of state and in personal letters written for others his fingers and pen graced the pages with a practiced Latin and an easy flow, his calligraphy having an almost-etched quality.

28 S.S. Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
30 Conyers Read, *The Tudors*, p. 46.
In writing on methods Ascham placed heavy emphasis on the ancient authors and on the contents of the classics, rather than glorifying grammar. His appeal was for a comprehension of the greatness of the studies. Through this method the student came not only to a knowledge of the language but also to that which Ascham considered greater: literary skill, elocutionary eloquence, and the acquisition of "all true understanding and rightful judgement, both for writing and speaking." Thus, Ascham considered the liberal arts, the humanities, as the fountainhead of all other studies, the source from which would spring both wisdom and an ethical morality.

In developing his methods Ascham desired the thorough learning of Latin as an instrument of culture, also advocating the use of English. The use of English had been

34 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 220.
36 Thomas Fuller, op. cit., p. 657.
37 Robert Lemon, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office (London, 1856), p. 261. This is Item #72 in the Calendar. Indications are that Ascham's reputation for his excellent Latin brought him a number of requests to write private letters for others.
38 Foster Watson, op. cit., pp. 364-367.
increasing for a number of years, although not without opposition. While believing it was impossible to equal the ancient tongues with the modern, he considered it was the duty of each Englishman to develop his national language to its utmost extent. Since only in the Latin and Greek could be found "the true precepts, and perfect examples of eloquence, therefore must we seek in the authors only of those two tongues, the true pattern of eloquence, if any other mother tongue we look to attain, either to perfect utterance of it ourselves, or skillful judgement of it in others." The student would have to know the classics in order to perfect the use of his English. Yet, the use of the classics was a tool, a method, not an end within itself.

Ascham's reasoned decision to write unapologetically in English for his fellow countrymen gave an immeasurable impetus to the growth and enrichment of that language. From condemnation of writing in the vernacular, the Italian humanists had pioneered with the use of fluent Italian,

40 Elbert Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
particularly with the writings of Pietro Bembo, Castiglione, and Aristo, all of whom received publication in England. With the growth of a great national literature the old republic of Latin letters was diminishing. To Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour*, published in 1531; and to Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, published in 1553, Ascham added his *Scholemaster*. Together they bear cumulative testimony to the change in making English rather than Latin the literary language of educated Englishmen. Recognizing the value of the proper use of English for the sons of the aristocracy who would be the governing class, educational theorists advanced to placing the national language alongside the ancient in value. Later, they gave it the ascendancy. Roger Ascham was one of the most important figures in this transition of pedagogical ideals. For he was one of the first to dignify English as a medium of scholarship.

As one of the first of modern literary critics, Ascham

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often has been pictured as diametrically opposed to any method employing the use of English in education. However, he simply wanted to use the classics as patterns for the development of a national literature. His criticism was based on the manner in which the vernacular language was used, on the content and style. The use of English in rhyming and versifying was, in Ascham's opinion, unnatural, "lewd and rude." When he deemed it merited his approbation, he highly praised the use of the vernacular.

Thus, the second foundation of Ascham's methods was grounded in a knowledge of the classics, since they provided the ethical morality and the wisdom essential for the governing classes. Simultaneously, they gave the examples and the basis for the achievement of literary skill and artistry. Using them as the fountainhead from which would flow, with diligent study, all the ideals of contemporary life, Ascham pinnacled their position in education. Yet, they remained a fountainhead, a source, not an end within


49 J.B. Heidler, op. cit., p. 9.


51 James Westfall Thompson & Bernard J. Holm, A History of Historical Writing (New York, 1942), I, 601. Ascham criticized not the selection of English but the manner in which
themselves. The classics constituted only the beginning of learning. The study of them was a method, a means by which the sons of the nobility would come to virtue and wisdom.

Decreasing the difficulty with which the classics were studied constituted a third method of Ascham's educational philosophy. Gentleness in leading the young scholar to love his studies is perhaps his best-known pedagogical precept. At that time in England flogging was used extensively in education. The birch was the customary symbol of the grammar teacher. The rod and punishment were considered so essential that often the corporate seals of the schools represented the master with a rod in his hand.

As Ascham pointed out, many times the "best schoolmaster" was the "greatest beater". On this, however, public opinion seemed to be slowly changing. Ascham hastened it was used. He accused Hall, who was writing a chronicle, of using "Indenture English" and "Inkhorne Tearmes".

53 Ibid., pp. 224, 292.
54 Arthur Francis Leach, op. cit., p. 306.
56 Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 237.
57 A.F. Leach, op. cit., p. 307. There is some question about whom Ascham was referring to in discussing the greatest schoolmaster in England at that time. cf. Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and the Profane State, ed. cit., p. 112. See also, Joshua Fitch, op. cit., p. 225.
this alteration of educational motivation, particularly in the realm of private education. For with "the common use of teaching and beating in common schools" Ascham had no contention, since any discussion of education in the common schools would have been inconsequential and unimportant for his purposes.

The *Scholemaster* is a plea for gentleness rather than beating. Ascham believed that "love is better than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning." To mete punishment to a slow-witted child was often to punish the nature rather than the efforts of the young student. In this manner, potentially good scholars were driven from their books, becoming "either student of the common law, or page in the court, or servingman, or bound apprentice to a merchant, or to some handicraft." Thus, the need of gentleness in a schoolmaster became one of the main ideas which Ascham fostered. By cultivating a love of learning, allowing fathers rather than teachers to use the rod for the cultivation of manners, Ascham would kindle a genuine interest on the part of...


the student for his studies. "For I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit and encourage a will to learning as is praise."

Ascham ended the discussion of why learning should be taught by love rather than fear and gave credit for the source of the idea. "He that would see a perfect discourse of it, let him read that learned treatise which my friend Johannes Sturm wrote, De Institutione Principis, to the Duke of Cleves." Sturm, as one of the foremost educational pioneers of the sixteenth century, greatly influenced Ascham, giving him many of the ideas with which Ascham is credited. As Ascham's financial position weakened, he strengthened his friendships with those who might help him. After a period of nine years, during which time Ascham had answered Sturm's letters only once, he again began corresponding with the Strassburg educator. Thus, the closeness of their friendship afforded the possibility of

62 Ibid., pp. 183-190.

63 Ibid., pp. 191-192.

64 George B. Parks, loc. cit., p. 317.


68 John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (London, 1954), p. 59. Apparently, there was a four-way friendship of Burghley, Sidney, Sturm, and Ascham. Burghley seems to have been the center of this relationship.
exchanges of ideas between them. Too, this friendship allowed Ascham to appeal for both financial and literary support from Sturm. From Sturm he also obtained approbation, if not the idea, of the use of gentleness as a method of teaching. Appropriate to both his nature and his experience as an agreeable, charming, and amiable royal tutor, Ascham skillfully pleaded the cause of gentleness in the schoolmaster. As a humanist he understood the love of learning.

Ascham followed the grammatical reformers Lyly, Colet, and Erasmus. In the Middle Ages Latin had been taught by word of mouth, printed exercises not being introduced until 1483. In all Renaissance educational theories there was a tremendous importance attached to learning grammar. The young student learned, by heart, all Latin grammar.

69 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, II, 72-73.

70 Hastings Robinson, ed., Original Letters, ed. cit., II, 509. See also, John Buxton, op. cit., p. 59. See also, Hastings Robinson, ed., The Zurich Letters, Second Series, ed. cit., pp. 64-90. See also, Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 285. Sturm was at the famous school in Strassburg. Ascham referred to him as "the dearest friend I have out of England." He told Sturm that the reason he had not written was due to illness and fever. Yet the illness apparently did not incapacitate him from performing the functions of his office after giving Sturm's gifts as favors to secure the office. They did become very close friends in the last years of Ascham's life. Margaret Ascham even sent Sturm's wife a gold ring, made in the shape of an arrow, with the inscription, "The gift of a faithful friend". One of the sons was named Sturmis Ascham in honor of the Strassburg educator. In writing the Scholemaster Ascham had the benefit of Sturm's unpublished Commentaries Upon Georgias Platonis, having the manuscript in his possession.
before being introduced to the Latin language. Then, he used only a single translation, translating from the Latin into English, lacking also daily use of writing. Instead of this system Ascham desired the use of his next method, often termed double translation.

Rather than have the student first study grammar and then plunge him into the writing of bad Latin composition, Ascham would have his student go directly to the Latin authors. Here he would use a double translation method. The Latin would be translated into English, and then the student would translate the English back into Latin without the benefit of his original source. After collating the final passage with the original author, the schoolmaster could point out any weaknesses of construction or style. In using this method, Ascham decreased the emphasis on rules and grammar. In this manner he would avoid the condition which existed when he learned his grammar, where the children were "always learning, and little profiting:

71 R.H. Quick, op. cit., p. 80.
72 Foster Watson, op. cit., p. 401.
73 Linton C. Stevens, loc. cit., ad passim.
74 R.H. Quick, op. cit., pp. 86-89.
76 A.L. Rowse, op. cit., p. 530.
77 S.S. Laurie, op. cit., p. 69. See also, Roger Ascham, English Works, pp. 239-242.
learning without the book, everything, understanding within the book, little or nothing." Conversely, by going direct to the authors, understanding the material presented, and using the double translation method of learning the language, the student could come to "the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue." To Ascham, this method was easier, plainer, more profitable, and more pleasant for the student.

Ascham states that he derived the idea from the classical writings of Pliny. Actually, he seems to have used the endorsement of Pliny for the method. The system of double translation was ultimately based on a passage in Cicero's De Oratore. Since Sturm had edited a selection of Cicero for the classroom, he probably suggested the idea to Ascham, while Ascham, in return, highly praised and advocated the use of Sturm's book in the teaching of Latin. Too, Ascham may have gotten the idea from Vives through Morysine, since their connection was close, and

78 R.H. Quick, op. cit., pp. 84-85.
79 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 239.
80 Ibid., p. 245.
81 Ibid., p. 239.
82 Ibid., pp. 244-245.
83 Roy Lamson & Hallett Smith, eds., op. cit., p. 472. The passage referred to is in Cicero's De Oratore, Book 1, chapter 34.
since Vives had written on the idea. At best, Ascham was the first one to emphasize written methods rather than rote memory in the learning of Latin.

Ascham thus pleaded for a new approach in the study of the classics, with a reasonable imitation of them. He wished to use them as a pattern for the development of a national literature and as a source of virtue and wisdom. These methods would encourage the young student to love learning and develop his literary skill. For the ancient literature was the compendium of all wisdom, holding within its language the examples and patterns for youth. Ascham strongly believed in imitating the classics, resolving to write De Imitatione in Latin, garnering examples and precepts. These, then, were the methods which he

84 Juan Luis Vives, op. cit., p. xxxix.

85 Ibid., p. xxxv. cf. Foster Watson, op. cit., pp. 406-407. Watson points out that James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, prescribed by statute for the Rivington Grammar School in 1566 the double translation method. This was four years before the Scholemaster was printed; thus Watson desires to give precedence to Pilkington for the idea. Actually, neither would appear to get the credit. Too, the Rivington School statutes would have been written about three years after Ascham completed the first draft of his Scholemaster. It is entirely possible that the Bishop intentionally used Ascham's idea, since they were friends.

86 G. Gregory Smith, op. cit., p. xxxviii.

87 Roger Ascham, English Works, pp. 268-269, 277, 283, 286, 290. Ascham referred to Cheke as "that gentleman of worthy memory, my dearest friend, and teacher of all the poor learning I have." Ascham disliked people who followed an unintelligent imitation, calling them a "great show of blossoms and buds, in whom is neither, root of learning,
would use in the education of the youthful sons of the aristocracy. Confessing they were tools not of his own forging, he pays tribute to Sturm and John Cheke. Yet, the source of these tools is less significant than Ascham's expression of them, less important than the final goal for which he aimed. "With this way, of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults: never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up with all." As a humanist, Ascham had equals, while some surpassed him. As an educational idealist, no one came near him until the end of the century.

nor fruit of wisdom at all." He referred to one Englishman who wished to be like Sir Thomas More, but "who, being most unlike unto him, in wit and learning, nevertheless in wearing his gown awry upon the one shoulder, as Sir Thomas More was wont to do, would needs be counted like unto him." (p. 290.)

88 Ibid., pp. 268, 297.

89 Ibid., p. 185.
Chapter VII.

CONCLUSION

While determining the extent of an intangible influence is often difficult, some measure of that influence may be detected in any changes and alterations which followed it. Too, the reactions to that influence may provide some indication of its strength or weakness.

The influence of Roger Ascham and of what he wrote was in the fields of literature and education. His ideas, to some extent, influenced the seventeenth century educational writers and teachers, particularly where Latin was still emphasized in classical learning. He provided a channel by which the ideas of Sturm at the Strassburg Gymnasium were spread. Yet, the system of learning Latin which he denounced was maintained in English schools for more than two centuries longer. He had performed a great service to the cause of humanism by the influence of his classical culture upon the court circle. However, with

1 John William Adamson, Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600-1700 (Cambridge, 1921), ad passim.


3 R.H. Quick, op. cit., p. 88.
the development of science and scientific thought in the seventeenth century came a reaction against classical humanism. Bacon led in criticizing both Ciceroonian Latin and Ascham. In the field of literature, Ascham influenced his contemporary writers and those who followed him. One of his most significant achievements was the tremendous impetus he gave to the growth of the English language. Later, that growth surpassed his own beloved Latin which he had tried to nurture.

At the time of his death in 1568, Roger Ascham left little to his widow and orphans except a high reputation and an empty purse. Margaret, his widow, was forced to sell a royal lease which she held in order to obtain money less than a year after he had died. Cecil secured a pension for Giles Ascham, one of the sons, in order that he might attend Cambridge. Shortly after that time Giles left his father's Alma Mater and went to Oxford. Margaret, for the remainder of her life, was reduced to securing her income through a series of appeals to the queen. The


6 Sidney Rosenzweig, "Ascham's Scholemaster and Spencer's February Ecologue," *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XV (April 1940), 103. It appears that Spencer, like others, may have borrowed quite freely from Ascham. See also, G. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

7 G. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, ad passim.

petitions were granted, in part if not in whole, "in considera-
13 tion of the long and good service done to her Majesty by Roger Ascham."

Ascham conceded he would leave only a small amount of worldly possessions to his heirs. Much of this lack of money seems to have been the result of his own weaknesses. His addiction to cockfighting and dicing continually kept him near a state of poverty. Although these were strange pursuits for a scholar, they, along with his zealous love of sport, distinguish him from the overly diligent students of the Renaissance. He declared he would write a book on the cockpit, showing its merits. His vehement censure of dicing reveals a rather intimate knowledge of and experience in the game. In his youth he implied he participated


10 Eleanor Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 143.

11 John & J.A. Venn, compilers, op. cit., I, 43.


14 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, II, 128.

15 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 326-327.

in gambling with dice, but "not that I have used them greatly." There is every indication, as accused by a contemporary, that his indulgence in dice increased with years. Too, from his naif éloge on Rhenish wine and the gusto with which he describes the fat capons of Bruges, it may be gained that he was a sincere admirer of wine and food as well as old coins and books.

Strangely, Ascham did not emerge into prominence and acquire a high position during the reign of Elizabeth. Having known her since she was a young princess at Hatfield House and at Cheshire, he remained on intimate terms with her after she became queen, even presuming to discuss with

1625), p. 151. See also, William Camden, The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England. Contayning all the Important and Remarkable Passages of State Both at Home and Abroad, During her ... Reigne. Composed by Way of Annals. Neuer Heretofore so Faithfully and Fully Published in English (London, 1630), p. 121. Hereafter referred to, respectively, as Annales Rerum Anglica.rvm and The Historie of Princesse Elizabeth. References to Ascham's dicing are taken from this passage in Camden. See Thomas Fuller, Worthies of England, ed. cit., p. 657. See also, Appendices "C" & "D".


18 Roger Ascham, English Works, p. 217.


21 P.F. Tytler, op. cit., II, 122. See Roger Ascham, Whole Works, for his description of the wines and foods. Writing from Augsburg, where he seems to have done a considerable amount of drinking, he said, "This Rhenish wine is so gentle a drink, I cannot tell how to do when I come home." The people with whom he was staying took care of him. (I,
her the delicate subject of a joint occupant for the royal bedchamber. Yet, his profit from his service to her and from his relationship with her appears negligible, particularly while reading and accepting in toto his letters describing his pecuniary difficulties.

While Elizabeth was parsimonious, she could also be generous on rare occasions. She may have known Ascham's fondness for dice and the cockpit. If so, as Dr. Samuel Johnson aptly expresses, "we may excuse Elizabeth... if she did not give much to him who was lavish of a little." She recognized that Ascham had performed a service for her, but the simple recognition of service never overwhelmed her with a tidal wave of obligatory generosity. "Mr. Ascham was a good schoolmaster unto her, but affliction was a better...."

278). Once he wrote, "And surely this wine of Rhene is so good, so natural, so temperate, so ever like itself, as can be wished for man's use. I was afraid when I came out of England to miss beer; but I am more afraid when I shall come into England, that I cannot lack this wine." (I, 256.) On being at a feast of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, Ascham was quick to point out that there was someone who drank even more than he. Referring to Charles V, he said, "The Emporer drank the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of us, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine." (I, 268.)

22 P.F. Tytler, op. cit., II, 121

Also, an exaggeration of his poverty may have been committed through the years as a result of a literal acceptance of Ascham's statements concerning his financial condition. Irritability and skill in complaining were considered highly prized attributes of the humanists. In view of his accomplished, and successful ability, it is easy to be misled by his complaints. Also, Ascham assumed an extraordinary amount of freedom in demanding money of his patrons.

The rewards which Elizabeth gave were often in the form of favors, grants, leases, and pensions. In these, Ascham appears to have received an amount quite adequate for a comfortable living. Ascham even requested, in his

24 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 324-325.

25 Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and the Profane State, ed. cit., p. 315. Significantly, Fuller places Ascham in a higher position among the learned writers rather than among the learned men.

26 Louella Cole, A History of Education, Socrates to Montessori (New York, 1950), p. 260. Cole makes a few errors and several misjudgements in a thwarted attempt to be erudite. She even makes the unfortunate error of having Ascham attend and teach at Oxford University. (p. 4.) In referring to Ascham's financial condition, she makes an asinine and fatuous statement: "A really great man either rises above his poverty or else adjusts himself to it and forgets about it." (p. 260.) Were this not a wiseacre's remark it would quickly eliminate most of the claims to fame.

27 Eleanor Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 143.


29 Sir Robert Naunton, op. cit., p. 12.
most charming letter to Elizabeth, that some of the pensions granted to him personally be extended to his wife and children after he died. There is little doubt but that the unique request was granted. His adult life was centered about the crown. Likewise, his legacy was founded on the advancement of royal learning. "For if I die, all my things die with me, and yet the poor service that I have done to Queen Elizabeth shall live still, and never die, so long as her noble hand and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongue shall be known to the world." As he had been, his family was dependent on the mercy of the crown. Since neither he nor any member of his family cast

30 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, ad passim. From his letters can be gained an idea of the pensions and grants he received or held during the reign of Elizabeth. The pension for Toxophilus was £20, and that for his Latin Secretaryship was £26, 13s, 4d. He held a lease on a farm called Salisbury Hall, near Walthamstow, in Essex. He also had a lease on Whittlesford Parsonage in County Cambridge. He held the benefice of the Prebend of Wetwang in York Cathedral, adding more land to it and obtaining the royal relinquishment of fee simple on it. Also, he held a lease on Wicklyford Parsonage. He received other gifts from Elizabeth, including a £100 loan which she converted to a gift. He made loans to others and had his own manservant to help him collect. (II, 73-74.) Several times in his letters he referred to "my man". All of this indicates that he at least had a reasonable income. He lived in the court and this would have helped him. Yet, he was too busy to go home and console his wife on the death of one of their children. Instead, from the Castle at Windsor, while on a Progress, he wrote a letter of consolation to her. It is difficult to think that the queen would not have allowed him a few days leave from her presence and from the pleasures of the court to attend to such a personal affair. Ascham could be quite mercenary. (II, 170-173.)

31 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, II, 152-161. A.M. Hayes, in his edition of Ascham's English letters, was not quite able
even the slightest shadow on the bounty of that mercy, we must assume they deemed it just and suitable as their reward. But Ascham spent all of the income which he received, leaving little, if any, for his family when he died. Thus, it would appear that his poverty may have been self-inflicted rather than enforced upon him.

For the forthcoming accession anniversary of the year 1568 Ascham planned to present a Latin poem to her Majesty. Sitting up several nights in an effort to complete it, he weakened his health. For two months he endured an unknown fever which painfully and gradually assumed the proportions of a lethal, lingering disease. The greatest symptom of the illness was his need for sleep and his inability to obtain it, even by the motion of a cradle.

to determine the favor which Ascham requests of Elizabeth in the letter. Too, he says that Ascham's remark about giving a copy of the letter to his children was tantamount to blackmail. That conclusion appears to be an unadulterated dose of either fiction or sensualism. Ascham simply wanted to give them a copy of the letter, as he pointed out in a rambling way, to show them that he had at least tried to secure some favor from the queen. His humorous manner of expressing it probably pleased Elizabeth.

32 Roger Ascham, Whole Works, II, 128.
34 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 326.
After dictating his last will, he uttered his last sentence, "I desire to depart and be with Christ." On December 30, 1568, he died at the age of fifty-three.

When Elizabeth heard the news, it was said that she exclaimed she had rather cast £10,000 into the sea than to have lost her Ascham. He was buried at St. Sepulchre's Church, at the north end of Old Bailey, in London. There is no memorial of his final resting place, near the tomb of the adventurous Captain John Smith of Pocahontas fame.

Evaluations of Ascham's life mostly vie in superlative descriptions of his greatness, with the exception of one author who says that Ascham's ideas were "hackneyed" and that he was "so vigorous in relating personal impressions that he had little new to say in developing a theory which he borrowed mainly from the ancients." This evaluation gives no recognition to the vigor and charm with which Ascham related those impressions, or to their value.

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37 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. John E. B. Mayor, ed. cit., p. 270. Mayor, in his notes, quotes this from Edward Grant's Oratorio de Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami. A number of others since that time, who have mentioned Ascham, have repeated the quotation. Other than this statement of Grant's, eight years after Ascham's death, there is no indication of Elizabeth's feeling about the death of her tutor. Certainly after Grant made the statement, dedicating the work to Elizabeth, she would not deny such a magnanimous gesture obtained so economically.
Furthermore, the ideas have become "hackneyed" since Ascham wrote them, while their acceptance in Western educational ideology has made them commonplace. One modern scholar places him as "the greatest educationist of the time..., a philosopher, moralist, and reformer." This may be an exaggeration, as there is perhaps something to be desired in Ascham's educational philosophy. However, he wrote only a few pages on educational theory. The remainder of his writings are general and often wandering in subject. There is no doubt but that all of his works would be on the shelf of long forgotten books, of interest only to the antiquarian, had not Ascham written with an indefinable wit and charm. He was one of the first good letter writers of the English Renaissance. Sharp-tongued Thomas Fuller evaluated Ascham's writings in an often-quoted epigram. "His Toxophilus is accounted a good book for young men, his Schoolmaster [sic] for old men, his 'Epistles' for all men." His letters, providing a view

39 Lewis Einstein, op. cit., p. 159.
40 J.B. Black, op. cit., p. 276.
41 R.H. Quick, op. cit., p. 83.
of mid-sixteenth century Europe, are among the most pleasing to read and rewarding to study.

Amiable, facetious, good natured though often complaining, Roger Ascham was one of England's great, sixteenth century humanist scholars. Of the middle or lower class, his rise to power and wealth arrested, he relied on royal and noble patronage. Disdaining the common people who gave him birth, he supported the aristocracy who gave him the intrinsic values for which he was praised and to which he fled for nurture. To provide the foundation for the leadership of the aristocracy was his goal. He sometimes criticized their ignorance along with their predilection to remain that way. Yet, not once did he offer constructive criticism of the common people. Not once did he complain of their indifference to education, probably more through lack of compassion than through the non-existence of circumstances which would have elicited complaint from him.

For Ascham to have expressed a love for the classics would have been redundant. Classical literature, including history, provided for him the nurture of his life. His reliance on it, his love for it, and his avid desire to see

\[43\] Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, ed. John E.B. Mayor, ed. cit., p. 279. Mayor, in his notes, quotes from Thomas Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire. See also, among several who have used this quotation, S.S. Laurie, op. cit., p. 59.

it propagated in England seemed only to heighten his sadness at its diminution. His compassionate appeal was the precursor of the day when classical Latin and Greek would no longer be considered the *sine qua non* of enlightened service to the commonwealth. His voice was the harbinger of curricula which budding statesmen would study for eloquence in English and skill in diplomacy, leaving intense concentration on the Latin language itself as solace for scholars.

Ascham's last years were filled with grief, despair, poverty, and recrimination for the lack of a worldly legacy. Much of his situation was of his own doing. While kind and social, he perhaps delighted too much in the pleasures of conversation, food, and wine, but not in work, shown by the paucity of his writings, since he published only the *Toxophilus*. He planned to build power and character in youth. Yet, his life reveals that he was an architect, not an owner, of strength. Of that which he cursed most he may have been most guilty, gambling. A man often condemns loudest the vice which has most blighted his own life.

He wanted his *Scholemaster* to be his memorial. The

45 Ibid., p. 287. Since Dr. Johnson had only recently published his remarks in the preface to Bennet's edition of Ascham's *Scholemaster*, although Bennet received the credit for them, Kippis borrowed quite freely from them. Thus, it was Dr. Johnson who criticized Ascham so acidly for the paucity of his writings.
wish was granted for a century, his grave unmarked. Slowly, as each generation has added an accelerating number of volumes to the pedagogical bookshelf, Ascham's Scholemaster has become less of a memorial, less significant, and less singular in its content. His Toxophilus is now antiquarian. His letters survive for only the few who are interested in their personal glimpses and characterizations of mid-sixteenth century leaders in Western Europe.

In life Roger Ascham was many things -- scholar, bibliophile, pedagogue, writer, sportsman, traveler, Latinist, Graecist, numismatist, opportunist, animadversionist, literary critic, and philologist. He may perhaps

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46 There are no extant contemporary paintings of Ascham and very few descriptions of him. See Edward F. Rimbault, "Roger Ascham," Notes and Queries, XXIII (May 11, 1861), 378. A small engraved, though fictional, portrait of Ascham is prefixed to Elstob's edition of Ascham's Epistles published in 1703. Though small, it shows him reading a letter to Queen Elizabeth. This was the portrait later copied by Richardson for his illustration. See also, "Selected Pictures. From the Picture in the Collection of John Hick, Esq., Bolton. Lady Jane Grey and Roger Ascham," The Art Journal, XXIX (June 1, 1867), 154. In Nicolas's memoirs of Lady Jane Grey, he says that Ascham visited her at Bradgate in 1551, and also says that Ascham was her tutor. These two errors, thus compounded so appealingly by Nicolas, inspired J.C. Horsley, R.A., to add his bit to the malformation of truth. The painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853, presumably in London. It appears to have little value, either historically or artistically. Designed for a romantic reaction, it was supposed to have appealed as a representation of virtue and justice rudely offended in pristine innocence.
be given other terms equally good or derisively accusative. Unattuned to the growing sentiments of Englishmen, or to the desires of the nobility, he remained out of favor at the court. Only the queen could, and was often required to, span the widening gulf between Ascham and the aristocracy surrounding her throne.

Roger Ascham had been one of the last surviving links between the groups of international Latinists and national Englishmen. With the disappearance of the last great Latinist of the English Renaissance, the stage was cleared for the development of the national literature in an era whose name is graced with that of its most colorful queen, Elizabeth I. Perhaps it is fitter not to end with the usual warm glow of an impassioned appeal for a misunderstood and unacknowledged greatness in Roger Ascham. The learned Dr. Samuel Johnson commented about the death of Ascham. "His abilities and his wants were at an end together; and who can determine, whether he was cut off from advantages, or rescued from calamities?"

47 Samuel Johnson, op. cit., XII, 327.
Appendix A.

GENEALOGY OF ROGER ASCHAM

John Ascham ♀ Margaret (?)

1 Thomas
2 Anthony
Roger ♀ Margaret Howe

Giles
Sturm
Dudley

1 Thomas Ascham: Elected a Fellow of St. John's College in 1523. Probably admitted to Gray's Inn in 1527. He died before 1544. One of his sons became a yeoman in Queen Elizabeth's Chamber.

2 Anthony Ascham: Studied at Cambridge, graduating in 1539-1540. He was then admitted to the clergy, finally becoming the Vicar of Burneston in Yorkshire. Was an author and noted astrologer, writing several prognostications and works on astrology.
Appendix B.

CRONOLOGY OF ROGER ASCHAM'S LIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1515</td>
<td>born at Kirby Wiske in Yorkshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>entered St. John's College, Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534</td>
<td>February 18. Degree of Bachelor of Arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 23. Elected Fellow of St. John's College.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537</td>
<td>Degree of Master of Arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>unsuccessful application for a mathematical lectureship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visited parents in Yorkshire for the first time since going to Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>due to illness, could not return to Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>translated Oecumenius's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle's to Titus and Philemon from the Greek into Latin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1542</td>
<td>the Translation published at Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ascham secured a pension from Lee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>returned to Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University dissensions on pronunciation of Greek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1544</td>
<td>Ascham's pension ended with death of Lee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his brother Thomas died prior to this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father and mother died the same day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unsuccessful petition for an appointment abroad with an ambassador.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unsuccessful petition for appointment as Regius Professor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545</td>
<td>Toxophilus published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>received a pension from Henry VIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1546</td>
<td>chosen Public Orator of the University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1547</td>
<td>wrote a treatise on the Mass.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1548 appointed tutor to the Princess Elizabeth.
1549 quarrel with the Princess' steward.
      returned to Cambridge.
1550 appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morysine
      through Sir John Cheke's influence.
      visited Lady Jane Grey at Bradgate.
      reconciled with the Princess Elizabeth.
1550-1553 visits to a number of cities in Germany, Italy,
      Austria, the Tyrol, and in the Pays Bas.
1553 returned to England when Queen Mary recalled
      the Ambassador.
      appointed Latin Secretary through the influence
      of Gardiner.
      granted a pension for Toxophilus.
      received a royal lease on Salisbury Hall.
      continued to read Greek with Princess Elizabeth.
1554 married Margaret Howe, niece of Sir Henry
      Wallop.
      resigned his Fellowship and Public Oratorship
      at Cambridge.
1558 accession of Elizabeth.
      Ascham continued to hold all offices and
      pensions.
      became the Queen's private tutor.
1559 obtained the Prebend of Wetwang in York Cathedra-
      dral.
      began a long lawsuit to add more lands to the
      prebend.
      first son Giles born between 1554 and 1562.
      death of his father-in-law and the acquisition
      of more debts.
1562 birth of a second son, Sturm.
      probably elected M.P. and returned to Parliament
      for Preston in Lancashire.
1563 began writing the Scholemaster with Sir Richard
      Sackville as his patron.
1564 birth of his third son, Dudley, with the Earl
      of Leicester as godfather.
1566 death of Sir Richard Sackville
1567 loan from the Queen commuted to a gift. death of his mother-in-law. prior to her death, Ascham had received a lease on Wicklyford Parsonage.

1568 son Sturm died. Ascham had fever and illness. died on December 30, 1568.

1569 buried, as wished, on January 4 in St. Sepulchre's.
Appendix C.

CAMDEN'S LATIN OBITUARY OF ROGER ASCHAM

Penultimus hujus anni dies (digressunculae in boni
viri memoriam ignoscite) ultimus erat Rogero Aschamo, qui
in Eboraceusi Comitatu natus, & Cantabrigiae educatus,
inter primos nostrae nationis literas Latinas & Graecas,
stilique puritatem cum eloquentiae laude excoluit, Eliza­
bethae studiis aliquandiu praefuit, eidemque Reginae ab
Epistoles erat Latinis: Cum tamen a|e & Aelectryomachia
plus nimi o|ectaretur, re tenui vixit & obiit, relictis
dubus libris elegantissimis ingenii monumentis lingua
vernacula, quorum alterum Toxophilum, alterum Scholarcham
inscrписit. Sed ad rem redeamus.

1 William Camden, Annales Rervm Anglicarvm, et Hibernic-
arvM, Regnante Elizabetha, Autore Gvil. Camdeno, Prima Pars
Emendator, Altera Nunc Primum in Lucem Edita (Leyden,
1625), p. 121. This edition of Camden's Annales was print­
ed on the Elzevir Press in Leyden. In comparing this text
with that given in Appendix D., it will be noticed that
Camden was kinder to Ascham in the Latin. While the Eng­
lish approximates a loose translation of the above text,
the wording given above is subject to a broader interpreta­
tion.
Appendix D.

CAMDEN'S ENGLISH OBITUARY OF ROGER ASCHAM

The last day saving one of this year, was the last day of Roger Ascham's life, (pardon I pray this my short digression in memory of a good man,) who being born in Yorkshire, and brought up at Cambridge, was one of the first of our country-men, that polished the Latin and Greek, and the purness of the style, not without commendations for eloquence. He was a while schoolmaster to Queen Elizabeth, and her secretary for the Latin tongue. Nevertheless being too much given to dicing and cock-fighting, he lived and died a poor man, leaving behind him two most excellant books, as monuments of his wit, in the English tongue, whereof he entitled the one Toxophilus, and the other Scholarcha. But to return to the matter in hand.

Appendix E.

SOME SELECTED OMISSIONS FROM THE PUBLISHED EDITION OF THE SCHOLEMASTER

France in deed, hath one Mamorancye; yet one Cardynall of Arras, for my moneye, to all respects, to passe all matters, to answer all persons, is lik a fayr Diamond comparyd with a dymme saphir.

Travelinge into other Contreys, is not so dangerous, no nether france, nor spayn, & namelie Germany. And therefor manye Godlye & excellent learned men, not manye yeares ago, dyd make a ryght chouce, by myn opynyon, when necessitie draue theme out of this Realme, to place themselves ther, wher Christes Doctryne, the feare of God, punishment of syrne, & disciplyne of honestie, wer had in speciall regarde. And I am gladd to report yt in englishe, wch my frende Ioan: sturmis wrote verye trymlie in Latyn to me, of the praise of those our men: Saynge thus, that ther behaueour & liff was soch, as, thei wer pitied for theyr miserye, lovyd for ther honestie, and honoryd for ther learnynge, whersoever they came. Thei went not willinglie, but wer dryven cruelle out of this Realme, to wander abroad. For surelie if civil obedience might haue bene ther safe warrant at home, for suretie of lyff, & securitie of Conscience, not one of them had departyd this Realme, to wander abroad. But thei were compellyd to flye, as did the blessed virgyn with her holie bab, for fear of herold: and I meene not Quene Mary, that noble & praiseworthie Ladie, but som mitred men, by tyme in deed not predecessours, but surelie in crueltie the verye successours of Annas & Caiaphas: And especiallie some one whose butcherlie crueltie,

1 George B. Parks, "The First Draft of Ascham's Scholemaster", Huntington Library Quarterly I (April 1938), 313-327. The manuscript is in the British Museum, Royal B. XXIV, Art. 2, folios 47-78, consisting of 63 folio pages. Changes in the manuscript reveal Ascham's thoughts. While the first draft of the first book was probably finished in 1563-1564, it was revised at the time the second book was written, probably in the early part of 1568, the year of Ascham's death. About three manuscript pages of the first
cold not saciat, with prisone, honger & beating but onlie with death, by blood, & burnyng, who never lakyd a myschevouse Malcas, to stand beynd hym, at his char poll, either to clappe my lord on the bak, to harten hym for­­ward in crueltie: orelles to mock & mowe, & laughe to scorne pore mens misery. It is pitie, yt suche a Malchas, is es­­capyd without the losse at the lest of one of his eares, or els his tonge, who was not affrayd to say, yt those wer fooles, wch had cut away the branches, & dyd not rather digg vp the roote: And surelie was ment of the Rose, and of no other herb nor tree, but blessyd be yt Lord, who dullyd the eggetooles of some Achitophelles, whose meenynges wer so myschevous agaynst that noble rose.3

A Papist yt is not come to this perfection, in thies three poyntes [of impiety], will easelye be made a godlye protestant, or to terme him, as they doo wish themselves, an honest Catholick in deede. But wher a Monster is mad of

draft were omitted, while about seventeen pages were added to the final published edition. The most notable addition was the section condemning Italian books, many of which were published in 1566-1567. See Roger Ascham: English Works, ed. cit., pp. 226-232. Much of the omitted material seems to have been the result of a recognition of political expediency.

2 George B. Parks, loc. cit., p. 320. See also, Roger Ascham, The Whole Works, ed. cit., I, 334-337. See also, English Works, ed. cit., pp. 140, 214. Ascham had known Granvelle, the Cardinal of Arras and imperial minister to Charles V, and had previously praised him. Thus, when Ascham discussed the value of learning over experience, he added the example of Granvelle in the first draft. (Fol. 69.) Later, after 1565, praise of Granvelle would not have been popular in Protestant England, and the reference to Granvelle was omitted in the published edition.

3 George B. Parks, loc. cit., p. 324. See Roger Ascham, English Works, ed. cit., p. 234. The original draft contained this passage in praise of travel elsewhere than in Italy. (Fols. 73v-74v.) Also, in this omitted passage Ascham praised Queen Mary, while in the final text he did not reveal this degree of kindness and generousity toward her. The Elizabethan settlement had been strengthened. Since Ascham appealed to national sentiment, calling Catholic Mary a "noble & praiseworthie Ladie", blaming only the "mitred men" for the troubles of Marian England, would not have increased Ascham's popularity. He had narrowed considerably in his views.
craft, & Crueltie, yt is to say, whe'r the discoursing head of a Machiavelli, doth meet with the bloody hart of a N. yt, what miscifes so ever craft can invent, Crueltie will lustelle execute it, what horrible danger may ther fall, wisdom shold, not only forseee it, & know it, but autho-
[ritie] also shuld see to it, & remedye it. 4

Examples of this present tyme, I will presently passe over, to avoyd the suspition of flaterye: yet one present example, in spytt both of envie & flaterye to, I will not omytt, & yt is our pearles Prynces Quene Elyza-beth hir selffe. It is your shame, ye yong ientlemen of england yt one mayd, shuld goo beyond you all, in excell-
ence of lernying, and knoledge of tongues. yea, I beleue, yt syx of the best gyuen ientlemen in this court, haue not somuch goodwyll, bear not so fervent loue, bestow not so­moch labor in studie, & yt daylie in Constant order, for the encrease of farder knoledge, as hir Matie doth. Envy-
ous wyttes, will iudg by theyr owne meanesse, that I over­reach, in this my talke: but what skylleth it, seyng the best & wiseste do know I say truchte. And I do beleue, that, bysyd her perfyt readinesse, in latin, Italien, french, & spanyshe, she readeth here at wyndsor, mor grek evrye day, then some Prebendary in this churche, readeth latin in a hole week. Therfor, I can not but mervell, yt those lustie bloodes, wch think it theyr shame to be learn-
yd, dar look such a princess in the face, who, next yt she is a Quene, doth count it hir greatest honor, to exced other in knoledg and learnunge, but what dare they not doo, in whose is nothing elles but boldness & ignorance. And surelie hir Maties mynd, desir, will, labor, studie, and constancie, is more mervelouse to me, than all hir kno-
ledge, who, withyn the walles of hir previe chamber, hath com to yt excellencie, yt scace one or two rar wittes in both the universties, haue reached vnto. And, besides learnyng, she from hir cradle, brought vp emong all court-
lye pleasures, hath led hir life, as litle subject to the vayne delites of eye & eare, as ever wer Balnea Dianae in the vale of the hill Parnassus; so, that not onlie, she may be an example of learnyng to all ientlemen, but a Mistres of womanhod to all wemen, & a mirrour or cumlie & orderlie Lyving to all her court. And, yet in all other excellent qualities, fitt for a noble woman, she is still

4 George B. Parks, loc. cit., p. 324. See also, Roger Ascham English Works, ed. cit., p. 324. In the first draft Ascham added a further denunciation of Englishmen who had returned from traveling in Italy. (Fols. 76v-77.) Either the vio-
ience or the political innuendoes made advisable the dele-
tion of the passage from the published edition.
lyk hir selffe, yt is aboue all the rest, as, in riding most trymlye, in dancing most comlye, in playing of Instrumentes most excellently, in all cunnynge needle work, & finest portrature, ye, & to discende to those housewiuelyk propreties, wher so commendyd in Lady Mary lat Queene of hungrye, and regent of flandres, she shall appeare a diana emonges all the nymphes, in what cumpanye of ladies so ever she shall be. And thies be but hir Maties petie praises, & excersices onylie within the walles of hir prevy chamber: but her iust Comendacion, for hir outward & weightie affaires of hir state, requireth an other argument, a longer treatise, greater leysur, & mor habilitie, than is in me. Yet, nevertheless if God shall lend me liffe, wth lif helth, wth helth leysur and libertie & other ffyt opportunitie, Posteritie shall be partaker, what a peerless Princesse, England at this present doth enjoye. And thus ye see Examples to virtue be fewest in number, and as I sayd, like fair markes, but ouer farr off, to reach easilye vnto: whan allurementes to vice, be ouer over manye, and allway to readye at hand: And therofr is the Court, a dangerous place, for youth to staie well, without great grace, good regarde, and Diligent Looking to. Tyme was, when I dyd rejoyce to see the court, in manye respects lyke to the Universities: and I am now evyn as sorye, to hear say, yt the Universitie be ouer lyk the court. And I will tell you, what a man of good yeares, of good credytt, brought vp in the universitie, told me, not without some teares. I dyd scarce beleue hym: & surelie I was loth to beleue hym & I trust that it is not alltogeder trew, yet thus moch he sayd to me in deede: That not onlie judgment in doctryne was moch alteryd, .... 5

5 George B. Parks, loc. cit., pp. 323-324. See Roger Ascham English Works, ed. cit., pp. 219-220. This eulogistic ora-
tion on Elizabeth was altered and shortened in the final
draft. The primary reason would probably be a change in
his relationship with her. (Fols. 69-71.) Another reason
for its alteration was its criticism of aristocratic ignor-
ance and of the universities. Since Cecil became Ascham's
patron after Sackville died, and since Cecil had been newly
elected Chancellor of Cambridge University at the time of
publication, it would have been in poor taste to have re-
tained the sections critical of the universities.
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(Thesis Approval Form)

Name of Candidate  Harral E. Landry
Major Subject  European History
Title of Thesis  ROGER ASCHAM AND HUMANIST LEARNING
IN TUDOR ENGLAND

Approved by:

Thesis Committee:
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------, Chairman

Head of Department or School

Dean of the Graduate School

Date  August 14, 1958