

John Locke

Some Thoughts Concerning Education
and
Of the Conduct of the Understanding

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when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents, being wisely ordained by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reason watch not that natural affection very warily, are apt, I say, to let it run into fondness. They love their little ones, and 'tis their duty; but they often, with them, cherish their faults too. They must not be crossed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being in their infancies not capable of great vices, their parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities and make themselves sport with that pretty perverseness, which, they think, well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverse trick but excused it, saying it was a small matter, Solon very well replied, aye, but custom is a great one.¹⁶

§35. The fondling must be taught to strike and call names, must have what he cries for, and do what he pleases. Thus parents, by humoring and cockering them when *little*, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain. For when their children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make use of them as playthings; then they complain that the brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them willful and are troubled with those ill humors which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be easily extirpated. For he that has been used to have his will in everything as long as he was in [petti]coats, why should we think it strange that he should desire it and contend for it still when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a man, age shows his faults the more, so that there be few parents then so blind as not to see them, few so insensible as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid before he could speak or go; he had the mastery of his parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old lose the privilege which the parent's indulgence, till then, so largely allowed him? Try it in a dog or a horse or any other creature, and see whether the ill and restive tricks they have learned when young are easily to be mended when they are knit: and yet none of

16. Diogenes Laertius III 38, told of the philosopher Plato not the Athenian legislator Solon.

those creatures are half so willful and proud or half so desirous to be masters of themselves and others as man.

§36. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are *very young* and discipline *betimes* those other creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own offspring that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men. For if the child must have grapes or sugarplums when he has a mind to them rather than make the poor baby cry or be out of humor; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too if his desires carry him to wine or women? They are objects as suitable to the longing of one of more years as what he cried for when little was to the inclinations of a child. The having desires accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several ages is not the fault, but the not having them subject to the rules and restraints of reason; the difference lies not in the having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern and deny ourselves in them. He that is not used to submit his will to the reason of others *when* he is *young*, will scarce hearken or submit to his own reason when he is of an age to make use of it. And what kind of a man such a one is likely to prove is easy to foresee.

§37. These are oversights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their children's education. But if we look into the common management of children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of manners which the world complains of, that there are any footsteps at all left of virtue. I desire to know what vice can be named, which parents and those about children do not season them with and drop into them the seeds of as soon as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give and the patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough, but that which I would take notice of here is the downright teaching them vice and actual putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, revenge, and cruelty. *Give me a blow that I may beat him*, is a lesson which most children every day hear: and it is thought nothing because their hands have not strength to do any mischief. But I ask, does not this corrupt their minds? Is not this the way of force and violence that they are set in? And if they have been taught when little to strike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them and see them suffer, are they not prepared to do it when they are strong enough to be felt themselves and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modesty, warmth, and defense, are by the folly or vice of parents recommended to their children

for other uses. They are made matter of vanity and emulation. A child is set a longing after a new suit for the finery of it; and when the little girl is tricked up in her new gown and commode, how can her mother do less than teach her to admire herself by calling her *her little queen* and *her princess*? Thus the little ones are taught to be *proud* of their clothes before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this outside fashionableness of the tailor or attire-woman's making, when their parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and equivocations, and excuses little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people and commended in apprentices and children whilst they are for their master's or parent's advantage. And can it be thought that he that finds the straining of truth dispensed with and encouraged whilst it is for his godly master's turn will not make use of that privilege for himself when it may be for his own profit?

Those of the meaner sort are hindered by the straightness of their fortunes from encouraging *intemperance* in their children by the temptation of their diet or invitations to eat or drink more than enough; but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, show that it is not the dislike of drunkenness and gluttony that keeps them from excess, but want of materials. But if we look into the houses of those who are a little warmer in their fortunes, there eating and drinking are made so much the great business and happiness of life that children are thought neglected if they have not their share of it. Sauces and ragouts and food disguised by all the arts of cookery must tempt their palates when their bellies are full; and then, for fear the stomach should be over-charged, a pretence is found for another glass of wine to help digestion, though it only serves to increase the surfeit.

Is my young master a little out of order, the first question is *What will my dear eat? what shall I get for thee?* Eating and drinking are instantly pressed; and everybody's invention is set on work to find out something luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers as a defence against their increase, that being freed from the ordinary labor of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humors.

And where children are so happy in the care of their parents as by their prudence to be kept from the excess of their tables to the sobriety of a plain and simple diet, yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the contagion that poisons the mind. Though by a discreet management, whilst they are under tuition, their healths perhaps may be pretty well secured,

yet their desires must needs yield to the lessons which everywhere will be read to them upon this part of epicurism. The commendation that *eating well* has everywhere cannot fail to be a successful incentive to natural appetite and bring them quickly to the liking and expense of a fashionable table. This shall have from everyone, even the reprovers of vice, the title of *living well*. And what shall sullen reason dare to say against the public testimony? Or can it hope to be heard if it should call that *luxury*, which is so much owned and universally practiced by those of the best quality?¹⁷

This is now so grown a vice and has so great supports that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue, and whether it will not be thought folly or want of knowledge of the world to open one's mouth against it. And truly I should suspect that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little satire out of my way, did I not mention it with this view: that it might awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children when they see how they are beset on every side not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that perhaps in those they thought places of security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this subject, much less run over all the particulars that would show what pains are used to corrupt children and instill principles of vice into them; but I desire parents soberly to consider what irregularity or vice there is which children are not visibly taught, and whether it be not their duty and wisdom to provide them other instructions.

§38. It seems plain to me that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires where reason does not authorize them. This power is to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an *early* practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would advise that, contrary to the ordinary way, children should be used to submit their desires and go without their longings even *from their very cradles*. The first thing they should learn to know should be that they were not to have anything because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things suitable to their wants were supplied to them, so that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it, would never with bawling and peevishness contend for mastery, nor be half so uneasy to themselves and others as they are because *from the first* beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their desire by the

Craving.

17. High social class.

impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other things than they do for the moon.

§39. I say not this as if children were not to be indulged in anything; or that I expected they should in hanging sleeves¹⁸ have the reason and conduct of councillors. I consider them as children, who must be tenderly used, who must play, and have playthings. That which I mean is that, whenever they craved what was not fit for them to have or do, they should not be permitted it because they were *little* and desired it: nay, whatever they were importunate for, they should be sure, for that very reason, to be denied. I have seen children at a table who, whatever was there, never asked for anything, but contentedly took what was given them; and at another place I have seen others cry for everything they saw, must be served out of every dish, and that first too. What made this vast difference but this: that one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for, the other to go without it? The *younger* they are, the less, I think, are their unruly and disorderly appetites to be complied with; and the less reason they have of their own, the more are they to be under the absolute power and restraint of those in whose hands they are. From which, I confess, it will follow that none but discreet people should be about them. If the world commonly does otherwise, I cannot help that. I am saying what I think should be: which, if it were already in fashion, I should not need to trouble the world with a discourse on this subject. But yet I doubt not but when it is considered, there will be others of opinion with me, that the *sooner* this way is begun with children, the easier it will be for them and their governors too; and that this ought to be observed as an inviolable maxim, that whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by crying or importunity, unless one has a mind to teach them to be impatient and troublesome by rewarding them for it when they are so.

Early.

§40. Those therefore that intend ever to govern their children should begin it whilst they are *very little*, and look that they perfectly comply with the will of their parents. Would you have your son obedient to you when past a child? Be sure then to establish the authority of a father *as soon* as he is capable of submission and can understand in whose power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it *in his infancy*, and as he approaches more to a man admit him nearer to your familiarity; so shall you have him your obedient subject (as is fit) whilst he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man. For, methinks, they mightily misplace the treatment due to their children who are indulgent and familiar

18. Loose open sleeves worn by children.

when they are little, but severe to them and keep them at a distance when they are grown up. For liberty and indulgence can do no good to *children*: their want of judgment makes them stand in need of restraint and discipline. And, on the contrary, imperiousness and severity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your children, when grown up, weary of you and secretly to say within themselves, *When will you die, Father?*

§41. I imagine everyone will judge it reasonable that their children *when little* should look upon their parents as their lords, their absolute governors, and, as such, stand in awe of them; and that when they come to riper years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure friends, and, as such, love and reverence them. The way I have mentioned, if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our children, when grown up, to be like ourselves: with the same passions, the same desires. We would be thought rational creatures, and have our freedom; we love not to be uneasy under constant rebukes and browbeatings; nor can we bear severe humors and great distance in those we converse with. Whoever has such treatment when he is a man will look out other company, other friends, other conversation,¹⁹ with whom he can be at ease. If therefore a strict hand be kept over children *from the beginning*, they will in that age be tractable and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other; and if, as they grow up to the use of reason, the rigor of government be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, the father's brow more smoothed to them, and the distance by degrees abated, his former restraints will increase their love when they find it was only a kindness to them and a care to make them capable to deserve the favor of their parents and the esteem of everybody else.

§42. Thus much for the settling your authority over your children in general. Fear and awe ought to give you the first power over their minds, and love and friendship in riper years to hold it: for the time must come when they will be past the rod and correction, and then if the love of you make them not obedient and dutiful, if the love of virtue and reputation keep them not in laudable courses, I ask, what hold will you have upon them to turn them to it? Indeed, fear of having a scanty portion if they displease you may make them slaves to your estate, but they will be never the less ill and wicked in private; and that restraint will not last always. Every man must sometime or other be trusted to himself and his own conduct; and he that is a good, a virtuous and able man must be made so within.

19. Social intercourse.

And, therefore, what he is to receive from education, what is to sway and influence his life, must be something put into him betimes: habits woven into the very principles of his nature, and not a counterfeit carriage²⁰ and dissembled outside put on by fear only to avoid the present anger of a father who perhaps may disinherit him.

Punishments. §43. This being laid down in general as the course [that] ought to be taken, 'tis fit we now come to consider the parts of the discipline to be used a little more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a *strict hand* over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough what is due to their tender ages and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think that *great severity* of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm in education; and I believe it will be found that, *ceteris paribus*, those children who have been most *chastised* seldom make the best men. All that I have hitherto contended for is that, whatsoever *rigor* is necessary, it is more to be used the younger children are; and having by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relaxed and changed into a milder sort of government.

Awe. §44. A compliance and suppleness of their wills, being by a steady hand introduced by parents before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it, will seem natural to them and work afterwards in them as if it were so, preventing all occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is that it be begun early and inflexibly kept to till *awe* and *respect* be grown familiar and there appears not the least reluctance in the submission and ready obedience of their minds. When this *reverence* is once thus established (which it must be early or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it, and the more, the longer it is deferred), 'tis by it, mixed still with as much indulgence as they make not an ill use of, and not by *beating*, *chiding*, or other *servile punishments*, they are for the future to be governed as they grow up to more understanding.

§45. That this is so will be easily allowed when it is but considered what is to be aimed at in an ingenuous education and upon what it turns.

Self-denial. 1. He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to *resist* the importunity of *present pleasure or pain* for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry and is in danger never to be good for anything. This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be

20. Deportment.

wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawns of any knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirmed in them by all the care and ways imaginable by those who have the oversight of their education.

§46. 2. On the other side, if the *mind* be curbed and *humbled* too much in children, if their *spirits* be abased and *broken* much by too strict a hand over them, they lose all their vigor and industry, and are in a worse state than the former. For extravagant young fellows that have liveliness and spirit come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men; but *dejected minds*, timorous and tame, and *low spirits* are hardly ever to be raised and very seldom attain to anything. To avoid the danger that is on either hand is the great art; and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirit easy, active, and free and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him, he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions has in my opinion got the true secret of education.

Dejected.

§47. The usual lazy and short way by chastisement and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education because it tends to both those mischiefs; which, as we have shown, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other ruin all that miscarry.

Beating.

§48. 1. This kind of punishment contributes not at all to the mastery of our natural propensity to indulge corporal and present pleasure and to avoid pain at any rate; but rather encourages it and thereby strengthens that in us which is the root from whence spring all vicious actions and the irregularities of life. For what other motive but of sensual pleasure and pain does a child act by who drudges at his book against his inclination or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit that he takes pleasure in only out of fear of *whipping*? He in this only prefers the greater *corporal pleasure* or avoids the greater *corporal pain*. And what is it to govern his actions and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any correction useful to a child where the shame of suffering for having done amiss does not work more upon him than the pain.

§49. 2. This sort of correction naturally breeds an aversion to that which it is the tutor's business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe that children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them when they find themselves *whipped*, and *chid*, and *teased* about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them when grown men would not be able to

be reconciled to anything by such ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with *blows*, or ill language be *haled* to it when he had no mind? Or be constantly so treated for some circumstance in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things which they are joined with: and the very sight of a cup, wherein anyone uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach; so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be ever so clean, and well shaped, and of the richest materials.

§50. 3. Such a sort of *slavish discipline* makes a *slavish temper*. The child submits and dissembles obedience whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and by being out of sight he can promise himself impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination; which by this way is not at all altered, but on the contrary heightened and increased in him, and after such restraint breaks out usually with the more violence; or:

§51. 4. If *severity* carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it is often by bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous disease by breaking the mind, and then in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a *low spirited, moped* creature: who, however with his unnatural sobriety he may please silly people, who commend tame inactive children because they make no noise nor give them any trouble, yet at last will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be all his life a useless thing to himself and others.

Rewards.

§52. Beating, then, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal punishments are not the discipline fit to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous men; and therefore [are] very rarely to be applied, and that only in great occasions and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by *rewards* of things that are pleasant to them is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give his son *apples*, or *sugarplums*, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorize his love of pleasure and cocker up that dangerous propensity which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it whilst you compound for the check you give his inclination in one place by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous man, it is fit he should learn to cross his appetite and deny his inclination to *riches*, *finery*, or *pleasing his palate* etc. whenever his reason advises the contrary and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do anything that is fit

by the offer of *money* or reward the pains of learning his book by the pleasure of a luscious morsel; when you promise him a *lace-cravat* or a *fine new suit* upon the performance of some of his little tasks; what do you by proposing these as *rewards* but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus people, to prevail with children to be industrious about their grammar, dancing, or some other such matter of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their lives, by misapplied *rewards* and *punishments* sacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetousness etc. For in this way, flattering those wrong inclinations which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the foundations of those future vices, which cannot be avoided but by curbing our desires and accustoming them early to submit to reason.

§53. I say not this that I would have children kept from the conveniences or pleasures of life that are not injurious to their health or virtue. On the contrary, I would have their lives made as pleasant and as agreeable to them as may be in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them: provided it be with this caution, that they have those enjoyments only as the consequences of the state of esteem and acceptance they are in with their parents and governors; but they should *never* be offered or bestowed on them as the *rewards of this or that particular performance* that they show an aversion to or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

§54. But if you take away the rod, on one hand, and these little encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other, how then (will you say) shall children be governed? Remove hope and fear, and there is an end of all discipline. I grant that good and evil, *reward* and *punishment*, are the only motives to a rational creature; these are the spur and reins whereby all mankind are set on work and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to children too. For I advise their parents and governors always to carry this in their minds, that children are to be treated as rational creatures.

§55. *Rewards*, I grant, and *punishments* must be proposed to children, if we intend to work upon them. The mistake, I imagine, is that those that are generally made use of are *ill chosen*. The pains and pleasures of the body are, I think, of ill consequence when made the rewards and punishments whereby men would prevail on their children: for, as I said before,²¹ they serve but to increase and strengthen those inclinations which it is our

21. §§47, 52.

business to subdue and master. What principle of virtue do you lay in a child if you will redeem his desires of one pleasure by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his appetite and instruct it to wander. If a child cries for an unwholesome and dangerous fruit, you purchase his quiet by giving him a less hurtful sweetmeat. This perhaps may preserve his health, but spoils his mind and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the object, but flatter still his *appetite* and allow that must be satisfied wherein, as I have showed, lies the root of the mischief; and till you bring him to be able to bear a denial of that satisfaction, the child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the disease is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cherish in him that which is the spring from whence all the evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break out again with more violence, give him stronger longings, and you more trouble.

Reputation. §56. The *rewards* and *punishments* then, whereby we should keep children in order, are quite of another kind and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the business, I think, is done and the difficulty is over. *Esteem* and *disgrace* are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, how shall this be done?

I confess it does not at first appearance want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to seek the ways (and practice them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great secret of education.

§57. *First*, children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of *praise* and commendation. They find a pleasure in being esteemed and valued, especially by their parents and those whom they depend on. If therefore the father *caress* and *commend* them when they do well, show a cold and neglectful countenance to them upon doing ill, and this accompanied by a like carriage of the mother and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference; and this, if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of itself work more than threats or blows, which lose their force when once grown common and are of no use when shame does not attend them and therefore are to be forborne and never to be used but in the case hereafter mentioned,²² when it is brought to extremity.

§58. But *secondly*, to make the sense of *esteem* or *disgrace* sink the deeper and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things should con-

22. §78.

stantly accompany these different states, not as particular rewards and punishments of this or that particular action, but as necessarily belonging to and constantly attending one who by his carriage has brought himself into a state of disgrace or commendation. By which way of treating them, children may, as much as possible, be brought to conceive that those that are commended and in esteem for doing well will necessarily be beloved and cherished by everybody and have all other good things as a consequence of it; and, on the other side, when anyone by miscarriage falls into disesteem, and cares not to preserve his credit, he will unavoidably fall under neglect and contempt, and in that state the want of what ever might satisfy or delight him will follow. In this way the objects of their desires are made assisting to virtue, when a settled experience from the beginning teaches children that the things they delight in belong to and are to be enjoyed by those only who are in a state of reputation. If by these means you can come once to shame them out of their faults (for besides that, I would willingly have no punishment) and make them in love with the pleasure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue.

§59. The great difficulty here is, I imagine, from the folly and perverseness of servants, who are hardly to be hindered from crossing herein the design of the father and mother. Children, discountenanced by their parents for any fault, find usually a refuge and relief in the caresses of those foolish flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the parents endeavor to establish. When the father or mother looks sour on the child, everybody else should put on the same coldness to him and nobody give him countenance, till forgiveness asked and a reformation of his fault has set him right again and restored him to his former credit. If this were constantly observed, I guess there would be little need of blows or chiding: their own ease and satisfaction would quickly teach children to court commendation and avoid doing that which they found everybody condemned and they were sure to suffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them modesty and shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that which they found made them slighted and neglected by everybody. But how this inconvenience from servants is to be remedied, I must leave to parents' care and consideration. Only I think it of great importance and that they are very happy who can get discreet people about their children.

§60. Frequent *beating* or *chiding* is therefore carefully to be avoided. Because this sort of correction never produces any good farther than it serves to raise *shame* and abhorrence of the miscarriage that brought it on

Shame.

them. And if the greatest part of the trouble be not the sense that they have done amiss and the apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just displeasure of their best friends, the pain of whipping will work but an imperfect cure. It only patches up for the present and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the sore. Ingenuous *shame* and the apprehension of displeasure are the only true restraint: these alone ought to hold the reins and keep the child in order. But corporal punishments must necessarily lose that effect and wear out the sense of *shame* where they frequently return. Shame in children has the same place that modesty has in women, which cannot be kept and often transgressed against. And as to the apprehension of *displeasure in the parents*, that will come to be very insignificant if the marks of that displeasure quickly cease and a few blows fully expiate. Parents should well consider what faults in their children are weighty enough to deserve the declaration of their anger: but when their displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any punishment with it, they ought not presently to lay by the severity of their brows, but to restore their children to their former grace with some difficulty and delay a full reconciliation till their conformity and more than ordinary merit make good their amendment. If this be not so ordered, *punishment* will by familiarity become a mere thing of course and lose all its influence: offending, being chastised, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary as noon, night, and morning following one another.

Reputation. §61. Concerning reputation, I shall only remark this one thing more of it: that though it be not the true principle and measure of virtue (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty and the satisfaction it is to obey his Maker in following the dictates of that light God has given him with the hopes of acceptance and reward), yet it is that which comes nearest to it; and being the testimony and applause that other people's reason, as it were by common consent, gives to virtuous and well-ordered actions, it is the proper guide and encouragement of children, till they grow able to judge for themselves and to find what is right by their own reason.

§62. This consideration may direct parents, how to manage themselves in reproof and commending their children. The rebukes and chiding, which their faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave, and dispassionate words, but also alone and in private; but the commendations children deserve, they should receive before others. This doubles the reward by spreading their praise; but the backwardness parents show in divulging their faults will make them set a greater value on their credit themselves and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good opinion of others whilst they think they have

it; but when being exposed to shame by publishing their miscarriages, they give it up for lost, that check upon them is taken off; and they will be the less careful to preserve others' good thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their reputation with them is already blemished.

§63. But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of the common rewards and punishments as we imagine and as the general practice has established. For all their innocent folly, playing, and *childish actions are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained* as far as they can consist with the respect due to those that are present, and that with the greatest allowance. If these faults of their age rather than of the children themselves were, as they should be, left only to time and imitation and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless correction, which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood and so by an ineffectual familiarity makes correction in other necessary cases of less use; or else, if it be of force to restrain the natural gaiety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noise and bustle of their play prove at any time inconvenient or unsuitable to the place or company they are in (which can only be where their parents are), a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove or quiet them for that time. But this gamesome humor, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper, should rather be encouraged to keep up their spirits and improve their strength and health than curbed or restrained: and the chief art is to make all that they have to do sport and play too.

§64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is the charging of children's memories, upon all occasions, with *rules* and precepts, which they often do not understand and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise, whenever they forget or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again till they are perfect, whereby you will get these two advantages: *first*, to see whether it be an action they can do or is fit to be expected of them. For sometimes children are bid to do things which upon trial they are found not able to do and had need be taught and exercised in before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a tutor to command than to teach. *Secondly*, another thing got by it will be this: that by repeating the same action, till it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age and not of childhood, but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a gentleman when he salutes him

Rules.

and looking in his face when he speaks to him is by constant use as natural to a well-bred man as breathing; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child any fault, it is cured forever: and thus one by one you may weed them out all and plant what habits you please.

§65. I have seen parents so heap *rules* on their children that it was impossible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of those multiplied and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally followed that the children minded not what was said to them when it was evident to them that no attention they were capable of was sufficient to preserve them from transgression and the rebukes which followed it.

Let therefore your *rules* to your son be as few as is possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. For if you burden him with many *rules*, one of these two things must necessarily follow: that either he must be very often punished, which will be of ill consequence by making punishment too frequent and familiar, or else you must let the transgressions of some of your rules go unpunished, whereby they will of course grow contemptible and your authority become cheap to him. Make but few *laws*, but see they be well observed when once made. Few years require but few laws, and as his age increases, when one rule is by practice well established you may add another.

Habits. §66. But pray remember, children are *not* to be *taught by rules*, which will be always slipping out of their memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice as often as the occasion returns; and if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them, which, being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally without the assistance of the memory. But here let me give two cautions: 1. The one is that you keep them to the practice of what you would have grow into a habit in them by kind words and gentle admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget than by harsh rebukes and chiding as if they were willfully guilty. Secondly, another thing you are to take care of is not to endeavor to settle too many habits at once, lest by variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practice it without reflection, you may then go on to another.

Practice. This method of teaching children by a repeated practice, and the same action done over and over again under the eye and direction of the tutor till they have got the habit of doing it well, and not by relying on *rules* trusted to their memories, has so many advantages whichever way we con-

sider it that I cannot but wonder (if ill customs could be wondered at in anything) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this method we shall see whether what is required of him be adapted to his capacity and anyway suited to the child's natural genius and constitution; for that too must be considered in a right education. We must not hope wholly to change their original tempers nor make the gay pensive and grave, nor the melancholy sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamped certain characters upon men's minds, which, like their shapes, may perhaps be a little mended but can hardly be totally altered and transformed into the contrary.

He, therefore, that is about children should well study their natures and aptitudes and see, by often trials, what turn they easily take and what becomes them, observe what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for; he should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by industry and incorporated there by practice, and whether it be worthwhile to endeavor it. For in many cases, all that we can do or should aim at is to make the best of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Everyone's natural genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him will be but labor in vain: and what is so plastered on will at best sit but untowardly and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.

Affectation is not, I confess, an early fault of childhood or the product of untaught nature; it is of that sort of weeds which grow not in the wild uncultivated waste, but in garden plots under the negligent hand or unskillful care of a gardener. Management, and instruction, and some sense of the necessity of breeding are requisite to make anyone capable of *affectation*, which endeavors to correct natural defects and has always the laudable aim of pleasing, though it always misses it; and the more it labors to put on gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this reason it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is the proper fault of education, a perverted education indeed but such as young people often fall into either by their own mistake or the ill conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that gracefulness lies which always pleases will find it arises from that natural coherence which appears between the thing done and such a temper of mind as cannot but be approved of as suitable to the occasion. We cannot but be pleased with a humane, friendly, civil temper wherever we meet with it. A mind free and master of itself and all its actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and

insolent, not blemished with any great defect, is what everyone is taken with. The actions which naturally flow from such a well-formed mind please us also as the genuine marks of it and, being as it were natural emanations from the spirit and disposition within, cannot but be easy and unconstrained. This seems to me to be that beauty which shines through some men's actions, sets off all that they do, and takes all they come near when, by a constant practice, they have fashioned their carriage and made all those little expressions of civility and respect, which nature or custom has established in conversation, so easy to themselves that they seem not artificial or studied, but naturally to flow from a sweetness of mind and a well-turned disposition.

On the other side, *affectation* is an awkward and forced imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the beauty that accompanies what is natural, because there is always a disagreement between the outward action and the mind within one of these two ways: 1. Either when a man would outwardly put on a disposition of mind which then he really has not, but endeavors by a forced carriage to make show of, yet so that the constraint he is under discovers itself; and thus men affect sometimes to appear sad, merry, or kind when in truth they are not so.

2. The other is when they do not endeavor to make show of dispositions of mind which they have not, but to express those they have by a carriage not suited to them: and such in conversation are all constrained motions, actions, words, or looks, which though designed to show either their respect or civility to the company or their satisfaction and easiness in it, are not yet natural nor genuine marks of the one or the other, but rather of some defect or mistake within. Imitation of others, without discerning what is graceful in them or what is peculiar to their characters, often makes a great part of this. But *affectation* of all kinds, whencesoever it proceeds, is always offensive because we naturally hate whatever is counterfeit and condemn those who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.

Plain and rough nature, left to itself, is much better than an artificial ungracefulness and such studied ways of being ill fashioned. The want of an accomplishment or some defect in our behavior coming short of the utmost gracefulness often escapes observation and censure. But *affectation* in any part of our carriage is lighting up a candle to our defects and never fails to make us be taken notice of, either as wanting sense or wanting sincerity. This governors ought the more diligently to look after because, as I above observed, it is an acquired ugliness, owing to mistaken education, few being guilty of it but those who pretend to breeding and would not be thought ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in conversation;

and, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy admonitions of those who give rules and propose examples without joining practice with their instructions and making their pupils repeat the action in their sight that they may correct what is indecent or constrained in it till it be perfected into a habitual and becoming easiness.

§67. *Manners*, as they call it, about which children are so often perplexed and have so many goodly exhortations made them by their wise maids and governesses, I think, are rather to be learned by example than rules; and then children, if kept out of ill company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteemed and commended for it. But if by a little negligence in this part, the boy should not put off his hat nor make legs²³ very gracefully, a dancing master will cure that defect and wipe off all that plainness of nature, which the a-la-mode people call clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give children so much becoming confidence and behavior and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age as *dancing*, I think they should be taught to dance as soon as they are capable of learning it. For though this consist only in outward gracefulness of motion, yet, I know not how, it gives children manly thoughts and carriage more than anything. But otherwise I would not have little children much tormented about punctilios or niceties of breeding.

Never trouble yourself about those faults in them which you know age will cure. And therefore want of well-fashioned civility in the carriage, whilst *civility* is not wanting in the mind (for there you must take care to plant it early), should be the parent's least care whilst they are young. If his tender mind be filled with a veneration for his parents and teachers, which consists in love and esteem and a fear to offend them, and with *respect and good will* to all people, that respect will of itself teach those ways of expressing it which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the principles of good nature and kindness; make them as habitual as you can, by credit and commendation and the good things accompanying that state; and when they have taken root in his mind and are settled there by a continued practice, fear not, the ornaments of conversation and the outside of fashionable manners will come in their due time if, when they are removed out of their maid's care, they are put into the hands of a well-bred man to be their governor. Whilst they are very young, any *carelessness* is to be borne with in children that carries not with it the marks of pride or ill nature: but those, whenever they appear

23. Bow.

Manners.

Dancing.

Manners.

in any action, are to be corrected immediately by the ways mentioned above.²⁴

What I have said concerning manners, I would not have so understood, as if I meant that those who have the judgment to do it should not gently fashion the motions and carriage of children when they are very young. It would be of great advantage if they had people about them from their being first able to go that had the skill and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of is the wrong course is usually taken in this matter. Children who were never taught any such thing as behavior are often (especially when strangers are present) chid for having some way or other failed in good manners, and have thereupon reproofs and precepts heaped upon them concerning putting off their hats, or making of legs, etc. Though in this those concerned pretend to correct the child, yet in truth, for the most part, it is but to cover their own shame: and they lay the blame on the poor little ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves for fear the bystanders should impute to their want of care or skill the child's ill behavior. For, as for the children themselves, they are never one jot bettered by such occasional lectures. They at other times should be shown what to do and by reiterated actions be fashioned beforehand into the practice of what is fit and becoming, and not told and talked to upon the spot of what they have never been accustomed nor know how to do as they should. To hare²⁵ and rate them thus at every turn is not to teach them, but to vex and torment them to no purpose. They should be let alone, rather than chid for a fault which is none of theirs nor is in their power to mend for speaking to. And it were much better their natural childish negligence or plainness should be left to the care of riper years than that they should frequently have rebukes misplaced upon them which neither do nor can give them graceful motions. If their minds are well disposed and principled with inward civility, a great part of the roughness which sticks to the outside for want of better teaching, time and observation will rub off as they grow up if they are bred in good company; but if in ill, all the rules in the world, all the correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain truth, that let them have what instructions you will, and ever so learned lectures of breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will most influence their carriage will be the company they converse with and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and men too) do most by example. We are all a sort of chameleons that still take a tincture

24. §§56–58.

25. Harry or harass.

from things near us; nor is it to be wondered at in children, who better understand what they see than what they hear.

§68. I mentioned above one great mischief that came by servants to children when by their flatteries they take off the edge and force of the parents' rebukes and so lessen their authority.²⁶ And here is another great inconvenience which children receive from the ill examples which they meet with amongst the meaner servants. They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such conversation for the contagion of these ill precedents, both in civility and virtue, horribly infects children as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbred or debauched servants such language, untowardly tricks, and vices as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their lives.

§69. 'Tis a hard matter wholly to prevent this mischief. You will have very good luck if you never have a clownish or vicious servant, and if from them your children never get any infection. But yet as much must be done towards it as can be; and the children kept as much as may be²⁷ in the *company of their parents* and those to whose care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made easy to them: they should be allowed the liberties and freedom suitable to their ages, and not be held under unnecessary restraints when in their parent's or governor's sight. If it be a prison to them, it is no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hindered from being children or from playing or doing as children, but from doing ill: all other liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the *company of their parents* they should receive all their good things there and from their hands. The servants should be hindered from making court to them by giving them strong drink, wine, fruit, playthings, and other such matters, which may make them in love with their conversation.

§70. Having named *company*, I am almost ready to throw away my pen and trouble you no farther on this subject. For since that does more than all precepts, rules, and instructions, methinks it is almost wholly in vain to make a long discourse of other things and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, What shall I do with my son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young master; and if I

26. §59.

27. How much the Romans thought the education of their children a business that properly belonged to the parents themselves, see in Suetonius *Augustus* §64, *Plutarch in vita Catonis Censoris* [*Life of Cato the Censor*], Diodorus Siculus, bk. 2. chap. 3 [Locke's note].

send him abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of rudeness and vice, which is so everywhere in fashion? In my house he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world: wanting there change of company and being used constantly to the same faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited creature.

I confess both sides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, it is true, will make him bolder and better able to bustle and shift amongst boys of his own age; and the emulation of schoolfellows often puts life and industry into young lads. But till you can find a school wherein it is possible for the master to look after the manners of his scholars and can show as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue and their carriage to good breeding as of forming their tongues to the learned languages, you must confess that you have a strange value for words, when preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans to that which made them such brave men, you think it worthwhile to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that boldness and spirit which lads get amongst their playfellows at school, it has ordinarily such a mixture of rudeness and an ill-turned confidence that those misbecoming and disingenuous ways of shifting in the world must be unlearned and all the tincture washed out again to make way for better principles and such manners as make a truly worthy man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the skill of living well and managing as a man should do his affairs in the world is to that malapertness, tricking, or violence learned amongst schoolboys will think the faults of a private education infinitely to be preferred to such improvements and will take care to preserve his child's innocence and modesty at home, as being nearer of kin and more in the way of those qualities which make a useful and able man. Nor does anyone find or so much as suspect that that retirement and bashfulness which their daughters are brought up in make them less knowing or less able women. Conversation, when they come into the world, soon gives them a becoming assurance; and whatsoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous may in men be very well spared too; for courage and steadiness, as I take it, lie not in roughness and ill breeding.

Virtue.

Virtue is harder to be got than a knowledge of the world, and if lost in a young man is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the necessary consequences of being bred at home nor, if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the more stubborn as well as the more dangerous evil of the two and therefore in the first place to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like fondlings at home,

be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for virtue's sake: for fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious impressions and expose the novice too easily to be corrupted. A young man, before he leaves the shelter of his father's house and the guard of a tutor, should be fortified with resolution and made acquainted with men to secure his virtue, lest he should be led into some ruinous course or fatal precipice before he is sufficiently acquainted with the dangers of conversation and has steadiness enough not to yield to every temptation. Were it not for this, a young man's bashfulness and ignorance of the world would not so much need an early care. Conversation would cure it in great measure; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a stronger reason for a good tutor at home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his virtue when he goes into the world under his own conduct.

It is preposterous therefore to sacrifice his innocency to the attaining of confidence and some little skill of bustling for himself amongst others by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys when the chief use of that sturdiness and standing upon his own legs is only for the preservation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice and support his miscarriages, he is only the surer lost: and you must undo again and strip him of all that he has got from his companions or give him up to ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by conversation with men when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modesty and submission, till then, better fits them for instruction; and therefore there needs not any great care to stock them with confidence beforehand. That which requires most time, pains, and assiduity is to work into them the principles and practice of virtue and good breeding. This is the seasoning they should be prepared with so as not easily to be got out again. This they had need to be well provided with. For conversation, when they come into the world, will add to their knowledge and assurance but be too apt to take from their virtue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully stored with, and have that tincture sunk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for conversation and entered into the world when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how anyone's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys and there learning to wrangle at trap or rook at span-farthing²⁸ fits him for civil conversation or

28. Trap or trap-ball was a game in which a ball was hit with a bat after being propelled off a wooden pivot or trap; span-farthing, a game in which one tried to toss a coin within a hand's span of the other player's.

business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of playfellows as schools usually assemble together from parents of all kinds that a father should so much covet, is hard to divine. I am sure he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor at home may there give his son a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a man, than any at school can do. Not that I blame the schoolmaster in this or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils in the same house and three- or fourscore boys lodged up and down. For let the master's industry and skill be ever so great, it is impossible he should have fifty or a hundred scholars under his eye any longer than they are in the school together; nor can it be expected that he should instruct them successfully in anything but their books, the forming of their minds and manners requiring a constant attention and particular application to every single boy which is impossible in a numerous flock and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to study and correct everyone's particular defects and wrong inclinations) when the lad was to be left to himself or the prevailing infection of his fellows the greatest part of the four and twenty hours.

But fathers, observing that fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bustling men, are glad to see their sons pert and forward betimes, take it for a happy omen that they will be thriving men, and look on the tricks they play their schoolfellows or learn from them as a proficiency in the art of living and making their way through the world. But I must take the liberty to say that he that lays the foundation of his son's fortune in virtue and good breeding takes the only sure and warrantable way. And 'tis not the waggeries or cheats practiced amongst schoolboys, 'tis not their roughness one to another, nor the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together that make an able man, but the principles of justice, generosity and sobriety, joined with observation and industry, qualities which I judge schoolboys do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at school, his father has made a very ill choice of a tutor. Take a boy from the top of a grammar school and one of the same age bred, as he should be, in his father's family, and bring them into good company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly carriage and address himself with the more becoming assurance to strangers. Here I imagine the school-boy's confidence will either fail or discredit him: and if it be such as fits him only for the conversation of boys, he were better be without it.

Vice, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens so fast nowadays and runs up to seed so early in young people that it is impossible to keep a lad from the spreading contagion if you will venture him abroad in the herd and trust to chance or his own inclination for the choice of his company at school. By what fate vice has so thriven amongst us these years past, and by what hands it has been nursed up into so uncontrolled a dominion, I shall leave to others to inquire. I wish that those who complain of the great decay of Christian piety and virtue everywhere and of learning and acquired improvements in the gentry of this generation would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, that if the foundation of it be not laid in the education and principling of the youth, all other endeavors will be in vain. And if the innocence, sobriety, and industry of those who are coming up be not taken care of and preserved, it will be ridiculous to expect that those who are to succeed next on the stage should abound in that virtue, ability, and learning which has hitherto made England considerable in the world. I was going to add courage too, though it has been looked on as the natural inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late actions at sea, of a kind unknown to our ancestors, gives me occasion to say that debauchery sinks the courage of men, and when dissoluteness has eaten out the sense of true honor, bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an instance of any nation, however renowned for their valor, who ever kept their credit in arms or made themselves redoubtable amongst their neighbors after corruption had once broke through and dissolved the restraint of discipline and vice was grown to such a head that it dared show itself barefaced without being out of countenance.

'Tis virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forward pertness or any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good which tutors should not only read lectures and talk of, but the labor and art of education should furnish the mind with and fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for all other accomplishments in their turns. For he that is brought to submit to virtue will not be refractory or restive in anything that becomes him. And therefore I cannot but prefer breeding of a young gentleman at home, in his father's sight under a good governor, as much the best and safest way to this great and main end of education, when it can be had and is ordered as

it should be. Gentlemen's houses are seldom without variety of company: they should use their sons to all the strange faces that come there and engage them in conversation with men of parts²⁹ and breeding as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the country should not take them with them when they make visits of civility to their neighbors, I know not. This I am sure, a father that breeds his son at home has the opportunity to have him more in his own company and there give him what encouragement he thinks fit, and can keep him better from the taint of servants and the meaner sort of people than is possible to be done abroad. But what shall be resolved in the case must in great measure be left to the parents to be determined by their circumstances and conveniences. Only I think it the worst sort of good husbandry for a father not to strain himself a little for his son's breeding, which, let his condition be what it will, is the best portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some that the breeding at home has too little company and that at ordinary schools not such as it should be for a young gentleman, I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniences on the one side and the other.

Example. §71. Having under consideration how great the influence of *company* is and how prone we are all, especially children, to imitation, I must here take the liberty to mind parents of this one thing, viz. that he that will have his son have a respect for him and his orders must himself have a great reverence for his son. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.*³⁰ You must do nothing before him which you would not have him imitate. If anything escape you which you would have pass for a fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your example, and shelter himself so as that it will not be easy to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you practice yourself, he will not think that severity to proceed from kindness in you, careful to amend a fault in him, but will be apt to interpret it [as] the peevishness and arbitrary imperiousness of a father who, without any ground for it, would deny his son the liberty and pleasures he takes himself. Or if you assume to yourself the liberty you have taken as a privilege belonging to riper years to which a child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your example and recommend the action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember that children affect to be men earlier than is thought: and they love breeches

29. Talents, or abilities.

30. "The greatest reverence is owed to children," Juvenal *Satires* xiv 47, dealing with the influence of parental example on children.

not for their cut or ease, but because the having them is a mark of a step towards manhood. What I say of the father's carriage before his children must extend itself to all those who have any authority over them or for whom he would have them have any respect.

§72. But to return to the businesses of rewards and punishments. All *Punishment.* the actions of childishness, and unfashionable carriage, and whatever time and age will of itself be sure to reform, being (as I have said³¹) exempt from the discipline of the rod, there will not be so much need of beating children as is generally made use of. To which if we add learning to read, write, dance, foreign languages, etc. as under the same privilege, there will be but very rarely any occasion for blows or force in an ingenuous education. The right way to teach them those things is to give them a liking and inclination to what you propose to them to be learned; and that will engage their industry and application. This I think no hard matter to do if children be handled as they should be, and the rewards and punishments mentioned above³² be carefully applied and with them these few rules observed in the method of instructing them.

§73. 1. None of the things they are to learn should ever be made a burden to them or imposed on them as a *task*. Whatever is so proposed presently becomes irksome: the mind takes an aversion to it, though before it were a thing of delight or indifferency. Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a duty wherein he must spend so many hours morning and afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any play at this rate? Is it not so with grown men? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of and can no more endure as soon as they find it is expected of them as a duty? Children have as much a mind to show that they are free, that their own good actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown men, think of them as you please. *Task.*

§74. 2. As a consequence of this, they should seldom be put about *Disposition.* doing even those things you have got an inclination in them to but when they have a mind and *disposition* to it. He that loves reading, writing, music, etc. finds yet in himself certain seasons wherein those things have no relish to him; and if at that time he forces himself to it, he only pothers and wearies himself to no purpose. So it is with children. This change of temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favorable *seasons of*

31. §§63, 67.

32. §§56–58.

aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of: and if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good disposition should be talked into them before they be set upon anything. This I think no hard matter for a discreet tutor to do, who has studied his pupil's temper and will be at [a] little pains to fill his head with suitable ideas, such as may make him in love with the present business. By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be saved. For a child will learn three times as much when he is *in tune* as he will with double the time and pains when he goes awkwardly or is dragged unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, children might be permitted to weary themselves with play and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age. But no such thing is considered in the ordinary way of education, nor can it well be. That rough discipline of the rod is built upon other principles, has no attraction in it, regards not what humor children are in, nor looks after favorable seasons of inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when compulsion and blows have raised an aversion in the child to his task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his play and with pleasure court the occasions of learning. Whereas were matters ordered right, learning anything they should be taught might be made as much a recreation to their play as their play is to their learning. The pains are equal on both sides: nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be busy, and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is, in that which we call play they act at liberty and employ their pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely, but what they are to learn is forced upon them: they are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that that at first entrance balks and cools them; they want their liberty; get them but to ask their tutor to teach them, as they do often their playfellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn, and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this as they do in other things, they will go on with as much pleasure in it and it will not differ from their other sports and play. By these ways, carefully pursued, a child may be brought to desire to be taught anything you have a mind he should learn. The hardest part, I confess, is with the first or eldest; but when once he is set right it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will.

§75. Though it be past doubt that the fittest time for children to learn anything is when their *minds are in tune and well-disposed* to it, when neither flagging of spirit nor intentness of thought upon something else makes them awkward and averse; yet two things are to be taken care of: 1. That, these seasons either not being warily observed and laid hold on as often as they return or else not returning as often as they should, the

improvement of the child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into a habitual idleness and confirmed in this indisposition. 2. That though other things are ill learned when the mind is either indisposed or otherwise taken up, yet it is of great moment and worth our endeavors to teach the mind to get the mastery over itself, and to be able upon choice to take itself off from the hot pursuit of one thing and set itself upon another with facility and delight, or at any time to shake off its sluggishness and vigorously employ itself about what reason or the advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in children by trying them sometimes, when they are by laziness unbent or by avocation bent another way, and endeavoring to make them buckle to the thing proposed. If by this means the mind can get a habitual dominion over itself, lay by *ideas* or business as occasion requires, and betake itself to new and less acceptable employments without reluctance or discomposure, it will be an advantage of more consequence than Latin or logic or most of those things children are usually required to learn.

§76. Children being more active and busy in that age than in any other part of their life, and being indifferent to anything they can do, so they may be but doing, *dancing* and *Scotch-hoppers* would be the same thing to them were the encouragements and discouragements equal. But to things we would have them learn, the great and only discouragement I can observe is that they are called to it; it is *made their business*; they are *teased* and *chid* about it, and do it with trembling and apprehension; or when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it till they are quite tired; all which entrenches too much on that natural freedom they extremely affect. And 'tis that liberty alone which gives the true relish and delight to their ordinary play-games. Turn the tables, and you will find they will soon change their application especially if they see the examples of others whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the things which they observed others to do be ordered so that they insinuate themselves into them as the privilege of an age or condition above theirs, then ambition and the desire still to get forward and higher and to be like those above them will set them on work and make them go on with vigor and pleasure, pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved freedom will be no small encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the satisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think there will need no other spur to excite their application and assiduity as much as is necessary. I confess there needs patience and skill, gentleness and attention, and a prudent conduct to attain this at first. But why have you a tutor if there needed no pains? But when this is once estab-

lished, all the rest will follow more easily than in any more severe and imperious discipline. And I think it no hard matter to gain this point; I am sure it will not be where children have no ill examples set before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend is only from servants, and other ill-ordered children, or such other vicious or foolish people who spoil children both by the ill pattern they set before them in their own ill manners and by giving them together the two things they should never have at once: I mean, vicious pleasures and commendation.

Chiding.

§77. As children should very seldom be corrected by blows, so I think frequent and especially passionate *chiding* of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the authority of the parents and the respect of the child; for I bid you still remember, they distinguish early between passion and reason; and as they cannot but have a reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a contempt of the former or if it causes a present terror, yet it soon wears off and natural inclination will easily learn to slight such scarecrows, which make a noise but are not animated by reason. Children being to be restrained by the parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a look or nod only ought to correct them when they do amiss; or if words are sometimes to be used, they ought to be grave, kind, and sober, representing the ill or unbecomingness of the fault, rather than a *hasty rating* of the child for it, which makes him not sufficiently distinguish whether your dislike be not more directed to him than his fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill language with it, which has this further ill effect that it teaches and justifies it in children; and the names that their parents or preceptors give them they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good authority for the use of them.

Obstinacy.

§78. I foresee here it will be objected to me: What then, will you have children never beaten nor chid for any fault? This will be to let loose the reins to all kinds of disorder. Not so much as is imagined if a right course has been taken in the first seasoning of their minds and implanting that awe of their parents mentioned above.³³ For beating, by constant observation, is found to do little good where the smart of it is all the punishment is feared or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one fault, for which I think children should be beaten; and that is *obstinacy* or *rebellion*. And in this too I would have it ordered so, if it can be, that the shame of the whipping, and not the pain, should be the greatest part of the punishment. Shame of

33. §§40–44.

doing amiss and deserving chastisement is the only true restraint belonging to virtue. The smart of the rod, if shame accompanies it not, soon ceases and is forgotten, and will quickly by use lose its terror. I have known the children of a person of quality kept in awe by the fear of having their shoes pulled off as much as others by apprehensions of a rod hanging over them. Some such punishment I think better than beating; for it is shame of the fault and the disgrace that attends it that they should stand in fear of rather than pain, if you would have them have a temper truly ingenuous. But *stubbornness* and an *obstinate disobedience* must be mastered with force and blows: for this there is no other remedy. Whatever particular action you bid him do or forbear, you must be sure to see yourself obeyed; no quarter in this case, no resistance. For when once it comes to be a trial of skill, a contest for mastery between you, as it is if you command and he refuses, you must be sure to carry it, whatever blows it costs, if a nod or words will not prevail; unless forever after you intend to live in obedience to your son. A prudent and kind mother of my acquaintance was, on such an occasion, forced to whip her little daughter at her first coming home from nurse eight times successively the same morning before she could master her *stubbornness* and obtain a compliance in a very easy and indifferent matter. If she had left off sooner and stopped at the seventh whipping, she had spoiled the child forever and by her unprevailing blows only confirmed her *refractoriness*, very hardly afterwards to be cured; but wisely persisting till she had bent her mind and supplanted her will, the only end of correction and chastisement, she established her authority thoroughly in the very first occasion and had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter. For as this was the first time, so, I think, it was the last too she ever struck her.

The pain of the rod *the first* occasion that requires it, continued and increased without leaving off till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend the mind and settle the parents' authority; and then gravity mixed with kindness should forever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make people more wary in the use of the rod and the cudgel and keep them from being so apt to think beating the safe and universal remedy to be applied at random on all occasions. This is certain, however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the mind and makes not the will supple, it hardens the offender; and whatever pain he has suffered for it, it does but endear to him his beloved *stubbornness*, which has got him this time the victory, and prepares him to contest and hope for it for the future. Thus I doubt not but by ill-ordered correction many have been taught to be *obstinate* and *refractory* who other-

wise would have been very pliant and tractable. For if you punish a child so, as if it were only to revenge the past fault which has raised your choler, what operation can this have upon his mind, which is the part to be amended? If there were no *sturdy humor* or *willfulness* mixed with his fault, there was nothing in it that required the severity of blows. A kind or grave admonition is enough to remedy the slips of frailty, forgetfulness, or inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of. But if there were a *perverseness* in the will, if it were a designed, resolved disobedience, the punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries and stands in to that respect and submission [that] is due to the father's orders; which must always be rigorously exacted, and the blows by pauses laid on till they reach the mind and you perceive the signs of a true sorrow, shame, and purpose of obedience.

This, I confess, requires something more than setting children a task and whipping them without any more ado if it be not done, and done to our fancy. This requires care, attention, observation, and a nice study of children's tempers, and weighing their faults well, before we come to this sort of punishment. But is not that better than always to have the rod in hand as the only instrument of government? And by frequent use of it on all occasions misapply and render inefficacious this last and useful remedy where there is need of it? For what else can be expected when it is promiscuously used upon every little slip? When a mistake in *concordance*³⁴ or a wrong *position* in verse shall have the severity of the lash in a well-tempered and industrious lad as surely as a willful crime in an obstinate and perverse offender, how can such a way of correction be expected to do good on the mind, and set that right? Which is the only thing to be looked after, and when set right brings all the rest that you can desire along with it.

§79. Where a *wrong bent of the will* wants not amendment there can be no need of blows. All other faults, where the mind is rightly disposed and refuses not the government and authority of the father or tutor, are but mistakes and may often be overlooked; or when they are taken notice of need no other but the gentler remedies of advice, direction and reproof till the repeated and willful neglect of those shows the fault to be in the mind and that a manifest *perverseness* of the will lies at the root of their disobedience. But whenever *obstinacy*, which is an open defiance, appears, that cannot be winked at or neglected but must in the first instance be subdued

34. Grammatical agreement.

and mastered: only care must be had that we mistake not, and we must be sure it is obstinacy and nothing else.

§80. But since the occasions of punishment, especially beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought to this point. If the awe I spoke of³⁵ be once got, a look will be sufficient in most cases. Nor indeed should the same carriage, seriousness, or application be expected from young children as from those of riper growth. They must be permitted, as I said,³⁶ the foolish and childish actions suitable to their years without taking notice of them. Inadvertency, carelessness, and gaiety is the character of that age. I think the severity I spoke of is not to extend itself to such unseasonable restraints. Nor is that hastily to be interpreted [as] obstinacy or willfulness which is the natural product of their age or temper. In such miscarriages they are to be assisted and helped towards an amendment as weak people under a natural infirmity, which though they are warned of, yet every relapse must not be counted a perfect neglect and they presently treated as obstinate. Faults of frailty, as they should never be neglected or let pass without minding, so, unless the will mix with them, they should never be exaggerated or very sharply reproofed, but with a gentle hand set right as time and age permit. By this means children will come to see what it is in any miscarriage that is chiefly offensive and so learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their wills right, which is the great business, when they find that it preserves them from any great displeasure and that in all their other failings they meet with the kind concern and help rather than the anger and passionate reproaches of their tutor and parents. Keep them from vice and vicious dispositions, and such a kind of behavior in general will come, with every degree of their age, as is suitable to that age and the company they ordinarily converse with; and as they grow in years they will grow in attention and application. But that your words may always carry weight and authority with them, if it shall happen, upon any occasion, that you bid him leave off the doing of any even childish thing, you must be sure to carry the point and not let him have the mastery. But yet, I say, I would have the father seldom interpose his authority and command in these cases or in any other but such as have a tendency to vicious habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them: and a gentle persuasion in reasoning (when the first point of submission to your will is got) will most times do much better.

35. §§40–44.

36. §63.

Reasoning. §81. It will perhaps be wondered that I mention *reasoning* with children: and yet I cannot but think that the true way of dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do language; and, if I misobserve not, they love to be treated as rational creatures sooner than is imagined. 'Tis a pride should be cherished in them and, as much as can be, made the great instrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of *reasoning* I do not intend any other but such as is suited to the child's capacity and apprehension. Nobody can think a boy of three or seven years old should be argued with as a grown man. Long discourses and philosophical reasonings at best amaze and confound, but do not instruct children. When I say therefore that they must be *treated as rational creatures* I mean that you should make them sensible by the mildness of your carriage and the composure even in your correction of them that what you do is reasonable in you and useful and necessary for them and that it is not out of *caprichio*,³⁷ passion, or fancy that you command or forbid them anything. This they are capable of understanding; and there is no virtue they should be excited to nor fault they should be kept from which I do not think they may be convinced of, but it must be by such *reasons* as their age and understanding are capable of and those proposed always in very *few and plain words*. The foundations on which several duties are built and the fountains of right and wrong from which they spring are not perhaps easily to be let into the minds of grown men not used to abstract their thoughts from common received opinions. Much less are children capable of *reasonings* from remote principles. They cannot conceive the force of long deductions: the *reasons* that move them must be *obvious* and level to their thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt and touched. But yet, if their age, temper, and inclinations be considered, there will never want such motives as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible and of force to deter them from any fault fit to be taken notice of in them, viz. that it will be a discredit and disgrace to them, and displease you.

Examples. §82. But of all the ways whereby children are to be instructed and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious is to set before their eyes the *examples* of those things you would have them do or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them in the practice of persons within their knowledge with some reflection on their beauty or unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation than any discourses which can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be

37. Caprice.

so plainly set before their understandings as the actions of other men will show them, when you direct their observation and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice. And the beauty or uncomeliness of many things in good and ill breeding will be better learned and make deeper impressions on them in the *examples* of others than from any rules or instructions can be given about them.

This is a method to be used not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's tuition or conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a father as long as he shall think fit, on any occasion, to reform anything he wishes mended in his son: nothing sinking so gently and so deep into men's minds as *example*. And what ill they either overlook or indulge in them themselves, they cannot but dislike and be ashamed of when it is set before them in another.

§83. It may be doubted concerning *whipping*, when as the last remedy *Whipping.* it comes to be necessary, at what time and by whom it should be done: whether presently upon the committing the fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; and whether parents themselves should beat their children. As to the first, I think it should *not* be done *presently* lest passion mingle with it and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it lose of its due weight: for even children discern when we do things in passion. But, as I said before,³⁸ that has most weight with them that appears sedately to come from their parents' reason, and they are not without this distinction. Next, if you have any discreet servant capable of it and [who] has the place of governing your child (for if you have a tutor, there is no doubt), I think it is best the *smart* should come more immediately *from another's hand*, though by the parent's order who should see it done; whereby the parent's authority will be preserved and the child's aversion for the pain it suffers rather be turned on the person that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a *father seldom strike his child* but upon very urgent necessity and as the last remedy: and then perhaps it will be fit to do it so that the child should not quickly forget it.

§84. But, as I said before,³⁹ *beating* is the worst and therefore the last means to be used in the correction of children and that only in cases of extremity after all gentler ways have been tried and proved unsuccessful; which, if well observed, there will be very seldom any need of blows. For, it not being to be imagined that a child will often, if ever, dispute his

38. §81.

39. §§47–52, 60.

father's present command in any particular instance, and the father not interposing his absolute authority in peremptory rules concerning either childish or indifferent actions, wherein his son is to have his liberty, or concerning his learning or improvement, wherein there is no compulsion to be used, there remains only the prohibition of some vicious actions, wherein a child is capable of *obstinacy* and consequently can deserve beating: and so there will be but very few occasions of that discipline to be used by anyone who considers well and orders his child's education as it should be. For the first seven years, what vices can a child be guilty of but lying or some ill-natured tricks, the repeated commission whereof, after his father's direct command against it, shall bring him into the condemnation of *obstinacy* and the chastisement of the rod? If any vicious inclination in him be in the first appearance and instances of it treated as it should be first with your wonder and then, if returning again a second time, discountenanced with the severe brow of the father, tutor, and all about him and a treatment suitable to the state of discredit before mentioned,⁴⁰ and this continued till he be made sensible and ashamed of his fault, I imagine there will be no need of any other correction nor ever any occasion to come to blows. The necessity of such chastisement is usually the consequence only of former indulgences or neglects. If vicious inclinations were watched from the beginning and the first irregularities which they caused corrected by those gentler ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one disorder at once, which would be easily set right without any stir or noise and not require so harsh a discipline as beating. Thus one by one, as they appeared, they might all be weeded out without any signs or memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their faults (by indulging and humoring our little ones) grow up till they are sturdy and numerous and the deformity of them makes us ashamed and uneasy, we are fain⁴¹ to come to the plough and the harrow, the spade and the pickaxe must go deep to come at the roots, and all the force, skill, and diligence we can use is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated seed plot overgrown with weeds and restore us the hopes of fruits to reward our pains in its season.

§85. This course, if observed, will spare both father and child the trouble of repeated injunctions and multiplied rules of doing and forbearing. For I am of opinion that of those actions which tend to vicious habits (which are those alone that a father should interpose his authority and commands in) none should be forbidden children till they are found guilty

40. §§57–58.

41. Compelled.

of them. For such untimely prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them that they suppose that children may be guilty of them who would possibly be safer in the ignorance of any such faults. And the best remedy to stop them is, as I have said,⁴² to show *wonder and amazement* at any such action as has a vicious tendency when it is first taken notice of in a child. For example, when he is first found in a lie or any ill-natured trick, the first remedy should be to talk to him of it as a *strange monstrous matter* that it could not be imagined he would have done and so shame him out of it.

§86. It will be ('tis likely) objected that whatever I fancy of the tractableness of children and the prevalency of those softer ways of shame and commendation, yet there are many who will never apply themselves to their books and to what they ought to learn unless they are scourged to it. This I fear is nothing but the language of ordinary schools and fashion, which have never suffered the other to be tried as it should be in places where it could be taken notice of. *Why else does the learning of Latin and Greek need the rod, when French and Italian need it not?* Children learn to dance and fence without whipping; nay, arithmetic, drawing, etc. they apply themselves well enough to without beating, which would make one suspect that there is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that age in the things required in grammar schools or in the methods used there that children cannot be brought to without the severity of the lash, and hardly with that too, or else that it is a mistake that those tongues could not be taught them without beating.

§87. But let us suppose some so negligent or idle that they will not be brought to learn by the gentler ways proposed, for we must grant that there will be children found of all tempers, yet it does not thence follow that the rough discipline of the cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can anyone be concluded unmanageable by the *milder methods* of government till they have been *thoroughly tried* upon him; and if they will not prevail with him to use his endeavors and do what is in his power to do, we make no excuses for the obstinate, blows are the proper remedies for those, but blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that willfully neglects his book and stubbornly refuses anything he can do required of him by his father, expressing himself in a positive serious command, should not be corrected with two or three angry lashes for not performing his task, and the same punishment repeated again and again upon every the like default. But when it is brought to that pass that willfulness evidently shows itself and

42. §84.

makes blows necessary, I think the chastisement should be a little more sedate and a little more severe, and the whipping (mingled with admonitions between) so continued till the impressions of it on the mind were found legible in the face, voice, and submission of the child, not so sensible of the smart as of the fault he has been guilty of and melting in true sorrow under it. If such a correction as this, tried some few times at fit distances and carried to the utmost severity, with the visible displeasure of the father all the while, will not work the effect, turn the mind, and produce a future compliance, what can be hoped from *blows*, and to what purpose should they be any more used? *Beating*, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy than the good will of a compassionate friend; and such chastisement carries with it only provocation without any prospect of amendment. If it be any father's misfortune to have a son thus perverse and intractable, I know not what more he can do but pray for him. But, I imagine, if a right course be taken with children from the beginning, very few will be found to be such; and when there are any such instances, they are not to be the rule for the education of those who are better natured and may be managed with better usage.

Tutor. §88. If a *tutor* can be got that, thinking himself in the father's place, charged with his care, and relishing these things, will at the beginning apply himself to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very easy; and you will, I guess, have your son in a little time a greater proficient in both learning and breeding than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no means beat him at any time without your consent and direction, at least till you have experience of his discretion and temper. But yet to keep up his authority with his pupil, besides concealing that he has not the power of the rod, you must be sure to use him with great respect yourself and cause all your family to do so too. For you cannot expect your son should have any regard for one whom he sees you or his mother or others slight. If you think him worthy of contempt, you have chosen amiss; and if you show any contempt of him, he will hardly escape it from your son; and whenever that happens, whatever worth he may have in himself and abilities for this employment, they are all lost to your child and can afterwards never be made useful to him.

§89. As the father's example must teach the child respect for his tutor, so the tutor's example must lead the child into those actions he would have him do. His practice must by no means cross his precepts, unless he intend to set him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the tutor to talk of the restraint of the passions whilst any of his own are let loose; and he will in vain endeavor to reform any vice or indecency in his pupil which he allows

in himself. Ill patterns are sure to be followed more than good rules; and therefore he must also carefully preserve him from the influence of ill precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the examples of the servants, from whose company he is to be kept not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways I have mentioned.⁴³

§90. In all the whole business of education, there is nothing likely to be less hearkened to or harder to be well observed than what I am now going to say: and that is, that I would from their first beginning to talk have some *discreet, sober, nay, wise* person about children, whose care it should be to fashion them aright and keep them from all ill, especially the infection of bad company. I think this province requires great *sobriety, temperance, tenderness, diligence, and discretion*, qualities hardly to be found united in persons that are to be had for ordinary salaries nor easily to be found anywhere. As to the charge of it, I think it will be the money best laid out that can be about our children, and therefore though it may be expensive more than is ordinary yet it cannot be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well principled, tempered to virtue and usefulness, and adorned with civility and good breeding, makes a better purchase for him than if he laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres. Spare it in toys and play-games, in silk and ribbons, laces and other useless expenses, as much as you please, but be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. It is not good husbandry to make his fortune rich and his mind poor. I have often with great admiration seen people lavish it profusely in tricking up their children in fine clothes, lodging and feeding them sumptuously, allowing them more than enough of useless servants, and yet at the same time starve their minds and not take sufficient care to cover that which is the most shameful nakedness, viz. their natural wrong inclinations and ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a sacrificing to their own vanity; it showing more their pride than true care of the good of their children. Whatsoever you employ to the advantage of your son's mind will show your true kindness, though it be to the lessening of his estate. A wise and good man can hardly want either the opinion or reality of being great and happy. But he that is foolish or vicious can be neither great nor happy, what estate soever you leave him; and I ask you, whether there be not men in the world whom you had rather have your son be with 500 £. per annum than some other you know with 5000 £.

§91. The consideration of charge ought not therefore to deter those who are able: the great difficulty will be where to find a *proper person*. For those

Governor.

43. §69.

of small age, parts, and virtue are unfit for this employment; and those that have greater will hardly be got to undertake such a charge. You must therefore look out early and inquire everywhere: for the world has people of all sorts. And I remember, Montaigne says in one of his Essays⁴⁴ that the learned Castalio was fain⁴⁵ to make trenches at Basle to keep himself from starving, when his father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son and Castalio have willingly embraced such an employment upon very reasonable terms: but this was for want of intelligence.⁴⁶

Tutor.

§92. If you find it difficult to meet with such a tutor as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, spare no care nor cost to get such a one. All things are to be had that way; and I dare assure you that if you get a good one, you will never repent the charge but will always have the satisfaction to think it the money of all other the best laid out. But be sure take nobody upon friends' or charitable, no, nor bare great recommendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the reputation of a sober man with a good stock of learning (which is all [that is] usually required in a tutor) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this choice be as curious as you would be in that of a wife for him, for you must not think of trial or changing afterwards; that will cause great inconvenience to you, and greater to your son. When I consider the scruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I advised you to something which I would have offered at but, in effect, not done. But he that shall consider how much the business of a tutor, rightly employed, lies out of the road, and how remote it is from the thoughts of many, even of those who propose to themselves this employment, will perhaps be of my mind that one fit to educate and form the mind of a young gentleman is not everywhere to be found, and that more than ordinary care is to be taken in the choice of him or else you may fail of your end.

§93. The character of a sober man and a scholar is, as I have above observed,⁴⁷ what everyone expects in a tutor. This generally is thought enough and is all that parents commonly look for. But when such a one has emptied out into his pupil all the Latin and logic he has brought from the university, will that furniture make him a fine gentleman? Or can it be expected that he should be better bred, better skilled in the world, better

44. I 35.

45. Compelled.

46. Information.

47. §90.

principled in the grounds and foundations of true virtue and generosity, than his young *tutor* is?

To form a young gentleman as he should be, 'tis fit his *governor* should himself be well-bred, understand the ways of carriage and measures of civility in all the variety of persons, times, and places, and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them. This is an art not to be learned nor taught by books. Nothing can give it but good company and observation joined together. The tailor may make his clothes modish, and the dancing master give fashion to his motions; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred gentleman; no, though he have learning to boot, which if not well-managed makes him but the more impertinent and intolerable in conversation. Breeding is that which sets a gloss upon all his other good qualities and renders them useful to him in procuring him the esteem and good will of all that he comes near. Without good breeding his other accomplishments make him pass but for proud, conceited, vain, or foolish.

Courage in an ill-bred man has the air and escapes not the opinion of brutality; learning becomes pedantry; wit, buffoonery; plainness, rusticity; good nature, fawning. And there can be not a good quality in him which want of breeding will not warp and disfigure to his disadvantage. Nay, virtue and parts, though they are allowed their due commendation, yet are not enough to procure a man a good reception and make him welcome wherever he comes. Nobody contents himself with rough diamonds and wears them so, who would appear with advantage. When they are polished and set, then they give a lustre. Good qualities are the substantial riches of the mind, but it is good breeding [that] sets them off, and he that will be acceptable must give beauty as well as strength to his actions. Solidity or even usefulness is not enough: a graceful way and fashion in everything is that which gives the ornament and liking. And in most cases the manner of doing is of more consequence than the thing done; and upon that depends the satisfaction or disgust wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the hat nor making of compliments but in a due and free composure of language, looks, motion, posture, place, etc. suited to persons and occasions and can be learned only by habit and use, though it be above the capacity of children and little ones should not be perplexed about it, yet it ought to be begun and in a good measure learned by a young gentleman whilst he is under a tutor, before he comes into the world upon his own legs: for then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual indecencies which lie in little things. For the carriage is not as it should be till it is become natural in every part, falling, as

skillful musicians' fingers do, into harmonious order without care and without thought. If in conversation a man's mind be taken up with a solicitous watchfulness about any part of his Behavior, instead of being mended by it, it will be constrained, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be formed by the hands and care of a *governor*: because, though the errors committed in breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that anyone is told of. Not but that the malice of the world is forward enough to tattle of them, but it is always out of his hearing who should make profit of their judgment and reform himself by their censure. And indeed, this is so nice a point to be meddled with that even those who are friends and wish it were mended scarce ever dare mention it and tell those they love that they are guilty in such or such cases of ill breeding. Errors in other things may often with civility be shown another, and it is no breach of good manners or friendship to set him right in other mistakes, but good breeding itself allows not a man to touch upon this or to insinuate to another that he is guilty of want of breeding. Such information can come only from those who have authority over them; and from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown man and, however softened, goes but ill down with anyone who has lived ever so little in the world. Wherefore it is necessary that this part should be the *governor's* principal care: that a habitual gracefulness and politeness in all his carriage may be settled in his charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his hands; and that he may not need advice in this point when he has neither time nor disposition to receive it, nor has anybody left to give it him. The *tutor* therefore ought in the first place to be well-bred: and a young gentleman who gets this one qualification from his *governor* sets out with great advantage and will find that this one accomplishment will more open his way to him, get him more friends, and carry him farther in the world than all the hard words or real knowledge he has got from the liberal arts or his *tutor's* learned *Encyclopedia*. Not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferred or suffered to thrust out the other.

§94. Besides being well-bred, the *tutor* should know the world well: the ways, the humors, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he is fallen into and particularly of the country he lives in. These he should be able to show to his pupil as he finds him capable, teach him skill in men and their manners, pull off the mask which their several callings and pretenses cover them with, and make his pupil discern what lies at the bottom under such appearances that he may not, as inexperienced young men are apt to do if they are unwarned, take one thing for another, judge by the outside, and

give himself up to show and the insinuation of a fair carriage or an obliging application; a governor should teach his scholar to guess at and beware of the designs of men he has to do with neither with too much suspicion nor too much confidence, but as the young man is by nature most inclined to either side rectify him and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make as much as is possible a true judgment of men by those marks which serve best to show what they are and give a prospect into their inside, which often shows itself in little things, especially when they are not on parade and upon their guard. He should acquaint him with the true state of the world and dispose him to think no man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than really he is. Thus by safe and insensible degrees he will pass from a boy to a man, which is the most hazardous step in all the whole course of life. This therefore should be carefully watched, and a young man with great diligence handed over it and not, as now usually is done, be taken from a *governor's* conduct and all at once thrown into the world under his own not without manifest danger of immediate spoiling; there being nothing more frequent, than instances of the great looseness, extravagancy, and debauchery which young men have run into as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict education, which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of breeding, especially in this part; for having been bred up in a great ignorance of what the world truly is and finding it a quite other thing when they come into it than what they were taught it should be and so imagined it was, [they] are easily persuaded by other kind of tutors, which they are sure to meet with, that the discipline they were kept under and the lectures [that] were read to them were but the formalities of education and the restraints of childhood, that the freedom belonging to men is to take their swing in a full enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They show the young novice the world full of fashionable and glittering examples of this everywhere, and he is presently dazzled with them. My young master, failing not to be willing to show himself a man as much as any of the sparks of his years, lets himself loose to all the irregularities he finds in the most debauched and thus courts credit and manliness in the casting off the modesty and sobriety he has till then been kept in and thinks it brave at his first setting out to signalize himself in running counter to all the rules of virtue which have been preached to him by his tutor.

The showing him the world as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best means, I think, to prevent this mischief. He should by degrees be informed of the vices in fashion and warned of the applications and designs of those who will make it their business to corrupt him. He

should be told the arts they use and the trains⁴⁸ they lay and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous examples of those who are ruining or ruined this way. The age is not likely to want instances of this kind, which should be made landmarks to him that by the disgraces, diseases, beggary, and shame of hopeful young men thus brought to ruin, he may be cautioned and be made [to] see how those join in the contempt and neglect of them that are undone who by pretenses of friendship and respect lead them into it and help to prey upon them whilst they were undoing, that he may see before he buys it by a too dear experience that those who persuade him not to follow the sober advice he has received from his *governors* and the counsel of his own reason, which they call being governed by others, do it only that they may have the government of him themselves and make him believe he goes like a man of himself, by his own conduct and for his own pleasure, when, in truth, he is wholly as a child led by them into those vices which best serve their purposes. This is a knowledge which, upon all occasions, a *tutor* should endeavor to instill and by all methods try to make him comprehend and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said that to discover to a young man the vices of the age is to teach them [to] him. That I confess is a good deal so, according as it is done, and therefore requires a discreet man of parts who knows the world and can judge of the temper, inclination, and weak side of his pupil. This farther is to be remembered, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young gentleman from vice by a total ignorance of it unless you will all his life mew him up in a closet and never let him go into company. The longer he is kept thus hoodwinked, the less he will see when he comes abroad into open daylight and be the more exposed to be a prey to himself and others. And an old boy at his first appearance, with all the gravity of his ivy-bush about him, is sure to draw on him the eyes and chirping of the whole town volary;⁴⁹ amongst which there will not be wanting some birds of prey that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only fence against the world is a thorough knowledge of it, into which a young gentleman should be entered by degrees as he can bear it, and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skillful hands to guide him. The scene should be gently opened, and his entrance made step by step, and the dangers pointed out that attend him from the several degrees, tempers, designs, and clubs of men. He should be prepared to be shocked by some and caressed by others, warned who are likely to oppose, who to mis-

48. Traps or schemes.

49. A birdcage or the birds kept in it.

lead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know and distinguish them, where he should let them see, and when dissemble the knowledge of them and their aims and workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own strength and skill, the perplexity and trouble of a misadventure now and then that reaches not his innocence, his health, or his reputation may not be an ill way to teach him more caution.

This, I confess, containing one great part of wisdom, is not the product of some superficial thoughts or much reading, but the effect of experience and observation in a man who has lived in the world with his eyes open and conversed with men of all sorts. And therefore I think it of most value to be instilled into a young man, upon all occasions which offer themselves, that when he comes to launch into the deep himself he may not be like one at sea without a line, compass, or sea-chart, but may have some notice beforehand of the rocks and shoals, the currents and quicksands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not before he get experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his son and for which he more needs a governor than the languages and learned sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of men and manage his affairs wisely with them than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in mood and figure, or to have his head filled with the abstruse speculations of natural philosophy and metaphysics, nay, than to be well-versed in the Greek and Roman writers, though that be much better for a gentleman than to be a good Peripatetic or Cartesian because those ancient authors observed and painted mankind well and give the best light into that kind of knowledge. He that goes into the eastern parts of Asia will find able and acceptable men without any of these; but without virtue, knowledge of the world, and civility, an accomplished, and valuable man can be found nowhere.

A great part of the learning now in fashion in the schools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the round of education, a gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great disparagement to himself or prejudice to his affairs. But prudence and good breeding are in all the stations and occurrences of life necessary, and most young men suffer in the want of them and come rawer and more awkward into the world than they should for this very reason: because these qualities, which are of all other the most necessary to be taught and stand most in need of the assistance and help of a teacher, are generally neglected and thought but a slight or no part of a *tutor's* business. Latin and learning make all the noise, and the main stress is laid upon his proficiency in things a great part whereof belong not to a gentleman's calling, which is to have the knowl-

edge of a man of business, a carriage suitable to his rank, and to be eminent and useful in his country according to his station. Whenever either spare hours from that, or an inclination to perfect himself in some parts of knowledge which his *tutor* did but just enter him in, sets him upon any study, the first rudiments of it, which he learned before, will open the way enough for his own industry to carry him as far as his fancy will prompt or his parts enable him to go. Or if he thinks it may save his time and pains to be helped over some difficulties by the hand of a master, he may then take a man that is perfectly well skilled in it or choose such a one as he thinks fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his pupil in any part of learning as far as is necessary for a young man in the ordinary course of his studies, an ordinary skill in the *governor* is enough. Nor is it requisite that he should be a thorough scholar or possess in perfection all those sciences which it is convenient a young gentleman should have a taste of in some general view or short system. A gentleman that would penetrate deeper must do it by his own genius and industry afterwards: for nobody ever went far in knowledge or became eminent in any of the sciences by the discipline and constraint of a master.

The great work of a *governor* is to fashion the carriage and form the mind, to settle in his pupil good habits and the principles of virtue and wisdom, to give him by little and little a view of mankind, and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy, and in the prosecution of it to give him vigor, activity, and industry. The studies which he sets him upon are but as it were the exercises of his faculties and employment of his time to keep him from sauntering and idleness, to teach him application, and accustom him to take pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own industry must perfect. For who expects that under a *tutor* a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator, or logician? Go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy, or mathematics? Or be a master in history or chronology? Though something of each of these is to be taught him, but it is only to open the door that he may look in and as it were begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there; and a *governor* would be much blamed that should keep his pupil too long and lead him too far in most of them. But of good breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much; and if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other.

And since it cannot be hoped he should have time and strength to learn all things, most pains should be taken about that which is most necessary,

and that principally looked after which will be of most and frequentest use to him in the world.

Seneca complains of the contrary practice in his time and yet the Burgersdiciuses and the Scheiblers⁵⁰ did not swarm in those days as they do now in these. What would he have thought if he had lived now, when the *tutors* think it their great business to fill the studies and heads of their pupils with such authors as these? He would have had more reason to say, as he does, *Non vitae sed scholae discimus*,⁵¹ we learn not to live but to dispute; and our education fits us rather for the university than the world. But it is no wonder if those who make the fashion suit it to what they have and not to what their pupils want. The fashion being once established, who can think it strange that in this, as well as in all other things, it should prevail, and that the greatest part of those who find their account in an easy submission to it should be ready to cry out *heresy* when anyone departs from it? It is nevertheless matter of astonishment that men of quality and parts should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom and implicit faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise that their children's time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be men rather than to have their heads stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them, they are only the worse for. This is so well known that I appeal to parents themselves who have been at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have any tincture of that sort of learning when they come abroad into the world, whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in company. And that certainly must be an admirable acquisition and deserves well to make a part in education, which men are ashamed of where they are most concerned to show their parts and breeding.

There is yet another reason why politeness of manners and knowledge of the world should principally be looked after in a *tutor*: and that is because a man of parts and years may enter a lad far enough in any of those sciences which he has no deep insight into himself. Books in these will be able to furnish him and give him light and precedence enough to go before a young follower; but he will never be able to set another right in the knowledge of the world and above all in breeding who is a novice in them himself.

50. Seventeenth-century textbook writers.

51. Seneca, *Epistle* 106, "we learn not for life but for school."

This is a knowledge he must have about him, worn into him by use and conversation and a long forming himself by what he has observed to be practiced and allowed in the best company. This, if he has it not of his own, is nowhere to be borrowed for the use of his pupil; or if he could find pertinent treatises of it in books that would reach all the particulars of an English gentleman's behavior, his own ill-fashioned example, if he be not well-bred himself, would spoil all his lectures; it being impossible that anyone should come forth well-fashioned out of unpolished ill-bred company.

I say this, not that I think such a *tutor* is every day to be met with or to be had at the ordinary rates. But that those who are able may not be sparing of inquiry or cost in what is of so great moment; and that other parents, whose estates will not reach to greater salaries, may yet remember what they should principally have an eye to in the choice of one to whom they would commit the education of their children, and what part they should chiefly look after themselves whilst they are under their care and as often as they come within their observation, and not think that all lies in Latin and French or some dry systems of logic and philosophy.

Familiarity. §95. But to return to our method again. Though I have mentioned the severity of the father's brow and the awe settled thereby in the mind of children when young as one main instrument whereby their education is to be managed,⁵² yet I am far from being of an opinion that it should be continued all along to them whilst they are under the discipline and government of pupilage. I think it should be relaxed as fast as their age, discretion, and good behavior could allow it; even to that degree that a father will do well, as his son grows up and is capable of it, to *talk familiarly* with him, nay, *ask his advice and consult* with him about those things wherein he has any knowledge or understanding. By this the father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is that it will put serious considerations into his son's thoughts better than any rules or advice he can give him. The sooner you *treat him as a man*, the sooner he will begin to be one: and if you admit him into serious discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his mind above the usual amusements of youth and those trifling occupations which it is commonly wasted in. For it is easy to observe that many young men continue longer in the thoughts and conversation of schoolboys than otherwise they would because their parents keep them at that distance and in that low rank by all their carriage to them.

§96. Another thing of greater consequence which you will obtain by such a way of treating him will be *his friendship*. Many fathers, though they

52. §§40–44.

proportion to their sons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep the knowledge of their estates and concerns from them with as much reservedness as if they were guarding a secret of state from a spy or an enemy. This, if it looks not like jealousy, yet it wants those marks of kindness and intimacy which a father should show to his son and, no doubt, often hinders or abates that cheerfulness and satisfaction where-with a son should address himself to and rely upon his father. And I cannot but often wonder to see fathers who love their sons very well yet so order the matter by a constant stiffness and a mien of authority and distance to them all their lives as if they were never to enjoy or have any comfort from those they love best in the world till they have lost them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and establishes friendship and good will so much as *confident communication* of concerns and affairs. Other kindnesses without this leave still some doubts: but when your son sees you open your mind to him, when he finds that you interest him in your affairs as things you are willing should in their turn come into his hands, he will be concerned for them as for his own, wait his season with patience, and love you in the meantime who keep him not at the distance of a stranger. This will also make him see that the enjoyment you have is not without care; which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the possession and the more think himself happy under the management of so favorable a friend and so careful a father. There is scarce any young man of so little thought or so void of sense that would not be glad of a *sure friend* that he might have recourse to and freely consult on occasion. The reservedness and distance that fathers keep often deprive their sons of that refuge which would be of more advantage to them than a hundred rebukes and chidings. Would your son engage in some frolic or take a vagary, were it not much better he should do it with than without your knowledge? For since allowances for such things must be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and designs, the better will you be able to prevent great mischiefs and, by letting him see what is likely to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less inconveniences. Would you have him open his heart to you and ask your advice? You must begin to do so with him first and by your carriage beget that confidence.

§97. But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable mischief, be sure you advise only as a friend of more experience but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, no more than you would to your equal or a stranger. That would be to drive him forever from any farther demanding or receiving advantage from your counsel. You must consider that he is a young man and has pleasures and

fancies which you are passed. You must not expect his inclinations should be just as yours, nor that at twenty he should have the same thoughts you have at fifty. All that you can wish is that since youth must have some liberty, some outleaps, they might be with the ingenuousness of a son and *under the eye of a father*, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before,⁵³ is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your affairs, propose matters to him *familiarly*, and ask his advice; and whenever he lights on the right, follow it as his; and if it succeeds well, let him have the commendation. This will not at all lessen your authority, but increase his love and esteem of you. Whilst you keep your estate, the staff will still be in your own hands; and your authority the surer, the more it is strengthened with *confidence* and *kindness*. For you have not that power you ought to have over him till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a friend than of losing some part of his future expectation.

§98. Familiarity of discourse, if it can become a father to his son, may much more be condescended to by a tutor to his pupil. All their time together should not be spent in reading of lectures and magisterially dictating to him what he is to observe and follow; hearing him in his turn and using him to reason about what is proposed makes the rules go down the easier and sink the deeper and gives him a liking to study and instruction; and he will then begin to value knowledge when he sees that it enables him to discourse and he finds the pleasure and credit of bearing a part in the conversation, and to have his reasons sometimes approved and hearkened to. Especially in morality, prudence, and breeding, cases should be put to him, and his judgment asked. This opens the understanding better than maxims, how well soever explained, and settles the rules better in the memory for practice. This way lets things into the mind which stick there and retain their evidence with them; whereas words at best are faint representations, being not so much as the true shadows of things, and are much sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the foundations and measures of decency and justice and have livelier and more lasting impressions of what he ought to do, by giving his opinion on cases proposed and reasoning with his tutor on fit instances than by giving a silent, negligent, sleepy audience to his tutor's lectures and much more than by captious logical disputes, or set declamations of his own upon any question. The one sets the thoughts upon wit and false colors, and not upon truth; the other teaches fallacy, wrangling, and opinionatedness; and they are both of

53. §95.

them things that spoil the judgment and put a man out of the way of right and fair reasoning, and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himself and be acceptable to others.

99. When, by making your son sensible that he depends on you and is in your power, you have established your authority; and by being inflexibly severe in your carriage to him when obstinately persisting in any ill-natured trick which you have forbidden, especially lying, you have imprinted on his mind that awe which is necessary; and on the other side, when (by permitting him the full liberty due to his age and laying no restraint in your presence to those childish actions and gaiety of carriage which, whilst he is very young, is as necessary to him as meat or sleep) you have reconciled him to your company and made him sensible of your care and love of him by indulgence and tenderness, especially caressing him on all occasions wherein he does anything well, and being kind to him after a thousand fashions suitable to his age which nature teaches parents better than I can; when, I say, by these ways of tenderness and affection, which parents never want for their children, you have also planted in him a particular affection for you, he is then in the state you could desire, and you have formed in his mind that true *reverence* which is always afterwards carefully to be continued and maintained in both the parts of it, *love* and *fear*, as the great principle whereby you will always have hold upon him to turn his mind to the ways of virtue and honor.

§100. When this foundation is once well laid, and you find this reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done is carefully to consider his *temper* and the particular constitution of his mind. Stubbornness, lying, and ill-natured actions are not (as has been said) to be permitted in him from the beginning, whatever his temper be; those seeds of vices are not to be suffered to take any root, but must be carefully weeded out as soon as ever they begin to show themselves in him; and your authority is to take place and influence his mind from the very dawning of any knowledge in him that it may operate as a natural principle, whereof he never perceived the beginning, never knew that it was or could be otherwise. By this, if the *reverence* he owes you be established early, it will always be sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to resist it as the principles of his nature.

§101. Having thus very early set up your authority and by the gentler applications of it shamed him out of what leads towards any immoral habit as soon as you have observed it in him (for I would by no means have chiding used, much less blows, till obstinacy and incorrigibleness make it absolutely necessary), it will be fit to consider which way the natural make of

ing, and loud *wrangling*, are too often observable amongst grown people, even of rank amongst us. The Indians, whom we call barbarous, observe much more decency and civility in their discourses and conversation, giving one another a fair silent hearing till they have quite done and then answering them calmly and without noise or passion. And if it be not so in this civilized part of the world, we must impute it to a neglect in education, which has not yet reformed this ancient piece of barbarity amongst us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining spectacle to see two ladies of quality accidentally seated on the opposite sides of a room, set round with company, fall into a dispute and grow so eager in it, that in the heat of their controversy, edging by degrees their chairs forwards, they were in a little time got up close to one another in the middle of the room, where they for a good while managed the dispute as fiercely as two gamecocks in the pit, without minding or taking any notice of the circle, which could not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a person of quality, who was present at the combat and did not omit to reflect upon the indecencies that warmth in *dispute* often runs people into; which since custom makes too frequent, education should take the more care of. There is nobody but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves: and many who are sensible of it in themselves and resolve against it cannot yet get rid of an ill custom, which neglect in their education has suffered to settle into a habit.

Dispute.

Company.

§146. What has been said above concerning *company* would perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger prospect and let us see how much farther its influence reaches. It is not the modes of civility alone that are imprinted by *conversation*: the tincture of company sinks deeper than the outside, and possibly, if a true estimate were made of the morality and religions of the world, we should find that the far greater part of mankind received even those opinions and ceremonies they would die for rather from the fashions of their countries and the constant practice of those about them than from any conviction of their reasons. I mention this only to let you see of what moment I think *company* is to your son in all the parts of his life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weighed and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do besides.

Learning.

§147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put *learning* last, especially if I tell you I think it the least part. This may seem strange in the mouth of a bookish man; and this making usually the chief if not only bustle and stir about children, this being almost that alone which is thought on when people talk of education, makes it the greater paradox. When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it,

and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education, as [they do] a language or two to be its whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life to get a language or two, which I think might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time and be learned almost in playing?

Forgive me therefore, if I say, I cannot with patience think that a young gentleman should be put into the herd, and be driven with a whip and scourge, as if he were to run the gauntlet through the several classes, *ad capiendum ingenii cultum*.⁷² What then, say you, would you not have him write and read? Shall he be more ignorant than the cleric of our parish, who takes Hopkins and Sternhold⁷³ for the best poets in the world, whom yet he makes worse than they are by his ill reading? Not so, not so fast, I beseech you. Reading, and writing, and *learning*, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief business. I imagine you would think him a very foolish fellow that should not value a virtuous or a wise man infinitely before a great scholar. Not but that I think *learning* a great help to both [virtue and wisdom] in well-disposed minds; but yet it must be confessed also that in others not so disposed it helps them only to be the more foolish or worse men. I say this, that when you consider of the breeding of your son and are looking out for a schoolmaster or a tutor, you would not have (as is usual) Latin and *logic* only in your thoughts. *Learning* must be had, but in the second place, as subservient only to greater qualities. Seek out somebody that may know how discreetly to frame his manners: place him in hands where you may, as much as possible, secure his innocence, cherish and nurse up the good and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and settle in him good habits. This is the main point, and this being provided for, *learning* may be had into the bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by methods that may be thought on.

§148. When he can talk, it is time he should begin to *learn to read*. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again,⁷⁴ what is very apt to be forgotten, viz. That a great care is to be taken that it be never made as a business to him, nor he look on it as a task. We naturally, as I said, even from our cradles, love liberty and have therefore an aversion to many things for

Reading.

72. "To receive the cultivation of his mind."

73. Authors of a sixteenth-century translation of the Book of Psalms included in the *Book of Common Prayer* used in the Church of England.

74. §§128–29.

no other reason but because they are enjoined us.⁷⁵ I have always had a fancy that *learning* might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honor, credit, delight and recreation or as a reward for doing something else and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this opinion is that amongst the Portuguese it is so much a fashion and emulation amongst their children to *learn to read* and write, that they cannot hinder them from it: they will learn it one from another and are as intent on it as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a friend's house, whose younger son, a child in [petti]coats, was not easily *brought* to his book (being taught to *read* at home by his mother); I advised to try another way than requiring it of him as his duty; we therefore, in a discourse on purpose amongst ourselves, in his hearing but without taking any notice of him, declared that it was the privilege and advantage of heirs and elder brothers to be scholars, that this made them fine gentlemen and beloved by everybody, and that for younger brothers it was a favor to admit them to breeding, to be taught to *read* and write was more than came to their share, they might be ignorant bumpkins and clowns if they pleased. This so wrought upon the child, that afterwards he desired to be taught, would come himself to his mother to *learn*, and would not let his maid be quiet till she heard him his lesson. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other children; and when their tempers are found, some thoughts be instilled into them that might set them upon desiring of *learning* themselves and make them seek it as another sort of play or recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a task nor made a trouble to them. There may be dice and playthings with the letters on them to teach children the *alphabet* by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular tempers, to make this kind of *learning a sport* to them.

§149. Thus children may be cozened into a knowledge of the letters, be *taught to read* without perceiving it to be anything but a sport, and play themselves into that which others are whipped for. Children should not have anything like work or serious laid on them; neither their minds nor bodies will bear it. It injures their healths, and their being forced and tied down to their books, in an age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason why a great many have hated books and learning all their lives after: it is like a surfeit that leaves an aversion behind not to be removed.

75. §§41, 73–74.

§150. I have therefore thought that if *playthings* were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, contrivances might be made to *teach children to read* whilst they thought they were only playing. For example, what if an *ivory ball* were made like that of the Royal Oak Lottery with thirty-two sides, or one rather of twenty-four or twenty-five sides; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, and on others D. I would have you begin with but these four letters, or perhaps only two at first; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and so on till each side having one letter, there be on it the whole alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of play to lay a stake who shall first throw an A or B, as who upon dice shall throw six or seven. This being a play amongst you, tempt him not to it lest you make it business, for I would not have him understand it is anything but a play of older people, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more reason to think it is a play that he is sometimes in favor admitted to, when the play is done the ball should be laid up safe out of his reach, that so it may not by his having it in his keeping at any time grow stale to him.

§151. To keep up his eagerness to it, let him think it a game belonging to those above him; and when by this means he knows the letters, by changing them into syllables, he may *learn to read* without knowing how he did so, and never have any chiding or trouble about it nor fall out with books because of the hard usage and vexation they have caused him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of pains to learn several games, which, if they should be enjoined them, they would abhor as a task and business. I know a person of great quality (more yet to be honored for his learning and virtue than for his rank and high place), who by pasting on the six vowels (for in our language Y is one) on the six sides of a die and the remaining eighteen consonants on the sides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children that he shall win who at one cast throws most words on these four dice; whereby his eldest son, yet in [petti]coats, has *played himself into spelling* with great eagerness and without once having been chid for it or forced to it.

§152. I have seen little girls exercise whole hours together and take abundance of pains to be expert at dibstones, as they call it; whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good contrivance to make them employ all that industry about something that might be more useful to them; and methinks 'tis only the fault and negligence of elder people that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than men; and men are to be blamed if some part of that busy humor be not turned to use-

ful things, which might be made usually as delightful to them as those they are employed in, if men would be but half so forward to lead the way as these little apes would be to follow. I imagine some wise Portuguese heretofore began this fashion amongst the children of his country, where, I have been told, as I said,⁷⁶ it is impossible to hinder the children from *learning to read* and write; and in some parts of France they teach one another to sing and dance from the cradle.

§153. The *letters* pasted upon the sides of the dice or polygon were best to be of the size of those of the folio Bible to begin with, and none of them capital letters; when once he can read what is printed in such letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones and in the beginning he should not be perplexed with variety; with this die also, you might have a play just like the Royal Oak, which would be another variety, and play for cherries or apples, etc.

§154. Besides these, twenty other plays might be invented depending on *letters*, which those who like this way may easily contrive and get made to this use if they will. But the four dice mentioned above,⁷⁷ I think so easy and useful that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

§155. Thus much for *learning to read*, which let him never be driven to nor chide for: cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a business for him. 'Tis better it be a year later *before he can read*, than that he should this way get an aversion to learning. If you have any contests with him, let it be in matters of moment, of truth and good nature, but lay no task on him about A B C. Use your skill to make his will supple and pliant to reason: teach him to love credit and commendation, to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by you and his mother, and then the rest will come all easily. But I think, if you will do that, you must not shackle and tie him up with rules about indifferent matters nor rebuke him for every little fault or perhaps some that to others would seem great ones; but of this I have said enough already.

§156. When by these gentle ways he begins to be able to *read*, some easy pleasant book suited to his capacity should be put into his hands, wherein the entertainment that he finds might draw him on and reward his pains in reading, and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery or lay the principles of vice and folly. To this purpose, I think Aesop's *Fables* the best, which being stories apt to delight and entertain a

76. §148.

77. §151.

child, may yet afford useful reflections to a grown man. And if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there amongst his manly thoughts and serious business. If his *Aesop has pictures* in it, it will entertain him much the better and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of knowledge with it. For such visible objects children hear talked of in vain and without any satisfaction, whilst they have no ideas of them; those ideas being not to be had from sounds but from the things themselves or their pictures. And therefore I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many pictures of animals should be got him as can be found, with the printed names to them, which at the same time will invite him to read and afford him matter of inquiry and knowledge. *Reynard the Fox* is another book, I think, may be made use of to the same purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other advantages, add encouragement and delight to his *reading* when he finds there is some use and pleasure in it. These baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary method; and it is usually long before learners find any use or pleasure in reading which may tempt them to it, and so take books only for fashionable amusements or impertinent troubles good for nothing.

§157. The Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, and Ten Commandments, it is necessary he should learn perfectly by heart, but I think, not by reading them himself in his primer, but by somebody's repeating them to him even before he can read. But learning by heart and *learning to read* should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his *learning to read* should be made as little trouble or business to him as might be.

What other *books* there are in English of the kind of those mentioned above, fit to *engage* the liking of children and tempt them to *read*, I do not know but am apt to think that [because of] children being generally delivered over to the method of schools, where the fear of the rod is to enforce and not any pleasure of the employment to invite them to learn, this sort of useful books amongst the number of silly ones that are of all sorts have yet had the fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been considered of this kind out of the ordinary road of the hornbook, primer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible.

§158. As for the *Bible*, which children are usually employed in to exercise and improve their talent in *reading*, I think the promiscuous reading of it through by chapters, as they lie in order, is so far from being of any advantage to children either for the perfecting their *reading* or principling their religion that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what pleasure or encouragement can it be to a child to exercise himself in reading those

parts of a book where he understands nothing? And how little are the Law of Moses, the Song of Solomon, the Prophecies in the Old, and the Epistles and Apocalypse in the New Testament, suited to a child's capacity? And though the History of the Evangelists and the Acts have something easier; yet taken altogether, it is very disproportionate to the understanding of childhood. I grant that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the words of the Scripture: yet none should be proposed to a child but such as are suited to a child's capacity and notions. But it is far from this to read through *the whole Bible*, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble of thoughts must a child have in his head, if he have any at all, such as he should have concerning religion, who in his tender age reads all the parts of the *Bible* indifferently as the Word of God without any other distinction. I am apt to think that this in some men has been the very reason why they never had clear and distinct thoughts of it all their lifetime.

§159. And now I am by chance fallen on this subject, give me leave to say that there are some parts of the *Scripture* which may be proper to be put into the hands of a child to engage him to read; such as are the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, etc. And others that he should be made to read for his instruction, as that *What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them*; and such other easy and plain moral rules, which being fitly chosen, might often be made use of both for reading and instruction together, and so often read till they are thoroughly fixed in the memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their turns, on fit occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred rules of his life and action. But the reading of the whole *Scripture* indifferently is what I think very inconvenient for children, till after having been made acquainted with the plainest fundamental parts of it, they have got some kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practice, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very words of the *Scripture*, and not in such as men prepossessed by systems and analogies are apt in this case to make use of and force upon them. Dr. Worthington, to avoid this, has made a catechism, which has all its answers in the precise words of the *Scripture*, a thing of good example and such a sound form of words as no Christian can except against as not fit for his child to learn; of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments by heart, it may be fit for him to learn a question every day or every week, as his understanding is able to receive and his memory to retain them. And when he has this catechism perfectly by heart, so as readily and roundly to answer to any question in the whole

book, it may be convenient to lodge in his mind the remaining moral rules scattered up and down in the *Bible*, as the best *exercise of his memory* and that which may be always a rule to him, ready at hand in the whole conduct of his life.

§160. When he can read English well, it will be seasonable to enter him in *writing*; and here the first thing should be taught him is to *hold his pen right*, and this he should be perfect in before he should be suffered to put it to paper. For not only children, but anybody else that would do anything well, should never be put upon too much of it at once or be set to perfect themselves in two parts of an action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the Italian way of holding the pen between the thumb and the forefinger alone may be best: but in this, you should consult some good writing master or any other person who writes well and quick. When he has learned to hold his pen right, in the next place he should learn how to *lay his paper and place his arm and body to it*. These practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble is to get a plate engraved with the characters of such a hand as you like best: but you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write, for everyone naturally comes by degrees to write a less hand than he at first was taught but never a bigger. Such a plate being engraved, let several sheets of good writing paper be printed off with red ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good pen filled with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of those characters, being at first showed where to begin and how to form every letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair paper; and so may easily be brought to *write* the hand you desire.

§161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient not only to continue the exercise of his hand in writing, but also to improve the use of it farther in *drawing*, a thing very useful to a gentleman in several occasions, but especially if he travel, as that which helps a man often to express in a few lines well put together what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man see, how many machines and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be easily retained and communicated by a little skill in *drawing*, which being committed to words are in danger to be lost or at best but ill retained in the most exact descriptions? I do not mean that I would have your son a *perfect painter*; to be that to any tolerable degree will require more time than a young gentleman can spare from his other improvements of greater moment. But so much insight into *perspective* and skill in *drawing* as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper anything

Writing.

Drawing.

he sees, except faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a genius to it; but where that is wanting, unless it be in things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly than to vex him about them to no purpose; and therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the rule holds, *Nihil invita Minerva*.⁷⁸

Shorthand. ¶1. *Shorthand*, an art, as I have been told, known only in England, may perhaps be thought worth the learning both for dispatch in what men write for their own memory and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye. For he that has once learned any sort of character may easily vary it to his own private use or fancy and with more contraction suited to the business he would employ it in. Mr. Rich's, the best contrived of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers grammar well be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a master; it will be early enough when any convenient opportunity offers itself at any time after his hand is well settled in fair and quick writing. For boys have but little use of *shorthand* and should by no means practice it till they write perfectly well and have thoroughly fixed the habit of doing so.

French. §162. As soon as he can speak English, it is time for him to learn some other language; this nobody doubts of when *French* is proposed. And the reason is because people are accustomed to the right way of teaching that language, which is by talking it into children in constant conversation, and not by grammatical rules. The Latin tongue would easily be taught the same way if his tutor, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him and make him answer still in the same language. But because *French* is a living language and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learned, that the yet pliant organs of speech might be accustomed to a due formation of those sounds and he get the habit of pronouncing *French* well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delayed.

Latin. §163. When he can speak and read French well, which in this method is usually in a year or two, he should proceed to *Latin*, which it is a wonder parents, when they have had the experiment in French, should not think ought to be learned the same way, by talking and reading. Only care is to be taken whilst he is learning these foreign languages by speaking and reading nothing else with his tutor, that he do not forget to read *English*, which may be preserved by his mother or somebody else hearing him read some chosen parts of the Scripture or other English book every day.

78. "Do nothing against the will of Minerva" (natural talent), Horace *De Arte Poetica* 385.

§164. *Latin* I look upon as absolutely necessary to a gentleman; and indeed, custom, which prevails over everything, has made it so much a part of education that even those children are whipped to it and made [to] spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in *Latin* who, after they are once gone from school, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be anything more ridiculous than that a father should waste his own money and his son's time in setting him to learn the *Roman language*, when at the same time he designs him for a trade, wherein he having no use of *Latin* fails not to forget that little which he brought from school and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill usage it procured him? Could it be believed, unless we had everywhere amongst us examples of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to and neglect all the while the writing a good hand and casting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life and to most trades indispensably necessary? But though these qualifications, requisite to trade and commerce and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be had at grammar schools, yet thither not only gentlemen send their younger sons, intended for trades, but even tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a question, as if you should ask them why they go to church. Custom serves for reason and has, to those who take it for reason, so consecrated this method that it is almost religiously observed by them, and they stick to it as if their children had scarce an orthodox education, unless they learned Lily's Grammar.⁷⁹

§165. But how necessary soever *Latin* be to some and is thought to be to others to whom it is of no manner of use or service; yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar school is that which, having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The reasons against it are so evident and cogent that they have prevailed with some intelligent persons to quit the ordinary road, not without success, though the method made use of was not exactly that which I imagine the easiest, and in short is this. To trouble the child with no *grammar* at all, but to have *Latin*, as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him; for if you will consider it, *Latin* is no more unknown to a child when he comes into the world than English; and yet he learns English without master, rule, or grammar and so might he *Latin* too, as Tully⁸⁰ did, if he had somebody always to talk

79. A sixteenth-century Latin grammar textbook.

80. Cicero.

to him in this language. And when we so often see a Frenchwoman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or two, without any rule of grammar or anything else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder how gentlemen have overseen⁸¹ this way for their sons and thought them more dull or incapable than their daughters.

§166. If therefore a man could be got, who himself speaking good *Latin* would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak or read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way and that which I would propose not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might without pains or chiding get a language which others are wont to be whipped for at school six or seven years together, but also as that wherein at the same time he might have his mind and manners formed, and he be instructed to boot in several sciences, such as are a good part of *geography*, *astronomy*, *chronology*, *anatomy*, besides some parts of *history*, and all other parts of knowledge of things that fall under the senses and require little more than memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in those things be laid the foundation, and not in the abstract notions of *logic* and *metaphysics*, which are fitter to amuse⁸² than inform the understanding in its first setting out towards knowledge. When young men have had their heads employed a while in those abstract speculations without finding the success and improvement or that use of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts either of learning or themselves: they are tempted to quit their studies and throw away their books as containing nothing but hard words and empty sounds or else to conclude that if there be any real knowledge in them, they themselves have not understandings capable of it. That this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own experience. Amongst other things to be learned by a young man in this method, whilst others of his age are wholly taken up with *Latin* and languages, I may also set down *geometry* for one, having known a young gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several propositions in *Euclid* before he was thirteen.

§167. But if such a man cannot be got, who speaks good *Latin* and, being able to instruct your son in all these parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method, the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as *Aesop's Fables*, and writing the English translation (made as literal as it can be) in

81. Overlooked.

82. Bewilder.

one line and the *Latin* words which answer each of them just over it in another. These let him read every day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the *Latin*, and then go on to another fable, till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in but sometimes reviewing that to keep it in his memory. And when he comes to write, let these be set him for copies, which with the exercise of his hand will also advance him in *Latin*. This being a more imperfect way than by *talking Latin* unto him; the formation of the verbs first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns perfectly learned by heart, may facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the *Latin tongue*, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns not as the modern languages do by particles prefixed but by changing the last syllables. More than this of grammar, I think he need not have till he can read himself *Sancti Minerva* with *Scioppius* and *Perizonius's* notes.⁸³

In teaching of children this too, I think, is to be observed, that in most cases where they stick they are not to be farther puzzled by putting them upon finding it out themselves, as by asking such questions as these, viz. which is the nominative case in the sentence they are to construe, or demanding what *aufero* signifies to lead them to the knowledge what *abstulere* signifies etc.⁸⁴ when they cannot readily tell. This wastes time only in disturbing them: for whilst they are learning and apply themselves with attention they are to be kept in good humor and everything made easy to them and as pleasant as possible. Therefore wherever they are at a stand and are willing to go forwards, help them presently over the difficulty without any rebuke or chiding, remembering that where harsher ways are taken they are the effect only of pride or peevishness in the teacher, who expects children should instantly be masters of as much as he knows; whereas he should rather consider that his business is to settle in them habits, not angrily to inculcate rules which serve for little in the conduct of our lives [or] at least are of no use to children, who forget them as soon as given. In sciences where their reason is to be exercised, I will not deny but this method may sometimes be varied and difficulties proposed on purpose to excite industry and accustom the mind to employ its own strength and sagacity in reasoning. But yet, I guess, this is not to be done to children whilst very young nor at their entrance upon any sort of knowledge: then everything of itself is difficult, and the great use and skill of a teacher is to make all as easy as he can. But particularly in learning of languages there

83. A sixteenth-century grammar with notes by seventeenth-century scholars.

84. Two declensions of the verb for "carry off" or "steal."

is least occasion for posing⁸⁵ of children. For languages, being to be learned by rote, custom, and memory, are then spoken in greatest perfection when all rules of grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the grammar of a language is sometimes very carefully to be studied; but it is only to be studied by a grown man, when he applies himself to the understanding of any language critically, which is seldom the business of any but professed scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a gentleman be to study any language, it ought to be that of his own country, that he may understand the language which he has constant use of with the utmost accuracy.

There is yet a farther reason why masters and teachers should raise no difficulties to their scholars but on the contrary should smooth their way and readily help them forwards where they find them stop. Children's minds are narrow and weak and usually susceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head fills it for the time, especially if set on with any passion. It should therefore be the skill and art of the teacher to clear their heads of all other thoughts whilst they are learning of anything, the better to make room for what he would instill into them, that it may be received with attention and application, without which it leaves no impression. The natural temper of children disposes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural state of childhood for them to fix their fleeting thoughts. Whether this be owing to the temper of their brains or the quickness or instability of their animal spirits, over which the mind has not yet got a full command, this is visible, that it is a pain to children to keep their thoughts steady to anything. A lasting continued attention is one of the hardest tasks [that] can be imposed on them; and therefore he that requires their application should endeavor to make what he proposes as grateful and agreeable as possible; at least, he ought to take care not to join any displeasing or frightful idea with it. If they come not to their books with some kind of liking and relish, it is no wonder their thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them and seek better entertainment in more pleasing objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

It is, I know, the usual method of tutors to endeavor to procure attention in their scholars and to fix their minds to the business in hand by rebukes and corrections if they find them ever so little wandering. But

85. Questioning or puzzling.

such treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate words or blows from the tutor fill the child's mind with terror and affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up and leaves no room for other impressions. I believe there is nobody that reads this but may recollect what disorder hasty or imperious words from his parents or teachers have caused in his thoughts, how for the time it has turned his brains so that he scarce knew what was said by or to him. He presently lost the sight of what he was upon, his mind was filled with disorder and confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of attention to anything else.

'Tis true, parents and governors ought to settle and establish their authority by an awe over the minds of those under their tuition, and to rule them by that; but when they have got an ascendant over them, they should use it with great moderation and not make themselves such scarecrows that their scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an austerity may make their government easy to themselves, but of very little use to their pupils. 'Tis impossible children should learn anything whilst their thoughts are possessed and disturbed with any passion, especially fear, which makes the strongest impression on their yet tender and weak spirits. Keep the mind in an easy calm temper when you would have it receive your instructions or any increase of knowledge. It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind as on a shaking paper.

The great skill of a teacher is to get and keep the attention of his scholar; whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the learner's abilities will carry him; and without that, all his bustle and pother will be to little or no purpose. To attain this, he should make the child comprehend (as much as may be) the usefulness of what he teaches him and let him see by what he has learned that he can do something which he could not do before, something which gives him some power and real advantage above others who are ignorant of it. To this he should add sweetness in all his instructions and by a certain tenderness in his whole carriage make the child sensible that he loves him and designs nothing but his good, the only way to beget love in the child, which will make him hearken to his lessons and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but obstinacy should meet with any imperiousness or rough usage. All other faults should be corrected with a gentle hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing mind and even prevent a good deal of that perverseness which rough and imperious usage often produces in well-disposed and generous minds. 'Tis true, obstinacy and willful neglects must be mastered, even though it cost blows to do it; but I am apt to think perverseness in the pupils is often

the effect of frowardness in the *tutor* and that most children would seldom have deserved blows if needless and misapplied roughness had not taught them ill nature and given them an aversion for their teacher and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, forgetfulness, unsteadiness, and wandering of thought, are the natural faults of childhood and therefore, where they are not observed to be willful, are to be mentioned softly and gained upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces anger and berating, the occasions of rebuke and corrections will return so often that the tutor will be a constant terror and uneasiness to his pupils. Which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his lessons and to defeat all his methods of instruction.

Let the awe he has got upon their minds be so tempered with the constant marks of tenderness and good will, that affection may spur them to their duty and make them find a pleasure in complying with his dictates. This will bring them with satisfaction to their tutor, make them hearken to him, as to one who is their friend that cherishes them and takes pains for their good; this will keep their thoughts easy and free, whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the mind is capable of receiving new information and of admitting into itself those impressions which, if not taken and retained, all that they and their teacher do together is lost labor: there is much uneasiness and little learning.

§168. When by this way of interlining *Latin* and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the *Latin tongue*, he may then be advanced a little farther to the reading of some other easy *Latin* book, such as Justin or Eutropius, and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself if he please with the English translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, frighten anyone. This when well considered is not of any moment against but plainly for this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man who does not speak English or *Latin* perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue of course without thought of rule or grammar falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well nor is master of it. And I would fain⁸⁶ have anyone name to me that tongue that anyone can learn or speak as he should do by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident and the common use of the people. And he that will speak them well has no other rule but that nor anything to trust to but his memory and the habit of

86. Gladly.

speaking after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which in other words is only to speak by rote.

It will possibly be asked here, is *grammar* then of no use? And have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several languages to rules and observations, who have written so much about *declensions* and *conjugations*, about *concords* and *syntaxes*, lost their labor and been learned to no purpose? I say not so, *grammar* has its place too. But this I think I may say, there is more stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong. I mean children at the age wherein they are usually perplexed with it in grammar schools.

There is nothing more evident than that languages learned by rote serve well enough for the common affairs of life and ordinary commerce. Nay, persons of quality of the softer sex and such of them as have spent their time in well-bred company show us that this plain natural way, without the least study or knowledge of *grammar*, can carry them to a great degree of elegance and politeness in their language: and there are ladies who, without knowing what *tenses* and *participles*, *adverbs* and *prepositions* are, speak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill compliment if I said as any country schoolmaster) as most gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary methods of grammar schools. Grammar therefore we see may be spared in some cases. The question then will be, to whom should it be taught, and when? To this I answer:

1. Men learn languages for the ordinary intercourse of society and communication of thoughts in common life without any farther design in their use of them. And for this purpose, the original way of learning a language by conversation not only serves well enough, but is to be preferred as the most expeditious, proper, and natural. Therefore, to this use of language one may answer that grammar is not necessary. This so many of my readers must be forced to allow as understand what I here say and who, conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the grammar of the English tongue. Which I suppose is the case of incomparably the greatest part of English men, of whom I have never yet known anyone who learned his mother tongue by rules.

2. Others there are the greatest part of whose business in this world is to be done with their tongues and with their pens, and to those it is convenient if not necessary that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds the more easily and with the greater impression. Upon this account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a gentleman. He ought to study grammar amongst the other helps of

speaking well, but it must be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely and speak it properly without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to with solecisms and offensive irregularities. And to this purpose grammar is necessary. But it is the grammar only of their own proper tongues, and to those only who would take pains in cultivating their language and in perfecting their styles. Whether all gentlemen should not do this I leave to be considered, since the want of propriety and grammatical exactness is thought very misbecoming one of that rank and usually draws on one guilty of such faults the censure of having had a lower breeding and worse company than suits with his quality. If this be so (as I suppose it is), it will be matter of wonder why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues: they do not so much as know there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, though they have daily use of it and are not seldom in the future course of their lives judged of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages whose grammars they have been so much employed in are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if upon occasion this should happen, they shall be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chinese who took notice of this way of breeding be apt to imagine that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, and (which amongst us are called the) learned languages, make them their study, and pique themselves upon their skill in them. No doubt those who propose to themselves the learning of any language with this view and would be critically exact in it ought carefully to study the grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin: I grant these are languages of great use and excellency, and a man can have no place amongst the learned in this part of the world who is a stranger to them. But the knowledge a gentleman would ordinarily draw for his use out of the Roman and Greek writers, I think he may attain without studying the grammars of those tongues and by bare reading may come to understand them sufficiently for all his purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the grammar and critical niceties of either of these tongues, he himself will be able to determine when he comes to propose to himself the study of anything that

shall require it. Which brings me to the other part of the inquiry, viz. *when grammar should be taught*. To which upon the premised grounds the answer is obvious, viz.:

That if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already; how else can he be taught the grammar of it? This at least is evident from the practice of the wise and learned nations amongst the ancients. They made it a part of education to cultivate their own, not foreign tongues. The Greeks counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And though the Greek learning grew in credit amongst the Romans towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the study of their youth: their own language they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own language they were instructed and exercised in.

But more particularly to determine the proper season for grammar, I do not see how it can reasonably be made anyone's study but as an introduction to rhetoric; when it is thought time to put anyone upon the care of polishing his tongue, and of speaking better than the illiterate, then is the time for him to be instructed in the rules of grammar and not before. For grammar being to teach men not to speak, but to speak correctly and according to the exact rules of the tongue, which is one part of elegance, there is little use of the one to him that has no need of the other: where rhetoric is not necessary, grammar may be spared. I know not why anyone should waste his time and beat his head about the Latin grammar who does not intend to be a critic or make speeches and write dispatches in it. When anyone finds in himself a necessity or disposition to study any foreign language to the bottom and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical survey of it. If his use of it be only to understand some books written in it, without a critical knowledge of the tongue itself, reading alone, as I have said, will attain this end without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.

§169. For the exercise of his writing, let him sometimes *translate Latin* into English; but the learning of *Latin*, being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other real knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the senses, such as is the knowledge of *minerals, plants, and animals*, and particularly timber and fruit trees, their parts and ways of propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child which will not be useless to the man. But more especially *geography, astronomy, and anatomy*. But whatever you are teaching him, have a care still that you do not clog him with too much at once, or make anything his business but down-

Latin.

right virtue, or reprove him for anything but vice or some apparent tendency to it.

§170. But if, after all, his fate be to go to school to get the *Latin tongue*, it will be in vain to talk to you concerning the method I think best to be observed in schools; you must submit to that you find there nor expect to have it changed for your son; but yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employed in making *Latin themes* and *declamations*, and least of all *verses* of any kind. You may insist on it, if it will do any good, that you have no design to make him either a *Latin* orator or a poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a *Latin* author, and that you observe that those who teach any of the modern languages, and that with success, never amuse their scholars to make speeches or verses either in French or Italian, their business being *language barely* and not invention.

§171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercised in making of *themes* and *verses*: 1. As to *themes*, they have, I confess, the pretence of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject; which, if it could be attained this way, I own would be a great advantage, there being nothing more becoming a gentleman nor more useful in all the occurrences of life than to be able, on any occasion, to speak well and to the purpose. But this I say, that the making of *themes*, as is usual in schools, helps not one jot toward it. For do but consider what it is, in making a *theme*, that a young lad is employed about: it is to make a speech on some Latin saying, as *Omnia vincit amor* or *Non licet in bello his peccare*, etc.⁸⁷ And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of those things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from time and observation, must set his invention on the rack to say something, where he knows nothing; which is a sort of Egyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials.⁸⁸ And therefore it is usual in such cases for the poor children to go to those of higher forms with this petition, *pray give me a little sense*; which whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous is not easy to determine. Before a man can be in any capacity to speak on any subject, it is necessary he be acquainted with it, or else it is as foolish to set him to discourse of it as to set a blind man to talk of colors or a deaf man of music. And would you not think him a little cracked who would require another to make an argument on a moot point who understands nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do school-boys understand concerning those matters which are used to be proposed

87. "Love conquers all" and "It is not permitted in war to err twice."

88. Exodus 5:7.

to them in their *themes* as subjects to discourse on to whet and exercise their fancies?

§172. In the next place consider the language that their *themes* are made in: 'tis Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long since dead everywhere; a language which your son, 'tis a thousand to one, shall never have an occasion once to make a speech in as long as he lives after he comes to be a man; and a language wherein the manner of expressing oneself is so far different from ours, that to be perfect in that would very little improve the purity and facility of his English style. Besides that, there is now so little room or use for set speeches in our own language in any part of our English business, that I can see no pretence for this sort of exercise in our schools, unless it can be supposed that the making of set Latin speeches should be the way to teach men to speak well in English *extempore*. The way to that, I should think rather to be this: that there should be proposed to young gentleman rational and useful questions, suited to their age and capacities, and on subjects not wholly unknown to them nor out of their way; such as these, when they are ripe for exercises of this nature, they should *extempore*, or after a little meditation upon the spot, speak to without penning of anything. For, I ask, if we will examine the effects of this way of learning to speak well, who speak best in any business when occasion calls them to it, upon any debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down beforehand what they would say or those who, thinking only of the matter to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak *extempore*? And he that shall judge by this, will be little apt to think that the accustoming him to studied speeches and set compositions is the way to fit a young gentleman for business.

§173. But perhaps, we shall be told, it is to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue. 'Tis true, that is their proper business at school, but the making of *themes* is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains about invention of things to be said, not about the signification of words to be learned; and when they are making a *theme*, it is thoughts they search and sweat for, and not language. But the learning and mastery of a tongue, being uneasy and unpleasant enough in itself, should not be cumbered with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, if boys' invention be to be quickened by such exercise, let them make *themes* in English, where they have facility and a command of words, and will better see what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language; and if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest way without toiling and disgusting the mind by so uneasy an employment as that of making speeches joined to it.

Verses.

§174. If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say and of more weight against their making *verses*, verses of any sort. For if he has no *genius* to *poetry*, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child and waste his time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a poetic vein, it is to me the strangest thing in the world that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labor to have it stifled and suppressed, as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business; which is not yet the worst of the case. For if he proves a successful rhymers and get once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too: for it is very seldom seen that anyone discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus.⁸⁹ 'Tis a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by anything they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on. Men of estates almost constantly go away losers; and it is well if they escape at a cheaper rate than their whole estates or the greatest part of them. If therefore you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, without whom the sparks could not relish their wine nor know how to pass an afternoon idly, if you would not have him waste his time and estate to divert others and condemn the dirty acres left him by his ancestors, I do not think you will much care he should be a *poet* or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet, if anyone will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, and that the study of it would raise his fancy and parts, he must needs yet confess that to that end reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own in a language that is not his own. And he whose design it is to excel in English poetry would not, I guess, think the way to it were to make his first essays in Latin verses.

Memoriter. §175. Another thing very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar schools there is of which I see no use at all, unless it be to balk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, should be made as easy and pleasant as may be and that which was painful in it as much as possible quite removed. That which I mean and here complain of is their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors which are taught

89. The Greek mountain sacred to the muses.

them; wherein I can discover no advantage at all, especially to the business they are upon. Languages are to be learned only by reading and talking and not by scraps of authors got by heart; which when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant, and 'tis the ready way to make him one, than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous than to mix the rich and handsome thoughts and sayings of others with a deal of poor stuff of his own; which is thereby the more exposed and has no other grace in it nor will otherwise recommend the speaker than a threadbare russet coat would that was set off with large patches of scarlet and glittering brocade. Indeed, where a passage comes in the way whose matter is worth remembrance and the expression of it very close and excellent (as there are many such in the ancient authors), it may not be amiss to lodge it in the mind of young scholars and with such admirable strokes of those great masters sometimes exercise the memory of schoolboys. But their learning of their lessons by heart as they happen to fall out in their books, without choice or distinction, I know not what it serves for but to misspend their time and pains and give them a disgust and aversion to their books, wherein they find nothing but useless trouble.

§176. I hear it's said that children should be employed in getting things by heart to exercise and improve their memories. I could wish this were said with as much authority of reason as it is with forwardness of assurance, and that this practice were established upon good observation more than old custom. For it is evident that strength of memory is owing to a happy constitution and not to any habitual improvement got by exercise. 'Tis true, what the mind is intent upon and, for fear of letting it slip, often imprints afresh on itself by frequent reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural strength of retention. An impression made on beeswax or lead will not last so long as on brass or steel. Indeed, if it be renewed often, it may last the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new impression, and it is from thence one is to reckon if one would know how long the mind retains it. But the learning pages of Latin by heart no more fits the memory for retention of anything else than the graving of one sentence in lead makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other characters. If such a sort of exercise of the memory were able to give it strength and improve our parts, players of all other people must needs have the best memories, and be the best company. But whether the scraps they have got into their head this way make them remember other things the better, and whether their parts be improved proportionably to the pains they have taken in getting by heart others' sayings, experience

will show. Memory is so necessary to all parts and conditions of life and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull and useless for want of exercise, if exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this faculty of the mind is not capable of much help and amendment in general by any exercise or endeavor of ours, at least not by that used upon this pretence in grammar schools. And if Xerxes was able to call every common soldier by name in his army that consisted of no less than a hundred thousand men, I think it may be guessed he got not this wonderful ability by learning his lessons by heart when he was a boy. This method of exercising and improving the memory by toilsome repetitions without book of what they read is, I think, little used in the education of princes, which if it had that advantage [that] is talked of should be as little neglected in them as in the meanest schoolboys: princes having as much need of good memories as any men living and having generally an equal share in this faculty with other men, though it has never been taken care of this way. What the mind is intent upon and careful of, that it remembers best and for the reason mentioned above; to which, if method and order be joined, all is done, I think, that can be for the help of a weak memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a train of other people's words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I guess, scarce find the profit answer half the time and pains employed in it.

I do not mean hereby that there should be no exercise given to children's memories. I think their memories should be employed, but not in learning by rote whole pages out of books, which the lesson being once said and that task over, are delivered up again to oblivion and neglected forever. This mends neither the memory nor the mind. What they should learn by heart out of authors, I have above mentioned;⁹⁰ and such wise and useful sentences being once given in charge to their memories, they should never be suffered to forget again but be often called to an account for them; whereby, besides the use those sayings may be to them in their future life, as so many good rules and observations, they will be taught to reflect often and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the memory quick and useful. The custom of frequent reflection will keep their minds from running adrift and call their thoughts home from useless inattentive roving, and therefore, I think, it may do well, to give them something every day to remember, but something still that is in itself worth the remembering and what you would never have out

90. §175.

of mind whenever you call or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inward, than which you cannot wish them a better intellectual habit.

§177. But under whose care soever a child is put to be taught during the tender and flexible years of his life, this is certain: it should be one who thinks *Latin* and *language* the least part of education; one who, knowing how much virtue and a well-tempered soul is to be preferred to any sort of *learning* or *language*, makes it his chief business to form the mind of his scholars and give that a right disposition, which if once got, though all the rest should be neglected, would in due time produce all the rest and which, if it be not got and settled so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, *languages* and *sciences* and all the other accomplishments of education will be to no purpose but to make the worse or more dangerous man. And, indeed, whatever stir there is made about getting of *Latin* as the great and difficult business, his mother may teach it him herself if she will but spend two or three hours in a day with him and make him read the Evangelists in *Latin* to her: for she need but buy a *Latin* Testament and, having got somebody to mark the last syllable but one, where it is long, in words above two syllables (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation and accenting the words), read daily in the *Gospels*, and then let her avoid understanding them in *Latin* if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in *Latin*, let her in the same manner read Aesop's *Fables*, and so proceed on to Eutropius, Justin, and other such books. I do not mention this as an imagination of what I fancy [one] may do, but as of a thing I have known done and the *Latin* tongue with ease got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: he that takes on him the charge of bringing up young men, especially young gentlemen, should have something more in him than *Latin*, more than even a knowledge in the liberal sciences; he should be a person of eminent virtue and prudence, and with good sense, have good humor, and the skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kindness in a constant conversation with his pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.⁹¹

§178. At the same time that he is learning French and Latin, a child, as has been said,⁹² may also be entered in *arithmetic*, *geography*, *chronology*, *history*, and *geometry* too. For if these be taught him in French or Latin when he begins once to understand either of these tongues, he will get a knowledge in these sciences and the language to boot.

91. §§88–94.

92. §166.

Latin.

Geography.

Geography, I think, should be begun with: for the learning of the figure of the *globe*, the situation and boundaries of the four parts of the world, and that of particular kingdoms and countries, being only an exercise of the eyes and memory, a child with pleasure will learn and retain them; and this is so certain, that I now live in the house with a child whom his mother⁹³ has so well instructed this way in *geography* that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being asked, to any country upon the globe or any county⁹⁴ in the map of England, knew all the great rivers, promontories, straits, and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place before he was six years old. These things, that he will thus learn by sight and have by rote in his memory, is not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the *globes*. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it and will make the remainder much easier when his judgment is grown ripe enough for it; besides, that it gets so much time now and by the pleasure of knowing things leads him on insensibly to the gaining of languages.

§179. When he has the natural parts of the globe well fixed in his memory, it may then be time to begin *arithmetic*. By the natural parts of the globe, I mean the several positions of the parts of the earth and sea under different names and distinctions of countries, not coming yet to those artificial and imaginary Lines which have been invented and are only supposed for the better improvement of that science.

Arithmetic. §180. *Arithmetic* is the easiest and consequently the first sort of abstract reasoning which the mind commonly bears or accustoms itself to, and is of so general use in all parts of life and business that scarce anything is to be done without it. This is certain, a man cannot have too much of it nor too perfectly: he should therefore begin to be exercised in *counting* as soon and as far as he is capable of it and do something in it every day till he is master of the art of *numbers*. When he understands *addition* and *subtraction*, he may then be advanced farther in *geography*, and after he is acquainted with the *poles*, *zones*, *parallel circles*, and *meridians*, be taught *longitude* and *latitude* and by them be made to understand the use of maps and by the numbers placed on their sides to know the respective situation of countries and

Astronomy. how to find them out on the terrestrial globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be entered in the celestial; and there going over all the circles again, with a more particular observation of the ecliptic or zodiac to fix

93. Damaris Masham.

94. Accepting the Yoltons' emendation of "county" for "country" in their 1989 edition.

them all very clearly and distinctly in his mind, he may be taught the figure and position of the several constellations, which may be showed him first upon the globe and then in the heavens.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the constellations of this our hemisphere, it may be time to give him some notion of this our planetary world, and to that purpose it may not be amiss to make him a draft of the Copernican system, and therein explain to him the situation of the planets, their respective distances from the sun, the center of their revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the motion and theory of the planets the most easy and natural way. For since astronomers no longer doubt of the motion of the planets about the sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that hypothesis, which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a learner, but also the likeliest to be true in itself. But in this as in all other parts of instruction, great care must be taken with children to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at once and settle that well in their heads before you proceed to the next or anything new in that science. Give them first one simple idea, and see that they take it right and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add some other simple idea which lies next in your way to what you aim at; and so proceeding by gentle and insensible steps, children without confusion and amazement will have their understandings opened and their thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when anyone has learned anything himself, there is no such way to fix it in his memory and to encourage him to go on as to set him to teach it others.

§181. When he has once got such an acquaintance with the globes as is above mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in *geometry*, wherein I think the six first books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt whether more to a man of business be necessary or useful. At least if he have a genius and inclination to it, being entered so far by his tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a teacher.

The *globes* therefore must be studied, and that diligently, and I think may be begun betimes if the tutor will but be careful to distinguish what the child is capable of knowing and what not; for which this may be a rule that perhaps will go a pretty way, viz. that children may be taught anything that falls under their senses, especially their sight, as far as their memories only are exercised; and thus a child very young may learn which is the *equator*, which the *meridian*, etc., which Europe, and which England upon the globes as soon almost as he knows the rooms of the house he lives in if care be taken not to teach him too much at once nor to set him upon a new part till that which he is upon be perfectly learned and fixed in his memory.

Chronology. §182. With geography, *chronology* ought to go hand in hand. I mean the general part of it, so that he may have in his mind a view of the whole current of time and the several considerable *epochs* that are made use of in history. Without these two, history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman or man of business in the world, without geography and *chronology*, I say, history will be very ill retained and very little useful, but be only a jumble of matters of fact confusedly heaped together without order or instruction. It is by these two that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries, under which circumstances they are not only much easier kept in the memory, but in that natural order are only capable to afford those observations which make a man the better and the abler for reading them.

§183. When I speak of *chronology* as a science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little controversies that are in it. These are endless, and most of them of so little importance to a gentleman as not to deserve to be inquired into were they capable of an easy decision. And therefore all that learned noise and dust of the chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful book I have seen in that part of learning is a small treatise of Strauchius, which is printed in twelves, under the title of *Breviarum Chronologium*, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young gentleman concerning *chronology*; for all that is in that treatise a learner need not be cumbered with. He has in him the most remarkable or usual *epochs* reduced all to that of the *Julian Period*, which is the easiest and plainest and surest method that can be made use of in *chronology*. To this treatise of Strauchius, Helvicus's tables may be added as a book to be turned to on all occasions.

History. §184. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than history. The first of these recommends it to the study of grown men; the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young lad, who as soon as he is instructed in chronology and acquainted with the several *epochs* in use in this part of the world, and can reduce them to the *Julian Period*, should then have some *Latin history* put into his hand. The choice should be directed by the easiness of the style; for wherever he begins, chronology will keep it from confusion; and the pleasantness of the subject inviting him to read, the language will insensibly be got without that terrible vexation and uneasiness which children suffer where they are put into books beyond their capacity, such as are the Roman orators and poets, only to learn the Roman language. When he has by reading mastered the easier, such perhaps as Justin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius etc., the next degree to these will give

him no great trouble: and thus by a gradual progress from the plainest and easiest *historians* he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the *Latin* authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

§185. The knowledge of *virtue*, all along from the beginning, in all the instances he is capable of, being taught him more by practice than rules; and the love of reputation instead of satisfying his appetite being made habitual in him, I know not whether he should read any other discourses of morality but what he finds in the Bible or have any system of *ethics* put into his hand till he can read Tully's *Offices*,⁹⁵ not as a schoolboy to learn Latin, but as one that would be informed in the principles and precepts of virtue for the conduct of his life.

§186. When he has pretty well digested Tully's *Offices* and added to it Pufendorf's *De officio hominis & civis*, it may be seasonable to set him upon Grotius's *De jure belli & pacis*, or which perhaps is the better of the two, Pufendorf's *De jure naturali & gentium*; wherein he will be instructed in the natural rights of men, and the origin and foundations of society, and the duties resulting from thence. This *general part of civil law* and history are studies which a gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon and never have done with. A virtuous and well behaved young man that is well versed in the *general part of the civil law* (which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourse of civilized nations in general grounded upon principles of reason), understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn loose into the world with great assurance that he will find employment and esteem everywhere.

§187. It would be strange to suppose an English gentleman should be ignorant of the *law* of his country. This, whatever station he is in, is so requisite that from a justice of the peace to a minister of state I know no place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the chicane or wrangling and capacious part of the *law*; a gentleman, whose business it is to seek the true measures of right and wrong and not the arts how to avoid doing the one and secure himself in doing the other, ought to be as far from such a study of the *law* as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that wherein he may be serviceable to his country. And to that purpose, I think the right way for a gentleman to study *our law*, which he does not design for his calling, is to take a view of our English constitution and government in the ancient books of the *common law* and some more modern writers, who out of them have given an account of this government. And having got a true idea of that, then to read our history and with it join in every king's reign

95. Cicero's *De Officiis, Of Duties*.

Ethics.

Civil Law.

Law.

the *laws* then made. This will give an insight into the reason of our *statutes*, and show the true ground upon which they came to be made and what weight they ought to have.

Rhetoric. §188. *Rhetoric* and *logic* being the arts that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after grammar, it may perhaps be wondered that I have said so little of them. The reason is because of the little advantage young people receive by them. For I have seldom or never observed anyone to get the skill of reasoning well or speaking handsomely by studying those rules which pretend to teach it; and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of them in the shortest systems could be found without dwelling long on the contemplation and study of those formalities. Right reasoning is founded on something else than the *predicaments* and *predicables*, and does not consist in talking in *mode* and *figure* itself. But it is besides my present business to enlarge upon this speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand: if you would have your son *reason well*, let him read Chillingworth;⁹⁶ and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully to give him the true *idea* of *eloquence*, and let him read those things that are well written in English to perfect his style in the purity of our language.

§189. If the use and end of right reasoning be to have right notions and a right judgment of things, to distinguish between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and to act accordingly, be sure not to let your son be bred up in the art and formality of disputing, either practicing it himself or admiring it in others; unless instead of an able man, you desire to have him an insignificant wrangler, opiniated in discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others or, which is worse, questioning everything and thinking there is no such thing as truth to be sought but only victory in disputing. There cannot be anything so disingenuous, so misbecoming a gentleman or anyone who pretends to be a rational creature, as not to yield to plain reason and the conviction of clear arguments. Is there anything more inconsistent with civil conversation and the end of all debate than not to take an answer, though ever so full and satisfactory, but still to go on with the dispute as long as equivocal sounds can furnish (a *medius terminus*⁹⁷) a term to wrangle with on the one side, or a distinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, sense or nonsense, agreeing with or contrary to what he had said before, it matters not. For this in short is the way and perfection of logical disputes: that the opponent never take any

96. William Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants* (1638).

97. "Middle boundary" or "intermediate limit."

answer, nor the respondent ever yield to any argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of truth or knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffled wretch and lie under the disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirmed, which is the great aim and glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due consideration of things themselves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing: these lead not men so much into the discovery of truth as into a captious and fallacious use of doubtful words, which is the most useless and most offensive way of talking, and such as least suits a gentleman or a lover of truth of anything in the world.

There can scarce be a greater defect in a gentleman than not to express himself well either in writing or speaking. But yet, I think, I may ask my reader whether he does not know a great many who live upon their estates and so, with the name, should have the qualities of gentlemen, who cannot so much as tell a story as they should, much less speak clearly and persuasively in any business. This I think not to be so much their fault as the fault of their education. For I must without partiality do my countrymen this right, that where they apply themselves, I see none of their neighbors outgo them. They have been taught *rhetoric* but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their tongues or pens in the language they are always to use: as if the names of the figures that embellished the discourses of those who understood the art of speaking were the very art and skill of speaking well. This, as all other things of practice, is to be learned not by a few, or a great many rules given, but by exercise and application according to good rules, or rather patterns, till habits are got and a facility of doing it well.

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss to make children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a story of anything they know, and to correct at first the most remarkable fault they are guilty of in their way of putting it together. When that fault is cured, then to show them the next, and so on, till one after another all, at least the gross ones, are mended. When they can tell tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The *Fables* of Aesop, the only book almost that I know fit for children, may afford them matter for this exercise of writing English, as well as for reading and translating to enter them in the Latin tongue. When they are got past the faults of grammar and can join in a continued coherent discourse the several parts of a story without bald and unhandsome forms of transition (as is usual) often repeated, he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first step to speaking well and needs no invention, may have recourse to Tully and, by putting in

Style.

practice those rules which that master of eloquence gives in his First Book *De Inventione* §20, make them know wherein the skill and graces of a handsome narrative, according to the several subjects and designs of it, lie. Of each of which rules fit examples may be found out, and therein they may be shown how others have practiced them. The ancient classic authors afford plenty of such examples, which they should be made not only to translate but have set before them as patterns for their daily imitation.

Letters.

When they understand how to write English with due connection, propriety, and order, and are pretty well masters of a tolerable narrative style, they may be advanced to writing of letters. Wherein they should not be put upon any strains of wit or compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy sense without any incoherence, confusion or roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their thoughts, have set before them the example of *Voiture*⁹⁸ for the entertainment of their friends at a distance with letters of compliment, mirth, raillery, or diversion; and Tully's *Epistles* as the best pattern whether for business or conversation. The writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which, besides the consequences that in his affairs his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer examination of his breeding, sense, and abilities than oral discourses, whose transient faults, dying for the most part with the sound that gives them life and so not subject to a strict review, more easily escape observation and censure.

Had the methods of education been directed to their right ends, one would have thought this so necessary a part could not have been neglected, whilst themes and verses in Latin, of no use at all, were so constantly everywhere pressed, to the racking of children's inventions beyond their strength and hindering their cheerful progress in learning the tongues by unnatural difficulties. But custom has so ordained it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learned country schoolmaster (who has all the tropes and figures in Farnaby's *Rhetoric*⁹⁹ at his fingers' ends) to teach his scholar to express himself handsomely in English, when it appears to be so little his business or thought that the boy's mother (despised, it is likely, as illiterate for not having read a system of *logic* and *rhetoric*) outdoes him in it?

English.

98. *Les Lettres de Monsieur de Voiture* (1657).

99. A seventeenth-century Latin textbook.

To write and speak correctly gives a grace and gains a favorable attention to what one has to say; and since it is *English* that an *English* gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better Latin than *English* may make a man be talked of, but he would find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken anywhere to improve young men in their own language that they may thoroughly understand and be masters of it. If anyone among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or anything rather than to his education or any care of his teacher. To mind what *English* his pupil speaks or writes is below the dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach: *English* is the language of the illiterate vulgar. Though yet we see the policy of some of our neighbors has not thought it beneath the public care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language; polishing and enriching their tongue is no small business amongst them, it has colleges and stipends appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great ambition and emulation of writing correctly; and we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst languages possibly in this part of the world, if we look upon it as it was in some few reigns backwards, whatever it be now.¹⁰⁰ The great men amongst the Romans were daily exercising themselves in their own language, and we find yet upon record the names of orators who taught some of their emperors Latin, though it were their mother tongue.

'Tis plain, the Greeks were yet more nice¹⁰¹ in theirs, all other speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute people, though it be past doubt that they borrowed their learning and philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against Greek and Latin: I think they ought to be studied, and the Latin at least understood well by every gentleman. But whatever foreign languages a young man meddles with (and the more he knows the better), that which he should critically study and labor to get a

100. A reference to the activities of the French Academy.

101. Fastidious.

facility, clearness, and elegance to express himself in should be his own, and to this purpose he should daily be exercised in it.

Natural Philosophy. §190. *Natural philosophy*, as a speculative science, I imagine we have none, and perhaps, I may think I have reason to say, we never shall be able to make a science of it. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom and operate by ways too far surpassing our faculties to discover or capacities to conceive for us ever to be able to reduce them into a science. *Natural philosophy* being the knowledge of the principles, properties, and operations of things as they are in themselves, I imagine there are two parts of it, one comprehending spirits with their nature and qualities, and the other *bodies*. The first of these is usually referred to *metaphysics*; but under what title soever the consideration of *spirits* comes, I think it ought to go before the study of matter and body, not as a science that can be methodized into a system and treated of upon principles of knowledge, but as an enlargement of our minds towards a truer and fuller comprehension of the intellectual world, to which we are led both by reason and revelation. And since the clearest and largest discoveries we have of other *spirits*, besides God and our own souls, is imparted to us from heaven by revelation, I think the information that at least young people should have of them should be taken from that revelation. To this purpose, I conclude, it would be well if there were made a good history of the Bible for young people to read: wherein if everything that is fit to be put into it were laid down in its due order of time, and several things omitted which are suited only to riper age, that confusion which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And also this other good obtained, that by reading of it constantly there would be instilled into the minds of children a notion and belief of *spirits*, they having so much to do in all the transactions of that history, which will be a good preparation to the study of *bodies*. For without the notion and allowance of *spirits* our philosophy will be lame and defective in one main part of it, when it leaves out the contemplation of the most excellent and powerful part of the creation.

§191. Of this *history of the Bible* I think too it would be well if there were a short and plain epitome made, containing the chief and most material heads, for children to be conversant in as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some notion of *spirits*, yet is not contrary to what I said above,¹⁰² that I would not have children troubled whilst young with notions of *spirits*; whereby my meaning was that I think it

102. §§136–38.

inconvenient that their yet tender minds should receive early impressions of *goblins*, *specters*, and *apparitions*, wherewith their maids and those about them are apt to frighten them into a compliance with their orders, which often proves a great inconvenience to them all their lives after by subjecting their minds to frights, fearful apprehensions, weakness, and superstition; which, when coming abroad into the world and conversation they grow weary and ashamed of, it not seldom happens that to make as they think a thorough cure and ease themselves of a load which has sat so heavy on them, they throw away the thoughts of all *spirits* together and so run into the other but worse extreme.

§192. The reason why I would have this premised to *the study of bodies*, and the doctrine of the scriptures well imbibed before young men be entered in *natural philosophy*, is because matter being a thing that all our senses are constantly conversant with, it is so apt to possess the mind and exclude all other beings but matter, that prejudice, grounded on such principles, often leaves no room for the admittance of spirits or the allowing any such things as *immaterial beings in rerum natura*;¹⁰³ when yet it is evident that by mere matter and motion none of the great phenomena of nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural operation of matter or any other law of motion but the positive will of a Superior Being so ordering it. And therefore since the Deluge cannot be well explained without admitting something out of the ordinary course of nature, I propose it to be considered whether God's altering the center of gravity in the Earth for a time (a thing as intelligible as gravity itself, which perhaps a little variation of causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for Noah's Flood than any *hypothesis* yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great objection to this is that it would produce but a partial Deluge. But the alteration of the center of gravity once allowed, it is no hard matter to conceive that the Divine Power might make the center of gravity placed at a due distance from the center of the Earth move round it in a convenient space of time, whereby the Flood would become universal and, as I think, answer all the phenomena of the Deluge as delivered by Moses at an easier rate than those many hard suppositions that are made use of to explain it. But this is not a place for that argument, which is here only mentioned by the bye to show the necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare matter and its motion in the explication of nature; to which the notions of spirits and their power, as delivered in the Bible,

103. "In the things of nature," or "in the universe."

where so much is attributed to their operation, may be a fit preparative, reserving to a fitter opportunity a fuller explication of this *hypothesis* and the application of it to all the parts of the Deluge and any difficulties [that] can be supposed in the history of the Flood as recorded in the Scripture.

§193. But to return to the study of *natural philosophy*, though the world be full of systems of it, yet I cannot say I know any one which can be taught a young man as a science, wherein he may be sure to find truth and certainty, which is what all sciences give an expectation of.¹⁰⁴ I do not hence conclude that none of them are to be read: it is necessary for a gentleman in this learned age to look into some of them to fit himself for conversation. But whether that of Descartes be put into his hands as that which is most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short view of that and several others also, I think the systems of *natural philosophy* that have obtained in this part of the world are to be read more to know the *hypotheses* and to understand the terms and ways of talking of the several sects than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientific, and satisfactory knowledge of the works of nature; only this may be said, that the modern *Corpuscularians*¹⁰⁵ talk, in most things, more intelligibly than the Peripatetics, who possessed the Schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back and acquaint himself with the several opinions of the ancients, may consult Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*,¹⁰⁶ wherein that very learned author has with such accurateness and judgment collected and explained the opinions of the Greek philosophers that what principles they built on and what were the chief *hypotheses* that divided them is better to be seen in him than anywhere else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of nature because all the knowledge we have, or possibly can have, of it cannot be brought into a science. There are very many things in it that are convenient and necessary to be known to a gentleman, and a great many other that will abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such writers as have employed themselves in making rational

104. By science Locke means certain and demonstrative knowledge such as geometry, as distinguished from experimental knowledge; see *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (hereafter cited as *Essay*) IV iii 26–29, vi 7–13, xii 9–13.

105. Advocates such as Robert Boyle of the view that matter was composed of atoms or corpuscles.

106. *A True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678) by Ralph Cudworth, the Cambridge Platonist and father of Damaris Masham, Locke's friend in whose house he spent his last years.

experiments and observations than in starting barely speculative systems. Such writings therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle's¹⁰⁷ are, with others that have written of *husbandry*, *planting*, *gardening*, and the like, may be fit for a gentleman when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the systems of the *natural philosophy* in fashion.

§194. Though the systems of *physics* that I have met with afford little encouragement to look for certainty or science in any treatise which shall pretend to give us a body of *natural philosophy* from the first principles of bodies in general, yet the incomparable Mr. Newton has shown how far mathematics, applied to some parts of nature, may, upon principles that matter of fact justify, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular provinces of the incomprehensible universe. And if others could give us so good and clear an account of other parts of *nature* as he has of this our planetary world and the most considerable *phenomena* observable in it in his admirable book, *Philosophiae naturalis principia Mathematica*, we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain knowledge in several parts of this stupendous machine than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few that have mathematics enough to understand his demonstrations, yet the most accurate mathematicians who have examined them allowing them to be such, his book will deserve to be read and give no small light and pleasure to those who, willing to understand the motions, properties, and operations of the great masses of matter in this our solar system, will but carefully mind his conclusions, which may be depended on as propositions well proved.

§195. This is, in short, what I have thought concerning a young gentleman's studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered that I should omit *Greek*, since amongst the Grecians is to be found the origin, as it were, and foundation of all that learning which we have in this part of the world. I grant it so, and will add that no man can pass for a scholar that is ignorant of the *Greek* tongue. But I am not here considering of the education of a professed scholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by everyone acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a man, if he has a mind to carry his studies farther and look into the *Greek* learning, he will then easily get that tongue himself; and if he has not that inclination, his learning of it under a tutor will be but lost labor, and much of his time and pains spent in that which will be neglected and thrown away as soon as he is at liberty. For how many are there of a

Greek.

107. Robert Boyle, Locke's friend and mentor in natural science.

hundred, even amongst scholars themselves, who retain the *Greek* they carried from school, or ever improve it to a familiar reading and perfect understanding of *Greek* authors?

To conclude this part which concerns a young gentleman's studies, his tutor should remember that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge and to put him in the right way of knowing, and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.

The thoughts of a judicious author on the subject of languages, I shall here give the reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them. He says,¹⁰⁸ "One can scarce burden children too much with the knowledge of languages. They are useful to men of all conditions, and they equally open them the entrance either to the most profound or the more easy and entertaining parts of learning. If this irksome study be put off to a little more advanced age, young men either have not resolution enough to apply to it out of choice or steadiness to carry it on. And if anyone has the gift of perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon languages which is destined to other uses; and he confines to the study of words that age of his life that is above it and requires things; at least it is the losing the best and beautifullest season of one's life. This large foundation of languages cannot be well laid but when everything makes an easy and deep impression on the mind: when the memory is fresh, ready, and tenacious; when the head and heart are as yet free from cares, passions, and designs; and those on whom the child depends have authority enough to keep him close to a long continued application. I am persuaded that the small number of truly learned and the multitude of superficial pretenders is owing to the neglect of this."

I think everybody will agree with this observing gentleman that languages are the proper study of our first years. But it is to be considered by the parents and tutors, what tongues it is fit the child should learn. For it must be confessed that it is fruitless pains and loss of time to learn a language which, in the course of life that he is designed to, he is never likely to make use of, or which one may guess by his temper he will wholly neglect and lose again as soon as an approach to manhood, setting him free from a governor, shall put him into the hands of his own inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned tongues

108. *La Bruyere, Moeurs de ce siecle* (1696) p. 577 [Locke's note and presumably his translation].

or dispose him to mind any other language but what daily use or some particular necessity shall force upon him.

But yet for the sake of those who are designed to be scholars, I will add what the same author subjoins to make good his foregoing remark. It will deserve to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit rule for tutors to inculcate and leave with their pupils to guide their future studies.

"The study," says he, "of the original text can never be sufficiently recommended. It is the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of learning. Draw from the springhead, and take not things at secondhand. Let the writings of the great masters be never laid aside; dwell upon them, settle them in your mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your business thoroughly to understand them in their full extent and all their circumstances; acquaint yourself fully with the principles of original authors; bring them to a consistency, and then do you yourself make your deductions. In this state were the first commentators, and do not you rest till you bring yourself to the same. Content not yourself with those borrowed lights, nor guide yourself by their views but where your own fails you and leaves you in the dark. Their explications are not yours, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own observations are the product of your own mind, where they will abide and be ready at hand upon all occasions in conversation, consultation, and dispute. Lose not the pleasure it is to see that you were not stopped in your reading but by difficulties that are invincible, where the commentators and scholiasts themselves are at a stand and have nothing to say, those copious expositors of other places, who, with a vain and pompous overflow of learning poured out on passages plain and easy in themselves, are very free of their words and pains where there is no need. Convince yourself fully by thus ordering your studies that it is nothing but men's laziness which has encouraged pedantry to cram rather than enrich libraries and to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries, and you will perceive that sloth herein has acted against itself and its own interest by multiplying reading and inquiries and increasing the pains it endeavored to avoid."

This, though it may seem to concern none but direct scholars, is of so great moment for the right ordering of their education and studies that I hope I shall not be blamed for inserting of it here, especially if it be considered that it may be of use to gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the surface and get to themselves a solid satisfactory and masterly insight in any part of learning.

Method.

Order and constancy are said to make the great difference between one man and another: this I am sure, nothing so much clears a learner's way, helps him so much on in it, and makes him go so easy and so far in any inquiry as a good *method*. His governor should take pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to order, and teach him *method* in all the application of his thoughts; show him wherein it lies, and the advantages of it; acquaint him with the several sorts of it, either from general to particulars, or from particulars to what is more general; exercise him in both of them; and make him see in what cases each different *method* is most proper and to what ends it best serves.

In history the order of time should govern, in philosophical inquiries that of nature, which in all progression is to go from the place one is then in to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the mind, from the knowledge it stands possessed of already, to that which lies next and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompounded parts it can divide the matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to have distinct notions wherever the mind can find any real difference, but as carefully to avoid distinctions in terms where he has not distinct and different clear ideas.

§196. Besides what is to be had from study and books, there are other *accomplishments* necessary for a gentleman to be got by exercise, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which masters must be had.

Dancing.

Dancing being that which gives *graceful motions* all the life, and above all things manliness and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it cannot be learned too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good master that knows and can teach what is graceful and becoming and what gives a freedom and easiness to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this is worse than none at all, natural unfashionableness being much better than apish, affected postures; and I think it much more passable to put off the hat and make a leg like an honest country gentleman than like an ill-fashioned dancing master. For as for the jiggling part and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing farther than as it tends to perfect *graceful carriage*.

Music.

§197. *Music* is thought to have some affinity with dancing, and a good hand upon some instruments is by many people mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young man's time to gain but a moderate skill in it and engages often in such odd company that many think it much better spared; and I have, amongst men of parts and business, so seldom heard anyone commended or esteemed for having an excellency in *music*, that amongst

all those things that ever came into the list of accomplishments I think I may give it the last place. Our short lives will not serve us for the attainment of all things; nor can our minds be always intent on something to be learned. The weakness of our constitutions, both of mind and body, requires that we should be often unbent; and he that will make a good use of any part of his life must allow a large portion of it to recreation. At least this must not be denied to young people, unless whilst you with too much haste make them old, you have the displeasure to see them in their graves or a second childhood sooner than you could wish. And therefore, I think, that the time and pains allotted to serious improvements should be employed about things of most use and consequence, and that too in the methods the most easy and short that could be at any rate obtained; and perhaps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least secrets in education to make the exercises of the body and the mind the *recreation* one to another.¹⁰⁹ I doubt not but that something might be done in it by a prudent man that would well consider the temper and inclination of his pupil. For he that is wearied either with study or dancing does not desire presently to go to sleep, but to do something else which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remembered, that nothing can come into the account of *recreation* that is not done with delight.

§198. *Fencing* and *riding the great horse*¹¹⁰ are looked upon as so necessary parts of breeding that it would be thought a great *omission* to neglect them; the latter of the two, being for the most part to be learned only in great towns, is one of the best exercises for health which is to be had in those places of ease and luxury, and upon that account makes a fit part of a young gentleman's employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a man a firm and graceful seat on horseback and to make him able to teach his horse to stop and turn quick and to rest on his haunches, is of use to a gentleman both in peace and war. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a business of and deserve to take up more of his time than should barely for his health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous exercise, I shall leave to the discretion of parents and tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the parts of education, that most time and application is to be bestowed on that which is likely to be of greatest consequence and frequentest use in the ordinary course and occurrences of that life the young man is designed for.

109. §108.

110. Warhorse or charger.

Fencing.

§199. As for *fencing*, it seems to me a good exercise for health, but dangerous to the life. The confidence of their skill being apt to engage in quarrels those that think they have learned to use their swords, this presumption makes them often more touchy than needs on points of honor and slight or no provocations. Young men in their warm blood are forward to think they have in vain learned to fence if they never show their skill and courage in a duel; and they seem to have reason. But how many sad tragedies that reason has been the occasion of, the tears of many a mother can witness. A man that cannot *fence* will be more careful to keep out of bullies' and gamesters' company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon punctilios, nor to give affronts or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the quarrel. And when a man is in the field, a moderate skill in fencing rather exposes him to the sword of his enemy than secures him from it. And certainly a man of courage who cannot *fence* at all, and therefore will put all upon one thrust and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially if he has skill in *wrestling*. And therefore, if any provision be to be made against such accidents, and a man be to prepare his son for duels, I had much rather mine should be a good *wrestler* than an ordinary *fencer*, which is the most a gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the fencing school and every day exercising. But since fencing and riding the great horse are so generally looked upon as necessary qualifications in the breeding of a gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny anyone of that rank these marks of distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the father to consider how far the temper of his son and the station he is likely to be in will allow or encourage him to comply with fashions which, having very little to do with civil life, were yet formerly unknown to the most warlike nations and seem to have added little of force or courage to those who have received them, unless we will think martial skill or prowess have been improved by *duelling*, with which fencing came into and with which, I presume, it will go out of the world.

§200. These are my present thoughts concerning *learning* and *accomplishments*. The great business of all is *virtue* and *wisdom*.

*Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.*¹¹¹

Teach him to get a mastery over his inclinations and *submit his appetite to reason*. This being obtained, and by constant practice settled into habit, the hardest part of the task is over. To bring a young man to this, I know nothing which so much contributes as the love of praise and commenda-

111. "No deity is lacking where there is prudence," Juvenal *Satires* x 365, xiv 315.

tion, which should therefore be instilled into him by all arts imaginable. Make his mind as sensible of credit and shame as may be; and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him which will influence his actions when you are not by, to which the fear of a little smart of a rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper stock whereon afterwards to graft the true principles of morality and religion.

§201. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention, I shall run the danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about and what I have above written concerning education, all tending towards a gentleman's calling, with which a *trade* seems wholly to be inconsistent. And yet, I cannot forbear to say, I would have him *learn a trade, a manual trade*, nay, two or three, but one more particularly.

§202. The busy inclination of children being always to be directed to something that may be useful to them, the advantages proposed from what they are set about may be considered of two kinds: 1. Where the skill itself, that is got by exercise, is worth the having. Thus skill not only in languages and learned sciences, but in painting, turning,¹¹² gardening, tempering and working in iron, and all other useful arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the exercise itself, without any other consideration, is necessary or useful for health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by children whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those employments contribute nothing at all to their health: such are reading and writing and all other sedentary studies for the cultivating of the mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of gentlemen's time quite from their cradles. Other *manual arts*, which are both got and exercised by labor, do many of them, by that exercise, not only increase our dexterity and skill, but contribute to our health too, especially such as employ us in the open air. In these, then, health and improvement may be joined together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen to be made the recreations of one whose chief business is with books and study. In this choice, the age and inclination of the person is to be considered, and constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For command and force may often create but can never cure an aversion; and whatever anyone is brought to by compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can and be little profited and less recreated by [it], whilst he is at it.

§203. That which of all others would please me best would be a *painter*, Painting. were there not an argument or two against it not easy to be answered. First,

112. Lathe work.

Trade.

ill painting is one of the worst things in the world; and to attain a tolerable degree of skill in it requires too much of a man's time. If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful studies to give way to that; and if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains, and money [that] shall be employed in it will be thrown away to no purpose. Another reason why I am not for *painting* in a gentleman is because it is a sedentary recreation which more employs the mind than the body. A gentleman's more serious employment I look on to be study; and when that demands relaxation and refreshment, it should be in some exercise of the body, which unbends the thought and confirms the health and strength. For these two reasons I am not for *painting*.

Gardening. §204. In the next place, for a country gentleman I should propose one or rather both these: viz. *gardening* or *husbandry* in general and working in wood, as a *carpenter*, *joiner*, or *turner*, these being fit and healthy recreations for a man of study or business. For since the mind endures not to be constantly employed in the same thing or way, and sedentary or studious men should have some exercise that at the same time might divert their minds and employ their bodies, I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman than these two, the one of them affording him exercise when the weather or season keeps him from the other. Besides that, by being skilled in the one of them he will be able to govern and teach his gardener; by the other contrive and make a great many things both of delight and use; though these I propose not as the chief end of his labor, but as temptations to it; diversion from his other more serious thoughts and employments, by useful and healthy manual exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

§205. The great men among the ancients understood very well how to reconcile manual labor with affairs of state, and thought it no lessening to their dignity to make the one the recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have employed and diverted their spare hours was agriculture. Gideon amongst the Jews was taken from threshing, as well as Cincinnatus amongst the Romans from the plough, to command the armies of their countries against their enemies, and it is plain their dexterous handling of the flail or the plough and being good workmen with these tools did not hinder their skill in arms nor make them less able in the arts of war or government.¹¹³ They were great captains and statesmen as well as husbandmen. Cato major, who had with great reputation borne all the great offices of the commonwealth, has left us an evidence under his

113. Judges 6:11 and Livy III 26.

own hand,¹¹⁴ how much he was versed in country affairs, and as I remember, Cyrus when possessed of the Persian throne thought *gardening* so little beneath the dignity and grandeur of a throne that he showed Xenophon a large field of fruit trees all of his own planting.¹¹⁵ The records of antiquity both amongst Jews and Gentiles are full of instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful recreations by examples.

§206. Nor let it be thought that I mistake when I call these or the like *Recreation*, exercises of manual arts *diversions* or *recreations*, for *recreation* is not being idle (as everyone may observe) but easing the wearied part by change of business; and he that thinks *diversion* may not lie in hard and painful labor forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant recreation of men of the greatest condition. *Delving*, *planting*, *inoculating*, or any the like profitable employments would be no less a *diversion* than any of the idle sports in fashion if men could but be brought to delight in them, which custom and skill in a trade will quickly bring anyone to do. And I doubt not but there are to be found those who, being frequently called to cards or any other play by those they could not refuse, have been more tired with these *recreations* than with any the most serious employment of life, though the play has been such as they have naturally had no aversion to and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

§207. Play, wherein persons of condition, especially ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me that men cannot be perfectly idle; they must be doing something. For how else could they sit so many hours toiling at that which generally gives more vexation than delight to people whilst they are actually engaged in it? 'Tis certain, gaming leaves no satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either body or mind; as to their estates, if it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a *trade* then, and not a *recreation*, wherein few that have anything else to live on thrive, and, at best, a thriving gamester has but a poor trade on it, who fills his pockets at the price of his reputation.

Recreation belongs not to people who are strangers to business and are not wasted and wearied with the employment of their calling. The skill should be so to order their time of recreation that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised and is tired, and yet do something which, besides the present delight and ease, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the vanity and pride of greatness and

114. His work *De re rustica*, *Of Country Affairs*.

115. Xenophon *Oeconomicus* iv 20–25.

riches that has brought unprofitable and dangerous *pastimes* (as they are called) into fashion and persuaded people into a belief that the learning or putting their hands to anything that was useful could not be a *diversion* fit for a gentleman. This has been that which has given *cards*, *dice*, and *drinking* so much credit in the world; and a great many throw away their spare hours in them through the prevalency of custom and want of some better employment to fill up the vacancy of leisure more than from any real delight [that] is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unemployed time lying upon their hands nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at all; and having never learned any laudable manual art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish or ill ways in use to help off their time, which a rational man, till corrupted by custom, could find very little pleasure in.

§208. I say not this, that I would never have a young gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent *diversions* in fashion amongst those of his age and condition. I am so far from having him austere and morose to that degree that I would persuade him to more than ordinary complaisance for all the gaieties and *diversions* of those he converses with and [to] be averse or restive in nothing they should desire of him that might become a gentleman and an honest man. Though as to *cards* and *dice*, I think the safest and best way is never to learn any play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous temptations and encroaching wasters of useful time. But allowance being made for *idle and jovial conversation* and all fashionable becoming recreations; I say a young man will have time enough, from his serious and main business, to learn almost any *trade*. 'Tis [from] want of application, and not of leisure, that men are not skilful in more *arts* than one; and an hour in a day, constantly employed in such a way of *diversion*, will carry a man in a short time a great deal farther than he can imagine; which, if it were of no other use but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous *pastimes* out of fashion and to show there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If men from their youth were weaned from that sauntering humor, wherein some out of custom let a good part of their lives run uselessly away without either business or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire *dexterity and skill in hundreds of things*, which though remote from their proper callings would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this as well as other reasons before mentioned,¹¹⁶ a lazy listless humor that idly dreams away the days is of all others the least to be indulged or permitted in young peo-

116. §§123, 126.

ple. It is the proper state of one sick and out of order in his health, and is tolerable in nobody else, of what age or condition soever.

§209. To the arts above mentioned,¹¹⁷ may be added *perfuming*, *varnishing*, *engraving*, and several sorts of working in *iron*, *brass*, and *silver*; and if, as it happens to most young gentlemen, that a considerable part of his time be spent in a great town, he may learn to cut, polish, and set *precious stones* or employ himself in grinding and polishing *optical glasses*. Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious *manual arts*, it will be impossible that none should be found to please and delight him unless he be either idle or debauched, which is not to be supposed in a right way of education. And since he cannot be always employed in study, reading, and conversation, there will be many an hour, besides what his exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For, I conclude, a young man will seldom desire to sit perfectly still and idle; or if he does, it is a fault that ought to be mended.

§210. But if his mistaken parents, affrighted with the disgraceful names of *mechanic* and *trade*, shall have an aversion to anything of this kind in their children, yet there is one thing relating to trade, which when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their sons to learn.

Merchants' accounts, though a science not likely to help a gentleman to get an estate, yet possibly there is not anything of more use and efficacy to make him preserve the estate he has. 'Tis seldom observed that he who keeps an account of his income and expenses, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic affairs, lets them run to ruin; and I doubt not but many a man gets behindhand before he is aware, or runs further on when he is once in, for want of this care or the skill to do it. I would therefore advise all gentlemen to learn perfectly *merchants' accounts* and not to think it is a skill that belongs not to them because it has received its name [from] and has been chiefly practiced by men of traffic.

Merchants' Accounts.

§211. When my young master has once got the skill of *keeping accounts* (which is a business of reason more than arithmetic), perhaps it will not be amiss that his father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his concerns. Not that I would have him set down every pint of wine or play that costs him money; the general name of expenses will serve for such things well enough; nor would I have his father look so narrowly into these accounts as to take occasion from thence to criticize on his expenses. He must remember that he himself was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his son has to have the same and to

117. §204.

have allowance made for them. If therefore I would have the young gentleman obliged to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expenses (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully master of), but only that he might be brought early into the custom of doing it, and that that might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practiced the whole course of his life. A noble Venetian whose son wallowed in the plenty of his father's riches, finding his son's expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered by his cashier to let him have for the future no more money than what he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young gentleman's expenses, who could freely have as much money as he would tell.¹¹⁸ But yet this, to one who was used to nothing but the pursuit of his pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous reflection. If it be so much pains to me barely to count the money I would spend, what labor and pains did it cost my ancestors not only to count but get it? This rational thought, suggested by this little pains imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his mind that it made him take up,¹¹⁹ and from that time forwards, prove a good husband.¹²⁰ This at least everybody must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass than the having constantly before his eyes the state of his affairs in a regular course of *accounts*.

Travel.

§212. The last part usually in education is *travel*, which is commonly thought to finish the work and complete the gentleman. I confess *travel* into foreign countries has great advantages, but the time usually chosen to send young men abroad is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those advantages. Those which are proposed, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these two: first, language; secondly, an improvement in wisdom and prudence by seeing men and conversing with people of tempers, customs, and ways of living different from one another and especially from those of his parish and neighborhood. But from sixteen to one-and-twenty, which is the ordinary *time of travel*, men are of all their lives the least suited to these improvements. The first season to get foreign languages and form the tongue to their true accents, I should think, should be from seven to fourteen or sixteen; and then too a tutor with them is useful and necessary, who may with those languages

118. Count.

119. Check oneself, mend one's ways.

120. Frugal manager.

teach them other things. But to put them out of their parents' view at a great distance under a governor, when they think themselves too much men to be governed by others, and yet have not prudence and experience enough to govern themselves, what is it but to expose them to all the greatest dangers of their whole life when they have the least fence and guard against them? Till that boiling boisterous part of life comes in, it may be hoped the tutor may have some authority; neither the stubbornness of age nor the temptation or examples of others can take him from his tutor's conduct till fifteen or sixteen; but then, when he begins to consort himself with men and think himself one, when he comes to relish and pride himself in manly vices and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the control and conduct of another, what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet governor, when neither he has power to compel nor his pupil a disposition to be persuaded but on the contrary has the advice of warm blood and prevailing fashion to hearken to the temptations of his companions, just as wise as himself, rather than to the persuasions of his tutor, who is now looked on as the enemy to his freedom? And when is a man so likely to miscarry as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly? This is the season of all his life that most requires the eye and authority of his parents and friends to govern it. The flexibleness of the former part of a man's age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe; and in the after-part, reason and foresight begin a little to take place and mind a man of his safety and improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young gentleman to be *sent abroad* would be either when he is younger under a tutor, whom he might be the better for, or when he is some years older without a governor, when he is of age to govern himself and make observations of what he finds in other countries worthy his notice and that might be of use to him after his return; and when too, being thoroughly acquainted with the laws and fashions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has something to exchange with those abroad from whose conversation he hoped to reap any knowledge.

§213. The ordering of *travel* otherwise is that, I imagine, which makes so many young gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring home with them any knowledge of the places and people they have seen, it is often an admiration of the worst and vainest practices they met with abroad, retaining a relish and memory of those things wherein their liberty took its first swing rather than of what should make them better and wiser after their return. And indeed how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the age they do under the care of another who is to provide their

necessaries and make their observations for them? Thus under the shelter and pretence of a governor, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own legs or being accountable for their own conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with inquiries or making useful observations of their own. Their thoughts run after play and pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controlled, but seldom trouble themselves to examine the designs, observe the address, and consider the arts, tempers, and inclinations of men they meet with that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them. Here he that travels with them is to screen them, get them out when they have run themselves into the briars, and in all their miscarriages be answerable for them.

§214. I confess the knowledge of men is so great a skill that it is not to be expected a young man should presently be perfect in it. But yet his *going abroad* is to little purpose if *travel* does not somewhat open his eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accustom him to look beyond the outside and, under the inoffensive guard of a civil and obliging carriage, keep himself free and safe in his conversation with strangers and all sorts of people without forfeiting their good opinion. He that is sent out to *travel* at the age and with the thoughts of a man designing to improve himself may get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition where he comes; which though a thing of most advantage to a gentleman that travels, yet I ask, amongst our young men that go abroad under tutors, what one is there of a hundred that ever visits any person of quality? Much less makes an acquaintance with such from whose conversation he may learn what is good breeding in that country and what is worth observation in it; though from such persons it is one may learn more in one day than in a year's rambling from one inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wondered. For men of worth and parts will not easily admit the familiarity of boys, who yet need the care of a tutor; though a young gentleman and stranger, appearing like a man and showing a desire to inform himself in the customs, manners, laws, and government of the country he is in, will find welcome, assistance, and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing persons everywhere, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance an ingenuous and inquisitive foreigner.

§215. This, how true soever it be, will not, I fear, alter the custom which has cast the time of travel upon the worst part of a man's life but for reasons not taken from their improvement. The young lad must not be ventured abroad at eight or ten, for fear [of] what may happen to the tender child, though he then runs ten times less risk than at sixteen or eighteen. Nor must he stay at home till that dangerous heady age be over, because

he must be back again by one-and-twenty to marry and propagate. The father cannot stay any longer for the portion,¹²¹ nor the mother for a new set of babies to play with, and so my young master, whatever comes of it, must have a wife looked out for him by that time he is of age; though it would be no prejudice to his strength, his parts, or his issue, if it were respited for some time, and he had leave to get, in years and knowledge, the start a little of his children, who are often found to tread too near upon the heels of their fathers, to the no great satisfaction either of son or father. But the young gentleman being got within view of matrimony, 'tis time to leave him to his mistress.

§216. Though I am now come to a conclusion of what obvious *Conclusion.* remarks have suggested [themselves] to me concerning education, I would not have it thought that I look on it as a just treatise on this subject. There are a thousand other things that may need consideration, especially if one should take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults that are to be found in children and prescribe proper remedies. The variety is so great that it would require a volume; nor would that reach it. Each man's mind has some peculiarity, as well as his face, that distinguishes him from all others; and there are possibly scarce two children who can be conducted by exactly the same method. Besides that I think a prince, a nobleman, and an ordinary gentleman's son should have different ways of breeding. But having had here only some general views in reference to the main end and aims in education, and those designed for a gentleman's son who, being then very little, I considered only as white paper or wax to be molded and fashioned as one pleases; I have touched little more than those heads which I judged necessary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general; and have now published these my occasional thoughts with this hope, that though this be far from being a complete treatise on this subject or such as that everyone may find what will just fit his child in it, yet it may give some small light to those whose concern for their dear little ones makes them so irregularly bold that they dare venture to consult their own reason in the education of their children rather than wholly to rely upon old custom.

121. Dowry.

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§1. The last resort a man has recourse to in the conduct of himself is his *Introduction* understanding; for though we distinguish the faculties of the mind, and give the supreme command to the will as to an agent, yet the truth is, the man which is the agent determines himself to this or that voluntary action upon some precedent knowledge, or appearance of knowledge, in the understanding. No man ever sets himself about anything but upon some view or other which serves him for a reason for what he does: and whatsoever faculties he employs, the understanding, with such light as it has, well or ill informed, constantly leads; and by that light, true or false, all his operative powers are directed. The will itself, how absolute and uncontrollable soever it may be thought, never fails in its obedience to the dictates of the understanding. Temples have their sacred images, and we see what influence they have always had over a great part of mankind. But in truth the ideas and images in men's minds are the invisible powers that constantly govern them, and to these they all universally pay a ready submission. It is therefore of the highest concernment that great care should be taken of the understanding, to conduct it right in the search of knowledge and in the judgments it makes.

The logic now in use has so long possessed the chair, as the only art taught in the Schools for the direction of the mind in the study of the arts and sciences, that it would perhaps be thought an affectation of novelty to suspect that rules that have served the learned world these two or three thousand years, and which, without any complaint of defects, the learned have rested in, are not sufficient to guide the understanding.² And I should not doubt but this attempt would be censured as vanity or presumption, did not the great Lord Verulam's authority justify it;³ who, not servilely thinking learning could not be advanced beyond what it was, because for many ages it had not been, did not rest in the lazy approbation and applause of what was, because it was, but enlarged his mind to what might be. In his preface to his *Novum Organum*,⁴ concerning logic he pronounces

2. The logic Locke refers to was central to the educational program of the ecclesiastical Schools throughout the Middle Ages and was derived from Aristotle's philosophy. Locke criticizes the logic associated with the Schools throughout this work and offers his own approach as an alternative to it. See, for example, section 7. Mathematics.

3. Locke refers here to Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who was made Baron Verulam in 1618.

4. The passage is actually to be found in the preface to Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, an unfinished work of which the *Novum Organum* was originally meant to be a part.

thus: *Qui summas dialecticae partes tribuerunt atque inde fidissima scientiis praesidia comparari putarunt, verissime et optime viderunt intellectum humanum sibi permissum merito suspectum esse debere. Verum infirmior omnino est malo medicina; nec ipsa mali experts. Siquidem dialectica quae recepta est, licet ad civilia et artes quae in sermone et opinione positae sunt rectissime adhibeatur, naturae tamen subtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit; et prensando quod non capit, ad errores potius stabiliendos et quasi figendos quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit.*

'They,' says he, 'who attributed so much to logic, perceived very well and truly, that it was not safe to trust the understanding to itself, without the guard of any rules. But the remedy reached not the evil; but became a part of it: for the logic which took place, though it might do well enough in civil affairs and the arts which consisted in talk and opinion, yet comes very far short of subtlety in the real performances of nature, and, catching at what it cannot reach, has served to confirm and establish errors, rather than to open a way to truth.' And therefore a little after he says, 'That it is absolutely necessary that a better and perfecter use and employment of the mind and understanding should be introduced.' *Necessario requiritur ut melior et perfectior mentis et intellectus humani usus et adoperatio introducat.*

Parts.⁵

§2. There is, it is visible, great variety in men's understandings, and their natural constitutions put so wide a difference between some men in this respect, that art and industry would never be able to master; and their very natures seem to want a foundation to raise on it that which other men easily attain unto. Amongst men of equal education there is great inequality of parts. And the woods of America, as well as the schools of Athens, produce men of several abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most men come very short of what they might attain unto in their several degrees by a neglect of their understandings. A few rules of logic are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest improvement; whereas I think there are a great many natural defects in the understanding capable of amendment, which are overlooked and wholly neglected. And it is easy to perceive that men are guilty of a great many faults in the exercise and improvement of this faculty of the mind, which hinder them in their progress and keep them in ignorance and error all their lives. Some of them I shall take notice of, and endeavor to point out proper remedies for in the following discourse.

Reasoning.

§3. Besides the want of determined ideas, and of sagacity and exercise in finding out and laying in order intermediate ideas, there are three mis-

5. Talents, or abilities.

carriages that men are guilty of in reference to their reason, whereby this faculty is hindered in them from that service it might do and was designed for. And he that reflects upon the actions and discourses of mankind, will find their defects in this kind very frequent and very observable.

1. The first is of those who seldom reason at all, but do and think according to the example of others, whether parents, neighbors, ministers, or who else they are pleased to make choice of to have an implicit faith in, for the saving of themselves the pains and trouble of thinking and examining for themselves.

2. The second is of those who put passion in the place of reason, and, being resolved that shall govern their actions and arguments, neither use their own nor hearken to other people's reason, any farther than it suits their humor, interest, or party; and these one may observe commonly content themselves with words which have no distinct ideas to them, though, in other matters, that they come with an unbiased indifferency to, they want not abilities to talk and hear reason, where they have no secret inclination that hinders them from being tractable⁶ to it.

3. The third sort is of those who readily and sincerely follow reason, but, for want of having that which one may call *large, sound, round-about sense*, have not a full view of all that relates to the question and may be of moment to decide it. We are all short sighted, and very often see but one side of a matter; our views are not extended to all that has a connection with it. From this defect I think no man is free. We see but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore it is no wonder we conclude not right from our partial views. This might instruct the proudest esteemer of his own parts, how useful it is to talk and consult with others, even such as come short of him in capacity, quickness and penetration: for since no one sees all, and we generally have different prospects of the same thing, according to our different, as I may say, positions to it, it is not incongruous to think nor beneath any man to try, whether another may not have notions of things which have escaped him, and which his reason would make use of if they came into his mind. The faculty of reasoning seldom or never deceives those who trust to it; its consequences from what it builds on are evident and certain, but that which it oftenest, if not only, misleads us in is that the principles from which we conclude, the grounds upon which we bottom our reasoning, are but a part, something is left out which should go into the reckoning to make it just and exact. Here we may imagine a vast and almost infinite advantage that angels and separate spirits may have

6. Locke's original reads "untractable."

over us; who, in their several degrees of elevation above us, may be endowed with more comprehensive faculties, and some of them perhaps have perfect and exact views of all finite beings that come under their consideration, can, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, collect together all their scattered and almost boundless relations. A mind so furnished, what reason has it to acquiesce in the certainty of its conclusions!

In this we may see the reason why some men of study and thought, that reason right and are lovers of truth, do make no great advances in their discoveries of it. Error and truth are uncertainly blended in their minds; their decisions are lame and defective, and they are very often mistaken in their judgments: the reason whereof is, they converse but with one sort of men, they read but one sort of books, they will not come in the hearing but of one sort of notions; the truth is, they canton out to themselves a little Goshen⁷ in the intellectual world, where light shines, and, as they conclude, day blesses them; but the rest of that vast firmament⁸ they give up to night and darkness, and so avoid coming near it. They have a pretty traffick with known correspondents in some little creek; within that they confine themselves, and are dexterous managers enough of the wares and products of that corner with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great ocean of knowledge, to survey the riches that nature has stored other parts with, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful, than what has fallen to their lot in the admired plenty and sufficiency of their own little spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the universe. Those who live thus mued up within their own contracted territories, and will not look abroad beyond the boundaries that chance, conceit, or laziness has set to their enquiries, but live separate from the notions, discourses and attainments of the rest of mankind, may not amiss be represented by the inhabitants of the Marian islands; who, being separated by a large tract of sea from all communion with the habitable parts of the earth, thought themselves the only people of the world. And though the straitness of the conveniences of life amongst them had never reached so far as to the use of fire, until the Spaniards, not many years since, in their voyages from Acapulco to Manilia brought it amongst them; yet in the want and ignorance of almost all things, they looked upon themselves, even after that the Spaniards had brought amongst them the notice of variety of nations abounding in sciences, arts and conveniences of life, of which they knew nothing, they looked upon themselves, I say, as the hap-

7. The fertile land assigned to the Israelites in Egypt; Gen. 45:10.

8. Locke uses the Latin word, *Expansum*, here.

piest and wisest people of the universe. But for all that, nobody, I think, will imagine them deep naturalists, or solid metaphysicians; nobody will deem the quickest sighted amongst them to have very enlarged views in ethics or politics, nor can anyone allow the most capable amongst them to be advanced so far in his understanding as to have any other knowledge but of the few little things of his and the neighboring islands within his commerce, but far enough from that comprehensive enlargement of mind which adorns a soul devoted to truth, assisted with letters, and a free consideration of the several views and sentiments of thinking men of all sides. Let not men therefore that would have a sight of, what everyone pretends to be desirous to have a sight of, truth in its full extent, narrow and blind their own prospect. Let not men think there is no truth but in the sciences that they study, or the books that they read. To prejudge other men's notions before we have looked into them is not to show their darkness, but to put out our own eyes. *Try all things, hold fast that which is good*,⁹ is a divine rule coming from the Father of Light and Truth; and it is hard to know what other way men can come at truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for gold and hid treasure; but he that does so must have much earth and rubbish before he gets the pure metal; sand, and pebbles, and dross usually lie blended with it, but the gold is nevertheless gold, and will enrich the man that employs his pains to seek and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the mixture. Every man carries about him a touchstone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial gold from superficial glitterings, truth from appearances. And indeed the use and benefit of this touchstone, which is natural reason, is spoiled and lost only by assumed prejudices, overweening presumption, and narrowing our minds. The want of exercising it in the full extent of things intelligible, is that which weakens and extinguishes this noble faculty in us. Trace it, and see whether it be not so. The day laborer in a country village has commonly but a small pittance of knowledge, because his ideas and notions have been confined to the narrow bounds of a poor conversation¹⁰ and employment; the low mechanic of a country town does somewhat outdo him; porters and cobblers of great cities surpass them. A country gentleman, who, leaving Latin and learning in the University, removes thence to his mansion house, and associates with neighbors of the

9. I Thess. 5:21. From a 1611 English version of I Thess. 5:19–22; “Quench not the spirit: Despise not prophecyings: Prove all things: hold fast that which is good. Abstaine from all appearance of evill.”

10. Social interaction generally.

same strain, who relish nothing but hunting and a bottle; with those alone he spends his time, with these alone he converses, and can away with no company whose discourse goes beyond what claret and dissoluteness inspire. Such a patriot, formed in this happy way of improvement, cannot fail, as we see, to give notable decisions upon the bench at quarter sessions,¹¹ and eminent proofs of his skill in politics, when the strength of his purse and party have advanced him to a more conspicuous station. To such a one, truly an ordinary coffee-house gleaner of the City¹² is an errant statesman, and as much superior to [him], as a man conversant about Whitehall¹³ and the Court is to an ordinary shopkeeper. To carry this a little farther: here is one muffled up in the zeal and infallibility of his own sect, and will not touch a book or enter into debate with a person that will question any of those things which to him are sacred; another surveys our differences in religion with an equitable and fair indifference, and so finds probably that none of them are in everything unexceptionable. These divisions and systems were made by men, and carry the mark of fallibility on them; and in those whom he differs from, and, until he opened his eyes, had a general prejudice against, he meets with more to be said for a great many things than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of these two now is most likely to judge right in our religious controversies, and to be most stored with truth, the mark all pretend to aim at? All these men that I have instanced in, thus unequally furnished with truth and advanced in knowledge, I suppose of equal natural parts; all the odds between them has been the different scope that has been given to their understandings to range in, for the gathering up of information, and furnishing their heads with ideas, notions and observations, whereon to employ their minds and form their understandings.

It will possibly be objected, who is sufficient for all this? I answer, more than can be imagined. Everyone knows what his proper business is, and what, according to the character he makes of himself, the world may justly expect of him; and to answer that, he will find he will have time and opportunity enough to furnish himself, if he will not deprive himself by a narrowness of spirit of those helps that are at hand. I do not say to be a good geographer that a man should visit every mountain, river, promontory and

11. A criminal court whose sessions were held quarterly.

12. The financial area of London.

13. An area of London, still synonymous with the British government's executive branch, which included Whitehall Palace, built in the reign of Henry III and largely destroyed by fire in 1698.

creek upon the face of the earth, view the buildings, and survey the land everywhere, as if he were going to make a purchase. But yet everyone must allow that he shall know a country better that makes often sallies into it, and traverses it up and down, than he that like a mill horse goes still round in the same track, or keeps within the narrow bounds of a field or two that delight him. He that will enquire out the best books in every science, and inform himself of the most material authors of the several sects of philosophy and religion, will not find it an infinite work to acquaint himself with the sentiments of mankind concerning the most weighty and comprehensive subjects. Let him exercise the freedom of his reason and understanding in such a latitude as this, and his mind will be strengthened, his capacity enlarged, his faculties improved; and the light, which the remote and scattered parts of truth will give to one another, will so assist his judgment, that he will seldom be widely out, or miss giving proof of a clear head and a comprehensive knowledge. At least, this is the only way I know to give the understanding its due improvement to the full extent of its capacity, and to distinguish the two most different things I know in the world, a logical chicaner from a man of reason. Only, he that would thus give the mind its flight, and send abroad his enquiries into all parts after truth, must be sure to settle in his head determined ideas of all that he employs his thoughts about, and never fail to judge himself, and judge unbiassedly of all that he receives from others, either in their writings or discourses. Reverence or prejudice must not be suffered to give beauty or deformity to any of their opinions.

§4. We are born with faculties and powers capable almost of anything, such at least as would carry us farther than can easily be imagined: but it is only the exercise of those powers which gives us ability and skill in anything, and leads us towards perfection. *Of Practice and Habits.*

A middle-aged ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the carriage and language of a gentleman, though his body be as well proportioned, and his joints as supple, and his natural parts not any way inferior. The legs of a dancing master and the fingers of a musician fall as it were naturally, without thought or pains, into regular and admirable motions. Bid them change their parts, and they will in vain endeavor to produce like motions in the members not used to them, and it will require length of time and long practice to attain but some degrees of a like ability. What incredible and astonishing actions do we find rope dancers and tumblers bring their bodies to; not but that sundry in almost all manual arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the world takes notice of for such, because on that very account they give money to see them. All these admired motions

beyond the reach, and almost the conception, of unpracticed spectators are nothing but the mere effects of use and industry in men, whose bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazed lookers on.

As it is in the body, so it is in the mind; practice makes it what it is, and most even of those excellences which are looked on as natural endowments will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the product of exercise, and to be raised to that pitch only by repeated actions. Some men are remarked for pleasantness in raillery; others for apologues and apposite diverting stories. This is apt to be taken for the effect of pure nature, and that the rather, because it is not got by rules, and those who excel in either of them never purposely set themselves to the study of it as an art to be learned. But yet it is true that at first some lucky hit, which took with somebody and gained him commendation, encouraged him to try again, inclined his thoughts and endeavors that way, until at last he insensibly got a facility in it without perceiving how; and that is attributed wholly to nature which was much more the effect of use and practice. I do not deny that natural disposition may often give the first rise to it; but that never carries a man far without use and exercise, and it is practice alone that brings the powers of the mind as well as those of the body to their perfection. Many a good poetic vein is buried under a trade, and never produces anything for want of improvement. We see the ways of discourse and reasoning are very different, even concerning the same matter, at Court and in the University. And he that will go but from Westminster-Hall to the Exchange,¹⁴ will find a different genius and turn in their ways of talking, and yet one cannot think that all whose lot fell in the City were born with different parts from those who were bred at the University or Inns of Court.¹⁵

To what purpose all this, but to show that the difference, so observable in men's understandings and parts, does not arise so much from their natural faculties as acquired habits. He would be laughed at that should go about to make a fine dancer out of a country hedger, at past fifty. And he will not have much better success, who shall endeavor at that age to make a man reason well, or speak handsomely, who has never been used to it, though you should lay before him a collection of all the best precepts of

14. Westminster Hall was the seat of the chief law court of England. The Exchange was the center of trade.

15. The Inns of Court were a group of four voluntary legal societies responsible for legal education and admission to the bar. They were established to provide training in English law, rather than Roman law, which was taught in the Universities.

logic or oratory. Nobody is made anything by hearing of rules, or laying them up in his memory; practice must settle the habit of doing without reflecting on the rule, and you may as well hope to make a good painter or musician extempore by a lecture and instruction in the arts of music and painting, as a coherent thinker or strict reasoner by a set of rules, showing him wherein right reasoning consists.

This being so, that defects and weakness in men's understandings, as well as other faculties, come from want of a right use of their own minds, I am apt to think the fault is generally mislaid upon nature, and there is often a complaint of want of parts, when the fault lies in want of a due improvement of them. We see men frequently dexterous and sharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reason with them about matters of religion, appear perfectly stupid.

§5. I will not here, in what relates to the right conduct and improvement of the understanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined ideas, and the employing our thoughts rather about them than about sounds put for them, nor of settling the signification of words which we use with ourselves in the search of truth or with others in discoursing about it. Those hindrances of our understandings in the pursuit of knowledge, I have sufficiently enlarged upon in another place; so that nothing more needs here to be said of those matters.¹⁶

Ideas.

§6. There is another fault that stops or misleads men in their knowledge, which I have also spoken something of, but yet is necessary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom and see the root it springs from, and that is a custom of taking up with principles that are not self-evident and very often not so much as true. It is not unusual to see men rest their opinions upon foundations that have no more certainty and solidity than the propositions built on them and embraced for their sake. Such foundations are these and the like, viz. the founders or leaders of my party are good men, and therefore their tenets are true; it is the opinion of a sect that is erroneous, therefore it is false; it has been long received in the world, therefore it is true; or it is new, and therefore false.

Principles

These, and many the like, which are by no means the measures of truths and falsehood, the generality of men make the standards by which they accustom their understanding to judge. And thus they, falling into a habit of determining truth and falsehood by such wrong measures, it is no wonder they should embrace error for certainty, and be very positive in things they have no ground for.

16. *Essay II* xxix; *III ix*, x, xi.

There is not any who pretends to the least reason, but, when any of these his false maxims are brought to the test, must acknowledge them to be fallible,¹⁷ and such as he will not allow in those that differ from him; and yet, after he is convinced of this, you shall see him go on in the use of them, and the very next occasion that offers argue again upon the same grounds. Would one not be ready to think that men are willing to impose upon themselves and mislead their own understandings, who conduct them by such wrong measures, even after they see they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear so blameable as may be thought at first sight; for I think there are a great many that argue thus in earnest, and do it not to impose on themselves or others. They are persuaded of what they say, and think there is weight in it, though in a like case they have been convinced there is none; but men would be intolerable to themselves, and contemptible to others, if they should embrace opinions without any ground, and hold what they could give no manner of reason for. True or false, solid or sandy, the mind must have some foundation to rest itself upon, and, as I have remarked in another place, it no sooner entertains any proposition, but it presently hastens to some hypothesis to bottom it on; until then it is unquiet and unsettled. So much do our own very tempers dispose us to a right use of our understandings, if we would follow as we should the inclinations of our nature.

In some matters of concernment, especially those of religion, men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they must embrace and profess some tenets or other; and it would be a shame, nay, a contradiction too heavy for anyone's mind to lie constantly under, for him to pretend seriously to be persuaded of the truth of any religion, and yet not to be able to give any reason of his belief, or to say anything for his preference of this to any other opinion. And therefore they must make use of some principles or other, and those can be no other than such as they have and can manage; and to say they are not in earnest persuaded by them, and do not rest upon those they make use of, is contrary to experience, and to allege that they are not misled when we complain they are.

If this be so, it will be urged, why then do they not make use of sure and unquestionable principles,¹⁸ rather than rest on such grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is visible, serve to support error as well as truth?

To this I answer, the reason why they do not make use of better and surer principles, is because they cannot; but this inability proceeds not

17. The word "but" appears before "must" in this phrase in the original text.

18. The word "rather" appears before "make" in this phrase in the original text.

from want of natural parts (for those few whose case that is are to be excused) but for want of use and exercise. Few men are from their youth accustomed to strict reasoning, and to trace the dependence of any truth in a long train of consequences to its remote principles, and to observe its connection; and he that by frequent practice has not been used to this employment of his understanding, it is no more wonder that he should not, when he is grown into years, be able to bring his mind to it, than that he should not be on a sudden able to grave or design, dance on the ropes, or write a good hand, who has never practiced either of them.

Nay, the most of men are so wholly strangers to this, that they do not so much as perceive their want of it. They dispatch the ordinary business of their callings by rote, as we say, as they have learned it, and, if at any time they miss success, they impute it to anything rather than want of thought or skill; that they conclude (because they know no better) they have in perfection. Or if there be any subject that interest or fancy has recommended to their thoughts, their reasoning about it is still after their own fashion; be it better or worse, it serves their turns, and is the best they are acquainted with: and therefore when they are led by it into mistakes, and their business succeeds accordingly, they impute it to any cross accident, or default of others, rather than to their own want of understanding; that is what nobody discovers or complains of in himself. Whatsoever made his business to miscarry, it was not want of right thought and judgment in himself: he sees no such defect in himself, but is satisfied that he carries on his designs well enough by his own reasoning, or at least should have done, had it not been for unlucky traverses not in his power. Thus being content with this short and very imperfect use of his understanding, he never troubles himself to seek out methods of improving his mind, and lives all his life without any notion of close reasoning in a continued connection of a long train of consequences from sure foundations, such as is requisite for the making out and clearing most of the speculative truths most men own to believe and are most concerned in. Not to mention here what I shall have occasion to insist on by and by more fully, viz. that in many cases it is not one series of consequences will serve the turn, but many different and opposite deductions must be examined and laid together, before a man can come to make a right judgment of the point in question. What then can be expected from men that neither see the want of any such kind of reasoning as this, nor, if they do, know they how to set about it, or could perform it? You may as well set a countryman who scarce knows the figures, and never cast up a sum of three particulars, to state a merchant's long account, and find the true balance of it.

What then should be done in the case? I answer, we should always remember what I said above, that the faculties of our souls are improved and made useful to us just after the same manner as our bodies are. Would you have a man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other manual operation dexterously and with ease, let him have ever so much vigor and activity, suppleness and address naturally, yet nobody expects this from him unless he has been used to it, and has employed time and pains in fashioning and forming his hand or outward parts to these motions. Just so it is in the mind; would you have a man reason well, you must use him to it betimes, exercise his mind in observing the connection of ideas and following them in train. Nothing does this better than mathematics, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the time and opportunity, not so much to make them mathematicians as to make them reasonable creatures; for though we all call ourselves so, because we are born to it if we please, yet we may truly say nature gives us but the seeds of it; we are born to be, if we please, rational creatures, but it is use and exercise only that makes us so, and we are indeed so no farther than industry and application has carried us. And therefore, in ways of reasoning which men have not been used to, he that will observe the conclusions they take up must be satisfied they are not at all rational.

This has been the less taken notice of, because everyone, in his private affairs, uses some sort of reasoning or other, enough to denominate him reasonable. But the mistake is, that he that is found reasonable in one thing is concluded to be so in all, and to think or say otherwise is thought so unjust an affront, and so senseless a censure, that nobody ventures to do it. It looks like the degradation of a man below the dignity of his nature. It is true that he that reasons well in any one thing has a mind naturally capable of reasoning well in others, and to the same degree of strength and clearness, and possibly much greater, had his understanding been so employed. But it is as true that he, who can reason well today about one sort of matters, cannot at all reason today about others, though perhaps a year hence he may. But wherever a man's rational faculty fails him, and will not serve him to reason, there we cannot say he is rational, how capable soever he may be by time and exercise to become so.

Try in men of low and mean education, who have never elevated their thoughts above the spade and the plough, nor looked beyond the ordinary drudgery of a day laborer. Take the thoughts of such an one, used for many years to one track, out of that narrow compass he has been all his life confined to, you will find him no more capable of reasoning than almost a perfect natural. Some one or two rules, on which their conclusions imme-

diately depend, you will find in most men have governed all their thoughts; these, true or false, have been the maxims they have been guided by: take these from them, and they are perfectly at a loss, their compass and pole star then are gone, and their understanding is perfectly at a nonplus, and therefore they either immediately return to their old maxims again as the foundations of all truth to them, notwithstanding all that can be said to show their weakness, or, if they give them up to their reasons, they with them give up all truth and further enquiry, and think there is no such thing as certainty. For if you would enlarge their thoughts, and settle them upon more remote and surer principles, they either cannot easily apprehend them, or, if they can, know not what use to make of them; for long deductions from remote principles is what they have not been used to, and cannot manage.

What then, can grown men never be improved or enlarged in their understandings? I say not so, but this I think I may say, that it will not be done without industry and application, which will require more time and pains than grown men, settled in their course of life, will allow to it, and therefore very seldom is done. And this very capacity of attaining it by use and exercise only brings us back to that which I laid down before, that it is only practice that improves our minds as well as bodies, and we must expect nothing from our understandings any farther than they are perfected by habits.

The Americans are not all born with worse understandings than the Europeans, though we see none of them have such reaches in the arts and sciences. And among the children of a poor countryman, the lucky chance of education and getting into the world gives one infinitely the superiority in parts over the rest, who, continuing at home, had continued also just of the same size with his brethren.

He that has to do with young scholars, especially in mathematics, may perceive how their minds open by degrees, and how it is exercise alone that opens them. Sometimes they will stick a long time at a part of a demonstration, not for want of will and application, but really for want of perceiving the connection of two ideas that, to one whose understanding is more exercised, is as visible as anything can be. The same would be with a grown man beginning to study mathematics; the understanding, for want of use, often sticks in very plain way, and he himself that is so puzzled, when he comes to see the connection, wonders what it was he stuck at in a case so plain.

§7. I have mentioned mathematics as a way to settle in the mind a *Mathematics*. habit of reasoning closely and in train; not that I think it necessary that all

men should be deep mathematicians, but that having got the way of reasoning, which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge as they shall have occasion. For, in all sorts of reasoning, every single argument should be managed as a mathematical demonstration, the connection and dependence of ideas should be followed until the mind is brought to the source on which it bottoms and observes the coherence all along, though, in proofs of probability, one such train is not enough to settle the judgment as in demonstrative knowledge.

Where a truth is made out by one demonstration, there needs no farther enquiry, but in probabilities where there wants demonstration to establish the truth beyond doubt, there it is not enough to trace one argument to its source, and observe its strength and weakness, but all the arguments, after having been so examined on both sides, must be laid in balance one against another, and upon the whole the understanding determine its assent.

This is a way of reasoning the understanding should be accustomed to, which is so different from what the illiterate are used to, that even learned men oftentimes seem to have very little or no notion of it. Nor is it to be wondered, since the way of disputing in the Schools leads them quite away from it, by insisting on one topical argument, by the success of which the truth or falsehood of the question is to be determined and victory adjudged to the opponent or defendant; which is all one as if one should balance an account by one sum charged and discharged, when there are a hundred others to be taken into consideration.

This therefore it would be well if men's minds were accustomed to, and that early, that they might not erect their opinions upon one single view, when so many other are requisite to make up the account, and must come into the reckoning before a man can form a right judgment. This would enlarge their minds, and give a due freedom to their understandings, that they might not be led into error by presumption, laziness or precipitancy; for I think nobody can approve such a conduct of the understanding as should mislead it from truth, though it be ever so much in fashion to make use of it.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that to manage the understanding, as I propose, would require every man to be a scholar, and to be furnished with all the materials of knowledge, and exercised in all the ways of reasoning. To which I answer, that it is a shame for those that have time and the means to attain knowledge, to want any helps or assistance for the improvement of their understandings that are to be got, and to such I would be thought here chiefly to speak. Those methinks, who by the

industry and parts of their ancestors have been set free from a constant drudgery to their backs and their bellies, should bestow some of their spare time on their heads, and open their minds by some trials and essays in all the sorts and matters of reasoning. I have before mentioned mathematics, wherein algebra gives new helps and views to the understanding. If I propose these, it is not, as I said, to make every man a thorough mathematician, or a deep algebraist; but yet I think the study of them is of infinite use even to grown men; first, by experimentally convincing them that, to make anyone reason well, it is not enough to have parts wherewith he is satisfied and that serve him well enough in his ordinary course. A man in those studies will see that, however good he may think his understanding, yet in many things, and those very visible, it may fail him. This would take off that presumption that most men have of themselves in this part; and they would not be so apt to think their minds wanted no helps to enlarge them, that there could be nothing added to the acuteness and penetration of their understandings.

Secondly, the study of mathematics would show them the necessity there is, in reasoning, to separate all the distinct ideas, and see the habitudes that all those concerned in the present enquiry have to one another, and to lay by those which relate not to the proposition in hand and wholly to leave them out of the reckoning. This is that which in other subjects, besides quantity, is what is absolutely requisite to just reasoning, though in them it is not so easily observed nor so carefully practiced. In those parts of knowledge where it is thought demonstration has nothing to do, men reason as it were in the lump: and, if, upon a summary and confused view or upon a partial consideration, they can raise the appearance of a probability, they usually rest content; especially if it be in a dispute where every little straw is laid hold on, and everything that can but be drawn in any way to give color to the argument is advanced with ostentation. But that mind is not in a posture to find the truth, that does not distinctly take all the parts asunder, and, omitting what is not at all to the point, draw a conclusion from the result of all the particulars which any way influence it. There is another no less useful habit to be got by an application to mathematical demonstrations, and that is, of using the mind to a long train of consequences; but, having mentioned that already, I shall not again here repeat it.

As to men whose fortunes and time is narrower, what may suffice them is not of that vast extent as may be imagined, and so comes not within the objection.

Nobody is under an obligation to know everything. Knowledge and science in general is the business only of those who are at ease and leisure. Those who have particular callings ought to understand them; and it is no unreasonable proposal, nor impossible to be compassed, that they should think and reason right about what is their daily employment. This one cannot think them incapable of, without levelling them with the brutes, and charging them with a stupidity below the rank of rational creatures.

Religion.

§8. Besides his particular calling for the support of this life, everyone has a concern in a future life, which he is bound to look after. This engages his thoughts in religion; and here it mightily lies upon him to understand and reason right. Men therefore cannot be excused from understanding the words, and framing the general notions, relating to religion right. The one day of seven, besides other days of rest, allows in the Christian world time enough for this (had they no other idle hours), if they would but make use of these vacancies from their daily labor, and apply themselves to an improvement of knowledge, with as much diligence as they often do to a great many other things that are useless, and had but those that would enter them according to their several capacities in a right way to this knowledge. The original make of their minds is like that of other men, and they would be found not to want understanding fit to receive the knowledge of religion, if they were a little encouraged and helped in it as they should be. For there are instances of very mean people, who have raised their minds to a great sense and understanding of religion. And though these have not been so frequent as could be wished, yet they are enough to clear that condition of life from a necessity of gross ignorance, and to show that more might be brought to be rational creatures and Christians (for they can hardly be thought really to be so, who, wearing the name, know not so much as the very principles of that religion) if due care were taken of them. For, if I mistake not, the peasantry lately in France (a rank of people under a much heavier pressure of want and poverty than the day laborers in England) of the Reformed religion understood it much better, and could say more for it, than those of a higher condition among us.

But if it shall be concluded that the meaner sort of people must give themselves up to a brutish stupidity in the things of their nearest concernment, which I see no reason for, this excuses not those of a freer fortune and education, if they neglect their understandings, and take no care to employ them as they ought and set them right in the knowledge of those things for which principally they were given them. At least those whose plentiful fortunes allow them the opportunities and helps of improvements are not so few, but that it might be hoped great advancements might

be made in knowledge of all kinds, especially in that of the greatest concern and largest views, if men would make a right use of their faculties and study their own understandings.

Ideas.

§9. Outward corporeal objects that constantly importune our senses, and captivate our appetites, fail not to fill our heads with lively and lasting ideas of that kind. Here the mind needs not be set upon getting greater store; they offer themselves fast enough, and are usually entertained in such plenty and lodged so carefully, that the mind wants room or attention for others that it has more use and need of. To fit the understanding therefore for such reasoning as I have been above speaking of, care should be taken to fill it with moral and more abstract ideas; for these not offering themselves to the senses, but being to be framed to the understanding, people are generally so neglectful of a faculty they are apt to think wants nothing, that I fear most men's minds are more unfurnished with such ideas than is imagined. They often use the words, and how can they be suspected to want the ideas? What I have said in the third book of my *Essay*, will excuse me from any other answer to this question.¹⁹ But to convince people of what moment it is to their understandings to be furnished with such abstract ideas steady and settled in them, give me leave to ask how anyone shall be able to know whether he be obliged to be just, if he has not established ideas in his mind of obligation and of justice, since knowledge consists in nothing but the perceived agreement or disagreement of those ideas;²⁰ and so of all others the like which concern our lives and manners. And if men do find a difficulty to see the agreement or disagreement of two angles which lie before their eyes, unalterable in a diagram, how utterly impossible will it be to perceive it in ideas that have no other sensible objects to represent them to the mind but sounds with which they have no manner of conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly settled in the mind themselves, if we would make any clear judgment about them. This therefore is one of the first things the mind should be employed about in the right conduct of the understanding, without which it is impossible it should be capable of reasoning right about those matters. But in these and all other ideas, care must be taken that they harbor no inconsistencies, and that they have a real existence where real existence is supposed, and are not mere chimeras with a supposed existence.²¹

19. See especially chapter v.

20. See *Essay*, IV i.

21. See *Essay*, II xxx.