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**"Whatever you do, do not let a boy grow up without Latin":  
A Comparative Study of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks  
in English and Prussian Education**

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## Abstract

Considering textbooks as cultural artefacts that both reflect prevailing paradigms and construct knowledge (Issitt 2004; Apple 2004), this research compares nineteenth-century Latin textbooks intended for pupils in England with those intended for pupils in Prussia in the light of their differing educational, linguistic and social contexts. This dissertation fills a gap in Anglo-German historiography for the nineteenth century from three intertwined perspectives: cultural history, the history of education and the history of linguistic ideas, by investigating how textbook authors treated Latin grammar in the light of cultural ideologies (including the role of Classics in elite education, education for empire) and developments in pedagogy and philology, at a time when formal education was just becoming established, and when curriculum design, educational administration, and educational philosophy in England were all heavily influenced by German scholarship. Using a corpus of 100 Latin textbooks used in nineteenth-century England and Prussia, textbook content was examined both quantitatively and qualitatively. The results show that nineteenth-century Latin textbooks intended for pupils in England and Prussia conveyed different cultural information to their respective audiences. Challenging popular belief, pedagogical findings from this research demonstrate that Latin textbooks included a range of innovative teaching methods and techniques. As Latin is a 'dead' language, it is commonly perceived to be linguistically static, but by analysing the linguistic presentation of the Latin language in nineteenth-century textbooks, we find that some of the most basic linguistic components of Latin, such as the alphabet and the noun case system, were reconsidered and altered. This research shows that, though foreign language textbooks are under-studied, they offer insight into cultural history, the history of teaching and learning and the history of linguistic ideas which can be found in no other source and, ultimately, contextualise the current state of foreign language teaching.

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## **1 Background**

### **1.1 Introduction: [Re]considering Latin Teaching**

It is widely believed that the state of foreign language learning in England is in need of improvement. This is not mere popular perception; a report from the European Commission in 2012 found that, out of 14 countries surveyed, pupils in England ranked the lowest in achieving the level of ‘independent user’ (B1) (European Commission 2012: 2, 7) as described by the widely adopted Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). This European Commission report termed the state of foreign language learning in England ‘far from satisfactory’ and encouraged ‘ambitious national targets’ to improve foreign language acquisition in England (European Commission 2012: 32). A study published by the British Academy in 2013 similarly found ‘a growing deficit in foreign language skills’ in England (Tinsley 2013: 10) and reported that, when compared to foreign language teaching and learning in other European countries, ‘England’s results were worse than any other country’ (Tinsley 2013: 95). The Department for Education appears to be addressing the problem by instituting compulsory foreign languages, either classical or modern, at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11), and compulsory modern foreign languages at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14). However, a 2014 study by the British Council reports that teachers have a lack of confidence that they will be able to meet the new foreign language teaching requirements (Board & Tinsley 2014: 5), and are uncertain whether the new foreign language standards ‘will have a positive impact on the teaching of languages’ (Board & Tinsley 2014: 6).

As McLelland points out, educationalists have been attempting to ‘improve’ foreign language education for over a century (McLelland 2015: 1). The findings from the European Commission (2012), the British Academy (2013) and the British Council (2014) are not essentially different from those determined in the first formal review of the state of education in England, which was undertaken by the Clarendon Commission in 1864; like these more recent studies, the report of the Clarendon Commission found that improvement in the teaching and learning of foreign languages was needed (Clarendon Commission Report 1864a: 11, 19, 20, 29, 83, 99, 118, 127, 132, 144, ff.) and alluded to the greater command of foreign languages amongst pupils in Continental Europe (Clarendon Commission 1864a: 399). Despite this early recognition that foreign language education in England was wanting, fundamental questions, such as who learns foreign languages, why those pupils study foreign languages and what they should be taught, remain unanswered (McLelland 2015: 1). To address these fundamental questions, we must consider not just the current position of foreign language education, but also how this state of affairs came into being. However, historical perspectives are rarely considered in educational studies and, when historical elements are included, they all too often perpetuate overly simplistic or even incorrect assumptions about how foreign language education has evolved.

One of the most maligned topics in the history of foreign language education is the history of the learning and teaching of Latin in schools. Latin language education has endured for over 2,000 years and, as such, has a rich history of innovations and insights that could inform current approaches to foreign language

teaching and learning. It is undeniable that Latin occupied an important and respected place in the curriculum for centuries; until the end of the nineteenth century, a knowledge of Latin was seen as an essential component of what it meant to be an educated person (Goldhill 2002: 36). Latin was the ‘secret code’ of the intellectual and social elite (O’Barr & O’Barr 1976: 434), and learning Latin was seen as a means to financial betterment (Fend 2011: 49). In the 1864 Clarendon Commission report, the increasing importance of modern foreign languages was addressed multiple times, but when asked if the significance of Latin was waning, the noted German-born philologist Max Müller (1823-1900) answered that learning Latin and Greek was ‘more important than ever it was’ and encouraged the Commissioners to heed the words of Frederick the Great (1712-1786) of Prussia, who said, ‘Whatever you do, do not let a boy grow up without Latin’ (Clarendon Commission 1864b: 401).<sup>1</sup> Yet, despite its historical significance, the history of Latin learning and teaching is often misunderstood. Popular misconceptions surround Latin as a school subject, notably, the mistaken belief that the ‘traditional’ methods used to teach Latin slowed the development of more innovative methods for teaching modern foreign languages.<sup>2</sup>

Today, educational policy in England not only allows pupils ‘to grow up without Latin’, it seems to actively discourage its study. The new standards for foreign language education in England overwhelmingly favour modern foreign

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<sup>1</sup> As this research examines the role of Latin in the nineteenth century, which was rarely offered to girls, the discussion in this thesis is limited to the education of boys.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Grenfell & Harris (1999: 11); Council of Europe and European Commission (2000: 11); Richards & Rodgers (2001: 4); Joseph (2002: 29); Stern (2003: 454); Anderman & Rogers (2005: 18); Harden (2006: 35); Farman (2007:8); Musumeci (2011: 45-46); Yu (2013: 288); Yule (2014: 190).

languages to the detriment of classical languages; though the current National Curriculum stipulates that all pupils must study either a modern foreign language or an ancient language, such as Greek or Latin, at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11), at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) pupils are required to study only a modern foreign language (Department for Education 2013: 6). Pupils who wish to study Latin in addition to a modern foreign language may find they have no opportunity to do so; only 8% of secondary state schools offered Latin in Key Stages 3 and 4 in 2013-14 (Board & Tinsley 2014: 104). However, Latin remains one of the most popular foreign languages studied *outside* of the required curriculum (Board & Tinsley 2014: 104). This high level of interest has tangible results; pupils score higher in GCE examinations ('A-levels') in Latin on average than their peers who take the Spanish, French or German examinations (OCR 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). Further, though Latin is declining in maintained schools, Latin language education continues as signifier of exclusive education; though less than 10% of all state schools offer Latin, nearly half of all independent secondary schools do (Board & Tinsley 2014: 105).

The high level of interest in Latin as an elective subject, and the high success rate of Latin students who sit standardized exams, suggest that Latin represents an area of language learning that is both popular and successful in England. One might therefore expect Latin learning and teaching to be an area of intense interest for those who wish to improve the teaching and learning of foreign languages in England more generally, particularly given the long history of Latin as a school subject. Yet, in reality, both the practice and the history of Latin language learning are often viewed as having little relevance for the modern world. Latin language learning is frequently

seen today not as an area of high interest and high success, but as an elitist exercise, in which pupils endure instruction through fossilised methods to learn equally fossilised concepts of a dead language. However, Latin's reputation deserves to be reconsidered and there is considerable value in critically investigating the way in which Latin was taught in the past, using the most abundant source material available to us today: textbooks. This thesis therefore reconsiders the role of Latin education by investigating the cultural, pedagogic and linguistic content of Latin textbooks in England during the period of Latin's greatest popularity, the nineteenth century. Reflective of current practice, which evaluates the efficacy and effects of language teaching by comparing programmes between different countries (European Commission 2012; Tinsley 2013; Board & Tinsley 2014), Latin textbooks used in nineteenth-century England are compared to a similar set of textbooks used in nineteenth-century Prussia.

Prussia is an informative comparator, as Prussia and England both valued Latin, but had different educational policies and philosophies in the nineteenth-century, as well as very different national priorities (see Section 1.4). From an historical perspective, the comparison of England and Prussia is warranted given the long history of what David Phillips, Professor of Comparative Education at Oxford, calls 'the German Example in education' (Phillips 2011:1). As Phillips discusses, in areas of pedagogy, curriculum design, educational administration, and educational philosophy, 'Germany has attracted the interest of policy makers in a concentrated way that is unmatched by any other country that might be used as a viable comparator to England' (Phillips 2011: 1-2). This interest in educational provision has

been motivated from an interest in either promoting or avoiding changes. As Phillips wrote,

There has been a consistent tendency over that long period [the last two hundred years] to refer to the German Example in education at one extreme to promote ideas for change and development ('do this and we shall be as good as the Prussians') and at the other extreme to warn against innovation and reform ('do that and you will end up as bad as the Prussians'), with various shades of attraction and repulsion in between. (Phillips 2011: 1)

Considering these 'various shades of attraction and repulsion' in education, Chapter 2 begins by analyzing how Latin language lessons in Prussia and England were used as a vehicle for differing social and cultural aims amongst their respective pupils. By relying on Latin textbooks as primary source material, this research explores a previously unexplored element in our understanding of how foreign language learning can influence the perception of the learners' own nation and culture and their place within it by examining what is ostensibly the same subject matter.

In Chapter 3, evidence from Latin textbooks challenges the idea that Latin was taught through rigidly prescriptive methods which were detrimental to the development of modern foreign language teaching and learning. As we shall see, advances in pedagogy are evidenced in Latin textbooks used in both Prussia and England. Further, according to the textbooks in my corpus, we shall also see that teaching methods in Prussia exerted a clear influence on teaching methods in England, though the transfer appears to have been one-sided; there is little evidence that innovations from England were enacted in Prussia.

Chapter 4 demonstrates that, contrary to popular opinion, Latin language education does not consist of a set of rules which have been transmitted to pupils

unchanged for centuries; rather, the history of Latin as a school subject is a history of innovations in conceptualizing, understanding and teaching Latin grammar as linguistic ideas developed. These developments in linguistics and, indeed, the founding of linguistics as a discipline in its own right were again heavily influenced by Prussian scholarship. Chapter 4 therefore analyses the extent to which emerging concepts in linguistics were incorporated into Latin language teaching textbooks and explores the adoption of these concepts in Prussia and England respectively.

Before examining these points, the remainder of this chapter reviews the current state of Latin textbook research (Section 1.2), details the methods and materials used in this thesis (Section 1.3), and contextualises the educational setting in which Latin textbooks were used in the nineteenth century (Section 1.4).

## 1.2 The Current State of Latin Textbook Studies

Textbooks constitute the primary source material for this research, though textbooks are more popularly associated with dull, dreary lessons for young people than with opportunities for scholarly inquiry. As Issitt has observed, the 'negativity surrounding textbooks in terms of use and status as both literary objects and vehicles for pedagogy is profound' (2004: 683). He continues:

When I tell my students and colleagues that I study textbooks, tombstones often appear in their eyes expressing painful and buried memories of cramming for exams and repetitious wading through excruciatingly boring pages as directed by teachers who, they felt, could not be bothered to teach the material themselves. (2004: 683)

Yet textbooks, and online educational materials, are ubiquitous in modern educational institutions throughout the Western world, and their content can determine as much as 75% - 90% of teaching and learning activities in classrooms (Chambliss & Calfee 1998: 1). Though there has long been a high level of general interest in the question of which textbooks are used to educate young people,<sup>3</sup> this interest tends to be limited to the merits or deficiencies of textbooks present in classrooms, or those being considered for future use. The broader history of textbooks is rarely the subject of either popular interest or scholarly endeavour. This lack is, to say the least, unfortunate. Textbooks are unique products of the society in which they were produced and intended to be used. The amount and type of content within (or absent from) textbooks, and how that content is presented, provide

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<sup>3</sup>As early as 1925, the *International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation*, formed within the League of Nations following World War I, suggested that nations should revise any textbooks which presented 'biased and flawed' content in order to help avoid 'misunderstandings' with other countries (Pingel 2010: 9). Regularly published articles attest to the ongoing importance of textbooks to the general public (e.g. Ashton 2013, Bayley 2014, Paton 2014, Dubuis 2014, Marsh 2015, Wynter 2015, Flood 2015, Gardner 2015).



insights which cannot be gleaned from any other source. Although 'it is a characteristic of educational systems to claim that [textbooks] are transmitting "knowledge" or "culture" in an absolute or universally derived sense' (Williams 1982: 186), a critical reading of textbooks demonstrates that 'different systems, at different times and in different countries, transmit radically different selective versions' of both knowledge and culture (Williams 1982: 186). The history of textbooks is therefore valuable not just as a means for informing current textbook choices, but as a source for wider cultural history, the history of education and, particularly in the case of foreign language textbooks, the history of linguistic thought. When textbooks are neglected as historical sources, a unique and important avenue to understanding the past, and informing our decisions for the future, is lost. Yet studies which treat textbooks as primary sources are rare.

That is not to say that the field of textbook studies is completely unexplored. In English-speaking countries, there is a growing body of research devoted to textbooks of history and social studies<sup>4</sup> but other subject areas, including foreign language textbooks, are comparatively neglected. In the collection of essays published in the seminal *The Politics of the Textbook* (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991), the editors observed that textbooks are not simply 'delivery systems of facts', but are 'at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles and compromises' (1991: 2). Yet, despite the fact that foreign language textbooks inevitably encompass the political, economic and cultural elements the editors mentioned, foreign language textbooks do not feature in this book, which is, instead, largely dedicated

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<sup>4</sup> e.g. Apple (1986, 1992, 2004); Apple & Christian-Smith (1999); Beyer & Apple (1998); Marsden (2001); Issitt (2004); Nicholls (2007).

to the content of history textbooks. Whilst more research has been done on foreign language textbooks in Continental Europe,<sup>5</sup> research on foreign language textbooks in the U.K. is only just beginning.<sup>6</sup> With a few notable exceptions (see Sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2) the history of classical language textbooks remains similarly neglected, and the history of Latin textbooks in England is virtually untouched. Because the available literature is so limited, this research draws upon a range of sources and approaches in framing the analysis of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks as sources for cultural history (see Section 1.2.1), the history of teaching and learning (see Section 1.2.2) and the history of linguistic ideas (Section 1.2.3).

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<sup>5</sup> e.g in Germany, Schröder (1980-1985); Macht (1986-1990); Reinfried (1992); Wegner (1999).

<sup>6</sup> See Byram & Risager (1999); Howatt & Smith (2002); Howatt (2004); McLelland (2015).

### 1.2.1 Latin Textbooks as Cultural Artefacts

Though comparatively little work has been done which treats *foreign language* textbooks as sources for cultural history, there is a greater body of work which treats the cultural value of *history and social studies* textbooks. As Apple and Christian-Smith observed, textbook content 'defines what is elite and legitimate culture to pass on' (Apple 1986: 81), and so, in writing a textbook, authors and publishers seek to fulfil the expectations of interested parties concerning what constitutes legitimate knowledge, and to present that information in a way that conforms to cultural norms and expectations. In essence, textbooks 'tell children what their elders want them to know' (Fitzgerald 1979: 47). Textbook content is 'controlled not only by scholarly quality criteria and by pedagogical standards, but also by political interests' (Michael 1990: 182), so by introducing and reinforcing specific historical and cultural ideologies, 'any textbook becomes a signpost or marker for the values and beliefs of the era in which it was written' (Provenzo, Shaver, & Bello 2010: 1). This 'unique and significant social function' of textbooks is a central theme in the essays published in *Language, Authority and Criticism* (Castell, Luke, & Luke 1989), and the editors' preface acknowledges the importance of textbooks in an historical context. They write that the role of the textbook is

[...] to represent to each generation of students an officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge and culture [...] textbooks form shared cultural experiences, at times memorable and edifying, while at others eminently forgettable and uneducational. (Castell, Luke, & Luke 1989: vii)

From this volume, Williams' 'Hegemony and the Selective Tradition' (1989) is particularly valuable for framing our understanding of how English and Prussian nineteenth-century Latin textbook authors selectively emphasized or moderated

specific aspects of classical world in their Latin textbooks (see Chapters 2 and 3), though Williams focused on history and social studies textbooks rather than foreign language textbooks.

The relative lack of research on the role of foreign language textbooks as sources for cultural history may be due to a perception that foreign language textbooks were not, and are not, written with the intent of conveying cultural information. The authoritative *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* offers comprehensive and practical guidance ‘to support the systemic textbook and curriculum revision process’ (2010: 5) as part of its mission to promote textbooks which are free from bias and conflict. Yet this guidebook only mentions foreign language textbooks briefly in an appendix on ‘Practical advice for textbook reviewers’, where Pingel notes:

In contrast to history and geography teaching, conveying knowledge about another country or culture is [...] not the primary purpose of foreign language textbooks. Their main aim is to enable the students to use the language correctly. Only in the wider sense can it be said *that with the language the students also acquire an insight into another culture*. (Pingel 2010: 76, emphasis original)

However, Byram has argued persuasively for the centrality of culture to language learning competence (Byram & Esarte-Sarries 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997; Byram & Feng 2004; Byram 2013), and the collected essays in *Language, Ideology and Education: The Politics of Textbooks in Language Education* (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger 2015) all recognize the strong cultural component within foreign language teaching and learning.

Foreign language learning not only entails gaining an understanding of the culture of the target language, a culture of 'others', but also contrasts and reinforces concepts of the learner's own culture (Damen 2003: 64-65). When treating the cultural elements of learning and teaching the Latin language, this second aspect of learning is heavily prominent. Learning Latin was, and continues to be, viewed as an opportunity for pupils in Western Europe to learn about their own history and culture through the historical and cultural contributions of the classical world.<sup>7</sup> However, the role of Latin textbook content as a vehicle for cultural inculcation is typically treated as a minor point. For instance, Waquet's *Latin: Or the Empire of a Sign* (2002), originally published in French in 1998, provides an excellent overview of the changing role of Latin from the sixteenth through the twentieth century, but, although Waquet uses textbooks as source material, they are not the primary focus of his work and are not systematically examined for their cultural content. Similarly, Leonhardt's *Latin* (2013), originally written in German in 2009, also offers a comprehensive account of the history of Latin as an international language, but while Leonhardt refers to textbooks, he does not specifically focus on the role of textbooks or their content.

The small body of work that specifically treats the cultural import of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in England is dominated by the works of Christopher Stray. An enthusiastic advocate of textbook studies, Stray has published widely, emphasising the importance and value of textbooks as primary source material (Stray 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1996). In his ground-breaking

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<sup>7</sup> In the nineteenth century, the value of learning Latin to learn about one's own culture is attested, for instance, by T. Arnold 1834: 241, Anon. 1844b: 73, Anon. 1866: 398, Froude 1886: 392. Modern writers who reflect this concept include Morrell 2006: 145, Reagan 2009: 105, Hardwick 2010: 312-313, and others.

*Classics Transformed* (1998), Stray charts the evolution of classical education in nineteenth-century England from a required subject for all school-boys to a marginalized scholarly pursuit, largely through the study of Latin textbooks. In Germany, we find a greater body of literature which recognizes textbooks as cultural artefacts. Gisela Müller examined nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in her thesis *Das lateinische Übungsbuch des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (1976), in which she observed cultural elements of Latin textbook content. However, she offered disappointingly little analysis of those observations (e.g. 31, 190 et al.). Fertig admirably treats the role of state and church in nineteenth-century textbook production (Fertig 2003: 15-30), but does not systematically evaluate the content of textbooks which resulted from those influences. These shortcomings are absent in the works of Andreas Fritsch, whose work has encompassed the cultural role of Latin textbook content since his 1976 essay *Sprache und Inhalt lateinischer Lehrbuchtexte* (Language and Content in Latin Textbooks).<sup>8</sup> Fritsch's extensive research incorporates the contents of Latin textbooks from late antiquity through the twentieth century (e.g. Fritsch 1976, 1978, 1991) and has shown that many Latin textbooks in the nineteenth century included Latin reading matter which was carefully selected or altered to stress specific aspects of culture (Fritsch 1976: 122), such as the emphasis on military prowess in Latin textbooks intended for German-speaking students, which he terms *Grammatik und Krieg* ('grammar and war') (Fritsch 1991: 4). Stefan Kipf, who has also published on the subject of Latin textbooks in a historical context (Kipf 1990, 2006a, 2006b), picks up this theme of 'grammar and

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<sup>8</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

war' in his essay *Aut Caesar aut nihil?* (2006b) which traced the development of Caesar's military commentaries in textbooks as a form of nationalist propaganda. This emphasis on 'war' in Prussian textbooks is compared to the presentation of 'war' in English textbooks in Chapter 2, where we find, among other differences in cultural content, very different attitudes to military service in Prussia and England.

### 1.2.2 Latin Textbooks as a Source of Pedagogical History

While few studies have treated foreign language textbooks as sources of cultural history, there has been greater interest in foreign language textbooks as sources for the history of pedagogy. Kelly's *25 Centuries of Language Teaching* (1976) remains one of the most comprehensive treatments of the subject. Kelly acknowledges that language textbooks 'have an important effect on the evolution of ideas, acting as catalysts for new ideas and guardians of the old' (Kelly 1976: 3) and he discusses the role of language textbooks in light of changes and trends in teaching methods throughout the text, though he samples eclectically from textbooks rather than undertaking a systematic study of a corpus of textbooks. Richards & Rogers' more recent *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching* (2001) is also a valuable source for the background of the history of language teaching methods and includes concrete examples of teaching methods and techniques from selected foreign language textbooks in a historical perspective. Perhaps the greatest awareness of language textbooks as sources for the history of pedagogy stems from the high level of interest in teaching English as a foreign language. The growing importance of English as a foreign language has been accompanied by a growing interest in the history of the education of English as a foreign language (see Howatt 1984).

The majority of the studies which treat foreign language textbooks as sources for the history of pedagogy, regardless of the target language, tend to focus on the nineteenth-century shift from teaching and learning Latin to teaching and learning modern foreign languages. These studies often portray the teaching of Latin as an obstacle to progress in modern foreign language teaching, though Wheeler's



*Language Teaching through the Ages* (2013) is a noteworthy exception. Wheeler chronicles innovations in language teaching that have emerged from Latin classrooms. Stray also incorporates an analysis of teaching methods in his *Classics Transformed*, describing the increase in textbooks written specifically for beginning pupils, and demonstrating changing methodological approaches which rose and fell in popularity during the nineteenth century (Stray 1994a: 5 f.).

In Germany, the study of textbooks to inform the history of teaching methods is more established. Paulsen (1885), Dettweiler (1895) and Lattmann (1896) all included evidence from textbooks in their accounts of the history of Latin teaching methods, offering a contemporary nineteenth-century perspective of Latin teaching methodologies. More recently, Leonhardt discusses the influence of philology on nineteenth-century Latin teaching methods found in textbooks (2013: 271-274) and Matthissen (1983) includes an analysis of methods attested in textbooks in his more general overview of classical language teaching in the nineteenth century. Andreas Fritsch treats the history of language teaching methods in several publications; his work on the eighteenth-century classical scholar and author, Friedrich Gedike (2005), provides an excellent foundation for the state of Latin learning and teaching at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Fritsch also used evidence from textbooks to trace developments in language teaching, such as the shift from memorization of rules of grammar in the early nineteenth-century, to the more gradual introduction of grammar rules coupled with practical application later in the century (Fritsch 1978: 12, 22 etc.), which is examined in Chapters 2 and 3. Gisela Müller's 1976 *Das lateinische Übungsbuch des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, which considers the

changing developments in teaching methods in a sample of nearly 100 Latin textbooks used in the German states during the nineteenth century, is particularly valuable for the excellent summaries of teaching methods found in textbooks. Using these sources as a foundation, Chapter 3 re-examines the popular belief that Latin teaching in the nineteenth century was dominated by the Grammar-Translation method by analysing the different approaches, methods and techniques evidenced in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks.

Surprisingly little work has been done on the visual organization of content in textbooks, such as the arrangement of grammatical paradigms into tables. However, Reinfried's 1992 *Das Bild im Fremdsprachenunterricht*, while dedicated to the use of visual media in French foreign language textbooks, and Rothenburg's 2009 *Geschichte und Funktion von Abbildungen in lateinischen Lehrbüchern: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des textbezogenen Bildes*, which considers images in Latin textbooks, have both been helpful in approaching the largely unexplored area of visual aids (figures and tables), which is examined in Section 3.3.

### 1.2.3 Latin Textbooks and the History of Linguistic Ideas

The history of Latin linguistics has received a great deal of scholarly attention, some of which pre-dates the formal discipline of linguistics itself.<sup>9</sup> However, linguistic studies of Latin tend to focus on areas of highly specialized scholarship, and comparatively little research explores the linguistic content of Latin textbooks or investigates how linguistic ideas have changed the way Latin is learned and taught.<sup>10</sup> Neither Palmer's *The Latin Language* (1988) nor Clackson & Horrocks' *History of the Latin Language* (2007), the standard foundational works in the field of Latin historical linguistics, comment on how developments in Latin linguistics influence (or influenced) Latin learning and teaching. Guidance for approaching linguistic ideas in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks has, therefore, been taken from studies which treat linguistic concepts within broader research questions.

For instance, Cohen (2002) contrasts French teaching textbooks used in the first half of the eighteenth century with those used in the second half of the eighteenth century considering the growing interest in explicit grammar teaching. However, Cohen's research focuses on the teaching of grammatical concepts in light of their gendered implications; that is, boys were taught languages through formal grammar education, while girls learned languages through conversation (Cohen 2002: 72) and

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<sup>9</sup> Though Linguistics was not a distinct discipline until the nineteenth century, early grammars of Latin treated the language linguistically. For instance, the first-century Latin grammarian Priscian has been credited as a descriptive linguist for his grammatical treatment of Latin in his *Institutiones grammaticae*, a Latin textbook widely used in the Middle Ages (Parret 1976: 161; Robins 1988: 468; Dinneen 1995: 156).

<sup>10</sup> The high level of interest in the linguistic aspects of Latin education during the Middle Ages is a notable exception. To cite just a few works in this field, see Law's research on Medieval and Insular grammars (1982, 1997, 2003), Amsler's research on late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (1989, 2001) and Luhtala's work on the grammarian Priscian and his influence on Latin grammars (1993, 2005) as well as her more comprehensive *Pedagogical Grammars Before the Eighteenth Century* (2013).

Cohen does not investigate the presentation of grammar for either boys or girls in linguistic detail. An explicit comparison of lexical and grammatical concepts in foreign language textbooks in the twentieth century can be found in Decoo's *Systemization in Foreign Language Teaching* (2011: 125 ff.) which analyses French textbooks used in Flemish schools. Decoo was specifically interested in the way in which textbooks supported the sequencing of learning, and considers foreign language textbook content over a period of more than 30 years, as well as incorporating the wider history of foreign language learning. Though Decoo only considers textbooks used in one country, the research offers a framework for a comparative study of linguistic content by providing a structure for how that content is systemized. A different approach is taken in Walker's *200 Years of Grammar* (2011). Rather than focus on changes in the presentation of grammar in textbooks over time in one country, Walker considers the role of grammar pedagogy in three different countries since the mid-nineteenth century. However, though Walker includes a study of nineteenth-century textbooks, his research is devoted to English grammar in classrooms in which English is the native language of the pupils, rather than the grammar of a foreign language.

Given the lack of studies which treat the influence of linguistic ideas on the teaching of Latin specifically, we turn our focus to the linguistic content of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in Chapter 4. This chapter examines how textbooks intended for different native speakers, German and English, approached linguistic content when teaching the same target language. In this chapter, some of

our assumptions regarding the antiquity of the most basic aspects of Latin grammar, such as the case system and the alphabet, are challenged.

### 1.3 Methodology and Materials

As the field of textbook studies remains relatively under-developed, there are, as yet, few established theoretical frameworks. Nicholls addressed this issue in an overview of research approaches in his article 'Methods in School Textbook Research' (2003), but two years later, he continued to observe in another publication that 'textbook research remains under-theorised' (2005). Some advances have been made towards the institution of standard methods within textbook research, but such methodologies tend to focus on the evaluation of textbooks currently being used (or those under consideration for use), and, therefore, tend to make recommendations which cannot be applied to historical studies, such as advising that the critical analysis of textbooks should be combined with interviews and classroom observations.<sup>11</sup>

Still, some of the more general observations from these methodologies are valuable in approaching textbooks used in the past. For instance, Pingel states that when approaching any textbook study, 'almost every debate [...] starts with a discussion on the pros and cons of *a quantitative vs. a qualitative approach*' (2010: 67, emphasis original). Quantitative approaches allow us to measure such aspects of a text as the frequency of word use, or the amount of space allotted to a topic, but tell us 'nothing about values and interpretation' (Pingel 2010: 67), such as why particular themes were included or excluded. Qualitative methods, on the other hand, consider information in depth rather than breadth, using a range of analytical approaches to explore concepts 'that cannot be measured' (Pingel 2010: 68). Pingel

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<sup>11</sup> e.g. Littlejohn (1998); McGrath (2002); Nicholls (2003); Pingel (2010); Ceglie & Olivares (2012).

(2010: 67), Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon (2010: 155) and Nicholls (2007: 3) all conclude that a combination of the two approaches is preferable. Accordingly, this study makes use of both approaches, examining a corpus of 100 textbooks (see Table 1.3 and Table 1.4) quantitatively to identify broad trends and themes, while a sub-set of 15 Latin textbooks used in Prussia (see Table 1.5) and 15 Latin textbooks used in England (see Table 1.6) were examined qualitatively in greater detail. Textbooks were included in this qualitative sample either because the work or author was widely used, or because the specific textbook demonstrates a cultural, pedagogical or linguistic point of interest (see Section 1.3.2 below for further details).

### 1.3.1 Textbook Selection: Quantitative Corpus

Investigating historical language learning and teaching through a corpus of textbooks has precedents in a number of other studies, however it is not always possible to follow their example in selecting a corpus. Müller's thesis (1976) drew from nearly 100 Latin textbooks used in the German states in the nineteenth century, but provided no explanation of how or why she selected the textbooks in her corpus. Wegner's study of twentieth-century textbooks of German in France and England (1999) likewise offered no rationale for the textbooks included in the research sample. Krauskopf (1985), who investigated cultural representations of France and Germany, attempted to include *all* of the relevant foreign language textbooks published between 1950 and 1980 and so assembled a sample of 36 French language textbooks for German learners and 53 German textbooks for French learners used between 1950 and 1980. Krauskopf believed his corpus encompassed about 90% of all of the textbooks published during his time frame; however, such an all-inclusive approach would be impractical when spanning an entire century. Klippel (1994) selected textbooks from a bibliography that had been established by Schröder (1975) to create a corpus of 300 English textbooks for German learners from 1746-1900, but, unfortunately, no similar bibliography for Latin textbooks currently exists.

With no established means to determine which textbooks to include in this study, it was necessary to begin by asking the most basic question when compiling a corpus of textbooks: what is a textbook? While the common-sense answer to this may seem simple, no standard definition distinguishes textbooks from other educational publications, such as grammars, readers or exercise books. Michael acknowledges



that it 'is not easy to say when a work is a textbook' (Michael 1990: n.p), as any text which can be used for instructional purposes might be considered a textbook. Rather than establish criteria for what constitutes a textbook, he concludes that 'the decision whether or not to treat a publication as a textbook will have to be made for each work separately' (Michael 1990: n.p.).

In order to decide which texts should be included in this study, potential textbooks had first to be located. As textbooks are not always accessioned into research libraries, physical access to nineteenth-century textbooks is limited; this is particularly true of multiple editions of a text. As Stray attests,

We sometimes take it for granted that books are automatically deposited in libraries, held against the time when we call for them. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that large academic libraries keep two categories of books: first, those seen as having a serious academic content; second, those whose age, or binding, or content makes them acceptable as a serious subject of study. In other words, books about the world, and books which are a world—about which other books can be written. Textbooks, in conventional terms, belong in neither category. (1994: 7-8)

The corpus was therefore limited, by necessity, to textbooks which were practically accessible. In the absence of a comprehensive bibliography of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks, the search parameters were initially quite broad; any available texts published in the nineteenth-century which either explicitly or implicitly claimed to offer instruction or practice in the Latin language were sought. Fortunately, many nineteenth-century Latin textbooks have been digitized and were available online, but, whenever possible, hard copies of textbooks were accessed through libraries. For consistency, and to enable me to make full use of digital corpus analysis tools, any textbooks which were not already available digitally were scanned and saved in

both portable document format and as text files. This broad search yielded a bibliography of 359 nineteenth-century Latin textbooks, 248 from England (see Primary Bibliography) and 111 from the German states.

These 359 textbooks varied considerably, with different types of textbooks, intended for different levels, using different methods to attain different goals, and thus further classification was warranted. McLelland suggests that a ‘traditional classification [...] might distinguish elementary primers, grammars, dictionaries, readers and translation exercises’ (McLelland 2015: 13), and points to Hammar’s more detailed classification scheme which assigns codes to multiple aspects of textbooks, such as the teaching methods and instructional content of each textbook (Hammar 1992: 105). Inspired by Hammar’s system for classifying and coding textbooks based on their type and level,<sup>12</sup> the nineteenth-century Latin textbooks I had identified were categorized according to whether they were intended for beginners (B), advanced pupils (A) or multiple levels (M). This classification resulted in a general distribution of levels (see Table 1.1), of which only a small proportion (less than 10%) were intended for advanced learners (A). Textbooks intended for mixed levels and beginners encompassed the bulk of the sample, with approximately 48% intended for multiple levels (M) and about 44% written for beginners (B), suggesting that my corpus for this research should include a roughly even distribution of textbooks for multiple levels (M) and beginners (B), and about a 10% proportion

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<sup>12</sup> Hammar’s system is more intricate than the one employed here; Hammar considers teaching methodologies, exercises, reading passages, the native language of the learner, specific content (such as pronunciation), and other details. However, it does not appear that Hammar used the system to create a corpus, but rather to systematically evaluate an established corpus. It would have been impractical to evaluate every available textbook with the level of detail required by Hammar’s criteria prior to creating the corpus.

of textbooks for advanced learners (A). Categories of textbook type were then applied, according to whether the textbook was a grammar (Gr), reader (R), a book of exercises (E), or a combination of those types (C). Grammars (Gr) constituted more than half of the sample. Readers (R) and books of exercises (E) were less common, each representing less than 10% of the sample. About a quarter of the textbooks (approximately 24%) combined two or more of these types (C). This rationale, though admittedly somewhat simplistic, provided a reasonable basis for creating a corpus populated largely with textbooks intended for beginners (B) and multiple levels (M), with a small number intended for advanced learners (A). In order to be proportionally representative, more than half of these would ideally be grammars (Gr), approximately a quarter should use a combination of types (C), with the remaining quarter split between readers (R) and books of exercises (E).

It was also desirable to determine a corpus size large enough to be representative of broad trends and themes through the nineteenth century, without being too large to examine within the constraints of this research project. The decision to limit the size of the corpus to 100 textbooks notionally allowed for one textbook from each year, though inclusion in the corpus was not constrained by this possibility. The potential sample was then narrowed to include as many textbooks as possible which were known to be used in schools, and then rounded out with textbooks which offered examples of noteworthy cultural, pedagogical, or linguistic points of interest, resulting in a research corpus of 50 nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia (Table 1.5) and 50 from England (Table 1.6). For ease of reference, each textbook was assigned an alphanumeric code, indicating whether the

textbook was written for German-speakers (G) or those whose native language was English (E), followed by the year of publication. When two texts were published in the same year, a lower-case letter is appended to the end of the code. For example, two Latin textbooks for German-speaking pupils which were both published in 1803 are respectively G1803a and G1803b. Reflecting the proportions of the levels and types found in the larger list of 359 nineteenth-century Latin textbooks (see Primary Bibliography), the corpus includes 48 textbooks for beginners, 48 textbooks for multiple levels and four for advanced pupils, of which 62 are grammars, 25 are a combination of types, seven are books of exercises and six are readers (see Table 1.2). The textbooks in the corpus vary in length, averaging a little over 300 pages, but ranging from 23 pages for the shortest textbook (E1833) to over 1000 pages for the longest (G1830). These 100 textbooks were examined quantitatively to identify general developments and themes throughout the nineteenth century.

| Level        |     |     | Type            |     |     |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| Beginner (B) | 163 | 45% | Reader (R)      | 19  | 5%  |
| Advanced (A) | 35  | 10% | Exercise (E)    | 62  | 17% |
| Multiple (M) | 161 | 45% | Grammar (G)     | 182 | 51% |
|              |     |     | Combination (C) | 96  | 27% |

*Table 1.1 Proportional Distribution of Textbooks by Type and Level in Primary Bibliography*

| Level        |    |     | Type            |    |     |
|--------------|----|-----|-----------------|----|-----|
| Beginner (B) | 48 | 48% | Reader (R)      | 6  | 6%  |
| Advanced (A) | 4  | 4%  | Exercise (E)    | 7  | 7%  |
| Multiple (M) | 48 | 48% | Grammar (G)     | 62 | 62% |
|              |    |     | Combination (C) | 25 | 25% |

*Table 1.2 Proportional Distribution of Textbooks by Type and Level in Quantitative Corpus*

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                                 | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher          | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|--|--|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|-------|------|
| G1803a | <i>Imman. Joh. Gerh. Schellers ausführliche lateinische Sprachlehre ...</i>        | I.J.G. Scheller                        | 1803                | Leipzig              | Caspar Fritsch     | British Library 625.d.30  | M     | Gr   |
| G1803b | <i>Praktische lateinische Grammatik</i>  | J.V. Meidinger                         | 1803                | Leipzig              | Anton Doll.        | Biblioteca Comunale di Trento (Googlebooks)                     | M     | Cr   |
| G1819  | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für die lateinischen Vorbereitungsschulen</i>             | Johann G. Baumgärtner                  | 1819                | Regen Kreise Bayerns | IE Seidel          | Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital                             | B     | Gr   |
| G1820  | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für Schulen: Formenlehre und Syntaxe</i>                  | Georg F. Grotefend & Helfrich B. Wenck | 1820                | Frankfurt            | Varrentrapp        | Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital                             | M     | Gr   |
| G1822  | <i>Kleine lateinische grammatik mit leichten lectionen für anförer</i>             | C.G. Bröder & J.G.L. Ramshorn          | 1822                | Leipzig              | Vogel              | University of Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ling.c.150[2] | B     | Gr   |
| G1825  | <i>Lateinisches elementarbuch zum öffentlichen und privatgebrauch, Volumes 1-3</i> | F. Jacobs & F. Döring                  | 1825                | Jena                 | Friedrich Frommann | British Library 11352.aaa.24                                    | B     | Gr   |

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                                 | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher    | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|--|--|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|---|-------|------|
| G1826a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>                          | J.G.L. Ramshorn                        | 1826                | Leipzig              | Vogel        | British Library<br>11352.aaa.24                               | M     | Gr   |
| G1826b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>                               | K. G. Zumpt                            | 1826                | Berlin               | F. Dümmler   | University of<br>Cambridge, University<br>Library S760.d.82.5 | M     | Gr   |
| G1829  | <i>Ausführliche grammatik der<br/>lateinischen sprache</i> | August Grotefend                       | 1829                | Hannover             | Hahn         | University of<br>Cambridge, University<br>Library XV.21.4     | M     | C    |
| G1830  | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>                               | J.G.L. Ramshorn                        | 1830                | Leipzig              | Vogel        | University of Lausanne<br>(Hathi Trust)                       | M     | C    |
| G1833a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>                          | August Grotefend                       | 1833                | Hannover             | Hahn         | University of Princeton<br>(Hathi Trust)                      | B     | C    |
| G1833b | <i>Lateinische Schul-Grammatik</i>                         | Johann Philipp<br>Krebs                | 1833                | Giessen              | G.F. Heyer   | University of Lausanne<br>(Hathi Trust)                       | M     | C    |
| G1834  | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>                          | Sebastian Mutzl                        | 1834                | Landshut             | Thomann      | Bayerische<br>StaatsBibliothek digital                        | B     | Gr   |
| G1838a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>                          | Gustav Billroth &<br>Friedrich Ellendt | 1838                | Leipzig              | Weidmann     | Bayerische<br>StaatsBibliothek digital                        | B     | Gr   |
| G1838b | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>                          | Wilhelm<br>Weissenborn                 | 1838                | Eisenach             | J.F. Bärecke | Bayerische<br>StaatsBibliothek digital                        | B     | Gr   |

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                                | Date of Publication | Place of Publication     | Publisher                | Text Location                                       | Level | Type |
|--------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|-------|------|
| G1839  | <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch</i>   | Karl Benecke                          | 1839                | Posen, Berlin & Bromberg | Mittler                  | Princeton University Library (Googlebooks)          | M     | R    |
| G1842a | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache vols 1&amp;2</i>               | Georg T. A. Krüger & August Grotefend | 1842                | Hannover                 | Hahn                     | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital                 | M     | Gr   |
| G1842b | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>                       | Raphael Kühner                        | 1842                | Hannover                 | Hahn                     | The New York Public Library (Googlebooks)           | B     | C    |
| G1843  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>                       | Johann Otto Leopold Schulz            | 1843                | Halle                    | Waisenhauses             | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital                 | B     | Gr   |
| G1844a | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | K.G. Zumpt                            | 1844                | Berlin                   | Dümmler                  | British Library 2274.d.15                           | M     | Gr   |
| G1844b | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen</i>                           | Johan N. Madvig                       | 1844                | Braunschweig             | Friedrich Vieweg         | University of Cambridge, University Library Aa.6.10 | M     | Gr   |
| G1846  | <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch für die untersten Klassen der Gymnasien</i> | Friedrich Ellendt                     | 1846                | Königsberg               | Gebrüder Bornträger      | Columbia University Library 877.86 (Hathi Trust)    | B     | R    |
| G1848  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>                       | Friedr Kritz & Friedr Berger          | 1848                | Göttingen                | Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht | Universiteit Gent (Hathi Trust)                     | B     | Gr   |

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author               | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---|-------|------|
| G1851  | <i>Neueste Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | K.G. Zumpt           | 1851                | Jena                 | F. Mauke                 | Universiteit Gent (Hathi Trust)                               | B     | Gr   |
| G1852  | <i>Lateinische grammatik ...</i>  | Karl Eduard Putsche  | 1852                | Jena                 | F. Mauke                 | Princeton University Library (Googlebooks)                    | M     | C    |
| G1856  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>                                    | A. Kuhr              | 1856                | Berlin               | Georg Reimer             | British Library 12924.b.4                                     | B     | C    |
| G1857a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen</i>  | Johan Nikolai Madvig | 1857                | Braunschweig         | F. Vieweg                | University of Cambridge, Trinity College Library 111.c.85.219 | M     | Gr   |
| G1857b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für den Unterricht auf Gymnasien</i>                     | Ernst Berger         | 1857                | Celle                | Capaun-Karlowa'sche      | Columbia University Library via Hathi Trust                   | M     | C    |
| G1858  | <i>Übungsbuch zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische</i>                | Gustav Tischer       | 1858                | Braunschweig         | F. Vieweg                | British Library 12934.c.5                                     | M     | R    |
| G1861  | <i>Lateinisches Lern-, Lese-, und Übungsbuch. I. Lernbuch (Grammatik) für die</i> | K.A.I. Lattman       | 1861                | Göttingen            | Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht | Universiteit Gent (Googlebooks)                               | M     | C    |



Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                        | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                | Text Location                               | Level | Type |
|--------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---|-------|------|
| G1862  | <i>Übungsbuch zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische...</i>                                      | Lorenz Englmann               | 1862                | Bamberg              | [not listed]             | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital         | A     | E    |
| G1863  | <i>Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche und aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische</i> | Christian Ostermann           | 1863                | Leipzig              | BG Teubner               | Stanford University (Googlebooks)           | M     | E    |
| G1864  | <i>Lateinische schulgrammatik für alle classen des gymnasiums</i>  | K.A.I. Lattmann & H.D. Müller | 1864                | Göttingen            | Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht | Harvard University Library via Hathi Trust  | M     | Gr   |
| G1865a | <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch für die unteren Klassen der lateinischen</i>                                      | Lorenz Englmann               | 1865                | Bamberg              | Buchner                  | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital         | B     | R    |
| G1865b | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik für Gymnasien und höhere Burgerschulen</i>                                   | F.S. Feldbausch               | 1865                | Heidelberg           | Julius Groos             | Columbia University Library via Hathi Trust | M     | Gr   |
| G1865c | <i>Die Elemente der lateinischen Formenlehre</i>   | Frederich Bauer               | 1865                | Nördlingen           | Beck                     | British Library 12932.bb.2                  | B     | Gr   |
| G1867a | <i>Praktische Schulgrammtik der lateinischen Sprache für alle Klassen</i>                                  | Heinrich Moisisstzig          | 1867                | Berlin               | R. Gaertner              | University of California via Hathi Trust    | M     | C    |

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                        | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher        | Text Location  | Level | Type |
|--------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|--|-------|------|
| G1867b | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache für Schulen</i>                | Lorenz Englmann               | 1867                | Bamberg              | Buchner          | Univeristy of Bremen Library 02.f.8753                 | B     | Gr   |
| G1868a | <i>Dr. H. G. Ollendorff's neue Methode...</i>                        | Georg Traut                   | 1868                | Frankfurt            | Carl Jügel       | University of California via Hathi Trust               | B     | C    |
| G1868b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für Gymnasien und Realschulen</i>           | Johannes von Gruber           | 1868                | Straslund            | C. Hingst        | University of California via Hathi Trust               | B     | Gr   |
| G1869a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre</i>                                       | G. W. Gossrau                 | 1869                | Quedlinburg          | Gottfr. Basse    | British Library 12934.h.2                              | M     | Gr   |
| G1869b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | F. Ellendt & M. Seyffert      | 1869                | Berlin               | Weidmann         | University of Cambridge, University Library 8700.c.408 | B     | C    |
| G1870a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik: für die untern Klassen bearbeitet</i> | M. Siberti & Matthias Meiring | 1870                | Bonn                 | Max Cohen & Sohn | University of California via Hathi Trust               | B     | C    |
| G1870b | <i>Latinische Grammatik für Gelehrtschulen</i>                       | J. C. Schmitt-Blank           | 1870                | Mannheim             | Löffler          | Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital                    | M     | Gr   |
| G1871a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst Gymnasium bearbeitet</i>         | Ferdinand Schultz             | 1871                | Paderborn            | F. Schöningh     | Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital                    | B     | C    |
| G1871b | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>                            | Gustav Adolf Emanuel Bornhak  | 1871                | Leipzig              | Bielefeld        | British Library 12933.f.4                              | M     | C    |

Table 1.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author                                     | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher              | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|--|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---|-------|------|
| G1871c | <i>Lateinisches Übungsbuch im Anschluß an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes Vocabularium</i> | Christian Ostermann                        | 1871                | Leipzig              | BG Teubner             | Harvard University Library via Hathi Trust            | M     | E    |
| G1872a | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | Friedrich Ellendt                          | 1872                | Berlin               | Weidmann               | University of Toronto (Googlebooks)                   | M     | Gr   |
| G1872b | <i>Kurzgefasste Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | K.A.I. Lattmann & Heinrich Dietrich Müller | 1872                | Göttingen            | Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | University of Michigan (Googlebooks)                  | A     | Gr   |
| G1888  | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler & Alfred Surber  | 1888                | Halle                | Waisenhauses           | University of Cambridge, University Library Aa.11.188 | M     | Gr   |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title                                   | Author          | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                     | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|-------|------|
| E1808  | <i>Institutes of Latin Grammar</i>      | John Grant      | 1808                | London               | Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme | British Library 826.e.27                              | M     | Gr   |
| E1816  | <i>A manual of Latin Grammar</i>        | John Pye Smith  | 1816                | London               | Gale and Fenner               | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.14.49  | B     | Gr   |
| E1819  | <i>An Introduction to latin Grammar</i> | Frederick Nolan | 1819                | London               | Samuel Bagster                | University of Cambridge University Library XVI.17.1   | B     | Gr   |
| E1825a | <i>A copious Latin grammar</i>          | I.J.G. Scheller | 1825                | London               | John Murray                   | University of Cambridge, University Library Aa.26.54  | A     | Gr   |
| E1825b | <i>An Improved Latin Grammar</i>        | J. MacGowan     | 1825                | London               | Sherwood, Jones, and Co.      | University of Cambridge, University Library 1825.5.17 | M     | Gr   |
| E1827  | <i>A Short Latin Grammar</i>            | J. Locke        | 1827                | London               | John Taylor                   | Stanford University Library (Googlebooks)             | B     | Gr   |
| E1830  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>           | T.W.C. Edwards  | 1830                | London               | W. Simpkin and R. Marshall    | Harvard University Library (Hathi Trust )             | B     | Gr   |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author                  | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                           | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------|------|
| E1833  | <i>Analytical grammar; or, the Latin language taught by rules of analysis</i> | William Odell Elwell    | 1833                | London               | J. Hatchard and Son                 | University of Cambridge University Library Aa.23.21   | B     | E    |
| E1835  | <i>A Latin Grammar for the Use of English Boys</i>                            | J.P. Cobbett            | 1835                | London               | Mills and Company                   | University of Cambridge, University Library XVI.17.43 | B     | Gr   |
| E1836  | <i>The Elements of Latin Grammar</i>  | Richard Hiley           | 1836                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall and Co.           | University of Cambridge, University Library 1830.7.15 | M     | Gr   |
| E1838  | <i>A Simplified Latin Grammar</i>   | Walter Posthumus Powell | 1838                | London               | John Murray                         | University of Cambridge, University Library 1838.7.31 | B     | C    |
| E1843  | <i>The preparatory Latin grammar</i>  | E. Everard              | 1843                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall and Co.           | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.14.50  | B     | Gr   |
| E1844a | <i>First Latin grammar and exercises in Ollendorff's method</i>               | W.H. Pinnock            | 1844                | London               | Whittaker and Co                    | University of Oxford Bodleian Library 44.793          | B     | E    |
| E1844b | <i>Latin Grammar Practice</i>   | James Pycroft           | 1844                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge, University Library XVI.6.34  | B     | E    |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                              | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                           | Text Location  | Level | Type |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------|------|
| E1844c | <i>Latinæ grammaticæ curriculum; or A progressive grammar of the Latin ...</i> | Benjamin Hall Kennedy               | 1844                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.14.36         | M     | Gr   |
| E1844d | <i>A Latin Grammar, founded on Eton</i>  | George Taylor                       | 1844                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.20.24         | M     | Gr   |
| E1845  | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>   | K.G. Zumpt, trans. Leonhard Schmitz | 1845                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge Trinity College Library 111.c.80.107 | M     | Gr   |
| E1846  | <i>A Latin grammar: on the system of crude forms</i>                           | Thomas Hewitt Key                   | 1846                | London               | Richard and John F. Taylor          | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.13.78         | M     | Gr   |
| E1847  | <i>A Grammar of the Latin language</i>   | J.G. Murphy                         | 1847                | London               | Longman and Co.                     | University of Oxford Bodleian Library 47.1336                | M     | Gr   |
| E1848  | <i>Child's Latin Primer</i>  | Benjamin Hall Kennedy               | 1848                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.14.22         | B     | C    |
| E1851a | <i>The Bromsgrove Latin grammar 3rd ed.</i>                                    | G.A. Jacob                          | 1851                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall and Co.           | University of Cambridge, University Library 1851.7.253       | M     | Gr   |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title  | Author                                     | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                           | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|--|--|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------|------|
| E1851b | <i>A Latin grammar for the use of schools</i>                      | Johan Nikolai Madvig,[trans. George Woods] | 1851                | Oxford               | John Henry Parker                   | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.10.49  | B     | Gr   |
| E1852a | <i>A Latin Grammar</i>   | John T. White                              | 1852                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green,              | British Library 12933.c.22                            | B     | Gr   |
| E1852b | <i>A Complete Latin Grammar</i>                                    | John William Donaldson                     | 1852                | London               | John W. Parker and Son              | University of Cambridge, University Library XII.26.19 | M     | Gr   |
| E1854a | <i>Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin language</i>                  | T. Ruddiman                                | 1854                | London and Edinburgh | W. and R. Chambers                  | British Library 012211.a.1/74                         | M     | Gr   |
| E1854b | <i>Progressive exercises on the accidence of the Latin grammar</i> | Richard Hiley                              | 1854                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.14.123 | B     | E    |
| E1855  | <i>A Help to Latin Grammar</i>                                     | Josiah Wright                              | 1855                | Cambridge            | Macmillan & Co                      | University of Cambridge, University Library XV.13.41  | B     | C    |
| E1856a | <i>Inductive Latin Course for Beginners</i>                        | William Brownrigg Smith                    | 1856                | London               | J.B.Bateman                         | University of Oxford Bodleian Library 3058 f.58       | B     | C    |
| E1856b | <i>The Shilling Latin Grammar</i>                                  | Edward Walford                             | 1856                | London               | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans | British Library 12933.a.5                             | B     | Gr   |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author                                | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                                       | Text Location  | Level | Type |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---|--|-------|------|
| E1859  | <i>A new Latin grammar</i>                          | M.D. Kavanagh                         | 1859                | London               | Catholic Publishing & Bookselling Company, Ltd. | University of Cambridge, University Library 1859.6.105 | M     | Gr   |
| E1861a | <i>Catechism of Latin grammar</i>                   | unattributed but likely M.D. Kavanagh | 1861                | London               | Cassell, Petter, and Galpin                     | University of Cambridge, University Library 140.4.68   | B     | Gr   |
| E1861b | <i>The progressive Latin Reader</i>                 | John T. White                         | 1861                | London               | Spottiswoode and Co.                            | University of Cambridge, University Library 1861.7.220 | B     | R    |
| E1861c | <i>The School and University Eton Latin Grammar</i> | James Roscoe Mongan                   | 1861                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall and Co.                       | British Library 12933.b.27                             | M     | C    |
| E1862a | <i>Analytical Latin Grammar</i>                     | Charles Gillingham Hamilton           | 1862                | London               | Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green        | University of Cambridge, University Library 149.3.56   | B     | Gr   |
| E1862b | <i>A New Latin Delectus</i>                         | H.C. Adams                            | 1862                | London               | David Nutt                                      | University of Cambridge University Library Sc.7.13     | B     | R    |



Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author                        | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---|-------|------|
| E1863  | <i>An elementary Latin grammar</i>                                  | E. Miller                     | 1863                | London               | Longman, Green & Roberts | University of Cambridge, University Library 147.7.42          | A     | Gr   |
| E1864  | <i>A Smaller Latin Grammar</i>                                      | E. Miller                     | 1864                | London               | Longman, Green & Roberts | University of Cambridge, University Library 147.1.8           | B     | Gr   |
| E1865  | <i>King Edward VI Latin Grammar</i>                                 | W. Lily & C. Wordsworth (ed.) | 1865                | London               | John Murray              | Princeton University Library (Hathi Trust)                    | M     | C    |
| E1866  | <i>The Public School Latin Primer</i>                               | Benjamin Hall Kennedy         | 1866                | London               | Longman, Green, and Co.  | British Library 12934.bb.10                                   | M     | Gr   |
| E1867  | <i>The student's Latin grammar. A grammar of the Latin language</i> | W. Smith & T.D. Hall          | 1867                | London               | John Murray              | British Library 12933.bb.32                                   | M     | Gr   |
| E1869a | <i>The School Latin Grammar</i>                                     | Alexander Martin              | 1869                | London               | Longman and Co.          | University of Cambridge, University Library Asc.7.35          | M     | Gr   |
| E1869b | <i>The Elements of Latin Syntax</i>                                 | William Hetherington Harris   | 1869                | London               | Hodder and Stoughton     | University of Cambridge, University Library Sc.7.38           | M     | Gr   |
| E1871a | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>                              | Henry John Roby               | 1871                | London               | Macmillan & Co           | University of Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Stray.c.522 | M     | Gr   |

Table 1.4 Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

| Code   | Title   | Author                                   | Date of Publication | Place of Publication | Publisher                                | Text Location   | Level | Type |
|--------|---|--|---------------------|----------------------|--|---|-------|------|
| E1871b | <i>Henry's First Latin Book</i>                   | Thomas Arnold                            | 1871                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall & Co.                  | University of Cambridge, University Library 1871.7.162  | B     | C    |
| E1871c | <i>A Short and Easy Latin book</i>                | Edmund Fowle                             | 1871                | London               | Longmans, Green and Co.                  | University of Cambridge, University Library 1871.7.575  | B     | C    |
| E1880  | <i>Introductory Grammar of the Latin Language</i> | Leonard Schmitz                          | 1880                | London and Glasgow   | Wm. Collins, Sons & Co.                  | University of Cambridge, University Library 1880.6.345  | B     | Gr   |
| E1883  | <i>The Public Examination Latin Grammar</i>       | John Gibson                              | 1883                | London               | Reeves and Turner                        | University of Cambridge, University Library 1883.7.715  | M     | Gr   |
| E1886  | <i>A New Easy Latin Primer</i>                    | Edmund Fowle                             | 1886                | London               | Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey            | University of Cambridge, University Library 1886.7.561  | B     | Gr   |
| E1888  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>                     | Francis Hay Rawlins & William Ralph Inge | 1888                | London               | John Murray                              | University of Cambridge, University Library 1888.7.997  | M     | Gr   |
| E1891  | <i>An elementary Latin grammar</i>                | John Barrow Allen                        | 1891                | London               | Simpkin, Marshall Hamilton, Kent and Co. | University of Cambridge, University Library 1892.7.1430 | B     | C    |

### 1.3.2 Sub-set of Textbooks: Qualitative Corpus

As it was not possible within the scope of this research to analyse all 100 texts in equal detail, a smaller sample of 15 textbooks used in Prussia (Table 1.5) and 15 textbooks used in England (Table 1.6) were selected for closer analysis. In selecting this sub-corpus, preference was given to those texts which were known to be widely used or those which typified socio-cultural, pedagogical or linguistic points. In England, evidence of wide use was found in various sources including the reports of the Clarendon Commission (1864) and Schools Inquiry Commission (1868) which investigated (among other things) which textbooks were in use at the time the reports were compiled. These sources were supplemented by non-governmental surveys of nineteenth-century education, such as Nicholas Carlisle's *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (1818), Foster Watson's retrospective on education *The Old Grammar Schools* (1916), Archer's *Secondary Education in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (1966), and publications from schools themselves, such as *The Course of Instruction at Harrow School* (1844a). Similar sources were consulted for establishing the use of textbooks in nineteenth-century Prussia, including Wiese's *Das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen: historisch-statistische Darstellung*, published in two volumes (Wiese 1864 & 1869). However, for Prussia, we are also able to consult governmental records from the department which approved textbooks for use in schools, the *Ministerium der Geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten*, though only the copy from 1869 was accessible to me. Below, I justify the selection of textbooks within the sub-corpus in finer detail. A summary is also provided in Table 1.5 and Table 1.6.

The qualitative sub-corpus includes the *Lateinische Grammatik* (G1826b) by Karl Gottlob Zumpt (1792 - 1849). Zumpt, a German philologist, was a schoolmaster in Berlin from 1812 to 1827, after which he became a professor of Latin at the University of Berlin. Zumpt's *Lateinische Grammatik* was originally published in Berlin in 1818 and was translated into English by John Kenrick as *A Grammar of the Latin Language* in 1823. These grammars, both in German and English, were credited as a 'standard work' for Latin learning for the next 25 years in both countries (Chisholm 1922: 1056). The German editions were published at least 16 times between 1818 and 1928; the English version was published more than ten times before a new translation appeared in 1845 by Leonhard Schmitz, which was published for at least another eleven editions. Further, at least 25 English and German<sup>13</sup> Latin textbooks in the nineteenth century include in their verbose titles 'adapted from...', 'chiefly from...' or 'taken principally from...' Zumpt's *Grammar*, and a number of textbooks cite Zumpt as an authority.<sup>14</sup> It is in praise for a rival text that we see what is perhaps the greatest testament to the status of Zumpt's work; an enthusiastic reviewer praised a rival grammar with the words, 'I see no reason why the Grammar should not now supersede even Zumpt's' (Andrews & Jacobs 1859).

Johan Madvig's (1804 - 1886) *Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen* (G1844b), translated in English as *A Latin Grammar for the Use of Schools* (E1851b [trans. Woods]), was the text credited by Sandys (1915: 125) with 'superseding' the work of

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<sup>13</sup> e.g. August (1824), Dronke (1827), Kieffer (1829) Kenrick (1834, 1838), Haug (1852), Mongan (E1861c), Speidel (1866).

<sup>14</sup> e.g. Krebs (G1833b), Hiley (E1836), Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a) Kennedy (E1844c), Key (E1846), Murphy (E1847), Donaldson (E1852b), Putsche (G1852), Wilkins (1857), Kavanagh (E1859), Mongan (E1861c), Miller (E1863), W. Smith & Hall (E1867), Gossrau (G1869a), Siberti & Meiring (G1870a), Ellendt (G1872a).

Zumpt, and both the German and English versions have been included as texts in wide use. Though Madvig was Danish, Sandys asserted that the *Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen* was ‘translated into all the languages of Europe’ (Sandys 1915: 320) and there were over 20 editions of Madvig’s textbook published in German and a similar number in English between 1844 and 1902. Like Zumpt, Madvig is often cited in other nineteenth-century textbooks as a grammatical authority.<sup>15</sup> The 1844 German edition (G1844b) and the 1851 English translation (E1851b) by George Woods are also included here because they have been attested in use in nineteenth-century schools (Wiese 1864: 654; Hirsch & McBeth 2005: 49).

This qualitative sample also includes grammars by I.J.G. Scheller (1735 - 1803). Though Scheller is perhaps best known for his contributions to Latin lexicography (Stray 2012: iii), like Madvig and Zumpt, he is frequently cited as an authority in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks.<sup>16</sup> Scheller’s *Kurzgefasste lateinische Sprachlehre oder Grammatik für die Schulen*, was first published in 1780, but the version included here was published in 1803 (G1803a) and translated into English in 1825 by George Walker as *A Copious Latin Grammar* (E1825a). Also included for its wide use was the *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* (G1838a) by Friedrich Ellendt’s (1796 - 1855), which was based on an earlier textbook by Gustav Billroth (1808-1836) (G1838a). Other textbooks authored by Ellendt were published and re-published regularly for the remainder of the century. The 1838 treatment of Billroth’s textbook (G1838a) has also been included as it was attested in use in schools by at least three sources (Wiese

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<sup>15</sup> e.g. Kenrick (1838), Kritz & Berger (G1848), Wilkins (1857), Mongan (E1861c), Speidel (1866), W. Smith & Hall (E1867), Harris (E1869b).

<sup>16</sup> e.g. (C. Moody 1838), Hiley (E1836), Key (E1846), Kritz & Berger (G1848) Miller (E1863), Kennedy (E1866), W. Smith & Hall (E1867), Gossrau (G1869a), Roby (E1871a).

1869: 682; *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Domgymnasiums...* 1871: 17; *Jahresbericht über das Königliche Gymnasium zu Aachen* 1872: 3).

The *Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (G1843) by Otto Schulz (1782-1849) also features in the qualitative sub-set. Schulz's *Schulgrammatik* was published in more than 20 editions between 1816 and 1867, and is attested in Prussian schools from 1829 through 1894 (*Zweck, Einrichtung Und Lehrplan Des Cölnischen Real-Gymnasii Zu Berlin* 1829: 13; Wiese 1869: 684; Simon 1894: 59).

Also within this sub-set are the 1822 edition of *Practische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (G1822) by Christian Gottlieb Bröder (1745-1819) and Johann Gottlob Ludwig Ramshorn (1768-1837). Ramshorn and Bröder are both established names in classical philology; according to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), Bröder's name appeared in 'countless' editions of Latin textbooks ("Broeder, Christian Gottlieb." 1876: 345) and Ramshorn published over 40 texts on Latin grammar in German between 1821 and 1859. In addition, Moissisitzig's textbook, which is attested in use in more than half a dozen schools, is included here (Wiese 1869: 684, 690; *Königliches Gymnasium mit Realklassen zu Insterburg* 1873: 39-40). Finally, the 1870 *Lateinische Schulgrammatik: für die untern Klassen bearbeitet* (G1870a) by Matthias Meiring, which is an edited and expanded version of an earlier work by Siberti, and the 1864 edition of *Lateinische schulgrammatik für alle classen des gymnasiums* (G1864) by Karl Lattmann (1818-1898) have also been included as texts which were widely used (Wiese 1869: 654-655).

Of particular interest for their pedagogical and linguistic value are two examples of the Grammar-Translation method (Howatt 2004: 375), Johann Valentin

Meidinger's (1756-1822) *Praktische lateinische Grammatik* (G1803b) and the 1867 version of *Praktische Schulgrammtik der lateinischen Sprache für alle Klassen* (G1867a) by educator and philologist Heinrich Moisisstzig (1816-?), both of which are based on a so-called 'practical' approach. Christian Ostermann's books of exercises (G1863 and G1871c) are of interest both for their cultural and pedagogical value, but also due to their enormous popularity. Ostermann's 'exercise books' were re-published so many times that Hoffman observed that two generations of Latin teachers were raised on Ostermann (*Am Ostermann sind zwei Geschlechter von Lateinlehrern groß geworden*) (Hoffman 1921 quoted by Fritsch 1976: 133). The *Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (G1848) by Friedrich Kritz (life dates unknown) and Friedrich Berger (life dates unknown), as well as Karl Eduard Putsche's (1805-1822) *Lateinische Grammatik für untere und mittlere Gymnasialclassen so wie für höhere Bürger- und Realschule* (G1852) provided examples of textbooks which were intended for all of the types of schools in Prussia where Latin was taught in the nineteenth century. As a comparator, Ferdinand Schultz's (1829-1901) *Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst für Gymnasien* (G1871a) is included, as it was intended to be used exclusively at one type of school, the *Gymnasien* (see Section 1.4 for further details on the types of schools in nineteenth-century Prussia).

The qualitative sub-corpus of Latin textbooks from nineteenth-century England includes three textbooks which were translated from German into English. The English translations of the grammars of Zumpt (E1845 [trans. Schmitz]), Madvig (E1851b [trans. Woods]) and Scheller (E1825a), all of which were widely used textbooks in England, were compared to the original German versions to see how

Latin textbooks were adapted or altered for pupils with different native languages. In addition, two giants of Victorian Latin grammar, Kennedy's *The Public School Latin Primer* (E1866) and *The Eton Latin Grammar* (orig. 1758), were included. *The Eton Latin Grammar* has its roots in the 1534 *Latinae Grammaticae Rudimenta*, an instructional text jointly authored by Lily, Colet and Erasmus, though it is often referred to as 'Lily's Grammar' (F. Watson 1908).<sup>17</sup> Lily's Grammar 'was reprinted, abridged, commented on, construed, attacked and defended for nearly three centuries' (Allen 1982: 85) until it was 'transformed and appropriated' to become *The Eton Latin Grammar* in 1758 (Watson 1916: 42, Stray 1992: n.p.), though Stewart states this occurred in 1732 (Stewart 1938: 219). *The Eton Latin Grammar* was the nineteenth-century 'market leader' in England (Howsam 2007: 264); between 1808 and 1887 it was published in over 20 editions. Countless other grammars and supplementary works throughout the nineteenth century included 'Eton' in their title, such as '...including the Eton Syntax', 'The New Eton grammar', '... based on the Eton Accidence', '... adapted to the Rules of Syntax', or '... adapted to the Eton Grammar', though not all of these were officially sanctioned. By the 1860s, *The Eton Latin Grammar* 'had been heavily criticised and derided for several decades' (Stray 1992: n.p.), and a number of versions, with different claims to legitimacy, were available, each claiming to improve upon the deficiencies of the original. My sample includes three versions of *The Eton Latin Grammar*: the 1830 publication edited by T.W.C. Edwards (E1830), an 1861 edition entitled *The School and University Eton Latin*

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<sup>17</sup> By proclamation in 1540 by King Henry VIII, a version of this grammar entitled *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*, was authorised 'as the only Grammar to be used in schools' (Watson 1908: 243). This injunction was echoed by King Edward VI in 1547 (Watson 1908: 35) and remained in force under Queen Elizabeth I who 'likewise forbade the use of any other grammar' (Stewart 1938: 218).



*Grammar* (E1861c) by James Roscoe Mongan, and the 1888 *The Eton Latin Grammar* by Francis Hay Rawlins & William Ralph Inge (E1888).

The bishop and classical scholar Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885) also called upon the authority of Lily in his *King Edward the Sixth's Latin Grammar* (E1862c), which Stray considers 'probably the best-selling Latin grammar in England' between 1845 and 1865 (Stray 1990: n.p.) and, as such, has been included in the corpus. Wordsworth hoped that his textbook would become the standard Latin textbook for schools in England (Stray 1992: n.p.); however, the Clarendon Commissioners appointed Dr. Benjamin Kennedy (1804 – 1889), Assistant Master at Harrow, to write the textbook which would be the standard for Public Schools, resulting in *The Public School Latin Primer* (E1866), originally published in 1866. Kennedy's *Primer* was widely-used, but it was 'not well received' (Roche 1969: 281), and Kennedy revised the text, resulting in his 1888 *Revised Latin Primer*. The *Revised Latin Primer* has since undergone further revisions and changes, but is still in use today; its eighty-second impression was published in 2008. Finally, this research would not be complete without including Thomas Arnold's (1795-1842) *Henry's First Latin Book* (E1871b).<sup>18</sup> Arnold was headmaster at Rugby (1828-1841), where he enacted reforms that were to have a profound and lasting influence on the Public School system (see Chapter 2). First published in 1839, *Henry's First Latin Book* enjoyed over 18 editions, and was last published in 1885.

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<sup>18</sup> As Arnold explains in the preface to *Henry's First Latin Book*, the title 'was suggested by Jane Marcet's *Mary's Grammar* which was published originally published in 1835 as an 'elucidation of the first elements of grammar' of the English language (Marcet 1835: iii).

I turn now to English textbooks selected for their pedagogical interest. *The Preparatory Latin Grammar* (E1843) by Edward Everard (approx. 1788-1856) is included because of its focus on younger learners; the author explicitly states that the text is intended ‘for the use of little boys’ (Everard 1843: title page).<sup>19</sup> This textbook is also of linguistic interest; as the preface explains, the author has ‘selected only what is necessary to be known for translating easy Latin sentences,’ in order to ‘obviate the distaste with which boys have so frequently pored over Syntax, in an unknown tongue’ (Everard 1843: 3). By examining this distillation of grammar to ‘only what is necessary’, we have a view of what at least one author of the time felt was essential for Latin language learning. However, as the textbook appears to have only been published in one edition in 1843, it is unlikely that many of Everard’s contemporaries were convinced by his approach. The *First Latin grammar and exercises in Ollendorff’s Method* (E1844a) by William Henry Pinnock (1813 – 1885) is included because it claims to employ the teaching methods of the German grammarian and language teacher Heinrich Gottfried Ollendorff (1803-1865), one of

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<sup>19</sup> Everard states that he anticipates those who use his text will be preparing to attend a Public School, from which we can deduce that ‘little boys’ implied children under the age of 10. Though the entry age at Public Schools gradually rose through the nineteenth century (and was eventually standardized at about age 13), boys could begin attending Public Schools as early as age 8 for most of the nineteenth century. The Clarendon Commission (1864a: 506) noted in 1864 the average ages and the lowest ages of pupils as follows:

| School            | Lowest Age | Average Age |
|-------------------|------------|-------------|
| Eton              | 8          | 14          |
| Winchester        | 11         | 13          |
| Westminster       | 10         | 15          |
| Charterhouse      | 9          | 14          |
| St. Paul’s        | 9          | 14          |
| Merchant Taylor’s | 9          | 13          |
| Harrow            | 10         | 15          |
| Rugby             | 9          | 15          |
| Shrewsbury        | 10         | 15          |
| All schools       | 8          | 14          |

the early proponents of the Grammar-Translation method (see Chapter 3). Thomas Hewitt Key's (1799-1875) *A Latin Grammar: on the system of crude forms* (E1846) is of interest for its unusual 'system of crude forms'. Charles Gillingham Hamilton's *Analytical Latin Grammar* (E1862a), which claims in its preface that it is based on analytical principles 'which have been so successfully employed in [...] English Grammars', has been included to compare and contrast the 'analytical' approach to the 'practical' approach (on these terms, see Chapter 3 below). Rounding out the texts of pedagogical interest is *Latin Grammar Practice* (E1844b) by James Pycroft (1813-1895), which claims to be 'adapted to every grammar and to every system' (Pycroft 1844: preface), and is of interest because we have additional information on the author's attitudes and beliefs regarding classical education through his published lecture series (Pycroft 1847). *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, published in 1871 (E1871a) by Henry John Roby (1830-1915), has been included, for both its pedagogical and linguistic content. Roby conceived of the need for a new Latin grammar during his brief experience as the master of the Upper School at the College of God's Gift in Dulwich (now the independent Dulwich College) which 'led to his producing in 1862 his *Elementary Latin Grammar*, and later his 1871 *Grammar of the Latin Language* which profoundly modified Kennedy's revised version of the authorised text-book' (Ward 1970: 336). Although Roby's textbooks did not seriously rival Kennedy's *Primer*, Roby structured his text and content in an effort to improve on what he felt were deficiencies in the *Primer*.

Table 1.5 Sub- Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from Prussia, arranged by date of edition

| Code   | Title   | Author                        | Rationale for Qualitative Analysis                                   |
|--------|---|-------------------------------|--|
| G1803a | <i>Schellers ausführliche lateinische Sprachlehre oder ...</i>  | I.J.G. Scheller               | wide use   |
| G1803b | <i>Praktische lateinische Grammatik, wodurch man die lateinische Sprache auf...</i>                           | Johann Valentine Meidinger    | pedagogical and linguistic interest - Grammar-Translation method     |
| G1822  | <i>Kleine lateinische grammatik mit leichten lectionen für anförer</i>  | C.G. Broder & J.G.L. Ramshorn | wide use   |
| G1826b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | K. G. Zumpt                   | wide use   |
| G1838a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | G. Billroth & Fr. Ellendt     | wide use   |
| G1843  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>  | Johann Schulz                 | wide use   |
| G1844b | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen</i>  | Johan N. Madvig               | wide use   |
| G1848  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>  | Friedr Kritz & Friedr Berger  | pedagogical interest - multiple school types                         |
| G1852  | <i>Lateinische grammatik ...</i>  | Karl Eduard Putsche           | pedagogical interest - multiple school types                         |
| G1863  | <i>Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche und aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische...</i> | Christian Ostermann           | wide use, pedagogical interest - exercise books                      |
| G1864  | <i>Lateinische schulgrammatik für alle classen des gymnasiums</i>   | K.A.I. Lattmann & H.D. Müller | wide use   |
| G1867a | <i>Praktische Schulgrammtik der lateinischen Sprache für alle Klassen</i>                                     | Heinrich Moississtzig         | wide use, pedagogical and linguistic interest - 'praktische' grammar |
| G1870a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik: für die untern Klassen bearbeitet</i>  | M. Siberti & Matthias Meiring | wide use   |
| G1871a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst Gymnasium bearbeitet</i>  | Ferdinand Schultz             | pedagogical interest - intended for single school type               |
| G1871c | <i>Lateinisches Übungsbuch im Anschluß an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes Vocabularium</i>                     | Christian Ostermann           | wide use, pedagogical interest - exercise books                      |

Table 1.6 Sub- Corpus of 19th-century Latin textbooks from England, arranged by date of edition

| Code   | Title   | Author                                    | Rationale for Qualitative Analysis                               |
|--------|---|---|--|
| E1825a | <i>A copious Latin grammar</i>                                  | I.J.G. Scheller                           | wide use, translation of German original                         |
| E1830  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>                                   | T.W.C. Edwards                            | wide use   |
| E1843  | <i>The preparatory Latin grammar</i>                            | E. Everard                                | pedagogical interest - intended for young learners               |
| E1844a | <i>First Latin grammar and exercises in Ollendorff's method</i> | W.H. Pinnock                              | pedagogical interest - grammar translation method                |
| E1844b | <i>Latin Grammar Practice</i>                                   | James Pycroft                             | pedagogical interest - claims to be applicable to all methods    |
| E1845  | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>                          | K.G. Zumpt, trans. Leonhard Schmitz       | wide use, translation of German original                         |
| E1846  | <i>A Latin grammar: on the system of crude forms</i>            | Thomas Hewitt Key                         | pedagogical and linguistic interest - crude form system          |
| E1851b | <i>A Latin grammar for the use of schools</i>                   | Johan Nikolai Madvig, trans. George Woods | wide use, translation of German original                         |
| E1861c | <i>The School and University Eton Latin Grammar</i>             | James Roscoe Mongan                       | wide use   |
| E1862a | <i>Analytical Latin Grammar</i>                                 | Charles Gillingham Hamilton               | pedagogical interest - analytical grammar                        |
| E1862c | <i>King Edward VI Latin Grammar</i>                             | W. Lily                                   | wide use   |
| E1866  | <i>The Public School Latin Primer</i>                           | Benjamin Hall Kennedy                     | linguistic interest, wide use                                    |
| E1871a | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>                          | Henry John Roby                           | pedagogical interest - claims to address deficiencies of Kennedy |
| E1871b | <i>Henry's First Latin Book</i>                                 | Thomas Arnold                             | wide use   |
| E1888  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>                                   | Francis Hay Rawlins & William Ralph Inge  | wide use   |

## **1.4 Educational Context: Learning and Teaching Latin in the Nineteenth Century**

Throughout the nineteenth century, Latin teaching and learning in both England and Prussia changed according to changing values, pedagogical advances, and beliefs about education, making the history of classical education what Simon Goldhill has called a 'messy history with high points of intense cultural conflict, and long continuities of repeated arguments or shared values' (Goldhill 2002: 194). To help make sense of this 'messy' history, this section contextualizes the use of Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century Prussia and England by outlining changes in the administrative structure of educational provision and the types of educational institutions where Latin was taught, as well as considering the role of Latin teaching and learning (as opposed to Ancient Greek) within classical education.

### 1.4.1 The Structure of Nineteenth-century Education in England and Prussia

Educational provision in nineteenth-century England and Prussia were, administratively, quite different. Prussia was an early proponent of state-sponsored education; an edict requiring that all children in Prussia attend school was issued in 1717 by Friedrich Wilhelm I (r. 1713-1740) which included fines for non-attendance and established minimum literacy and numeracy standards. The 1717 edict has been regarded as the official start of the compulsory Prussian education system (Max Planck Institute 1983: 84; Vierhaus 1988: 74; Koch 1996: 81; Rothbard 1999: 25; Dwyer 2000: 78; Hagen 2002: 315; Phillips 2011: 15). However, a lack of funding meant that the 1717 edict was impractical and largely unenforced (Yates 2008: 113), and it has been characterised as 'little more than an exercise in wishful thinking' (Van Horn Melton 1988: 46). Some of the deficiencies of the 1717 edict were addressed by Friedrich the Great (r. 1740-1786) in his 1763 *Landschulreglement* which specifically required all children aged 5-13 to attend school for six hours daily and, crucially, included limited funding (Green 1990: 123), though much of the financial burden remained the responsibility of local communities rather than the central government (Glenn 2011: 17). The role of the Prussian government in education was further strengthened with the 1794 *Allgemeines Landrecht* law under Friedrich Wilhelm II (r. 1786-1797), which brought all schools under state control, subject to state inspection, and made all school teachers civil servants (Wellmon 2015: 184), though home owners in each area remained responsible for funding schools and educators (Phillips 2011: 16). Further regulations in 1826 made primary schooling compulsory to age 14 (Green 1990: 14). These combined regulations established one of the earliest provisions in the world for universal education.

The strong role of the Prussian state in education at the cusp of the nineteenth century should not be viewed as altruism. Rather, these measures were calculated to ensure that citizens were 'educated to support and defend the state' (Phillips 2011: 16). After Napoleon's defeat of Prussia in 1806, government officials looked to education as 'a vital weapon with which to fight the French intruder' (Koch 1996: 173), and in 1809 Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was appointed as head of the Prussian Section for Education and Instruction to promote this aim (Green 1990: 13; Phillips 2011). Humboldt was a philosopher, diplomat and founder of the University of Berlin in 1810 and, though he remained as Head of Education and Instruction for only sixteen months, Humboldt's reforms influenced educational policy through the nineteenth century and beyond (Koch 1996: 176). Humboldt aimed to nurture good Prussian citizens through the promotion of *Bildung*,<sup>20</sup> the self-cultivation of the individual, which he believed all pupils should develop, regardless of their station in life or their career aspirations (Albisetti 1983: 19-20; La Vopa 2002: 276; Konrad 2012: 116; van Bommel 2015: 100).<sup>21</sup> The pursuit of *Bildung* formed the core of Humboldt's policy-making for the Prussian school system; Humboldt's goal was a system of education based on individual development and achievement. The compulsory education provided to all pupils would prepare any boy with ambition and intelligence to continue, if he wished, to a secondary classical *Gymnasium* at age ten and, upon completion of the nine-year *Gymnasium* course, even on to University level, regardless of his socio-economic status. Practical skills and specialized

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<sup>20</sup> I have opted not to translate *Bildung* (lit. forming/shaping); for the purposes of this study, *Bildung* is defined as self-cultivation through education and learning. For further discussion, see Luth (2000).

<sup>21</sup> [D]er gemeinste Tagelöhner, und der am feinsten Ausgebildete muss in seinem Gemüth ursprünglich gleich gestimmt werden. (von Humboldt 1793a: 189) ('[T]he meanest day-labourers and the most finely cultivated men must share the same basic temperament'.)



knowledge, Humboldt believed, were best imparted in the workplace, so he aimed to exclude 'all practical training' from schools (Albisetti 1983: 19) in favour of *Bildung*.

Humboldt's belief in the value of *Bildung* was driven by *Neuhumanismus* (Neohumanism).<sup>22</sup> The Neohumanism movement, which started about 1790 and lasted until around 1830, idealized the society and culture of the classical world. In contrast to pure Classicism, which held the art and architecture of Greece and Rome as standards to be emulated, Neohumanism entailed a more historicized relationship to life in the classical world; 'classical life – rather than art – was seen as exemplary' (Riedel 2010: 178). This Neohumanistic view of engaging with the classical world 'gave the appearance of continuity' of centuries of classical education, but 'was in fact an attempt to adapt the study of classical antiquity' to the needs of the time (van Bommel 2015: 4). According to Humboldt, the language and literature of the ancient Greeks, more than the Romans, provided 'the ideal object of study in pursuit of a fully humane *Bildung*' (Vick 2002: 489; see Humboldt 1793 (1903): 263-265). Thus, the foundation of the Prussian compulsory school system would, ideally, be built on the foundation of the study of the ancient Greek language and culture.

Despite the importance accorded to Humboldt's educational reforms, the fact that he held office for less than two years meant that it fell to Humboldt's successors to implement his vision of a universal curriculum, a vision that was quite radical at the time. Humboldt's replacement as the leading education official, Wilhelm von Sövern (1775-1829), who held office from 1809 to 1817, attempted to continue Humboldt's educational schemes. However, Humboldt's concept of a Neohumanistic

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<sup>22</sup> The term 'Neohumanism' was coined by Friedrich Paulsen in 1885, thus, those who were part of the movement would not have described themselves or their views in terms of *Neuhumanismus* (Schmidt-Glintzer 2013: 262; Graf 2015: 112; van Bommel 2015: 4).

education met with opposition. Some feared that a system of classical education for all would educate some pupils beyond their appropriate place in the hierarchy of nineteenth-century Prussian culture (Glenn 2011: 50-51), while others were concerned about the usefulness of a Neohumanistic education (Ringer 1990: 19-20), which, by its nature, included no practical skills. Thus, Humboldt's universal classical curriculum was never realized. Rather than develop one educational provision for all pupils, educational divisions which already existed were codified, resulting in a consolidated system of public instruction in Prussia 'decades ahead of any other nation [...] which, not coincidentally, also exercised the most rigid control over what was taught' (Green 1990: 14), and which, also not coincidentally, controlled what was taught to whom. In practice, on the elementary level, most children attended a local public *Volksschule* which laid the foundations of education. Boys from more affluent families attended a private *Vorschule*, which offered a more rigorous curriculum beyond basic literacy and numeracy, including preparatory lessons in the classical languages. If boys wished to continue studying at the secondary level, three different types of schooling were available, defined by their curriculum. The *Gymnasium* devoted the bulk of the curriculum to the study of Latin and Greek. In the *Realgymnasium/Realschule*, Latin was studied alongside modern languages, mathematics, geography and science. The *Oberrealschule* taught neither Latin nor Greek, but focused the curriculum entirely on modern and vocational subjects. Only the *Gymnasium* and *Realgymnasium* offered the formal leaving-examination, the heavily classical *Abitur*; after the *Abitur Edict* of 1834, entrance exams conducted by Universities were discontinued (Varrentrapp 1899: 360-362; Jarausch 1982: 30) and the *Abitur* was required for matriculation to study at an undergraduate level. Only

an *Abitur* earned at a Gymnasium allowed a student to enrol in University doctoral programs until further reforms in 1900 (McClelland 2002: 112-113).

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a steady increase in the number of pupils at all levels of schooling; attendance at elementary schools for children of mandatory school age rose from 60% in 1816 (Phillips 2011: 20) to 78% in 1846 and to 85% in 1864 (Glenn 2011: 53). According to studies conducted by Richard Samuel (1949: 44) and Detlef Müller (1989: 46-47), the number of boys attending all three types of secondary schools also increased throughout the nineteenth century,<sup>23</sup> with the Classical *Gymnasien* remaining the most well-attended (Table 1.7). Unfortunately, neither of these studies compared the number of boys attending secondary school with the total number of school-aged boys at the time, but other studies indicate that the overall proportion of attendance at secondary school was not large. According to von Gerd (1987: 123), less than 10% of those living in the German Confederation (an association of 39 German states between 1815 and 1866) accessed secondary or higher education, and Ringer describes access to higher education in the German States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century as ‘minute’ (1990: 39).

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<sup>23</sup> For a more detailed treatment of the types of secondary schooling in 19<sup>th</sup> century Prussia, see D. K. Müller (1989: 53-88). For a more contemporary explanation, see series of articles by Theobald Ziegler (1846-1918) in the 1888 *Classical Review* on ‘Classical Education in Germany’ (Ziegler 1888: 183).

*Table 1.7 Prussian Secondary School Attendance for Boys (data from Müller 1989 :46-48)*

| Year | Number of Pupils Attending Secondary Schools | Number of Pupils Attending Gymnasien (Latin and Greek) | Proportion of Pupils Attending Gymnasien | Number of Pupils Attending Realgymnasien (Latin only) | Proportion of Pupils Attending Realgymnasien | Number of Pupils Attending Oberrealschulen (no classical languages) | Proportion of Pupils Attending Oberrealschulen |
|------|--|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| 1854 | 48,800                                       | 35,100   | 72%                                      | 13,700  | 28%  | 3,300   | 7%   |
| 1860 | 57,600                                       | 39,900   | 69%                                      | 17,700  | 31%  | 5,200   | 9%   |
| 1870 | 98,300                                       | 63,000   | 64%                                      | 32,000  | 33%  | 6,800   | 7%   |
| 1875 | 112,200                                      | 68,500   | 61%                                      | 38,500  | 34%  | 14,100  | 13%  |
| 1880 | 123,500                                      | 77,000   | 62%                                      | 39,700  | 32%  | 19,900  | 16%  |
| 1885 | 128,800                                      | 81,800   | 64%                                      | 32,900  | 26%  | 29,100  | 23%  |
| 1890 | 135,500                                      | 81,000   | 60%                                      | 34,500  | 25%  | 42,400  | 31%  |
| 1895 | 140,000                                      | 76,600   | 55%                                      | 31,400  | 22%  | 58,500  | 42%  |
| 1900 | 156,600                                      | 91,600   | 58%                                      | 22,600  | 14%  | 70,200  | 45%  |

State control of education was not limited to the types of schooling options available in the nineteenth century; the Prussian government also determined the hours of instruction and the content of the curriculum for each type of primary and secondary school. In addition to compulsory attendance at the primary level, centrally administered teaching certification examinations based on academic knowledge were enacted in 1810 (McClelland 2002: 126), and only textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education could be used in classrooms (Samuel 1949: 73, Tatlock 2010: 183). The high level of governmental involvement in the details of educational administration in nineteenth-century Prussia is striking, particularly when compared with educational provision in England, where state involvement in education began much later and has remained much less prescriptive (Green 1990: 208).

The high degree of Prussian governmental control over education 'both attracted and repelled British observers' (Phillips 2000: 301). While Prussia had national statutes requiring compulsory elementary education from 1717, compulsory elementary education was not established in England until 1880, and fees were charged until 1891.<sup>24</sup> For much of the nineteenth century, England had no regulatory body for educational provision, 'no defining authority in the field of secondary education' (Steedman 1989: 113) similar to what Prussia had, and state-funded secondary education in England was not established until the Education Act of 1902. Rather than state-regulated secondary schools like those in Prussia, secondary schooling in England was offered by individual institutions which had been

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<sup>24</sup> See 'The Elementary Education Act' 1891 Sec. 136 (Public General Statutes, 54 & 55, Vict. c. 56).

established by private benevolent founders, and which were funded by endowments. Each of these institutions, some of which had been established as far back as the time of the Tudors,<sup>25</sup> had its own set of statutes, admission criteria, and curricula. Many such schools had originally intended to educate pupils living in a particular town or geographic area, instructing learners in the grammar of the classical languages, which earned the schools the moniker 'grammar schools'. Some of these schools allowed any boy to attend if he paid fees (which contributed to the upkeep of the school and teachers' salaries), and provided residential facilities for boys whose parents lived in other parts of the country. As only the wealthy could afford this residential option for their sons, these 'Public Schools' emerged as elite schools in nineteenth-century England.

In the absence of any central educational authority, nine of these 'Public Schools', Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury, which were all founded between the mid-thirteenth and early seventeenth centuries, emerged as 'the defining institutions' (Steedman 1989). As 'defining institutions', these Public Schools unofficially set the standard for the curriculum, methods and goals of secondary education throughout nineteenth century England (Steedman 1989: 113). Other endowed schools emulated the Public Schools' heavily classical curriculum, recreating many of their structures (e.g. houses, assembly, organized sport, privileges for high achieving students), and appropriated the textbooks of the Public Schools to boost their own

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<sup>25</sup> 'The English grammar school as it was established in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and continued for some three centuries after, was essentially the grammar school of the ancient world [...] Its curriculum and methods were not very different from those of the Roman Empire, and an Etonian under Keate would have felt quite at home in the schools of the time of Quintilian' (Clarke, 1959: 3-4).

prestige (Steedman 1989: 113). Yet despite the importance of Public Schools as the authorities of content and procedures in nineteenth-century English education, it is difficult to determine why the nine schools listed above were elevated from mere 'endowed schools open to the public' to 'Public Schools'. The writer and cleric Sydney Smith (1771-1845), attempting to define the term 'Public School' in 1810, noted that Public Schools were endowed places of education 'of old standing' which were characterised by 'their antiquity, the numbers, and the ages of the young people who are educated there' (208), but these features were present in many endowed schools which were not accorded the status of 'Public Schools'. The most telling aspect of Smith's definition is his observation that Public Schools were those schools 'to which the sons of gentlemen resort in considerable numbers' (208). In essence, Public Schools were deemed model institutions simply because gentlemen sent their sons to be educated at them, and tradesmen sent their sons to become gentlemen at them.

Whether schools were Public, grammar, or endowed, educational institutions in nineteenth-century England were neither established, supported nor administered by the central government. Rather, schools in England were administered through the charters of philanthropic founders, who had stipulated how their endowments were to be used. Unfortunately, some founders were overly thorough in establishing specific requirements for their schools, and 'the more pious the founder, the more carefully did he prescribe [...] the details of administration' (Archer 1966: 165). It is likely that these Medieval founders never envisioned that their helpful prescriptions would be obsolete, but nineteenth-century educational administrators sometimes

struggled with the legal requirements laid out in their school charters, such as fixed fees and salaries which were unrealistic in the nineteenth century, or the requirement that teachers swear oaths which were no longer possible to uphold, or, most relevant here, the almost exclusively classical curriculum. James Pillans (1778-1864), Chair of Humanity and Law at Edinburgh University and a tutor at Eton, offered a typical lament on this heavy focus on classical languages at endowed schools in 1856:

[...] the course of instruction has for ages been confined so exclusively to Greek and Latin that most of the pupils quit them not only ignorant of, but with a considerable disrelish and contempt for, every branch of literature and scientific equipment, except the dead languages. (Pillans 1856: 271)

Some schools instituted creative ways of adhering to their founders' regulations; for instance, Clarke reports the observations of a contemporary visitor to an endowed school in London in 1860:

[...] the highest class read aloud the beginning of the Latin grammar for one hour a week, without explanation or knowledge of the meaning, in order to satisfy the founders' intentions [...]. (Clarke 1959: 85)

Other endowed schools attempted to update their curricula, but, restricted by the terms prescribed by their founders, found that they were legally unable to do so. For instance, in 1805, the Trustees of Leeds Grammar School attempted to add mathematics and modern languages to the exclusive teaching of classical languages (Archer 1966: 20), but the Master and Usher objected and the parties turned to the Court for arbitration. The Court ruled that 'however desirable the change might be to the community and however much it might be wished by the great majority of



parents, it was not the founders' intention and was therefore illegal' to teach anything other than classical languages (Archer 1966: 20).

Attempts to update the curriculum, or dissatisfaction with schools which strictly adhered to teaching the classical languages, combined with concerns about the moral tone of residential schools, led to a crisis of confidence in schools in the mid-nineteenth century. Two royal commissions were appointed to address these concerns over the administration of educational endowments. From 1861 to 1864, the Clarendon Commission<sup>26</sup> investigated the finances and educational provision of the nine Public Schools, and from 1864 to 1867, the Taunton Commission<sup>27</sup> conducted a similar examination of the nearly 800 endowed schools not covered by the Clarendon Commission. Both Commissions exhaustively reviewed the schools under their respective authorities, and suggested areas for improvement, but inclusion in the Clarendon, rather than the Taunton, Commission unofficially enshrined the schools under its remit as one of the 'great' Public Schools. The reports of these Commissions provided the first comprehensive accounts of the state of secondary education in England.

Educational Acts duly followed each of the Commissions. In 1868, the Public Schools Act formally recommended changes to the nine schools under its charge, including the establishment of new school governing bodies (19th Parliament of the U.K.: 561), and the alteration of some of the more restrictive foundational statutes

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<sup>26</sup> This commission was formally titled 'Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools', but is widely known as the Clarendon Commission (1861-1864) after Lord Clarendon who headed the commission.

<sup>27</sup> This commission was formally titled the 'Royal Commission known as the Schools Inquiry Commission' but was often called the Taunton Commission, again referring to the head of the commission, Lord Taunton (1798-1869).

(19th Parliament of the U.K.: 560), which included broadening the curriculum beyond classical subjects. As a result of the Taunton Commission, schools were formally classified into one of three 'grades' based on their curriculum (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868: 78-88), which paralleled the three types of schools available in Prussia. First grade schools in nineteenth-century England taught Latin and Greek as the *Gymnasien* in Prussia did. Second grade schools in England included Latin but not Greek, as did their Prussian counterparts, the *Realgymnasien*, and schools of the third grade in England were comparable to the Prussian *Oberrealschulen*, as neither offered any classical languages. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which resulted from the Schools Inquiry Commission granted endowed schools greater flexibility in course content and funding administration (20<sup>th</sup> Parliament of the U.K.: 191), but a comprehensive Board of Education was not established in England until 1899, as the result of yet another Royal Commission: the 1895 Royal Commission on Secondary Education, known as the Bryce Commission in recognition of its Chair, James Bryce MP (1838-1922). The Bryce Commission was tasked specifically with considering educational provision available beyond elementary schooling, and its report recommended the establishment of a single educational authority under the directorate of a Ministry of Education. This single educational authority was not established until 1899, when the Board of Education was instituted (Bryce 1895 quoted by Maclure 2006: 141).

The differences between educational provision in nineteenth-century England and Prussia are striking. Schools in Prussia had been subject to state control since the eighteenth century, and the central government not only enforced

attendance, it determined the subject matter and hours of instruction, administered formal examinations and mandated and controlled teaching qualifications for all levels of education. In contrast, education in nineteenth-century England developed from a series of Royal Commissions which cautiously updated private Medieval educational provisions in accordance with public contemporary needs. The strong involvement of the Prussian government in education ensured that 'Germany had a good school in every town a hundred years before England had a moderate one' (Archer 1966: 31), but such a system also meant relinquishing the traditional autonomy which schools in the England were anxious to preserve. However, both countries prized classical education and established three grades of secondary schooling to meet the perceived needs of different levels of society, based on their classical language provision.

### 1.4.2 The Role of Latin in Nineteenth-century Prussia and England

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, young men in Prussia who were willing to dedicate themselves to their studies at publicly-provided schools could easily rise in the world. Even those who had not attained the *Abitur* found that a few years of study at a *Gymnasium* granted them preferential treatment for civil service positions (O'Boyle 1970: 475). The classical education attained at *Gymnasien* was not necessary for civil service roles on a practical level, but it 'became and remained a crucial status marker [in] the battleground of class identification' (Stray 1998: 27) among the middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*), whom Ringer noted owed their status 'primarily to educational qualifications, rather than to hereditary rights or wealth' (Ringer 1990: viii). Education was truly the thing which set members of this class apart (Sagarra 2009: 276), and the privileges conferred by attending a *Gymnasium* were not just of value in terms of preferment for governmental roles, but were also a form of what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) termed 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1984: 235). Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, which was not developed specifically with reference to the nineteenth century, can nonetheless be applied to the Prussian middle-classes who were 'unable to invoke the right of birth' and, instead, looked to education to define their status in society.

As a route to social mobility and better financial opportunities, attending a *Gymnasium* may have 'carried the educational ambitions of the growing middle class and achievement-based mobility' (Fend 2011: 49), but only a small number of people experienced 'success or failure due to more or less education' (Lundgreen 1988: 328). Though a *Gymnasium* education was theoretically available to any pupil with

intelligence and diligence, in practice, educational opportunity remained ‘highly determined by social origin’ (Lundgreen 1988: 325), and most boys who attended *Gymnasien* were born into the higher socio-economic classes, and educated privately at a preparatory *Vorschule* in their primary years (Breitman 1977: 20). The experience of Prussian young men in the early part of the nineteenth century who easily found success and upward mobility as a result of their education set an unsustainable pattern for subsequent generations, as the ever-increasing number of pupils attending Prussian *Gymnasien* did not coincide with an equivalent increase in the number of positions available. As early as the 1820s the Prussian government issued ‘repeated warnings against attendance at the universities with a view to entering state service’ (O’Boyle 1970: 475). By the 1840s Samuel Laing (1780-1868), a nineteenth-century Scottish writer and visitor to Prussia, noted that

the proportion [of educated men] is by far too great for the natural demand [...], the unemployed surplus being, in fact, literary idlers abstracted from paths of productive employment, and hanging on in expectation of preferment to office. (Laing 1850: 212)

David Hansemann (1790-1864), who became the Prussian Minister of Finance in 1848, also expressed concern that ‘the number of candidates for the privileged class of officials [...] grows appreciably each year, and regardless of the great number of officials [required] a large group of candidates cannot be accommodated’ (Hansemann 1830 quoted by O’Boyle 1970: 474). The Prussian historian Wilhelm Riehl (1823-1897) even suggested that the excessive number of over-educated and under-employed men was partly responsible for the political upheavals of the March Revolution of 1848 (Riehl 1851: 300).

The steady rise of *Gymnasium* attendance, which almost trebled from 1854 to 1900 (see Table 1.7) resulted in what Detlef Müller has termed the ‘qualifications crisis’ in the last quarter of the century, coinciding with an economic depression in the 1870s and 1880s (Müller 1980: 318). The overall economic downturn led to a reduction in the number of governmental positions (Müller 1980: 320), further contributing to concerns over the surplus of educated men. This concern was certainly warranted; in Konrad Jarausch’s *Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany* (1982: 55), collated data from the pioneer Prussian economist and statistician, Wilhelm Lexis (1837-1914), which predicted that the number of students enrolled at University would far exceed annual demand in 1890 in all subject areas except for dentistry (see Table 1.8). Even allowing for the margin of error inevitably present in such an early attempt at statistical analysis,<sup>28</sup> Lexis’ data remains relevant if only because of its contemporary impact. In 1887, the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* published Lexis’ findings in a series of articles, giving concrete evidence of what had been a general belief that there was an excess of educated men (Jarausch 1982: 57). Lexis’ findings bolstered arguments that the high number of *Gymnasium* graduates slowed economic development by encouraging young men to delay joining the work force or, conversely, overly inflated the number of applicants for state positions, and generally producing young men who were ‘unsuited for practical activity’ (O’Boyle 1970: 474). In an 1884 study, Johannes Conrad (1837-1915), a Leipzig political theorist and Professor of Political Economy at Halle, foresaw a ‘dismal future for the educated class’ (Conrad 1884, quoted and transl. by Müller 1980: 324)

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<sup>28</sup> For instance, Jarausch (1982: 52-57) points out that the method Lexis employed in determining annual need is questionable by modern standards.

which he felt could be ameliorated only by severely limiting access to secondary schooling.

*Table 1.8 Enrolment Numbers Compared to Demand for Qualified Candidates in Prussia (from Lexis in Jarausch 1982)*

| Field               | Annual Demand | Number of Students Needed to Supply Demand | Actual Number of Students Enrolled | Excess or Deficit of Students to Meet Demand |
|---------------------|---------------|--|------------------------------------|--|
| Protestant Theology | 350           | 1520                                       | 2651                               | + 1131                                       |
| Law                 | 475           | 820  | 3090                               | + 1010                                       |
| Medicine            | 550           | 3225                                       | 5212                               | + 1987                                       |
| Pharmacy            | 152           | 380  | 634                                | + 254  |
| Dentistry           | 100           | 300  | 250                                | - 50   |
| Philology           | 222           | 1220                                       | 1299                               | + 79   |
| Mathematics         | 82            | 480  | 573                                | + 93   |

The blame for the ‘qualifications crisis’ was often placed on over-ambitious parents who continued to believe that a classical education, followed by a University degree, would offer their sons greater social prestige and wider opportunities for remunerative careers. In 1884 August Bebel (1840-1913), the socialist politician and writer, lamented that the middle classes

[...] are dominated by the aspiration not to turn their sons into craftsmen [...]. Instead they send their sons increasingly to higher educational institutions of all types so that they can be trained for the so-called higher professions. (Bebel 1884 quoted and transl. by Müller 1980: 318)

In 1888, a year after Lexis published his findings, an editorial in the Prussian newspaper *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* repeated ‘the refrain about over-eager parents sending unqualified pupils to the *Gymnasien*’ (14 Feb. 1888 in Albisetti 1983: 163). The matter finally prompted government intervention, and the Ministry of Education under Gustav von Goßler (1881-1891) specifically addressed the problem of ‘overproduction’ and access to both secondary and higher education at the 1890

School Conference assembled by the Ministry (Müller 1980: 326). Kaiser Friedrich III, who had already expressed his concerns in a communication to the legislature about ‘the wakening of career expectations that our national economy cannot satisfy [...]’ (Friedrich III 1888 quoted and transl. by Albisetti 1983: 163), gave an opening speech to this School Conference in which he famously exhorted educators that ‘We should raise young Germans, not young Greeks and Romans’ (Albisetti 1983: 3). Wilhelm’s ‘battle cry’ (Goldhill 2002: 193) spoke directly to the issue of large numbers of pupils who were attending *Gymnasien* rather than seeking careers in practical fields, and Minister von Goßler duly repeated these sentiments to the House of Representatives, when he again claimed the unmanageable number of over-educated young men was the fault of social-climbing parents who lacked ‘the courage or the vision to direct their children towards the class from which they originate’ (von Goßler 1899 quoted and transl. by Müller 1980: 318). The Imperial School Conference in 1900 finally declared ‘formal and legal equality of all nine-year secondary teaching institutions’ (Müller 1980: 328), which technically placed schools which taught classical languages (*Gymnasium* and *Realgymnasium*) on the same level as schools that taught technical and scientific subjects (*Oberrealschule*). As a result, after 1900, graduates from any type of school could matriculate to University (Albisetti & Lundgreen 1991: 237), eliminating the practical reasons for the popularity of the *Gymnasium* over the other types of schools. Yet the ‘social exclusiveness of the *Gymnasium*’ persisted (Albisetti 1983: 8).

In England, as in Prussia, classical education was seen as both a status marker and a means to ascend the social scale (Weber 2007: 38), but, unlike in Prussia, where secondary education was provided by the state, the English government did not offer



or regulate provision for classical secondary schooling, nor was education freely available for much of the nineteenth century. Some nineteenth-century pundits argued that the Public Schools had been originally founded to provide free education to a specific set of pupils, with the option of charging fees for a fixed number of additional pupils, but in contemporary practice, the majority of pupils at nineteenth-century Public Schools paid fees. The charging of fees was a matter of heated debate; for example, Shrewsbury was founded in 1552 as the 'Free Grammar School of King Edward VI' (R.E.D. 1869: 11), which could indicate that pupils should attend for free. However, Benjamin Hall Kennedy, the headmaster of Shrewsbury (1836-1866) and author of *The Public School Primer* (E1844c) and the *Revised Latin Primer* (E1866), argued that the charter which declared Shrewsbury to be a *Libera Schola* (free school) indicated that the school was free from the 'jurisdiction of a superior corporation', not free of charge (Miner 1990: 233), and cited the long history of fee-scales in support of his understanding of the phrase (Kennedy quoted by Clarendon Commission Report 1864: 322). This interpretation was challenged, notably by the education historian Arthur Leach (1851-1915) whose detailed rebuttal argued that *Libera Schola* indicated a school which did not charge fees (Miner 1990: 233-5). However, Kennedy's interpretation of *Libera Schola* justified benefits enjoyed by Public Schools both in terms of financial gains and in their control over the selective admission of pupils. The author of *The History of the Harrow School* supported Kennedy's interpretation on 'common-sense' grounds:

[...] so purely classical was the system of education which the founder bequeathed to his establishment! Can any sensible person believe that such instruction was meant solely, or principally, for poor parish boys? (Harrow School 1860: xvii)

Other school administrators simply ignored the original statutes without resorting to such sophistry. For instance the charter of Eton limited the number of fee-paying pupils to twenty 'sons of noblemen and special friends of the College', but this figure this was consistently (and egregiously) exceeded (Shrosbree 1988: 27).

The Public Schools were able to charge fees with impunity because there was a great demand for the product they were selling. In Prussia there was little social distinction attached to which *Gymnasium* a pupil attended; the qualification of the *Abitur* granted social status, regardless of the school where it was attained. In nineteenth-century England, on the other hand, no comparable leaving qualifications existed, and which school a boy attended was paramount, though this had not always been the case. Endowed grammar schools in England had existed since the Medieval era, but the landed nobility traditionally eschewed them, preferring to have their children tutored privately. However, between about 1790 and 1860 a line of distinguished headmasters – notably Butler of Shrewsbury (1798-1836), Goddard of Winchester (1796-1809), Arnold of Rugby (1828-1842), Hawtrey of Eton (1834-52), and Vaughn of Harrow (1844-59) – revolutionised 'the moral tone and the discipline' of the Public schools (Dent 1949: 4-5), if not the curriculum, and attendance at one of the Public Schools became a mark of social distinction among the elite, or a means to ascend the social ladder to join the elite. In England, regardless of how well a pupil could conjugate Latin verbs or how beautifully he might produce Latin compositions, academic knowledge was immaterial if that knowledge had not been attained at the right school which, first and foremost, was believed to mould character and virtues. As William Johnson Cory, Eton assistant master (1845-1872), wrote:

[...] you go to a great school, not for knowledge so much as for arts and habits; for the habit of attention, for the art of expression, for the art of assuming at a moment's notice a new intellectual posture, for the art of entering quickly into another person's thoughts, for the habit of submitting to censure and refutation, for the art of indicating assent or dissent in graduated terms, for the habit of regarding minute points of accuracy, for the habit of working out what is possible in a given time, for taste, for discrimination, for mental courage and mental soberness. Above all, you go to a great school for self-knowledge. (Cory 1861: 7)

Ultimately, the aim of the Public Schools was 'not to ram Latin and Greek into boys, but to make them good English boys, good future citizens' (Hughes 1869: 63). Honey contends that this interest in character formation, rather than scholarship, served as a filter to social mobility, because the 'established classes could protect their interests against the invasion from the classes below them by specifying the criteria in which, because they were not based specifically on academic achievement, the newcomers would have no special advantage' (Honey 1989: 161). By stipulating that one must attend a 'great school' to meet the social criteria of the 'established classes', the members of those classes (or at least their member-representatives at the 'great schools'), to some extent, controlled social mobility.

In England, the idea that education was the gateway to a better life, that one could become a gentleman by undertaking the classical education of a gentleman (Shrosbree 1988: 28), was even stronger than among the Prussians. Early in the nineteenth century, the aim of classical education in England reflected Humboldt's Neohumanistic ideals of self-cultivation, with authorities such as Edward Copelston (1776-1849), Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, opining that classical education was not intended to prepare pupils 'for any specific employment' but was valuable as 'a cultivation of mind' (Copelston 1810: 104). Classical education at an English Public

School was a signifier not of what a young man could do, but of who they were, and parents hoped such an education ‘would impart the graces of the prosperous and the powerful’ and that their sons ‘would thereby attain prosperity and power themselves’ (Richardson 2013: 62).

In England, as in Prussia, classical education was seen as ‘training for high office’ (Benson 2000: 43), but, unlike the relatively small growth of the Prussian government, the rapidly expanding British Empire demanded large numbers of men in administrative roles, which the middle classes were eager to undertake. The importance of classical knowledge as a pre-requisite for career opportunities became even greater with the introduction of formal examinations.<sup>29</sup> Prior to the system of formal examinations, appointments to imperial administration had been made through patronage; an individual seeking a post would be referred for consideration by a patron who testified to the character and suitability of the applicant (Armstrong 1973: 34-35; Newbury 2010: 1-4). Drawing on reforms to the Indian Civil Service, the Report of the Northcote-Trevelyan Committee (appointed in 1853 to review the Civil Service) revolutionized the system of appointments within imperial administration by championing formal examinations which, crucially, tested candidates’ knowledge of classical languages, rather than relying on references from patrons. Thus, without a solid foundation in the language and history of the Roman Empire, it was simply impossible to participate in ruling the British Empire.

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<sup>29</sup> For instance, formal examinations which required a knowledge of Latin were required before undertaking appointment as an officer in the British Army from 1849 (Strachan 1984: 129) and the British Navy from 1856 (Dickinson 2008: 65), to practice pharmacy from 1852 (Kremers & Sonnedecker 1986: 108), to gain employment with the Indian Civil Service from 1853 (Roach 1971: 24), to practice law from 1854 (Abel 1998: 41), and for University matriculation from 1858 (Roach 1971: 8).

Still, it was not knowledge of Latin language itself, but the means by which that knowledge was attained that appealed to those making imperial appointments. Because only the wealthy could afford to engage in studies of no inherent vocational value (Waquet 2002:221), classical education ‘came to be seen by some as the educator’s surest antidote to impertinent ambition, not the ambitious man’s best friend’ (Richardson 2013: 63). Public Schools provided the ideal training ground for civil service administrators, and the Indian Civil Service particularly strove to recruit from the Public Schools, often to the exclusion of other viable candidates (Heussler 1963: 280).<sup>30</sup> The educational reformer and author Oscar Browning (1837-1923) acknowledged this tendency to recruit for imperial administrative positions from Public Schools, highlighting in particular the role of Etonians:

The fact that India has for so many years been governed by Etonians, and that Etonians hold so many important position in the State, apart from the advantages given to them by their birth, is due, I believe, largely to the Classical education which they receive. (Browning 1910: 70)

Browning was not referring to the benefits of learning classical languages which might be thought to be of some practical use, such as using them as a foundation to learn the languages spoken in India, or of the lessons of colonialism that one might learn from the study of classical history, but to the virtues of character that were developed through a classical education (Browning 1910: 68-70).

Not everyone in the nineteenth century accepted the contemporary rationale for the benefits of a classical education. This was exemplified in the 1860 novel *The Mill on the Floss* by George Eliot (the pseudonym of Mary Ann Evans (1819-1880)), in

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<sup>30</sup> See *Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, which details Jowett’s attempts to ensure the *Indian Civil Service Exam* would be particularly favourable to classically-educated students (1899: 133).

which we read of Tom, whose father provided him with a classical education. Tom did not attend a 'great school', but an 'expensive school' (Eliot 1860: 226), one of the many private institutions that offered questionable educational value for credulous and aspiring middle-class families. Tom was utterly mystified by his Latin lessons and was, unsurprisingly, at a loss as to what to do with his education when he left school to seek employment (Eliot 1860: 226). After asking the advice of his uncle, a successful businessman who is genuinely perplexed at Tom's ignorance of anything practical, Tom sadly concludes that 'learning Latin and things' has been of no use to him (Eliot 1860: 231). Tom does eventually become successful, not by utilizing the classical languages nor through the social connections gained during his education (which were non-existent at his 'school') but by rising through his own 'abilities and good conduct' (Eliot 1860: 226).

Tom's rise from humble beginnings to great success achieved through his own determination and hard work resonated with the movements of 'Self-Help' which proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century (Briggs 1998: 101-115) largely due to the work of the reforming author Samuel Smiles (1812-1904). Smiles' enormously successful book *Self-help* (Smiles 1859) advocated perseverance and effort as the keys to success in life (Briggs 1998: 108). Yet unlike Eliot's cautionary tale, Smiles emphasized the merits of classical education in several rags-to-riches accounts of hard-working men (Smiles 1859: 104, 110, 144, 221-2, ff.). For example, Smiles recounts the life of Samuel Lee, a carpenter's assistant who taught himself Latin (Smiles 1859: 362) and eventually won a place at Cambridge (Smiles 1859: 364), where he later became a professor of Arabic and Hebrew (Smiles 1859: 362).

However, rags-to-riches heroes such as Lee ‘were, in fact, a very rare breed’ in the nineteenth century (Miles 1996: 2). Young men who obtained a classical education through their own industry, or with the support of their thrifty and aspiring parents, ‘often found the business world’s doors closed to them – and with no “silver key” to hand, looked back on the past times of their schooldays with bitterness’ (Richardson 2013: 67). Though a classical education was necessary for access to imperial administrative positions, there was no guarantee that such a position would be offered. Nor were social advancements an automatic result of classical education, even at the best schools. The idea that one could either educate or buy entrée into the upper echelons became something of a joke by the middle of the century (Richardson 2013: 59). Contrasting Smiles’ anecdotes of successful self-made men who rose through hard work are accounts of disillusioned young men who had attained a classical education but had not achieved success. For example, Theodore Buckley (1825-1856) had taught himself Latin at the age of twelve and was sent to Oxford by a generous patron whom he met by chance in the British Museum. At Oxford, Buckley was bitterly disappointed to find that, though his classical language skills were extraordinary, they did not earn him respect among his peers (Richardson 2013: 25). Buckley never attained the financial success or social acceptance that was generally understood to be the natural result of classical education, but died an opium addict at the age of 30 in 1856 (Burgess 1856: 316).

It is difficult to gauge whether Buckley’s attempt to rise through education was an isolated occurrence or representative of a broader picture. Bamford (1961) consulted the records of the Public Schools to determine the social class origins of

the pupils who attended them in the first half of the nineteenth century, but, due to poor record-keeping, (Bamford 1961: 224) only four schools provided enough information to form a general picture of the class origins of pupils: Harrow, Rugby, St. Paul's and Eton. Bamford's data (Table 1.9) shows that overall attendance increased at every school except St. Paul's. Yet St. Paul's and Eton were the only schools which recorded any pupils from the lower class, and their numbers at St. Paul's steadily fell from 63 in the first decade of the nineteenth century to less than 20 between 1841 and 1850, while Eton only recorded two lower class pupils between 1821 and 1830. The number of pupils from middle class<sup>31</sup> backgrounds rose at Harrow, but decreased sharply at Rugby, St. Paul's and Eton. According to Bamford, the number of pupils whose parents were clergymen, military officers, and titled nobility increased more dramatically than the number of pupils whose parents were from the middle or professional classes. This indicates that the attainment of Latin at a Public School served more as a confirmation of a pupil's socio-economic status than as a means to improve upon it.

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<sup>31</sup> Bamford identifies the middle class as 'traders' and 'farmers' (1961: 224) 'manufacturers,' merchants' and 'shopkeepers' (1961: 226) and the lower class as 'a variety of unskilled and skilled trades from waiters, messengers and lightermen to carpenters, bricklayers and coopers' (1961: 226).



Table 1.9 Attendance Statistics in Four English Public Schools by Socio-Economic Status (Bamford 1961)

| Class                 |             |       |        |              |        |          |                    |                    |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                       |             | Lower | Middle | Professional | Clergy | Military | Gentry<br>(landed) | Titled<br>Nobility |
| Harrow                | 1801 - 1810 | 0     | 2      | 24           | 28     | 24       | 215                | 128                |
|                       | 1811 - 1820 | 0     | 2      | 25           | 43     | 23       | 269                | 146                |
|                       | 1821 - 1830 | 0     | 0      | 32           | 54     | 35       | 211                | 107                |
|                       | 1831 - 1840 | 0     | 0      | 39           | 62     | 28       | 210                | 117                |
|                       | 1841 - 1850 | 0     | 14     | 50           | 120    | 46       | 265                | 143                |
|                       |             |       |        |              |        |          |                    |                    |
| Rugby                 | 1801 - 1810 | 0     | 38     | 12           | 94     | 17       | 190                | 22                 |
|                       | 1811 - 1820 | 0     | 29     | 12           | 115    | 38       | 396                | 56                 |
|                       | 1821 - 1830 | 0     | 17     | 13           | 116    | 18       | 240                | 24                 |
|                       | 1831 - 1840 | 0     | 11     | 12           | 154    | 29       | 494                | 59                 |
|                       | 1841 - 1850 | 0     | 14     | 13           | 246    | 97       | 822                | 90                 |
|                       |             |       |        |              |        |          |                    |                    |
| St. Paul's            | 1801 - 1810 | 63    | 134    | 52           | 14     | 1        | 38                 | 0                  |
|                       | 1811 - 1820 | 55    | 117    | 99           | 19     | 8        | 36                 | 2                  |
|                       | 1821 - 1830 | 29    | 90     | 75           | 41     | 12       | 20                 | 2                  |
|                       | 1831 - 1840 | 26    | 55     | 101          | 46     | 8        | 22                 | 0                  |
|                       | 1841 - 1850 | 18    | 42     | 99           | 57     | 3        | 15                 | 1                  |
|                       |             |       |        |              |        |          |                    |                    |
| Eton                  | 1801 - 1810 | 0     | 15     | 54           | 42     | 10       | 305                | 226                |
|                       | 1811 - 1820 | 0     | 3      | 55           | 29     | 7        | 308                | 245                |
|                       | 1821 - 1830 | 2     | 6      | 55           | 38     | 25       | 376                | 283                |
|                       | 1831 - 1840 | 0     | 7      | 61           | 44     | 27       | 389                | 232                |
|                       | 1841 - 1850 | 0     | 4      | 84           | 77     | 32       | 430                | 330                |
| change from 1801-1850 |             | -71%  | 395%   | 263%         | 881%   | 982%     | 336%               | 467%               |

### 1.4.3 Why Latin?

#### What about Greek?

Though classical education encompassed learning both Latin and Greek, the role of Greek in secondary education had reduced significantly by the end of the nineteenth century in both England and Prussia. This decline of Greek must have seemed unlikely at the start of the century; Humboldt's vision of education, which was so influential throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, was predicated on the belief that classical Greek language and culture, even more than the Roman language and culture, formed the ideal basis for Bildung (Phillips 2011: 19; Benes 2008: 167; Goldhill 2002: 192; Albisetti 1983: 20). For Humboldt and his like-minded contemporaries, 'there was no higher ideal than the Greeks', and a 'strong orientation toward Greek antiquity was an essential element' in education and in the development of Bildung (Konrad 2012: 111). In 1807 Humboldt contended in his *Geschichte des Verfalls und Unterganges der griechischen Freistaaten* (*History of the Decline and Fall of the Greek Republics*) that:

Knowledge of the Greeks is not merely pleasant, useful or necessary for us – no, in the Greeks alone we find the ideal of that which we ourselves should like to be and produce (Humboldt 1807, transl. by Cowlan 1963: 79)

Accordingly, in the early nineteenth century, Greek antiquity in particular was 'embraced [...] as the foundation of a specifically German Bildung that would unify the nation in a time of crisis' (Benes 2006: 48). Modern scholars frequently note the nineteenth-century 'tyranny of Greece over Germany' (e.g. Mewes 1992: 23; Cartledge 2010: 901; Oakley 2012: 43; Turner 2014: 118; Goldhill 2015: 156), and the term 'Greekomania' (or 'Grecomania') has been used to describe the enthusiasm for

all things Greek in nineteenth-century German states (e.g. Beiser 2011: 207; Goldhill 2002: 192; Feldman & Richardson 1972: 302). Similarly, in England (Jarvis 2004: 158; Evangelista 2009: 11), ‘the great classical teachers of the nineteenth century, Butler, Kennedy and Arnold, were Greek rather than Latin scholars’ (Clarke 1959: 76; see also Archer 1966: 25).

Yet the Latin language ‘played an increasingly larger role’ both in English Public Schools and in the curriculum of the Prussian *Gymnasien* (Waquet 2010: 510).

As Waquet noted of the Prussian Gymnasium curriculum:

Although Greek had had the leading role at its foundation in 1810, Latin’s share quickly increased until, by 1837, it had become the main discipline: under the syllabus established in that year, the pupils did eight to ten hours of Latin a week, representing nearly a third of the whole timetable; Greek accounted for six hours a week for the first four years, only four hours after that. (Waquet 2002: 27)

Waquet’s observation is borne out in the Prussian directives regarding curriculum hours. In 1816 the Prussian Minister for Education, von Sövern, proposed a comprehensive plan which stipulated that pupils study 14 hours of Latin and Greek each week (Jeismann 1987: 172). The curriculum of 1837 officially set nine hours of Latin instruction each week and an average of five hours for Greek (Jeismann 1987: 172). In 1856, further changes reduced the number of hours pupils spent in *Gymnasien* overall, but the number of hours devoted to Latin and Greek was unchanged (Jeismann 1987: 173). Instructional hours were further reduced in 1882 to eight hours for Latin and 4.5 for Greek and in 1892 to seven hours for Latin and four for Greek (Nipperdey 1994: 553).

In England, too, we see a reduction in the importance of learning Greek. By 1868 Charles Stuart Parker (1829-1910), a member of several education commissions, opined that Latin was necessary for gentleman, while Greek was only necessary for scholars:

No man can pass for a scholar who is ignorant of Greek. But the question in hand is the education of a gentleman; to whom Latin and French [...] are by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a man, he can easily get Greek for himself. (Parker 1868: 57)

As in Prussia, the number of hours dedicated to Greek in English Public Schools slowly decreased. For instance, at Shrewsbury, while ten hours each week were consistently dedicated to Latin in 1820, 1861 and 1866, the number of hours for Greek slowly decreased from 14 in 1820 (S. Butler 1896: 83) to ten in 1860 (Clarendon Commission Report 1864: 485) and to eight by 1866 (Graduate of the University of Oxford 1866: 83). Similarly, at Harrow, Latin instruction was reduced from eleven hours in 1831 to ten hours in 1860, but the number of weekly hours for Greek decreased by nearly half in that time, from about 14 hours in 1831 (Anon. 1844: 294) to only eight hours weekly in 1860 (Clarendon Commission Report 1864: 470).

It is 'hard to describe how [...] Greek was driven from its prominent status in education and society' (Pontani 2010: 409) but it seems that a number of factors contributed to its decline.<sup>32</sup> Parental involvement proved to be of great influence; increasingly parents in the 'professional and trading classes' (Sadler 1898: 154) were investing in secondary education for their sons and, more and more, they wanted that education to entail useful training. This was equally true in England (Stray 1998:

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<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed treatment of this subject see Stray (1998: 200-256).

21-24) and in Prussia (Ringer 1990: 13) (see Section 1.3). These nineteenth-century parents could accept Latin, which had traditionally been ‘the language of education (and thus the educated)’ (Goldhill 2002: 36) throughout Europe. The Greek language, however, was not associated with ‘education’ but with ‘culture’ (Stray 1998: 32). Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), son of the eminent reforming headmaster of Rugby, Thomas Arnold, summed up the attitude towards Greek prevalent after the mid-nineteenth century, when he wrote that ‘the power of the Latin classic is in character, that of the Greek is beauty; and *character* is capable of being taught, learnt and assimilated; *beauty* hardly’ (emphasis original) (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868: 597). In the original precepts of Humboldt’s idea of education, culture and beauty were integral to the cultivation of Bildung (Summerfield & Downward 2010: 16), but with a growing interest in practicality, Greek found little footing and even Latin was reduced to ‘soul-destroying grammar teaching’ (Phillips 2011: 19).

The Roman world, rather than the Greek world, held a particular cultural appeal for both the English and the Prussians in the nineteenth century. In England, while the language, art and literature of ancient Greece were ‘an important art of cultural experience’, the ‘domination of Britain by Rome was seen to have been the process by which Greco-Roman civilisation was imported to the British Isles’ (Hingley & Unwin 2006: 147). Sir Richard Livingstone (1880-1960), co-editor of ‘The Classical Review’, likewise attested the importance of the Roman language and history, but not that of the Greeks:

We must go to Rome for our lessons. To govern peoples who differ in race, language, temper and civilization; to raise and distribute armies for their defence or subjection; to meet expenses civil and military; to allow generals and governors sufficient independence without losing control at

the centre; to know and supply the needs of provinces two thousand miles from the seat of government [...] Latin then stands in our education partly on linguistic grounds, partly on the heroic characters in its history, or the interest of its political and imperial problems, and on the capacities of its peoples for government. (Livingstone 1916: 153)

Though Livingstone was, above all, a Hellenist (he went on to write that, when considering Greek and Latin as two limbs of classical education, Latin was the 'easiest replaced'), his practical rationale of the value of Latin would have resonated with the practical, rising middle classes who were increasingly investing in classical education for their sons. In contrast, Livingstone's arguments for the purpose and value of Greek in his chapter 'The Case for Greek' in this same publication focussed on the more ephemeral aspects of 'style' (Livingstone 1916: 67), the 'quality' of Greek literature (69) and the 'glory' of its art, dwelling particularly on the Greek 'spirit' (75, 88, 90, 96, 98) and their 'creative intelligence' (78, 85, 98, 99). However, even in this chapter which was meant to promote Greek, Livingstone still referenced Rome and Latin frequently.

The differing importance ascribed to Greek and Latin in secondary education was encapsulated by an anonymous commentator in Blackwood's Magazine, discussing the formal suggestion that the University of Oxford dispense with the requirement for Greek in 1871: 'Some excuse may perhaps be pleaded for Latin; it enters indirectly, but largely, into many modern matters. But what can be said for Greek?' (Anon. 1871: 190).

The question of 'what could be said for Greek' reflects the change from the Classicist view of the early nineteenth century, which held the Greco-Roman world as the standard which should be emulated. The Classicist movement was supplanted

early in the nineteenth century by the Romantic movement, which emphasized emotions over strict formality, and celebrated the value of eras of antiquity beyond the classical world, such as Norse and Celtic history and mythology (Agrawal 1990: 223). This does not mean that Romanticism was 'anti-classical', but rather 'anti-Classicist'; '[m]ost practitioners of Romanticism had received a solid classical education [...]' (Günthenke 2010: 836) and sought 'a new dialogue with antiquity, an acknowledgement of the desire to infuse antiquity with new meaning and life' (Günthenke 2010: 838). This 'new dialogue' with the Classical world allowed individual cultures to combine the language and literature of ancient Rome, rather than ancient Greece, with 'native tradition and folklore to glorify a distant past' (Schleicher 2008: 31; Vick 2002: 50). Classical Roman authors, not classical Greek authors, wrote of the ancient, native Germanic tribes living just beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire and offered nineteenth-century Prussians an origin story for the German nation, peopled with admirable characters who exemplified Germanic virtue (Chapter 2). Romans, not Greeks, offered lessons of successful empire for nineteenth century Englishmen to emulate.

As the role of the classical languages was reconsidered and reinvented during the nineteenth century, a short burst of enthusiasm for Greek instruction in secondary schools, predicated on Humboldt's ideals of pursuing *Bildung*, prevailed early in the century. Furthermore, the cultural role of the ancient Roman world, rather than the ancient Greek, further contributed to the preference for Latin, and, as we shall see in Chapter 2, English and Prussia society each found within ancient Rome elements which resonated with their respective contemporary cultures.

**What's the use of Latin? The Influence of Educational Psychology**

Despite Humboldt's original intention, a growing focus on the practical aspects of education pitted 'those who championed the traditional classical curriculum for its edifying effects against those who wished to reform it in favor of "utility" ' (Tietze Larson 1999: 186) and 'the symbolic centre of classics moved from 'culture' to 'mental discipline' ' (Stray 1998: 29). The emerging field of educational psychology came to the fore in this debate, providing educators with a scientific rationale for the 'utility' of Latin as a means of 'discipline'. In many respects, educational psychology cannot be said to have been a new field of inquiry in the nineteenth century; some of the central concepts of educational psychology can be traced as far back as Plato in the fourth century B.C., though his ideas were couched in terms of the philosophy, rather than the psychology, of education (Dupuis & Gordon 2010: 29). The Roman educator and writer Quintilian (35-100 A.D.) also commented upon what would be thought of today as matters of educational psychology, such as differentiated learning for pupils with differing strengths and abilities (Gutek 1994: 68). Early Humanists, such as Comenius (1592-1671), continued to develop concepts which would fit into of our modern understanding of educational psychology, such as multiple modes of instruction (including the use of visual aids) and the idea that children passed through specific stages of development, during which different capacities for doing things and understanding things would develop (Baker 2010: 247).

However, it was in the nineteenth century that educational psychology began to emerge as a distinct discipline (Baker 2010: 247; Dupuis & Gordon 2010: 221). The more general scientific and technological progress of the nineteenth century had a



broad effect on society at a number of levels, including a more scientific approach to education, particularly in early-childhood education, such as the pioneering work of the Swiss educationalist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). The work of the German psychologist Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), who also built upon Pestalozzi's ideas, has led him to be credited as the 'father of educational psychology' (Hall 2014: 8). Herbart's work was ground-breaking and included a system of pedagogical instruction known as the 'formal steps of instruction' which were based not on the content to be taught, but on the way in which the human mind learns new information (Siljander 2012: 87).<sup>33</sup>

However, the most important concepts of educational psychology in secondary education were not new ideas which emerged from ground-breaking research on the understanding of the developing minds of young children, but two concepts that had been touted since at least the seventeenth century (Baker 2010: 247): faculty psychology and mental discipline. The ideas of faculty psychology and mental discipline worked in tandem, both predicated upon the belief that intellectual performance relied on distinct mental faculties such as memory, reasoning, and attention. When the mind was disciplined by scholarly work, the corresponding mental faculty would be strengthened, much as the body is strengthened by

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<sup>33</sup> Herbart's formal steps are:

1. Review material that has already been learned by the teacher.
2. Prepare the student for new material by giving them an overview of what they are learning next.
3. Present the new material.
4. Relate the new material to the old material that has already been learned.
5. Show how the student can apply the new material and show the material they will learn next. (Hergenhahn & Henley 2013: 189)

undergoing targeted muscle-building exercises. Alfred Binet (1857-1911), the French psychologist who developed the first practical intelligence test, called such exercises ‘mental orthopaedics’ and claimed that they enabled pupils ‘to observe better, to listen better, to retain and judge better’ (Binet cited by Wolf 1973: 207). According to the precepts of faculty psychology, pupils whose mental faculties which had been strengthened by academic ‘exercise’ would automatically transfer those increased abilities to new situations, or, as Binet put it, through ‘practice and training [...] we can augment a child’s attention, his memory, his judgement – making him literally to become more intelligent than he was before’ (Binet cited by Wolf 1973: 207).

Contemporary accounts from nineteenth-century educationalists illustrate the prevailing notion that the classical languages were considered to be excellent as a means of exercising the brain, both in England and Prussia. In England, the value of the classical languages as a mental discipline, rather than just an end to itself, was frequent in nineteenth-century educational commentary.<sup>34</sup> The Taunton Commission (1864-1868) claimed that Latin was of ‘real practical use’:

[...] partly because of its social value, partly because it is acknowledged to facilitate a thorough knowledge of modern languages, partly because almost all teachers agree in praising its excellence as a mental discipline. (Schools Inquiry Commission 1868: 18, 23-24)

In Prussia, the the popular Gymnastics Movement, which promoted discipline and bodily strength (see Chapter 2), paralleled the idea of the ‘mental gymnastics’ (*‘geistige Gymnastik’*) exercises of mastering Latin grammar. It is unclear who coined

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<sup>34</sup> i.e. Malden 1831: 19; Telfer & Alnwick 1837: 7; Addis 1839: 75-76; Anon. 1843: 142; Mason 1867: iii; Pycroft 1843: 180; Nichols 1842: 296; Dodd 1847: 137-138; Marcel 1853: 145; Stanley 1890: 141 and others.

the phrase '*geistige Gymnastik*', but it may have been used first by the philosopher Friedrich Köppen in his 1806 *Vermischte schriften*, where he used the phrase in a disparaging reference to Latin (Köppen 1806: 84). Yet just a year later, the Romantic Bavarian writer Jean Paul (1763-1825) used the term with positive connotations regarding Latin in his *Levana: oder Erziehungslehre* (Paul 1807: 349-351). The phrase was applied to learning Latin in Prussia throughout the nineteenth century either positively (Breier 1846:5; Fleckeisen & Masius 1872: 15) or negatively (Hiecke, Viehoff, & Herrig 1854: 96; Müller 1869: 16), depending on the point of view of the writer. In England, the term 'mental gymnastics' was also associated with Latin, but appeared most often with reference to mathematics; as early as 1837, an encyclopaedia entry described mathematics as 'mental gymnastics' (Smedley 1837: 685). The author of a short 1863 article entitled 'Latin and Cricket', in *The London Review of Politics*, also made this association, dismissing mathematics 'simply as mental gymnastics', though he simultaneously argued for the benefits of Latin as a means of 'mental training' (Anon. 1863a: 329). Edward Thring (1821-1887), Headmaster of Uppingham School, applied the term 'mental gymnastics' to classical language learning in a positive way (Thring 1867: 62), and two years later, 'mental gymnastics' was referred to as 'most useful things' in a discussion of the role of language learning in education (Barry 1870: 119). However, Matthew Arnold used the phrase in a decidedly negative way in one of his satirical conversations with his fictitious Prussian 'friend', Arminius, Baron von Thunder-Ten-Tronckh, to disparage the way in which classics were taught at University level (M. Arnold 1871: 51-52).

While the phrase ‘mental gymnastics’ was used both positively and negatively, the value of Latin as a means to instil ‘mental discipline’ seems to have been broadly agreed upon or, at least, acknowledged as an argument. An 1844 article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* mentioned that Latin, ‘however useless as an acquisition, is so admirable as a mental discipline, it cannot be exchanged for any other subject of study’ (Anon. 1844b: 74). The German philosopher, Theobald Ziegler (1846-1918), while not using the phrase ‘*geistige Gymnastik*’, praised the ‘peculiar value of Latin grammar for formal discipline’ in his third essay on Classical Education in Germany (1888: 185).

The association of Latin and mental gymnastics is yet another effect of the shift from Classicism to Romanticism. From about the middle of the nineteenth century, ‘Latin was no longer beholden to humanist ideas of human development; it was now free to prepare future scientists in logical thinking’ (Leonhardt 2013: 275). Apologists for classical education shifted their rationale from highlighting the ‘actual content of texts [and] the human meaning they were meant to convey’ to praising the ‘technical mastery of formal rules’ (La Vopa 2002: 211). Learning Latin was about ‘*mental process excellence*, not about subject mastery’ (Grove 2013: 178, emphasis original).

However, the foundational precepts for the belief that learning Latin provided the best exercises in mental discipline which strengthened the faculties of the mind were not unquestioned in the nineteenth century. Herbart believed that the precepts of faculty psychology were flawed, pointing out, for instance, that faculty psychology gave no rationale for how many faculties existed (Herbart 1824: 3), and

other nineteenth-century educationalists also questioned the assumed value of Latin as a means to exercise and strengthen the brain (Caldwell 1836: 145-147; Anon. 1844a: 536; Widgery 1888: 14, etc.). However, faculty psychology was not seriously challenged until 1890 when the American psychologist William James (1824-1910) conducted an experiment to determine 'whether a certain amount of daily training in learning poetry by heart will shorten the time it takes to learn an entirely different kind of poetry' (James 1890: 666-7). Participants in James' experiment experienced no improvement, or very slight increases of 20-30 seconds, in their speed of memorization. Though James' experiment was small in scale (his notes indicate that only seven people, including himself, participated) and he did not test his findings against a control group, his experiment is significant as it was the first scientific attempt to test the claims of faculty psychology. Yet, despite challenges from Herbart, James and others, the idea of faculty psychology exerted a strong influence on Latin teaching and learning throughout the nineteenth century.

In the increasingly industrialised societies of England and Prussia, the perception grew that education should serve a practical end, rather than be undertaken for its own sake, and Greek language instruction was eclipsed by instruction in Latin by the mid-nineteenth century. Instead of elevating the human mind and spirit as, Greek was perceived to do, learning Latin came to be seen as the ideal mental gymnastics and as a way to prepare the mind for other endeavours.

#### 1.4.4 Educational Context: Conclusions

The education systems in England and in Prussia had fundamental differences. Educational provision in Prussia developed in a top-down way; that is, central administration of state-sponsored education was initiated by the government. By the end of the nineteenth century, Prussian education was a highly structured, state controlled, academically homogenous system that regulated entry, curriculum, textbooks, personnel (in the form of state-imposed requirements for educators and administrators), and qualifications. In England, state involvement in education developed far more slowly, with individual institutions informally taking the role of a central authority which determined the preferred curriculum, teaching methods and textbooks for all schools.

Despite these differences, there were important similarities in the role, purpose and participants of classical education in nineteenth-century England and Prussia. In both countries, learning the Latin language was a privilege reserved for the elite and was increasingly perceived as a route to social and financial improvement for those who aspired to join the elite. Though access to classical education was never widespread in either country, participation in classical education steadily increased over the course of the century. With increasing numbers of students pursuing secondary education, concerns over the value and role of classical education also grew and, in both countries, champions of classical education justified learning Latin on the basis that it both promoted mental discipline and provided insight into contemporary political and social matters.

The range of research available which treats the topic of nineteenth-century education largely tends to focus on policies and the motivations and ramifications of educational edicts, bills and laws. While these formal decrees reflected the attitudes and codified the intentions of the government and/or society on a broad level, very few studies consider how these high-level changes manifested in classroom materials. Textbooks serve as one of the few means we have of exploring the differences and similarities between nineteenth-century England and Prussia in practice. It is to these textbooks that we now turn.

## 2 Latin Textbooks as Cultural Artefacts

### 2.1 Introduction

Despite interest in the reception of the classical world in the nineteenth century (e.g. Bakogianni 2013; Brockliss et al. 2011; Hardwick & Stray 2011; Gillespie 2011; Vandiver 2010; Grafton, Most, & Settis 2010; Kurtz 2000 and others), the ways in which classical reception is reflected in Latin textbooks has been comparatively neglected. This chapter addresses that gap by considering how Latin textbooks represented the relationship between the classical world and nineteenth-century society and how the content of Latin textbooks reflected or contributed to the ideologies of culture and society in nineteenth-century England and Prussia. Latin textbooks were, of course, intended to teach pupils the Latin language, but the subject matter of grammatical exemplars and passages for practising translation also demonstrates how authors in the nineteenth-century represented the classical world. We shall see below that Latin lessons were also opportunities for nation- and empire-building, and, by extension, opportunities for instilling character traits considered desirable in ideal citizens in England and Prussia. For instance, as Section 2.2 details, Latin textbooks promoted national-identity through the narration of origin stories and by explicating the cultural and physical inheritance which nineteenth century Prussia and England had respectively received from ancient Rome. Section 2.3 examines how Latin textbooks approached the attribute of physical strength, which was an important facet in nineteenth-century society in both countries. In Section 2.4, the contribution of Latin textbooks to the uniquely English concept of 'gentlemen' is discussed, followed by conclusions in Section 2.5.



## 2.2 Origin Stories: Fostering Ideal Citizens

Hobsbawm has identified the period from 1830 to 1870 as the ‘age of nationalism’ (quoted in A. D. Smith 2000: 53), when the concept of nation emerged as ‘a solid, stable, and ultimately necessary form of social and political organisation’ (Chernilo 2008: 1). However, it is ‘notoriously difficult’ to define what constitutes a ‘nation’ (Anderson 2006: 3, see also Hobsbawm 1992: 7; Gellner 2006: 6; Smith 2008: 11) and similarly difficult to define ‘empire’ (Lake 2011: 41). Modern definitions provide useful frameworks (see Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm 1992; Gellner 2006), but within the context of this research, it is important to understand how *nation* and *empire* were understood by nineteenth-century Prussian and English society. We shall see below that nineteenth-century England focused on what the English people had become and who they were now, while nineteenth-century Germans focused on what they used to be and who they could become by embracing their inherited legacy. Despite these different priorities, Latin language lessons in each country offered opportunities to reinforce concepts of national identity and to promote desirable qualities in their future citizens.

The promotion of national identity in both Prussia and England during the nineteenth century was based upon the concept of the shared heritage of the people in each nation respectively. Though both countries could claim to share an ancient Germanic ancestry, Prussia and England had since developed differently. England had been established as an isolated nation-state comparatively early and, as such, English ‘political institutions truly were sanctioned by time’ (Barczewski 2000: 1). Rather than develop a narrative for the shared history of the English people, ‘[a]ll

British historians had to do [...] was to admire that longevity, rather than create it' (Barczewski 2000: 1). By the nineteenth century, nation-building in England was an inextricable facet of empire-building, with 'Englishness' cultivated as a sort of export in the efforts of the British Empire to bring civilization to lesser peoples. Prussian nation-building, on the other hand, focused on the development of a pan-German nation based on the common heritage of the German people, and 'history writing was crucial to the invention [...] of the nation' (Barczewski 2000: 1).

In nineteenth-century Prussia, nation-building entailed not building *Prussia* as a nation, but the role that Prussia played within the establishment of the German nation in 1871. The establishment of such a unified nation, the form it would take, and the role which that nation would play on the international stage was debated for much of the nineteenth century. At the start of the nineteenth century, the Holy Roman Empire still encompassed many, but not all, German-speaking areas. However, the Holy Roman Empire was never a nation-state; it was a collection of territories in which some of the population identified themselves as 'German' (though certainly not all people would have done so). Following defeat by Napoleon, the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806, and the resulting kingdoms, free cities and other territories subsequently organised and reorganised themselves in a series of shifting confederations. Some of these changing alliances were motivated by an interest in the establishment of a unified German nation, though others were strictly economic or specifically aimed at preserving the independence of individual territories. Rivalries between Austria and Prussia fuelled debates about whether a unified German nation should include all German-speaking peoples, the 'Greater

German solution' (*großdeutsche Lösung*), or whether, as Prussia favoured from the mid-century, a pan-German nation should be founded on the 'Lesser German solution' which excluded Austria (*kleindeutsche Lösung*) (see Southard 1995; Breuilly 2002). The *kleindeutsche Lösung* won out and, thus, the German Reich established in 1871 did not encompass all of the people who would have identified themselves as culturally German.

Simply chronicling these events does not address the question of what it *meant* to be a nation in the nineteenth century, nor the motivations or beliefs of those who were involved in the development of that nation. Here, Friedrich Meinecke's (1862-1954) concepts of the *Staatsnation* (state-nation) and *Kulturnation* (culture-nation) are helpful (Meinecke 1908 [1970]: 10). For Meinecke, a *Staatsnation* is a political entity, irrespective of ethnicity, encompassing geographic boundaries and governing systems, while a *Kulturnation* is a social construct comprised of people with a common identity based on shared history and culture. Though a unified German *Staatsnation* was not established until 1871, it was preceded by a strong German *Kulturnation* which was constituted on the basis of common factors, especially language (e.g. Schulze 1991: 39; H. W. Smith 1995: 7; Wright 1998: 51; Benes 2006: 31-33) and a shared cultural history (e.g. Evans 1997: 215; Gellner 2006: 134; Breuilly 2002: 13). Consciousness of cultural commonalities among German people can be found from at least the sixteenth century, but the sense of a specifically German identity became stronger from the start of the nineteenth century, when the shared experience of French domination contributed to 'a more intense and better-defined nationalism' (Pohlsander 2008: 28; see also

Coulmas 1995: 57; Wright 1998: 51; Hagemann 2004: 412; McWilliam 2008: 407; Steger 2008: 74; Hewitson 2010: 76). This nationalism was initially ‘a *Kulturation* version of national identity independent of, above, and prior to any political entity’ (Borneman 2001: 98; see also Berger 1997: 24; Pohlsander 2008: 28-29; Forner 2014: 193-194).

Formal education proved to be a powerful factor in the development of the German *Kulturation*. In Prussia, where the state became involved in education quite early compared to other European nations (see Chapter 1), the role of the government in educational policy was unintentionally strengthened even further during the short, but significant, tenure of Wilhelm von Humboldt as the minister for education. In keeping with Neohumanistic principles, Humboldt believed that ‘schools were to serve as gateways to the free realm of absolute ideas’ and ‘that the state had the duty of opening the doors to universal culture’ (Holborn 1982: 478). Drawing on concepts from the classical world, such as Plato’s idea of nurturing ‘ideal citizens’ through education, Humboldt believed that classical education, provided by the state, would naturally result in the development of good citizens (Holborn 1982: 478). In this, Humboldt’s educational philosophy incorporated Plato’s concept of ‘the state’ as an agent for the social welfare and moral progress of its citizenry, as only the state could guarantee the circumstances necessary for each individual citizen to develop their own individual potential.<sup>35</sup> Humboldt never intended schools to become agents of the state for the purposes of political indoctrination; indeed,

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<sup>35</sup> In strengthening the authority of the state in education, Humboldt believed that the state would safe-guard schools as institutions of free ideas and personal growth. For more on Humboldt’s early views on the role of government in education, see Humboldt’s *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* (1791).

Humboldt asserted that political indoctrination was beyond the appropriate limits of state-funded education, and that each pupil should develop in his own way (Humboldt 1791: 70-71). However, 'individual morality [was] subordinated to the morality of the state' soon after Humboldt left office (Salla 2002: 39).

Prussian officials who held power after Humboldt's tenure had a vested interest in ensuring that the education provided by the state prepared future citizens. Secure in the belief that a nation was not a lifeless, abstract entity, but a concrete manifestation of the physical and moral strength of its individual members, they believed that it was incumbent upon the state to contribute to the development of both the bodies and minds of those future citizens. The citizenship that Prussian education was preparing pupils to exercise encompassed the broader Germanic *Kulturnation*, the foundation for the pan-German *Staatsnation*, in which Prussia played a pivotal role. This process of *becoming* a formal *Staatsnation* was dependent upon the cultivation of the existing *Kulturnation*, promoting 'the sense of community that bound all those external markers of nationality into the spiritual whole that was the nation' (Vick 2002: 20). In nineteenth-century Prussia, *nation* and national identity can be understood 'in terms of *becoming* rather than *being*' (Breuilly 2001: 3, emphasis original).

On the other hand, nineteenth-century England was not *becoming* a nation, it already *was*. Wormald, somewhat provocatively, calls England 'the most enduring polity in recorded history' (2005: 105). Though this may be contested, it is certainly true that, by the nineteenth century, England already *was* both a *Staatsnation* and a *Kulturnation* and had been both for some time. It is the growth of *empire*, rather

than *nation*, which characterises England in the nineteenth century. At the time of Queen Victoria's coronation in 1837, the majority of her subjects had little interest in imperial expansion (Peers 2008: 60-61; Barczewski et al. 2014: 120; Fraser & Brown 2014: 319). Following the loss of the American colonies in the late eighteenth century, most English citizens were disenchanted with the idea of empire (Morris 2010: 23). Yet 60 years later, in 1897, Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee as sovereign of more than a quarter of the earth's population, ruler of the largest empire in the history of the world. The reasons for the growth of the British Empire 'have been a source of huge controversy' among both modern scholars and 'contemporary academic and political commentators' (Webster 2006: 13), but the varied underlying motives for imperial expansion could all be legitimized with claims of charitable evangelism: the idea that the English were duty-bound to share their superior culture, legal system, and religious beliefs with less enlightened peoples, to aid them in their progress. It was through this evangelical legitimization of empire, and the ways in which the English interacted with the rest of the world, that national identity manifested itself in nineteenth-century England (Halperin 1997: 35; see also Bendix & Roth 1980: 166).

While nineteenth-century Prussians were moving towards the establishment of a unified Germany and the English were expanding the British Empire, the classical world was a common cultural touchstone. In both England and Prussia, the purpose of learning classical languages changed significantly throughout the course of the nineteenth century, and representations of the classical world changed accordingly. Tensions between the ancient and the contemporary world which manifested in

nineteenth-century England and Prussia were part of an ongoing debate regarding the contemporary relevance of the classical world, a debate which had initially emerged in France in the late seventeenth century. The 'Quarrel' between the ancients and the moderns (*La Querelle des anciens et des modernes*) concerned whether the classical world was superior to the modern world or whether the modern world had succeeded in surpassing the ancients (Levine 1991: 1).

On one side of this Quarrel, many authorities in the early part of the nineteenth century felt that the modern world remained, in many ways, inferior to the ideals of the classical world. Proponents of this view held that the enduring beauty of classical forms in architecture, art, literature and other products of the classical world, were ideal standards that should be imitated and emulated in the contemporary world (e.g. Williamson 2004: 7; Beiser 2011: 186). These beliefs formed the core values of the waning, but still strong concept, of Classicism, to which Wilhelm von Humboldt subscribed. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Humboldt had originally envisioned an educational system based on knowledge of classical languages and literature as the foundation for the life-long process of *Bildung*. We can see these Classicist ideals reflected in Latin textbooks used during the early nineteenth century in Prussia, which introduced pupils to the Classical world by including a broad range of classical authors; Latin textbooks from my corpus published in the first half of the nineteenth century in Prussia quoted an average of about 16 different classical authors. Consistent with both Classicism and Neohumanism, the subject matter that these passages quoted was wide-ranging and included philosophy, history, warfare, politics and poetry. However, the growing

Romantic movement, which included the 'cautious suggestion that the original native cultures of non-Mediterranean Europe were not necessarily inferior to those of classical antiquity' (Oergel 1998: 76), challenged the Classicist view of the ancient world as an ideal to be emulated. Rather than offer pupils a wide range of classical authors and ideals, textbooks published later in the century began to be more discriminating in presenting particular aspects of the classical world that were aligned with contemporary ideals. Accordingly, Prussian textbooks published in the latter half of the century included passages from fewer Classical authors, with an average of only seven classical authors quoted on increasingly narrow topics. Passages from Virgil, Suetonius, Pliny, and Catullus reduced significantly in the second half of the century and the works of Martial, Tertullian and Priscian disappeared completely, while quotes from authors such as Tacitus and Caesar, which both confirmed the antiquity of the Germans as a people and extolled the virtues of the tribal Germanic ancestors of the Prussians, increased in frequency in the second half of the nineteenth century.

By the end of the century, education in Prussia was dominated by the 'political and social values of nationhood and patriotism' (Fuchs 2004: 178). Rather than expecting students to develop their own moral code and sense of both personal and national identity, as Humboldt had envisioned, Latin textbooks published in Prussia later in the nineteenth century reflected a trend of direct instruction in national identity. Latin textbooks approved by the Prussian administration increasingly promoted concepts which stressed the shared history of the German people; a ready exemplar of desirable character traits for contemporary German youth was found in



Classical Roman accounts of the ancient German tribes, the *Germani*. In particular, Latin textbooks increased the number of quotes or adapted passages from Tacitus' *De Origine et situ Germanorum*, more commonly known as the *Germania*, a first-century A.D. essay which recounted the physical attributes, social customs and legal systems of the Germanic tribes. Tacitus' *Germania* provided nineteenth-century readers with an ancient, reputable testimony to the physical and cultural aspects of the Germanic people, and 'helped to nourish the development of a sense of national identity' (Pohlsander 2008:25) by providing evidence 'that a German "nation" had existed as early as the first century' (Geary 2002: 22). Tacitus' *Germania* became particularly popular toward the end of the century; Eckstein's *Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht* (1887) stated that no pupil should leave the *Gymnasium* without knowledge of the *Germania* in view of its 'patriotic interest' (*das vaterländische Interesse*) (Eckstein 1887: 241). Educational reformer Otto Frick (1832-1892) went so far as to declare the reading of the *Germania* a 'sacred duty' (*eine heilige Pflicht*) of the *Gymnasium* (Eckstein 1887: 241).<sup>36</sup>

The *Germania* had great appeal as an origin story for the Germanic people. For instance, the *Germania* testified that the Germans were the indigenous people of their ancestral lands:

*Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos [...]* 'The Germans themselves, I should

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<sup>36</sup> The *Germania* was later used as a source of propaganda even more radically by the National Socialists: 'With the rise of Nazi party, the authority of Tacitus' text became practically an article of faith' (Rives 2012: 58). Sanders notes that '[w]ith *Germania* in one hand and a shovel in the other, they [the Nazis] dug into the earth in an attempt to find "the birth certificate of the German race"' (Sanders 2009: 62). See also Krebs A *Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich*(2011).

believe, were indigenous, with no mixture with other races either settlers or visitors [...]'<sup>37</sup>(Tacitus, *Germania* 2.1)

According to Tacitus, these native Germans were also physiologically distinctive:

*Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem existitisse arbitrantur.* 'I, myself, concur in the opinions of those who deem the German people never to have intermarried with other nations; but who judge them to be a race, pure, unmixed, and stamped with a distinct character.' (Tacitus, *Germania* 4.1)

Christian Ostermann's *Lateinische Übungsbücher*, which were first published in 1860 and remained in print until well into the twentieth century, enthusiastically promoted the ancient Germanic ancestors of contemporary Prussian pupils of Latin, with references to the *Germanen/Germani* or the *Deutschen/alten Deutschen* appearing an average of nearly once per page. While most textbook authors were less extreme, the presentation of the ancient Germans as a distinct people was not an uncommon theme, and many such passages were either direct quotes from Tacitus or adaptations inspired by Tacitus' work. For instance, compare the lines from Tacitus' *Germania* to excerpts from Jacobs' *Lateinisches elementarbuch* (G1825) and Putsche's *Lateinische Grammatik* (G1852):

Tacitus:

*Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur.* 'I, myself, concur in opinion of those who deem the German people never to have intermarried with other nations; but are judged to be a race, pure, unmixed, and stamped with a distinct character.' (*Germania* 4.1)

Jacobs:

*Eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos, nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem*

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<sup>37</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

*gentem exstitisse, arbitrantur.* ‘I concur in opinion of those who deem the German people never to have intermarried with other nations; but to be a race, pure, unmixed, and stamped with a distinct character.’ (G1825: 218)

With the exception of the word *ipse* (‘[my]self’) in the original and some differences in spelling (the original used the terms *conubiis* and *existitisse* while Jacobs’ has *conubis* and *exstitisse*, though these may be typographical errors), the version in Jacobs’ textbook is identical to Tacitus’ version. Putsche also included a nearly verbatim quote, leaving out only the word *ipsos*:

Tacitus:

*Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos* [...] ‘The Germans themselves, I should believe, were indigenous, with no mixture with other races either settlers or visitors...’ (*Germania* 2.1)

Putsche:

*Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos.* ‘The Germans, I should believe, were indigenous, with no intermixture with other races either settlers or visitors’ (Putsche G1852: 236)

In addition to excerpts from the *Germania*, passages from Julius Caesar’s *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (popularly known as the *Gallic Wars*), written in the first century B.C., were often quoted or adapted by nineteenth-century Latin textbook authors in Prussia to reinforce positive ideas of Germanic ancestry. Though written from the perspective of Caesar as a conquering general who defeated the ancient Germans, Caesar was regarded as a worthy enemy, and reading Caesar (*Caesar-Lektüre*) was ubiquitous in nineteenth-century Latin classrooms in Prussia (Kipf 2006: 28). Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), one of the most eminent Classical scholars of the nineteenth century, ‘idealized’ Caesar in his *Römische Geschichte* (1854-6) as a man of ‘outstanding talents as a politician, military leader and a man of

letters' (Jehne 2005: 60, see also Kipf 2006: 30; Rawson 1994: 438). Latin textbook authors in nineteenth-century Prussia presented Caesar as an authority who admired and respected the ancient Germans and found them worthy adversaries.

Caesar also mentioned the ancestral land of the *Germani*, noting that the German tribes recognized the Rhine river as the boundary of their homeland (Julius Caesar *Gallic Wars* 1.1, 1.27, 1.28, 4.4, 4.14). On Caesar's authority, many Prussian textbooks mentioned the Rhine as a boundary, though direct quotations from Caesar were used less frequently later in the century. Instead, statements regarding the Rhine as a boundary of the Germanic homeland were written increasingly simply, both in content and grammar, by textbook authors. For instance, Jacobs' 1825 textbook presented the Rhine as a boundary by including the entirety of the first chapter of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (G1825: 1-2), but toward the end of the century, such references were more likely to be unattributed and out of context. In a typical example, Siberti & Meiring's 1870 textbook referred to 'the Germans, who live across the Rhine' ([...] *Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt*) (Siberti & Meiring G1870a: 196), but the passage is not written with Caesar's original sentence structure and appears as an isolated sentence without context. While Jacobs included passages regarding ancestral German territories faithfully quoted from Tacitus (218) and Caesar (1-2) in his 1825 textbook, by 1871 Ostermann simplified the concepts of these classical authors with constructed sentences leaving only a loose sense of the Roman authors original statements, such as *Deutschland ist immer von Deutschen bewohnt worden und wird immer von Deutschen bewohnt werden* 'Germany has

always been inhabited by Germans and will always be inhabited by Germans' (G1871c: 44).

The shift from Classicist to the Romantic ideals also influenced the content of Latin textbooks in England, but with different results. In nineteenth-century England, the Romantic Movement was marked by the same interest in exploring ancestry evident in Prussia, but the heritage of the English people was less straight-forward than the concept of the Germanic tribal legacy which the Germans had developed. While the Germans claimed a direct line of descent from the *Germani*, the English had a mixed ancestry. Some Romantic writers and scholars in England examined a range of native Norse and Celtic mythology and their relationship to the English people (Agrawal 1990: 223). Still others highlighted the Teutonic heritage of the English through their Anglo-Saxon ancestors (Heathorn 2000: 101). Tracing this Anglo-Saxon lineage, nineteenth-century Englishmen could claim Germanic origin themselves (Kemble 1849: 5-7, 9-10, 11, ff.). As William Stubbs (1825-1901), historian and Bishop of Oxford, put it:

The English are not aboriginal, that is, they are not identical with the race that occupied their home at the dawn of history. They are a people of German descent in the main constituents of blood, character, and language [...]. This descent is not a matter of inference. It is a recorded fact of history [...] (Stubbs 1874: 2).

Yet despite this link with Germanic heritage, Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century England show no evidence that textbook authors sought to identify the English people with the ancient tribal Germans as the Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century Prussia did. The Victorians, though they may have been of 'German descent', had since developed differently from the Germans. Oergel has noted that:

By the middle of the nineteenth century two converging pressures necessitated a clear definition of an *English* Anglo-Saxonism: the need to delineate a specifically *English* Germanic identity among competing Germanic identities and the need to delineate an identity that would support English nationhood and the expansion of the British Empire. So the Anglo-Saxon legacy had to be *specific* – or specifically superior – and *whole*, or internally united. [...] the Anglo-Saxon legacy now served to delineate a national identity against an *outside*, and to legitimise colonial ambitions worldwide. (Oergel 2012: 130-131, emphasis original)

According to the historian and novelist Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), this specific English identity was partially the result of the geographical isolation of England, which had enabled the English to ‘keep unbroken the old Teutonic laws’ (1864: 17). Kingsley contrasted the experience of the English with the experience of their Continental Germanic ‘cousins’, who had been tainted through their involvement ‘in that mad quarrel over the fairy gold of Rome’ (Kingsley 1864: 17), a phrase which Oergel suggests referred to the quest for ‘a universal European empire [...] under one Imperial crown bestowed by the Pope’ (2012: 165). These ‘unbroken’ and ‘old’ Teutonic laws had evolved into a superior system of government in England, which the English were honour-bound to share with those less fortunate.

The ‘superior’ legacy of the English was attributed by nineteenth-century pundits to the uniquely English combination of Anglo-Saxon heritage, which preserved a Germanic/Teutonic ‘essence’, and an understanding of the Classical world, tempered by Christianity. This unique Anglo-Saxon heritage ‘legitimise[d], in no uncertain terms, the missionary zeal, and the existence, of the British Empire; that is, this heritage is used for political and ideological purposes’ (Oergel 2012: 124) throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, in 1822, Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), Governor of Bombay, attributed ‘the wonderful improvement of the

natives' in Bengal, to the presence of the English in India (quoted by Colebrooke 1884: 135). Later in the century, the Liberal English journalist Arnold White (1849-1925) wrote of his belief 'that England's imperial duty was to foster a sense of national self-determination which would result in the "improvement" of the subject nation' (White n.d. quoted by Gorman 2006: 126; see also Kaplan 1993: 17 & Tabili 2006: 61). The idea that imperial expansion was a Christian duty is also evidenced in a Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes from 1837:

The British Empire has been signally blessed by Providence: and her eminence, strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral and religious advantages are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destiny of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth? (Aborigines Protection Society 1837: 105)

Since '[i]t was much easier to reform people if you ruled them [...] the British began, guardedly, even unwittingly, their long attempt to mould the world in their own image' (Morris 2010: 19). Although, by the end of the century, these missionary motivations 'functioned less as justifications than as alibis for the *fait accompli* of empire' (Mantena 2010: 22), the rationale was nonetheless well-established. But before disseminating the English principles of 'civilization and humanity' to other lands, it was necessary to agree what those principles were before exporting them. In this way, empire-building and nation-building appear 'not as two exclusive categories but rather as two poles' (de L'Estoile, leiburg, & Sigaud 2005: 20).

The mixed ancestry of the English people, which Ingelbein calls the 'Celtic-Germanic-Nordic continuum' prevalent in the nineteenth-century (2002: 123), was further complicated by yet another school of thought amongst Romantic historians in England: the idea that the people of nineteenth-century England were descendants of Roman colonizers through inter-marriage 'with their Saxon invaders' (Butler 2012: 8). While a sense of direct lineage from Roman colonizers was not a widely popular idea in nineteenth-century England, the concept that the English people were the cultural heirs, rather than the defeated victims, of Rome was prevalent. The Roman Empire was invoked to promote the 'imagery of the benevolent colonizer bringing enlightenment to the natives' (Bradley 2010: 134). Classical authors were frequently invoked in the shifting debates regarding the function, goals and character of the empire, and a 'dizzying range of people with arguments to advance, and agendas to push into prominence, one after another claimed the backing of the ancient world for their plans' (Richardson 2013: 76). Classical texts were 'safe ground' for considering contemporary issues, and 'the Roman Empire and its literature offered a set of evocative templates for articulating and appropriating Britain's own role as imperial superpower' (Bradley 2010: 128).

Allusions to Rome provided 'a world view embracing unique imperial status, cultural and racial superiority' (MacKenzie 1984: 253). As Betts put it, throughout the long nineteenth century 'a variety of pleasing comparisons' between the British Empire and the Roman Empire 'were easily forced' (1971: 152). For instance, Edward Barnard's 1790 history, *The New, Impartial and Complete History of England*, commenced with a treatment of the 'Antient Britons' (sic) whom he described as a



simple, 'uncivilized' people until the Romans came (7). Barnard included an image of the Roman governor Agricola with a pair of local ancient Britons (Figure 2:1) which clearly contrasts the Romans with the natives of England. Agricola, surrounded by the trappings of art and science, wears a flowing cape and full armour, and holds a partially unrolled scroll upon which the words 'Languages' and 'Art of Building' are written in English, documenting some of the elements of civilization the Romans are bringing to the Britons. Opposite Agricola stands a shorter Briton, barefoot, barely clad in ragged skins, with long, unkempt hair and a moustache, looking on with interest. Between the two appears to be a semi-civilized Briton, clean-shaven like Agricola and wearing a short toga, but with longer hair and no shoes, indicating that he is not yet completely civilized. Both Britons are reaching toward Agricola, presumably eager to accept all that Agricola, and Rome, have to offer, and happy to become part of a great empire. This image exemplifies the explicit statement of the historian John Cramb (1862-1913) that the 'peoples subdued by Rome [...] received from Rome justice, and for this gift blessed Rome's name' (Cramb 1900: 19). Similarly, William Locke's 1878 history of England, *Stories of the Land We Live In*, reminded readers that England had been saved from barbarism by submission to the great civilizing empire of Rome:

I dare say every one of our forefathers, when they saw the Romans come first, were discouraged, and thought all was over with them; they should never be happy any more, their towns and castles taken, many of them killed and their enemies very proud and haughty. But those very things were meant for their good. Their savage customs and barbarous manner of life were thus changed. There we find the first steps on the ladder that has conducted Englishmen to such power and greatness [...] Let us heartily thank God for it [...] (Locke 1878: 9)

By the nineteenth-century, those who espoused this view believed that England had since developed into a great nation in its own right by building upon the inherited duty of spreading the civilizing influence of Rome, rather than inherited characteristics of Celtic or Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Even those who celebrated the Teutonic lineage of the English people saw no contradiction in also praising the influence of the conquering Romans; in 1834, Thomas Arnold claimed that ‘Aristotle and Plato, and Thucydides, and Cicero, and Tacitus, are most untruly called ancient writers; they are virtually our own countrymen and contemporaries’ whose conclusions ‘bear upon our own circumstances’ (Arnold 1834: 241). In a series of lectures delivered between 1881 and 1882, the historian John Seeley (1834-1895) favourably compared Britain to Rome over forty times (Reisz 2010: 214), asserting that imperialism provided a ‘system and unity’ which promoted ‘tranquillity’ (Seeley 1871: 33). James Froude (1818-1894), the historian and editor of *Fraser’s Magazine*, also drew comparisons between the Roman and British Empires when he wrote in 1886 that ‘[b]y its intellect, by its character, by its laws and literature, by its sword and cannon, it [the British Empire] has impressed its stamp upon mankind with a print as marked as the Roman’ (392). Cyril Norwood, Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, continued to show support for the idea of classical Rome as the cultural parent of nineteenth-century England into the twentieth century:

[...] we should teach Classics, not for drill and discipline, but to bring our boys, in far greater numbers than we now succeed in doing, into living touch with Classical thought and teaching. If we can do this, we shall do no mean service to our country. There is no nation burdened with empire that has so much to learn from Imperial Rome as we do. (Norwood 1909: 351)

Such statements support Bradley's claim that the 'direct impact of classical education and reading on ruling practices in the British Empire is not in doubt' (2010: viii). While Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century Prussia promoted nation-building by reinforcing concepts of shared ancestry and a common homeland as components of 'German-ness', England already was 'a quintessential political nation' and, as such, was 'not concerned with creating a new nation-state, as was the case in Germany' (Jusdanis 2001: 137). Caesar and Tacitus provided sources for the ethnic and cultural heritage of the *native* German people occupying their *ancestral* lands, but that narrative appears to have had little appeal in nineteenth-century England.

Perhaps because of the acceptance of the idea of mix of Celtic-Germanic-Nordic and (spiritual or actual) Roman ancestry, Latin textbook authors in England did not appeal to the readers' Germanic heritage by quoting the *Germania*. Only six of the 50 English textbooks in my corpus quoted the *Germania*, compared to 29 of 50 Prussian texts. Nor did English authors glorify the ancient *Britanni* through quotes from Tacitus, though they certainly could have done so; Tacitus' *Agricola* treated the British governorship of Julius Agricola and favourably described the *Britanni*. Yet only two Latin textbooks used in England quoted the *Agricola*: the English version of Zumpt's *A Grammar of the Latin Language* ([trans. Schmitz] E1845: 374-375) and Key's *Latin Grammar* (Key E1846: 301). Neither of these textbooks put their references to the *Britanni* in context, nor did they select particularly interesting or significant quotes.

Caesar had also discussed the ancient *Britanni* in terms which might have appealed to nineteenth-century English school-boys, describing, for example, how

the *Britanni* expertly handled their chariots (e.g. Caesar *Gallic Wars* 4.33, 5.15), but only Pycroft's 1844 textbook included quotes about British charioteering skills (*Gallic Wars* 4.21-39 in Pycroft E1844b: 103-112). On Caesar's authority, two textbooks included the information that, like the *Germani*, the diet of the *Britanni* was largely made up of milk and meat (*Britanni frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt*. 'The Britanni do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh') (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 5.14 in Pinnock E1844a: 23, 106; Madvig E1851: 224). The only other reference to the *Britanni* was a line in Madvig's *Latin Grammar for the Use of Schools* which mentioned that the *Britanni* favoured long hair and moustaches; *Britanni sunt capillo promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa prater caput et labrum superius* 'The Britanni are long-haired and with all parts of the body shaved except the head and upper lip' (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 5.14 in Madvig E1851: 251). Overall, English textbook authors neither quoted the works of Tacitus and Caesar to the extent that Prussian authors did, nor did those quotes which were included glorify either the Germanic or Britannic ancestry of nineteenth-century English pupils. Instead, nineteenth-century English-Latin textbooks largely limited references regarding Britain to geographical information, such as noting that Ireland is less than half the size of Britain in the line *Hibernia dimidio minor quam Britannia* (Locke E1827: 61; White E1852a: 225), or using *Britannia* as an example of a geographical place name (Lily E1818: 108, 213; Edwards E1830: 214; Hiley E1836: 4; Kavanagh E1859: 4).

Latin textbooks used in nineteenth-century Prussia actually included more passages which referenced the people of ancient Britain than nineteenth-century Latin textbooks used in England did. For instance, Jacobs (G1825) included extended

sections from the *Agricola* (Tacitus, *Agricola* 1. 10-13 in Jacobs G1825: 236-241) which discussed the strength of the Britons' infantry (239), the Britons' resistance of oppression (240) and the riches of the British Isles (239-240). Ramshorn (G1830) included a passage from Caesar's *Gallic Wars* regarding the seafaring nature of the ancient *Britanni* (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 5.12 in Ramshorn G1830: 681) and Ellendt's 1846 *Lesebuch* included two full sections on the *Britanni veteres* ('The Ancient Britons') and *Reliqua de Britannis* ('The Remainder of the Britons'), liberally adapted from Tacitus' *Agricola*, which detailed the ancient British diet, climate, leisure activities and style of warfare (Ellendt G1846: 152-155). In total, six Prussian textbooks included passages from classical authors regarding the ancient Britons, compared to only four English textbooks, two of which had been translated from German originals.

While the *Britanni* were not a prominent source of common heritage for nineteenth-century English people, the *Germani* provided a common heritage for all German people. Latin textbook authors in Prussia not only highlighted the existence of the ancient Germanic tribes, their choice of content also emphasized positive aspects of these ancestral tribes, such as bodily strength and moral integrity. By quoting or adapting contemporary accounts of the *Germani* from Caesar and Tacitus, Prussian textbooks presented the virtues of those tribal ancestors as virtues which nineteenth-century Germans had inherited. Though both Caesar and Tacitus had admired facets of Germanic tribal life, both authors also mentioned negative traits (i.e. Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1 and Tacitus, *Germania* 15). However, Latin textbooks in Prussia largely ignored undesirable aspects of their tribal ancestors, leaving only the embodiment of the 'ideal' German citizens of the nineteenth-century: a Germanic

people with a high moral code who lived a healthy, outdoor lifestyle in their ancestral lands, resulting in great physical strength and impressive military skills. This identification with ancient Germanic ancestors became one of the uniting forces of nationhood after the foundation of the German Reich in 1871.

While Prussians throughout the nineteenth century clearly respected and valued the classical world (as evidenced by the continuing role of classics in elite education), the presentation of the classical world in Prussian textbooks changed from an area of wide scholarship which individuals could study as a contribution to their own personal cultivation, to a narrower window through which German pupils could view their own ancestors and become familiar with specific desirable inherited attributes. For example, references to the good moral character of the *Germani* were increasingly prominent in Latin textbooks published from the 1840s onward, often adapting sentiments originally expressed by Tacitus. To cite just a few examples, Kühner's 1842 *Schulgrammatik* included the line *Bei den Germanen galten gute Sitten mehr, als anderswo gute Gesetze* 'Good morals counted for more among the Germans than good laws elsewhere' (257), adapted from Tacitus' *Germania*: [...] *plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges* 'good morals there [in Germania] are stronger than good laws elsewhere' (Tacitus, *Germania* 14.5). Ostermann's 1871 *Lateinisches Übungsbuch* directly appealed to the nineteenth-century reader with lines in the same vein, including *Fides veterum Germanorum, quo ceteros omnes antiquos popular superabant, a nobis magni aestimetur*, 'The loyalty of the ancient Germans, which was superior to all the other ancient peoples, is to be valued highly by us' (G1871c: 51) and *Germani fide et probitate cetera omnes gentes*

*superant*, ‘German loyalty and honesty are greater than that of all nations’ (G1871c: 26).

These lines referred to ‘loyalty’, ‘honesty’ and ‘honour’ as inherited Germanic virtues, but it has been suggested that the character attribute most commonly and persistently associated with citizens of Prussia is the idea of ‘obedience’ (C. Clark 2007: 672).<sup>38</sup> Writing of the legacy of Prussia, Hagen notes how pervasive the idea of Prussian obedience has been:

Prussia often summons the idea of unquestioning obedience, even “cadaver-obedience” (*Kadaver-Gehorsam*), a nineteenth-century epithet for Prussian army discipline. Above all, Prussia is linked to the idea of dominated subject, rather than self-determining citizen. (Hagen 2002: 4)

Yet direct statements about obedience were very rare within nineteenth-century Latin textbooks used in Prussia. One such exception can be found in Ostermann’s 1871 *Übungsbuch*, which included a section on *Der Gehorsam der Lacedämonier*, ‘The Obedience of the Spartans’. In Sparta, according to Ostermann, boys and youths were highly trained in obedience (*Knaben und Jünglinge wurden in keiner Kunst mehr geübt und unterrichtet, als in der Kunst zu gehorchen*) (G1871c: 97). Such obedience, which surpassed all other nations, was the source of the Spartans’ bravery (*Gehorsam war die Quelle der Tapferkeit, durch welche die Lacedämonier so sehr alle anderen Völker übertrafen [...]*) as well as the source of their happiness (*Mit Recht sagte daher Agesilaus zu einem der fragte [...], welches die Ursache von dem Glück und der Macht der Lacedämonier wäre: "Der Gehorsam; denn wer gut gehorcht, der herrscht auch*

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<sup>38</sup> The phrase ‘Prussian obedience’ later took ‘on a lethal, emblematic quality in the context of the Nazi era [and] was widely recognized as real’ (Crawshaw 2004: 5).

*gut und in Gehorsam wird kein Volk mehr geübt als das unsrige.*") (G1871c: 98).

However, Ostermann, who did not shy away from making direct statements about how his young Germanic readers should think and act, presented this admirable obedience as a Spartan trait, rather than an attribute of the ancient *Germani*. Despite the popular association of Prussians with 'obedience', nineteenth-century Latin textbook authors in Prussia emphasized an intrinsic sense of honour and the innate loyalty of those of Germanic descent rather than advocating unquestioning 'cadaver-obedience'.

While nineteenth-century Prussians may still be popularly regarded today as obedient to fault, it is in Latin textbooks in England throughout the nineteenth-century that we find explicit emphasis on obeying rules and laws. This interest in rules may be traced back to the belief in the Anglo-Saxon legacy, which had passed down to the English their 'noblest traits in terms of legal, constitutional and generally social organization' (Oergel 1998: 75-76). Oergel notes that:

In striking contrast to the Germans [...] the English writers were preoccupied with constitutional and legal developments and contributions. It was through *these* developments [...] that the Germanic essence manifested itself, in the English view. (1998: 85)

In Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century England, we find this preoccupation manifest in an emphasis on obeying laws and rules in passages which were either written in Latin and intended to be translated into English, or vice versa:

*Vir bonus est quis? Qui leges juraque servat.* 'Who is a good man? He who observes the laws and rights.' (trans. by Locke in Locke E1827: 56; Everard E1843: 68; Edwards E1830: 161; White E1852a: 163)

It is the duty of the magistrate to perform justice, and it is my duty to obey laws. (Pinnock E1844a: 135)



*Vir bonus est, qui leges jurasque servat.* 'He is a good man who obeys laws and ordinances.' (trans. by Taylor in Taylor E1844d: 49)

*Mens et animus et consilium et sententia civitatis posita est in legibus.* 'The intellect, and soul, and forethought, and feelings of a state reside in the laws.' (trans. by Key in Key E1846: 203)

*Ex legibus optime administrator respublica.* 'Laws are the best foundation for the government of a free country.' (trans. by Key in Key E1846: 312)

*ad salute civium inventas esse leges constat* 'that laws were invented for the safety of citizens is an established point' (trans. by Donaldson in Donaldson E1852b: 156)

The law is nothing but right reason. (Hiley E1854b: 75)

A magistrate is a speaking law. (Hiley E1854b: 71)

Who is a good man? He who keeps the decrees of the Senators, who observes laws and rights. (Lily E1865: 235)

*Justitia est obtemperatio legibus et institutis.* 'Justice is obedience to laws and institutions.' (trans. by Kennedy in Kennedy E1866: 99)

*Constat ad salute civium inventas esse leges.* 'It is acknowledged that laws were devised for the safety of citizens.' (trans by Smith & Hall in Smith & Hall E1867: 225)

*Legibus servimus ut liberi esse possimus.* 'We submit to the laws that we may be able to be free.' (trans. by Smith & Hall in Smith & Hall E1867: 200)

*Necesse est igitur legem haberi in optimis rebus.* 'It is a necessary consequence then, that law should be reckoned among the best things.' (trans. by Smith & Hall in Smith & Hall E1867: 225)

*Legem brevem esse oportet, quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur.* 'A law ought to be short, that it may be the more readily comprehended by the illiterate.' (trans. by Smith & Hall in Smith & Hall E1867: 225)

Good citizens always obey the laws of their country. (Harris E1869b: 13)

Those who obey the laws are accounted good citizens. (Harris E1869b: 7)

Whoever he is, it behoves (oportet) him to obey the laws of his country. (Harris E1869b: 47)

Thomas Arnold, the reforming headmaster of Rugby, made a number of references to obeying laws in his *Henry's First Latin Book* (E1871b), including the following:

It is the part of a Christian not to offend-against (sic) the laws of his country. (Arnold E1871b: 25)

It is the duty of a Christian to observe the laws of his country. (Arnold E1871b: 28)

The good citizen will observe the laws of his country. (Arnold E1871b: 25)

No one may break the laws of his country. (Arnold E1871b: 84)

We should obey the laws of our country. (Arnold E1871b: 70)

Arnold's stress on following the rules correlates with the very essence of elite schooling in England; the two dimensions of nineteenth-century English education were the concentration on classical languages (following the rules of grammar) and participation in organized sport (following the rules of the game). Just as Latin grammar 'was characterized by a drive towards rules and regularity', so the 'discipline imposed on and by language from early schooling onwards bore a symbolic – and perhaps actual – relationship with the discipline required for the expansion of the empire' (Benson 2000: 37). As a character trait, following the rules also reinforced the behavioural code of fair play.

Both English and Prussian nineteenth-century Latin textbook authors sought to foster good citizens by promoting good character through their Latin textbooks, but since the circumstances and aims were different in each country, character-building aspects of Latin textbooks focused on different attributes. The Prussians promoted the concept of common traits inherited from Germanic ancestors, the *Germani*, as a contribution to fostering national feeling. Though Prussia is popularly known today for valuing obedience as a character trait, there is no evidence in Latin textbooks that obedience was particularly important in nineteenth-century Prussian education, or any suggestion that obedience was a characteristic of the *Germani*. Instead, nineteenth-century Prussian textbook authors chose to emphasize other

attributes, such as the innate loyalty of the *Germani*, and, as we shall see in the following sections, physical strength and martial prowess. It is in Latin textbooks used in nineteenth-century England that we find multiple references to obeying the rules in Latin textbooks for English pupils. This emphasis on adhering to rules and laws was a valuable social attribute in the growing British Empire, which relied upon all members of society 'playing by the rules' in order to function effectively.

Although the classical world was used in both Prussia and England to promote national identity in the nineteenth century, different aspects of the classical world were focused on in each country, highlighting the origins, and suggesting the destinies, of the English and Prussians respectively. Descriptions of the ancient *Germani* by Caesar and Tacitus testified to the virtues of the ancient German tribes, living on their ancestral lands. Such stories reinforced positive concepts of common Germanic ancestors and appealed to nineteenth-century Prussians as they strengthened their *Kulturnation* while moving toward the establishment of a *Staatsnation*. By focussing on who the German people had been, nineteenth-century Prussian pupils learned what the German people should and could be. On the other hand, in England, with a spectrum of ancestry including Germanic Anglo-Saxon as well as Celtic origin, rather than stress who the English people had been in the past, Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century England emphasized the role of the British Empire as the heir to the Roman Empire, with all of the rights and responsibilities that entailed.

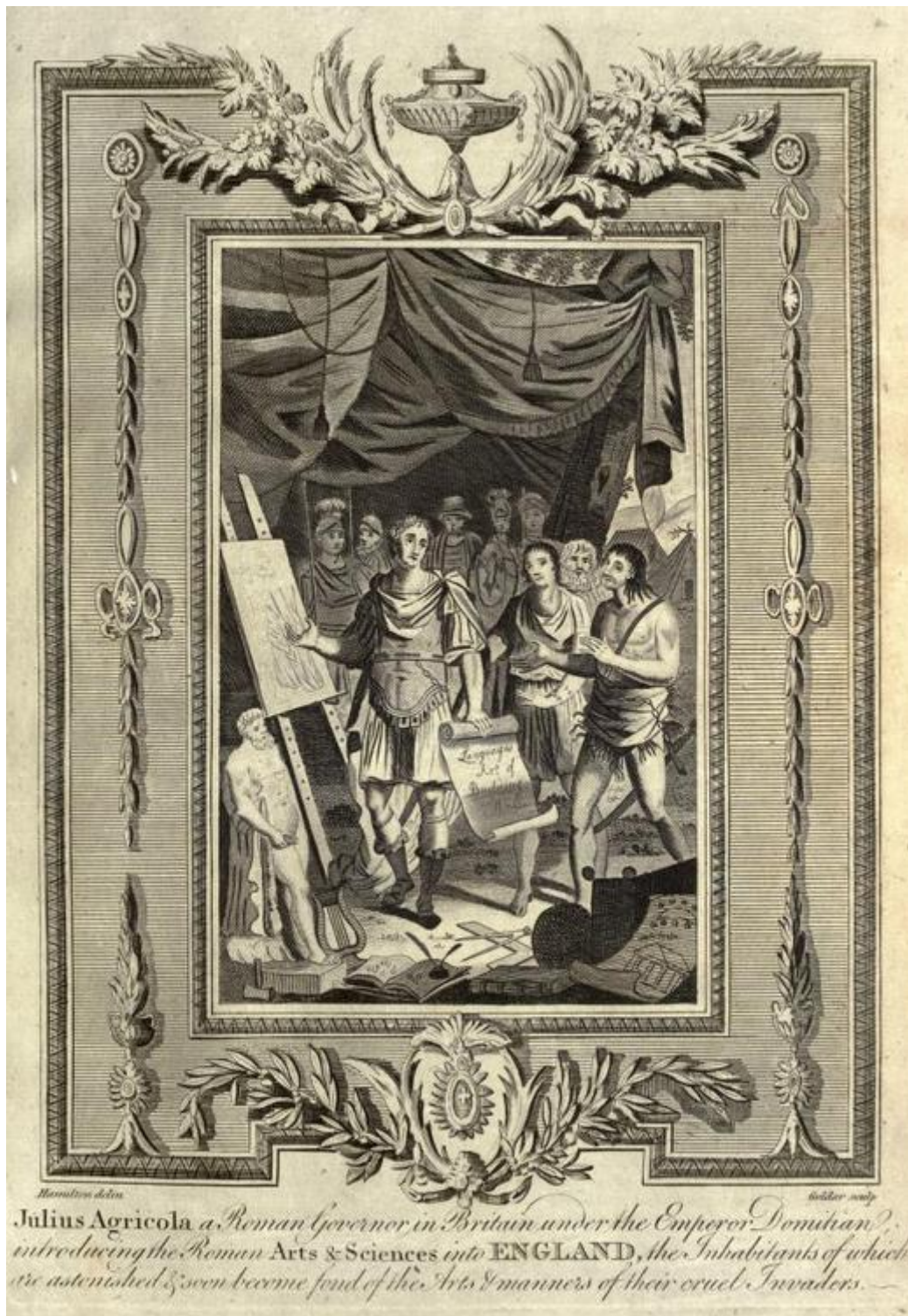


Figure 2:1 Julius Agricola in *The New and Complete History of England* (Barnard 1790: 25)

## 2.3 Physical Strength

The inherited strength and bravery of the ancient *Germani* was referenced even more frequently than innate loyalty as a supposedly inherited trait in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in Prussia. The physical conditioning of young people was a matter of concern in Prussia throughout the nineteenth century. According to Sanislo (2009: 269 & 275), highlighting the physical stature and healthy outdoor lifestyle of the *Germani* to pupils resonated with the Prussian idea of *Abhärtung* or 'physical hardening' as a part of education, in contrast to *Weichlichkeit*, the 'softness' caused by 'the physically degenerative effects of luxury, material comfort, over-refinement, sedentary lifestyles, and mental work or intellectual pursuits' (Sanislo 2009: 269 & 275). The idea that nineteenth-century Prussians had inherited the natural strength of their tribal ancestors, natural strength which was fading due to the 'soft' lifestyles of nineteenth-century Prussians, found enthusiastic proponents in the popular gymnastics movement which 'aimed to rekindle the manly qualities associated with the original German people' (Breuilly 2002: 13). Credit for founding the Gymnastics (*Turnen*) movement is often given to Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), who is sometimes referred to as *Turnvater Jahn*, the father of the Gymnastics Movement. However, Jahn was building upon earlier work by Johann GutsMuths (1759-1839), whose 1793 *Gymnastik für die Jugend* laid the foundations for the movement, including the concept of inherited bodily strength. This work was translated into English in 1800 by C.G. Salzmann as *Gymnastics for Youth*. In this text, GutsMuths contrasted the 'ancient man of nature' with the 'present man of society' (GutsMuths 1800 trans. by C.G. Salzmann: 47-48):

*Wir erkennen in ihnen rasche Naturmenschen, die uns an körperlicher Stärke durch ÜBUNG zwar überlegen, übrigens aber Menschen wie wir sind. Wir zeigen ihr Bild unsern Kindern. Sie freuen sich der raschen deutschen Männer, ihres Muthes, ihrer Stärke und Härte. Sie fragen uns: warum sind wir nicht so? Wir antworten: die Natur bringt uns noch eben so gut hervor, als sie: sie artet uns jetzt nicht SCHLECHTER; ihre Gesetze sind EWIG.* (Gutsmuths 1793: 64-65) (emphasis original)

(‘We shall discern in them impetuous sons of Nature; exceeding us from practice in bodily strength, but in other respects men like ourselves. We shall exhibit their picture to our children; they will admire the courage, the strength, the hardiness of the ancient *Germans*: they will ask, why do we not resemble them? We shall answer, Nature produced us, as well as she did them: her laws are *eternal*.’ (trans. by Salzmann: 48-49, emphasis original))

Gutsmuths claimed that the virtues of the ancients were also ‘present virtues’ of the German people (Thom 2003: 24), and Tacitus’ description of Germanic physical characteristics were the birthright of every nineteenth-century Prussian. According to Tacitus, and faithfully quoted in the 1825 *Lateinisches elementarbuch*, Germans possessed ‘fierce and blue eyes, red-gold hair, large bodies’ (*truces et coerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora[...]*) (Tacitus, *Germania* 4 .7 in Jacobs G1825: 218-9). Other Latin textbook authors noted that these ‘large bodies’ of the ancient Germans were the result of devotion to exertion and hardships from a young age (*Germani a parvullis labori ac duritiae student*. Caesar's *Gallic Wars* 6.21 in Kritz & Berger G1848: 349; Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 170; Siberti & Meiring G1870a: 177) in order to ‘promote their strength and make them men of vast stature of body ([...] *vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit*, Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1 in Ellendt G1846: 150, Englmann G1862: 78; adapted in Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 190).

The strength of the nation relied on the strength of the individual bodies within it, making effeminacy anathema to the Prussians. Effeminacy was equated with weakness, and was considered to be one of the factors responsible for the defeat by

the French in 1806 (Zantop 1997: 90; Levinger 2000: 106; Forth 2010: 243). Many nineteenth-century Prussians (and many in England, as well) looked back on the lifestyle of the French-dominated eighteenth century as *weibisch* (effeminate) (Sanislo 2009: 275; Jarlert 2011: 258; Hagemann 2015: 108). Classical Roman authors evidenced strong, manly virtues of the ancient Germans which seemed to speak directly to this concern with effeminacy. According to Caesar, effeminacy came from foreign influence, like imported wine, which was quoted in two different ways in seven different textbooks from the sample:

*Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.* ‘They [the Germans] on no account permit wine to be imported to them, because they consider that men degenerate in their powers of enduring exertion, and are rendered effeminate, by that commodity.’ (Caesar, *Galic Wars*. 4.2 in Englmann G1865a: 79; Ellendt G1882: 133)

*Germani vinum ad se importari non sinunt.* ‘Germans did not allow wine to be imported to them.’ (adapted from Caesar, *Galic Wars* 4.2 in Bröder & Ramshorn G1822: 140; Kritz & Berger G1848: 557; Siberti & Meiring G1870a: 244; Bornhak G1871b: 234; Lattmann & Müller G1872b: 139)

Both Caesar and Tacitus had also observed that the ancient Germanic tribes were noticeably different from their neighbours, the agrarian, wine-drinking Gauls. Both Ellendt and Ostermann repeated the sentiments that the ancient Germans were different from the Gauls in their customs and habits (*Germani a Gallorum vicinorum moribus multum different.* ‘The Germans differ much from the customs of the neighbouring Gauls.’ Ellendt G1846: 148 and *Germani a consuetudine Gallorum multum differunt.* ‘The Germans differ much from the habits of the Gauls.’ Ostermann G1871c: 58). Unlike the farming Gauls, the *Germani* did not favour agriculture, but subsisted on milk, cheese and meat (*Agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum*

*victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit.* Caesar, *Gallic Wars* VI.22), an observation which a number of Prussian textbooks included:

*Germani agriculturae non student, neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines propios habet, ne studium belligerandi agricultura commutent.* 'The Germans do not favour agriculture, for nobody has a particular amount of land or connected boundaries, lest they exchange enthusiasm for war for [enthusiasm for] agriculture.' (Bröder & Ramshorn G1822: 233)

*Agriculturae Germani non admodum student [...]* 'Germans are not in any way enthusiastic for agriculture [...]' (Jacobs G1825: 88)

*Germani agriculturae non student, majorque pars victus eorum et caseo et carne consistit.* 'Germans are not keen for agriculture, the greater part of their food consists [of] both cheese and meat.' (Mutzl G1834: 196)

*Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus.* 'Nor do they [Germans] live much on grain, but for the most part they live on milk and flesh, and are much engaged in hunting.' (Ellendt G1846: 150)

*Germani agriculturae non studebant.* 'Germans were not keen for agriculture.' (Lattmann & Muller G1864: 100)

*Germani stadium belli gerendi agricultura commutare nolebat.* 'The Germans did not want to change enthusiasm for waging war to [enthusiasm for] agriculture.' (Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 191)

Even the German cows, providers of the milk, meat and cheese which were consumed in such quantities, were apparently superior to the cows imported from Gaul; Englmann, quoting Caesar, explains that the native German cows were strong because they, too, engaged in proper exercise:

*Quin etiam iumentis, quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur, sed quae sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec quotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt.)* 'Moreover, even as to labouring cattle, in which the Gauls take the greatest pleasure and which they procure at a great price, the Germans do not employ such (cattle) as are imported, but those poor and ill-shaped animals, which belong to their country; these, however, they render capable of the greatest exertion by daily exercise.' (Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.2 in Englmann G1865a: 79)



Rather than wallow in the luxury of imported wine and fancy cattle, the *Germani* were hardened by outdoor pursuits. This hardening built up their endurance for 'exertion and hardship', and also rendered the Germans capable of enduring the cold:

*Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pelles habeant quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et laventur in fluminibus.* 'And to such a habit have they brought themselves, that even in the coldest parts they wear no clothing whatever except skins, by reason of this scantiness a great portion of their body is bare, and they bathe in open rivers.' (Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1 in Englmann G1865a: 78)

*Germani pellibus utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.* 'The Germans wore skins, leaving a great part of their bodies were exposed.' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1 in Siberti & Meiring G1870a: 267; Bornhak G1871b: 216)

The careful selection and sometimes liberal adaptation of passages by Roman authors testified to the desire of nineteenth-century textbook authors in Prussia to present the *Germani* in the best possible light, even if that meant altering the words of the original author. For instance, in his 1846 *Lateinisches Lesebuch*, Ellendt included the following passage which is presented as something reported by Caesar ('*inquit Caesar*')

*Quae res, et cibi genus, et quotidiana exercitatio vitaeque libertas et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit.* 'Which circumstance must, by the nature of their food and by their daily exercise and the freedom of their life, both promote their strength and render them men of great stature of body.' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1)

However, the full text of the original contains two phrases which have been omitted, likely since they might have been considered derogatory to Germans:

*Quae res et cibi genere et cotidiana exercitatione et libertate vitae, quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina adsuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciunt, et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit.* (Which circumstance must, by the nature of their food, and by their daily exercise and the freedom of their life **(for having been accustomed from boyhood to no employment or discipline, they do nothing at all contrary to their inclination)**, both promote their strength and render them men of great stature of body.) (Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.1)

In another example, Ostermann echoes Caesar (*Gallic Wars* 4.1) and Tacitus (*Germania* 4.7) in their claims that the ancient tribal Germans were ‘men of great stature’ with the line *Die Körper der alten Deutschen waren sehr groß; sie waren größer als unsere Körper*, ‘The bodies of the ancient Germans were very large, they were bigger than our bodies’ (G1871c: 31). Ostermann claimed that the large size of the German tribal members had astonished the Romans (*Romani ingentia corpora Germanorum mirabantur*, ‘The Romans were astonished by the huge bodies of the Germans’ G1871c: 85), though neither Caesar nor Tacitus claimed to have been ‘astonished’ by the size of the Germans in their accounts of the *Germani*.

The way in which nineteenth-century Prussian authors of Latin textbooks carefully edited, particularly selected or presented leaps of deduction from the works of classical Roman authors aligned with Gutsmuths’ cautionary statement that one should be selective when emulating ancient forefathers. Raw Germanic savagery was to be avoided (*Euer Ideal kann und darf nicht rohe GERMANISCHE wildheit seyn...*) (emphasis original) (Gutsmuths 1793: 66), but so too should unmanly effeminacy be eschewed (*MÄNNLICHER WIDERWILLE GEGEN WEIBISCHE WEICHLICHKEIT* (Gutsmuths 1793: 66, emphasis original). To avoid both savagery and effeminacy, the Gymnastics movement also advocated personal discipline and self-control

(Sanislo 2009: 267), an emphasis which increased throughout the nineteenth century (Dencker 2002: 232), particularly in Prussia when the movement was taken up by Jahn (Lempa 2007: 77). In Prussia, *Turnen* took on 'a strong military element' (Christesen 2012: 221-222) intended to 'keep youths from listlessness and dissipation and make them suitably robust for future battles for the fatherland' (Jahn 1811 trans. and quoted by Frevert 2004: 28).<sup>39</sup>

That such battles were coming was unquestioned, and the martial prowess of the *Germani* was, perhaps, the most celebrated facet of the ancients in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in Prussia. Accounts of the *Germani* by Caesar, the great general, were rich in information about how proficient the German warriors had been and, thus, could be once again. According to Caesar, this military ability was the result of a life-time spent in hunting and military endeavours:

*Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.* 'The whole life [of the German] is occupied in hunting and military pursuits.' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.2 in Jacobs G1825: 11)

*Vita omnis in venationibus et in studiis rei militaris consistit a parvulis labori ac duritiae student.* 'Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuits of the military art, from youth, they devote themselves to exertion and hardships.' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.2 in Ellendt G1846: 148)

*Civitatis maxima laus est quam latissimas circum se solitudines habere. Hoc enim testimonium virtutis ducunt quod finitimos cedere coegerint [...]* 'It is the greatest glory to many states to have as wide a wasteland as possible around them. For they consider this evidence of their prowess, that their neighbours are forced to retreat [...]' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.23 in Ellendt G1882: 131)

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<sup>39</sup> The Gymnastics movement cannot be treated in detail here, but note that, as a grass-roots movement, with large numbers of youths participating in military-style training, it caused some concern to the Prussian government, leading to a ban on gymnastics between 1840 and 1842. For an overview of the Gymnastics movement, see Guttman (1994: 141-156) and Hofmann & Pfister (2004: 34-46).

*Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proeliantur equosque eodem vestigio remanere assuefaciunt ad quos se celeriter cum usus est recipiunt. Neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam aut inertius habetur quam ephippiis uti itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent.* 'In cavalry actions, they often leap from their horses and fight on foot and they train their horses to stand in the very spot on which they leave them, to which they retreat quickly when there is need. Nor, according to their practice, is anything regarded as more unseemly, or more unmanly, than to use saddles. Accordingly, they have the courage, though they are themselves but few, to advance against any number whatever of horse mounted with saddles.' (adapted from Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 4.2 in Ellendt G1882: 132)

Ostermann presented the most simplistic and abundant references to the martial aspect of the *Germani*, which included the following:

*Bellica gloria antiquorum Germanorum nota est.* 'The martial prowess of the ancient Germans is well known.' (G1871c: 7)

*Antiqui Germani asperi et bellicose fuerunt.* 'The ancient Germans were warlike and rough.' (G1871c: 12)

*Die alten Deutschen lieben den Gebrauch der Waffen.* 'The ancient Germans loved the use of arms.' (G1871c: 26)

*Die alten Deutschen waren tapferer als die römischen Legionen.* 'The old Germans were even braver than the Roman legions.' (G1871c: 29)

*Es ist bekannt wie sehr (quantopere) von den Deutschen die Freiheit und der Kriegsruhm immer geliebt worden sei.* 'It is known how much the freedom and glory of war had always been loved by the Germans.' (G1871c: 44)

*Species Germanorum Romanos terruit.* 'The appearance of the Germans terrified the Romans.' (G1871c: 55)

*Romani a Germanis saepe territi sunt.* 'Romans were often frightened by the Germans.' (G1871c: 57)

Nearly half of Ostermann's references to *Germanen* and *alte Deutsche* in Ostermann's textbook were related to war. Given that such references appear an average of nearly once per page, it is clear that the subject was of particular interest to him.

The figure which truly embodied the ideal warrior of the *Germani* in the nineteenth-century Prussian popular imagination was Arminius or, as he was better known to the Germans, Hermann. Arminius was the leader of the Cherusci, one of the Germanic tribes in modern north-western Germany. Arminius had fought for Rome in Pannonia (on the Balkan Peninsula) as commander of a Roman auxiliary troop. After his Roman military service, Arminius began conspiring with other Germanic tribes to stop the Roman forces (forces he had recently been a part of) who were preparing to annex Germanic territories. Arminius reported to the Roman general, Varus, that a rebellion was underway and convinced Varus to deploy three legions to quell it. However, Arminius had actually laid a trap for Varus in the Teutoburg Forest, where three Roman legions were annihilated by the Germans, prompting Varus to fall on his sword in humiliation. Depending on one's perspective, this was either a remarkable military feat or a faithless bit of treachery; nineteenth-century Prussians largely favoured the former interpretation.<sup>40</sup> Just as Tacitus was often cited as a source affirming indigenous and 'racially uncorrupted' Germans while 'his censure of their drunkenness was generally forgotten' (Mellor 1994: 141-142), these less glorious aspects of Arminius are also absent from many of the stories, operas, plays and poems which re-told the tale of Arminius. Nineteenth-century

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<sup>40</sup>The figure of Arminius as a freedom-fighter who threw off the Roman oppressor had been a potent and popular narrative of the might of the German people since the sixteenth century (Benario 2004: 88). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Arminius was commemorated by a statue in his likeness, the *Hermannsdenkmal*. Located in the southern part of the Teutoburg Forest, the statue itself is colossal; standing 386 meters high, the sword alone is 7 meters long (Pohlsander 2008: 156) with one blade inscribed, '*Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke*' (German unity is my strength), and on the other, '*Meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht*' (My strength is Germany's might) (Pohlsander 2008: 156). Construction of the statue began in 1841, but was not completed until 1875, four years after the foundation of the German Reich.

Prussian textbooks likewise tended to focus on the positive aspects of Arminius' story.<sup>41</sup>

Though Arminius was often mentioned in Latin textbooks,<sup>42</sup> there is virtually no mention in those textbooks that Arminius was subsequently beaten in battle by the Romans at least twice, embroiled in war against other German tribesmen who thought he was becoming too powerful, and finally murdered by members of his own tribe. In Ostermann's treatment of Arminius, readers are simply told that the *Germani* resolved to free themselves from Roman rule because Varus had treated the Germans in 'the worst way' (*Varus, postquam cum exercitu Romano in Germaniam venit, Germanos pessimo modo tractabant.*) (G1871c: 105). Ostermann then relates that Varus entered the Teutoburg Forest with his troops to put down an uprising, but does not explain that the uprising itself was a ruse. Ostermann describes the darkness, storms and mud which exhausted the Romans (*Cum in hanc regionem venisset, milites multis imbribus et maximis tempestatibus fatigati erant.*) (G1871c: 105). When they were thus weakened by the weather, Arminius attacked and a desperate battle arose (*Acerrima pugna oritur*) (G1871c: 105). The weary Romans could not endure the assault of the German troops and were either killed or captured (*Romani, laboribus fatigati, impetum Germanorum non sustinuerunt; plurimi eorum in pugna, alii in fuga a Germanis interfecti, reliqui capti sunt*) (G1871c: 105). To reinforce the magnitude of the Roman defeat, readers are told how Varus fell upon

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<sup>41</sup> Not all representations of Hermann/Arminius in 19<sup>th</sup>-century popular culture were exclusively positive. For a more detailed discussion of differing representations of Hermann, see *The Two Faces of a National Hero: Ulrich von Hutten's Arminius (1515/1529) and Heinrich von Kleist's Hermann (1808)* (MacShamhrain 2012).

<sup>42</sup> e.g. Baumgärtner G1819: 213; Grotefend & Wenck G1820: 283; Schulz G1843: 389; Kritz & Berger G1848: 338; Bornhak G1871b: 191; Ostermann G1871c: 105 and others.

his sword and how the Emperor Augustus famously cried out in despair, *Vare, Vare, redde [...] mihi meas legiones!* ('Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!') (G1871c: 105). The great victory which freed the Germans from Roman domination, Ostermann wrote, was due to the 'prudence and strength' of one man (*Sic unius viri prudentia et fortitudine Germania a dominatione Romanorum liberata est*), with no suggestion that the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest owed as much to cunning as it did to bravery or that the strong, prudent Arminius was later killed by his fellow tribesmen on account of his strength and lack of prudence. The glory of battle, with Arminius as the embodiment of the noble warrior was paramount..

In contrast, Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century England tended to present battle as more of a stern duty rather than a point of pride. We see this sombre, less glorious sense of duty in English textbooks in statements such as 'When the occasion and necessity requires, one must fight with one's own hand' (Kavanagh E1859: 122) or *Militum est suo duci parere*, 'It is the duty of soldiers to obey their general' (trans. by Ruddiman in Ruddiman E1854a: 52). Instead of stressing fierceness in battle, English-Latin textbooks focused more on what happened after the battle was over, underscoring the obligations of the conqueror (the English) to the conquered (whoever they conquered):

*Victor aequus.* 'A fair conqueror.' (trans. by Smith in J. P. Smith E1816: 104)

*Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello.* 'Compare this peace with that war.' (trans. by Hiley in Hiley E1836: 114)

*Victis parcere.* 'To spare the conquered.' (trans. by Hiley in Hiley E1836: 113)

I follow, since [it] is hard to strive with the conqueror. (Powell E1838: 128)

We shall conquer, and shall increase. (Pycroft E1844b: 87)

*Imperi nostri terrarumque idem est extremum.* 'The outer edge of our empire and [the outer edge] of the world is the same.' (trans. by Key in Key E1846: 229)

*Victorem parcere victis aequum est.* 'It is right that a conqueror spares the vanquished.' (trans. by Donaldson in Donaldson E1852b: 156)

We have spared the conquered enemies. (W. B. Smith E1856a: 63)

We cannot be conquered; for we fight for our wives and children; therefore God will preserve us. (W. B. Smith E1856a: 89)

*Quod cuique obtigit, id quisque teneat.* 'Let everybody keep what has fallen to his share.' (trans. by Kavanagh in Kavanagh E1859: 131)

*Parce victis.* 'Spare the conquered!' (trans. by Mongan in Mongan E1861c: 187)

Let us be gentle towards the conquered. (Arnold E1871b: 83)

We should spare the conquered. (Arnold E1871b: 70)

Though nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in England certainly included references to war, military endeavours were presented as a regrettable necessity for the sake of the empire, not as a point of national pride.

Rather than making the bodies of English boys robust for future battles, sport and athleticism, tempered with the Christian doctrine, were seen as the best way 'to encourage Christian morality and help develop the character of the future citizens and leaders, and in turn strengthen the British Empire' (Wilkinson quoted in N. J. Watson, Weir, & Friend 2005: 17). These characteristics reflected the central concepts of the Muscular Christianity movement which grew in popularity around the mid-nineteenth century. Based on the premise that 'participation in sport can contribute to the development of Christian morality, physical fitness and "manly" character' (Watson 2007: 80), the movement was a further development of Charles Kingsley. Kingsley expanded on the work of German Romantic scholar A.W. Schlegel (1767-1845), who had identified two different types of Christianity from the Middle



Ages, monastic and chivalric. Monastic Christianity had started with the best of intentions, but such a life was ‘essentially a feminine life’, and the monks’ attempts to ‘unsex themselves had done little but disease their mind and heart’ (Kingsley 1856 quoted in 1877: 212). In contrast, ‘warriors of the Middle Ages hoped that they might be able to serve God in the world – even in the battlefield’ and so there arose the chivalric knights (Kingsley 1856 quoted in 1877: 213). Further, the Protestant ethos of Muscular Christianity provided an alternative to the Tractarian beliefs of the Oxford Movement, which advocated a reinstatement of some of the older, more Catholic traditions of theology and liturgy. Muscular Christianity was a response to the ‘effeminacy’ associated with the Roman Catholic church at the time (Watson, Weir, & Friend 2005: 1; Caulfield 2013: 161).

Muscular Christianity in England owed much to the Gymnastics movement in the German states (Phillips 2011: 65) and became part of the Public School ethos through the work of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), a great admirer of the Germans who was appointed as headmaster of Rugby in 1828. Arnold’s reforms, which were widely adopted in other schools, included an emphasis on sport and gentlemanliness that came to embody the culture of Public School life in nineteenth-century England. The combination of Muscular Christianity and classical education was enshrined in popular imagination by Thomas Hughes (1822-1896) novel of the nineteenth-century Public School experience in 1857, *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*. In this novel when Tom’s father contemplates what advice to give his son on the night before Tom departed for Rugby, his thoughts are shared with the reader:

Shall I tell him to mind his work, and say he's sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, but he isn't sent to school for that—at any rate, not for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek particles or the digamma; no more does his mother [...]. If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman and a gentleman and a Christian, that's all I want. (82-83)

Though acknowledging that pupils spent an enormous amount of time studying Latin, Hughes' novel cheerfully admits later that Tom needed only 'just as much Latin and Greek as will take me through Oxford respectably' (Hughes 1869: 346). Lest Hughes' writing be taken as satire or an isolated opinion, consider a letter of inquiry written by Thomas Arnold himself when he was seeking to appoint a new master at Rugby:

What I want is a man who is a Christian and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense, and understands boys. I do not care so much about scholarship, as he will have immediately under him the lowest forms in the school; but yet, on second thoughts, I do care about it very much, because his pupils may be in the highest forms...However, if one must give way, I prefer activity of the mind and an interest in his work to high scholarship [...] (Arnold quoted in A. P. Stanley 1890: 107)

Latin was not the goal, it was simply the medium through which a young man learned to become a 'brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman and a gentleman and a Christian'.

The kind of physical strength advocated in Muscular Christianity was not brute strength; just as GutsMuth advocated avoiding 'savagery', Hughes was careful to distinguish 'muscular Christians' from 'musclemen' in his 1889 *Tom Brown at Oxford*, the sequel to *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Though both 'muscular Christians' and 'musclemen' had strong bodies, the muscular Christian believed 'that a man's body is given him to be trained and brought into subjection and then used for the

protection of the weak, and the advancement of all righteous causes’ (Hughes 1889: 99). While sport was not in itself a ‘righteous cause’, it provided the physical training needed to prepare the body for such endeavours, while also teaching the merits of hard work and discipline (Majumdar 2013: 106; Johnson 2014: 21), instilling a sense of fair play (Crego 2003: 45) and providing the opportunity to ‘take hard knocks without malice’, teaching boys to both absorb and inflict pain (Watson, Weir, & Friend 2005: 7).

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century rise of Muscular Christianity, references to hard work in Latin textbooks used in England were confined to rare and isolated indictments of sloth. The first such references appeared in Edward’s 1830 edition of *The Eton Latin Grammar*:

*Celata virtus distat paullum sepultar inertiae.* ‘Concealed virtue differs little from lifeless sloth.’ (trans. by Edward 1830: 271)

*Peroae immundam segnitiam,* ‘utterly hating filthy sloth’ (trans. by Edward 1830: 279)

Cobbet’s *A Latin Grammar for the Use of English Boys* from 1835 also mentions sloth in the line ‘The wicked Siren sloth is to be shunned’ (*Vitanda est improba Siren desidia* trans. by Cobbett 1835: 131), but the term appears in only one other textbook from the sample; twenty years later Wright’s *A Help to Latin Grammar*, included the passage ‘Sloth is to be avoided’ (Wright E1855: 116). The translation of all of the Latin words *inertia*, *segnities*, and *desidia* as ‘sloth’ is a telling choice on the part of the nineteenth-century authors.

Textbooks published later in the nineteenth century increasingly promoted ‘industry’ and ‘hard work’, and the *bad behaviour* of ‘idleness’ replaced the *sin* of

‘sloth’, perhaps reflecting the increasing number of pupils who would have expected to work for a living after their education concluded. This change also resonates with Thomas Arnold’s goal to, as Richter put it, ‘train the sons of self-made men in the manners and outlook of the ruling class, and to change that class itself by teaching the duties of hard work’ (Richter 1964: 46). The first mention of the word *industry* in textbooks in our sample occurs in Hiley’s 1836 *The Elements of Latin Grammar*, in the phrase ‘Industry procures competence, and frugality preserves it’ (E1836: 94). Thereafter, there is an increasing number of explicit references to idleness, industry, and the value of hard work:

While playing, the boys are idle. (Pinnock E1844a: 88)

*Tam ignavus est puer, ut non facere possit.* ‘So idle is the boy, that he cannot do (it).’ (trans. by Pinnock in Pinnock E1844a: 116)

*Non tam artis indigent, quam laboris.* ‘It is not so much skill they are in need of, as industry.’ (trans. by Key in Key E1846: 177)

*Otium melius quam desidiam puto.* ‘I think leisure better than idleness.’ (trans. by Jacob in Jacob E1851a: 192)

He advises us not to (lest we should) become idle. (Smith E1856a: 134)

The good boy learns, but the bad boy is idle. (Hiley E1854b: 70)

Industry and frugality are necessary for success; but, alas! How prone to idleness and extravagance is poor human nature. (Hiley E1854b: 2)

The idle pupils do not wish to be taught by their master. (Smith E1856a: 103)

Have you been so idle that you have been beaten by your master every day? (Smith E1856a: 147)

*Inertia est vitium.* ‘Idleness is a vice.’ (trans. by Miller in Miller E1863: 169)

We must give rewards to industrious pupils, and incitements to idle (ignavus) (ones). (Harris E1869b: 82)

The boy’s industry is so great, that he can learn all things. (Arnold E1871b: 51))

My father values industry very highly. (Arnold E1871b: 22)

Industry was clearly valued in English-Latin textbooks, yet even in textbooks published after the middle of the nineteenth century, when the concepts of Muscular Christianity were well-established, there are few direct references to physical strength. Given Arnold's support of Muscular Christianity, one might expect to find references to strong bodies in Arnold's own Latin textbook, yet it included only one sentence regarding strength: 'Balbus, relying on his strength, will burst the chains of his prison' (Arnold E1871b: 44).

The few other references to bodily strength in English-Latin textbooks cautioned that strength must be tempered by wisdom, such as White's 1852 *A Latin Grammar*, which includes the line *Vis expers consilii ruit mole sua*, 'Strength devoid of wisdom falls to ruin by its own weight.' (trans. by White in E1852a: 166). In a similar vein, Pinnock's 1844 textbook included, 'Great things are carried on by counsel and authority, not by strength and swiftness of body' (E1844a: 97) and Donaldson's 1852 *A Complete Latin Grammar* contained the line, *Nil prosunt vires, no probitate vires*, 'Strength is of no avail, unless you are strong in honesty' (trans. by Donaldson in E1852b: 193). These passages reflect the differentiation between the brute strength of the 'muscleman' and strength expended to protect the weak and advance 'all righteous causes' (Hughes 1889: 99). However, given the importance of strong bodies within the philosophy of Muscular Christianity and the undeniable importance of sport in nineteenth-century schooling, the overall lack of references to bodily strength is surprising.

In summary, Prussian textbooks presented both physical strength and military prowess positively; promotion of bodily strength and, by extension, the strength of

the nation as a body, formed the foundation for the Gymnastics movement, which upheld the ideas of inherited physical and military power from the ancient tribal *Germani*. Accordingly, many Prussian textbooks incorporated quotes from Tacitus and Caesar, Roman authors who had written about the ancient *Germani*, or referenced the story of Arminius, the German tribal leader who led the defeat of three Roman legions. By praising the lifestyle and exploits of their German ancestors, nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in Prussia encouraged the emulation of those ancestors as a contribution to contemporary society, which valued strong, military-ready citizens. English authors of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks also promoted bodily strength, but they did not evoke the idea of inherited strength from ancient Germanic or Britannic ancestors. Despite the importance of sport and the strong role of Muscular Christianity in nineteenth-century Public Schools, physical strength is scarcely referenced in Latin textbooks.

## 2.4 English Gentlemen

A classical education was an absolute requirement for a gentleman in nineteenth-century England, as numerous contemporary writers and scholars, including Hughes and Arnold, attest.<sup>43</sup> Classical education and the gentlemanly status that a classical education conferred or affirmed were not merely a matter of social cachet, they were believed to be essential in order to contribute to the governance of the British Empire. Just as 'Roman education had been directed specifically towards public service to the state, which was regarded as the noblest vocation a man could have' (Benson 2000: 37), there was a common belief in England 'that a thorough grounding in the classics was the best training for a country's administrators, statesmen and military leaders' (Campbell 1968: 312). As we have seen, the officials, administrators and officers responsible for the day-to-day management of the British Empire were heavily recruited from the elite, whose education was almost exclusively classical.

The system of formal examinations introduced in the middle of the nineteenth-century further codified the importance of classical knowledge as a prerequisite for participation in the administration of the British Empire. Captain H.H. O'Brien, who was consulted by a formal committee considering the role of examinations in imperial

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<sup>43</sup> To cite just a few examples which span the nineteenth century, in 1811, the *Thespian Preceptor* noted that 'Every gentleman should be a classical scholar' (Anon. 1811: 14) and an 1813 letter from T.R. Malthus (1766-1834), Professor of History, to Lord Greenville attested that every applicant to the East India College in Hertfordshire was 'required to pass an examination in Greek and Latin, and arithmetic [...] sufficient to ascertain his having previously received the usual school education of a gentleman' (Malthus 1813: 13). A contributor to the Harrow School journal in 1870 wrote, 'All experience tends to show that a thorough Classical education is by far the best for training the intellect, and that without it, it is almost impossible to become a perfect gentleman, fitted to shine in private life, or attain any measure of political success' (Anon. 1870: 120). Gentlemanly status through classical education in the nineteenth century is discussed at greater length by Stray (1998: 58, 128, 139, et al.).

appointments, ventured a cautionary concern that by filling offices based on 'mere learning', the old system of patronage (recommendations and character testimonials) would be lost and individuals of unknown reputation could apply for roles to which they might not be suited (O'Brien 1854 quoted in E. Hughes 1949: 73). O'Brien bluntly stated, 'In short, I would have Gentlemen in the public offices and I believe they can only be obtained by being selected as at present', that is, by recommendation from 'the high officers of the State who naturally nominate the sons of their relations, friends and acquaintances' (O'Brien 1854 quoted in Hughes 1949: 72-73). Sir Charles Trevelyan (1807-1886), a leading advocate of examinations, reassured O'Brien that the examination system would still ensure the 'right sort' of people were appointed. He wrote:

Who are so successful in carrying off the prizes at competing scholarships, fellowships etc. as the most expensively educated young men? Almost invariably, the sons of gentlemen, or those who have acquired the feelings and habits of gentlemen. (Trevelyan 1854 quoted in Hughes 1949: 72)

Despite the nominal meritocracy formal examinations afforded, their largely classical content helped ensure that only those who had benefited from a classical education were able to do well and secure administrative appointments.

As Captain O'Brien had declared, the British Empire needed gentlemen. But what constituted a gentleman in nineteenth-century England? This term is difficult to define, both from our modern perspective and for nineteenth-century contemporaries. The idea of a *gentleman* entails so many values and attributes that Berberich claims it would be 'restrictive to limit it to just one brief, defining sentence' (Berberich 2007: 5). Opinions from the nineteenth century often plead this same



argument. In 1829 we find amongst a series of essays by pupils of Salisbury School the opinion that '[e]very individual has a definition of this character peculiar to himself, every one will consider it in a different light' (Dashwood 1829: 80-81). Ten years later, an anonymous contributor to *Colburn's New Monthly Magazine* indicated that a definition for *gentleman* was still wanting, writing that '[t]here is not a term in the English language more variable in its uncertain meanings than "gentleman"' (1839: 449). Another anonymous contributor, this time to the *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature*, dedicated an entire article to the question 'What is a Gentleman?', but concluded that the matter 'still stands unresolved. Like genius, it is in truth to be well discerned by rare and sympathising souls, but not to be defined' (Anon. 1856: 400). In 1868 Henry Kingsley (1830-1876), brother of Charles Kingsley, wrote that one knew a gentleman when one saw a gentleman, but since a definition appeared to be needed, he offered:

A gentleman is a man sufficiently well educated for the duties he has to perform, and who thinks of the interest of others before he thinks of his own. And, moreover, my gentleman must not be lazy, but must try, with such powers as God has given him, to set an example and show what a very valuable animal a *gentleman* is. (H. Kingsley 1868: 444, emphasis original)

However a gentleman was defined, the creation of gentlemen was the aim of the Public Schools, and we can only presume that, like Henry Kingsley, the administrators and educators of those schools knew a gentleman when they saw one.

For those not born to nobility, classical education was essential to join the ranks of nineteenth-century gentlemen, particularly among the growing and aspiring middle and professional classes. Andrew Amos (1791-1860), author of one of the

*Four Lectures on Classical Education, as an Auxiliary to a Commercial Education*, emphasized:

[...] any circumstances which may indicate the want of a classical education, any blunders which no person classically educated would commit, are apt to create a smile of ridicule and contempt. A notion arises that the speaker, who has evidently not received the education of a gentleman, does not possess the manners, the feelings, the honour of a gentleman. (Amos 1846: 4)

Moulding the character of the fledgling gentlemen in their charge, even at the expense of academic pursuits, was of primary importance within the Public Schools, an emphasis which at least some parents supported. But though Amos asserted that the education of a gentleman entailed the development of the manners of a gentleman, and despite Thomas Arnold's goal 'to train the sons of self-made men in the manners and outlook of the ruling class' (Richter 1964: 46), there is scant evidence from the textbooks that 'manners', either in the sense of politeness or in reference to customary behaviour or 'ways', were explicitly taught in Latin classrooms. References to manners appear very sporadically in English-Latin textbooks; the two most-repeated lines concerning manners were:

*Igenuas didicisse fideliter artes emollit mores.* 'To have learnt the liberal arts, refines the manners.' (trans. by Locke in Locke E1827: 54; Hiley E1836: 95; Everard E1843: 66; Taylor E1844d: 48; Lily E1865: 128)

*Sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via.* 'The way to good manners is never too late.' (trans. by Smith in J. P. Smith E1816: 55; Locke E1827: 54; Edwards E1830: 249; Taylor E1844d: 49; Jacob E1851a: 119)

The line which proclaimed that liberal arts soften the manners was originally written in Ovid's (43 B.C. - c.18 A.D.) *Ex Ponto* (II.ix.47) in an obsequious and potentially satirical letter to King Cotys of Thrace (Claassen 1987: 40). Ovid tactlessly wrote that

the liberal education of King Cotys had softened the king's manners to the extent that Ovid could scarce believe the King's poetry had been written by a Thracian (II.ix.50-53). The adage that 'the way to good manners is never too late' first appeared in an adaptation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* by the Roman writer Seneca (c. 3 B.C – 65 A.D.); the line (242) is uttered by Clytemnestra to her lover and co-conspirator in the planned murder of her husband. During a moment of guilt as Clytemnestra considers changing her mind, she cries out that *sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via* ('the path to good morals is never too late'). The sense of Clytemnestra's exclamation is a reference to 'good morals' in staying her hand from murder, rather than 'good manners'. However, when read in isolation in a Latin grammar, these lines were likely to be interpreted at face value by nineteenth-century Englishmen. Indeed, on at least three different occasions, classically educated men cited these lines while remonstrating with their peers to amend their manners, utterly dismissing the original sense of the lines and crediting 'the Latin grammar' as the source of these quotes rather than Ovid and Seneca (Anon. 1824: 410) Burges 1837:90; Dilke, Dickens, & Forster 1858: 563.

The lines were familiar enough to be used for humorous effect. In the 1840 *Comic Latin Grammar*, 'the way to good manners is never too late' appears, complete with a picture of an 'American Gentleman' who is smoking and drinking (Leigh & Leach 1840: 64) (Figure 2.2), followed by a note that this 'maxim is especially worthy of the attention of neophytes in law and medicine; of the gods in the gallery, and of Members of the *House*' (emphasis original, Leigh & Leach 1840: 64). The prolific novelist G.P.R. James (1799?-1860) made use of both of these lines in the following

exchange between the protagonist, Chandos, and two other characters in his 1847 novel *A Whim, and its Consequences*:

“But I hear that you, my good friend, occasionally vary your labours with more graceful occupations – studying Latin and Greek, and reading the poets, thinking, I suppose, ‘*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter, artes emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*’ I dare say you know where the passage is.”

“In the Eton Latin Grammar,” answered Chandos, drily; and turning to one of the under-gardeners, he gave some orders respecting the work he was about.

“He does not seem to have had his manners much softened,” said Lord Overton in a low voice [...] (G. P. R. James 1847: 234)

While James, at least, acknowledged that ‘the grammar’ was not the source of these maxims on manners, he did so in such a way as to poke fun at the clear propensity for attributing these quotes to ‘the grammar’ rather than the original authors. The words of a fawning flatterer in exile and a murderous, unfaithful wife on the verge of hysteria, when presented in isolated and easily digestible chunks by the calm authority of the textbook, made it easy for pupils to recall pithy quotes that would mark them as gentlemen in society.

Being a ‘gentleman’ in nineteenth-century England also meant a forthright lack of deceit that characterized Hughes’ ‘truth-telling Englishman’. ‘Truth-telling’, as Hughes and his peers used the term in 1869, contrasted with the flowery and flattering habits of speech associated with the courtly etiquette and excessive politeness of the eighteenth century (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010: 160). While an etiquette book from the eighteenth-century had cautioned readers against ‘too much truth’ in their speech (Clark 1983: 119), Muscular Christianity advocated ‘unswerving loyalty to truth’ (Richards 1988: 34), and such ‘[e]tiquette books became superfluous as men followed a new code of behaviour’ (Berberich 2007: 22) based on morals

rather than manners. This constituted a new sort of politeness which called for those who were 'manly' to be simple and honest, rather than flattering, in their discourse:

The manly man was someone who paid more attention to the promptings of his inner self than to the dictates of social expectation. Manly speech was therefore direct, honest and succinct. Its purpose was not to please, or to shield listeners from the disagreeable, but to convey meaning without equivocation. The result might not be 'socially pleasant'. (Tosh 2005: 87-88)

The most common reference to telling the truth in textbooks used in nineteenth-century Latin England was some version of the phrase 'It is shameful (or base) to lie'. This appeared first in 1825 with the phrase *Mentiri est turpe*, 'To lie is base' (trans. by Macgowan in Macgowan E1825b: 111), such as:

*Mentiri turpe est*. 'To lie is a base thing.' (trans. by Edwards in Edwards E1830: 159)

*Turpe est mentiri*. 'It is shameful to lie, or, to lie is shameful.' (trans. by Cobbett in Cobbett E1835: 102; Hamilton E1862a: 90; Martin E1869a: 90)

*Scis mentiri turpe esse*. 'Thou knowest that it is wicked to lie.' (trans. by Cobbett in Cobbett E1835: 122)

*Nihil turpe est quam mentiri*. 'Nothing is more shameful than to lie.' (trans. by Hiley in Hiley E1836: 106)

It is disgraceful to tell a lie. (Wright E1855: 147)

It cannot be denied that it is disgraceful (*turpis*) to lie (*mentiri*). (Harris E1869a: 57)

The textbook which mentions honesty most frequently was written by Thomas Arnold himself. Arnold's text explicitly states four times that lying is disgraceful (Arnold E1871b: 35, 37, 133).

Latin textbooks authors did not limit their selection of material to reinforcing the 'shame' of telling a lie, but emphasized several aspects of the importance of telling the truth, including:

*Adsuesce et dicere et audire verum.* 'Accustom yourself to both speak and hear the truth.' (trans. by Locke in Locke E1827: 50)

Nescio mentiri. 'I know not how to lie.' (trans. by Edwards in Edwards E1830: 276)

*Oportet eum qui incusat alterum probiri, intueri se ipsum.* 'It behoveth he who accuses another man of dishonesty to look into himself.' (trans. by Edwards in Edwards E1830: 262)

To lie is not in my disposition. (Powell E1838: 128)

It is of great importance to all (men) to speak the truth [true (things)] (sic). (Pinnock E1844a: 129)

I know not how to tell a lie. (Kennedy E1844c: 33)

It is the token of a dishonest man to deceive by a lie. (Kennedy E1844c: 17)

*Mentiri non est meum.* 'To lie is not my custom.' (trans. by White in White E1852a: 161)

I know not how to lie. (Hiley E1854b: 72)

Do not lie, boys: always speak the truth (true things) to your master. (Smith E1856a: 155)

*Epaminodas adeo fuit veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.* 'Epaminodas was so careful of truth that he would not tell a lie even in sport.' (trans. by Smith & Hall in Smith & Hall E1867: 158)

Although both modern and contemporary treatments attest to the perceived importance of a classical education as a prerequisite for being a gentleman in nineteenth-century England, as well as how essential gentlemanly status was in order to participate in the administration of the British Empire, Latin textbooks used in the nineteenth century contained very little content that explicitly addressed what it meant to be a gentleman. No doubt the lack of direct instruction in being a

gentleman was due to the fact that the term itself was so difficult to define, even in the nineteenth century. Given the unclear, but widely assumed, connection between classical education and being a gentleman and as 'polite conversation' shifted from the florid courtly language of the eighteenth century to the more direct 'truth-telling' mode of speech appropriate for gentlemen in the nineteenth century, it may be that the ability to simply produce occasional Latin quotes was sufficient.

However, a verb personal agrees with its nominative case in number and person, as *Sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via*, The way to good manners is never too late. Mind that, brother Jonathan.



AMERICAN GENTLEMEN.

Figure 2:2: 'The way to good manners is never too late' (Leigh & Leach 1840: 64)



## 2.5 Conclusion: Latin Textbooks as Cultural Artefacts

During the nineteenth century, educators in both Prussia and England looked ‘back to an authoritative and exemplary past [...] to make sense of the present’ (Stray 1993: 27). Latin lessons were opportunities for promoting aspects of that exemplary past, and Latin textbooks from each country reflected and contributed to the ideologies valued in each society in the nineteenth century. In both countries, Latin was a badge of social rank, a special set of knowledge bestowed upon those destined to be national leaders throughout the century (Stray 1998: 16). Rather than aiming to create classical scholars, nineteenth-century classical education aimed to create ideal citizens and good servants of the state.

In both Prussia and England in the nineteenth century, the ideal citizen was ‘presumed to be male’, and engaging in civic life required masculine attributes which manifested in ‘[d]oing one’s duty, being loyal and “patriotic”, but in a modest and self-sacrificing manner’ (Heathorn 2000: 25). However, while Prussian textbooks emphasized attributes that contemporary Latin pupils had inherited from tribal Germanic ancestors, particularly glorifying their strength and military prowess, the content of English textbooks from the same period demonstrated a very different relationship with the classical world. English textbooks did not hark back to admirable ancestors in the way that Prussian textbooks did. Though Latin textbooks used in nineteenth-century Prussia proudly recounted the tale of Arminius leading the German tribes to overthrow the Roman invaders, English history was a series of invasions, with the English as the conquered people of both the Roman conquest and the Saxon invasions. The pupils of Victorian England could thus identify the native

Celtic Britons, the conquering Imperial Romans, and/or the invading Teutonic Anglo-Saxons as their ancestors. Yet in Latin textbooks, at least, the Teutonic origin of the English people, which some Victorians claimed made them superior to the Celtic descendants of ancient British tribes in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, was not emphasized.

Rather than cast ancient Rome as a mighty, but oppressive, force, and pupils as the heirs of the tribesmen who had conquered Rome, as the Prussian Latin textbooks did, English textbooks cast their readers as the heirs to the Empire itself. As the British Empire grew, so too did the idea that 'the race that most resembled the English, culturally if not racially, was 'the old Roman' (Butler 2012: 7-8). Strengthening the Roman heritage of the English people lent yet another dimension of substantiation to those in England who sought legitimacy for the expansion of their Empire. In the nineteenth century, many Englishmen believed 'that long-dead Greeks and Romans could still shape the world – and could still be put to work' (Richardson 2013: 2). As the heirs to the Romans, either culturally, racially or both, nineteenth-century Englishmen were continuing a heritage of bringing the benefits of civilization to less fortunate people. Just as the native ancestors of the English had been improved when the Romans conquered them, the English in turn were duty-bound to improve less fortunate peoples by gently forcing upon them legal, economic and social benefits and, crucially, the salvation of Christianity. Reformed by the Muscular Christianity movement, 'the schooling of the elite [...] was clearly intended to produce men worthy of leadership roles in the nation and empire' (Heathorn 2000: 26), not by exercising qualities of inherited strength and innate morality to strengthen the nation, but by developing the qualities needed to undertake the inherited duties and

responsibilities of empire. Rather than glorifying military might and encouraging the overthrow of invading outside forces, as the Prussian textbooks did, English textbooks of Latin emphasized the same lessons that Public School boys were learning on the playing fields: an English gentleman worked hard, followed the rules without lying or cheating, put his trust in authority and expected the same of others, whether they were members of the ruling class or those who were ruled by the British Empire.

The literature of ancient Rome offered nineteenth-century English and Prussian pupils national narratives, which were relevant to each nation, with textbooks used in England and Prussia selectively presenting aspects of the classical world which were best suited to their own needs, goals and circumstances. For Prussian pupils, classical authors provided an origin story of common heritage to celebrate and model heroes for young men to emulate. For English pupils, textbooks offered accounts of the positive aspects of Empire to prepare young men for the Empire that they would inherit.

### 3 Latin Teaching in the Nineteenth century: Approaches, Methods and Techniques

#### 3.1 Introduction

Research to date on the history of Latin teaching and learning has tended to consider *what* was taught, by analysing content matter, the number of hours prescribed in the curriculum of individual schools, or the waxing and waning popularity of particular classical authors (see Section 1.3 and Chapter 2). Other studies have examined *why* the classical languages were taught, by considering the social implications of classical education (see Section 1.3 and Chapter 2). Yet, comparatively little research has been done regarding *how* the Latin language was taught in the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Even amongst nineteenth-century authors and educationalists, there were surprisingly few references to methods; contemporary discussion on the topic was often limited to which rules of grammar ought to be taught, and the best sequence of teaching and learning grammar rules. In one typical textbook review, an anonymous reviewer of the 1827 edition of Zumpt's *A Grammar of the Latin Language* offered a pedantic and long-winded opinion which, to modern eyes, seems to dwell overmuch on arcane details of Latin grammar and the organization of the textbook content, but made no mention of the textbook's teaching methodology. For instance, the reviewer claimed that pupils would be deprived of the foundational knowledge needed to fully understand the quantity of syllables, because of this section's 'position in the Grammar'; Zumpt's *Grammar*

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<sup>44</sup> In contrast, there was a great deal of discussion regarding how *modern* foreign language were taught which, as we shall see below, culminated in the Reform Movement in the late nineteenth century.

devoted 'a distinct chapter to the subject', but the reviewer asserts that the information on syllable quantity should have been included in the section that dealt with the inflection of words (Anon. 1831: 94). The reviewer also accused Zumpt of 'inventing' new Latin words, as the textbook included numerals not attested in Latin literature (Anon. 1831: 96), and criticised the omission of certain verbs from the list of inceptive verbs.<sup>45</sup> In another typical review, Henry Nettleship (1839-1893), fellow at Oxford, criticised the content, arrangement and level of detail of the 1888 edition of *The Eton Latin Grammar* (E1888). Nettleship wrote at length on perceived inaccuracies in the descriptions of Latin authors (Nettleship 1888: 280); for instance, while *The Eton Latin Grammar* noted that Ennius was 'the father of Roman poetry', Nettleship countered that 'Ennius was the father of the Greek form in Roman poetry, nothing else' (Nettleship 1888: 280), a fine distinction of debatable importance to a pupil just beginning the Latin language. Nettleship continues in this vein for nearly a page in his five-page review, but his review makes no mention of *how* the textbook taught Latin. Many contemporary reviews of nineteenth-century textbooks became mired in this type of minutiae, while teaching methods were simply not addressed.

The lack of commentary on Latin teaching methods may be attributed to a nineteenth-century belief that methods were a matter of classroom practice, rather than something determined by textbooks. For instance, Alexander Bache (1806-

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<sup>45</sup>Inceptive verbs (also known as Inchoative verbs) indicate an action is beginning to take place. They are formed by adding the ending *-sco* or *-scere* to the stem of a noun, adjective or verb. For example, the verb *valeo*, meaning 'to be strong', is formed as the inceptive *valesco*, meaning 'to grow strong' or *ardeo*, meaning 'to burn or be on fire' is, in its Inceptive form, *ardesco*, meaning 'to kindle into flame or catch fire'. In this case, the reviewer wrote that 'we see no reason for the omission *cresco*, *nosco*, *pasco*, &c' from the list of inceptive verbs (Anon. 1831: 101).

1867), President of Girard College, who toured European educational establishments in 1837-8, reported that in the Prussian schools,

No specific method of instruction [...] can be pointed out. Every teacher should observe, closely, the results of his instruction, and adopt freely the advice or example of teachers of known ability in their art. (1839: 461)

‘No specific method of instruction’ was identified by Bache, but he saw instructional methods as something enacted in the classroom, not dictated by the textbook.

The most comprehensive description of Latin teaching methods in nineteenth-century England appeared in the report of the Clarendon Commission (1864), where each school under investigation self-reported the ‘Method of hearing the Form in construing or translating Lessons’ in use at their schools for Latin and Greek lessons.

For instance, Eton describes the method used in their lowest class as follows:

Four, five, or six boys are called up together; each boy in the division is required to hold up his hand if he can answer the question given, or correct a fault, and places are taken according to proficiency. By this means the attention of the whole division is arrested, and one half of the whole division is called up each schooltime [sic]. Questions are given arising out of the lesson, either in history, geography, or construction of sentences. (Clarendon Commissioners 1864: 390)

According to the testimony given by Eton, the method of calling boys before the assembled class to answer questions continued in the sixth form, though translation was also included at this level:

Each boy as he is called up reads over an original language passage which he is about to translate, he then construes it word for word. Remarks are made upon the passage, questions asked upon the history, geography, and antiquities, in illustration of the passage. The construction, where

required, illustrated and explained. The boy then reads the passage off in English. (Clarendon Commissioners 1864: 388)

Respondents to the Clarendon Commission also listed 'Authors or Books used (not being Books of Reference)' (Clarendon Commissioners 1864: 388), but the description of the teaching methods described by Eton and other schools does not make clear how the books listed there were used as part of lessons.

We thus have little choice other than to turn to textbooks when attempting to analyse how Latin was taught in the nineteenth century. Yet we must tread cautiously; by limiting our source material for pedagogical practices to the textbooks exclusively, we have only a partial view. While textbooks may have been written with the intention that a particular teaching method would be followed, those methods were not necessarily adhered to in classrooms, or consistently employed by all teachers at all times. Stray acknowledged this difficulty, writing about Kennedy's 1866 *Public School Latin Primer*:

How it [*The Public School Primer*] was used in the classroom is another matter. In 1884, a schoolmaster reported to the Journal of Education that "many men make no pretence of using the syntax rules of the primer; others only trot them out to show how easily you may drive a coach and six through them. One master told me he made his boys learn the Syntax, but never attempted explanations, because he found that unexplained the rules were harmless, and did not interfere with his practical teaching". Some teachers were reported to do their duty by reciting Kennedy's rules, which they then ignored in favour of their own, which they followed in their lessons. Others simply quoted his weakest statements and used them as targets of criticism. (Stray 1994: 15)

Bearing in mind these limitations, we turn to the textbooks themselves to establish, if not how textbooks were actually used, how they were intended to be used, by investigating how different approaches, methods and techniques were

realized in the nineteenth century. We shall see in Section 3.2 that, despite the popular conception that all language teaching in the nineteenth century was dominated by one method (the Grammar-Translation method), a variety of teaching methods appeared in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks. Various types of visual learning aids and exercises, which appeared in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks further attest to this variety of different techniques. These techniques are analysed in Section 3.3, 'Techniques'. First, however, I conclude this introduction with a brief clarification of terms used in the next sections.

Treating the subject of teaching methods in the nineteenth century is complicated by the fact that our modern use of the terms *approach*, *method*, *technique* and *system*, which are essential to analysing teaching methods, differs from the nineteenth-century use of those terms. Following the work of Edward Anthony (1963), Byram (2000) and Richards & Rodgers (2001), but also considering the ways in which these terms were used by nineteenth-century authors, I use these terms as follows. I define an *approach* as a macro-level set of theories or beliefs underlying language instruction (Anthony 1963: 64). Two types of approach are contrasted in this study: Deductive approaches, which explicitly present the rules of a foreign language; and Inductive approaches, in which 'examples are given and then students have to work out the rule through guided learning and discovery' (Cherrington 2000: 174). Within these two approaches, there may be many *methods*. A *method* is a process, or set of systematic processes, by which instruction is conducted. Many nineteenth-century textbook authors marketed their textbooks as following a particular method, such as *The Prussian Method of Teaching the Elements*



*of the Latin language* (Sears & Ruthardt 1844), [...] *a natural method of learning to read, write and speak the German language* (Eichhorn 1854), *Methode Robertson für das Spanische* (Booch-Árkossy 1861), and others. There can be many methods within one approach (Anthony 1963: 65), thus methods are grouped under their approaches in the following analysis.

A *system*, in modern parlance, implies an overall administration of education in a specific geo-political area; for instance, the ‘education system in the UK’ means the entire structure of publicly available education offered to pupils in the United Kingdom. However, in nineteenth-century textbooks, the term ‘system’ indicated a systematic instructional process synonymous with *method*. For instance, Franz Thimm (1820-1899), who developed ‘Thimm’s System’ for independent language learning (e.g. Thimm 1877, 1899) used ‘system’ in this way, as did Louise Fenwick de Porquet (life dates unknown), who developed the ‘Fenwickian System’ for teaching French used in the 1830s (Fenwick de Porquet 1830, 1833). ‘System’ is used in this sense by one textbook in my sample, Key’s *A Latin Grammar: on the System of Crude Forms* (E1846). Though Key identified crude forms as a ‘system’, his ‘system’ meets my definition of a ‘method’ and is treated here as such.

Finally, I use the term *technique* to describe an activity or set of activities used for instruction at the micro-level. The term *technique* encompasses physical instructional activities, such as the ways in which instructors question pupils (for instance, as described by representatives of Eton in the Clarendon Commission Report 1864: 388, 390). However, as this study is restricted to textbook content, the

techniques considered here are limited to the use of figures, tables and exercises in textbooks.

## 3.2 Teaching Methods

Even a brief consideration of the literature on the history of language teaching methods will quickly make two things apparent. First, it is popularly believed by modern commentators that the Grammar-Translation method (which is assumed to have been in use since antiquity) was the primary method of language teaching through the nineteenth century until the Reform Movement,<sup>46</sup> and second, the Grammar-Translation method is bad; Grammar-Translation is ‘the one method that must be repudiated by all teachers’.<sup>47</sup> Yet, despite the popularity of these beliefs, Decoo noted:

The history of language teaching in the nineteenth century is an intricate one. It is not the often mentioned, simplistic opposition between the dreary, antique “Grammar-Translation” method and the “reform method” that tried to overturn it. (Decoo 2011: 54)

Even exploring this intricate history through the limited lens of Latin textbooks, rather than modern foreign language textbooks, the truth of Decoo’s statement is evident. A variety of teaching methods can be found in Latin textbooks throughout the nineteenth century, and to judge by the textbooks in my corpus, ‘Grammar-first’, rather than ‘Grammar-Translation’, was the dominant method in nineteenth-century Latin teaching. Moreover, several textbooks did not adhere to a single method, but incorporated supplementary methods in addition to a main method, as summarized

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<sup>46</sup> e.g. Grenfell & Harris (1999: 11); European Commission (2000: 11); Richards & Rodgers (2001: 4); Joseph (2002: 29); Stern (2003: 454); Anderman & Rogers (2005: 18); Harden (2006: 35); Farman (2007: 8); Musumeci (2011: 45-46); Yu (2013: 288); Yule (2014: 190).

<sup>47</sup> van Lier (2001: 253), see also Joseph (2002: 29); Danesi (2003: 5); Davies (2004: 11); Griffiths (2008: 256); Elizabeth (2010: 54); Hawkes (2013: n.p.); Yule (2014: 189).

in **Error! Reference source not found.,Error! Reference source not found.**, 3.3 and 3.4.<sup>48</sup>

Teaching methods gained and lost popularity over the course of the nineteenth century for a number of reasons. For instance, the growing importance of formal examinations in both England and Prussia contributed to a sharper differentiation between Latin textbooks for school pupils and those for scholars, University students, or for independent learners undertaking self-study or private tuition. As the readership for textbooks became more stratified, authors began to write their texts for specific audiences, leading to what Stray calls a ‘contrast between intellectual and pedagogic authority’ (Stray 1994: 5). Stray identifies an ‘interesting structural tension, often reflected in textbooks’:

What is logically fundamental in a subject area may be too complex for a beginning pupil. How serious a problem this is depends on the relation between teacher and textbook. With teachers as well as with pupils, some will follow the book blindly, others will use it as something half-way to a reference tool. Some 19th-century textbooks demonstrate confusions of role here as conceptions of children changed, shifting the emphasis of textbooks from rote learning to intelligent consultation. (1994: 5)

Stray also observed that changes in the intended readership of textbooks were ‘reflected in titles’ (Stray 1994: 5), and this is consistent with the textbooks in the corpus for this study; 26 textbooks included the word ‘school’, *Schulen* or *Gymnasium*

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<sup>48</sup> In this study, a teaching method used in at least 70% of the textbook is considered the main method, and a method is considered supplementary if it appeared in any proportion in a textbook which used a different main method.

in the title,<sup>49</sup> the titles of six texts even incorporated a named school (Edwards E1830; Taylor E1844d; Jacob 1851a; Mongan E1861c; Kennedy E1866; Rawlins & Inge E1888), and one textbook's title specified that it was a *Student's Latin Grammar* (Smith & Hall E1867).<sup>50</sup> Textbooks intended for Prussian learners which were aimed at a school-aged readership appeared in Prussia as early as 1820, beginning with Grotefend & Wenck's *Lateinische Grammatik für Schulen* (G1820) and Ramshorn's *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* (G1826a), followed in the 1830s by a series of five unrelated textbooks which all bore the title *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* (Grotefend G1833a; Krebs G1833b; Mutzl G1834; Billroth & Ellendt G1838a; Weissenborn G1838b).

Howatt contends that a shift in differentiating textbooks for school pupils, University-level students, academic readers, and independent learners occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, perhaps in response to the growing importance of formal examinations (see Section 1.3 Educational Context), resulting in school textbooks which aimed to prepare pupils to pass those examinations. Howatt writes:

In England the most significant development in middle-class education, and the device that levered modern languages on to the secondary school curriculum, was the establishment in the 1850s of a system of public examinations controlled by the universities. The 'washback effect' of these examinations had the inevitable result of determining both the content of the language teaching syllabus and the methodological principles of the teachers responsible for preparing children to take them.

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<sup>49</sup> Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Ramshorn (G1826a); Grotefend (G1833a); Krebs (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a); Weissenborn (G1838b); Kühner (G1842b); Schulz (G1843); Madvig (G1844b); Ellendt (G1846); Kritz & Berger (G1848); Kuhr (G1856); Madvig (G1857a); Berger (G1857b); Middendorf & Grüter (G1857c); Lattmann & Muller (G1864); Feldsbausch (G1865b); Moisisstzig (G1867a); Englmann (G1867b); von Gruber (G1868b); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b); Schultz (G1871a).

<sup>50</sup> Though the title of this text is *The Student's Latin Grammar*, the title page specifies that the text is intended 'For the Use of Colleges and the Upper Forms of Schools' (Smith & Hall E1867: title page).

Though public examinations did not create the grammar-translation method, they fixed its priorities. (Howatt 1984: 133)

Though Howatt was analysing changes in modern foreign language teaching, we can see similar changes in Latin language teaching in England prompted, at least in part, by the system of standardized examinations introduced by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1857 - 1858.<sup>51</sup>

The exam boards of Oxford and Cambridge have retained easily accessible copies of their Latin exam papers and the published results; here I have examined Senior level<sup>52</sup> Cambridge Local Exams<sup>53</sup> from 1858, 1859, 1871, 1896, and 1899 (UCLES 1858, 1859, 1871, 1896 and 1899).<sup>54</sup> Although formal examinations had been in place in Prussia since at least 1788 (Ringer 1990: 24) and ongoing changes in regulations occurred regularly throughout the nineteenth century, it has been more difficult to access nineteenth-century examinations used in Prussia. In most cases, the highly centralised administration of nineteenth-century Prussian education, which kept meticulous records, contrasts with the more diversified English system where records were inconsistent and held in multiple institutions. However, though

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<sup>51</sup> Shackleton mentioned in "The History of Qualifications and the Role of Competition" that the University of Durham Matriculation and School Examination Board was established in 1858 (Shackleton 2014: 14). Unfortunately, though the Durham Board also offered Latin, the bulk of the records of the Durham School Examination Board have been lost, following the destruction of the building where they were held (Stanfield 2015: p.c.), so it was not possible to include data from those examinations here.

<sup>52</sup> Senior level examinations were intended for pupils aged about 18, usually the year prior to attending University.

<sup>53</sup> I have elected to focus on the Cambridge examinations rather than the Oxford examinations as the two examination boards merged in 1873 and the syndicate remains under the remit of Cambridge. Furthermore, Cambridge was one of the first Universities to offer teacher training for Latin teachers, whereas Oxford has never offered this option.

<sup>54</sup> The 1858 examination were selected as this is one of the earliest exams which include a full report. The 1899 examination was considered to incorporate an exam from the late nineteenth century, and the examinations from 1859, 1871, and 1896 have been included somewhat more randomly to round out the examinations offered between the first exams and the end of the century.

the Prussian Ministry of Education established standardized regulations for the *Abitur*, these regulations were essentially formalities regarding the conditions of the examination, such as the times and locations of examinations (e.g. *Ministerium der Geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten* 1869: 8), and 'left its structure to be set at the provincial level' (Clark 1999: 56). Consequently, the historian of education Frank Müller has noted that it is 'hard to get actual exam papers for the period' from Prussia (Müller 2012: personal communication). I was able to locate only two Prussian exams for this study: one used at the *Pommern Schule* in Berlin and one used at the *Reformierte Friedrichschule* in Frankfurt, both from 1802, fifty years earlier than the first English Public Examinations.<sup>55</sup> This makes meaningful comparison difficult, though some differences and similarities can still be noted.

One of the most fundamental differences between the centralised examinations in England and the regional examinations in Prussia was the type of preparation these examinations required. 'Cramming', or intensively studying to 'cram' information just before an examination, was an oft-criticised activity in nineteenth-century England, but those very objections testify to its continued practice (e.g. Ridgway 1858: 9; Anon. 1861: 393-4; Dickens 1863: 204-5; Helps 1872: 135, 143, 144, ff.). Yet while cramming appears to have been a regular feature of exam preparation in England, it was believed that it was not possible to score well on a Prussian *Abitur* through this type of preparation:

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<sup>55</sup> The two *Abitur* examinations considered here were published as part of an analysis of Prussian education in *Die Gelehrtenschulen Preussens unter dem Oberschulkollegium* (Schwartz 1910) which is held at the University of Cambridge University Library.

The Prussian examinations are conducted in such a way as to render the system of manuals, by which pupils may be worked up to the precise minimum of attainment, almost impossible. The candidates are known to at least a part of the examiners, their former teachers, and their attainments have been accurately ascertained by them in the class-rooms before coming to this test. (Bache 1839: 509)

In England, on the other hand, the *First Annual Report of the Syndicate*, which reported on the new Cambridge Local Examinations in 1859, indicated the opposite:

But their [the pupils'] answers, even when accurate, showed a general uniformity of expression which seemed to imply that meagre handbooks had been placed before the Students to be 'got up' and that little attempt had been made by their instructors to excite the interest of their pupils by questionings or remarks of their own. (UCLES 1859: 6)

Regarding the content of the examinations, at first glance there are many similarities in format; the two Prussian (1802) and five English (1858-1899) examinations considered here all began with a translation from classical Latin into the native language of the pupil. However, each country favoured different authors for pupils to translate. In England, passages from Virgil appeared on all of the exams considered here except for the 1896 examination, and passages from Cicero can be found on all but the 1899 examination. Other Latin authors whose work appeared on examinations set by the Cambridge Exam Board included Caesar, Horace, Livy, Lucan, Ovid, Nepos and Lucretius. In Prussia, Tacitus (see Chapter 2), Horace and Seneca are the only three authors included in the two examinations from 1802, though it is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from just two examinations.

The formal examinations in both countries included questions regarding aspects of Roman life, history, geography, literature, mythology or law, such as *Was war den Römern für ein Unterschied zwischen dem Magistrat und dem Senate?* ('What was the difference to the Romans between the Magistrate and the Senate?')



Schwartz 1910: 476) or ‘What rights did the Roman law give to a creditor over the goods and person of a debtor?’ (UCLES 1858: 36). In Cambridge examinations, questions on linguistic aspects of the Latin language were always included (UCLES 1858: 36; 1859: 39; 1871: 12; 1896: 18; 1899: 27), which tended to ask the candidate to supply information or answer metagrammatical questions rather than to perform linguistic analysis, such as ‘How does the conjugation of the verb “I do” differ from that of its compounds?’ (UCLES 1858: 36) or ‘Give the perfects and supines of *cresco*, *sequor*, *consulo*, *para*, *progerdior*, *redeo*. Parse *posuerunt*, *concesserit*, *adflictis*.’ (UCLES 1896: 18). We find similar, though less specific, questions on the nineteenth-century *Abitur* exams; the examination from *Pommern Schule* asked pupils to ‘translate and analyse’ (*übers. und analysieren*) and to ‘translate and grammatically treat’ (*übers. und grammatisch behandeln*) whole passages from Latin (Schwartz 1910: 67), and the Frankfurt *Abitur* simply required pupils to translate Latin passages into German (Schwartz 1910: 476).

Bearing in mind that an interest in preparing pupils for their respective examinations may have helped determine the methods used in nineteenth-century Prussia and England, the following sections discuss the teaching methods used in the Latin textbooks in my sample in greater detail. First, textbooks which used a Deductive approach are analysed; the Catechetical method, which I contend is a truly traditional language teaching method, is discussed in section 3.2.1. Textbooks which used the method I term ‘Grammar-first’ are treated in section 3.2.2, followed by a more detailed analysis of the Grammar-Translation method in section 3.2.3, the Crude-form system in section 3.2.4, and the *Übungsbuchmethode* in section 3.2.5.

The smaller number of textbooks based on an Inductive approach are considered in section 3.2.6.

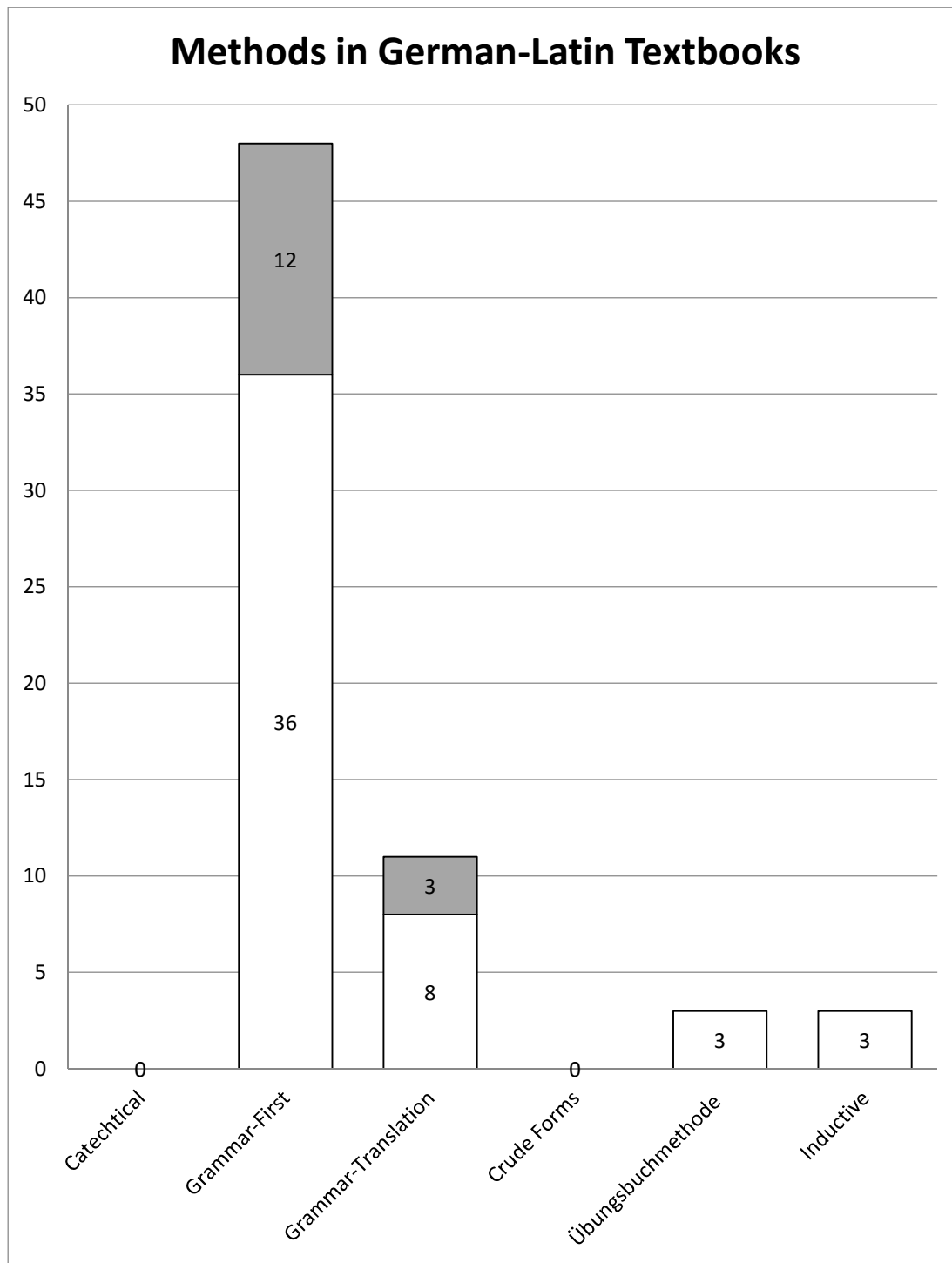


Figure 3:1 Methods in German-Latin Textbooks

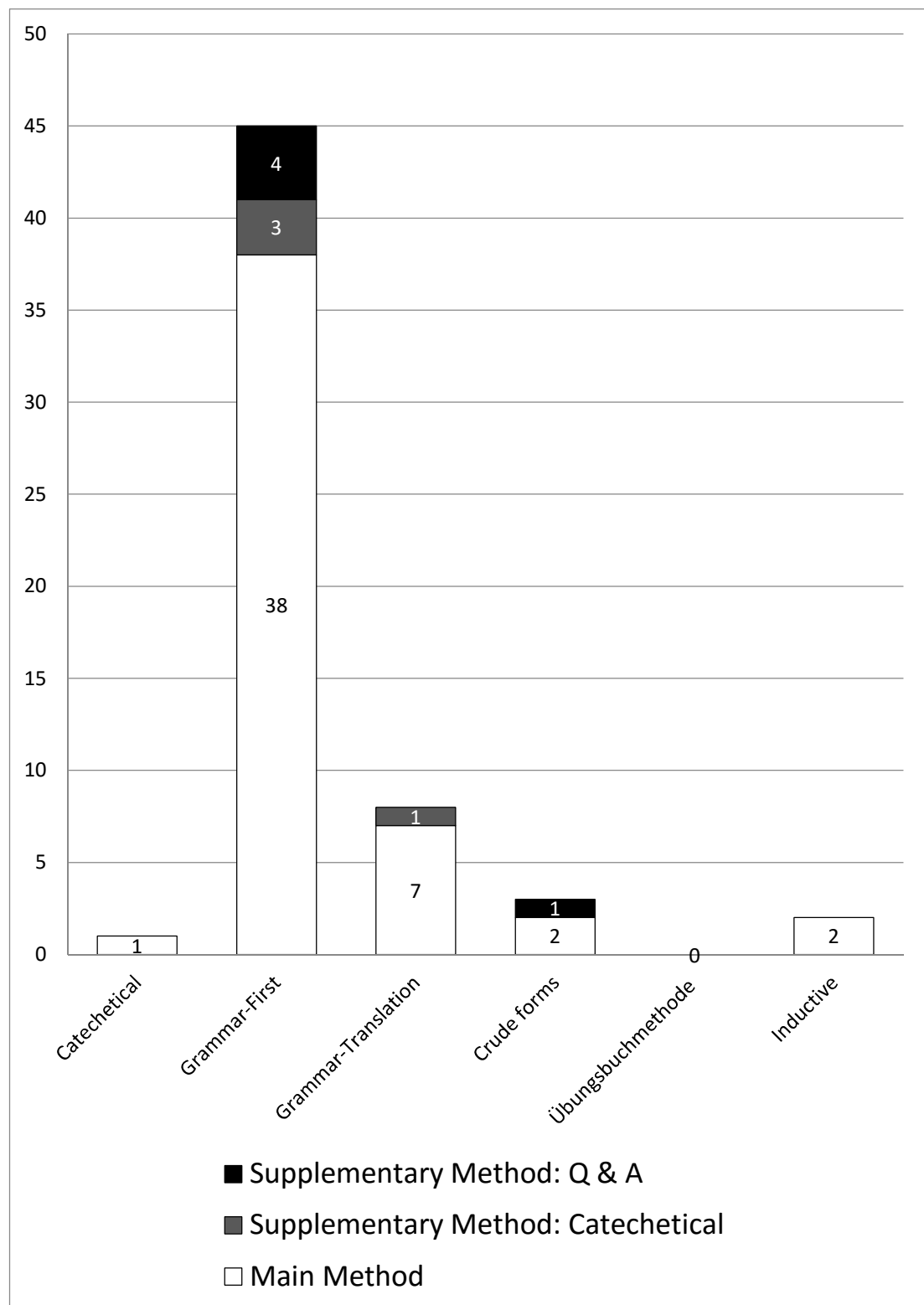


Figure 3:2 Methods in English-Latin Textbooks



Table 3.1 Methods in German-Latin Textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | <i>Title</i>  | <i>Author</i>                            | <i>Main Method</i>         | <i>Supplementary Method</i> |
|--------|---|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| G1803a | <i>Imman. Joh. Gerh. Schellers ausführliche lateinische Sprachlehre oder ...</i>    | <i>I.J.G. Scheller</i>                   | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1803b | <i>Praktische lateinische Grammatik, wodurch man die lateinische Sprache auf ..</i> | <i>J.V. Meidinger</i>                    | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1819  | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für die lateinischen Vorbereitungsschulen</i>              | <i>J.G. Baumgärtner</i>                  | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1820a | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für Schulen</i>  | <i>G.F. Grotefend &amp; H.B. Wenck</i>   | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1822  | <i>Kleine lateinische grammatik mit leichten lectionen für anförer</i>              | <i>C.G. Broder &amp; J.G.L. Ramshorn</i> | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1825  | <i>Lateinisches elementarbuch</i>   | <i>F. Jacobs &amp; F.W. Döring</i>       | <i>Inductive</i>           |                             |
| G1826a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>J.G.L. Ramshorn</i>                   | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1826b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | <i>C. G. Zumpt</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1829  | <i>Ausführliche grammatik der lateinischen sprache</i>                              | <i>A. Grotefend</i>                      | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1830  | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | <i>J.G.L. Ramshorn</i>                   | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1833a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>A. Grotefend</i>                      | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1833b | <i>Lateinische Schul-Grammatik</i>  | <i>J.P. Krebs</i>                        | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1834  | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>S. Mutzl</i>                          | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1838a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>G. Billroth &amp; F. Ellendt</i>      | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1838b | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>W. Weissenborn</i>                    | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1839  | <i>Lateinisches lesebuch</i>  | <i>Karl Benecke</i>                      | <i>Inductive</i>           |                             |
| G1842a | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache Vols 1&amp;2</i>                              | <i>G.T.A. Krüger &amp; A. Grotefend</i>  | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |

Table 3.1 Methods in German-Latin Textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | <i>Title</i>   | <i>Author</i>                            | <i>Main Method</i>         | <i>Supplementary Method</i> |
|--------|--|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| G1842b | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | <i>R. Kühner</i>                         | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1843  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | <i>J.O.L. Schulz</i>                     | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1844a | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | <i>C. G. Zumpt</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1844b | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen</i>   | <i>J.N. Madvig</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1846  | <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch für die untersten Klassen der Gymnasien</i>                                       | <i>F. Ellendt</i>                        | <i>Inductive</i>           |                             |
| G1848  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | <i>F. Kritz &amp; F. Berger</i>          | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1851  | <i>Neueste Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | <i>C. G. Zumpt</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       | <i>Q&amp;A</i>              |
| G1852  | <i>Lateinische grammatik ...</i>   | <i>K.E. Putsche</i>                      | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1856  | <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | <i>A. Kuhr</i>                           | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1857a | <i>Latenische Sprachlehre fur Schulen</i>  | <i>J.N. Madvig</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1857b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für den Unterricht auf Gymnasien</i>  | <i>E. Berger</i>                         | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1857c | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik für sämtliche</i>  | <i>H. Middendorf &amp; F. Grüter</i>     | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1861  | <i>Lateinisches Lern-, Lese-, und Übungsbuch</i>   | <i>K.A.I. Lattman</i>                    | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1862  | <i>Übungsbuch zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische für die zweite ...</i>                      | <i>L. Englmann</i>                       | <i>Übungsbuchmethode</i>   |                             |
| G1863  | <i>Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche und aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische</i> | <i>C. Ostermann</i>                      | <i>Übungsbuchmethode</i>   |                             |
| G1864  | <i>Lateinische schulgrammatik fur alle classen des gymnasiums</i>  | <i>K.A.I. Lattmann &amp; H.D. Müller</i> | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1865a | <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch für die unteren Klassen der lateinischen</i>                                      | <i>L. Englmann</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1865b | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik fur Gymnasien und höhere Burgerschulen</i>                                   | <i>F.S. Feldbausch</i>                   | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |

Table 3.1 Methods in German-Latin Textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | <i>Title</i>  | <i>Author</i>                           | <i>Main Method</i>         | <i>Supplementary Method</i> |
|--------|---|---|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| G1865c | <i>Die Elemente der lateinischen Formenlehre</i>  | <i>F. Bauer</i>                         | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1867a | <i>Praktische Schulgrammtik der lateinischen Sprache fur alle Klassen</i>                 | <i>H. Moisisstzig</i>                   | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1867b | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache für Schulen</i>                                     | <i>L. Englmann</i>                      | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1868a | <i>Dr. H. G. Ollendorff's neue Methode...</i>   | <i>G. Traut</i>                         | <i>Grammar-Translation</i> |                             |
| G1868b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik für Gymnasien und Realschulen</i>                                | <i>J. von Gruber</i>                    | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1869a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre</i>  | <i>G. W. Gossrau</i>                    | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1869b | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | <i>F. Ellendt &amp; M. Seyffert</i>     | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1870a | <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik</i>   | <i>M. Siberti &amp; M. Meiring</i>      | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1870b | <i>Latinische Grammatik für Gelehrtschulen</i>  | <i>J. C. Schmitt-Blank</i>              | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1871a | <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst Gymnasium bearbeitet</i>                              | <i>F. Schultz</i>                       | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1871b | <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i>   | <i>Gustav Adolf Emanuel Bornhak</i>     | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1871c | <i>Lateinisches Übungsbuch im Anschluß an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes Vocabularium</i> | <i>Christian Ostermann</i>              | <i>Übungsbuchmethode</i>   |                             |
| G1872a | <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i>  | <i>Friedrich Ellendt</i>                | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |
| G1872b | <i>Kurzgefasste Lateinische Grammatik</i>   | <i>K.A.I. Lattmann &amp; H.D.Müller</i> | <i>Grammar-first</i>       |                             |

Table 3.2 Methods in English-Latin textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | Title   | Author                         | Main Method         | Supplementary Method |
|--------|---|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| E1808  | <i>Institutes of Latin Grammar</i>  | J. Grant                       | Grammar-first       | Functional Q & A     |
| E1816  | <i>A manual of Latin Grammar</i>  | J.P. Smith                     | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1819  | <i>An Introduction to latin Grammar</i>                                       | F. Nolan                       | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1825a | <i>A copious Latin grammar</i>  | I.J.G. Scheller                | Grammar-first       | Catechetical         |
| E1825b | <i>An Improved Latin Grammar</i>  | J. MacGowan                    | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1827  | <i>A Short Latin Grammar</i>  | J. Locke                       | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1830  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>   | T.W.C. Edwards                 | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1833  | <i>Analytical grammar; or, the Latin language taught by rules of analysis</i> | W.O. Elwell                    | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1835  | <i>A Latin Grammar for the Use of English Boys</i>                            | J.P. Cobbett                   | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1836  | <i>The Elements of Latin Grammar</i>  | R. Hiley                       | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1838  | <i>A Simplified Latin Grammar</i>   | W.P. Powell                    | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1843  | <i>The preparatory Latin grammar</i>  | E. Everard                     | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1844a | <i>First Latin grammar and exercises in Ollendorff's method</i>               | W.H. Pinnock                   | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1844b | <i>Latin Grammar Practice</i>   | J. Pycroft                     | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1844c | <i>Latinæ grammaticæ curriculum; or A progressive grammar ...</i>             | B.H. Kennedy                   | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1844d | <i>A Latin Grammar, founded on Eton</i>                                       | G. Taylor                      | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1845  | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>  | C.G. Zumpt (trans. L. Schmitz) | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1846  | <i>A Latin grammar: on the system of crude forms</i>                          | T.H.Key                        | Crude-forms         |                      |



Table 3.2 Methods in English-Latin textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | Title  | Author                                | Main Method         | Supplementary Method |
|--------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| E1847  | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>                             | J.G. Murphy                           | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1848  | <i>Child's Latin Primer</i>  | B. H. Kennedy                         | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1851a | <i>The Bromsgrove Latin grammar 3rd ed.</i>                        | G.A. Jacob                            | Crude-forms         | Functional Q & A     |
| E1851b | <i>A Latin grammar for the use of schools</i>                      | J.N. Madvig [trans. Woods]            | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1852a | <i>A Latin Grammar</i>   | J.T. White                            | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1852b | <i>A Complete Latin Grammar</i>                                    | J.W. Donaldson                        | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1854a | <i>Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin language</i>                  | T. Ruddiman (W. & R. Chalmers ed.)    | Grammar-first       | Catechetical         |
| E1854b | <i>Progressive exercises on the accidence of the Latin grammar</i> | R. Hiley                              | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1855  | <i>A Help to Latin Grammar</i>                                     | J. Wright                             | Inductive           | Catechetical         |
| E1856a | <i>Inductive Latin Course for Beginners</i>                        | W.B. Smith                            | Inductive           |                      |
| E1856b | <i>The Shilling Latin Grammar</i>                                  | E. Walford                            | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1859  | <i>A new Latin grammar</i>   | M.D. Kavanagh                         | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1861a | <i>Catechism of Latin grammar</i>                                  | unattributed but likely M.D. Kavanagh | Catechetical        |                      |
| E1861b | <i>The School and University Eton Latin Grammar</i>                | J.R. Mongan                           | Grammar-first       | Functional Q & A     |
| E1862a | <i>Analytical Latin Grammar</i>                                    | C.G. Hamilton                         | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1862b | <i>A New Latin Delectus</i>  | H.C. Adams                            | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1862c | <i>King Edward VI Latin Grammar</i>                                | W. Lily                               | Grammar-first       |                      |

Table 3.2 Methods in English-Latin textbooks (in chronological order)

|        | Title   | Author                   | Main Method         | Supplementary Method |
|--------|---|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| E1862d | <i>Ollendorff's Introduction to Latin</i>                           | H. Ollendorff            | Grammar-Translation | Functional Q & A     |
| E1863  | <i>An elementary Latin grammar</i>                                  | E. Miller                | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1864  | <i>A Smaller Latin Grammar</i>                                      | E. Miller                | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1866  | <i>The Public School Latin Primer</i>                               | B. H. Kennedy            | Grammar-first       | Functional Q & A     |
| E1867  | <i>The student's Latin grammar. A grammar of the Latin language</i> | W. Smith & T.D. Hall     | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1869a | <i>The School Latin Grammar</i>                                     | A. Martin                | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1869b | <i>The Elements of Latin Syntax</i>                                 | W.H. Harris              | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1871a | <i>A grammar of the Latin language</i>                              | H.J. Roby                | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1871b | <i>Henry's First Latin Book</i>                                     | T.K. Arnold              | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1871c | <i>A Short and Easy Latin book</i>                                  | E. Fowle                 | Grammar-Translation |                      |
| E1880  | <i>Introductory Grammar of the Latin Language</i>                   | L. Schmitz               | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1883  | <i>The Public Examination Latin Grammar</i>                         | J. Gibson                | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1886  | <i>A New Easy Latin Primer</i>                                      | E. Fowle                 | Grammar-first       |                      |
| E1888  | <i>The Eton Latin grammar</i>                                       | F.H. Rawlins & W.R. Inge | Grammar-first       | Catechetical         |
| E1891  | <i>An elementary Latin grammar</i>                                  | J.B. Allen               | Grammar-first       |                      |

## **Deductive Approaches**

### **3.2.1 Questions and Answers:**

#### **The Catechetical Method and the Functional Q & A Method**

Although, as noted above, the Grammar-Translation method is often considered the traditional language teaching method handed down from antiquity, that honour more properly belongs to the Catechetical method. The Catechetical method originated in the philosophical dialogues of Greek and Latin, which are attested for Latin teaching as far back as the fourth century B.C. The Catechetical method (from *κατηχέω*, meaning 'to instruct orally') developed from the use of scripted conversations or dialogues as an oral method of teaching Latin as a foreign language. Over time, these dialogues evolved into scripts which simply posed a series of questions asked by the master, and the correct answers, which pupils would give verbatim. Kelly notes that sometime between the third and sixth centuries A.D. 'grammarians rid themselves of the fiction that their treatises represented a conversation, but often kept a question-and-answer form' (Kelly 1976: 49-50). It was this form of the Catechetical method, a series of memorized questions-and-answers, that 'remained normal [in Latin language teaching] until the early nineteenth century' (Kelly 1976: 50).

Within my sample, only one textbook used the catechetical method throughout: the anonymously authored *Catechism of Latin Grammar*, published just once in 1861 (E1861a). The entire textbook is a series of questions and answers, as the excerpt in Figure 3:3 illustrates.

OF PRONOUNS.

Q. What is a Pronoun ?  
A. A word used instead of a noun, to avoid its repetition.

Q. How are pronouns declined ?  
A. Like nouns, they undergo various inflections, to signify number, case, and gender.

Q. How many pronouns are there ?  
A. Fifteen ; *ego*, I ; *tu*, thou ; *ille*, he ; *is*, he ; *sui*, of himself ; *ipse*, he himself ; *iste*, that ; *hic*, this ; *meus*, mine ; *tuus*, thine ; *suus*, his ; *noster*, ours ; *vester*, yours ; *nostras*, our country ; *vestras*, your country.

Figure 3:3 Catechetical method from *Catechism of Latin Grammar* (Anon. E1861a: 23)

Although the *Catechism of Latin Grammar* was the only textbook which followed the Catechetical method exclusively, the Catechetical method also appeared in portions of Wright's *A Help to Latin Grammar* (Wright E1855: 60-66, 77-79, 91-98), Allen's *An Elementary Latin Grammar* (Allen E1891: 84-104) and Ruddiman's *Rudiments of the Latin Language* (E1854a). The multiple editions of Ruddiman's *Rudiments* attest to the decline of the Catechetical method; 70% of the 1755 edition of Ruddiman's *Rudiments* used the Catechetical method, but the 1854 edition published nearly a century later only presented about 30% of the content in the catechetical question and answer format, as illustrated in Figure 3:4.

**COMPARISON.**

**Q.** How many Degrees of Comparison are there?  
**A.** Three: the *Positive*, *Comparative*, and *Superlative*.  
**Q.** Whence is the Comparative Degree formed?  
**A.** From the first case of the Positive in *i*, by adding *or* for the masculine and feminine, and *us* for the neuter—as *doctus*, learned, gen. *docti*; *doctior*, *-or*, *-us*, more learned: *mitis*, meek, dat. *miti*; *mitior*, *-or*, *-us*, more meek.

Figure 3:4 Catechetical method from Ruddiman (E1854a: 10)

After more than a millennium of use, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century the method no longer appeared in either England or Prussia. However, *why* the Catechetical method fell from favour is less clear; Kelly simply observed that it 'gradually died out' (1976: 50). I would suggest that a range of factors played a role. First, the Catechetical method was devised prior to the advent of the technological advances in printing that allowed each pupil to have their own textbook. When printed matter was not readily available to pupils, the oral question-and-answer method was a helpful means to both teach and learn. Verbatim memorization became less important once readily available printed textbooks could be referred to for grammatical information; as we shall see, the recall of a set of rules was replaced later in the nineteenth century by the recall of grammatical concepts needed to answer questions of a metagrammatical nature. Further, the order and sequence of grammatical instruction was somewhat fixed in the Catechetical method, which followed the same sequence of grammatical concepts that Donatus had used in the fourth century, beginning with the noun and proceeding through the eight parts of speech, namely the noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections, which continued to be followed by many nineteenth

century textbooks. As the nineteenth century progressed, the best sequencing of grammatical instruction became a matter of debate among educationalists, so a method that allowed little flexibility in the arrangement of grammatical information was unlikely to remain popular.<sup>56</sup> Finally the Catechetical method, by definition, does not include opportunities to practise, and, as we shall see, opportunities to practise became an important feature in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks.

The Catechetical method should not be conflated with the technique of teaching grammar through certain key questions, which I term 'Functional Q & A', since the functions of noun cases were sometimes explained by considering 'what question' each case answered. This method can be found as far back as the Middle Ages (see Puff 1996: 411-439), and appears in the nineteenth century in a number of examples such as Bauer's *Die Elemente der lateinischen Formenlehre*, as shown in Figure 3:5.

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<sup>56</sup> For instance, a notable exception to the conventional order which Donatus had prescribed can be found in Grotfend's 1829 *Ausführliche grammatik der lateinischen sprache*, which treated verbs first, then explicated nouns, pronouns, participles, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections.

|                                  |       |                           |
|----------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Nominativus</i> , Werfall. | Frage | Wer od. Was?              |
| 2. <i>Genitivus</i> , Wesfall    | „     | Wessen?                   |
| 3. <i>Dativus</i> , Wemfall      | „     | Wem?                      |
| 4. <i>Accusativus</i> , Wenfall  | „     | Wen od. Was?              |
| 5. <i>Vocativus</i> , Anrufefall |       |                           |
| 6. <i>Ablativus</i>              | „     | Wovon? Womit?<br>Wodurch? |

|                                   |          |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 <i>Nominativus</i> , Nominative | question | who or what?                      |
| 2 <i>Genitivus</i> , Genitive     | “        | whose?                            |
| 3 <i>Dativus</i> , Dative         | “        | to whom?                          |
| 4 <i>Accusativus</i> , Whom-case  | “        | whom or what?                     |
| 5 <i>Vocativus</i> , Calls-case   |          |                                   |
| 6 <i>Ablativus</i>                | “        | from which? with which? by which? |

Figure 3:5 Case system explained through questions-and-answers

(Bauer G1865c: 6)

Similar uses of the Functional Q & A method appeared in Grant (E1808: 211), Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 9), Ramshorn (G1830: 36), Grotefend (G1833a: 10), Mutzl (G1834: 20), Kühner (G1842b: 15), Zumpt (G1844a: 39; G1851: 109), Jacob (E1851a: 10), Mongan (E1861c: 7-8), Miller (E1863: 6-7), and Smith & Hall (E1867: 4).

### 3.2.2 Grammar-first method

While the Catechetical method waned during the nineteenth century, the principle of committing grammatical rules to memory remained strong. In fact, memorization is the foundational concept of the most common method in the Latin textbooks in my corpus. There does not seem to be a term in use, either in modern scholarship or in the nineteenth century to describe this method of memorizing the rules of grammar *prior* to attempting to read, write or speak the Latin language, though several possible terms have been proposed,<sup>57</sup> so I have coined the term ‘Grammar-first’ for this method. Within my research sample, Grammar-first is overwhelmingly the most common method, used as the main method in 74 out of 100 textbooks.

The Grammar-first method suited nineteenth-century views ‘that certain mental faculties like the memory and logical reasoning could be exercised like a muscle and that the study of Greek and Latin provided the best all-around mental exercise’ (Kallendorf 2010: 296) (see Section 1.4.3). The recall of the rules of grammar was intended primarily to strengthen the memorization skills of pupils, with knowledge of the Latin language as a secondary, almost incidental, outcome. In his memoirs, the English author George Borrow (1803-1881) related his experience of

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<sup>57</sup> For instance, Felix Foresti, editor of an 1870 edition of *Ollendorff's New Method of Learning to Read, Write and Speak the Italian Language*, identified the method of teaching rules of grammar before practising them as characteristic of three methods: the ‘*classical, scholastic, or scientific method*’ (Foresti 1870). However, all of these terms have been claimed by scholars for different purposes over the years. The ‘classical method’ is often conflated with the Grammar-Translation method (see Section 3.2.3), the ‘scholastic method’ has been described as the Medieval instructional mode at Universities, which entailed ‘posing a question, presenting contradictory authorities on that question and then arriving at conclusions’ (Spielvogel 2012: 259). Finally, the term ‘scientific method’ is more commonly associated with the natural sciences than with language teaching.



learning Latin in the early part of the nineteenth century in this way from what he calls *Lilly's Latin grammar* [sic].<sup>58</sup> Borrow wrote:

At the end of the three years I had the whole [of Lily's Latin Grammar] by heart; you had only to repeat the first two or three words of any sentence in any part of the book, and forthwith I would open cry, commencing without blundering and hesitation, and continue till you were glad to beg me to leave off, with many expressions of admiration at my proficiency in the Latin language. Sometimes, however, to convince you how well I merited these encomiums, I would follow you to the bottom of the stair, and even into the street, repeating in a kind of sing-song measure the sonorous lines of the golden schoolmaster. If I am here asked whether I understood anything of what I had got by heart, I reply — 'Never mind, I understand it all now, and believe that no one ever yet got Lilly's [sic] Latin grammar by heart when young, who repented of the feat at a mature age.' (Borrow 1851: 39-40)

Borrow's equation of 'proficiency in the Latin language' with the ability to parrot his Latin textbook is humorous, but it also reflects popular opinion at the time. Borrow's experience was probably not unique; according to Wheeler, 'it's a safe bet that most often the book [Lily's Grammar] was used for simple rote learning', and 'the age-old habit of children's reading and memorizing without genuine understanding continued' (Wheeler 2013: 43). The British educationalist R.L. Archer (1874-1953) wrote that *The Eton Latin Grammar* (E1830) had been written on the 'old classical scheme', which required 'memorising of accidence before the beginner was allowed to apply his grammar to the simplest Latin sentence' (Archer 1921 20). This was the Grammar-first method in its pure form.

Memorization before practical application, which defines the Grammar-first method, was not a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century. There had been

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<sup>58</sup> Borrow was likely referring to *The accidence; or, First rudiments of the Latin tongue, for the use of youth* (Lily 1818).

objections to this type of teaching and learning since at least the seventeenth century (e.g. see Locke's 1693 *Thoughts Concerning Education* and *The Great Didactic*), and it was certainly objected to in the nineteenth century, on the grounds that it had been 'sufficiently refuted by experience' as ineffective ([...] *durch die Erfahrung schon hinlänglich widerlegt* [...], Döring 1821: vii). Even some nineteenth-century textbook authors who used the Grammar-first method allowed that memorization without any understanding of what was being committed to memory was not desirable. For instance, Kennedy wrote that 'the forty-seven first pages' of his *Child's Latin Primer* 'must be gradually committed to memory' (Kennedy 1848b: iii). While Kennedy stipulated that 'a child should never be allowed to go on learning by rote matter to which he attaches either *no* meaning or a *wrong* meaning' (Kennedy 1848b: iii), nonetheless, 'it is not necessary for him to know the *full* meaning of all he commits to memory' (Kennedy 1848b: iii, emphasis original). Presumably, the teacher was expected to determine whether a pupil needed to know 'the *full* meaning of all he commits to memory' (Kennedy 1848b: iii).

Many textbooks which adhered to the idea of memorization before application introduced techniques for learners to memorize the rules for which they had no context. One such mnemonic device, which appeared in 28 of the 100 textbooks in my corpus (12 English and 16 German), was that of rhymes and songs. Kennedy referred to these as 'memorial lines' (Kennedy 1852: 18), while Kelly calls this technique 'the jingle method of learning grammar' (Kelly 1976: 49). Several examples of these 'memorial jingles' can be found in Kennedy's *Primer*, such as a

rhyme for remembering the gender of nouns which might be either masculine or feminine, shown in Figure 3:6.

Common are to either sex :  
 Artifex and opifex,  
 Convivā, vātēs, advēnā,  
 Testis, civis, incōlā,  
 Pārens, sacerdōs, custōs, vindex,  
 Adōlescens, infans, index,  
 Jūdex, hērēs, cōmēs, dux,  
 Princeps, mūniceps, conjux,  
 Obsēs, ālēs, interprēs,  
 Auctōr, exūl ; and with these  
 Bōs, dāmā, talpā, tīgrīs, grūs,  
 Cānis and anguis, serpens, sūs.\*

Figure 3:6 Rhyming mnemonic for nouns of common gender from Kennedy (E1866: 12)

Zumpt's *Neueste Lateinische Grammatik* (G1851) also included several rhymes, such as the one shown in Figure 3:7 for determining the gender of nouns in the second declension.

**Zweite Declination.**  
**Hauptregel.**  
 Us, er, ir, ur sind mascula,  
 Um steht allein als neutrum da.

(Second Declension  
 Main Rule  
*Us, er, ir, ur* are masculine  
*Um* stands alone as a neuter.)

Figure 3:7 Rhyming mnemonic for determining gender of nouns from Zumpt (G1851: 16)

Though memorization was widely used in the nineteenth century, it was also widely criticised. In an article on the teaching of Classics in *The Educational Times*, Robson claimed the greatest error of memorization was ‘that it almost entirely separates theory from practice’ (1861: 171). He wrote scathingly that:

No one who is acquainted with even the elements of mental science, and duly applies his knowledge, could possibly expect such a plan to be successful; its actual result usually is, that scarcely one boy in a hundred of those who have learnt what is called the Accidence, has any but imperfect and confused notions about the various inflections. (Robson 1861: 171)

G.A. Jacob (1807-1896), author of E1851a and headmaster at Christ’s Hospital, lamented that Latin teaching had become ‘merely [...] an act of memory’, preparing pupils only to pass examinations in ‘much in the same way as a “learned dog” or a “learned pig” is prepared for exhibition at a country fair’ (Jacob 1871: 172, quotes in original). Yet the Grammar-first method remained the most widely-used means of Latin teaching and learning through the nineteenth century.

### 3.2.3 Grammar-Translation: Not Latin's Lamentable Legacy

Despite the wide use of the Grammar-first method, there has long been a common perception that the Grammar-Translation method was the most popular method for teaching *foreign* languages in the nineteenth century because Grammar-Translation had long been the preferred method for teaching *classical* languages. In the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Language*, Yu contends that:

Latin and Greek were taught through the Grammar-Translation method only [...and...] it became very natural that, when students began learning a modern foreign language [...] the same language teaching method was imitated. (Yu 2013: 288)

Several other authoritative treatments of language teaching assert that the Grammar-Translation method was the 'traditional' method of language teaching.<sup>59</sup> Some sources go so far as to claim that the terms 'Grammar-Translation method' and 'Classical Method' were synonymous as a result of the supposed prevalent use of Grammar-Translation for teaching the classical languages (e.g. Zimmerman 1997: 6; Grenfell & Harris 1999: 11; Larsen-Freeman 2000: 11; Yu 2013: 287). Yet no author or educator in the nineteenth century ever claimed to use the Grammar-Translation method, and there is no standard definition which authoritatively codifies *the* Grammar-Translation method. Our definitions of Grammar-Translation are all post-hoc modern definitions. These definitions vary in their wording, but the following features of the Grammar-Translation method are generally agreed upon:

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<sup>59</sup> e.g. Grenfell & Harris (1999: 11); European Commission (2000: 11); Richards & Rodgers (2001: 4); Joseph (2002: 29); Stern (2003: 454); Anderman & Rogers (2005: 18); Harden (2006: 35); Farman (2007: 8); Musumeci (2011: 45-46); Yu (2013: 288); Yule (2014: 190).

1. Instruction is conducted in the mother tongue of the pupil (Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
2. Rules of grammar are explicit (Chastain 1976; Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
3. Grammar is taught using specific technical terminology (Chastain 1976; Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
4. Examples of grammar rules in use are provided (Chastain 1976; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
5. The learner is presented with ample opportunities to translate from the mother tongue into the foreign language and vice versa (Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
6. Instruction and translation are graded in a step-by-step manner of increasing complexity (Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002).
7. Vocabulary is taught through bilingual vocabulary lists (Chastain 1976; Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001 ).
8. Reading/translation is the goal of instruction (Chastain 1976; Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001 ).

Compared to the Catechetical or Grammar-first methods, which were predicated upon memorization, Grammar-Translation was quite innovative. Grammar-Translation offered opportunities for pupils to apply grammatical knowledge right from the beginning through practise in graded translation, which proceeded from simple translations with limited grammatical concepts to more complex translation with more sophisticated grammatical structures.

As to the origins of Grammar-Translation, modern accounts are often inconsistent and rarely supported by evidence. Benson contends that the Grammar-Translation method was created as early as the second century B.C. (2000: 36), while Yustates that Grammar-Translation was 'the method of studying Latin and Greek

adopted by Europeans in the Middle Ages' (2013: 287). Kelly offers that Grammar-Translation 'had existed during the Renaissance' (1976: 51). Other sources are still less precise, referring to the Grammar-Translation method as 'a classical inheritance' (Joseph 2002: 29), alleging that it was 'clearly rooted in the formal teaching of Latin and Greek which prevailed in Europe for many centuries' (Rivers 1968: 14), or stating that the Grammar-Translation method 'can be traced back to the annals of history' (Grenfell & Harris 1999: 11).

However, a small number of statements about the history and origin of the Grammar-Translation method are better evidenced. Richards & Rodgers maintain that the method developed in the nineteenth century (Richards & Rodgers 2001: 5), and Stern states that it was developed by nineteenth-century German scholars (Stern 2003: 453-454), while Howatt and Vermes both specify that the method originated in Prussia at the end of the eighteenth century (Vermes 2010: 85; Howatt 2004: 151). Unlike statements that Grammar-Translation is 'old', the claim that it developed around the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century has more support. Further, Howatt writes that the Grammar-Translation method was not a wholesale importation of a classical language teaching methodology to modern foreign language teaching, but a 'methodological compromise' which, he writes somewhat polemically, 'retained most of the negative features of traditional language teaching while at the same time refusing to give modern languages what they most needed – a central role for the spoken language' (Howatt 2009: 467).

Howatt finds that the first foreign language textbook to use what became known as the Grammar-Translation method was Johann Meidinger's 1783 *Praktische*

*Französische Grammatik* (Howatt 2004: 375). Meidinger (1756-1822), a Prussian language teacher of French and Italian, wrote in the preface to this textbook that he aimed to clarify French grammar and, crucially, to make the learning process easier for pupils. Meidinger's textbook included all eight points established above for Grammar-Translation. It was written in German for German learners (criterion 1), and in it we find a series of lessons centred on explicit, grammatical rules with examples of usage (criteria 2, 3, 4). The textbook also included translation exercises from French into German and from German into French (criterion 5), which became increasingly complex as new grammatical concepts were mastered (criterion 6). Lists of vocabulary to be learned at each stage were also given (criterion 7). Meidinger did not claim that reading or translating was the goal of instruction (criterion 8), but this is a logical conclusion given the text's emphasis on reading rather than speaking or listening. Crucially, Meidinger's innovations for teaching modern foreign languages broke new ground when compared to Latin textbooks of the same period. If we consider, for instance, the 1779 edition of Ruddiman's (1674-1757) *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue* (see Figure 3:8), several elements of the Grammar-Translation method are lacking. Ruddiman's *Rudiments* followed the Catechetical method throughout, presenting grammar in a series of questions and answers in both Latin and the native-language of the reader, offering no opportunities to practise, and providing no lists of vocabulary to be learnt.



| PARS PRIMA.  | PART FIRST.   |
|--|---|
| De LITERIS et SYLLABIS.  | Of LETTERS and SYLLABLES.   |
| <i>Magister.</i>   | <i>Master.</i>  |
| <b>Q</b> UOT sunt literæ apud Latinos?   | <b>H</b> OW many letters are there among the Latins?  |
| <i>Discipulus.</i>   | <i>Scholar.</i>   |
| Quinque et viginti; a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, z. | Five and twenty; a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, z. |
| M. Quomodo dividuntur?   | M. How are they divided?  |
| D. In vocales et consonantes.  | S. Into vowels and consonants.  |
| M. Quot sunt vocales?  | M. How many vowels are there?   |
| D. Sex; a, e, i, o, u, y.  | S. Six; a, e, i, o, u, y.   |
| M. Quot sunt consonantes?  | M. How many consonants are there?   |
| D. Novemdecim; b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, z.                        | S. Nineteen; b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, z.                       |
| M. Quot sunt diphthongi?   | M. How many diphthongs are there?   |

Figure 3:8 Example of a typical Latin textbook contemporary with Meidinger's French grammar (Ruddiman & Moir 1779: 1)

To cite another example contemporary with Meidinger's French textbook, the 1781 *Compendium Latinae Grammaticae [...]* by Joannes Rhenius, a Latin textbook for German-speakers, was written entirely in Latin and heavily utilised the Catechetical method. The *Compendium Latinae Grammaticae [...]* also lacked exercises, opportunities to practise and vocabulary lists.

The innovative elements from Meidinger's textbook were soon adopted in other modern foreign language learning textbooks by Prussian authors. Meidinger's work inspired textbooks for learning French or English written by Johann Heinrich Philipp Seidenstücker (1765-1817), Johann Franz Ahn (1796-1865), and Karl Ploetz

(alternatively 'Plötz', 1819-1881),<sup>60</sup> all of whom employed the basic principles found in Meidinger's textbook and so are also generally identified as examples of the Grammar-Translation method in the nineteenth century (Wheeler 2013: 113). It was not until 1803 that a *Latin* textbook based on Meidinger's innovative method, *Praktische lateinische Grammatik*, was published (G1803b). Thus the Grammar-Translation method was used in modern foreign language textbooks for 20 years before it was applied to a Latin textbook.

Another name often associated with the Grammar-Translation method in the nineteenth century is Heinrich Gottfried Ollendorff (1803-1865) (see Richards and Rodgers 2001: 6; Howatt 2004: 156; Decoo 2011: 56; Wheeler 2013: 115-119, 128, 132 ff.). Ollendorff's method, which was based on Meidinger's principles (Ollendorff & Jewett 1851: vi; Greene 1854: 558), exerted a strong influence on the popular perception of the Grammar-Translation method. Ollendorff applied his method to textbooks for several foreign languages, including Latin. Wheeler writes that 'Ollendorff approached language teaching as a business', and Howatt observes that 'the Ollendorff industry must have been a large-scale international publishing operation' (Howatt 1984: 141). In Ollendorff's 'industry', the format and arrangement of each textbook was virtually identical regardless of the target language (Wheeler 2013: 115), featuring a combined grammar and vocabulary with accompanying translation exercises. Despite its association with Grammar-

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<sup>60</sup> We find references to the 'Meidinger's Methode', 'Seidenstücker's Methode' and 'Ahn'sche Methode' and, though there does not appear to be a method associated with the name of Plötz, the author himself termed his method the '*stufenweise fortschreitende Methode*' ('the step-wise progressive method'), emphasizing what he considered the distinguishing feature of the method (Ploetz 1853).

Translation, many contemporary American sources concluded that Ollendorff's method was based on that of Jean Manesca (1778? – 1838), a French teacher in New York who had developed an *oral* system of language teaching (e.g. Porter 1846: 103; A.N.G. 1849: 250; Greene 1854: 558; G.S. 1864: 171; Pinney & Arnoult 1867: 3; Manesca 1870: xxxiii). The large number of foreign language textbooks titled *Ollendorff's New Method of Learning to Read, Write and Speak the \_\_\_\_\_ Language* clearly signalled to the reader that Ollendorff valued speaking on an equal level with reading and writing. Ollendorff's French (Ollendorff & Jewett 1866: 5), Spanish (Vingut & Ollendorff 1855: 13) and German (Ollendorff 1849: 5) language textbooks specifically instructed teachers in the spoken aspects of the method:

Each lesson should be dictated to the pupil, who should pronounce every word, as it is dictated to him. After this, the teacher should exercise the pupil by putting questions to him in every possible way.

Yet neither these instructions nor any other guidance appeared in the *Ollendorff's Introduction to Latin* (E1862d), so the oral element in this Latin textbook is not as clear as in his modern foreign language textbooks. Though Ollendorff noted in the preface to his Latin textbook that he intended to publish another Latin textbook 'with the object of enabling students to speak that language like a modern one' (Ollendorff E1862d: 6), such a textbook was never published and, of course, neither Ollendorff nor any of the other authors mentioned above used the term 'Grammar-Translation' themselves.

It is worth reiterating here that the first textbook credited with using Grammar-Translation method was not a Latin textbook from 'the annals of history', but an 18<sup>th</sup>-century textbook of French, and that the authors who first imitated and refined this

method were Prussian authors of modern language textbooks (Howatt 2004: 152; Decoo 2011: 56; Titone 2013: 387). Yet the Grammar-Translation method and the classical languages have come to be closely identified with one another. The reason for this association, and the possible genesis of the name 'Grammar-Translation', can be found in the work of Wilhelm Viëtor (1850-1918). Viëtor was a language teacher in Germany who in 1882 published the pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muß umkehren!*<sup>61</sup> This title has been variously translated over the years as 'Language Teaching Must Transform' or 'Start Afresh' or 'Change Direction' (Viëtor 1882)<sup>61</sup>. However the title is translated, this pamphlet has been credited with sparking the late nineteenth-century language teaching Reform Movement. Viëtor's choice of title indicated his call for a change from an 'old' way of teaching language, and he began by establishing just what the 'old' method entailed. As Cook observes, this was a necessary step:

All new movements need an old regime to replace – one they can caricature and ridicule, whose weaknesses will nicely show off their own virtues in contrast. In Grammar Translation, the orthodoxy of their time, both the Reform Movement and the new Direct Method language schools found an easy target. (Cook 2010: 9)

Viëtor certainly targeted the teaching of grammar and the practice of translation which he associated with the 'old' way in which Latin and Greek were taught. He also implicitly identified those old, ineffective methods used to teach classical languages

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<sup>61</sup> Though originally published in 1882, I refer to the 1905 edition of the pamphlet throughout this study. The 1905 edition included changes and edits and, therefore, best represents Viëtor's views. Further, the 1882 version was published under the pseudonym 'Quousque Tandem', while the 1905 version was published with Viëtor as the named author.

with the apparently equally ineffective way in which modern foreign languages were taught in his day:

*Widerspreche mir, wer kann: Läßt ihn die Schule endlich frei, so ist dem abgehetzten Schüler die Sprache der alten Römer und Hellenen, ja das lebendige Englisch und Französisch der Gegenwart im wahren Sinne des Wortes fremd wie zuvor. (Viëtor 1905: 26)*

(Contradict me, whoever can: When the school finally releases him, the language of the ancient Romans and Greeks, indeed the living English and French of the present, are in the true sense of the word as foreign to the harried pupil as before.)

Viëtor did not regard the 'old' as 'tried-and-true', but as something that no longer functioned well and that needed to be replaced or repaired. He encouraged teachers to shed 'nasty old prejudices' (*'böse alte Vorurteile'*)(Viëtor 1905: 34) and pointed out that even some teachers of the classical languages found the 'old' method inadequate, claiming that *'Mehr Stimmen schon, und nicht wenige altklassische, erheben sich zu dem Ruf: Tod den Regeln und Sätzen!'* ('More and more voices already, and not a few classicists, rise to the call: Death to rules and sentences!') (Viëtor 1905: 30). Viëtor cited V.H. Günther, author of *Der Lateinunterricht am Seminar*, published in 1881, who observed:

*Nur wenn ein neuer Abschnitt beginnt, der nach einer neuen Regel und nach neuen Formen schematisiert ist, gibt solcher Unterricht dem Geiste der Schüler einen kleinen Ruck, ein anderes Register wird aufgezogen, der Schüler achtet wieder auf die ersten paar Sätze, und nach der kurzen Mühe ihrer Übersetzung kann die alte Schnurre von neuem beginnen. (Günther 1881 in Viëtor 1905: 23)*

(Only when a new section begins, which is schematized according to a new rule and new forms, [then] such teaching gives to the spirit of the pupils a little jerk, another register is opened up, the pupil pays attention again to the first few sentences, and after the short effort of their translation, the old farce can start anew.)

Viëtor further quoted Günther's view that pupils were taught foreign languages 'mindlessly':

*Er lese nur gedankenlos seine Regel, gedankenlos lerne er sie auswendig, und gedankenlos übersetze er dann die nach ihrer Schablone verfaßten Übungssätze.* (Günther 1881: quoted in Viëtor 1905: 23)

(He [the pupil] reads his rule(s) mindlessly, mindlessly he learns them by heart, and mindlessly he translates the exercise sentences which have been fashioned according to its template.)

Viëtor agreed with Günther, writing that pupils translated foreign language texts ‘mechanically’ (*mechanisch*, Viëtor 1905: 23). Rather than view translation exercises as a preliminary step to reading literature, Viëtor criticised translation as merely an opportunity to reinforce grammatical rules for their own sake (Viëtor 1905: 25).

After much discussion of grammar rules and how and why they were taught, Viëtor presented the reader with the term *grammatisierend-übersetzende[r] Betrieb* (Viëtor 1905: 47), though the disparaging term *Betrieb* (Viëtor 1905: 47) suggests a ‘business’ or ‘process’ rather than giving it the status of a ‘method’ (*Methode*); two pages later, in Note 31, Viëtor uses the phrase the *grammatisierend-übersetzende Methode* (Viëtor 1905: 49). It is a very short step from the *grammatisierend-übersetzende Methode* to the modern German term for Grammar-Translation, the *Grammatik-Übersetzungsmethode*. Thus Viëtor’s pamphlet was certainly influential in naming and defining the method, and also bears some responsibility for the close association popularly made between the Grammar-Translation method and the teaching of the classical languages. Viëtor’s disdain for teaching foreign languages by focussing on grammar and setting pupils to translating, rather than speaking and listening (Jaworska 2009: 15; Hüllen 2000: 957), has led others after him to paint with a very broad brush. As a consequence, the disparaging label of ‘Grammar-Translation’ was applied to many methods which taught grammar directly and practised translation as a means of teaching, regardless of how grammar was taught

or how translation was used as a teaching tool. Yet, Viëtor failed to consider the possibility that the method seems to have been introduced by modern foreign language teachers like Meidinger who were genuinely trying to make language learning *easier*.

Viëtor did not regard the principles of Grammar-Translation as an easier method for learners, but he did believe it was an easier method for teachers. Textbooks using the Grammar-Translation method 'replaced existing grammar manuals, which had offered no pedagogical guidance at all, with an organised sequence of lessons in which a selection of specific grammar rules were taught and exemplified in a step-by-step manner' (Howatt, personal communication, cited by Weir 2013: 16). The intention was to make things easier for pupils by teaching language in a graded manner and giving them the opportunity to practise and master a concept before moving on to learn another, instead of simply committing grammar rules to memory, as the Catechetical and Grammar-first methods required. However, part of the reason Grammar-Translation was easy to attack was the mechanical, mindless way that unskilled teachers implemented it (Kelly 1976: 278). As Wheeler wrote:

If it's possible to feel sorry for a language-teaching method, the poor Grammar-Translation Method deserves our sympathy. It started out with the best of intentions. (Wheeler 2013: 119)

Given that we have shown that it did not originate in textbooks of the classical languages, the question still remains as to what extent nineteenth-century *Latin* textbooks followed the Grammar-Translation method,. To answer this question, the

textbooks in my corpus were evaluated against the eight characteristics of the Grammar-Translation method determined above (see Table 3.3). The majority of the Latin textbooks met some of the criteria. For example, all of the texts aimed to teach reading and writing as the goal of instruction (criterion 8), 86 of the texts conducted instruction exclusively in the vernacular (criterion 1), but only 17 textbooks presented opportunities to translate both into and out of Latin (criterion 5), more than half did not present information in a graded manner (criterion 6), and only 18 provided bilingual vocabulary lists (criterion 7). Only seven out of 50 English-Latin textbooks and eight of the 50 German-Latin textbooks meet all eight of the criteria for Grammar-Translation.<sup>62</sup>

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Instruction is conducted in the mother-tongue of the pupil.   | 86  |
| Rules of grammar are explicit.  | 91  |
| Grammar is taught using specific technical terminology.   | 91  |
| Examples of grammar rules in use are provided.  | 84  |
| The learner is presented with ample opportunities to translate from the mother tongue into the foreign language and vice versa. | 17  |
| Instruction and translation are graded in a step-by-step manner of increasing complexity.                                       | 49  |
| Vocabulary is taught through bilingual vocabulary lists.  | 18  |
| Reading/translation is the goal of instruction  | 100 |

*Table 3.3 Frequency Table of Grammar-Translation Criteria*

<sup>62</sup> Meidinger (G1803b); Grotefend (G1829); Kühner (G1842b); Pinnock (E1844a); Pycroft (E1844b); Hiley (E1854b); Middendorf & Grüter (G1857c); Lattmann (G1861); Ollendorff (E1862d); Lattmann & Müller (G1864); Moissiszig (G1867a); Traut (G1868a); Harris (E1869b); Arnold (E1871b); Fowle (E1871c).



### 3.2.4 The Crude Form system: Key (E1846) and Jacob (E1851a)

The Crude Form system was described by its adherents as a 'system' rather than a method, but, as mentioned earlier, this use of the term 'system' meets the criterion for a 'method' outlined in section 3.2 above. The Crude Form system, then, is a method of teaching Latin based on the concept of the 'crude forms' of words. 'Crude forms' are essentially the simplest form of a word, presented without any additional morphological endings. These crude forms are not to be confused with the more commonly used word stems. Given that Latin is an inflected language which depends upon the addition of suffixes and infixes to determine aspects such as person, tense, mood etc., the concept of a basic word stem is common in Latin teaching. For example, most textbooks identify the declension of the noun through its Genitive singular ending, then note that the stem of the Latin noun is found by removing that Genitive singular ending. The noun stem can then be declined by appending the appropriate endings for that declension to the stem. This was often exemplified by demonstrating the declension of an exemplar; explanations of the First Declension often use the word *mensa* ('table') for this purpose. The Genitive singular of *mensa* is *mensae*. Removing the genitive ending *-ae* thus yields the stem is *mens-*, to which first declension noun endings (shown in Table 3.5) are attached to form the grammatically appropriate form.

|      | Sing. | Plu.  |
|------|-------|-------|
| Nom. | -a    | -ae   |
| Gen. | -ae   | -ārum |
| Dat. | -ae   | -īs   |
| Acc. | -am   | -ās   |
| Voc. | -a    | -ae   |
| Abl. | -ā    | -īs   |

Table 3.4 First Declension Noun Endings

A representative example of declining nouns through word stems can be found in Hiley's *The Elements of Latin Grammar* (E1836) reproduced in Figure 3:9.

However, unlike word stems, the crude form of a word consists of all the common letters found throughout the declension. Thus Jacob included the same First declension endings shown in Table 3.5 in his 1851 *The Bromsgrove Latin Grammar*, but noted that *mensa-* is common to all of the word forms (though the *-a* contracts in some instances), so while *mens-* is the stem, *mensa-* is the crude form as in Figure 3:10.

| FIRST DECLENSION.                                      |  |
|--|--|
| The first Declension makes the genitive singular in æ. |  |
| Singular.  | Plural.                                    |
| N. Mens-a, a table.                                    | N. Mens-æ, tables.                         |
| G. Mens-æ, of a table.                                 | G. Mens-ārum, of tables.                   |
| D. Mens-æ, to or for a table.                          | D. Mens-is, to or for tables.              |
| Ac. Mens-am, a table.                                  | Ac. Mens-as, tables.                       |
| V. Mens-a, O table !                                   | V. Mens-æ, O tables !                      |
| Ab. Mens-â, by, from, in, with<br>a table.             | Ab. Mens-is, by, from, in, with<br>tables. |

Figure 3:9 First Declension Noun Formation according to word stems (Hiley E1836: 5)

| Formation.              |            |                             |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| SING.                   | [ MENSA. ] | PLUR.                       |
| N. mensa, no affix,     | -a         | N. mensa-I, contracted -æ   |
| G. mensa-I, contracted  | -æ         | G. mensa-RUM, -arum         |
| D. mensa-I, „           | -æ         | D. mensa-IS, contracted -is |
| Ac. mensa-M,            | -am        | Ac. mensa-ES, „ -as         |
| V. mensa, no affix,     | -a         | V. mensa-I, „ -æ            |
| Ab. mensa-e, contracted | -a         | Ab. mensa-IS, „ -is.        |

Figure 3:10 First Declension Noun Formation according to the Crude Form System (Jacob E1851a: 14)

In verb conjugations using the Crude Form system there are similar small, but important, differences between the verb stem and the crude form of the verb. Most textbooks organized verbs into four conjugations, differentiated by the vowel in the infinitive form of the verb, (e.g. *amāre*, ‘to love’, *implēre*, ‘to fill’, *incipēre*, ‘to begin’, *audīre*, ‘to hear’), as shown in Figure 3:11.

**[§ 152.] 1. THERE are in Latin four conjugations, distinguished by the infinitive mood, which ends thus:—**  
**1. āre.            2. ēre.            3. ĕre.            4. īre.**

Figure 3:11 Typical Verb conjugations (Zumpt E1846b: 119)

Verb forms were produced by first removing the infinitive ending from the verb to establish the stem, and then adding the appropriate temporal, personal and numerical affix.<sup>63</sup> Thus, for the formation of the present active tense of the verb *amare* (‘to love’) most nineteenth -century textbooks established the stem *am-* by removing the infinitive ending *-are*, and then adding the appropriate ending as in Figure 3:12.

<sup>63</sup> See Mongan (E1861: 68-69); Nolan (E1819: 26); Macgowan (E1825: 30); Locke (E1827: 21); Zumpt (E1846: 120); Cobbett (E1835: 38-39).

## ACTIVE VOICE.

### FIRST CONJUGATION.

Regular Verbs of the First Conjugation form the Preterperfect Tense in *āvī*, and the Active Supine in *ātum*.

Am-ō, āmāv-ī, āmāt-um, ām-ārē, to love.

#### INDICATIVE MOOD.

##### *Present Tense—do, or am.*<sup>1</sup>

|       |          |      |         |      |                     |
|-------|----------|------|---------|------|---------------------|
| Sing. | Am-ō     | I    | love,   | do   | love, or am loving  |
|       | ām-ās,   | Thou | lovest, | dost | love, or art loving |
|       | ām-āt,   | He   | loveth, | doth | love, or is loving  |
| Plur. | Am-amūs, | We   | love,   | do   | love, or are loving |
|       | ām-atīs, | Ye   | love,   | do   | love, or are loving |
|       | ām-ant,  | They | love,   | do   | love, or are loving |

*Figure 3:12 Example of First conjugation verb from Mongan (E1861: 70)*

Jacob, however, informed readers of his *Bromsgrove Latin Grammar* that, according to the Crude Form system, there were six verb conjugations rather than four, each of which is ‘distinguished by the last letter of the crude form’ (E1851a: 61). The crude form of a verb was constituted of the common letters found ‘in every part of it’ (E1851: 62). Jacob presented these in the order of the vowels in English, a-e-i-o-u (see Figure 3:13). Note that while the Crude Form system travels down a different path, it yields the same forms as the more conventional approach using stems.

**The Conjugations are six.**

*First conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in A.

(AMA), *amo, amāvi, amātum, to love.*

*Second conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in E.

(DELE), *deleo, delēvi, delētum, to blot out.*

*Third conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in I.

(AUDI), *audio, audīvi, audītum, to hear.*

*Fourth conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in O.

(NO), *nosco, nōvi, nōtum, to observe.*

*Fifth conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in U.

(ARGU), *arguo, argui, argūtum, to prove.*

*Sixth conjugation.*—Crude-form ends in a consonant.

(REG), *rego, rexi, rectum, to rule.*

*Figure 3:13 Verb conjugations from Jacob (E1851a: 61)*

The origins of the Crude Forms concept are uncertain. Alexander Allen (1814-1842) wrote that the crude form system was first ‘adopted and explained in reference to Latin or Greek by Thiersch in his Greek Grammar’ (1836: ix), presumably referring to classical scholar Friedrich Thiersch (1784-1860). In 1857, Greenwood, the author of *The Elements of Greek Grammar*, stated that ‘many [...] approved Greek Grammars in Germany are founded on the system of Crude Forms’ (1857: iv). In his *Analysis of Latin Verbs*, Alexander Allen (1814-1842) suggested that the system recommended itself to Bopp during his work on Sanskrit, writing that it ‘is to the comparison of Sanscrit [sic] with Greek and Latin that we are mainly indebted for the doctrine of crude forms’ (Allen 1837: 263),<sup>64</sup> while Moody held that ‘the term crude-form’ had been ‘suggested by the late Dr. Rosen’ (Moody 1850: 446). Crude Forms were likely brought to the attention of British scholarly society in an 1831 review of the 1828

<sup>64</sup> In Bopp’s landmark *Vergleichende Grammatik* there is frequent mention of the terms *die Grundform*, ‘the basic form’ (Bopp 1833: 80, 113, 134, 142, 144, 153, 154, 172, 188, 236, 493, 1251, 1443) and *die nackte Wortgestalt* (131, 133), ‘the bare word shape’.

edition of Zumpt's *Lateinische Grammatik* published in *The Quarterly Journal of Education*, which objected that no reference was made to the Crude Form system (Anon. 1831: 98). Although this review was anonymous, its phrasing, content and timing suggest that it may have been written by T.H. Key (1799 - 1875), Professor of Latin at the University of London. Key was an enthusiastic proponent of Crude Forms; he instituted their use in teaching at the University of London and published his *Latin Grammar on the System of Crude Forms* (E846) in 1846 when, according to the anonymous writer of his obituary, 'few Latin scholars knew what crude forms were' (Anon. 1875: xiii). However, Key's textbook 'sold slowly, for no persons are slower in making improvements in education than the common teachers of Latin' (Anon. 1875: xiii).

Key himself claimed the crude form system was superior to the conventional means of establishing root words or stems; he praised the ease of the system (E1846: iii), and maintained that the pupil who used the system 'has some great advantages over those who employ the system in common use', as 'he can never be under the slightest difficulty about the declension to which the noun belongs' (Key 1846: vi). John Robson (1815-1876), secretary to the College of Preceptors and author of several Latin textbooks himself, also lamented that it 'is to be regretted that hitherto this system has made so little progress even in our own country, where it is more extensively employed than in any other' (Robson 1847: 395). In a paper presented to the College of Preceptors on 10 September 1861, Robson recommended the system of crude forms:

[...] the general adoption of which would [...] exercise and develop the higher faculties of the mind – an object which would never be lost sight of by teachers. (Robson 1861: 171)

In another paper that same year, Robson contrasted the more analytical Crude Form system favourably with the focus on memorization so often found in contemporary textbooks, when he decried the ‘constant and parrot-like repetition to commit to memory the Latin or Greek grammar, without ever getting a glimpse of the practical application of their [the pupils’] painfully acquired and easily lost learning’ (“The Teaching of the Classics” 1861: 171). A few years later, in 1868, a writer styled only as ‘M.’ wrote an article in *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Inter-Communication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc.* which also found much to admire in the crude form system:

I know this method of teaching is objected to by some, but [...] it is much easier than the old method, and of that I can speak with confidence, as I had learned from King Edward VI’s Grammar for some time with very little success before going to the University College School. (M. 1868: 61)

Despite these recommendations, the Crude Form system garnered a number of detractors. A practical objection was that the crude form system ‘would necessitate a complete change of all school-books – the evils of which would be very great’ (The Teaching of the Classics 1861: 174). Though Kennedy wrote in 1852 that the Crude Form system had ‘merits’, he also pointed out that the adoption of such a system on a national level would be so greatly objected to by a ‘large class of men who steadfastly walk in old paths, and eschew every novelty’ as to make even the attempt pointless (Kennedy 1852: 7). Other commentators had more fundamental objections to crude forms. Wright wrote in his preface to the 1855 *A Help to Latin Grammar*



that he had ‘not touched on Roots or Crude Forms’ since he did not think that they could ‘be studied with profit by the mere beginner’ (iv-v) and Edward Miller, author of *An Elementary Latin Grammar*, found the crude form system ‘too abstract and philosophic for the powers of most English boys’ (E1863: viii).

With the exception of Key, even those who were originally advocates of the system seem to have become disenchanted with it. For instance, G.A. Jacob (1807-1896) based his 1851 *Bromsgrove Latin Grammar* (E1851a) on the system of crude forms, yet in 1871 he wrote:

[...] in my own case, a longer experience in the use of the crude form system led me to the conclusion, that it was not so well adapted for general use as a method of instruction for beginners, as I had once believed it to be [...] it was not advisable to present it to young boys at their first raw commencement of their Latin course – though very desirable afterwards, as they went on, to instruct them in it; - that it is better, in short, taking all things into consideration, to familiarize learners, first of all, with the forms of Latin words, as they were actually used in the language, and then, at a later stage, to lead them gradually to notice the phenomena of their formation. (Jacob 1871: 174)

Despite Greenwood’s claim that ‘many’ grammars in Germany had been ‘founded on the system of Crude Forms’ (Greenwood 1857: iv), the vast majority of the Latin textbooks used in Prussia from my sample use the more conventional word stems (*Stämme*). Greenwood’s opinion that ‘many’ German grammars used crude forms may have been in error, the result of a matter of interpretation. Key understood Bopp’s use of the term *die Grundform* as ‘the simplest form of a word’ which, to Key, at least, meant the crude form rather than the word stem (Key E1846: 423), but Key’s interpretation of *Grundform* as ‘crude form’ may have been an over-interpretation. Billroth & Ellendt cited Bopp’s view of *die Grundform* in their

*Lateinische Grammatik*, but they also wrote *Eigentlich würde es hinreichen, den Stamm jedes Substantivs zu wissen, um zu bestimmen, nach welcher Declination es abgewandelt werden müsse* ('Actually, it would suffice to know the root of each noun to determine according to which declension it must be modified.' G1838a: 47). Weissenborn's *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* also makes mention of the *Grundform* of words, but he wrote of these forms in such a way as to indicate that he was more properly referring to *Stämme* (stems) (G1838b: 10). Similar uses of the term *Grundform* appear in textbooks by Grotefend (G1829: 281), Feldsbausch (G1865b: 241), Bauer (G1865c: 60-61 and 107) and Schmitt-Blank (G1870b: 427, 450-451), yet none of these textbooks used the system as Key and Jacob advocated it. Perhaps the main reason the Crude Form system did not gain wider use was the fact that its adoption would have entailed an alteration of the understanding of case endings which had been taught since before the time of Donatus in the fourth century. Despite the advantages identified by Key and others, the Crude Form system would, as contemporary commentators noted, have rendered every textbook which used the more conventional presentation of noun and verb formations obsolete. In 1871, Key's *Latin Grammar on the System of Crude Forms* was published in its sixth and final edition, after which the Crude Form system seems to have vanished completely.

### 3.2.5 The *Übungsbuchmethode* ('Exercise-book Method')

The *Übungsbuchmethode* was a Prussian method which used a series of exercises to teach grammatical concepts. This method, which does not appear to have been used in England, offered basic information, such as the functional roles of noun cases, followed by translation exercises composed of artificially constructed Latin phrases, sentences or short passages of text. These exercises often consisted of disconnected phrases or sentences, designed to drill a limited set of grammatical points which aimed at developing pupils' understanding of grammar, rather than their comprehension of full text, at least initially. Grammatical rules were not presented as explicitly in the *Übungsbuchmethode* as they were in Grammar-Translation. For instance, where Grammar-Translation textbooks would explicitly present First declension noun case endings, followed by a series of sentences for translation which specifically incorporated those endings, textbooks which used the *Übungsbuchmethode* did not include paradigms of noun endings. Rather, they might simply note the cases of Latin, without explicitly listing the endings, and proceed directly to the exercises.

The most prominent Latin textbooks based on the *Übungsbuchmethode* were those of Christian Ostermann (1822-1890). Ostermann first published his *Übungsbuch zum Übersetzen aus dem Lateinischen* in 1860, and textbooks published in Ostermann's name, using the same method, appeared regularly; between 1860 and 1933, at least 60 versions of Ostermann's *Übungsbuch* were issued. Minor changes were made to these different editions, but they remained fundamentally the same in their format, with each book consisting of readings that became increasingly

lengthy and grammatically complex as pupils advanced in their knowledge of the Latin language. This progression can be seen in Figures 3:12 and 3: 13. Figure 3:12, excerpted from early in the text (page 2), shows reading passages comprised of very simple sentences with limited vocabulary. These sentences include only two verb tenses (present and imperfect) and appear in either subject-copula-predicate or subject-object-predicate word order. In Figure 3:15 from later in the same text (page 105), sentences are both longer and more grammatically complex; note, for instance, the use of compound tenses, the subjunctive mood and the more complex word order.

## I.

Sicilia est insula Italiae. Scythae sagittas habent. Columbae erant praeda aquilarum. Incolae insulae divitias habent. Graecia est patria poetarum. Aquila habet alas. Aquilae alas habent. Aquila est incola silvae. Silva parat umbram, Silvae parant umbram agricolis. Lunam et stellas poetae laudant. Bestiae sunt in silvis Europae, Asiae, Africae, Americae, Australiae. Amicitia vitam ornat. Filias reginae vita agricolarum non delectat. Columbibus sunt alae. Incolas insulae divitiae delectant.

## 1.

Griechenland ist das Vaterland der Dichter. Der Adler ist ein Bewohner des Waldes. Die Schiffer lieben das Wasser. Der Kranz schmückt die Königin. Die Habsucht bereitet den Landleuten oft Thränen. Die Bewohner der Insel sind Schiffer. Die Königin lobt nicht die Mißgunst und Habsucht, sondern die Gerechtigkeit und Unschuld der Bewohner. Der Zorn ist oft die Ursache der Thränen. Jähzorn bereitet oft Traurigkeit. Die Geschichte des Vaterlandes ergötzt auch die Mädchen. Die Thätigkeit und Sparsamkeit war die Ursache des Reichthums. Minerva war die Göttin der Klugheit, der Weisheit (und) der Gelehrsamkeit. Diana, die Tochter der Latona, war die Göttin der Wälder. Die Gnade der Königin erfreut die Bewohner der Insel.

Figure 3:14 Example of the Übungsbuchmethode from the beginning of Ostermann (G1863: 2)

## XV. Leo, asinus, vulpes.

Vulpes, asinus, leo in venando societatem inter se fecerant. Quum multas bestias interfecissent, leo asino imperavit, ut praedam divideret. Hic omnibus aequales partes tribuit. Quum hoc leo vidisset, eum lacervavit. Deinde imperat, ut vulpes novas partes faciat et eas dividat. Vulpes autem leoni maximam partem tribuit et sibi minimam capit. Quum hoc fecisset, leo risit et vulpem interrogavit: Unde (woher) hoc didicisti? Vulpes respondit: Quia asinum necavisti, prudentior factus sum. Ex calamitate aliorum discimus, quid nobis utile sit.

## Der Trojanische Krieg.

## 1.

Troja war eine große Stadt Kleinasien (Asia minor). In derselben war Priamus König. Dieser hatte viele Söhne, von denen (deren) einer den Namen Paris hatte. Dieser reiste nach (in mit Acc.) Griechenland ab und kam zu Menelaus, dem Könige von Sparta. Von Menelaus wurde er mit großer Gastfreundschaft aufgenommen. Aber Paris machte von der Gastfreundschaft des Königs Mißbrauch. Menelaus hatte (dem M. war) eine sehr schöne Gattin, mit Namen Helena, welche Paris selbst zu haben wünschte. Daher raubte Paris, als der König zufällig (durch Zufall) abwesend war, die Helena, führte sie mit sich auf (in mit Acc.) sein Schiff und schiffte mit ihr und vielen werthvollen Sachen, welche er geraubt hatte, in sein Vaterland.

Figure 3:15 Example of the Übungsbuchmethode from later in Ostermann (G1863: 105)

It is uncertain when the *Übungsbuchmethode* first emerged, but according to Fritsch (1976: 128), it rose to prominence in Prussia following criticism that pupils did not learn grammar adequately using the *Lesebuchmethode* (the ‘reading-book method’) (the *Lesebuchmethode* is discussed in Section 3.2.6 below under ‘Methods based on an Inductive Approach’). Rothenburg (2009: 57) likewise explains:

*Diese Lesebuchmethode, die im ersten Viertel des 19 Jahrhunderts vorherrschte, geriet schon bald ins Kreuzfeuer der Kritik. Vor allem bemängelte man, dass die Schüler mit dieser Methode keine soliden Grammatikkenntnisse erhielten. So schlug das Pendel nach der entgegengesetzten Seite aus. (Rothenburg 2009: 57)*

(This Reading-book method that prevailed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, quickly found itself in the crossfire of criticism. Above all, people complained that the pupils did not acquire any solid grammatical knowledge using this method. So the pendulum swung back to the opposite side.)

In many ways, the *Übungsbuchmethode* resembles a method based on an Inductive approach (see below); however, Ostermann did not intend his textbooks to be used as the only means of Latin language instruction; rather, he expected pupils would have a solid foundation in grammar prior to undertaking the exercises (Ostermann 1863: iii, v), though he does not specify what this foundation should entail.

### Inductive Approaches

#### 3.2.6 Methods based on an Inductive Approach

The methods discussed thus far have all been examples of Deductive approaches to teaching; that is, they explicitly presented grammatical rules, at least to some extent. In contrast, methods based on an Inductive approach started with examples of Latin in use, from which pupils formulated grammatical rules for themselves. Though the term ‘inductive’ was not used in antiquity, the approach was used by the Greeks ‘as early as 500 B.C.’ (Kelly 1976: 34) and ‘popularized’ with the dialogue methods of St. Augustine (543-430) (Kelly 1976: 35). Inductive approaches to language learning continued into the sixteenth century. Erasmus (1466-1536) believed that instruction should not start with memorizing grammar but by reading an authentic text; through reading, pupils would develop their own understanding of grammar. Later, John Locke (1632-1704) advocated the same method, recommending Aesop’s *Fables* as a suitable teaching text (Axtell 1968: 271).

Only one textbook in my sample explicitly claimed to use an Inductive approach: William Brownrigg Smith’s *Inductive Latin course for Beginners*, published in 1856. In this textbook, Smith explained that when using the Inductive method, ‘rules have to be discovered by the pupil, at least *implicitly*, in translating the Latin exercises into English’ (E1856a: iii, emphasis original). Smith’s textbook then faithfully presented a series of exercises and basic vocabulary from which the ‘rules have to be discovered by the pupil’ (Smith E1856a: iii). By using this approach, Smith claimed that the pupil ‘will have gained far more mental benefit than if, according to the system generally adopted, he had had the rule found for him, and been only

required to apply it' (E1856a: iii). Smith pointed out that using a method based on an inductive approach was analogous to the way in which a baby learns to speak a native language (Smith E1856a: iii), claiming that such methods were 'gentle', and could be implemented 'much earlier', and that pupils

will progress more surely and rapidly, will undergo a better mental discipline, and acquire a heartier love for their work than on systems which, not attempting to follow nature, ignore its simplest principles, and, as a necessary consequence make the acquisition of a new language a far longer and more laborious process than it need be. (Smith E1856a: iv)

All of this was, according to Smith, accomplished through a series of exercises such as the one shown in

Figure 3:16. Rather than list the grammatical paradigms of noun declensions and their endings, pupils were presented with a selection of Latin vocabulary, followed by a series of simple sentences and phrases to translate first out of Latin, then into Latin, in order to develop their own sense of the grammatical rules of Latin. To ensure pupils were progressing, review questions followed each section.



## EXERCISE I.

*Agreement of the Adjective with its Substantive.**Nominative Masculine.**Nominative Feminine.*

Päter,\* 3, a or the father.  
 frater, 3, a or the brother.  
 bōn-us,  
 māl-us,  
 et, and.

māter, 3, a or the mother.  
 sōror, 3, a or the sister.  
 bōn-a, good.  
 māl-a, bad, wicked, naughty.  
 est, is.

1. Pater est bonus ; mater est bona. 2. Bonus pater : bona mater. 3. Frater est bonus ; soror est mala. 4. Malus frater ; bona soror. Frater et soror.

## 2.

1. The father is bad and the mother is good. 2. The bad sister ; the good brother. 3. The bad father and the bad mother. 4. A good father and a bad mother.

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\* The use of the numbers placed after the substantives, to denote the declension to which they belong, will be better seen by and by.

Figure 3:16 Example of Inductive approach from Smith (E1856a: 1)

Smith's *Inductive Latin Course* is significant as, not only was it unique in my corpus, it also pre-dated a larger movement which called for inductive language teaching methods by half a century. Richards & Rodgers assert that 'an inductive approach to the teaching of grammar' was one of the goals advocated by Viëtor and others who supported the Reform Movement at the end of the nineteenth century (Richards & Rodgers 2001: 9, see also van Essen 2002: 12). However, Smith's *Inductive Latin Course for Beginners* does not appear to have been adopted and used on any substantial scale, was only published in one edition, and does not appear to have been known to the adherents of the Reform Movement.

In Prussia, inductive approaches manifested in the 'Reading book method' (*Lesebuchmethode*). According to Lattmann, author of G1861, the eminent classical scholars Friedrich Gedike (1754-1803) and Friedrich Jacobs (1764-1847) had both advocated the method of learning Latin through reading rather than by drilling

grammar. Lattmann viewed Jacobs & Döring's *Lateinisches elementarbuch* (G1825) as an example of the *Lesebuchmethode* (Lattmann 1896: 263). We read in the preface to Jacobs' & Döring's textbook:

*Denn nichts ist dem Fortgange in dem Erlernen einer Sprache nachtheiliger, als das langwierige Treiben der grammatischen Elemente allein, die doch erst in ihrer Anwendung hinlänglich von Kindern gefasst und verstanden werden.* (Jacobs & Döring G1825: iv)

(Because nothing is more injurious to the progress in learning a language than tediously harping on the grammatical elements alone, which can be sufficiently comprehended and understood by children only in their application.)

The focus of Jacobs' & Döring's textbook is very much on comprehension. The three volumes of the work are structured on increasingly complex sentences, leading up to authentic Classical authors, but do not elucidate a single grammatical rule. The densely packed pages of graded Latin selections would likely have required the assistance of a guiding and knowledgeable teacher, as absolutely no grammatical information was included. Further, as there is no glossary, a good dictionary would have been necessary (see Figure 3:17 and 3:16).

**I. (Subject und Prädicat.) Terra est rotunda. — Vera amicitia est sempiterna, — Europa est peninsula. — Fames et sitis sunt molestae. — Plurimae stellae sunt soles. — Ebrietas est vitanda. — Nemo semper felix est. — Non omnes milites sunt fortes. — Maximum animal terrestre est elephas.**

Figure 3:17 Example of an early excerpt of the Inductive reading method from Jacobs & Döring (G1825: 4)

**63. Nilus, nivibus in Aethiopiae montibus solutis, crescere incipit. Luna nova post solstitium per quinquaginta fere dies; totidem diebus minuitur. Justum incrementum est cubitorum sedecim. Si minores sunt aquae, non omnia rigant. Maximum incrementum fuit cubitorum duodeviginti; minimum quinque. Quum stetere aquae, aggeres aperiuntur <sup>1)</sup>, et arte aqua in agros immittitur. Quum omnis recesserit, agri irrigati et limo obducti seruntur.**

Figure 3:18 Example of a more advanced excerpt of the Inductive reading method from Jacobs & Döring (G1825: 110)

By comparing excerpts from the beginning of Jacobs & Döring's inductive textbook in Figure 3:15 with one taken from later in the textbook shown in Figure 3:16, we can see once again that pupils begin with simple sentences which used limited word-order construction and only one verb tense in Figure 3:15, whereas Figure 3:16 requires knowledge and understanding of more complex sentence construction, including subordinate clauses, and multiple verb tenses.

The preface to Jacobs' textbook refers to the *Lateinisches elementarbuch* as a *Hülfsbüch* - a 'helping book' (G1825: iii). Jacobs advised that the first part of the *Lateinisches elementarbuch* could be read by pupils after they had achieved an understanding of the declensions of nouns and the paradigms of regular verbs' (*wenn sich die Declinationen und die Paradigmata regelmässiger Zeitwörter bekannt*

*gemacht haben*, Jacobs & Döring G1825: iii). Jacobs' references to formal grammar instruction (such as cautioning that no more than four to six weeks should be spent learning the noun declensions and regular verb conjugations (Jacobs & Döring G1825: iii)) suggest strongly that the *Lesebuchmethode* actually assumed the teacher would use both inductive and deductive approaches<sup>65</sup> in practice.

In the late nineteenth century, Inductive approaches for teaching Latin were recommended at the Prussian School Conference of 1890. It was thought that the inductive methods were less burdensome than deductive methods which involved memorizing large amounts of grammatical information (see Section 1.3 and Albisetti 1983: 131), but, despite this formal recommendation, inductive teaching does not appear to have been widely implemented. In 1906, Paul Barth (1858-1922), Professor of Classical Philology in Breslau, again advocated Inductive learning, describing the rationale and implementation of inductive principles in such detail as to suggest that he anticipated his reader would be unfamiliar with the most basic information about the approach. This interest in Inductive approaches towards the end of the nineteenth century could be attributed to changes in emphasis from mental discipline and memorization to a greater focus on the aesthetic and intellectual

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<sup>65</sup> Although some of the titles in the sample include the term *Lesebuch*, such as Ellendt's 1846 *Lateinisches Lesebuch für die untersten Klassen der Gymnasien* (G1846), this does not mean that the *Lesebuchmethode* was used. Ellendt explained in his preface that he was merely trying to provide an intermediary step between learning the grammar and translating authentic authors (Ellendt G1846: iii), rather than Smith's approach which did not include any grammar at all. Instead, such textbooks were intended to be used in conjunction with other learning materials, such as a grammar (*Grammatik*), a book of exercises (*Übungsbuch*) and, often, a separate dictionary. Though Lattmann was clearly familiar with the method, having discussed it at length in his *Geschichte der methodik des lateinischen Elementarunterrichte* (Lattmann 1896: 261-288), Lattmann's own contribution to the textbooks in this sample is his 1861 *Lateinisches Lern-, Lese-, und Übungsbuch* (Lattmann G1861), which is based on this three-book principle (*Lernebuch, Lesebuch, Übungsbuch*) rather than exclusively inductive.

content of Latin literature; Fritsch notes that the *Lesebuchmethode* placed a greater emphasis on the content of the Latin passages rather than on the grammatical aspects of the Latin language (Fritsch 1976: 122). Herman Perthes (1840-1883), Director of the *Gymnasium* in Bonn, advocated learning Latin through reading rather than drilling rules in his 1873 *Zur Reform des lateinischen Unterrichts* ('Proposal for Reforming Latin Teaching') (Perthes 1873). Albisetti credits this 'seminal essay' with challenging Deductive approaches and arguing instead for 'an inductive approach based on graded readers' in 1837 (Albisetti 1983: 131). Perthes' opinion was supported by Viëtor, who had railed against the memorization of grammar rules (Viëtor 1886: 25).<sup>66</sup>

Inductive teaching remained marginal in the nineteenth century compared to Deductive approaches. Macht has suggested that Inductive learning was considered too difficult for pupils (Macht 1994: n.p.), whereas Wheeler presents evidence that Inductive approaches were considered to be too easy (Wheeler 2013: 157). It is possible that methods which used Inductive principles were neither too difficult nor too easy, but rather that Inductive methods were simply too much of a departure from the prevailing deductive Grammar-first method, both in purpose and execution. Moreover, Inductive learning did not prepare pupils for formal examinations, which required explicit knowledge, though Smith likely included his review questions in anticipation of this lack. Nonetheless, as we shall see in Section 3.3.1 below,

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<sup>66</sup>Much later, Viëtor also showed his approval of the inductive method in his own *Lesebuch* for learning English, which he wrote with Franz Dörr: *Englisches Lesebuch Unterstufe* (Leipzig 1887). Like Smith's *Inductive Latin Course*, this textbook was made up exclusively of text without grammar rules. Viëtor & Dörr recommended 'that students be given this material alone, but they accept[ed] that some teachers might want to use a separate grammar book as well' (Macht 1994: n.p.).

Inductive techniques were sometimes used in textbooks predominantly based on Deductive approaches. Although Inductive approaches are not commonly associated with the teaching of Classical languages, many of the twentieth-century innovations in modern foreign language teaching built upon Inductive principles, such as the Natural Method and Direct Methods which developed in the twentieth century (Kelly 1976: 42).

### 3.3 Teaching Techniques

Having considered over-arching methods, which are macro-level systems of instruction, we turn in this section to an analysis of certain techniques, the individual procedures of that instruction at the micro-level. While it is impossible to be sure how instructors and pupils actually used their textbooks, we can gain some insight as to what learning procedures may have been used in classes by considering the micro-level techniques included in those textbooks which, at least, indicate what the authors hoped the instructors and pupils would do. This section explores three techniques of instruction found in textbooks in my corpus. These techniques are treated following the concept of the presentation, practice and production lesson format (PPP) (Richards & Rodgers 2001: 54). Accordingly, information ‘presented’ in figures and tables is analysed in Sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2. Opportunities to ‘practise’ are examined in Section 3.3.3 under the headings ‘Paradigm Drills’ and ‘Recall of Metagrammatical Information’. Both the ‘practice’ and the ‘production’ of Latin translations are treated in 3.3.3 under ‘Translation Exercises’.

### 3.3.1 Figures

When ‘presenting’ information, figures were the least used technique in the nineteenth-century Latin textbooks. Of the 100 textbooks in my sample, not one of them used a drawing to illustrate a point of grammar or accompany a story, though there was ample precedent for including illustrations in Latin textbooks. According to Rothenburg, illustrations had been used in Latin textbooks since the *Hermeneumata Leidensia*, a Latin textbook from the third century intended for Greek-speaking pupils (Rothenburg 2009: 23). Perhaps the best known example of an illustrated Latin teaching text is the *Orbis Pictus* published by John Amos Comenius in 1658. Originally written in Latin and High Dutch, the *Orbis Pictus* was one of the first texts to use pictures as a primary teaching tool (see Figure 3:19).





Figure 3:19 Excerpt from the *Orbis Pictus* (Comenius 1658 [1810]: 19)

If we consider nineteenth-century Latin textbooks outside of my sample, *The Comic Latin Grammar*, written by two writers from the popular Victorian *Punch* magazine (Leigh & Leach 1840), was a satirical Latin textbook based on *The Eton Latin Grammar* that included several drawings to illustrate points of grammar. For example, the authors illustrated the concept of diphthongs (i.e. the sound formed by two vowel articulated in a single syllable), with a picture of a married couple who are termed a ‘human diphthong’ [sic], to indicate that they had become one unit (Figure 3:20).

**The human dipthong, Smith  
female + Brown male, is called Brown only.**



*Figure 3:20 Illustration of a Dipthong (Leigh & Leach 1840: 19)*

Though there are no illustrations in the textbooks in my sample, figures appeared in 16 Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>67</sup> and nine Latin textbooks used in England.<sup>68</sup> The most common figures were those used to illustrate the laws of poetic metre. In English, poetic metre is based on accent, but in Latin it is based on quantity, that is, whether the syllables are long or short. When encountering Latin poetry, the beginner is typically taught to review the poem and mark the quantity of each syllable

<sup>67</sup> Scheller (G1803a); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Broder & Ramshorn (G1822); Grotefend (G1829); Krebs (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a); Schulz (G1843); Madvig (G1844b); Berger (G1857b); Moisisstzig (G1867a); Gossrau (G1869a); Schultz (G1871a).

<sup>68</sup> Powell (E1838); Taylor (E1844d); Key (E1846); Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b); Lily (E1862c); Mille (E1863); Kennedy (E1866); Smith & Hall (E1867); Martin (E1869a).

with a diacritic to indicate whether it is long or short, a process known as scansion. The number and pattern of long and short syllables are then divided into ‘feet’, with each foot encompassing a given sequence of syllable patterns as shown in Figure 3:21. Using this process, the pupil can determine the correct rhythm for the poem. Similar figures illustrating scansion can be found in a further 14 Latin textbooks from my sample used in Prussia,<sup>69</sup> and five textbooks used in England.<sup>70</sup>

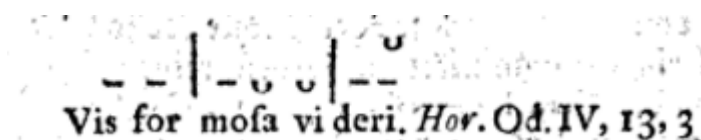


Figure 3:21 Figure of Scansion with Diacritics Indicating Long and Short Vowels (Scheller G1803a: 826)

Three Latin textbooks from my English sample (Powell 1838: 4; Lily E1862c: 3; Miller E1863: 6) used an illustration to aid in the explanation of noun cases. These three texts employed virtually identical graphics to show how all noun cases ‘fell away’ from the ‘upright’ Nominative case (the *casus rectus*), rendering the other noun cases oblique (*casus obliqui* ‘sideways case’) (see Figure 3:22). Some Prussian textbooks did include the concepts of *casus rectus* and *casus obliqui* (i.e. Grotefend G1829: 71; Krebs G1833b: 8; Berger G1857b: 7 and others), though they did not accompany their explanations of the case system with illustrations.

<sup>69</sup> Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 459, 463-470); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a: 426-434); Weissenborn (G1838b: 525-535); Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a: 978-985); Schulz (G1843: 340, 342-346); Madvig (G1844b: 446-448, 451-455); Madvig (G1857a: 278, 280-281); Berger (G1857b: 293-295); Feldsbausch (G1865b: 377-385); Moississtzig (G1867a: 370-375); Englmann (G1867: 311-318); Gossrau (G1869a: 624-625, 628-643); Schultz (G1871a: 605-616); Krebs (G1833b: 491-494).

<sup>70</sup> Taylor (E1844d: 122); Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b: 449-453); Kennedy (E1866: 152); Smith & Hall (E1867: 308-328); Martin (E1869a: 134-138).

\* It may perhaps be not out of the way to explain here that these parts are called 'cases,' from *cāsus*, a falling (from *cādo*, to fall); because the ancients maintained that the nominative proceeded, or *fell*, in its original form from the mind; and they therefore named it the *cāsus rectus*, or upright case or *falling*, and likened it to a perpendicular line: the other parts they considered as so many variations or fallings from the nominative, and called them *oblique* cases, *cāsus obliqui*, representing them by oblique lines; as in the following diagram.

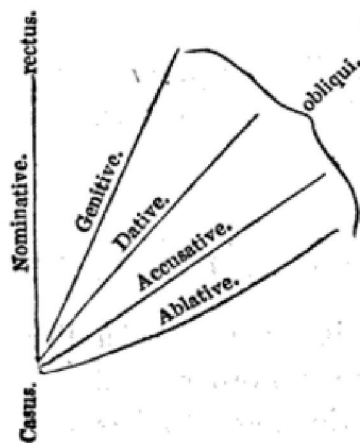
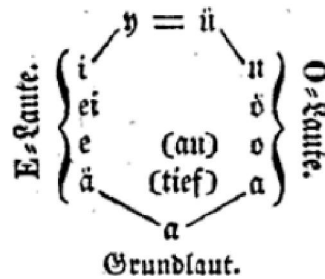


Figure 3:22 Figure of Noun Cases 'falling' from the Nominative Case (Powell 1838: 4)

On the other hand, while no English textbooks included graphics which illustrated the articulation of sounds, graphics intended to aid pronunciation appeared in two Prussian textbooks (see Chapter 4 for further discussion of Latin pronunciation). The 1834 *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* by Mutzl included an illustration of vowel sounds, arranged in a circle, with <a> as the basic vowel sound (*Grundlaut*) (Figure 3:23). According to Mutzl, all other vowel sounds are organized according to their proximity to <a>, with <e> and <o> sounds altering accordingly as they move away from the <a> sound.

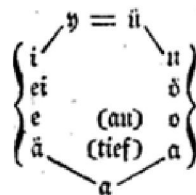
Folgende Zusammenstellung dürfte dem Schüler die Verwandtschaft derselben am Anschaulichsten darstellen:



Verwandt sind also:

- 1) die E-Laute unter sich, } am Nächsten;
- 2) die O-Laute unter sich, }
- 3) der Grundlaut A mit den E- und O-Lauten;
- 4) die E- und O-Laute mittelst y und ii.

The following arrangement is likely to represent the same relationship to the pupil most clearly:



Related, therefore, are:

- 1) the E-sounds among themselves,
- 2) the O-sounds among themselves,
- 3) the basic sound A with E = O = and sounds;
- 4) E = and = O sounds as y and u.

Figure 3:23 Figure of Vowel Sounds (Mutzl G1834: 7)

The only other textbook author in the entire sample to include a graphic on pronunciation was Grotefend. Though my sample includes three textbooks by Grotefend (G1820, G1829, G1833a), he included a figure on the articulation of vowels only appeared in his 1829 *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (G1829: 150). Grotefend's figure (Figure 3:24) specified whether the lips (*Lippen*), tongue (*Zunge*) or throat (*Keble*) were used in generating vowel sounds, and placed vowels and diphthongs on a spectrum, illustrating how sounds are produced. For example, /o/ is placed under 'lips' because lip-rounding is involved in articulating the /o/ sound.

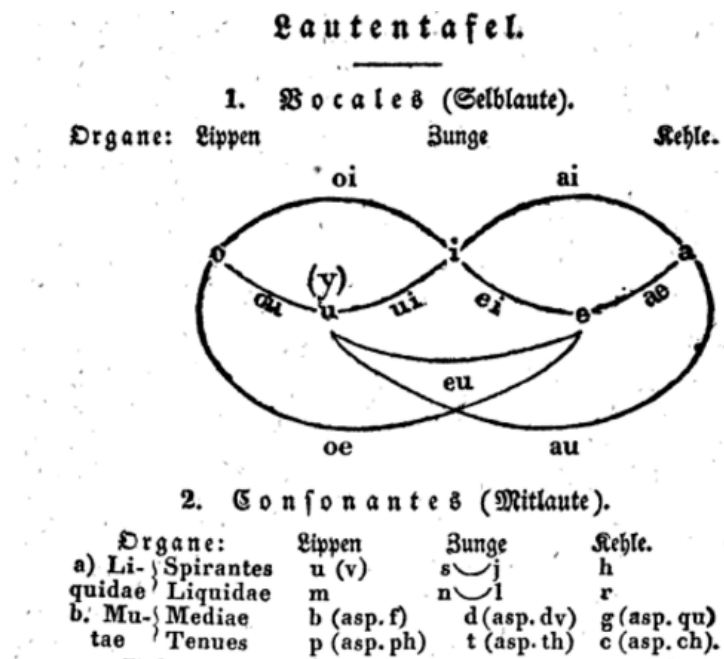


Figure 3:24 Figure of Vowel Sounds (Grotefend G1829: 150)

Thomas Hewitt Key, the proponent of the Crude form system, was the only author who attempted a graphic depiction to aid the understanding of verb tenses (Figure 3:25), though with debatable success. Key assigned letters to tenses, denoting the Past tense as A, the Present as B and the Future as C, proceeding up to letter I to indicate further tenses. Key placed these letters on three vertical axes, with *y* representing 'yesterday or some past time', *p* indicating present time and *t* 'in reference to tomorrow, or some time in the future' (Key E1846: 61). Altogether, Key's explanation of his figure of verb tenses spans three pages and includes examples in English to illustrate the tenses.

*a* is wholly to the left of *pp*, and signifies *he has written*—present perfect.

*b* partly on the left, partly on the right: *he is writing*—present imperfect.

*c* wholly to the right: *he is going to write*—present intention.

*d* wholly to the left of *yy*: *he had written at time y*—past perfect.

e partly on the left, partly on the right : *he was writing at time y—*  
past imperfect.

*f* wholly to the right: *at time y* he was going to write—past intention.

*g* wholly to the left of *tt*: *he will have written at time t*—future perfect.

*h* partly on the left, partly on the right: *he will be writing at time t*—future imperfect.

*i* wholly to the right: *at time t he will be going to write*—future intention.

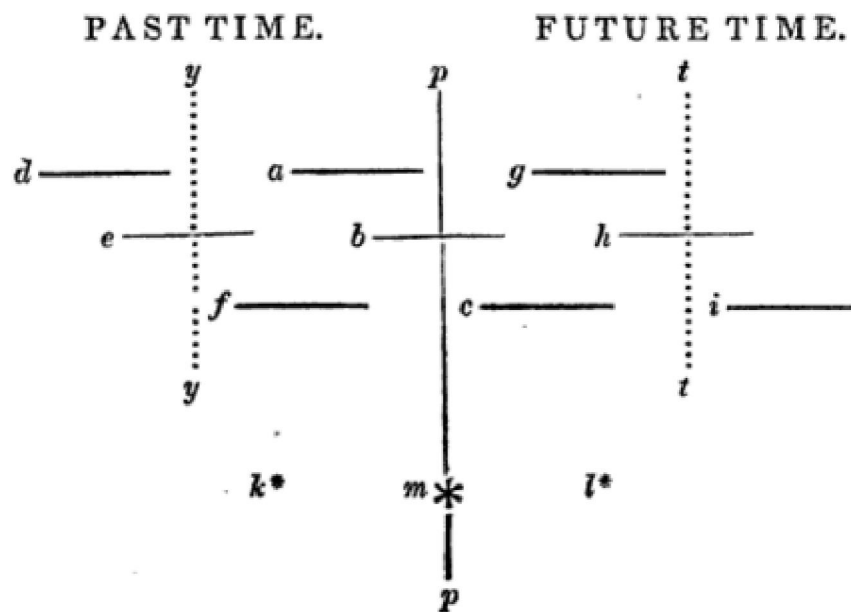
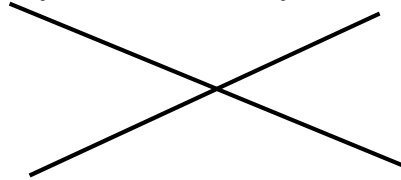


Figure 3:25 Figure of Verb Tenses (Key E1846: 60)

Finally, one Prussian textbook included a figure which illustrated the placement of words in a literary device, the chiasmus. A chiasmus (from the Greek χιάζω meaning 'to shape like the letter X') is the placement of words or clauses which have a second meaning when the words are inverted in an X-shaped pattern, such as

the following example where swapping the words 'love' and 'hate' yields a new meaning:

Love as if you would one day hate,



and hate as if you would one day love.

The only textbook in my sample to include a figure depicting a chiasmus was the *Praktische Schulgrammtik der lateinischen Sprache für alle Klassen* by Moisisstzig (G1867a), shown in Figure 3:26. However, Moisisstzig left it to the reader to determine how pleasure and pain (*voluptas* and *dolor*) could be rearranged with verbs of seeking and fleeing (*expetenda* and *fugiendus*).

V. Chiasmus (Stellung über Kreuz nach der Form des griechischen Buchstaben chi X) besteht darin, daß von zwei nebeneinander stehenden Wortpaaren die einander entgegengesetzten Worte im Kreuz gegenüber stehen. z. B.

voluptas expetenda.

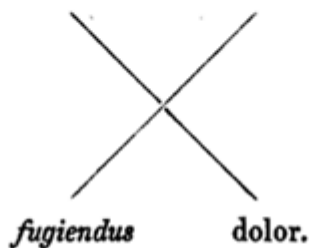


Figure 3:26 Figure of a Chiasmus (Moisisstzig G1867a: 363)



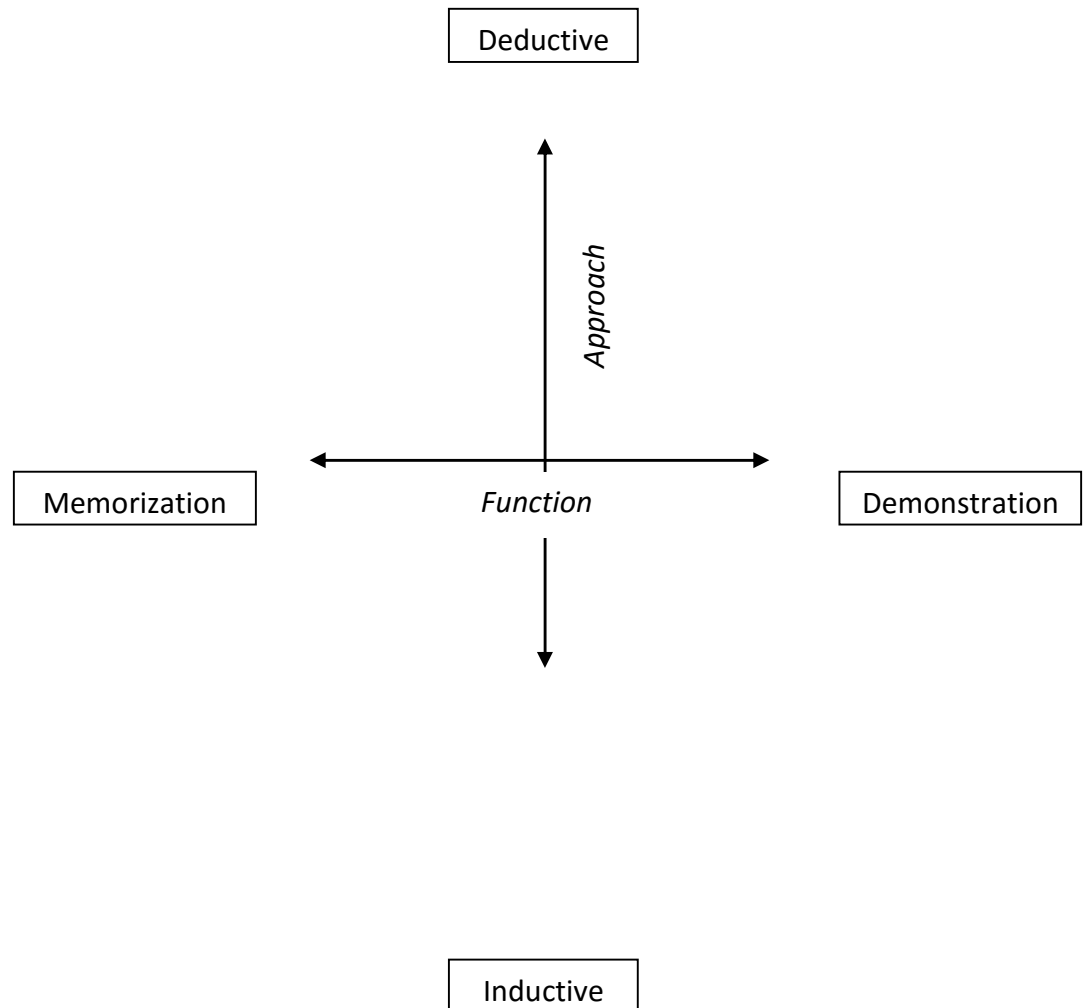
### 3.3.2 Tables

Tables were a far more popular means of presenting information in the Latin textbooks in my sample than figures were. Tables were used most frequently to present the morphological noun endings and the conjugations of verbs. They appear in the vast majority of the Latin textbooks in my sample, absent only from five Prussian textbooks (G1825, G1839, G1862, G1865a, G1871c) and three Latin textbooks used in England (E1854b, E1862b, E1869b). Yet, despite the importance and predominance of representing information in tabular formats in language textbooks, there is a curious paucity of research regarding their use. Even Kelly, whose history of language learning includes discussion of tables, does not address this question; rather, Kelly treats language teaching thematically, and so examines tables as part of separate themes, such as tables used to teach pronunciation (Kelly 1976: 80) or to drill the formation of verbs (106-108). Tables were by no means an innovation of nineteenth-century Latin pedagogy, rather they were an innovation of Humanists in the sixteenth century who took advantage of new technology in printing which made tables easier to produce (e.g. Cathelineus 1554: 10, Melanchthon 1563: 23; see also Puff 1996).

Given the importance attributed to memorization for mental development in faculty psychology in the nineteenth century (see Sections 1.3 and 3.3), and the ease of demonstrating information in tabular format, the continued appeal of tables which organized information meant to be memorized or simply demonstrated is not surprising. Yet at present there is, to my knowledge, no taxonomy of tables either by their function or type. I have therefore developed my own two-dimensional model

for analysis. First, the functions of tables can be placed on a spectrum between memorization and demonstration; that is, pupils were either given grammatical material to commit to memory, or a demonstration of how that grammatical material functioned. Second, tables presented information either deductively (readers were presented with explicit rules) or inductively (readers needed to manipulate the information in the tables in some way to establish the rule or rules). Below, I use this framework to analyse and compare the tables which appeared in the textbooks in my corpus, using the axes of Deductive-Inductive and Memorization-Demonstration (see Figure 3:27).

While the Memorization-Demonstration axis relates to the purpose of tables, the Inductive-Deductive axis distinguishes how tables present information. Inductive tables typically offer examples of a grammatical point and require the pupil to undertake an operation or interact with the table in some way in order to generalize the rule or rules in question. Conversely, deductive tables simply present rules directly and require no further manipulation on the part of the reader. Below, I illustrate these possibilities by considering a selection of tables found in textbooks in the sample.



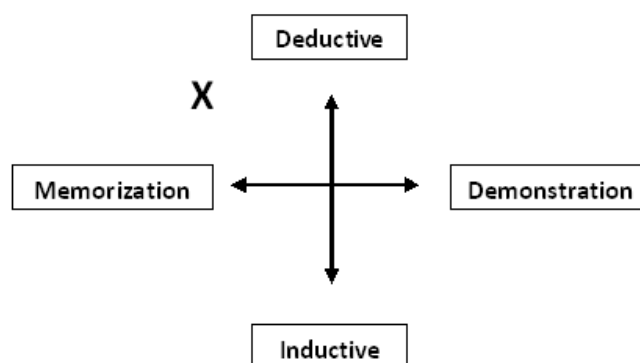
*Figure 3:27 Graph of Tables by Approach and Function*

### ***Deductive-Memorization Tables***

#### Deductive-Memorization

tables, which explicitly presented information for pupils to memorize, appeared in most of the textbooks in my research corpus.

Approximately 880 Deductive-



Memorization tables were included across 42 German-Latin textbooks, and about 770 in 47 English-Latin textbooks. Deductive-Memorization tables were often used to present morphological endings for verb conjugations, noun declensions, comparative and superlative adjective endings and other grammatical paradigms.

For example, tables presenting orphological noun endings explicitly stated the noun case endings and did not require the reader to discover those endings by separating them from the noun root, as shown in Figure 3:28. Nearly identical tables can be found in 28 other texts in this sample.<sup>71</sup> While some authors provided only one overview table which included all of the noun case endings, as shown for example in Figure 3:28, many authors provided multiple tables showing individual noun cases, either in addition to or instead of an overview table. For instance, Grant (E1808:10), Scheller (G1803: 71-72, 75, 78, 92) and Weissenborn (G1838: 59) all included further

<sup>71</sup> Scheller (G1803: 71); Grant (E1808: 10); Baumgärtner (G1819: 9); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820a: 22); Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 11); Ramshorn (G1826: 23, G1830: 37); Zumpt (G1826b: 35-36, G1844: 40, E1845 [trans. Schmitz]: 31); Grotefend (G1829: 72); Krebs (G1833: 9); Mutzl (G1834: 21); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838: 46); Weissenborn (G1838: 58); Schulz (G1843: 34); Madvig (G1844: 12, E1851: 22, G1857: 12); Murphy (E1847: 13); Berger (G1857: 10); Hamilton (E1862: 6); Moissiszig (G1867: 8); Gossrau (G1869: 70); Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869:9); Siberti & Meiring (G1870: 7); Schultz (G1871: 27); Bornhak (G1871: 31).

Deductive-Memorization tables for each declension separately, such as the table of First Declension endings seen in Figure 3:29.

| I              | II       | III      | III      | V        |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <i>Singul.</i> |          |          |          |          |
| N. —           | —        | —        | —        | —        |
| G. ae          | i        | is       | us       | ei       |
| D. ae          | o        | i        | ui       | ei       |
| Acc. am        | um       | em       | um       | em       |
| V. wie Nom.    | wie Nom. | wie Nom. | wie Nom. | wie Nom. |
| Abl. a         | o        | e        | u        | e        |
| <i>Plural.</i> |          |          |          |          |
| N. ae          | i        | es       | us       | es       |
| G. arum        | orum     | um       | uum      | erum     |
| D. is          | is       | ibus     | ibus     | ebus     |
| Acc. as        | os       | es       | us       | es       |
| V. ae          | i        | es       | us       | es       |
| Abl. is        | is       | ibus     | ibus     | ebus     |

Figure 3:28 A Deductive-Memorization table of morphological noun endings from Scheller (G1803: 71)

*Singularis.*

N. a, ꝯ. E. der Tisch, die Stunde, das Wasser ꝛc.  
 G. ae, ꝯ. E. des Tisches, der Stunde, des Wassers  
 D. ae, ꝯ. E. dem ꝛc. der ꝛc.  
 Acc. am, ꝯ. E. den Tisch, die ꝛc.  
 Voc. wie Nom. ꝯ. E. Tisch! Stunde! Wasser!  
 Abl. a

*Pluralis.*

N. ae, ꝯ. E. die Tische, Stunden, Wasser  
 G. arum, ꝯ. E. der ꝛc.  
 D. is, selten abus, ꝯ. E. den Tischen ꝛc.  
 Acc. as, ꝯ. E. die Tische ꝛc.  
 V. wie Nom. ꝯ. E. Tische! Stunden! ꝛc.  
 Abl. wie Dat.

Figure 3:29 A Deductive-Memorization table from Grant (E1808: 10)

Some authors provided exemplar words to decline a noun through all of its case endings, making the case endings explicit by separating them from the noun stem with spaces, dashes, different typeface (such as italics or bold), or some combination thereof, such as those in Figure 3:30 and Figure 3:31.

## FIRST DECLENSION.

The first Declension makes the genitive singular in *æ*.

| <i>Singular.</i>                                   | <i>Plural.</i>                                     |
|--|--|
| N. Mens-a, <i>a table.</i>                         | N. Mens-æ, <i>tables.</i>                          |
| G. Mens-æ, <i>of a table.</i>                      | G. Mens-ārum, <i>of tables.</i>                    |
| D. Mens-æ, <i>to or for a table.</i>               | D. Mens-is, <i>to or for tables.</i>               |
| Ac. Mens-am, <i>a table.</i>                       | Ac. Mens-as, <i>tables.</i>                        |
| V. Mens-a, <i>O table!</i>                         | V. Mens-æ, <i>O tables!</i>                        |
| Ab. Mens-ā, <i>by, from, in, with<br/>a table.</i> | Ab. Mens-is, <i>by, from, in, with<br/>tables.</i> |

Figure 3:30 A Deductive-Memorization table from Hiley (E1836: 5)

## Erste Declination.

§. 9. Die erste Declination hat vier Nominativendungen  
 ā, ē, ās und ēs. Sie werden abgewandelt wie folgt.

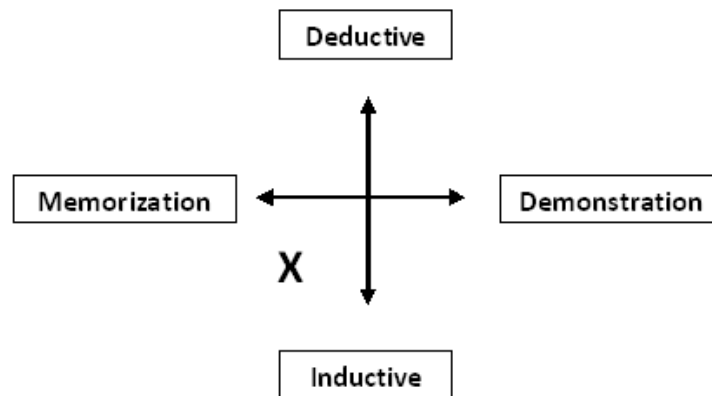
## I) Wörter auf ā.

| Endungen     |             |             |                                |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Sing.</b> | <b>nom.</b> | <b>ā</b>    | <b>mensā</b> der Tisch ')      |
|              | <b>gen.</b> | <b>æ</b>    | <b>mensæ</b> des Tisches       |
|              | <b>dat.</b> | <b>æ</b>    | <b>mensæ</b> dem Tische        |
|              | <b>acc.</b> | <b>ām</b>   | <b>mensām</b> den Tisch        |
|              | <b>voc.</b> | <b>ā</b>    | <b>mensā</b> o du Tisch!       |
|              | <b>abl.</b> | <b>ā</b>    | <b>mensā</b> von dem Tische.   |
| <hr/>        |             |             |                                |
| <b>Plur.</b> | <b>nom.</b> | <b>æ</b>    | <b>mensæ</b> die Tische        |
|              | <b>gen.</b> | <b>ārum</b> | <b>mensārum</b> der Tische     |
|              | <b>dat.</b> | <b>is</b>   | <b>mensīs</b> den Tischen      |
|              | <b>acc.</b> | <b>ās</b>   | <b>mensās</b> die Tische       |
|              | <b>voc.</b> | <b>æ</b>    | <b>mensæ</b> o ihr Tische!     |
|              | <b>abl.</b> | <b>is</b>   | <b>mensīs</b> von den Tischen. |

Figure 3:31 A Deductive-Memorization table from Putsche (G1852: 9)

***Inductive-Memorization Tables***

Inductive-Memorization tables contained information that readers were meant to figure out for themselves and then commit to memory.



Inductive-Memorization tables were considerably less common than Deductive-Memorization tables, appearing only 17 times in a total of nine Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>72</sup> and ten times over eight different Latin textbooks used in England.<sup>73</sup> Among the few examples of Inductive-Memorization tables, we find a table from Murphy's *Grammar of the Latin language* (E1847) which introduced readers to the concept of adjectives of three terminations as shown in Figure 3:32. Using this table, readers were required to determine what those terminations were using the exemplar *bona* (good). While at first glance it appears that this information was explicitly given, readers would err if they took the information in the table at face value. According to this table, the root would be *bon-* and the Nominative singular feminine ending was *-na*. Combining this root and stem would result in the word *bonna*, which would be incorrect. Readers must apply their prior knowledge of noun

<sup>72</sup> Scheller (G1803); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Krebs (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Kühner (G1842b); Lattmann & Müller (G1864); Bauer (G1865c); Gruber (G1868b); Gossrau (G1869a).

<sup>73</sup> Edwards (E1830); Kennedy (E1844c); Key (E1846); Murphy (E1847); Kennedy (E1848); Jacob (E1851a); Schmitz (E1880); Fowle (E1886).



case endings which, if they had followed the textbook faithfully, they would already have attained, to reach the correct form (*bona*).

|     | <i>Bonus, good.</i> |     |      |   | <i>Root, bon.</i> |       |        |
|-----|---------------------|-----|------|---|-------------------|-------|--------|
|     | M                   | F   | N    |   | M                 | F     | N      |
| N.  | bonus               | na  | num. | { | boni              | næ    | na.    |
| V.  | bone                | na  | num. |   |                   |       |        |
| Ac. | bonum               | nam | num. |   | bonos             | nas   | ua.    |
| G.  | bani                | næ  | ni.  |   | bonorum           | narum | norum. |
| D.  | bono                | næ  | no.  | { | bonis             | nis   | nis.   |
| Ab. | bono                | na  | no.  |   |                   |       |        |

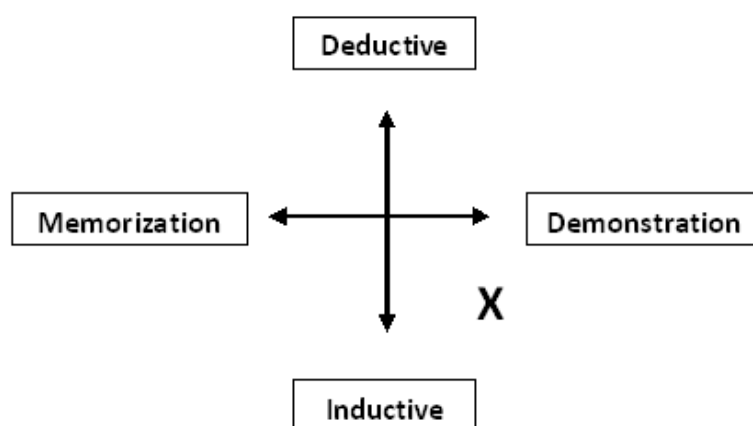
Figure 3:32 An Inductive-Memorization table from Murphy (E1847: 29)

(The Genitive singular *bani* is likely a typographical error.)

Another example of an Inductive-Memorization table can be found in Fowle's 1886 *New Easy Latin Primer* (Figure 3:33), which includes a table of the morphological endings for noun cases. While Deductive-Memorization tables separate the morphological endings of nouns from exemplar words or indicate the division of stems and ending through changes in font, dashes or spaces, Inductive-Memorization tables do not indicate this division. Instead, readers must separate those endings from the stem of the noun in order to determine the case endings, which are not explicitly marked, but are meant to be committed to memory. It may have been thought, in line with Smith's rationale, that by working out the endings themselves, pupils would be more likely to retain the information (Smith E1856: iii). Similar Inductive-Memorization tables appear in Edwards (E1830: 19), Key (E1846: 10), and Schmitz (E1880: 15).

| FIRST DECLENSION. |  |                  |   |
|-------------------|--|------------------|---|
| S. N. Mensā (f)   | <i>a table</i>                             | P. N. Mensæ (f.) | <i>tables</i>                             |
| V. Mensā          | <i>O table</i>                             | V. Mensæ         | <i>O tables</i>                           |
| A. Mensam         | <i>table</i>                               | A. Mensas        | <i>tables</i>                             |
| G. Mensæ          | <i>of a table</i>                          | G. Mensarum      | <i>of tables</i>                          |
| D. Mensæ          | <i>to or for a table</i>                   | D. Mensis        | <i>to or for tables</i>                   |
| A. Mensā          | <i>by, with or from,</i><br><i>a table</i> | A. Mensis        | <i>by, with or from,</i><br><i>tables</i> |

Figure 3:33 An Inductive-Memorization table from Fowle (E1871c: 16)

***Inductive-Demonstration Tables***

Inductive-Demonstration tables presented concepts from which rules must be generalized, but

need not be memorized. Like Inductive-Memorization tables, Inductive-Demonstration tables were significantly less frequent than Deductive tables, appearing in only eight Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>74</sup> and in six Latin textbooks used in England.<sup>75</sup> Overall, Inductive-Demonstration tables are the rarest type of table found in the sample.

An example of an Inductive-Demonstration of table can be found in Broder's *Kleine lateinische Grammatik* in Figure 3:34, which conjugates a passive verb in German for German pupils. As this is a Demonstration table, the information is not intended to be memorized; German-speaking learners had no need to memorize these paradigms for their own language. Instead, this table presents a grammatical concept using the pupil's prior knowledge of verb tenses in their native language, with the expectation that this information will be inductively applied to their understanding of Latin verb tenses.

<sup>74</sup> Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Grotefend (G1829); Ramshorn (G1830); Lattmann & Müller (G1864); Feldsbacuh (G1865b); Bauer (G1865c); Gruber (G1868b); Gosrau (G1869a).

<sup>75</sup> Elwell (E1833); Powell (E1838); Pinnock (E1844a); Kennedy (E1844c); Harris (E1846); Murphy (E1847).

| <i>Indicativus.</i>   | <i>Conjunctivus.</i>   |
|---|--|
| <i>Praesens.</i>  | <i>Praesens.</i>   |
| ich werde geliebt<br>du wirst geliebt<br>er (sie, es) wird geliebt                      | ich werde geliebt<br>du werdest geliebt<br>er (sie, es) werde geliebt                      |
| <i>Plur.</i>  | <i>Plur.</i>   |
| wir werden geliebt<br>ihr werdet geliebt<br>sie werden geliebt                          | wir werden geliebt<br>ihr werdet geliebt<br>sie werden geliebt                             |
| <i>Imperfectum.</i>   | <i>Imperfectum.</i>  |
| ich wurde geliebt<br>du würdest geliebt<br>er (sie, es) wurde geliebt                   | ich würde geliebt<br>du würdest geliebt<br>er (sie, es) würde geliebt                      |
| <i>Plur.</i>  | <i>Plur.</i>   |
| wir wurden geliebt<br>ihr wurdet geliebt<br>sie wurden geliebt                          | wir würden geliebt<br>ihr würdet geliebt<br>sie würden geliebt                             |
| <i>Futurum.</i>   | <i>Futurum.</i>  |
| ich werde geliebt werden<br>du wirst geliebt werden<br>er (sie, es) wird geliebt werden | ich werde geliebt werden<br>du werdest geliebt werden<br>er (sie, es) werde geliebt werden |
| <i>Plur.</i>  | <i>Plur.</i>   |
| wir werden geliebt werden<br>ihr werdet geliebt werden<br>sie werden geliebt werden     | wir werden geliebt werden<br>ihr werdet geliebt werden<br>sie werden geliebt werden        |
| <i>Perfectum.</i>   | <i>Perfectum.</i>  |
| ich bin geliebt worden<br>du bist geliebt worden<br>er (sie, es) ist geliebt worden     | ich sey geliebt worden<br>du seyst geliebt worden<br>er (sie, es) sey geliebt worden       |

Figure 3:34 An Inductive-Demonstration table from Bröder (G1822: 48)

Another Inductive-Demonstration table which appeared in Elwell's 1833 *Analytical Grammar* demonstrates a very different aspect of grammar; this table requires readers to determine how to combine a prefix, root and suffix to create a range of words (Figure 3:35). It is interesting to note that while Smith's *Inductive Latin Course for Beginners* is the only textbook in my sample which explicitly claimed to use an Inductive teaching method, no Inductive-Memorization tables or Inductive-Demonstration tables appeared in it.

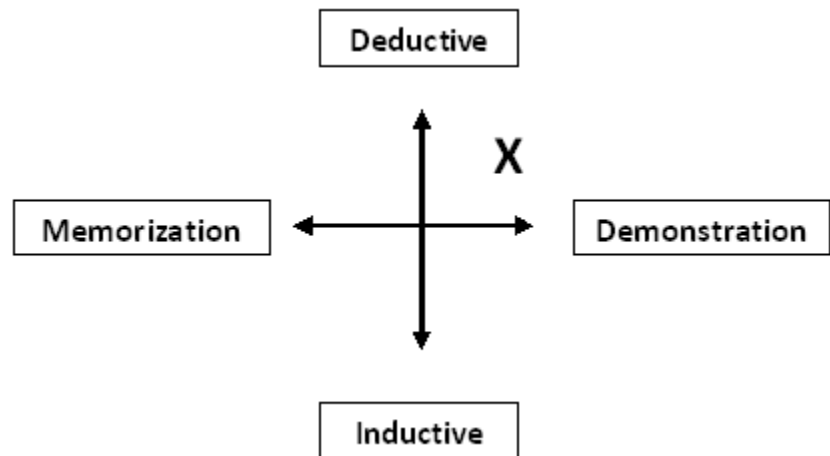
## Letter F ; Words, FLOR, flower ; and FLU, flow.

|                       |                     |                           |  |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--|
|                       | FLOS <i>m.</i> 1    | Flower.                   |  |
|                       | cul, <i>m.</i> 2    | - - - little.             |  |
|                       | re, <i>a.</i> 2     | - - - y.                  |  |
|                       | icom, <i>a.</i> 2   | - - - in the hair.        |  |
|                       | ifer, <i>ileg</i>   | - - - bearing, gathering. |  |
|                       | FLOR, <i>f.</i> 2   | - - - s, goddess of.      |  |
|                       | al, <i>a.</i> 1     | i, of Flora.              |  |
|                       | <i>n. pl.</i>       | the games.                |  |
|                       | e, <i>v.</i>        | blossom, flourish, excel. |  |
|                       | esce, <i>v.</i>     | - - - begin to.           |  |
|                       | id, <i>a.</i> 2     | - - - y.                  |  |
|                       | ul, <i>a.</i> 2     | - - - a little.           |  |
| De                    | é, esce             | shed, blossom ; begin to. | } Off.                                 |
|                       | at, <i>p.</i> 2     | - - - - having.           |  |
| Ef                    | esce, <i>v.</i>     | bud and blow.             | } Out.                                 |
| I. In                 | e, <i>v.</i>        | flourish.                 |  |
| Præ                   | e, <i>v.</i>        | blossom prematurely.      | } Fore.                                |
|                       | at, <i>p.</i> 2     | forestalled.              |  |
| De }<br>Pro }<br>Re } | FLU, <i>a.</i> 2    | in flow, flowing.         | } Off, falling off.<br>Forth.<br>Back. |
|                       | Flumen, <i>n.</i> 1 | river, flood.             |  |
|                       | e, <i>a.</i> 2      | - - - ing.                |  |
| Af                    | Flue, <i>v.</i>     | flow, proceed.            | } On, as the tide.                     |
| Con                   |                     | resort.                   |  |
| De                    |                     | fall away.                | } Together.                            |
| Ef                    |                     | fall out.                 |  |
| In                    |                     | Immigrate, fall.          | } Out.                                 |
| I. Per                |                     | - - - - -                 |  |
| Præ                   |                     | - - - - -                 | } Off, over.                           |
| Pro                   |                     | - - - - -                 |  |
| Re                    |                     | - - - - -                 | } In.                                  |
| Trans                 |                     | Ebb.                      |  |
| Af                    | Fluent, <i>p.</i> 1 | - - - - -                 | } Through.                             |
|                       | i, <i>f.</i> 2      | Flowing.                  |  |
|                       | er, <i>adv.</i>     | I Abundance.              | } Together.                            |
|                       | , <i>n.</i> 2       | flowingly, fluently.      |  |
|                       | ison, <i>a.</i> 2   | river.                    | } Out.                                 |
|                       |                     | sounding with waves.      |  |

Figure 3:35 An Inductive-Demonstration table from Elwell (E1833: 22)

***Deductive-Demonstration Tables***

In contrast  
to Inductive-  
Demonstration  
tables, Deductive-  
Demonstration  
tables overtly  
state rules or



concepts and demonstrate the use of those rules or concepts. Multiple examples of Deductive-Demonstration tables were found in 36 Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>76</sup> and 33 used in England.<sup>77</sup>

While many tables in Latin textbooks were concerned with grammatical concepts, tables which reckoned dates using the Roman calendar (as seen in Figure 3:36) were common Demonstrative-Deductive tables.<sup>78</sup> These tables clearly state all

<sup>76</sup> Scheller (G1803a); Meidinger (G1803b); Baungärtner (G1819); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Ramshorn (G1826b); Grotefend (G1829); Ramshorn (G1830); Grotefend (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a); Weissenborn (G1838b); Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a); Kühner (G1842b); Schulz (G1843); Zumpt (G1844a); Madvig (G1844b); Putsche (G1852); Kuhr (G1856); Madvig (G1857a); Berger (G1857b); Lattmann (G1861); Lattmann & Müller (G1864); Feldsbausch (G1865b); Moissizstzig (G1867a); Englmann (G1867b); Traut (G1868a); Gossrau (G1869a); Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869b); Siberti & Miering (G1870a); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b); Schultz (G1871a); Bornhak (G1871b); Ellendt (G1872b).

<sup>77</sup> Grant (E1808); Smith (E1816); Nolan (E1819); Scheller (E1825a); McGowan (E1825b); Locke (E1827); Edwards (E1830); Elwell (E1833); Cobbett (E1835); Hiley (E1836); Powell (E1838); Everard (E1843); Pinnock (E1844a); Kennedy (E1844c); Taylor (E1844d); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845); Key (E1846); Murphy (E1847); Kenneddy (E1848); Jacob (E1851); White (E1852a); Smith (E1856a); Walford (E1856b); Kavanagh (E1859); Madvid [trans. Woods] (E1861a); Lily (E1862c); Ollendorff (E1862d); Miller (E1863); Kennedy (E1866); Smith & Hall (E1867); Martin (E1869a); Roby (E1871a); Schmitz (E1880); Allen (E1891).

<sup>78</sup> Macgowan (E1825); Edwards (E1830); Ramshorn (G1830); Mutzl (G1834); Hiley (E1836); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a); Weissenborn (G1838); Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a); Kühner (G1842b); Schulz (G1843); Kennedy (E1844c); Zumpt (E1846); White (E1852a); Madvig (G1857a); Miller (E1863); Feldsbausch (G1865); Kennedy (E1866); Smith & Hall (E1867); Moissizstzig (G1867a); Englmann (G1867b); Gossrau (G1869a); Martin (E1869a); Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869b); Siberti & Meiring (G1870); Schultz (G1871a); Bornhak (G1871b).

of the information a reader would need to decipher Roman dates, but it is highly improbable that these tables were intended to be committed to memory. The placement of these tables is a telling indicator that this information was simply for demonstration purposes; with the exception of Kennedy's *Latinae grammaticae* (E1844c: 32), all date calculating tables appear at the very end of the textbooks, and are often among the last pages, suggesting they were intended for reference only. It is noteworthy that none of the textbooks in this sample attempt to impart information regarding the Roman system of dating in any other format.



**Der römische Kalender.**

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|    | März, Mai,<br>Juli<br>und<br>Oktober<br>31 Tage. | Januar,<br>August,<br>Dezember<br>31 Tage. | April,<br>Juni<br>September,<br>November<br>30 Tage. | Februar<br>28 u. im Schalt-<br>jahr 29 Tage. |
|----|--|--|--|--|
| 1  | Kalendis   | Kalendis                                   | Kalendis   | Kalendis                                     |
| 2  | VI   | IV (ante)                                  | IV (ante)  | IV (ante)                                    |
| 3  | V (ante)   | III Nonas                                  | III Nonas  | III Nonas                                    |
| 4  | IV Nonas   | Pridie Nonas                               | Pridie Nonas   | Pridie Nonas                                 |
| 5  | III Nonas  | Nonas                                      | Nonas  | Nonas  |
| 6  | Pridie Nonas                                     | VIII                                       | VIII   | VIII   |
| 7  | Nonas  | VII  | VII  | VII  |
| 8  | VII  | VI (ante)                                  | VI (ante)  | VI (ante)                                    |
| 9  | VI (ante)  | V Idus                                     | V Idus   | V Idus                                       |
| 10 | V Idus   | IV   | IV   | IV   |
| 11 | IV   | III  | III  | III  |
| 12 | III  | Pridie Idus                                | Pridie Idus  | Pridie Idus                                  |
| 13 | Pridie Idus                                      | Idibus                                     | Idibus   | Idibus                                       |
| 14 | Idibus   | XIX  | XVIII  | XVI XVII Idus                                |
| 15 | XVII   | XVIII                                      | XVII   | XV XVI                                       |
| 16 | XVI  | XVII                                       | XVI  | XIV XV                                       |
| 17 | XV   | XVI  | XV   | XIII XIV                                     |
| 18 | XIV  | XV   | XIV  | XII XIII                                     |
| 19 | XIII   | XIV  | XIII   | XI XII                                       |
| 20 | XII  | XIII                                       | XII  | X X  |
| 21 | XI   | XII  | XI   | IX X   |
| 22 | X  | XI   | X  | VIII IX                                      |
| 23 | IX   | X  | IX   | VII VIII                                     |
| 24 | VIII   | IX   | VIII   | VI VII                                       |
| 25 | VII  | VIII                                       | VII  | V VI   |
| 26 | VI   | VII  | VI   | IV V   |
| 27 | V  | VI   | V  | III IV                                       |
| 28 | IV   | V  | IV   | Prid. III                                    |
| 29 | III  | IV   | III  | Ka. Pridie                                   |
| 30 | Pridie Kalen-                                    | III  | Pridie Ka-   | lendas Ka-                                   |
| 31 | das<br>des folg. Men.                            | Pridie Kalen-<br>das<br>des folg. Men.     | lendas<br>des folg. Men.                             | Mar-<br>tias Martias.                        |

Figure 3:36 Deductive-Demonstration table from Grotefend (G1833a: 414)

A good example of a Deductive-Demonstration table intended to illustrate a grammatical point can be found in the 'chria', which appears in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks as 'a phrase and showing [...] grammatical changes through various uses' (Kelly 1976: 119), such as that in Figure 3:37. The chria is a pedagogical exercise with a long history, and both its purpose and its form seem to have changed over time. Originally the chria was an oral exercise, intended for memorization. According to Clarke, in the first century A.D. a chria constituted 'a saying or action attributed to some well-known character' (Clarke 2012: 36) which pupils would commit to memory for their moral edification. However, the chria seems to have evolved into a linguistic

exercise. Marrou writes of the *chria* as a grammar-learning activity in the third century, referring to the ‘declension of a “*chria*” of Pythagoras’ (Marrou 1956: 172):

[...] an Egyptian writing-board shows us a schoolboy dutifully declining a *chria* based on Pythagoras. First, in the singular:  
“The philosopher Pythagoras, having gone ashore and started giving language lessons, advised his disciples to abstain from flesh meat. We are told that the opinion of the philosopher Pythagoras was...” and so on – the genitive case following the nominative. “It seemed good to the philosopher Pythagoras...” (dative). “They describe the philosopher Pythagoras as saying...” (accusative and infinitive construction). “O Philosopher Pythagoras!” (vocative). Then, scorning all logic...in the plural: “The Pythagarases, philosophers, having gone ashore and started giving language lessons, advised their disciples...” and so on for all the different cases.

This was verbal gymnastics all right, even if it wasn’t highly intellectual!  
(Marrou 1956: 175 quotes in original)

Kelly discusses the *chria* in the context of fourth-century Latin education, calling it ‘the most ancient form of grammar drill’, which he describes as ‘an exercise in varying the flexions of nouns and verbs’ (Kelly 1976: 116).

Despite the long history of the *chria*, we find only a small number of examples of *chria* tables in textbooks in the sample. It was used by Key (E1846:99-114 ff.), Wright (E1855: 8), Moisisstzig (G1867: 162) and Ellendt & Seyffert (G1869b: 202). Key demonstrated the verb *scribo* (to write) in a *chria* over the course of 15 pages, starting with the very simple changes that occur with person and number (see Figure 3:37). This *chria* proceeds over the next 14 pages, presenting increasingly complex aspects of the verb *scribo*, culminating in the Gerund and Supine forms (see Figure 3:38). The sheer length of the table makes it unlikely that memorization was required, as does the fact that the preceding 48 pages were devoted to the

explanation of verbs; thus the chria shown here was the culminating, explicit demonstration of the ways in which verbs were conjugated.

The only other English author in our sample to use a chria was Wright in his *A Help to Latin Grammar* (E1855: 8), which made use of this type of table in a far more limited manner; the chria appears only once in his textbook and is used primarily to demonstrate the way in which the case system functions (see Figure 3:39). In Prussia, one chria can be found in Moisisstzig's *Praktische Schulgrammtik* (G1867: 162) and one appeared in Seyffert & Ellendt's *Lateinische Grammatik*. In Seyffert & Ellendt's text, the chria is used in a very limited way to exemplify the sequence of tenses, as in Figure 3:40. This limited use of the chria in Latin textbooks suggests that by the nineteenth century, it had fallen from favour. Instead of the grammatical manipulation of a complete sentence, we find a tendency in textbooks to isolate the teaching of nouns and verbs. When language teaching proceeded to the level of the sentence, textbooks approached sentences through a separate section on syntax (see Chapter 4.4), instead of through a chria.

575. CONJUGATION OF AN ACTIVE VERB, WITH THE  
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

C. F. SCRIB, *write*.

*Principal parts*—scribĕrĕ, scrib, scrips, scriptu.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

*Present Tense*, scrib.

As a present-imperfect, *am* —ing :

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Ad frātre <sup>m</sup> meum scribo,       | <i>I am writing to my brother.</i>        |
| Ad fratrem tuom scribīs*,                 | <i>You* are writing to your brother.</i>  |
| Ad fratrem suom scribīt,                  | <i>He is writing to his brother.</i>      |
| Ad frātre <sup>m</sup> nostrum scribīmūs, | <i>We are writing to our brother.</i>     |
| Ad fratrem vostrum scribītīs,             | <i>You† are writing to your brother.</i>  |
| Ad fratrem suom scribunt,                 | <i>They are writing to their brother.</i> |

Figure 3:37 Chria - Deductive-Demonstration table from Key (E1864: 99)

634. GERUND, scribendo.

Translated by —ing :

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| N. Mīhī est scribendum ěpistō-     | <i>To me belongs the writing the</i>     |
| lās,                               | <i>letters.</i>                          |
| Ac. Dēlīgītūr ād scribendum ěpi-   | <i>He is selected for writing the</i>    |
| stolas,                            | <i>letters.</i>                          |
| G. Vēnī ěpistolas scribendī causā, | <i>I came for the sake of writing</i>    |
|                                    | <i>the letters.</i>                      |
| D. Aptūs est scribendō ěpistolas,  | <i>He is fit for writing letters.</i>    |
| Ab. Scribendo ěpistolas occūpā-    | <i>He is engaged in writing letters.</i> |
| tūs est,                           |  |

635. SUPINE, scriptu.

Translated as an English infinitive :

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Ac. Eo illūc scriptum,               | <i>I am going yonder to write.</i>          |
| Ab. Sērīcae littĕrae difficīlēs sunt | <i>The Chinese letters are difficult to</i> |
| scriptū,                             | <i>write.</i>                               |

Figure 3:38 Chria - Deductive-Demonstration table from Key (E1846: 114)

- N. *Serv-æ* cantant. The slaves sing.  
 G. *Filiæ serv-arum* cantant. The daughters of the slaves sing.  
 A. *Puellæ portant serv-as*. The girls carry the slaves.  
 D. *Puellæ dant rosas serv-is*. The girls give roses to the slaves.  
 V. *Serv-æ*, cantatis. Slaves, ye sing.  
 Ab. *Filiæ donant puellas serv-is*. The daughters present the girls with slaves.

Figure 3:39 Chria - Deductive-Demonstration table from Wright (E1855: 8)

Nescio, quidnam causae sit, cur nullas ad me litteras  
des.  
cur nullas ad me litteras  
dederis.  
Nescio, quidnam causae fuerit, cur nullas ad me litteras  
dares.  
Nesciebam, quidnam causae esset, cur nullas ad me litteras  
dares.  
cur nullas ad me litteras  
dedisses.  
Nesciebam, quidnam causae fuisset, cur nullas ad me litteras  
dares.

Figure 3:40 Chria - Deductive-Demonstration table from Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869b: 202)

Nearly every textbook in my sample included tables of some sort; they are lacking in only three German-Latin texts and two English-Latin texts. In the vast majority of the textbooks in the sample, tables even constitute over a quarter of the total text. We have seen that the majority of texts in the corpus of nineteenth-century Latin textbooks included tables of information to be memorized, which coincides with the strong emphasis during the nineteenth century on committing grammatical rules to memory, although a large number of tables were used to simply demonstrate or clarify information. The overwhelming majority of tables are deductive rather than inductive, with Deductive-Memorization tables only slightly more prevalent than Deductive-Demonstration tables. That is, tables were used more commonly to present explicit information, either to be memorized or simply clarified, rather than as a format which facilitated readers to draw their own conclusions. This corresponds to the relative rarity of teaching methods which followed an Inductive approach as a whole (see Section 3.2.6).

Neither approaches nor teaching methods appears to have overtly determined the types of tables a textbook included. For instance, though we might expect Inductive tables only in textbooks which used an Inductive approach, such as Brownrigg Smith's *Inductive Latin Course for Beginners* (E1856a), this textbook included no Inductive tables at all though it did include a number of both Deductive-Memorization and Deductive-Demonstration tables. On the other hand, Baumgartner's deductively-approached Grammar-first *Lateinische Grammatik* (G1819) included 16 tables on the Inductive axis.

### 3.3.3 Exercises

Sercu calls practice activities ‘the heart of any learning process’ (2013: 242). Unlike the lack of typologies available to categorize tables, exercises have been classified in a number of ways in existing research. For instance, exercises have been categorized according to ‘their formal characteristics’ (i.e. multiple choice, matching, cloze, substitution, transformation) or classified according their ‘content’, that is, by the aspect of language competence that they focus on, such as pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary or cultural competence (Sercu 2013: 244).

The idea that language learning required practice was well-established by the nineteenth century. Howatt cites the concept of written exercises as a crucial development of what came to be known as the Grammar-Translation method and, as we have seen, he credits the opportunities for practice as one of the key features that made Meidinger’s textbooks (and the textbooks which imitated Meidinger) so innovative. Some language textbooks incorporated the term ‘practical’ in their titles to indicate that the text included practice exercises (Howatt 1984: 132). Howatt explains that in the nineteenth century the term ‘practical’

[...] had an extra meaning it would not carry today. To us ‘practical’ is more or less a synonym for ‘useful’ but in the nineteenth-century a practical course was also one which required *practice*. (1984: 132)

Judging by the textbooks in my sample, nineteenth-century authors included four types of exercises which encompassed the ‘practice’ aspect of the PPP lesson format of presentation, practice and production (Richards & Rodgers 2001: 54): paradigm drills; exercises requiring the recall of grammatical information; translation from native-language to Latin, and translation from Latin to native language, each of which

is discussed below. Exercises that might be familiar to modern learners, such as those which required pupils to ‘fill in the blank’ or supply missing information, did not occur at all. We find a series of model forms for parsing in an Appendix in *An Elementary Latin Grammar* by Allen (E1891: 151-152), as shown in Figure 3:39, but these model answers were intended as formulae for approaching parsing, not as exercises in themselves. Given that the goal of learning Latin was the translation of Latin texts, translation exercises encompassed both the ‘practice’ and ‘production’ aspect of the PPP lesson format of presentation, practice and production.

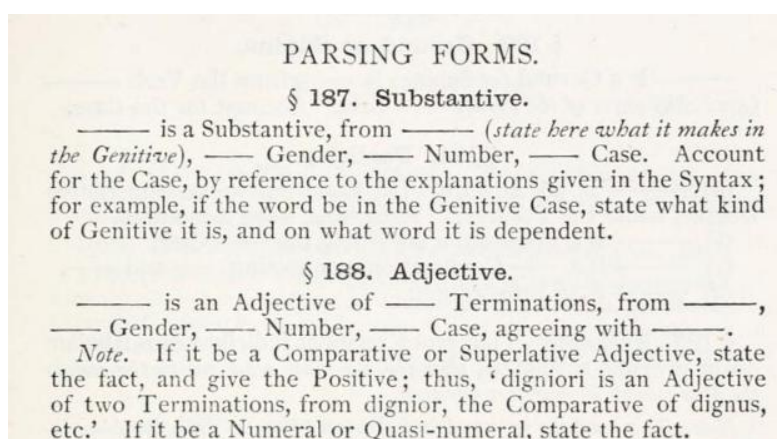


Figure 3:41 Model Answers for Parsing (Allen E1891: 151-152)

### Paradigm Drills

Paradigm drills, which allowed students to practise recognizing and forming words according to their differing morphological endings for case, number, person, tense etc., were found in a total of 14 textbooks in my sample, in ten Latin textbooks used in England<sup>79</sup> and four Latin textbooks used in Prussia.<sup>80</sup> Such drills were limited

<sup>79</sup> Powell (E1838); Pinnock (E1844a); Pycroft (E1844b); Kennedy (E1848); Hiley (E1854b); Wright (E1855); Smith (E1856a); Kavangh (E1859); Mongan (E1861c); Arnold (E1871b).

<sup>80</sup> Meidinger (G1803b); Broder & Ramshorn (G1822); Schulz (G1843); Moisisstzig (G1867a).



to injunctions to 'conjugate' or 'decline' a word or a list of words. For example, Pycroft's *Latin Grammar Practice* required the reader to conjugate lists of verbs (e.g. Pycroft E1844b: 9, 10, 11). In the *First Latin grammar and exercises in Ollendorff's method* by Pinnock, readers practised paradigms by conjugating, for instance, the Latin for 'may read' and 'might read' (E1844a: 144) and practised declining nouns, such as a list of nouns meant to be declined as gerunds (E1844a: 87). Strikingly similar paradigm drills can be found in textbooks which used the Grammar-first method (G1803b, G1822, G1843, E1859, E1861c, E1880), the Grammar-Translation method (E1844a, E1844b, E1848, E1854b, G1867a, E1871b) and one, Wright's, which purported to follow an Inductive approach (E1855). In all, the drills themselves are virtually identical in form, requiring pupils to manipulate given words in particular ways.

### ***Recall of Metagrammatical Information***

A small number of Latin textbooks posed specific questions which asked pupils to recall metagrammatical information, such as 'What are Defective verbs?' (Kennedy E1848: 83) or 'Mention some of the remarkable peculiarities of Neuter Substantives of the Third Declension ending in *e*, *al*, and *ar*' (Mongan E1861c: 27). Such questions are limited to Latin textbooks found in England; no Latin textbooks from Prussia included review or practice examination questions. Even in England, questions that required pupils to recall metagrammatical information were rare, despite their preponderance on formal examinations of the time, with only nine

textbooks<sup>81</sup> including such questions, of which six used the Grammar-Translation method.

Only one textbook which included this type of grammar-recall questions used the Grammar-first method (Mongan E1861c), and, strikingly, questions requiring the recall of explicit metagrammatical information appeared in two textbooks which otherwise used an inductive approach (Wright E1855: 131; Smith E1856a: 39). Questions such as 'What are the two terminations of the nominative singular of nouns in the fourth declension', as shown in the excerpt from Smith (E1856a: 125) in Figure 3:42 below, or 'What is a pronoun? Explain its use' from Wright's *A Help to Latin Grammar* (Wright E1855: 133), which appear throughout the textbook, are far more in keeping with deductive approaches, as they require the pupil to recall grammatical information, perform morphological drills and apply deductive, rather than inductive, reasoning to answer. This suggests that both Smith and Wright expected their readers to learn Latin inductively, but then to apply that knowledge deductively either in classwork or in formal examinations, which asked quite similar questions.

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<sup>81</sup>Pinnock (E1844a); Pycroft (E1844b); Kennedy (E1848); Hiley (E1854b); Wright (E1855); Smith (E1856); Mongan (E1861c); Arnold (E1871b); Fowle (E1871c).

1. What are the two terminations of the nominative singular of nouns of the fourth declension? 2. How do nouns in *us*, of the fourth declension, form their plural nominative? 3. What is the meaning of the circumflex mark over the *ûs*, in the termination of the plural nominative? [It means that *ûs* is contracted for *ues*, the older form, and must therefore be pronounced long, like the English substantive, *use*.] 4. What is the gender of nouns ending in *u* of the fourth declension? 5. How do they form their plural nominative? 6. In what respects is *tonitrus* irregular in gender, and therefore in the way in which it is declined? 7. What is the termination of the nominative singular of nouns of the fifth declension? 8. How do they form their nominative plural? 9. In the sentence, "*Ego et tu laeti sumus*," why is the verb in the first person plural? 10. In the sentence, "*Et tu et ille felices estis*," why is the verb in the second person plural? 11. If, then, the subject of the verb be two or more words of different persons, in what number and person must the verb be put? 12. Why is *Ero* said to be the future-imperfect tense? 13. Why is *Fui* said to be the present-perfect tense? 14. What is the meaning of the word *aoist*? [Indefinite or unlimited.] 15. Why, then, may *Fui* be said to be an *aoist*, when it means, *I was*? [Because it refers to an indefinite tract of past time, without specifying any definite part of it.] 16. Why is *Fueram* said to be the past-perfect tense? 17. How do you form the past-perfect indicative of *Esse* from the present-perfect? 18. Why is *Fuero* said to be the future-perfect tense? 19. How do you form the future-perfect indicative of *Esse* from the present-perfect? 20. What part of speech is *diu*, long; and what part of speech is *longus*, long? 21. In the phrase, "*The queen, my sister*," why must *my sister* be in the same case as *the queen*? 22. What is the derivation of *possum*, *I am able*? [*Potis*, *able*, and *Sum*, *I am*]. 23. Does this account for the way in which the present-imperfect indicative of *possum* is gone through or conjugated? 24. What do you mean by the *moods* of a verb? 25. How many moods are there in English and Latin? 26. Why is the indicative mood so called? [Because it *indicates* or states the occurrence of a fact.] 27. Why is the infinitive mood so called? [Infinitive means *indefinite* or *unlimited*; and the infinitive mood is so called because it is more indefinite than any of the other moods, as it is not always limited to a definite subject, and has no distinct forms for the different numbers and persons.] 28. What mood is *Esse*, *to be*? 29. What mood do *possum* and *volo* take after them? 30. In the sentence, "*Tu potes esse felix*," why is *felix* in the nominative case?

Figure 3:42 An Example of Review Questions in Smith (E1856a: 125)

**Translation Exercises**

Translation exercises can be said to occupy a dual role in Latin textbooks; they offer the opportunity to *practise*, but as the ability to translate Latin is the goal of most Latin courses, translation exercises are also the ultimate *production* in Latin learning. Perhaps as a result of this duality, translating was the most common form of exercise in textbooks from my sample. A total of 31 Latin textbooks, 13 from England and 18 from Prussia, included opportunities for translation into or out of Latin, or both.

The principles of the Grammar-first method, which focused on pupils memorizing the rules of grammar prior to using those rules in reading Latin texts, did not require that pupils be given opportunities to practise translating Latin. However, of the 74 textbooks in my sample that used the Grammar-first method, five Grammar-first textbooks in Prussia included translation exercises<sup>82</sup> as did two Grammar-first textbooks used in England (Elwell E1833; Kennedy E1848). The most notable aspect of translation exercises in Grammar-first textbooks is their placement in the overall arrangement of the textbooks; passages for translation were usually positioned at the back of the book, at the greatest possible distance from the presentation of grammar, strongly indicating that they were meant to be undertaken only after all the grammar rules at the beginning of the textbook had been committed to memory.

While the Grammar-first method does not include opportunities to practise in its premise, translation exercises are a defining feature of the Grammar-translation

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<sup>82</sup> Putsche (G1852); Kuhr (G1856); Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869b); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a); Bornhak (G1871b).

method (Howatt 1984: 132, see also Prator & Celce-Murcia 1979; Stern 1983; Richards & Rodgers 2001; Howatt & Smith 2002), and they appear in all 16 Grammar-Translation textbooks in my sample. However, those textbooks included differing amounts of translation into and out of Latin. For example, in Meidinger's *Praktische Lateinische Grammatik* (G1803b), exercises which required translation from German into Latin predominated, with only a small number of translations from Latin into German (the easier task) which were relegated to five pages at the end of the textbook (656-661). On the other hand, Moisisstzig's *Praktische Schulgrammatik* (G1867b) offered no translation exercises from German to Latin, but his textbook did include a large number of Latin to German translation exercises, most of which were sourced from classical Latin authors. Why Meidinger offered so many German to Latin translation exercises while Moisisstzig offered so few is not clear. English Grammar-Translation textbooks included a more balanced number of translation exercises into and out of Latin. Both types of translation were required in the examinations that pupils would be sitting; it may have been thought that translation from the native language into Latin was the pinnacle of 'mental gymnastics' as it is the more difficult task, demanding both the application of rules and evidence of a sense of style in Latin. On the other hand, translating from Latin into the native language, though still challenging, was an easier task, requiring only the recall of grammar rules and the comprehension of the Latin text.

Translation exercises are also a defining feature of the 'exercise-book method' and are found in all three *Übungsbuchmethode* textbooks in this sample (Englmann G1862; Ostermann G1863, G1871c). Here again we find a differentiation in the type

of translation exercises offered; Englmann's entire text is dedicated to translation from German into Latin (G1862), but both of Ostermann's texts (G1863, G1871c) presented a nearly equal number of German-Latin and Latin-German exercises. No rationale for these choices is given by either author.

We find translation exercises in all five of the textbooks in my sample which used an Inductive approach. For instance, Jacobs' & Döring's *Lateinisches Elementarbuch* (G1825) was comprised of line after line of Latin to German exercises, starting with simple, individual sentences and gradually building up to longer and more grammatically complex reading passages (see Figure 3:18). Smith's *Inductive Latin Course for Beginners*, the only English textbook to claim it followed an Inductive approach, also required readers to translate Latin both into and out of their native language.

Though Howatt credited translation exercises as a 'novel feature of the grammar-translation method' (1984: 132), opportunities for practice were no less important in the exercise-book method textbooks and in textbooks based on an inductive approach. Moreover, practice translation exercises also featured in seven Grammar-first textbooks. This suggests that exercises and opportunities to practise were not necessarily a feature of a specific method, but rather, a matter of choice made by individual authors.

### 3. 4 Conclusion: Latin Teaching in the Nineteenth Century

Given the growth in the market of textbooks tailored to secondary schools after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, we might expect to see a homogenisation of content and arrangement among Latin textbooks, as they were all aimed at preparing students for formal examinations and, in many cases, further study at University. However, changes in methods seem to have been somewhat uneven in their manifestation, and very few textbooks exclusively followed a single method. Even those textbooks which purported to be modelled on a particular method often incorporated other methods as well (see **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**) and textbooks may also have included techniques that were not aligned to the textbook's particular method, such as the inclusion of deductive exercises in textbooks which otherwise used an inductive approach (see 3.3.3) or Inductive tables in textbooks which used deductive methods (see 3.3.2).

Overall, the Latin textbooks from my sample show an interest in innovations in Latin teaching methods and techniques, not a strict adherence to 'traditional' teaching methods. For example, we can see this willingness to experiment in the short-lived but revolutionary Crude Form system advocated by Key (E1846) and Jacob (1851a), and inductive approaches in both Prussia (Jacobs & Döring G1825; Benecke G1839; Ellendt G1846) and in England (Wright E1855; Smith E1856a). This belies modern opinion, which tends to view the nineteenth century as a time when the 'traditional' Grammar-Translation method dominated Latin classrooms and intruded into modern foreign language classrooms. In spite of the dry, dull reputation of the

Grammar-Translation method and the occasionally scathing reactions the method has provoked, Grammar-Translation was, in its own terms, an attempt to make language learning easier by grading information and presenting opportunities to practise grammatical concepts before moving on to learn additional grammatical concepts. And, despite the perceived dominance of the Grammar-Translation method, the bulk of the Latin textbooks in my corpus used the Grammar-first method.

The translation and recall metagrammatical information, which was so negatively associated with the Grammar-Translation method, is arguably less a feature of textbooks for learning and teaching Latin in the nineteenth century and more a result of the growing importance of formal examinations in both England and Prussia. Though the origins of the Grammar-Translation method are not to be found in Latin textbooks, the increasingly sought after examinations that required the ability to translate both into and out of Latin and recall grammatical information must have had an inevitable 'washback effect' (Howatt 1984: 133) on Latin language teaching, as educators tailored their teaching to help ensure pupils were successful in their examinations. But the textbook evidence suggests that, though the Grammar-Translation method has been negatively associated with exam preparation, Grammar-Translation was not the only means, or even the most popular means, for teaching Latin to pupils who, ultimately, wanted to pass those examinations in the nineteenth century.



## **4 The Emerging Science of Language and the Ancient Language of Latin: Linguistic Ideas and Latin Teaching**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The growth of the Reform Movement, which, as noted in Chapter 3, profoundly influenced foreign language teaching, was bolstered not just through emerging concepts regarding the cultural value of foreign language and advances in pedagogy, but also by new linguistic insights which emerged as the result of nineteenth-century developments in the scientific study of language. We turn our attention now to the influence of these developments in linguistic thought in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks. While language study had previously been treated as aspects of philosophical, literary or historical inquiry, during the nineteenth century scholars began to draw upon models and concepts from the natural sciences, and the scientific study of linguistics came to be recognized as a discipline in its own right. Albeit with some delay, advances in areas such as historical-comparative philology and phonetics slowly influenced how foreign languages, including Latin, were taught. The following sections examine these influences as evidenced in Latin textbooks.

After a brief overview of key developments in linguistic thought in the nineteenth-century, Section 4.2 treats the smallest level of linguistic analysis, the letters and sounds of the Latin language. In 4.2.1 the controversy over which letters constituted the Latin alphabet is examined, followed by an analysis of the ways in which Latin textbooks categorized sounds and guided pronunciation in 4.2.2. Proceeding to the next level of linguistic analysis, Section 4.3 focuses on the

inflectional endings which determine the grammatical function of individual words. To examine this, the treatment of the Locative case in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks is analysed in 4.3.1, and the Ablative case in 4.3.2. This is followed in Section 4.4 by the highest level of analysis, sentence structure. Section 4.4 begins with a consideration of different views of the elements and word order of Latin sentences. Because the syntax sections of the Latin textbooks in my sample were largely composed of rules (and exceptions) explicating the role of morphological agreement, Section 4.4.1 examines how rules of agreement and concord were presented. Section 4.4.2 considers the influence of the *Port-Royal* grammarians, particularly focusing on copula theory, while Section 4.4.3 discusses what Graffi has termed ‘psychological syntax’, which incorporated psychology, rather than pure logic, into syntax, a concept which may have been anticipated by Latin textbook authors before it was treated by linguists. Finally, Section 4.4.4 considers the role of ‘taste’ and ‘style’ in the formation of Latin sentences.

Though it is widely acknowledged that the field of nineteenth-century linguistics was dominated by German scholarship, the most appropriate figure with whom to begin a consideration of linguistic influences on Latin language learning is the English lawyer Sir William Jones (1746-1794), whose ideas were crucial to the development of the fields of historical and comparative linguistics which dominated linguistic research in the nineteenth century. Jones accepted the premise that languages could be grouped as ‘siblings’ which had ‘descended’ from one or more parent languages. This view had been accepted for centuries, based on the biblical story of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9). Jones

acknowledged that the idea of a parent language for Latin, Sanskrit and Ancient Greek was neither a concept of his own devising nor a new insight, but in his landmark lecture 'On the Hindus', given on 2 February 1786, Jones noted that the resemblance between these languages was 'so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists' (Jones 1807: 268). It is the end of this sentence which shows Jones' contribution; scholarly belief up to that time had assumed that this 'common source' language was still extant. The Hebrew language was often regarded as the 'language of God' and therefore, the likely parent language.<sup>83</sup>

Jones' insight inspired further work in the historical development of languages, which was largely carried out by German scholars. Building on Jones' ideas, the German Romantic scholar Friedrich von Schlegel (1777-1829) coined the term 'comparative grammar' (*vergleichende Grammatik*) in his 1808 *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, in which he explicitly made comparative grammar analogous to comparative anatomy (see also Lehmann 1992: 27; Koerner 1995: 58-60, 1999: 98; Davies 1998: 86). Schlegel compared languages on the basis of their grammatical structures and forms rather than on the etymology of lexemes, which had been the principal means for language comparison previously. Schlegel's incorporation of concepts from the natural sciences within the field of linguistic science (1808: 28) led other scholars to view languages as natural, living 'organisms', rather than created

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<sup>83</sup> For instance, in the fourteenth century, Dante (1265-1321) *De vulgari eloquentia* I.iv-vii, discussed the Tower of Babel and concluded that Adam must have spoken Hebrew. This opinion continues through the seventeenth century, as seen in Locke ([1691] 1722:11). In the nineteenth century, this idea is also acknowledged by Paxton (1842: 92), Baylee (1868: 252) though disputed by Schlegel (1808) and Malan (1882: 245).

mechanisms ‘formed of parts artificially added up’ (Davies 1998: 86). The organic model of language provided a framework for many language concepts which developed during the nineteenth century, such as language growth and death, genealogical relationships between languages, and linguistic classification, parallel to the work being carried on Linnaean taxonomic system for plants and animals which had been developed in the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), whose influence on nineteenth-century education has been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, also contributed to the growing field of comparative linguistics. Although he was a dedicated Classicist, Humboldt also had an interest in Sanskrit, Chinese and Native American languages, and Davies considers Humboldt’s 1828 *Essay on the Best Means of Ascertaining the Affinities of Oriental Languages* ‘the most lucid explanation (and exemplification) of the basic principles of the comparative method’ (Davies 1998: 101). Like Schlegel, Humboldt viewed language as an organism (Humboldt 1836: 105). Following the Prussian philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803),<sup>85</sup> Humboldt further claimed that language was the outer manifestation of the inner spirit of the people who spoke it (*Die Sprache ist gleichsam die äusserliche Erscheinung des Geistes der Völker [...]*, Humboldt 1836: 37). By promoting the classical languages in education, Humboldt was promoting not just the language of those classical civilizations, but, the ‘spirit’ of the people from classical antiquity through the study of their languages.

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<sup>84</sup> However, the mechanical model of language was not entirely dismissed; Koerner has convincingly argued that organic and mechanic approaches existed in tandem during the nineteenth century: mechanical models were used to collect linguistic data while the organic model was used to explain those data (Koerner 1975: 733).

<sup>85</sup> See Herder’s *Idee zum ersten patriotischen Institut für den Allgemeingeist Deutschlands* (‘Idea for the First Patriotic Institute for the Common Spirit of Germany’) (1787: 600-12).

Franz Bopp (1791-1867), the linguist who taught Humboldt how to read Sanskrit, also adopted Schlegel's view of language as a living organism which grew and changed according to inherent, natural laws. Among his contributions, Bopp's 1816 *Conjugationssystem* was one of the first attempts to understand the origin of verb conjugation through language reconstruction. His *Comparative Grammar of the Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German and Slavonic Languages*, originally published in German in six parts between 1833 and 1852, was arguably the first systematic, detailed comparison of languages which focused on determining the origins of grammatical inflections. Bopp held that language decay was indicated by, among other things, the loss of inflections, and he included considerations of both morphological and phonological changes in his methodology which, crucially, focused on grammatical systems.

What Bopp was to comparative linguistics, his contemporary Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) was to the field of historical linguistics. Grimm's interests were principally centred on the history and culture of the German people, of which language was just one component. His early endeavours in the history of the German language garnered criticism from the philologist Karl Schlegel (1772-1829). Schlegel's 1815 review of Grimm's periodical, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, criticised Grimm's overall lack of scientific approach to language, particularly with regard to sounds (Jespersen 1922: 41). Grimm appears to have taken this censure constructively, and just four years later he produced his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819), a historical-comparative morphologically-based grammar which set enduring standards for assessing the relative age of linguistic forms. In this text, Grimm formulated his famous law of

consonantal sound shift, which established the relationship between Germanic fricatives and stops and those of other Indo-European languages, known as Grimm's Law.

Though Grimm had applied scientific methods to establish linguistic 'laws', the treatment of apparent exceptions to such laws was contentious. Some nineteenth-century scholars claimed that the concept of absolute linguistic laws was justified and, if apparent exceptions were discovered, more precise laws needed to be determined. This view was held by the Neogrammarians (*Junggrammatiker*), a group of linguists active in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Neogrammarians believed in the absolute regularity of phonetic laws of sound change (*die Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze*) (Osthoff & Brugman 1878: xiii; Schuchardt 1885: 18), and they advocated the 'uniformitarian principle' which rejected the organic model of language development. Neogrammarians held that the processes of language change were the constant manifestation of the social and cultural behaviour of individual humans, rather than the growth and change one can observe in an autonomous organism. As Davies explains:

If language depends on the speaker, then it cannot be an autonomous organism with a life of its own, and consequently there is no reason to distinguish a period of growth from a period of decay. Uniformitarianism prevails and inevitably leads to the conclusion that modern languages are the best source of information about linguistic development [...] (Davies 1998: 233)

Just as changes had been taking place in the methods used to teach Classical languages (see Chapter 3), so to changes in how languages conceived were also

evident in the linguistic content and representation of linguistic ideas in Latin textbooks of the nineteenth century. It is to those changes that we now turn.

## 4.2 The Letters and Sounds of Latin

Orthography and phonology have been prominent elements in language teaching for centuries. In his grammatical treatise *Ars major*, the fourth-century grammarian Donatus defined letters as the minimal part of speech (*Littera est pars minima vocis articulatae*, Donatus quoted in Pind 2006: 6) which had three aspects: name (*nomen*), appearance (*figura*, the shape of the written character), and pronunciation (*potestas*, literally, force).<sup>86</sup> Like many grammarians before and after him, Donatus assumed a one-to-one symbol/sound correspondence between graphemes and phonemes, an assumption that remained for centuries. The problems inherent in a lack of a rigorous distinction between letters and sounds were compounded by changes and errors in orthography over the centuries. Yet scholars continued to base their understanding of sounds on orthography into the nineteenth century. As Hammarström observed;

[i]t is well known that even some of the best known nineteenth century linguists mistook letters for sounds or, more exactly, they were led to believe that each letter was something like a phonetic symbol. (Hammarström 1990: 19)

Saussure noted that '[e]ven Bopp failed to distinguish clearly between letters and sounds. Reading Bopp, we might think that a language is inseparable from its alphabet' (Saussure trans. Harris 1916 [2006]: 25). Nor did Jacob Grimm, Bopp's contemporary who is perhaps best known for his work on 'sound laws', differentiate between sounds and letters. Robins noted that Grimm was working at a time 'when

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<sup>86</sup> While the term *potestas* does not directly translate as 'pronunciation', this interpretation is widely accepted. Irvine calls *potestas* the 'phonic value [which] is the pronunciation itself' (2006: 100, see also Pind 2006: 6; Rutkowska 2012: 229).



the study of sound change was still undertaken as the study of letters' (1997: 199) and Harris observed Grimm's 'consistent failure to distinguish between letters and sounds' (2006: 48). Grimm's volume on phonology was entitled *Buchstabenlehre* ('science of letters') rather than *Lautlehre* ('science of sounds'), and he used the terms *Laute* (sounds) and *Buchstaben* (letters) interchangeably (Davies 1998: 160; Lehmann 1992: 29 ff.; Jespersen 1922: 46).

Despite this conflation of letters and sounds, there was a high level of interest in phonology and orthography in the nineteenth century, notably in the work of August Schleicher (1821-1868). For Schleicher, phonology was one of 'the central areas of the linguist's concern' (Koerner 1989: 199), and phonology occupied a central place in his 1861-1862 *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* ('Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages'). Schleicher is credited with being the first to attempt a systematic, historical phonology of the Indo-European languages (Bynon 1986: 130), and has been further acknowledged as having 'created a clear and precise method of expression for phonology in his reconstructed forms' (Pederson 1824: 272 quoted in Koerner 1989: 9). Given the close, even inseparable, relationship which nineteenth-century scholars perceived between letters and sounds, it is necessary to first understand which letters constituted the Latin alphabet before the pronunciation of those letters can be examined. Accordingly, the controversy over the letters of the Latin language is examined below in Section 4.2.1, before an analysis of their pronunciation in Section 4.2.2.

### 4.2.1 The Latin Alphabet

By the nineteenth century, scholars recognized that Latin had changed over time. Since at least the eighteenth century, Latin literature had been divided into ‘Ages’, such as the Golden Age (about 83 B.C. – 14 A.D.) and the Silver Age (about 14 A.D. – 117 A.D.) (e.g. Drummond 1740: 125; Disraeli & Doria 1794: 571), but these Ages had primarily indicated styles of literature rather than periods of linguistic change. However, these divisions were applied to the question of the Latin alphabet in one of the most comprehensive works in the field of phonology and orthography in the nineteenth century, when the Prussian philologist Paul Corssen (1820-1875) published his *Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen* (‘About the Pronunciation, Vocalism and Accent of Latin’) in 1858. Corssen treated both the letters and the pronunciation of the Latin alphabet and wrote that in Cicero’s time, the peak of the Golden Age, the Latin alphabet consisted of 23 letters, as shown in Figure 4:1 (Corssen 1858: 14-15).

**A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S,  
T, V, X, Y, Z.**

*Figure 4:1 The Latin Alphabet according to Corssen (1858: 14-15)*

Following Corssen’s work, Wilhelm Brambach (1841-1932), Professor of Philology at Freiburg, published his *Die Neugestaltung der lateinischen Orthographie in ihrem Verhältniss zur Schule* (‘The Redesign of Latin Orthography in its Relationship to School’) in 1868, and his more condensed *Hülfsbüchlein für lateinische Rechtschreibung* (‘Short Aid for Latin Spelling’) in 1872. Brambach’s *Hülfsbüchlein*, which was intended to assist pupils studying Latin literature written between about

100 B.C. and 100 A.D. (Brambach 1872: V), agreed that the Latin alphabet consisted of the same 23 characters that Corssen had identified. Brambach also asserted that the ancients had spelled phonetically (*Die Schrift der Römer war phonetisch (lautgerecht)*) and thus, changes in spelling indicated changes in pronunciation, suggesting a linguistic, or at least an orthographical, divide between the Latin 'Ages' in addition to a stylistic literary divide (Brambach 1872: 1).

However, with the contributions of Wilhelm Ritschl (1806-1876), we begin to see disagreement regarding the letters of the Latin alphabet. Ritschl's 1869 *Zur Geschichte des lateinischen Alphabets* ('On the History of the Latin Alphabet') influenced scholars for decades. Unlike Corssen and Brambach, who had identified 23 letters in the Latin alphabet, Ritschl claimed that the Latin alphabet during Cicero's time lacked <y> and <z> and so consisted of only 21 letters. Ritschl based this conclusion on an inscription which he judged to be from the Ciceronian period, shown in Figure 4:2:



Figure 4:2 The Latin Alphabet according to Ritschl (Ritschl *Inscript. Tab. xvii. 24* in Hayman 1867: 5)

This disagreement regarding letters of the alphabet was compounded by inconsistencies in spelling which appeared amongst even the most respected Classical authors, as observed in the nineteenth century by Ramsay (1837: 3, 245-6) and an anonymously authored 'Report of the Pronunciation and Orthography of

Latin' in *The Educational Times* (Anon. 1872: 189) and others. Although nineteenth-century scholars recognized that some spelling changes were the result of errors arising from Medieval manuscript copyists, they also recognised that Latin authors who wrote at different periods tended to spell differently in consistent ways. Therefore, nineteenth-century scholars sought to answer not 'what *is* the Latin alphabet?' but rather 'what *was* the Latin alphabet at a specific point in time?' However, there was a lack of agreement about which 'age' of Latin language ought to be taught to school pupils. Though many advocated teaching Golden Age Latin,<sup>87</sup> Brambach preferred literature of the Silver Age (approx. 14 A.D. to 117 A.D.) as the standard (Brambach 1872: vii). The American philologist Carl Buck agreed with Brambach, citing a lack of uniformity in the Latin of the Golden Age. Buck characterized the Golden Age as a period of 'transition in matters of spelling', and argued that it was not 'until later that a fairly uniform system becomes thoroughly established' (Buck 1899: 116).<sup>88</sup>

This general confusion over which letters constituted the Latin alphabet was reflected in the textbooks; of the 100 textbooks in the sample, 70 specified the alphabet for the Latin language and those alphabets ranged anywhere from 21 to 26

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<sup>87</sup> e.g. in my corpus, Scheller (G1825), Madvig (G1844b), Zumpt (E1845), Murphy (E1847), Miller (E1863), Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b) and Arnold (E1871) all claimed to teach Golden Age Latin.

<sup>88</sup> It is not a trivial matter to differentiate the orthography of the Golden Age and Silver Age Latin (and to do so would exceed the scope of this chapter). However, a few examples are warranted. For instance, Brambach explained that Cicero would have used a double <s> after a long vowel or diphthong, as in *caussa* ('cause'), though this was discontinued in the Silver Age when the spelling was changed to the more familiar *causa*. Brambach also explained that Cicero would have used the combination -uo- rather than -uu- or -vu- such as *ingenuos* (native) and *servos* (slave) for the Nominative singular. Nineteenth-century Latinists followed the form established in the first century A.D. of -uu- or -vu- rendering the more familiar 'ingenuus' (native) and 'servus' (slave) in the Nominative singular (Brambach 1872: 3).

letters.<sup>89</sup> There were some areas of general agreement. For instance, the textbooks in my corpus were nearly unanimous that Latin lacked a <w>, with the exception of Mutzl's 1834 *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* (G1834), which put the <w> in parentheses:

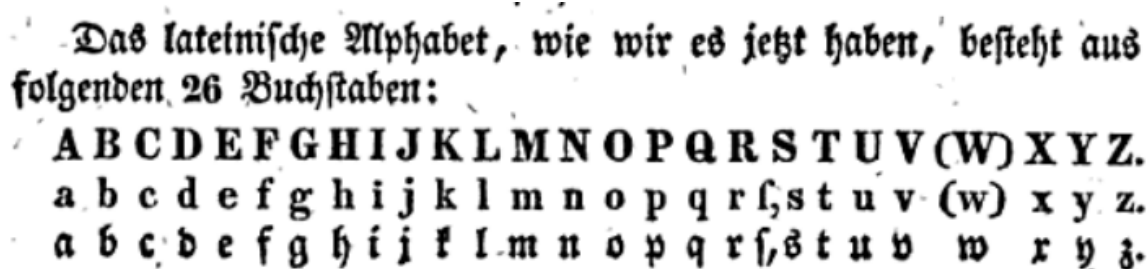


Figure 4:3 The Latin Alphabet according to Mutzl (G1834: 5)

Mutzl added the caveat that <w> did not appear in Classical Latin, but was a modern convention in Latin words written in 'newer languages' (Mutzl G1834: 5). Beyond the general exclusion of the letter <w> however, there is less agreement regarding the alphabet, with particular disputes over the letters <u> and <v> and <i> and <j>.

Separate letters distinguishing <u> and <v> were not present in Classical Latin and did not appear until the late Middle Ages (Fischer 2003: 249). Corssen, Brambach

<sup>89</sup> Scheller (G1803a); Meidinger (G1803b); Grant (E1808); Smith (E1816); Nolan (E1819); Baumgärtner (G1819); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820); Broder & Ramshorn (G1822); Scheller (E1825); Ramshorn (G1826a); Zumpt (G1826b); Lock (E1827); Grotefend (G1829); Ramshorn (G1830); Elwell (E1833); Krebs (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Cobbett (E1835); Hiley (E1836); Powel (E1838); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a); Weissenborn (G1838b); Kühner (G1842b); Schulz (G1843); Madvig (G1844b); Pycroft (E1844b); Kennedy (E1844c); Taylor (E1844d); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845); Murphy (E1846); Key (E1847); Kennedy (E1848); Kritz & Berger (G1848); Jacob (E1851a); Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b); Zumpt (G1851); White (E1852a); Donaldson (E1852b); Ruddiman (E1854a); Walford (E1856b); Madvig (G1857a); Berger (G1857b); Kavanagh (E1859); Anon (E1861a); Mongan (E1861b); Lattman (G1861); Hamilton (E1862a); Lily (E1862c); Müller (E1863, E1864); Lattmann & Müller (G1864); Feldsbauch (G1865b); Bauer (G1865c); Kennedy (E1866); Smith & Hall (E1867); Englmann (G1867b); Gruber (G1868b); Martin (E1869); Gossrau (G1869a); Ellendt & Seyffert (G1869b); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a); Schultz (G1871a); Bornhak (G1871b); Ellendt (G1872a); Lattmann & Müller (G1872b); Schmitz (E1880); Fowle (E1886); Rawlins & Inge (E1888); Schweizer-Sidler & Surber (G1888); Allen (E1891).

and Ritschl all agreed that there was no letter <u> in Classical Latin. This meant, for instance, that the word *servus* ('servant') would have been written as 'servvs' in Classical Latin, though this was not a convention followed by any of the nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in my sample. Most textbooks concurred that by the nineteenth century it had become 'conventional' to use <u> to differentiate the vocalic <u> from the consonantal <v>. Following this convention, of the 70 Latin textbooks used in England and Prussia which specified an alphabet, 66 included the letter <u>.<sup>90</sup>

However, the dual consonant-and-vowel function of the character <v> required explanation, so many authors who excluded <u> from their alphabet conceded that the letter <u> was nonetheless used in Classical Latin as printed in the nineteenth century. For example, the *Eton Latin Grammar* (E1888) noted that while there was no <u> in Latin, <u> was used as a vowel 'for convenience of distinction' from <v> (Rawlins & Inge 1888: 9). Gossrau's *Lateinische Sprachlehre* (G1869a) claimed that the need to distinguish between <u> and <v>, between <i> and <j> and between <y> and <z> resulted in a 25-letter alphabet rather than the 21 that the ancient Romans would have used (Gossrau 1869: 4). Krebs explained to readers that the Classical Romans 'did not know' the letters <u> or <j>, ('*Die Alten kannten diese Buchstaben U J nicht.*' Krebs G1833b: 1), but he makes use of both of these letters in his textbook (G1833b: 12-15, 215, 261, 291, 314, 328, 374 etc.) with no further explanation.

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<sup>90</sup> The letter <u> is absent from Ramshorn (G1826a); Zumpt (G1826b); Gossrau (G1869a); Schmitz (E1880).

Key complicated the matter of <u> and <v> further. In his *Latin Grammar on the System of Crude Forms* (E1846), Key claimed that Latin had no <v> at all, rather the grapheme <u> was the correct character. Key then included this rather confusing explanation:

When *u* before a vowel commenced a syllable, it was a consonant, and was pronounced like *w* in *wine*. But the English change it into a *v*. Thus *uallo*, (*wallo*), a palisade, is commonly written and pronounced *vallo*. (Key 1846: 1)

Key wrote that <v> was a letter that ‘the English’ used, incorrectly implying that <v> was not necessarily a letter used by other Latin-reading nations in the nineteenth century. The English translation of Zumpt ([trans. Schmitz] E1845) employed a similar rationale, but did not limit the letter <v> to texts of Latin origin which were published in England; Zumpt’s textbook simply stated that the grapheme <v> had not existed in Latin, but stipulated that ‘we make use of the sign [...] *v*’ (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 4). Ramshorn (G1826a) took a different approach, listing the capital <v> and the lower case <u> as the same letter, as shown in Figure 4:4.

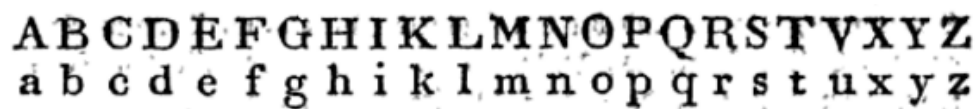


Figure 4:4 Distinction between <V> and <u> in Ramshorn's Latin Alphabet (G1826a:2)

Similar disagreement occurred over the letters <i> and <j>. In scholarly commentary, Brambach and Corssen both asserted that the letter <i> had originally represented both consonantal <j> and the vocalic <i> (Corssen 1858: 16; Brambach 1872: 3), with the grapheme <j> an innovation which had been conventionally used

in Latin texts since the Middle Ages (Fischer 2003: 249). For example, prior to the Middle Ages the Latin word for 'just, equitable or fair' would have been written as *iustus*, but with the introduction of the letter <j>, this changed to *justus*.

Smith acknowledged this in his *A Manual of Latin Grammar*, when he described the letter <j> as 'a modern invention' (Smith E1816: 1), but other textbooks listed <j> as a letter of the alphabet with no additional comment (i.e. Bröder & Ramshorn G1822: 1; Cobbett E1835: 8; Walford E1856b: 5; Moissisitzig G1867b: 1). Still other textbooks listed <j> parenthetically (e.g. Krüger & Grotefend G1842: 6; Madvig G1844: 2) or presented <i/j> together (Billroth & Ellendt G1838a:2; Madvig [trans. Woods] E1851b: 2). However, <j> was less accepted in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks than the letter <u>. The letter <u> was included in 66 textbooks, while <j> appeared in the alphabets of only 54 Latin textbooks in my corpus. Some authors who did not include <j> in the alphabet nevertheless used <j> consistently in the content of their textbooks (e.g. Zumpt G1826: 49; Weissenborn G1838b: 13, 251; Key E1847: 28, 34; Gruber G1868b: 24; Gossrau G1869a: 19, 20; Siberti & Miering G1870a: 22, 36). For example, the German edition of Scheller, which did not list <j> in the alphabet, nevertheless used the letter in the name *Jesus* (G1803a: 93) but eschewed <j> elsewhere, as in *biiugis* ('two yoked together') (G1803a: 115) rather than *bijugis*.

Which letters constituted the Latin alphabet remained an undecided, and sometimes hotly debated, issue in the nineteenth century. Among the criticisms of Kennedy's *Primer* was the objection to both <j> and <u>:



23 [...] is the utmost allowable complement of Latin letters. We have no business in Latin with a *j* distinct from *i*, nor with a *v* distinct from *u*, any more than with our symbol *w* [...]. The Primer says that 'j and u did not exist anciently' [...] and for us therefore they have no existence at all. (Hayman 1867: 5-6)

There does not appear to be any pattern to the treatment of the alphabet in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks. To judge from my sample, there were no trends over time in how the letters <u> or <j> were explained. Nor were there distinct differences between the way in which Prussian and English textbook authors handled the inclusion or exclusion of the letters of the Latin alphabet. Ultimately, each author seems to have selected for himself which letters to include in the Latin alphabet and how much justification, if any, he gave to readers to substantiate his choices.

#### 4.2.2 The Pronunciation of Latin

Considering the nineteenth-century belief that spelling reflected pronunciation, the lack of consistency regarding which letters constituted the alphabet made consistency in pronunciation unlikely. England also had a long history of independent scholarship regarding pronunciation. The historical linguist Vivien Law has argued that by the early Middle Ages, Latin pronunciation had split into two broad schools of thought: British 'insular' Latin, which developed in the British Isles, and vernacular Latin, which developed on the continent (see Law 1982). However, according to the medieval historian A.G. Rigg, the principal division in Latin pronunciation was between those countries where the language had derived from Latin (Italy, Spain, Portugal, France) and the countries where languages of Germanic origin were spoken (Germany, Austria, England) (Rigg 1996: 80). Smith, author of *A Manual of Latin Grammar* (E1816), seems to have been aware of the latter division:

All modern nations pronounce Latin nearly according to the powers of the letters in their own respective languages; though there is much evidence that the practice in Italy and Spain approach the nearest to that of the ancient Romans. (Smith 1816: 1)

Nolan, author of *An Introduction to Latin Grammar* (E1819), broadly agreed:

[...] the English pronounce the Roman letters with the sound which they possess in their own language [...] it must be evident, that a mode of pronunciation, founded on such principles, can bear but a remote resemblance to the antient [sic] pronunciation; a juster [sic] idea of which may be probably attained from the Italians. (Nolan E1819: 9-10)

In both England and Prussia, 57 of the 70 Latin textbooks which stipulated an alphabet and its pronunciation employed the terms and concepts of phonetics to

convey the correct articulation of letters in the Latin language, such as classifying sounds according to the organ of articulation used. Yet, as Kelly notes, ‘until the twentieth century, the phonetic and phonological analyses current in Europe were far from complete and hardly rigorous enough to give more than a rough guide’ to language learners (Kelly 1976: 68). The ‘roughness’ that Kelly describes is evident in the uneven way Latin textbook authors of the nineteenth century incorporated phonetics in their efforts to clarify pronunciation of the Latin language. Authors typically began by separating vowels (from the Latin *vocales*, or ‘vocal’ sounds) and consonants (from the Latin *consonans*, or ‘sounding together’, sounds which can only be pronounced in combination with a vowel) but there is little commonality beyond this division.

In some textbooks, the sounds of consonants were treated according to how the letter was physically articulated. For instance, three Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>91</sup> and seven Latin textbooks used in England<sup>92</sup> classed the letters <t> and <d> as dentals, though none of the authors offered a detailed explanation of what a ‘dental’ was beyond informing readers that the term derives from *dentes* (teeth)<sup>93</sup> or parenthetically noting that dentals are ‘teeth-sounds’ (Miller E1863: 2, E1864: 2) (*Zahnlauten* in Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 2) or ‘teeth-letters’ (Smith & Hall E1867: 1) (*Zahnbuchstaben* in Madvig G1844b: 5). There was less agreement regarding which letters should be classed as labials.<sup>94</sup> Of the 18 Latin textbooks used in Prussia and

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<sup>91</sup> Zumpt (G1844a); Madvig (G1844b: 5); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b: 2).

<sup>92</sup> Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b: 5); Donaldson (E1852b: 2); Hamilton (E1862a: 2); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2); Smith & Hall (E1867: 1); Martin (E1869a: 1).

<sup>93</sup> ‘Dental’ is defined in modern terms as ‘sounds made with the tongue placed against or near the teeth’ (O’Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Katamba 1996: 711)

<sup>94</sup> ‘Labial’ is defined in modern terms as ‘sounds made with closure or near closure of the lips’ (O’Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Katamba 1996: 718)

ten Latin textbooks used in England which specified certain letters as labials ‘because they are pronounced chiefly with the lips’ (Scheller E1825a: 5), all listed labial stops <p> and <b> (Madvig [trans. Woods] E1851b: 5; Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 2), but some textbooks also included the labial fricative <f>,<sup>95</sup> the labial nasal <m>, (Scheller E1825a: 5) and <v>, the voiced counterpart of <f>.<sup>96</sup> There was a similar lack of explanation regarding gutturals, a term which Hamilton notes comes from the Latin for ‘throat’ (*guttur*, E1862a: 1). Gutturals were described in textbooks as ‘throat sounds’ (Miller E1863: 2, E1864: 2) (*Kehllaute* in Kritz & Berger 1848: 7) or ‘throat-letters’ (Smith & Hall E1867: 1),<sup>97</sup> but there was also disagreement over which letters ought to be classed as gutturals. All authors agreed that the voiceless stop <c> was a guttural, and some authors added the voiceless stop <k><sup>98</sup> and the voiced stop <g>.<sup>99</sup> Other Prussian textbooks included the voiceless stops <c>, <q> and <k>, as well as the voiced stop <g>.<sup>100</sup> Kühner included these letters, plus <x>, <r> and <h> (Kühner G1842b: 2), while Kritz & Berger added <j> and <x> to the list (G1848: 5). Berger included <g>, <c>, <k>, <q>, <ch>, <r>, and <h> (Berger G1857b: 2), while the two textbooks authored by Ramshorn only included the glottal fricative <h> in his list of gutturals (Ramshorn G1826: 3; G1830: 10). As this account demonstrates, the presentation of which sounds and letters were labials, dentals or gutturals was

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<sup>95</sup> Scheller (E1825a: 5); Hamilton (E1862b: 1); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2); Smith & Hall (E1867: 1); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 2).

<sup>96</sup> Ramshorn (G1826: 3); Ramshorn (G1830: 10); Kühner (G1842b: 2); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845: 3); Kritz & Berger (G1848: 5); Jacob (E1851a: 3); Donaldson (E1852b: 2); Martin (E1869a: 1); Berger (G1857b: 2); Feldsbausch (G1865b: 2); Gossrau (G1869b: 5).

<sup>97</sup> ‘Guttural’ denotes sounds articulated near the back of the throat, though ‘guttural’ in this sense is considered an imprecise term in linguistics and covers what it today divided into velar, uvular, glottal and pharyngeal sounds.

<sup>98</sup> Donaldson (E1852b:2); Hamilton (G1862b: 1); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2).

<sup>99</sup> Jacob (E1851a: 3); Martin (E1869a: 1).

<sup>100</sup> Gossrau (G1869b: 5); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 2); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b: 2).

uneven at best, and the explanations of what constituted a labial, dental or guttural were either not included at all, or so basic as to be of dubious usefulness.

Some authors also classified consonants according to other distinguishing characteristics, labelling them as ‘mutes’, ‘liquids’, or ‘double consonants’. According to the nineteenth-century understanding of these terms, ‘mutes’ were not silent letters (such as the unarticulated final <e> in many English words), but letters which ‘emit no sound without a vowel’ (Walker 1822: 17),<sup>101</sup> and ‘liquids’ were letters which ‘flow into, or unite easily with the mutes’ (Walker 1822: 17). Letters were categorized as ‘double letters’ in the nineteenth century if their articulation required two sounds. For example, according to *The Bromsgrove Latin Grammar*, <x> realised the sounds /cs/, and <z>, was an elision of /ds/ (Jacob E1851a: 3).

While Latin textbook authors in both countries used the term ‘mutes’ in consonantal classification, the term appeared far more often in textbooks used in England; 23 Latin textbooks published in England tagged some consonants as mutes, but only nine textbooks in Prussia used the term. Of the textbooks which described mutes, 13 English textbooks<sup>102</sup> and six Prussian textbooks<sup>103</sup> categorized all letters

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<sup>101</sup>In a personal communication, Prof. Mike MacMahon of the University of Edinburgh has noted that when nineteenth-century authors used the term ‘mutes’, they might define the term as an oral stop (a phoneme that required a vowel sound to follow it), or ‘in the sense of a voiceless sound’ or ‘to add to the confusion, the word was also used to signal that a letter was not pronounced’ (MacMahon 2015: p.c.)

<sup>102</sup>Scheller (E1825a: 5); Elwell (E1833: 1); Powell (E1838: 2); Everard (E1843: 5); Kennedy (E1844c: 1); Kennedy (E1848: 1); White (E1852a: 1); Walford (E1856b: 5); Kavanagh (E1859: 2); Mongan (E1861c: 3); Lily (E1862c: 1); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2).

<sup>103</sup>Baumgärtner (G1819: 2); Schulz (G1843: 3); Zumpt (G1851: 11); Berger (G1857b: 2); Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 1); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 1).

which were not vowels, liquids or double consonants as mutes. The remainder specified certain letters as mutes.<sup>104</sup>

A greater number of Latin textbooks identified liquids and double consonants than mutes; 18 Latin textbooks used in Prussia and 25 Latin textbooks used in England listed liquids as <l>, <r>, <m>, and <n><sup>105</sup> while one English textbook (Fowle E1886: 1) and one Prussian textbook (Schmitt-Blank G1870b: 2) limited liquids to <l> and <r> as we would today.

The double consonants <x> and <z> were listed in 25 Latin textbooks used in England and 16 Latin textbooks used in Prussia<sup>106</sup>, with eight English textbooks<sup>107</sup> and one Prussian textbook (Zumpt G1851: 11) including the letter <j> as a double consonant, but with no examples or further information on which two sounds constitute the pronunciation of <j>. The classification of mutes is similarly uneven; 13 English authors and six Prussian authors informed readers that all letters not

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<sup>104</sup> Grotefend & Wenck (G1820: 6); Kühner (G1842b: 2); Madvig (G1844b: 5); Hiley (E1836: 1); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845: 3); Jacob (E1851a: 3); Anon. (E1861a: 8); Kennedy (E1866: 1); Fowle (E1886: 1).

<sup>105</sup> Scheller (G1803a: 4); Baumgärtner (G1819: 2); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820: 6); Scheller (E1825a: 5); Ramshorn (G1826a: 3); Zumpt (G1826b: 3); Ramshorn (G1830: 3); Elwell (E1833: 1); Mutzl (G1834: 8); Hiley (E1836: 1); Powell (E1838: 2); Weissenborn (G1838b: 8); Kühner (G1842b: 2); Everard (E1843: 5); Schulz (G1843: 3); Zumpt (G1844a: 4); Madvig (G1844b: 5); Kennedy (E1844c: 1); Taylor (E1844d: 1); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845: 3); Key (E1846: 1); Kennedy (E1848: 1); Kritz & Berger (G1848: 7); Jacob (E1851a: 3); White (E1852a: 2); Donaldson (E1852b: 1); Walford (E1856b: 5); Kavanagh (E1859: 8); Lattmann (G1861: 1); Anon. (E1861a: 8); Mongan (E1861c: 3); Hamilton (E1862a: 1); Lily (E1862c: 1); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2); Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 1); Kennedy (E1866: 1); Smith & Hall (E1867: 2); Zumpt (G1851: 11); Gossrau (G1869a: 5); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 1).

<sup>107</sup> Baumgärtner (G1819: 2); Elwell (E1833: 1); Hiley (E1836: 1); Everard (E1843: 5); Schulz (G1843: 3); Zumpt (G1851: 11); Kennedy (E1844c: 1); Taylor (E1844d: 1); Anon. (E1861a: 8); Mongan (E1861c: 3); Lily (E1862c: 1); Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 1); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 1).

classified as either liquids or double consonants were mutes; a further eleven textbook authors specified between seven and ten particular letters as mutes.<sup>108</sup>

The pronunciation of vowel sounds, on the other hand, was largely glossed over; beyond explaining that vowels made a sound themselves, very few textbooks explicated how vowels should be articulated. In England, Nolan offered a set of English exemplars for the pronunciation of all letters, including vowels, (Nolan E1819: 9) as shown in Figure 4:5.

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<sup>108</sup> All letters not classified as liquids or double consonants are mutes: Scheller (E1825a: 5); Elwell (E1833: 1); Powell (E1838:2); Everard (E1843: 5); Kennedy (E1844c: 1, E1848: 1); White (E1852a: 2); Walford (E1856b: 5); Kavanagh (E1859: 8); Mongan (E1861c: 3); Lily (E1862c: 1); Miller (E1863: 2, E1864: 2)

Mutes as:

<b>,<c>,<d>,<f>,<g>,<h>,<k>,<p>,<q>,<t> (Jacob E1851a: 3)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<f>,<g>,<h>,<p>,<s>,<t> (Anon. E1861a:8)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<f>,<g>,<k>,<q>,<t> (Madvig [trans. Woods] E1851b: 3)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<g>,<k>,<q>,<p>,<t> (Grotefend & Wenck 1820; Hiley E1836:1; Madvig G1844b: 5; Fowle E1886: 1)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<g>,<p>,<q>,<t> (Smith E1816: 1)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<g>,<k>,<p>,<t> (Kühner G1842b: 2)

<b>,<c>,<d>,<g>,<q>,<t> (Kennedy E1866: 1)

| Form. | Name.      |               | Latin.   | English. |
|-------|------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| A, a, | a,         | sounded as in | ago,     | agent.   |
| B, b, | be,        | - - - - -     | barba,   | barbel.  |
| C, c, | ce,        | - - - - -     | certus,  | certain. |
| D, d, | de,        | - - - - -     | dogma,   | dogma.   |
| E, e, | e,         | - - - - -     | emo,     | emit.    |
| F, f, | ef,        | - - - - -     | favor,   | favour.  |
| G, g, | ge,        | - - - - -     | gestus,  | gesture. |
| H, h, | aspiratio, | - - - - -     | horror,  | horror.  |
| I, i, | jod,       | - - - - -     | miser,   | miser.   |
| K, k, | ka,        | - - - - -     | kalendæ, | kalends. |
| L, l, | el,        | - - - - -     | labor,   | labour.  |
| M, m, | em,        | - - - - -     | minor,   | minor.   |
| N, n, | en,        | - - - - -     | nitrum,  | nitre.   |
| O, o, | o,         | - - - - -     | donum,   | donour.  |
| P, p, | pe,        | - - - - -     | parens,  | parent.  |
| Q, q, | qu,        | - - - - -     | quartus, | quarter. |
| R, r, | er,        | - - - - -     | rigor,   | rigour.  |
| S, s, | ess,       | - - - - -     | socius,  | social.  |
| T, t, | te,        | - - - - -     | tridens, | trident. |
| V, v, | vau,       | - - - - -     | vapor,   | vapour.  |
| U, u, | u,         | - - - - -     | usus,    | usual.   |
| X, x, | ix,        | - - - - -     | axis,    | axis.    |
| Y, y, | y,         | - - - - -     | hydra,   | hydra.   |
| Z, z, | zeta,      | - - - - -     | zelus,   | zealous. |

Figure 4:5 The Pronunciation of Latin using English Exemplars (Nolan E1819: 9)

Jacob also included exemplar words for the pronunciation, but limited these exemplars to vowels and diphthongs only (Jacob E1851a: 2), as shown in Figure 4:6.

|          |           |           |           |               |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>e</i>  | <i>i</i>  | <i>o</i>  | <i>u</i>      |
| father,  | they,     | machine,  | hole,     | rule.         |
| <i>æ</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>eu</i>     |
| sleight, | aye,      | out,      | weight,   | yew, boy, we. |

Figure 4:6 The Pronunciation of Latin Vowels and Diphthongs using English Exemplars (Jacob E1851a: 2)

However, none of the Prussian textbooks used this technique of native-language exemplars. The English edition of Zumpt's *A Grammar of the Latin Language* informed readers that 'the ancient pronunciation [of vowels] did not differ in any



essential point from that of modern Italian or German' (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 1) and Key opined that 'vowels were probably pronounced as they are now in Italian' (Key E1846: 1), but this information would only be helpful if pupils reading the textbook were familiar with the vowel sounds of German or Italian. The majority of textbook authors simply listed the vowels, effectively indicating that there was no difference in the pronunciation of vowels in Latin from the way in which vowels were pronounced in the readers' native language as shown in Figure 4:7 and Figure 4:8.

**Die Vocale der lateinischen Sprache sind: a, e, i, o, u, (y);  
ihre Aussprache: . . . . . a, e, i, o, u, (ü).**

(The Vowels of the Latin language are: a, e, i, o, u, (y);  
Their pronunciation:.....a, e, i, o, u (ü).)

*Figure 4:7 Illustration of Vowel Sounds in Mutzl (G1834: 5)*

**2. Die lateinischen Vocale entsprechen den eben genannten deutschen fast vollkommen, nemlich a=a, e=e, i=i, o=o, u=u, y=y.**

(The Latin vowels correspond to the above-mentioned German ones almost perfectly, namely a = a, e = e, i=i, u=u, y=y.)

*Figure 4:8 Illustration of Vowel Sounds in Kritz & Berger (G1848: 5)*

In modern foreign language textbooks, phonetic descriptors are often employed using the International Phonetic Alphabet<sup>109</sup> which incorporates the 'height' and 'position' of vowels corollary to the position of the tongue. An example of the English vowel sounds using this system is shown in Table 4.1.

<sup>109</sup> For instance, among many other textbooks currently in use, the phonetic alphabet is used in the popular *Hammer's German Grammar* (Durrell 2011: xvi) and *An Introduction to French Pronunciation* (Price 2005) which is recommended under the heading of 'Essential advance preparation for undergraduates before starting a course' in the Department of French at the University of Cambridge (Dept. of French 2015).

|        | Front                                  | Central                     | Back                           |
|--------|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| High   | i (beet)<br><br>I (sit)                |                             | u (boot)<br><br>U (book)       |
| Middle | e (baby)<br><br>ɛ (bet)<br><br>æ (bat) | ə (sofa)<br><br><br>ʌ (but) | o (bode)<br><br><br>ɔ (bought) |
| Low    |  |                             | a (palm)                       |

Table 4.1 English Vowel Sounds

Only one author approached the pronunciation of vowels through phonetic descriptors like these; Murphy's *A Grammar of the Latin Language* explained that vowels were articulated through 'an appropriate conformation of the organs', and placed the vowels in a table (shown in Figure 4:9) classing them as labials (lip-letters), gutturals (throat-letters) or dentals (tooth-letters) which were either 'original', 'middle' or 'ultimate', though Murphy did not explain what these terms meant (Murphy E1847: 2).

|         |          | LABIALS. | GUTTURALS. | DENTALS. |
|---------|----------|----------|------------|----------|
| Vowels. | Original | U        | I          | A        |
|         | Middle   | O        | E          |          |
|         | Ultimate | A        | ˘A         |          |

*Figure 4:9 Illustration of Vowel Sounds in Murphy (E1847: 1)*

It may be that Murphy used ‘original’, ‘middle’ or ‘ultimate’, to describe what is currently understood as the ‘high’ ‘middle’ and ‘low’ positions of the tongue, but Murphy’s classification was based on the lips, teeth and throat. He explained:

I and U are vocalisations of the throat and lip letters. In the table of letters A is placed in the same relation to the tooth letters, although it is the original independent breathing, and equally the final result of all the organs. (Murphy E1847: 2).

It is unlikely that this explanation was helpful to pupils just beginning to learn Latin; indeed, after considerable reflection, I am still struggling to understand how Murphy intended this information to help in the pronunciation of vowels.

By the late nineteenth century, there were several ‘competing systems’ of pronunciation (Collins 2012: 50). It is difficult to determine how many of these ‘competing systems’ were in use or what the practical differences in pronunciation between these ‘competing systems’ actually were as there does not seem to have been a contemporary source that definitively explicated those differences. I have attempted to gain a better understanding of what at least some of these schemes of pronunciation espoused by analysing contemporary descriptions of Latin pronunciation from five different sources (Tafel 1860; Gardner 1871; Harkness 1871;

Peck 1890 & 1898). All of these sources conveyed the pronunciation of Latin according to a specific scheme using exemplars, in which the pronunciation of phonemes in a (presumably) commonly understood word in English corresponded to the pronunciation of the comparable phoneme in Latin. These exemplars have been placed onto Table 4.2 to compare the different pronunciation schemes. However, this approach is somewhat limited; we cannot be confident that we, as modern readers, understand the articulation of the phonemes that the original authors intended and, as Table 4.2 shows, not every author included an exemplar word for every Latin vowel, consonant and diphthong.

Table 4.2 Comparison of Latin Pronunciation Schemes (comprised from Tafel 1860; Gardner 1871; Harkness 1871; Peck 1890 &amp; 1898)

|                   |    | Roman<br>(Peck 1890: 15-34) | English<br>(Harkness<br>1871: 2-6) | Continental<br>(Gardner 1871:<br>615-616) | Practical Roman<br>(Tafel 1860:<br>152-153) | Scotch<br>(Tafel 1860:<br>144-145) | Phonetic (Peck<br>(ed.) 1898: 924) |
|-------------------|----|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>Vowels</b>     | ā  | far                         | fate                               | āh  | father                                      | star                               | father                             |
|                   | ă  | pastime                     | fat                                | ăh  | the same as<br>father, but<br>shorter       | man                                | Cuba                               |
|                   | ē  | fate                        | mete                               | fane                                      | fate  | there                              | they                               |
|                   | ě  | net                         | met                                | fated                                     | then  | men                                | Senate                             |
|                   | ī  | machine                     | pine                               | flee                                      | machine,<br>caprice                         | audimus                            | machine                            |
|                   | ĩ  | din                         | pin                                | fleet                                     | sit   | legis                              | pin                                |
|                   | ō  | note                        | note                               | tone                                      | hole  |                                    | note                               |
|                   | ö  | not                         | not                                | intonate                                  | nor   |                                    | obey                               |
|                   | ū  | fool                        | tube                               | boot                                      | rude  | tube                               | moo                                |
|                   | ű  | full                        | tub                                | moon                                      | put   |                                    | hood                               |
| <b>Diphthongs</b> | ae | fate                        |                                    | there                                     | ay  |                                    | ah-ee quickly<br>spoken            |
|                   | au | now                         | author                             | our                                       | owl   |                                    | out                                |
|                   | eu | height                      | neuter                             | feudal                                    | eh-oo                                       |                                    | feud (nearly)                      |
|                   | oe | toil                        |                                    | long or short 'e'                         |   |                                    | oh-ee quickly<br>spoken            |
|                   | ei | feint                       | height                             |   | find  |                                    | eight                              |

Table 4.2 Comparison of Latin Pronunciation Schemes (comprised from Tafel 1860; Gardner 1871; Harkness 1871; Peck 1890 &amp; 1898)

|                    |   | <b>Roman<br/>(Peck 1890: 15-34)</b>  | <b>English<br/>(Harkness<br/>1871: 2-6)</b>                               | <b>Continental<br/>(Gardner 1871:<br/>615-616)</b> | <b>Practical Roman<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>152-153)</b> | <b>Scotch<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>144-145)</b> | <b>Phonetic (Peck<br/>(ed.) 1898: 924)</b>          |
|--------------------|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|
| <b>Semi-vowels</b> | j | sound of English 'y'   |   |  | year   |   |   |
|                    | v | almost like w  |   |  | like the English                                     |   |   |
| <b>Consonants</b>  | b | as in English  | in general as in English  |  | as in English  |   | as in English;<br>before s or t = p                 |
|                    | c | like k   | soft before e, i,<br>y, ae and oe,<br>and hard in all<br>other situations |  |  |   | always k  |
|                    | d | as an initial and a<br>medial, sounded<br>as in English; as a<br>final it was<br>pronounced more<br>like t | in general as in<br>English   |  | as in English  |   | as in English; at<br>the end of<br>words nearly = t |
|                    | f | precisely as our <i>f</i> ,<br>i.e. with the lower<br>lips against the<br>upper teeth                      | in general as in<br>English   |  | as in English  |   | as in English                                       |
| <b>Consonants</b>  | g | get  | soft before e, i,<br>y, ae and oe,  |  |  |   | get   |

Table 4.2 Comparison of Latin Pronunciation Schemes (comprised from Tafel 1860; Gardner 1871; Harkness 1871; Peck 1890 &amp; 1898)

|                   |   | <b>Roman<br/>(Peck 1890: 15-34)</b>  | <b>English<br/>(Harkness<br/>1871: 2-6)</b> | <b>Continental<br/>(Gardner 1871:<br/>615-616)</b> | <b>Practical Roman<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>152-153)</b> | <b>Scotch<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>144-145)</b> | <b>Phonetic (Peck<br/>(ed.) 1898: 924)</b>              |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|
|                   |   |  | and hard in all other situations            |  |  |   |   |
|                   | h | as in English  | in general as in English                    |  |  |   | as in English   |
|                   | j | like y in English  |   |  |  |   | like y in English                                       |
|                   | l | as in English  | in general as in English                    |  | as in English  |   | as in English   |
|                   | m | as in English, but 'weakly sounded at the end of words   | in general as in English                    |  | as in English  |   | as in English   |
|                   | n | usually had the sound of English, but before c,q,g, or x the sound of the English ng in 'linger' | in general as in English                    |  | as in English  |   | as in English; bt before c, q, g or x = ng as in linger |
|                   | p | as in English  | in general as in English                    |  | as in English  |   | as in English   |
|                   | q | <b>queen</b>   | in general as in English                    |  |  |   | as in English   |
| <b>Consonants</b> | r | as in English with a slight trill  | final 'r' when followed by another          |  | as in English  |   | as in English with a slight trill                       |

*Table 4.2 Comparison of Latin Pronunciation Schemes (comprised from Tafel 1860; Gardner 1871; Harkness 1871; Peck 1890 & 1898)*

|  |   | <b>Roman<br/>(Peck 1890: 15-34)</b>  | <b>English<br/>(Harkness<br/>1871: 2-6)</b>           | <b>Continental<br/>(Gardner 1871:<br/>615-616)</b>         | <b>Practical Roman<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>152-153)</b> | <b>Scotch<br/>(Tafel 1860:<br/>144-145)</b> | <b>Phonetic (Peck<br/>(ed.) 1898: 924)</b> |
|--|---|--|---|--|--|---|--|
|  |   |  | consonant<br>obscures the<br>vowel sound              |  |  |   |  |
|  | s | as in English for<br>initial 's', as in sip; at<br>the end of words it<br>was barely audible | son, though in a<br>few words s has<br>the sound of z |  | always had a<br>pure sound                           |   | sit  |
|  | t | as in English, seems<br>to have been less<br>strongly sounded at<br>the end of a word        | time  |  | always had a<br>simple sound                         |   | as in English                              |
|  | v | approximating w  |   |  |  |   | w  |
|  | x | as in English  | /ks/  |  | as in English  |   | as in English                              |
|  | y | like the German ü  |   | like the German<br>ü                                       |  |   |  |
|  | z | as in English  | in general as in<br>English                           | probably<br>pronounced<br>very softly and<br>nearly like s | like the Italian z<br>voz: ts or ds                  |   | as in English                              |



In the wake of these competing schemes, in England there arose a movement in 1871 to 'restore' Latin pronunciation to a system which approximated what scholars judged to be 'the pronunciation of educated speakers of Latin in the Augustan period' (Collins 2012: 24). The motivation for change was varied and may have derived from the confusion engendered by the differences between the competing systems, or an interest in correcting perceived 'errors' in the English system or, possibly, the desire to retain Latin as a *lingua franca*. We can see these sentiments expressed in an article in *The Oxford Academy* from 1871 which claimed that

The time seems to have arrived for an attempt to reform the pronunciation of Latin in England [...]. The pronunciation now in use among us gives to Latin a sound which it is impossible to believe that it ever had while it was a living language. It makes Latin in an English mouth unintelligible to all other Latin-reading nations. It is a fertile source of confusion in lectures which touch upon Comparative Philology. (Anon. 1871a: 187)

By contrast, D.B. Munro of Oxford (1836-1905), who was heavily involved in the scheme, wrote in 1871 that reform should take place 'for its own sake and the sake of the ancient language, not to make ourselves more intelligible to "other Latin reading nations"' (Munro 1871: 6). A committee was formed to 'make enquiries' (Palmer 1871: 187) which included Munro, as well as several of his colleagues from various colleges at Oxford, including the German-born philologist Max Müller (1823-1900), Mr H.F. Tozer (1829-1916), J. Purves (1840-1889), John Wordsworth (1843-1911), and Edwin Palmer (1824-1895). Drawing on Corssen's work, and incorporating the advice of the committee, Palmer & Munro published a 'Syllabus of Latin

Pronunciation' (Palmer & Munro 1872) in 1872. A summary of their recommendations was printed in *The Educational Times* (Figure 4:10):

The proposal which we would make is as follows: -

That in pronouncing Latin vowels –

|          |   |   |   |  |
|----------|---|---|---|--|
| <i>ā</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>a</i> as in <i>father</i> .           |
| <i>ă</i> | “ | “ | “ | the first <i>a</i> in <i>papa</i> .      |
| <i>ē</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>a</i> as in <i>cake</i> .             |
| <i>e</i> | “ | “ | “ | the first <i>a</i> as in <i>aerial</i> . |
| <i>ī</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>e</i> as in <i>he</i> .               |
| <i>i</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>e</i> as in <i>behalf</i> .           |
| <i>ō</i> | “ | “ | “ | as at present. (i.e. 'note')             |
| <i>o</i> | “ | “ | “ | as at present.                           |
| <i>ū</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>o</i> as in <i>who</i> .              |
| <i>u</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>u</i> as in <i>fruition</i> .         |

That in pronouncing Latin diphthongs –

|           |   |   |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|
| <i>ae</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>a</i> as in <i>cake</i> .                        |
| <i>au</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>ow</i> as in <i>owl</i> .                        |
| <i>ei</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>i</i> in <i>idle</i> .                           |
| <i>eu</i> | “ | “ | “ | should be pronounced as at present. (i.e. 'neuter') |
| <i>oe</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>a</i> as in <i>cake</i> .                        |
| <i>ui</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>we</i> as in <i>we</i> .                         |

That in pronouncing Latin semi-vowels –

|                       |   |   |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|--|
| <i>j</i> ( <i>i</i> ) | “ | “ | “ | should have the sound of <i>y</i> in <i>yard</i> . |
| <i>v</i> ( <i>u</i> ) | “ | “ | “ | should be sounded as at present.                   |

With regard to the pronunciation of Latin consonants, the most important change, if it were thought that it could be attempted without intolerable offence to the ears of all the Latin-reading nations, would be that –

|          |   |   |   |  |
|----------|---|---|---|--|
| <i>c</i> | “ | “ | “ | should uniformly have the sound of <i>k</i> , or <i>c</i> in <i>cage</i> . |
| <i>g</i> | “ | “ | “ | <i>g</i> in <i>gate</i> .  |

Figure 4:10 Summary of Palmer & Munro's *Syllabus of Latin Grammar* (1872: 193)

When we compare Palmer & Munro's proposed pronunciation scheme to that of other pronunciation guides in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks used in England, such as Nolan's 1819 *Introduction to Latin Grammar* (Nolan E1819: 1), Ruddiman's *Rudiments* published in 1854 (E1854a: x) and the 1888 edition of *The Eton Latin Grammar* by Rawlins & Inge (E1888: 9), we can see more clearly how this new scheme differed from the others. For instance, as shown in Table 4.3, textbooks published

prior to Palmer & Munro's recommendation did not differentiate between long and short vowels, though Latin textbooks in England both before and after the publication of the scheme showed differences in the pronunciation of vowels.

| Vowel/<br>Diphthong | Nolan's<br>Pronunciation<br>1819 | Ruddiman's<br>Pronunciation<br>1854 | Palmer &<br>Munros<br>Pronunciation<br>1871 | Rawlins &<br>Inge's<br>Pronunciation<br>1888 |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| ā                   | <b>agent</b><br>/'eɪdʒ(ə)nt/     | <b>far</b><br>/fɑː/                 | <b>father</b><br>/'fɑːðə/                   | <b>psalm</b><br>/sɑːm/                       |
| ă                   |                                  |                                     | <b>papa</b><br>/pə'pɑː/                     | <b>past</b><br>/pɑːst/                       |
| ē                   | <b>emit</b><br>/'iːmɪt/          | <b>they</b><br>/ðeɪ/                | <b>cake</b><br>/keɪk/                       | <b>aerial</b><br>/'eɪrɪəl/                   |
| ĕ                   |                                  |                                     | <b>aerial</b><br>/'eɪrɪəl/                  | <b>sped</b><br>/spɛd/                        |
| ī                   | <b>miser</b><br>/'mɪzɪə/         | <b>marine</b><br>/mə'reɪn/          | <b>he</b><br>/hiː/                          | <b>feet</b><br>/fiːt/                        |
| ĭ                   |                                  |                                     | <b>behalf</b><br>/bɪ'hɑːf/                  | <b>fill</b><br>/fɪl/                         |
| ō                   | <b>donour</b><br>/'dəʊnə/        | <b>mole</b><br>/məʊl/               | 'as at present'                             | <b>board</b><br>/bɔːd/                       |
| ŏ                   |                                  |                                     | 'as at present'                             | <b>not</b><br>/nɒt/                          |
| ū                   | <b>usual</b><br>/'juːʒʊəl/       | <b>rule</b><br>/ruːl/               | <b>who</b><br>/huː/                         | <b>pool</b><br>/puːl/                        |
| ŭ                   |                                  |                                     | <b>Fruition</b><br>/frʊ'ɪʃ(ə)n/             | <b>pull</b><br>/pʊl/                         |
| ae                  | <b>by</b><br>/bɪ/                | <b>sleight</b><br>/slɪt/            | <b>cake</b><br>/keɪk/                       | <b>Aérien</b><br>/aerjɛ, jɛn/                |
| au                  | <b>awl</b><br>/ɔːl/              | <b>out</b><br>/aʊt/                 | <b>owl</b><br>/aʊl/                         | <b>town</b>                                  |

Table 4.3 Comparison of Pronunciation Schemes of Nolan, Ruddiman and Rawlins & Inge to Palmer & Munro

The Restored Pronunciation scheme put forth by Palmer & Munro was put into practice unevenly, even at Oxford and Cambridge. Ellis related that, when conducting

a viva voce at Oxford in 1873, he ‘was the only examiner who used the reformed pronunciation’ (Ellis 1874: vi). Bertrand Russell recalled his experience at Cambridge in the 1890s, where the Master and Vice-Master of Trinity both eschewed the Restored Pronunciation but still did not agree on how to articulate Latin:

[the Vice-Master ...] stuck to the English pronunciation of Latin, while the Master adopted the Continental pronunciation. When they read *grace* in alternate verses, the effect was curious [...] (Russell 1893 [2000]: 64)

The greatest controversy regarding Palmer & Munro’s proposals appears to have arisen over the pronunciation of consonants. Palmer & Munro asserted <c> should be pronounced ‘always as *k*’ and <g> should be uniformly hard as in ‘get’. Like many nineteenth-century Latin textbook authors, Palmer & Munro were reluctant to make formal recommendations with regard to <v>:

As to consonant *u*, or *v*, we believe that its sound was as near as possible to that of the vowel *u*: i.e. like the *ou* of the French *oui*, not differing much therefore from English *w*. But as there is great diversity of opinion on this point, we propose to leave it an open question whether it shall be pronounced in this way, or as the English and Italian *v*. (Palmer & Munro 1872: 193)

This ‘diversity of opinion’ often relied on taste rather than scholarship; Max Müller demonstrated a sound rationale based on scholarly research for the pronunciation of <v> as /w/, but noted that since ‘*w* is a sound peculiar to English [...] I suppose it will not be maintained that this was the sound of the Roman *v*’ (Müller 1871: 566). Pyle agreed with Müller’s scholarship and colourfully referred to the English distaste for the pronunciation of consonantal <v> as /w/ as ‘the wee-wees’ (Pyles 1939: 156). The

German habit of pronunciation was not easily accepted in England, as illustrated by Story's view expressed in *The Pronunciation of the Latin Language*:

[There is] a still more serious innovation upon all accredited forms of utterance, and which is in vogue solely, as far as we are aware, among the Germans; and this is the pronunciation of the consonant *v* [...]. The Germans pronounce it as if it were simply *u* or *w*. Thus they say (to express the sound in English) Waynee, weedee, weekee, for Veni, vidi, vici. Against this pronunciation we must enter the most positive and absolute protest. (Story 1879: 69)

This 'vogue' of pronouncing <*v*> as /*w*/ was evident in many Latin textbooks used in Prussia,<sup>110</sup> but not all English-Latin textbooks protested the 'wee-wees'. We find the pronunciation of <*v*> as /*w*/ in textbooks in England authored by Murphy (E1847: 2) and Rawlins & Inge (E1888: 9). Roby's *Grammar of the Latin Language* also stated that <*v*> should be pronounced as /*w*/ rather than 'labio-dental *v*' (Roby E1871a: xl). But while a review of Roby's grammar in *The Saturday Review* credited Roby with having 'establish[ed] conclusively' that consonantal <*v*> was 'either the English *w*, or at least a true labial, and not the English labio-dental *v*' (Anon. 1871a: 329), this pronunciation was not common in England. Nor was the pronunciation of <*v*> as /*w*/ universal in Prussia; at least two Prussian textbooks in my corpus argued that <*v*> was properly pronounced as /*f*/ as in the German '*Vogel*' (i.e. Grotefend & Wenck G1820: 7; Mutzl G1834:7). However, there does not appear to have been a heated debate in Prussia regarding the pronunciation of consonantal <*v*>, as there was in England.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> e.g. Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 2); Krebs (G1833: 2); Grotefend (G1833a: 4); Billroth & Ellendt (G1838a: 7); Kritz & Berger (G1848: 9); Seyffert & Ellendt (G1869b:3); Ellendt (G1872a: 3); Schultz (G1871a: 7).

<sup>111</sup> The relative lack of interest regarding the pronunciation of <*v*> in Prussia may be due to the lack of the English /*w*/ sound in German.

While Prussian scholars were not as divided over the pronunciation of <v> as scholars in England, the pronunciation of the letter <c> was a matter of debate in both countries. Latin textbook authors in my sample variously asserted that <c> was pronounced as /ts/, /s/, or /k/ depending on the position of <c> in the word and the native language of the learner. Broadly, Prussian texts agreed that <c> was pronounced /ts/ when <c> came before central and front vowels (i.e. <e>, <i>, <y>, <ae> and <oe>).<sup>112</sup> Yet, according to Ramshorn (G1826a: 4), Grotefend (G1833a: 4), Krebs (G1833b: 3), and Gossrau (G1869a: 8), <c> was pronounced as /k/ before the letters <a>, <o> and <u>, that is, before back vowels. Englmann (G1867c: 1) and Schultz (G1871a: 5) added that <c> was also pronounced as /k/ when it appeared before a consonant as in *clam* ('secretly') (Englmann G1867c: 1). Baumgärtner (G1819: 3), Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 2), Krebs (G1833b: 3), and Schulz (G1843:4) included these rules, plus the additional circumstance of <c> appearing at the end of a word, such as *lac* ('milk') (Baumgärtner G1819:3; Krebs G1833b: 3) or *nunc* ('now') (Bröder & Ramshorn G1822: 4). Textbooks written by Lattmann (G1861: 2) and Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 2) added that when <c> appears after <au> it is also pronounced as /k/, such as in *paucus* ('a few'). However, some nineteenth-century Prussian textbooks claimed an exception when pronouncing the name 'Cicero'; Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a:9), Schulz (G1843: 4), Berger (G1857b: 2) and Englmann (G1867c: 1) all wrote that the pronunciation of <c> was /ts/ when <c> appears before <i>, but that Cicero was pronounced as 'Kikero', though these authors offered no

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<sup>112</sup> e.g. Baumgärtner (G1819: 3); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820a: 6); Bröder & Ramshorn (G1822: 2); Ramshorn (G1826a: 4); Grotefend (G1829: 3, G1833a: 4); Krebs (G1833b: 3); Mutzl (G1834:6); Zumpt (G1844a: 6); Madvig (G1844b:6).

explanation for this exception. In no situation does any Prussian textbook indicate that <c> should be pronounced as /s/.

In England, the German-trained Max Müller endorsed Palmer & Munro's proposal that <c> should be pronounced as /k/, at least after <e>, <i>, <y>, <ae>, <eu> and <oe> in an article in *The Academy* (Müller 1871a: 145). However, matters of taste intruded again; Müller wrote of a 'fear of ridicule' and a 'dislike of the harsh and disagreeable sounds of such words as Kikero, fakit' (Müller 1871a: 145) if this pronunciation were adopted. Müller expressed concern that such a pronunciation (i.e. 'Kikero') could not 'be attempted without intolerable offence to the ears of all Latin-reading nations' (Müller 1871: 566). Key (E1848) noted of the English pronunciation of <c> that:

[...] the English follow their own rule [...]. Thus Cicero, the Roman orator, called himself Kikero. The English pronounce his name as if written Sisero. (Key 1846: 2)

In many instances where Prussian textbooks gave the pronunciation of <c> as /ts/, British textbooks pronounced it as /s/. In the *Elements of Latin Grammar*, Hiley claimed /s/ was the pronunciation for <c> appearing before non-back vowels <e>, <i> and <y>. Grant (E1808: 2), Scheller (E1825a: 8), Hiley (E1836: 2), Everard (E1843: 5), Zumpt ([trans. Schmitz] 1845: 5), and Mongan (E1861c:4) likewise advocated pronouncing <c> as /s/ before <e>, <i>, and <y>, as well as before the front diphthongs <ae> and <oe>. It is likely that this disparity between <c> as /ts/ in Prussian textbooks and as /s/ in textbooks used in England is evidence of the tendency to pronounce 'Latin nearly according to the powers of the letters in their

own respective languages' mentioned above (Smith 1816: 1). With the exception of final word articulation as in 'cats' (/kæts/), English lacks the phoneme /ts/, while in German, the sound is far more common (e.g. *Zahl* 'number' (/tsa:l/), *Zoo* 'zoo' (/tso:/). Note that these textbooks were all published prior to the 1871 commission for Restored Pronunciation; textbooks published after 1871 either did not offer any pronunciation for the letter <c>, as in Gibson (E1883), Fowle (E1871c; 1886), Allen (E1891), and Frost (E1898), or supported the pronunciation of <c> as /k/ in all situations as Palmer & Munro recommended, as found in Roby (E1871a: xliii), Schmitz (E1880) and Rawlins & Inge (E1888).

Comparing the treatment of pronunciation in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks, it seems that, despite the high level of interest in orthography and phonology, little was resolved in England and little was altered in Prussia. Efforts in England to implement the formal recommendations for Reformed Pronunciation published in the 1871 *Syllabus of Latin Pronunciation* were ultimately unsuccessful (Pyles 1939: 153). In 1886, the Cambridge Philological Society renewed interest in the scheme and appointed yet another committee to undertake the subject of the pronunciation of Latin and produced a short set of recommendations entitled *The Pronunciation of Latin in the Augustan Period* in 1887, but these recommendations also failed to establish consistent pronunciation, and further forays into pronunciation reform carried on into the twentieth century (such as an initiative by the Classical Association in 1904, and that of the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge in 1906).



Scholarly opinion of Latin pronunciation was hampered in England by a desire to avoid 'offensive' articulation, whereas scholarship in Prussia appears not to have been influenced by such concerns. Max Müller, a German-born scholar in England, succumbed to English sensibilities when he appended to his research findings concerns that his suggestions on Latin pronunciation might cause 'intolerable offence to the ears' (Müller 1871: 566). Perhaps as a consequence, Latin textbooks published in England after 1870 were less likely to describe pronunciation. Prior to 1870, 71% (42 of the 50) Latin textbooks used in England specified Latin pronunciation. Of the eight Latin texts in my corpus published in England after 1870, only three mentioned pronunciation (Roby E1871a: lxxxi-lxxii; Schmitz E1880: 9-10; Rawlins & Inge E1888: 9-11).

The Prussian motivation for researching the letters and sounds of the Latin language echoed Munro's and Roby's, in that Prussians pursued the topic 'for its own sake and the sake of the ancient language', rather than to be more intelligible to 'other Latin reading nations' (Munro 1871: 6). Yet while it is easier (though by no means easy) to establish agreement on historical fact than it is to do so in matters of aesthetics, no such agreement was reached regarding either the Latin alphabet, nor the pronunciation of the Latin language within nineteenth-century textbooks.

Ultimately, efforts to clearly illustrate how the Latin language should be pronounced were hindered both by the admission that no one was sure how the ancient Romans had pronounced it, and by a lack of standardized means to convey sounds in writing. Authors who attempted to use phonetic or phonological descriptors did not explain the terms they were using in enough detail to be useful

without the additional assistance of a knowledgeable teacher, who may have had his own opinions on the matter and eschewed the guidance of the textbook altogether.

## 4.3 Inflectional Morphology

### 4.3.1 The Locative Case

Many features of grammar presented in nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in both Prussia and England had been handed down from grammatical treatises written since Aelius Donatus, Flavius Charisius, and Diomedes Grammaticus in the fourth century A.D. Nineteenth-century Latin textbooks were fundamentally consistent with these early works on grammar, including the identification of six noun cases with morphological markers in both the singular and the plural. Donatus' *Ars Minor* is typical of these early grammars in its description of how inflectional suffixes are added to noun stems, altering the case:

*casus nominum quot sunt? sex. qui? nominatiuus, genetiuus, datiuus, accusatiuus, uocatiuus, ablatiuus. per hos omnium generum nomina pronomina participia declinantur hoc modo. magister nomen appellatiuum generis masculini numeri singularis figurae simplicis casus nominatiui et uocatiui, quod declinabitur sic: nominatiuo hic magister, genetiuo huius magistri... (Aelius Donatus 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC: lines 26-32 in Keil 1864)*

(‘How many noun cases are there? Six. What are they? Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, Ablative. Nouns, pronouns and participles of all genders are declined through these cases in the following manner. ‘Teacher’ is a common noun of the masculine gender, singular number, simple form, nominative and vocative case, which will be declined thus: nominative *hic magister*, genitive *huius magistri...*’)

The legacy of information and organization inherited from ancient grammars helps explain why so many Latin grammars were (completely or partially) written in Latin even into the nineteenth century. As Vivien Law noted, originally the *Ars Minor*, and others grammars of its time, were ‘clearly targeted at an audience of native speakers

who have already mastered the forms of their mother tongue; what Donatus does is to make such people aware of the various morphosemantic categories of their language' (Law 2003: 80). Law observed that 'any non-native speaker attempting to learn Latin as a foreign language from these grammars alone would fail (if not already discouraged by the fact that they are in Latin from start to finish)' (Law 2003: 80). This was no longer the case by the nineteenth century, when most textbooks were written in the pupil's mother-tongue. However, some nineteenth-century grammars continued to present at least some portion of their instructional material through the medium of the Latin language (for instance Edwards E1830; Kennedy E1844; Spurgin E1849; White E1852; Miller E1864).

Textbook content written in the vernacular was but one of the changes which appeared in textbooks of the nineteenth century. For instance, in nineteenth-century textbooks, we see the incorporation of the idea that languages changed; even a dead language such as Latin had once been a living language and, as such, had undergone change during its lifetime. In keeping with the division of Latin literature into 'Ages', some nineteenth-century textbooks indicated when their instructional content included grammatical uses outside the time frame of the Golden Age.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps these observations and asides about usage outside of the Golden Age were a means of compensating for the fact that Latin textbook authors in the nineteenth century lacked a clear distinction between the analysis of language synchronically (at a

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<sup>113</sup> e.g. Scheller (E1825a: 1), Madvig (G1844b: 1), Murphy (E1847: xii), Madvig [trans. Woods] (E1851b: 1), Miller (E1863: 332), Arnold (E1871b: 116), etc.

particular point in time) and diachronically (language evolution and change over time).<sup>114</sup>

Perhaps the most enduring legacy which nineteenth-century textbooks inherited from their fourth century predecessors is that of nominal morphology. Donatus, Quintilian and Varro all recognized the same noun case endings that Kennedy and Zumpt did. For the convenience of the reader, these are given in Table 4.4 below.

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<sup>114</sup> These approaches to language were not articulated until the twentieth century by Saussure (de Saussure [1916] 2006: 117, see also Barr 1995: 1; Meyer 2005: 135).

**Singular**

| Cases and Functions  | Declension | I   | II            |     | III   |         | IV  |     | V   |
|--|------------|-----|---------------|-----|-------|---------|-----|-----|-----|
|  | Gender     | F   | M             | N   | M & F | N       | M   | N   | F   |
| Nominative<br>(indicates subject)  |            | -a  | -us (-er, -r) | -um | -     | -       | -us | -ū  | -ēs |
| Genitive<br>(indicates possession)   |            | -ae | -i            | -i  | -is   | -is     | -ūs | -ūs | -eī |
| Dative<br>(indirect object)  |            | -ae | -o            | -o  | -ī    | -ī      | -uī | -ū  | -eī |
| Accusative (direct object)   |            | -am | -um           | -um | -em   | -       | -um | -ū  | -em |
| Vocative (direct address)  |            | -a  | -e, -ī        | -us | -a    | -a      | -us | -us | -us |
| Ablative (separation,<br>instrumentality, means,<br>accompaniment or locality) |            | -ā  | -ō            | -ō  | -e    | -e (-ī) | ū   | -ū  | -ē  |

**Plural**

| Cases and Functions  | Declension | I     | II    |       | III        |            | IV    |       | V     |
|--|------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | Gender     | F     | M     | N     | M & F      | N          | M     | N     | F     |
| Nominative<br>(indicates subject)  |            | -ae   | -ī    | -a    | -ēs        | -a (-ia)   | -ūs   | -ua   | -ēs   |
| Genitive<br>(indicates possession)   |            | -ārum | -ōrum | -ōrum | -um (-ium) | -um (-ium) | -uum  | -uum  | -ērum |
| Dative<br>(indirect object)  |            | -īs   | -īs   | -īs   | -ibus      | -ibus      | -ibus | -ibus | -ēbus |
| Accusative (direct object)   |            | -ās   | -ōs   | -a    | -ēs (-īs)  | -a (-ia)   | -ūs   | -ua   | -ēs   |
| Vocative (direct address)  |            | -a    | -us   | -us   | -a         | -a         | -us   | -us   | -us   |
| Ablative (separation,<br>instrumentality, means,<br>accompaniment or locality) |            | -īs   | -īs   | -īs   | -ibus      | -ibus      | -ibus | -ibus | -ēbus |

Table 4.4 Latin Endings by Case, Declension and Gender

Grammarians from antiquity had handed down only six noun cases (e.g. Aelius Donatus 4th c. A.D.: 615, Diomedes Grammaticus 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.: 301), as shown in Table 4.4. For more than a millennium, the Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, and Ablative cases had sufficed for Latin scholars. But in the nineteenth century, as a result of work in comparative and historical linguistics, an additional noun case was proposed: the Locative. A Locative case was not separately identified by ancient grammarians or, at least, its function was not known by that term. Whether or not to recognize a Locative case was a matter of debate in both England and Prussia during the nineteenth century. As with details of phonology and orthography, the decision to include or exclude the Locative case in Latin textbooks appears to have been influenced by considerations beyond strictly linguistic criteria.

The Locative case expresses place ‘in which’ or place ‘where’, but its use in Latin is lexically restricted to the names of cities, towns and small islands, and a small number of other nouns indicating place, such as *domus* (house), *humus* (ground) and *rus* (countryside). The morphology of the Locative case is as follows:

| Declension | I     |        | II     |        | III   |        | IV | V |
|------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|----|---|
|            | Sing. | Plural | Sing.  | Plural | Sing. | Plural |    |   |
| Locative   | -ae   | -īs    | -e, -ī | -īs    | -ī    | -ibus  | —  | — |

Table 4.5 Morphological Locative Endings

The existence of the Locative case in Sanskrit to denote ‘place where’ had been an accepted fact since at least the eighteenth century (Chaudhuri 1788: 24). The existence of a Locative case in Latin was first proposed by German philologist

Friederich August Rosen (1805-1837) in 1826. Rosen, who had been a pupil of Bopp (Davies 1998: 82), was appointed professor of Oriental Languages at the University of London in 1828 and the chair of Sanskrit in 1836. In his 1826 *Corporis Radicum Sanscritarum Prolusio* ('Preliminary Collection of Sanskrit Roots'), Rosen identified the Latin words *Romae* ('in Rome') and *domi* ('at home') as nouns in the Locative case (Rosen 1826: 12). Bopp later credited Rosen as the first to recognize Latin words written in 'the old locative' (Bopp [trans. Eastwick] 1845: 213-214). Prior to Rosen's proposal of the Locative case in Latin, the means by which Latin expressed place 'in which' or place 'where' had required a far more complex explanation. Previously, Latin textbooks expressed place 'in which' or 'where' regarding cities, towns and small islands by using three different cases, depending on the declension and number of the noun: the morphological endings of the Genitive case were used if the noun in question was of the first or second declension singular; or the morphological endings of the Ablative case if the noun was of the third declension singular; or the morphological endings of the Ablative case for all plural nouns. A few examples of the explanation for this construction from nineteenth-century Latin textbooks will help illustrate the complexity of describing the expression of place 'in which' or 'where', without the Locative case, as shown in Figure 4:11 and Figure 4:12:



5. The time, or place, at which any thing is done, is put in the Ablative case: but names of towns, if of the singular number and first or second declension, as well as *domus* and *humus*, are used in the Genitive.

*Eodem anno Athenis* ego, tu *Romæ*, frater meus *domi*, et *Carthagine* tuus, diligenter studebamus.

Figure 4:11 Expressions of 'Place Where' (Powell E1838: 96)

The name of a town *at which* any thing is done, if it be of the first or second declension, and of the singular number, is put in the genitive: as,

*Quid Rômæ faciâ?* *What shall I do at Rome?*

But if the name of the town is of the plural number only, or the third declension, it is put in the ablative: as,

*Thēbis nutritus, an Argis; Brought up at Thebes, or at Argos.*

Figure 4:12 Expressions of 'Place Where' (Everad E1843: 96)

Though the German linguist Berthold Delbrück (1842-1922) wrote in 1880 that changes due to the influence of comparative linguistics in teaching of classical languages were only slowly realised (*Aber die Consequenzen, namentlich so weit die Umgestaltung der classischen Studien in Frage kam, wurden doch nur langsam gezogen*), he made an exception of the 'everlasting Locative' (*ewige Locativus*) (Delbrück 1880 [2012]: 34). The idea of recognizing an additional noun case in the Latin language was not met with unqualified approval, but Delbrück's use of the phrase *ewige Locativus* at least indicates that the issue was a matter of ongoing discussion. Authors of Latin textbooks in nineteenth-century England seem to have been more willing to include the Locative than the Germans, but only slightly. Of the 45 Latin grammars in my corpus written for an English audience after Rosen's 1826

publication first suggested a Locative case for Latin, 13 acknowledged the Locative in some way,<sup>115</sup> whilst only ten of the 44 texts written for German speakers published after 1826 did so.<sup>116</sup> English textbook authors were also more likely to present the Locative as a case in use, while those of Prussia tended to refer to the Locative case as an historical aspect of Latin. For example, August Grotefend wrote in his 1829 textbook that simply because Sanskrit had a Locative case, it did not necessarily follow that Latin had one as well (Grotefend G1829: 296-297). In 1834, E.G. Gersdorf (1804-1874) echoed this view when he wrote that the inclusion of the Locative case in Latin grammar would require further evidence (Gersdorf 1834: 516). Over thirty years later, the *Verhandlungen der Fünfundzwanzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Meeting of German Philologists and Schoolmasters) noted the proceedings of a discussion held on 2 October 1867, when the question of whether or not to include the Locative case in Latin textbooks was a matter under consideration by the panelists. Dr. Carl Peter (1808-1893), master from 1855-1872 of the *Landesschule Pforta*, a prestigious Prussian Gymnasium, asked if the work of comparative philology ought to be incorporated in the improvement of Latin grammar teaching, specifically, by the inclusion of the

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<sup>115</sup> Kennedy (E1844c); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845); Murphy (E1847); Donaldson (E1852); Wright (E1855); Mongan (E1861b); Kennedy (E1866); Roby (E1871a); Schmitz (E1880); Gibson (E1883); Fowle (E1886); Rawlins & Inge (E1888); Allen (E1891).

<sup>116</sup> Wiseenborn (G1838b); Kritz & Berger (G1848); Lattmann (G1861); Bauer (G1865c); Englmann (G1867b); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b); Bornhal (G1871b); Ellendt (G1872a); Lattmann & Müller (G1872b); Schmitt-Blank (G1888).

Locative case.<sup>117</sup> Another panelist, Herr Haacke, Director of a Gymnasium at Torgau, responded simply, ‘*Nein*’ (*Verhandlungen...* 1867: 106). Dr. Eckstein, Professor of Philology at Leipzig, claimed in the follow-up discussion that, to that date, there had been no Latin grammar based on the principles of comparative linguistics, and that the addition of the Locative might best be deferred until one was produced.<sup>118</sup>

It is significant that none of the Latin textbooks used in Prussia included the Locative case as part of noun case paradigm. Rather, authors simply noted the Locative as an observation. For instance, Bauer explained that the Locative was just the ‘remains’ (*Reste*) of a special case for place (*besonderer Ortscasus*) and relegated even this information to a footnote (Bauer 1865: 6). Lattmann & Müller described the Locative as an ‘inviolable fact’ (*unantastbaren Thatsache*) (Lattmann & Müller 1872: iv) in their preface, but only referred to the Locative case in the main text in a

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<sup>117</sup>Rector Peter: Ich muss darauf zurückkommen: mir scheint es vor allen Dingen darauf anzukommen, was gemeint wird: nämlich ob gemeint wird dass unsere jetzige lateinische Grammatik durch corrigirt und verbessert werden soll auf Grund der durch die Sprachvergleichung gewonnenen Resultate. Und wenn das mit durchgängiger Rücksicht auf das praktische Bedürfniss geschehen soll, so glaube ich, kann kein Mensch etwas dagegen einwenden. Im Gegentheil, es muss geschehen. Aber ich möchte mir erlauben meine Frage zu wiederholen. Soll z.B. der Locativus eingeführt werden, sollen ferner die fünf Declinationen im Lateinischen cassirt werden?

‘Rector Peter: I have to come back to this: it seems to me, above all, to depend on what is believed: namely, whether it’s believed that our current Latin grammar should be corrected and improved on the basis of the results obtained by the comparison of languages. And if that happens with consistent consideration of the practical necessity, then I think no one can argue anything against it. On the contrary, it needs to happen. But I would like be allowed to repeat my question: If, for example, the Locative should be introduced, should five declensions in Latin be abandoned?’

*Dir. Haacke: Nein*

‘Dir. Haacke: No’ (*“Verhandlungen Der Fünfundzwanzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen Und Schulmänner”* 1867: 106)

<sup>118</sup>[...] dass es uns bis jetzt noch an einer Grammatik fehlt im Lateinischen, die auf die vergleichende Sprachforschung gegründet, das ganze Gebäude durchgeht. (*“Verhandlungen Der Fünfundzwanzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen Und Schulmänner”* 1867: 108). ([...] that we still lack a grammar in Latin founded on comparative language research, going through the whole structure.)

footnote (Lattmann & Müller 1872: 131). Other textbooks carefully explained that the Locative was a case that had once existed in the past; Englmann mentioned this information in a footnote (G1867b: 115), though Schmitt-Blank (G1870b: 26, 213-4) and Bornhak both included this information in the main text (G1871b: 214). The 'new' information regarding the Locative case revealed by the work of comparative linguistics was increasingly present in Latin textbooks toward the end of the nineteenth century. Only two of the eight Prussian textbooks of Latin in my corpus which were published after 1870 lack the Locative case (Schultz G1871a; Ostermann G1871c), showing that, while marginal, the science of linguistics did have some influence on the way in which Latin grammar was taught.

We see a similarly inconsistent adoption of the Locative case in Latin textbooks in England during the nineteenth century. Benjamin Kennedy, perhaps the most well-known and enduring of the Victorian Latin textbook authors, included the Locative case in his 1866 *Primer*, which was intended to be the standard Latin textbook used in Public Schools (see Chapter 2). However, Kennedy did not include the Locative case in his paradigm of noun cases, but relegated it to an Appendix in 'Notes on Syntax' as a minor historical detail (Kennedy E1866: 137-138). As early as 1844 Kennedy had referred to the disagreement among grammarians regarding the Locative (Kennedy 1844: 10), but had written that 'we cannot doubt the original existence of a Latin Locative' (Kennedy 1844: 34), though it was unclear whether he expected his readers to learn the Locative case or not. In 1861, Max Müller, in *Lectures on the Science of Language*, supported the inclusion of the Locative case in teaching Latin in England, writing that he was pleased that comparative grammar had

removed the difficulties of using the ‘genitive to express the locative’ (Müller 1861: 207). In 1865, Kennedy used a similar argument in an article in *The Educational Times*, giving his opinion that the Locative case had been ‘long hidden from the eyes of grammarians, but [was] now brought to light by the careful investigations of Comparative Philology’ (Kennedy 1865: 228). A writer, anonymously styling himself ‘Zetetes’, disagreed with Kennedy writing:

[...] I deny that there is any locative case in Latin, whatever the grammarians of Germany may think or say to the contrary. Quintilian and Priscian, [sic] in old times were content with six cases, and why are we, who know less of Latin than they, to whom it was a living language, knew, to introduce into it a seventh case in these later days! The very word *locativus* was unknown to the Romans, and has been invented in the present day to be attached to a figment of German imagination [...] (Zetetes 1865: 276)

Zetetes’ passionate criticism of the German view underscores that, despite the support of respected philologists, classicists, and of the author who had been selected to write the standardized grammar for Public schools in England, the question of whether or not to include the Locative case in Latin textbooks in England remained hotly contested.

It is curious that Zetetes referenced the Locative as ‘a figment of German imagination’ given that the English textbooks of Latin from my sample included the Locative case more frequently than those from Prussia. The German editions of Zumpt’s texts considered in this study which were published after Rosen had suggested a Locative in Latin (G1844 and G1851) did *not* include the Locative case, yet the English translation of Zumpt’s *Grammar* published in 1845 did. The English version of Zumpt praised ‘modern comparative philology [...] which has [...] called in

the aid of the locative singular' (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 302), and referenced Bopp's work to support the argument for a Locative case in Latin. *A Grammar of the Latin Language* by Murphy (E1847) stated that there are six cases 'in general use' in Latin, but then proceeded to list seven cases in his own noun paradigm, ending with the Locative, as shown in Figure 4:13. Murphy did not write of the Locative case as something that used to exist in Latin but as a case of equal status to the others (Murphy 1847: 10).

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Case is a form of a noun expressing its relation to the word on which it depends. There are six cases in general use:—The Nominative, the Vocative, the Accusative, the Genitive, the Dative, and the Ablative.

- The Nominative expresses the subject of an absolute statement.
- The Vocative, the person addressed.
- The Accusative, the object of an action or motion.
- The Genitive, the author or owner.
- The Dative, the person to whom any thing is given.
- The Ablative, the source from which any thing proceeds.
- The Locative expresses the place of any thing, and occurs only in names of towns and a few other words of place.

Figure 4:13 Noun Case System (Murphy E1847: 10)

Donaldson's *Complete Latin Grammar* (E1852b) treated the matter in much the same way that Murphy did. Donaldson listed six cases, and then included the Locative as a seventh in an 'observation' (see Figure 4:14). Donaldson's wording also implied that the Locative case was as functional and relevant as any other case, rather than a matter of historical interest, even if its usage was restricted (Donaldson E1852b: 3).

**Obs.** The six cases, namely, the *nominative*, *genitive*, *dative*, *accusative*, *vocative*, and *ablative*, are explained in the syntax. The *locative* is only used in certain nouns, as : *domi*, ‘at home ;’ *partim*, ‘in part.’

Figure 4:14 Locative Case (Donaldson E1852b: 3)

Other English authors handled the Locative case in a variety of different ways. Wright mentioned in a footnote that ‘the Locative *is* used’ (Wright E1855: 107 my emphasis), not that the Locative *was* used in the past. Mongan described the Locative case merely as an ‘irregularity’ which applied only to the noun *domi*, but at the same time referred to the Locative case as something ‘we have’ (Mongan E1861: 28) rather than something ‘we had’. Roby’s *Grammar of the Latin Language* (E1871a) conceded that the Locative case existed in general, but did not explicitly state that the Locative case existed in Latin, writing that the ‘case, distinguished in some other languages, called the locative, is in Latin always the same in form, as either the genitive, dative or ablative’ (Roby E1871a: 112). Much like the Prussian authors, Schmitz (E1880) referred to the Locative as the ‘ancient locative’ (Schmitz E1880: 123), while Rawlins & Inge wrote in 1888 that there were seven cases, including the Locative without further details (Rawlins & Inge 1888: 21).

In many cases, rejection of the Locative case appears to have been based on a reluctance to depart from the ‘traditional’ teaching of the Latin language. Historical linguistics had revealed a new paradigm - a paradigm which would not have changed the reading and writing of Latin, but merely improved the way in which grammatical rules were categorized and labelled. This new paradigm of the Locative case in Latin preserved the morphological case endings for expressions of place which had been

used before the Locative was proposed but made learning the rules and endings easier. From a functional point of view, identifying the Locative as a distinct case, with its own morphology, must have been a relief to learners and teachers alike, yet preserving the traditional understanding of Latin grammar appears to have taken precedence over simplifying the teaching of Latin grammar.



#### 4.3.2 The Ablative Case

Our second case study is that of the Ablative case, chosen for examination because neither English nor German includes an Ablative case, so it is unfamiliar to native speakers of both English and German. With the Ablative thus absent in both languages, textbooks provided detailed information about this case for both English and German readers. However, there was little agreement in how the Ablative case was described, and no standard explanation as to how it should be used. As we shall see, some authors presented the rules and uses of the Ablative case diachronically, explaining that the Ablative case developed through syncretism, taking on the functions of obsolete cases in Latin. Other textbook authors omitted the explication of historical syncretism and presented the various functions of the Ablative case in syntactic terms, semantic terms, or both.

A diachronic explanation of the Ablative was supported by several nineteenth-century linguists. In 1832, the German archaeologist G.C.F. Lisch (1801-1883) argued that the Ablative was an original case which had also absorbed the functions of an obsolete case, the Instrumental (Lisch 1832: 16). Franz Bopp (1791-1867) went further, arguing that the Ablative case had taken on the functions of not just the Instrumental, but also the Locative (Bopp 1845: 112, 181). Laurie (1829-1909), a teacher training advocate and a Professor of Education at Edinburgh, agreed with Lisch, rather than Bopp, that the Ablative had taken on the functions of ‘the instrumental’ but without mentioning the Locative (Laurie 1859: 36). Some textbook authors followed this approach; for instance, in 1864 Lattmann & Müller stated that:

*[...] der Instrumentalis und Locativus der Lateinischen Sprache im Laufe der Zeit verloren gegangen und die Functionen dieser Casus durch den allein übrig gebliebenen Ablativ [...] (Lattmann & Müller 1864: iv)*

([...] the Instrumental case and Locative case in the Latin language have been lost over time and the functions of these cases remain only in the Ablative [...])

Schmitt-Blank also claimed that the Ablative was not a ‘pure’ case (*ist kein reiner Casus*) but a mix of the Instrumental and the Locative (*den Instrumentalis [...] und den Lokativ*) (G1870: 177-178). Bornhak’s 1871 textbook explained that the ‘*Instrumentalis*’ and the ‘*Lokativ*’ were ‘lost cases’ and that the Ablative had assumed their functions (G1871: 73-74). The 1830, 1844, 1861 and 1888 editions of *The Eton Latin Grammar* show how the inclusion of the idea of syncretism of the Locative and Instrumental with the Ablative became more prominent over time in England. The 1830 version made no mention of instrumentality, the 1844 version listed ‘ablative of instrument’ (Taylor E1844: 73), and the 1861 edition explained that ‘cause, manner, means or instrument may be expressed in the Ablative’ (Mongan E1861: 193). By 1888 we find the *Eton* has fully embraced Bopp’s findings, as shown in Figure 4:15:

## 5. THE LOCATIVE AND ABLATIVE.

**The Ablative in Latin represents three old Cases—the Locative, the Instrumental, and the Ablative Proper.**

Of these the Instrumental has been wholly, § and the Locative in part, absorbed by the Ablative.

The general idea of the three Cases respectively is—

- (i) **Place where. (Locative.)**
- (ii) **Instrument. (Instrumental.)**
- (iii) **Place whence. (Ablative.)**

*Figure 4:15 Ablative Case. (Rawlins & Inge E1888: 251).*

However, not all textbook authors included the concept of historical syncretism. Some approached the Ablative synchronically by attempting to restrict their explanation of the rules and uses of the Ablative case at a specific point in time.

Yet teaching the grammar of Latin from just a single period of time proved to be difficult as developments in historical linguistics increasingly influenced Latin teaching. The English edition of Zumpt's *A Grammar of the Latin Language* ([trans. Schmitz] E1845) informed readers that:

We shall in this Grammar describe the language, though not exclusively, such as it was spoken and written during the most important period of Roman literature, that is, about the time of Julius Caesar and Cicero, till shortly after the birth of Christ. That period is commonly called the golden age. (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] G1845: xv)

The material in the rest of the textbook made full use of the caveat of 'not exclusively' by making multiple references to ancient forms outside of the Golden Age time-frame (e.g. the 'old form of the genitive' (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 32), the 'ancient form' of the pronoun *hic* (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 106), an 'old form' of the infinitive (Zumpt 1845: 150), etc. By contrast, none of the three German editions of Zumpt's *Lateinische Grammatik* in my sample (G1826, G1844, G1851) claimed to confine their content to any particular period of the Latin language exclusively or not, but the 1844 edition frequently referenced 'old' (*alten*) forms.<sup>119</sup> Zumpt was not reluctant to include historical-linguistic information and he was familiar with Bopp's work; both the 1844 German edition and the 1845 English edition of his grammar cited Bopp (Zumpt G1844: 367; Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 302). It is therefore curious that none of Zumpt's textbooks considered here incorporated Bopp's view that the Ablative case in Classical Latin is the result of a merger with two other cases. Instead, all of Zumpt's textbooks took a purely semantic approach; both the 1826 and

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<sup>119</sup> For example, references to 'old' or 'ancient' forms can be found regarding pronunciation and accent (Zumpt G1844: 2-3, 5, 7, 8, 26, 707, 725), orthography (11), punctuation (12, 13), nominal morphology (66, 70, 71, 82, 85, 98, 137, 275, 367), verbal morphology (159, 175, 188, 198, 231, 528) formation of adjectives (109, 261), and construction (359, 377, 429).

1845 German versions of Zumpt's textbooks identified *ablativus instrumenti* (Zumpt G1826: 455 and Zumpt [trans Schmitz] E1845: 335) and the 1844 version *ablativus instrumentalis* (Zumpt G1844: 667).

Textbooks which did not explicitly state that the Ablative had assumed the grammatical 'jobs' of two other cases had to adopt other means to explain the functions of the Ablative case. This was approached in different ways in different texts, and we can see a range of different attempts to clarify how the Ablative was used. However, all of the textbooks in my corpus agreed on the purely syntactical phenomenon of the Ablative Absolute. The Ablative Absolute takes its name from the perfect passive participle *absolutus* ('having been released/loosened'), indicating that this element is 'loose' from the rest of the sentence. That is, the Ablative Absolute phrase has no syntactical tie with the rest of the sentence, as it never modifies the subject or object of the main verb. Broadly, the Ablative Absolute describes the circumstances of the action of the main clause. It typically consists of two words in the Ablative case (commonly a noun/pronoun and a participle, but possibly two nouns or a noun and an adjective). For instance:

***Signō datō, oppidum oppugnāvērunt.***

**The signal having been given, they attacked the town.**

Regardless of the lexical items used, the Ablative Absolute is formed using the same morphology and functions the same way. This clear form-to-function relationship may explain why the Ablative Absolute is present in every text in the sample and why explanations for its construction are very similar across the textbooks.

Attempts to explain other functions of the Ablative were more varied. Some authors approached the Ablative case (wholly or in part) in terms of what questions

the Ablative answers (see Section 3.2.1). In England, questions of what the Ablative case can answer to explain the function of the Ablative appeared in the translation of Scheller's textbook; for example, Scheller's textbook noted that the use of the preposition 'in' required the Ablative 'in answer to the question where?' (E1825: 242). We also see this technique in English textbooks of Latin in Grant (E1808: 245, 253, etc.) and Hamilton (E1862: 102) and in textbooks used in Prussia in Scheller (G1803: 565-587), Baumgärtner (G1819: 157, 189, etc.), Grotefend & Wenck (G1820: 168-171, etc.), Billroth & Ellendt (G1838: 232, 243), Kritz & Berger (G1848: 147, 153, 165, etc.), and Moisisstzig (G1867: 201, 343).

Other authors endeavoured to describe the Ablative semantically by grouping concepts such as the Ablative of Means, Cause, Instrument, etc. This presentation of the Ablative both syntactically and semantically is symptomatic of a debate that continues to this day. For instance, Booij describes the Ablative as a semantic case (Booij 2012: 107), but Blake argues that the Ablative 'clouds the distinction between the grammatical and semantic cases' (Blake 2001: 32) while Luraghi calls it 'semantically opaque' (Luraghi 2009: 253). The inherent difficulty with the Ablative case is that nominal morphology alone cannot determine meaning. Thus, the 50 Latin textbooks in my sample used in Prussia included, by my count, more than 80 distinct rules or types of the Ablative, while the 50 Latin textbooks used in England presented over 120. All of these textbooks included both syntactic and semantic approaches to the Ablative case which were extremely varied.

Semantically, we see such generally-used terms as the Ablative of ‘Means’ in several textbooks,<sup>120</sup> but more idiosyncratic terms are frequently found, such as ‘Ablative of the thing’ (White 1852: 261) or ‘Ablative of the punishment’ (Madvig [trans. Woods] E1851b: 293). This approach resulted in highly specific accounts of the Ablative such as its use in order to denote extension over something (Madvig G1844: 246), or the Ablative with verbs of confidence (Grotefend G1833: 211; Krebs G1833: 280; Schulz G1843: 290; Gossrau G1869: 354), with adjectives that relate to disquiet (Baumgärtner G1819: 182), with verbs of sacrificing (Key E1846: 194) or when pointing out parts of the body (White E1852: 75).

Attempts to simplify the Ablative case through semantic descriptions rarely met with the approval of reviewers. One of the criticisms of Kennedy’s *Primer* (E1866) concerned its attempt to clarify the Ablative case. Kennedy wrote:

The Ablative is the Case of circumstances which attend action, and limit it adverbially. It also defines time and place. (Kennedy E1866: 101)

Henry Hayman (1823-1904), Headmaster of Rugby (1870 - 1874), claimed that the ‘inherent obscurity of the [...] ablative, is only increased by an attempt to be concisely comprehensive on the level of boys’ (Hayman 1867: 38). Rev. Edward Miller, author of E1863 and E1864, summed up the reaction to Kennedy’s explanation, in his critical publication *The Public Schools’ Latin Grammars: Why They Have Miscarried and How They Might Yet Succeed*, where he wrote that Kennedy’s definition is ‘not satisfactory’

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<sup>120</sup> e.g. Meidinger (G1803b: 544); Grotefend (G1829: 24); Edwards (E1830: 274); Ramshorn (G1830: 36); Krebs (G1833b: 274); Mutzl (G1834: 20); Cobbett (E1835: 142); Powell (E1838: 96); Kühner (G1842a: 84); Everard (E1843: 70); Schulz (G1843: 223); Zumpt (G1844a: 426); Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] (E1845: 335); Key (E1846: 193); Jacob (E1851a: 127); Putsche (G1852: 124); Madvig (G1857a: 179); Berger (G1857b: 152); Mongan E1861c: 193; Miller (E1863: 166); Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 117); Miller (E1864: 166); Feldsbausch (G1865b: 214); Harris (E1869b: 101).

(Miller 1867: 93). Yet, neither of these commentators elucidates how much information is the right amount of information regarding the Ablative case, nor, indeed, what that information should entail.

The 'inherent obscurity' made the Ablative case difficult not only to explain, but also to translate. An 1824 article explained that with Latin constructions in the Ablative, it is 'necessary, in translating them into English, to make use of a great variety of English auxiliaries' (Gamma 1824: 678), leading inevitably to a 'certain ambiguity' (Gamma 1824: 678) in the resulting translation. Translation of the Ablative from Latin into German or English usually requires a preposition if the Latin does not supply one. Perhaps as a result of this, some texts assert that the Ablative is hard to define semantically, and is better defined syntactically by its relationship to prepositions. Some texts in both countries described the Ablative case as being 'known by prepositions' (Edwards E1830: 17; Everard E1843: 7), known by the words '*in, with, from by &c....*' (Taylor E1844d: 8), known by 'prepositions expressed or understood' (Hiley E1836: 5; Everard E1843: 7; White E1852: 3; Ruddiman E1854:61; Mongan E1861: 8), 'usually expressed in other languages by prepositions' (Harris E1869: 17) or to 'denote certain relations of substantives, which are expressed in most other languages by prepositions' (Zumpt [trans Schmitz] E1845: 331). While Luraghi argued comparatively recently that case does not carry meaning within a Latin prepositional phrase (Luraghi 1989: 262), nineteenth-century textbook authors did not shy away from using prepositions to explain the function of the Ablative, though none of them confined their account of the Ablative to its use with, or in lieu of, prepositions exclusively.

To summarize, whether Latin textbook authors used semantic, syntactic or historical approaches, there was no categorical difference in how English and Prussian authors presented the Ablative case. According to the textbooks in my sample, we cannot conclude that any particular treatment of the Ablative was favoured by English authors as opposed to Prussian Latin textbook authors. Rather authors from both countries certainly tried a number of ways to explain what the Ablative case was and what it was supposed to do. J.P. Cobbett, author of E1835, expressed the problem well when he observed that the Ablative has 'been explained by some grammarians in a manner more elaborate than satisfactory', as the functions of the Ablative 'are too various for any one name to be applicable' (Cobbett E1835: 138). The Ablative case was, and remains, intrinsically difficult to explain.



## 4.4 Syntax

Having discussed the individual sounds of Latin on the level of inflectional morphology, we turn now to the highest level of analysis; the syntax of the Latin sentence. Syntax was not a major area of interest for nineteenth century linguists, who ‘relegated [syntax] to a rather marginal position in comparison to the mainstream of research’, with preference given to morphology and phonology (Graffi 2001: xi). According to Graffi, ‘[i]t is a rather widespread view that contributions to syntax offered by 19-century historical-comparative grammarians were scarce and generally poor. This opinion is not wholly unfounded [...]’ (Graffi 2001: 25). Davies expressed a similar view:

It is normally said that in the last part of the nineteenth century there was little or no interest in syntax: Saussure is acclaimed for having written a doctoral dissertation about Sanskrit syntax at a time when the subject was ignored. (Davies 1998: 304)

Bopp gave syntax ‘very little room’ in his *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1833), in which he made no mention of concepts such as subject and predicate, even in the index of the work (Graffi 2001: 26). Schleicher (1821-1868) was similarly unconcerned about syntax; his work ‘marks the point of least interest in syntax in 19<sup>th</sup> century linguistics’ (Graffi 2001: 31).

Syntax was initially ‘a theoretical subject, but entered into pedagogical grammar in the Middle Ages’ (Luhtala 2013: 384), and by the nineteenth century syntax was a standard feature in most Latin textbooks. Although linguistic scholars in the nineteenth century had little interest in the topic, a greater focus on syntax could be found in Latin textbooks; a specific section dedicated to syntax appeared in

77 of the 100 Latin textbooks in my sample. Unlike phonetics and morphology, where we find research from linguists influencing the content of textbooks, Davies goes so far as to say that for much of the nineteenth century in ‘syntactical analysis, the lead was taken by the school grammars [... which ...] created a bridge between the practical work aimed at school teaching and the more detailed scholarly works’ (Davies 1998: 305). A similar phenomenon has been observed in the description of modern foreign language textbooks, where textbooks for foreign learners often showed a greater interest in sentence structure than native grammars of the time (see McLelland 2008: 49).

In modern terms, syntax is broadly understood as the ‘system of rules and categories that underlies sentence formation’ (O’Grady, Dobrovolsky, & Katamba 1996: 732). Thus, in approaching syntax, many textbooks begin with an explanation of what constituted a Latin sentence. These definitions of ‘sentence’ in Latin textbooks in the nineteenth century tended to echo the definition written by Priscian in the first century: *oratio est ordinatio dictionum congrua, sententiam perfectam demonstrans* (‘a sentence is a coherent word combination, expressing a complete thought’) (Priscianus Caesariensis 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. ed. Keil 1855: 53). For instance, Hiley wrote that a sentence was an ‘assemblage of words, making complete sense’ (E1836: 94) and Jacob informed readers that a sentence ‘contains one proposition’ (E1851a: 142). Fowle stated that ‘the simplest sentence contains a single thought only’ (E1886: 69) while Bornhak asserted that a sentence was a combination of words that expressed a thought (*Der Satz ist eine Verbindung von Worten welche einen Gedanken ausdrücken*) (G1871b: 174). However, like Priscian’s definition, these

definitions did not stipulate which word combinations made ‘complete sense’ or ‘why some word combinations are able to express a complete thought, while others not’ (Graffi 2001: 113). As we shall see below, nineteenth-century Latin textbooks addressed these gaps in a variety of ways.

#### 4.4.1 Agreement and Concord

While the majority of the nineteenth-century Latin textbooks in my corpus included a syntax section, there was little commonality among them in how much detail a syntax section included, and no discernible patterns in the ways in which textbooks treated sentence structure and word order. Many of the textbooks in my corpus included information about the elements and ordering of Latin sentence components, but these were typically quite brief and did not normally warrant more than a page or two of explanation.<sup>121</sup> However, all syntax sections overwhelmingly focused on the rules of morphological agreement between parts of speech. These rules were often presented as specific ‘Rules of Concord’ (*die Übereinstimmung*) which centred on the agreement of morphological endings. Though it is unclear when Rules of Concord were first developed, they had been used in textbooks since the Middle Ages (Luhtala 2013: 356), and in my corpus they featured in 17 Latin textbooks used in Prussia and 27 Latin textbooks used in England.<sup>122</sup> There was no universal agreement about what these Concords included or how many Concords

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<sup>121</sup> Grant and Zumpt are notable exceptions; Grant dedicated nearly ten pages to the question of word order (E1808: 161-170) while Zumpt’s 1845 textbook included 23 pages of observations regarding what was ‘usual’ in Latin word order (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz E1845: 527-550).

<sup>122</sup> Grant (E1808); Smith (E1816); Nolan (E1819); Scheller (E1825a); Macgowan (E1825b); Locke (E1826); Edwards (E1830); Grotefend (G1833a); Krebs (G1833b); Mutzl (G1834); Cobett (E1835); Hiley (E1836); Powell (E1838); Weissenborn (G1838b); Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a); Everard (E1843); Schulz (G1843); Madvig (G1844b); Taylor (E1844d); Key (E1846); Kritz & Berger (G1848); Jacob (E1851a); Putsche (G1852); White (E1852b); Donaldson (E1852b); Ruddiman (E1854a); Wright (E1855); Madvig (G1857a); Anon. (E1861c); Mongan (E1861c); Adams (E1862b); Lily (E1862c); Miller (E1863, E1864); Lattmann (G1864); Smith & Hall (E1867); Moisisstzig (G1867b); Englmann (G1867c); Martin (E1869a); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a); Schmitt-Blank (G1870b); Lattmann (G1872b); Allen (E1891).

were necessary to understand Latin syntax, but most texts listed three Concords, although not all appeared in the order given here:

- 1.) the verb must agree with the Nominative (subject) in number and person
- 2.) adjectives and participles agree with substantives in case, number and gender
- 3.) relative pronouns agree with their antecedent in case, number and gender

The most common First Concord dictated that a verb must agree with its Nominative in person and number. This is the First Concord in Powell (E1838:89), Everard (E1843: 65), Schulz (G1843: 248), Taylor (E1844d: 43), Jacob (E1851a: 148), Donaldson (E1852b: 110), Wright (E1855: 62), Mongan (E1861c: 154), Miller (E1863: 192; E1864: 136), Smith & Hall (E1867: 138), and Allen (E1891: 86). However, Krebs (G1833b: 223), Ruddiman (E1854a: 48) and Schulz (G1843: 249) presented the rule of verb and Nominative agreement as the second Concord. Their first Concord was the second in the list above: it stipulated that adjectives and participles must agree with their nouns in gender, number and case. In contrast, Mutzl (G1834: 192), Powell (E1838: 90), Everard (E1843: 67), Taylor (E1844d: 43), Jacob (E1851a: 151), White (E1852b: 110), Wright (E1855: 76), Mongan (E1861c: 157), Miller (E1863: 193 and E1864: 136), Smith and Hall (E1867: 139), Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 160), and Allen (E1891: 86) presented this as the second Concord. Two Prussian authors, Mutzl (G1834: 190) and Gossrau (G1869a: 292), gave as the first Concord the rule that relative pronouns agree with their antecedents in case, number, and gender. The third Concord tended to be whichever of the Concords mentioned above had not been presented yet. The majority of the textbooks which described the Concords were written for English

learners, perhaps because the German language already required the concordance of the parts of speech, and the concepts would not have been new to German speakers. Though not every syntax section included specific Rules of Concord, every syntax section was overwhelmingly devoted to exhaustive rules of morphological agreement between different sentence elements.

#### 4.4.2 Logical Syntax: Copula theory

While morphological agreement is essential for the formation of a sentence in Latin, focusing exclusively on grammatical concord does not address the issue of the order of words in a sentence. German, and even more so, English, depend heavily on the arrangement of words to create meaning in a sentence, but Latin permits a great deal of freedom in word order. Grotefend & Wenck observed, ‘Almost no language allows as many freedoms in word order as Latin’ (*Fast keine Sprache erlaubt in der Wortfolge so viele Freiheiten als die lateinische*) (Grotefend & Wenck 1820: 367). To this day, there remains division regarding the proper order of words in Latin, and such fundamental questions as whether or not Latin has a fixed word order and if Latin word order conveys grammatical meaning remain undecided. Perhaps de Jong puts it best when he asserts that ‘explaining word order in a language such as Latin [...] is an inherently difficult task’ (de Jong 1994: 91).

Efforts to prescribe preferred Latin word order or to describe constituent word order in Latin have fuelled debates for centuries. Clackson & Horrocks note that ‘[w]ord order in Classical Latin realizes no grammatical function’ (Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 27). If we accept Clackson & Horrocks’ view, along with Garrison’s, who asserts that ‘[o]bviously Latin has a way to establish meaning regardless of word order’ (Garrison 2000: 42), Latin word order realizes neither a grammatical nor pragmatic functions. However, as Bauer cautions, the idea that ‘Latin word order ‘was indiscriminately free’ is a ‘common misconception’ (Bauer 2009: 241).

The issue of Latin word order is, at its most fundamental level, a question of two factors. First, what are the elements of a Latin sentence, and second, what place

should those elements occupy? A significant contribution to these questions was made in 1660 with the publication of Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot's influential *Port-Royal Grammar*. Building on Priscian's work, Arnauld & Lancelot prescribed a 'triadic partition' of sentences into subject (noun), copula (a form of the verb 'to be' linking subject and verb) and predicate (verb) (Moro 1997: 252). While the authors of the *Port-Royal Grammar* had not coined the term 'copula', they did interpret the function of the copula in a new way; in the fourth century B.C., Aristotle understood the copula as 'an expression of tense' (Bernini 2003: 180; Moro 1997: 251) as illustrated in Table 4.6.

| Subject/Noun | Copula | Predicate/verb |
|--------------|--------|----------------|
| The boy      | is     | reading.       |
| The boy      | was    | reading.       |
| The boy      | will   | read.          |

Table 4.6 Subject-Copula-Predicate

However, for Arnauld & Lancelot the subject-copula-predicate structure was not merely an expression of tense, but

[...] was assumed to reflect the distinction between two fundamental activities of the 'spirit' (the sense of human intellect): i.e. conceiving (that is, establishing names for substances and accidents) and judging (that is, connecting names in a predicative relation by means of a copula) (Moro 1997: 252).

Arnauld & Lancelot's understanding of the role of the copula attempted to improve upon Priscian's definition of a sentence in two ways: first, by analytically partitioning



the elements of subject, copula and verb, but also by stipulating that what Priscian described as a ‘complete thought’ was more precisely a ‘judgement’. Graffi therefore refers to the ‘Port-Royal style of sentence analysis’ as ‘the judgement model’ (Graffi 1998: 113). Though only two Latin textbooks in my sample, both published before 1830, adhered to the concept of a sentence as a ‘judgement’ (Grotefend & Wenck G1820: 11; Scheller E1825a: 303),<sup>123</sup> a total of 13 Latin textbooks used in Prussia and 17 used in England defined the elements of a Latin sentence according to the subject-copula-predicate division, without incorporating the idea that a ‘sentence’ was a ‘judgement’.<sup>124</sup> In three textbooks, the copula was mentioned, but was relegated to the status of a ‘helping verb’ (*Hilfsverbum*) (Moisziisztzig: G1867b: 153; Englmann G1867c: 108; Fowle E1886: 32); ‘helping verbs’ were presented as forms of the verb ‘to be’ which might appear in a sentence, but they were not an essential element of every sentence. Four other textbooks explained that the verb ‘to be’ (*sum, esse, fui, futurus*) was just one of several ‘copulative verbs’ (*copulative[n] Verba*)<sup>125</sup> such as *videor* (‘I seem’) (Schmitz E1880: 110).

Other textbook authors argued that the copula was exclusively a form of the verb ‘to be’ which had, over time, elided into the morphological endings of inflected

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<sup>123</sup> Grotefend & Wenck explained that *Alle drei Stücke zusammen bilden ein Urtheil, das, in Worten ausgedruckt* (‘all three together [the subject, copula and predicate] form a judgement, expressed in words’) (G1820: 11). The English edition of Scheller’s *A Copious Latin Grammar* stated somewhat less directly that ‘The verb is the part of speech by which the mind expresses its judgement on the persons or things of which noun is the name’ (E1825a: 482).

<sup>124</sup> Smith (E1816: 3); Baungärtner (G1819: 134); Grotefend & Wenck (G1820: 11); Scheller (E1825a: 303); Grotefend (G1829: 34, G1833a: 163); Krebs (G1833b: 219); Mutzl (G1834:169); Kennedy (E1844c: 1); Key (E1846: 160); Donalson (E1852b: 156); Wright (E1855: 96); Berger (G1857b: 126); Mongan (E1861c: 152); Miller (E1863: 152, E1864: 2); Feldsbauch (G1865b: 154); Smith & Hall (E1867: 136); Harris (E1869b: 1); Gossrau (G1869a: 153); Ellendt & Seyffert (G1869b: 128); Ostermann (G1871c: 133); Lattmann & Müller (G1872b: 160).

<sup>125</sup> Lattmann (G1861: 91); Lattmann & Müller (G1864: 127); Schmitz (E1880: 110); Allen (E1891: 87).

verbs. They reasoned that the copula was therefore not a separate sentence element, but a part of the predicate as a verb form that may appear on its own or may simply have been absorbed into the inflected ending of the verb. As early as 1816, the comparative linguist Franz Bopp postulated that Latin verb tense forms in Latin preserved a form of the verb ‘to be’ in their morphological endings, thus incorporating the copula into the verb itself (Bopp 1816: 107). For example, if we compare the pluperfect tense of the verb ‘to be’ to the pluperfect tense of the verb ‘to love’, as illustrated in Table 4.7, we can see Bopp’s rationale more clearly.

| ‘to be’ (pluperfect) |                 | ‘to love’ (pluperfect) |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>fueram</i>        | I had           | <i>amaveram</i>        | I had loved           |
| <i>fueras</i>        | you had         | <i>amaveras</i>        | you had loved         |
| <i>fuerat</i>        | he, she, it had | <i>amaverat</i>        | he, she, it had loved |

Table 4.7 Copula incorporated into verb ending

Bopp was not the only nineteenth-century linguist to question the long-held copula theory; Grimm did ‘not suggest the analysis of every clause in the form of Subject-Copula-Predicate’ in his 1819 *Deutsche Grammatik* (Graffi 2001: 77) and Humboldt indicated in his 1836 *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (‘On the Diversity of the Human Linguistic Construction and its influence on the Spiritual Development of Mankind’) that he

did not accept Port-Royal doctrine fully, but in some sense ‘reshapes’ it to his own goals: the pure form of the sentence is no longer Subject-

Copula-Predicate, but, more likely, Subject-(inflected) Verb. A verb 'to be' is inserted or understood when the predicate does not show a clear verbal nature. (Graffi 1998: 266-267)

There is no direct evidence that Latin textbook authors were influenced by the opinions of linguists such as Bopp, Grimm and Humboldt, but the idea that the copula could be implicit in the inflectional ending of the verb did not appear in any of the Latin textbooks in my sample until 1838, after Bopp and Humboldt had published their views. We find that, in keeping with Bopp's opinion, Billroth & Ellendt noted that the copula could be expressed as a form of the verb 'to be' or 'by the inflectional ending' (*die Copula ist hier durch die Flexionsendung ausgedrückt* G1838a: 203). Weissenborn went so far as to point out in his *Lateinische Schulgrammatik*, that '[t]he simplest form of the sentence is the finite verb, in which the verbal stem contains the predicate, the personal ending contains the subject [...]' (*Die einfachste Gestalt des Satzes ist das Verbum finitum, in welchem der Verbalstamm das Prädicat, die Personalendung das Subject enthält [...]*, Weissenborn G1838: 184). Similar statements on the relation of the copula and the inflected endings of verbs appeared in Krüger & Grotefend (G1842a: 362) and Kritz & Berger (G1848: 228). In England, however, only Jacob's *Bromsgrove Latin Grammar* claimed that a copula could be contained in the verb ending (Jacob E1851a: 141).

Four Latin textbooks used in England and eleven used in Prussia<sup>126</sup> maintained that the subject and predicate were essential sentence elements, but made no mention of the copula either as a form of the verb 'to be' or as a part of inflected verb endings. However, the subject-copula-predicate division had not only stipulated the elements of a sentence, it did so following the assumption that subject-copula-predicate was the natural order of words as this was 'the order of logic and hence of thought' (McLelland 2011: 794). Removing the copula may have simplified the elements of a Latin sentence, but it complicated the issue of word order.

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<sup>126</sup> Edwards (E1830: 305); Zumpt (G1844a: 336); Madvig (G1844b: 195); Zumpt [trans. Schmidt] (E1845: 280); Ellendt (G1846: iv); Zumpt (G1851: 101); Putsche (G1852: 135); Kuhr (G1856: 98); Madvid (G1857a: 161); Kavanagh (E1859: 121); Bauer (G1865c: 51); Siberti & Meiring (G1870a: 157); Schultz (G1871a: 283); Bornhak (G1871b: 176); Rawlins & Inge (E1888: 221).

#### 4.4.3 Psychological syntax

Without the benefit of the ‘natural word order’ afforded by the subject-copula-verb sentence structure, some textbooks seem to have laid the foundations for one of the ‘bridges’ between scholarly linguistics as mentioned above (Davies 1998: 305) to provide a rationale for Latin word order. One of the new concepts in nineteenth-century linguistics was the relationship between psychology and language, which Graffi terms ‘psychological syntax’ (Graffi 2001: 31 ff.), a connection which was first made by the German philologist Heymann Steinthal (1823-1899). Steinthal, who published from 1847 to 1888, was among the first scholars to explicitly link psychology and linguistics and his concepts influenced the view held by the Neogrammarians (some of whom were students of Steinthal) that language was not an ‘organism’ but a manifestation of human behaviour (Graffi 2001: 16).

Among those who were influenced by Steinthal’s ideas was the German philologist Georg Gabelentz (1840-1893) (Graffi 2001: 42), who put forth the theory that in the course of a sentence, every new element is related to what preceded it, and thus, the most important elements of the sentence should be placed first (Gabelentz 1875: 137-138).<sup>127</sup> While Gabelentz did not publish this idea until 1875, a similar concept can already be found in Latin textbooks as far back as 1816; Smith

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<sup>127</sup> *Versetzen wir uns zunächst auf den Standpunkt des Anhörenden. Jeden neuen Satztheil, den er vernimmt, verbindet er mit der Gesammtheit der vorhergehenden zu einer neuen Einheit, jeder liefert einen neuen Strich in das Bild, das er empfängt [...].* (Let us put ourselves first in the position of the listener. Every new sentence-part that he hears, he connects with the totality of the foregoing into a new unit, each provides a new line in the image that he receives [...]) (Gabelentz 1875: 137-138).

informed readers in his 1816 *Manual of Latin Grammar* that the 'prime object' of the sentence, that is, the most important thing the speaker wishes to convey, comes first in the sentence, followed by words which qualify, clarify or describe the 'prime object' (Smith E1816: 95-96). This, he claimed, 'appears to me to be the real and spontaneous *order of NATURE*' (Smith E1816: 96, emphasis original). Similarly, Hiley wrote in his 1836 *Elements of Latin Grammar* that the 'most important word in the sentence must be placed before those connected words which are less important' (Hiley E1836: 143). Murphy allowed in his 1847 *Grammar of the Latin Language* that the 'usual order is Nominative, Accusative, Verb', but also noted that 'a word introduced out of its usual place is emphatic' and that 'unemphatic words should be disposed after the emphatic' even if this meant violating the 'usual word order' (Murphy E1847: 114). We also find the idea that the most 'important' word should appear first in a sentence in Latin textbooks by Donaldson (E1852b: 115) and Fowle (E1886: 191).

However, perhaps following Quintilian, who reasoned that verbs should take the final position because they have the most 'powerful significance' in a sentence (*vehemens sensus*) (Quintilian 9.4.26), three textbooks in my sample were of the opinion that there are *two* 'important' positions in a Latin sentence: the beginning and the end. Englmann asserted that

*Im lateinischen Sätze sind der Anfang und das Ende die bedeutendsten Stellen. Daher werden Subject und Prädicat als die wichtigsten Theile des Satzes, ersteres zu Anfang, letzteres an das Ende gestellt, die näheren Bestimmungen aber treten in die Mitte [...].* (Englmann E1867c: 294)

'In Latin clauses the beginning and the end are the most important places. Therefore, the subject and predicate as the main parts of the sentence,

are placed, the former at the beginning, the latter at the end, but the additional information appears in the middle [...].’

We find a similar statement in Gossrau (G1869a: 601), and Frost and Miller both included the same concept, though Frost phrased the beginning and end positions as ‘strong’ rather than ‘important’ (E1898: 157), and Miller used the term ‘emphatic’ (Miller E1863: 337).

#### 4.4.4 Tasteful Syntax

In addition to questions of the ‘natural’ ordering of sentence elements and psychologically motivated ordering of concepts by importance, Latin word order was ‘further complicated by stylistic factors’ (Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 281). Even in the nineteenth century, there had already been a long tradition of the importance of ‘taste’ in Latin word order. Donatus offered no rules on word order (Law 2003: 80), but seemed to view word order as a matter of taste, style and general convention. Quintilian made more of a contribution to the topic; he wrote that one normally ends a sentence with a verb, but he allowed that this order could be changed for rhythm (Inst. Orat. Quintilian 9.4.26). In the nineteenth century, this stress on taste and style is still evident. For instance, Grant specified ‘rules’ pertaining to the order of words in Latin over nine pages (E1808: 161-170). However, he later stated that those ‘rules’ were really just ‘general observations’ and that ‘the order of words is very arbitrary, depending, in a great degree upon the taste or fancy of the composer [...so...] no certain rules can be given for the order of Latin words’ (Grant E1808: 313). The 1845 edition of Zumpt’s grammar noted that Latin word order ‘cannot be reduced to fixed rules [...but...] must be left entirely at the discretion of the individual writer’ (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 462), before including 23 pages of observations regarding what was ‘usual’ in Latin word order (Zumpt [trans. Schmitz] E1845: 527-550). Adams also claimed that the order of Latin words was ‘best regulated by correct taste, formed in reading the purest Latin authors’ (Adams E1862b: 339).

With all of these various approaches to word order, it is easy to understand Fowle, author of E1871b and E1886, who wrote:



There is a *certain order* in which the Latin words should be put, but I strongly recommend that no attention be paid to this, but that the pupil should put them in simple order as they come. (Fowle 1886: 42) (emphasis original)

## 4.5 Conclusion: Latin and Linguistic Ideas

The nineteenth century was a time of considerable change in linguistics, and we can see some of those changes both reflected in and anticipated by the Latin textbooks of the time in Prussia and England. Robins has called the concept of exceptionless sound laws (the basis of the Neogrammarians' central concept) the 'major linguistic controversy' (Robins 1997: 206) of the nineteenth century, and Davies pronounced the developments of the Neogrammarians to be 'one of the really significant stages in the history of linguistics in the past two centuries' (Davies 1998: 226). The ideas that were subsequently explored after the establishment of the Neogrammarian school of thought affected the ways in which sounds were understood and, inevitably, influenced the arguments in England regarding the pronunciation of Latin. This may explain why the debates regarding pronunciation were unresolved in nineteenth-century England; the application of new concepts in phonology grated against the traditional concepts of pronunciation, pitting tradition against science and sensibility against data, making the argument not so much a matter of empirical interpretation but one of taste. We see this in the English distaste for the pronunciation of consonantal <v> as /w/. This can be contrasted to the situation in Prussia, where matters of taste appear to have been of less importance.

The Western interest in Sanskrit is another major nineteenth-century linguistic development, and Robins and Davies both see it as an essential factor in the development of historical and comparative language study (Robins 1997: 197, 201; Davies 1998: 59). It was the study of Sanskrit which prompted the proposal that the Latin language had a Locative case, though this idea was not met with universal

approbation, and we have seen that textbooks were uneven in their treatment of the Locative case. Developments in historical and comparative grammar also changed the way in which the Ablative case was presented to pupils in Latin textbooks, by introducing the idea of change over time yielding syncretism of the Locative, Instrumental and Ablative cases.

Textbook accounts of Latin syntax appear to have been less influenced by new work in linguistics, focusing instead in a traditional way on the morphological agreement between parts of speech. However, this does not mean that there were no changes whatsoever during the nineteenth century in the treatment of syntax in Latin textbooks. As we have seen, there was a slow decrease in the acceptance of copula theory, which had been proposed by grammarians in the seventeenth century. Further, the concept of word order based on the semantic importance of sentence elements had appeared in Latin textbooks decades prior to the formal proposal of this theory by Gabelentz in 1875.

## 5 Conclusions

Frederick the Great's statement that 'Whatever you do, do not let a boy grow up without Latin' (Clarendon Commission 1864b: 401) was taken seriously in the nineteenth century, but the state of Latin education in today's English school system demonstrates how little Latin is currently valued. Latin language instruction is now offered in significantly fewer schools than French, German or Spanish, and is discounted as a foreign language requirement at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14). While modern foreign languages continue to face challenges in the curriculum, the challenge facing proponents of Latin is even greater; like modern foreign language advocates, Latin teachers and pupils must constantly substantiate the purpose and value of studying their chosen language, but advocates of Latin must do so in the face of damaging misconceptions from the history of Latin teaching and learning which continue to pervade both popular and scholarly understanding. However, many of these misconceptions can be dispelled with the help of a better historical understanding of the aims, methods and influences of Latin language teaching and learning. This study, which considers why, how and what was taught in Latin classrooms in the nineteenth century, is a contribution towards that greater understanding.

For instance, though Latin is often seen as a cradle of elitism, Chapter 1 has demonstrated that nineteenth-century English and Prussian Latin textbooks promoted national feeling, rather than class distinctions. While a Classical education was undeniably the privilege of the elite, in England it was the experience of learning Latin at an elite institution that conferred elite status on the learner, not knowledge of Latin itself. In Prussia, knowledge of Latin was not esteemed for its own sake, but was necessary to

attain the leaving esteemed qualification. Despite the fact that knowledge of Latin did not guarantee social or financial betterment in either England or Prussia, the popular belief that learning the Latin language conferred elite status on the learner remained strong throughout the nineteenth century and continues to negatively influence attitudes toward Latin learning and teaching to this day.

In keeping with this slant towards nationalism rather than elitism, I found that Latin textbook authors in both England and Prussia tailored their narratives of the Classical world to highlight aspects of ancient Rome which were relevant to each nation. As Section 2.2 explained, each country used and abused the Classical world to promote ideal citizens in their respective contemporary nations. In Prussia, textbooks for Latin pupils emphasized a popular version of the Germanic origin story, which celebrated the common heritage of the German people and highlighted ancient Germanic ideals for pupils to emulate, such as physical strength and martial readiness. In England, where the bloodlines of ancestry were less clearly traced, textbooks did not appeal to such supposedly inherited traits as Prussian authors of Latin textbooks did, but offered accounts of the positive aspects of Empire to prepare young men for the Empire that they would inherit, and stressed the importance of duty and the value of following rules.

In Sections 2.3, I further analysed the ways in which Latin textbooks promoted, or glossed over, one of the traits of ideal citizens: physical strength. In keeping with the Prussian concept of the Germanic tribal origins, Latin textbooks used in Prussia explicitly pointed out the bodily strength of their ancestors. Citing Latin authors as authorities, Latin textbooks used in Prussian classrooms clearly informed students that their own bodily strength was an inheritance of their strong ancestors. This strength was closely

coupled with the natural affinity for fierceness in battle, a fierceness which, again, was testified by Roman authors as a main attribute of the tribal Germans.

Although bodily strength and military prowess were also valued attributes in England, Latin textbooks used in England did not highlight passages from Latin authors which stressed strength or martial ferocity, nor did they claim that these characteristics were an ancestral inheritance of nineteenth-century English boys. While the development of strength and the preparation for military service were an integral part of Classical education in nineteenth-century England, strength simply not mentioned in Latin textbooks and military matters focused not on the fierceness of battle, but on the obligations of the benevolent conqueror toward the conquered.

In Section 2.4, I argued that the omission of references to strength and ferocity in Latin textbooks used in England were the result of that particularly English phenomenon, the English 'gentlemen'. Like physical strength and martial prowess, we find no substantive direct references to 'being a gentleman' in English Latin textbooks. However, one of the most prolific concepts in the passages and exemplars presented in Latin textbooks used in England concerned the importance of following rules. In the secondary schools of nineteenth-century England, adherence to the rules of Latin grammar and organised sport were viewed as training for the adherence to the rules of society. The primacy of following the rules and 'playing fair' was emblematic of the English gentleman, though not a particularly valued trait in the Classical world. Thus, Latin textbooks used in England tended not to quote Roman authors who were directly referencing inherited attributes of English ancestors, but instead emphasized the value of empire and the importance of adhering to rules and laws.

Another damaging misconception of Latin teaching and learning today is the idea that Latin teaching has long adhered to unchanging methods which have been handed down from antiquity, and that (even worse) devotion to these antiquated methods in Latin classrooms hindered the development of more innovative foreign language teaching methodologies which the late nineteenth-century Reform Movement demanded. However, Chapter 3 shows that these views do not stand up to scrutiny. The ‘traditional’ Grammar-Translation method was not the product of Latin teaching, but an innovation created for teaching a modern foreign language. Nor did Grammar-Translation dominate Latin teaching and, subsequently, shackle modern foreign language teaching with this ‘traditional’ methodology. Rather, this study has shown that Latin textbooks in the nineteenth century were more likely to adhere to the Grammar-first method of teaching all of the rules of grammar before applying those rules to the translation of Latin text. However, I have also shown that instead of blindly following teaching methods almost as antiquated as the Latin language itself, Latin textbooks of the nineteenth century demonstrated a willingness to innovate and experiment in Latin teaching, such as the attempt to reconceptualise the Latin language through the Crude Form system (Section 3.2.4) or early forays into Inductive methods, which pre-dated those in the modern foreign language reform movements (Section 3.2.6). Though Latin textbooks used in both England and Prussia in the nineteenth century did not make use of illustrations as instructional media, most Latin textbooks provided aids to memory, such as mnemonics, and organized information in tables in pedagogically meaningful ways. The framework for comparing and analysing tables presented in Chapter 3 reveals that while the majority of textbook authors used tables as a means to demonstrate information, some textbooks included tables which required pupils to construct their own understanding of the

information, again belying the notion that Latin instruction was a rigid imitation of what had gone before.

Though this thesis considers only one century of Latin teaching and learning, it demonstrates that the a combination of detailed analysis of textbooks as primary sources, contextualized by contemporary sources, can yield insights into Latin teaching theory and practice. The history of Latin teaching is a complex series of innovations and experiments in teaching methods and techniques, not a straightforward account chronicling two millennia of faithful observance of a specific means of teaching. Further work remains to be conducted; for example, an analysis of whether pupils using specific textbooks or methods gained different formal examination results would further our understanding of instructional practices and corollary examination results (an important issue in the current climate of league tables and standardized testing). While such an analysis would be more challenging in Prussia, where the results of formal examinations are difficult to locate, it is certainly possible to do so in England using school records and archives from examinations boards. In addition, this research was limited to the nineteenth century, and it would be particularly illuminating to extend it by considering how Latin textbooks and instruction were influenced by the Reform Movement of the late nineteenth century, the impact of which was not fully realized until the twentieth century.

This thesis has also shown that, contrary to popular perception, Latin teachers have not been merely regurgitating fossilised concepts of a dead language ad nauseum. Rather, Latin textbook authors of the nineteenth-century demonstrated an awareness of emerging scholarly work in linguistics and philology, such as the inclusion of linguistic concepts such as the syncretism of noun cases evidenced by the incredibly wide variation



in the presentation of the Ablative case. Latin textbooks were not only willing to embrace new linguistic concepts, they occasionally proposed them in the first instance. As we have seen, the long-held copula theory, which was itself first published in a Latin textbook of the seventeenth century, the *Port-Royal Grammar*, began to be challenged by more psychological approaches which appeared in Latin textbooks before they were treated by linguists.

However, this work has also revealed tensions between the conceptual scholarly work of linguistics and the practical work of educators. The adoption or rejection of linguistic ideas by textbook authors and, conversely, the linguistic analysis of ideas proposed by textbook authors seems not to have followed any particular pattern. For example, in Chapter 4, my examination of how school textbooks prescribed the pronunciation of Latin in the nineteenth century shows the wide range of opinions regarding how to articulate Latin, such as the heated debate over the pronunciation of <v> in England. Though acknowledging the scientific contributions of linguists, which might have decided the matter, there was little consistency; some textbook authors bowed to ephemeral taste and tradition rather than concrete scholarship, leaving the pronunciation of <v> up for continued debate. This inconsistent relationship between Latin linguistics and Latin language teaching can also be seen in the inclusion or exclusion of the Locative case in Latin. These points are indicative of broader tensions between language educators and language scholars. It would be particularly informative to delve deeper into the works of those who taught Latin, wrote textbooks and conducted linguistic study, such as Zumpt, Madvig, Scheller, and Arnold; specifically, how did such scholars divide or combine these three aspects of language in their respective roles?

In seeking to understand the social, pedagogic and linguistic history of Latin learning and teaching, there remains much work to be done. For instance, this work has not discussed changes in religious thought and doctrine, which undeniably influenced both the content and structure of education both in Prussia and in England, such as the ways in which the Pietist Movement underpinned the educational system in Prussia (Clark 2000: 68-88; Schui 2013: 37-39). It would also be interesting to investigate whether the correlation of anti-Catholic feeling and the decrease in the importance of spoken Latin observed in America was also a factor in England or Prussia (Ladell Smith 2007: 24-25). Nor was it possible to treat the topic of teaching Latin to girls in nineteenth-century England and Prussia, which warrants further study. Despite an impressive body of work dedicated to the foreign language education of nineteenth-century women and girls (e.g. Brener & Parush 1995; Doff 2002; Colvin 2007; Hübner 2011; Albisetti 2014), Latin teaching for girls remains an under-studied topic. It may be that, as with modern foreign language teaching, educational practitioners were more willing to experiment and innovate in girls' Latin classrooms, as girls did not sit formal examinations.

Despite these unanswered questions, this study has contributed to our understanding of the history of Latin language teaching and learning. If we are to proceed effectively in improving the state of language teaching in England, then we must understand how this state of affairs came to be, and the history of language teaching and learning can help us do so. As we have seen, the negative reputation which school Latin learning has attained is, at least partially, the result of misunderstandings about the history of Latin as a school subject. By considering Latin textbooks as source material, this

research has, perhaps, helped strip away some of these popularly held beliefs, allowing the tarnished reputation of the Latin language in schools to shine a little more brightly.

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| Bosworth, Joseph. 1821. <i>Latin Construing: Or, Easy and Progressive Lessons from Classical Authors</i> . London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, and Lepard.                         | M | C  |
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| Bryce, Archibald H. 1871. <i>First Latin Book</i> . London: T. Nelson and Sons.  | B | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| Christ's Hospital. 1814. <i>An Introduction to Latin Grammar; for the use of Christ's-Hospital</i> . London: Charles Rivington.   | B | Gr |
| Church, Alfred John. 1873. <i>Latin Exercises</i> . London: Seeley.   | B | E  |
| Clarke, John. 1825. <i>An Introduction to the Making of Latin [...]</i> . G.B. Whittaker, etc.: London.   | B | C  |
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| *Cobbett, James Paul. 1835. <i>A Latin Grammar for the Use of English Boys</i> . London: Mills & Co.  | B | Gr |
| Collis, John Day. 1860. <i>A Stepping-Stone from the Beginning of Latin Grammar to Caesar</i> . London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.   | M | Gr |
| Conquest, F. W. 1877. <i>First Steps in Latin Grammar</i> . 2nd ed. London: Relfe Brothers.   | B | Gr |
| Cooley, Arnold James. 1845. <i>The Pharmaceutical Latin Grammar; Being an Easy Introduction to Medical Latin, the London Pharmacopoeia, and the Perusal of Physicians' Prescriptions</i> . London: Groombridge. | B | Gr |
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| Direy, L. 1859. <i>Latin Grammar</i> . London: Chapman and Hall.  | M | Gr |
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| Dowson, J. W. 1849. <i>A Manual of Latin Grammar [...] on the Root System</i> . London: [publisher not identified].   | M | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| ———. 1869. <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> . Berlin: Weidmann.   | M | Gr |
| *———. 1872. <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> . Berlin: Weidmann.  | M | Gr |
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| *Elwell, William Odell. 1833. <i>Analytical Grammar</i> . London: J. Hatchard and Son.  | B | E  |
| England, Edwin Bourdieu, and Henry John Roby. 1881. <i>Exercises in Latin Syntax and Idiom, Arranged with Reference to Roby's School Latin Grammar</i> . London: Macmillan and Co.                            | A | E  |
| Englmann, Lorenz. 1862. <i>Übungsbuch Zum Übersetzen Aus Dem Deutschen Ins Lateinische Für Die Zweite ...</i> Bamberg: Bucher'sche Buchhandlung.  | A | E  |
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| **Everard, Edward. 1843. <i>The Preparatory Latin Grammar</i> . London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.   | B | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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| *Fowle, Edmund. 1871. <i>A Short and Easy Latin Book</i> . London: Longmans, Green, and Co.   | B | C  |
| *———. 1886. <i>A New Easy Latin Primer</i> . London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey.  | B | Gr |
| Freeland, F. A. Stillwell. 1879. <i>A Latin Grammar for Beginners</i> . London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.                                 | B | Gr |
| Freeland, F. A. Stilwell. 1880. <i>A Latin Grammar for Beginners, with Large Vocabularies, Etc.</i> J.B. Ledsham: Manchester.           | B | Gr |
| Frost, Percy. 1898. <i>The Beginner's Latin Grammar and Exercises</i> . London: Longmans, Green, and Co.                                | B | C  |
| Gedike, Friedrich. 1805. <i>Lateinisches Lesebuch für die ersten Anfänger: nebst den Anfangsgründen der Grammatik</i> . Berlin: Mylius. | B | R  |
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| *Gibson, John. 1883. <i>The Public Examination Latin Grammar</i> . London: Reeves & Turner.   | M | Gr |
| Gilchrist, J. B. 1823. <i>The Parent's Latin Grammar</i> . London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.                               | B | Gr |
| Giles, T. A. 1836. <i>Exercises Adapted to Latin Grammar</i> . London: [publisher not identified].                                      | M | E  |
| Goodwin, Thomas. 1854. <i>A Practical Grammar of the Latin Tongue</i> . London: J. Weale.   | M | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| *Grant, John. 1808. <i>Institutes of Latin Grammar.</i> London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme.  | M | Gr |
| Greenlaw, Richard Bathurst. 1839. <i>A Key to Rules and Exercises on the Right Use of the Latin Subjunctive Mood.</i> London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans.  | A | E  |
| Griffin, Frederick. 1844. <i>The Harmonical Latin Grammar.</i> London: Simpkin and Marshall.  | M | C  |
| *Grotefend, August. 1829. <i>Ausführliche Grammatik Der Lateinischen Sprache.</i> Hannover: Hahnschen Hofbuchhandlung.  | M | C  |
| ———. 1833. <i>Lateinische schulgrammatik.</i> Hannover: Hahnschen Hofbuchhandlung.  | B | C  |
| Grotefend, August, and Thomas Kerchever Arnold. 1854. <i>Materials for Translation into Latin.</i> Rivingstons.   | A | E  |
| *Grotefend, Georg Friedrich, and Helfrich Bernhard Wenck. 1820. <i>Lateinische Grammatik für Schulen: Formenlehre und Syntaxe.</i> Varrentrapp.   | M | Gr |
| Gubbins, Bruce. 1849. <i>A new Latin and English grammar.</i> Jersey.   | M | Gr |
| Gutteridge, M., and William Smith. 1879. <i>The Young Beginner's First Latin Book.</i> London: John Murray.   | B | Gr |
| Guy, Joseph. 1815. <i>Guy's New Latin Primer: Or, Companion to Latin Grammars.</i> London: Baldwin, Croadock & Joy.   | M | C  |
| Hall, Peter. 1832. <i>Rudiments of Latin Grammar, etc.</i> London: Whattaker, Treacher, & Co.   | B | Gr |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| Hall, Theophilus D. 1878. <i>A Child's First Latin Book, Including a Systemic Treatment of the New Pronunciation and a Full Praxis of Nouns, Adjectives, and Pronouns with the Verb Sum</i> . London: John Murray.                                  | B | C  |
| **Hamilton, Charles Gillingham. 1862. <i>Analytical Latin Grammar</i> . Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green.  | B | Gr |
| Harkness, Albert. 1818. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Language for Schools and Colleges</i> . London: [publisher not identified].   | M | Gr |
| *Harris, William Hetherington. 1869. <i>The Elements of Latin Syntax</i> . London: Hodder & Stoughton.  | M | Gr |
| Haslam, F. W. 1878. <i>First Latin Book</i> . London: Whittaker and Co.   | B | C  |
| Haug, J.F. 1852. <i>Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen in das Lateinische für mittlere und obere Classen in drei Cursen mit Anmerkungen und Hinweisung auf die Sprachlehren von Broder, Madvig, und Zumpt</i> . A. Scheurlen: Heilbronn. | A | E  |
| Hayes, Bernard John, and William Frederick Mason. 1898. <i>The Tutorial Latin Grammar</i> . London: W.B. Clive.   | B | Gr |
| Haynes, Richard. 1843. <i>A Commentary on the Eton Latin Grammar</i> . Bristol: John Wright.  | A | C  |
| Hermann, Hugo Albrecht. 1860. <i>Lateinische Elementar-Grammatik</i> . Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.  | B | Gr |
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| Hickie, D. B. 1828. <i>A Latin Grammar; Compiled from the Best Editions of the Roman Classics Now Extant, and Adapted to the Mode of Teaching by Termination</i> . London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green.                                    | M | Gr |
| *Hiley, Richard. 1836. <i>The Elements of Latin Grammar</i> . London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.   | M | Gr |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

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*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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M

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Howard, Nathaniel, and Herman Prior. 1869. *Latin Exercises extended [...] adapted to the Syntax of the Public School Latin Primer*, by H. Prior. London: [publisher not identified].

M

E

Hunter, William. 1847. *The Theory and Practice of Latin Grammar*. London: R. Groombridge & Sons.

M

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Ihne, Joseph Anton F. Wilhelm, and Franz Ahn. 1864. *Ahn's course. Latin grammar for beginners*. London: Trübner and Company.

B

Gr

Ince, Joseph. 1882. *The Latin Grammar of Pharmacy, for the Use of Medical and Pharmaceutical Students, with an Essay on the Reading of Latin Prescriptions*. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox.

A

C

\*Jacob, G.A. 1851. *The Bromsgrove Latin Grammar*. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

M

Gr

\*Jacobs, Friedrich, and Friedrich Döring. 1825. *Lateinisches Elementarbuch Zum öffentlichen Und Privat-Gebrauch*. Jena: Friedrich Frommann.

B

Gr

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M

R

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*\*included in Corpus    \*\*included in Sub-corpus*

*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| — — —. 1841. <i>The Self-Instructing Latin Classic</i> . London: W. Brittain.   | B | C  |
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| *Kavanagh, Maurice. 1859. <i>A New Latin Grammar</i> . London: Catholic Publishing & Bookselling Company Ltd.   | M | Gr |
| Kieffer, Georg P. 1829. <i>Syntax der lateinischen Sprache: nach der Grammatik von C. G. Zumpt</i> . Casuslehre. Baireuth: [publisher not identified].  | A | C  |
| *Kennedy, Benjamin Hall. 1844. <i>Latinæ Grammaticæ Curriculum</i> . London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.  | M | Gr |
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| — — —. 1850. <i>Palaestra Latina: Or, A Second Latin Reading Book, Adapted to the Elementary Latin Grammar</i> . London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.  | A | R  |
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| **— — —. 1866. <i>The Public School Latin Primer</i> . Longmans, Green, and Co.   | M | Gr |
| — — —. 1868. <i>Steps to Latin: First Course, Being a First Companion Book to "The Public School Primer."</i> London: Longmans, Green.  | B | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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| — — —. 1872. <i>The Public School Latin Primer Edited with the Sanction of the Head Masters of the Public Schools Included in Her Majesty's Commission [...]</i> London: Longmans, Green and Co. | M | C  |
| — — —. 1875. <i>The Public School Latin Primer.</i> London: Longmans, Green.   | M | C  |
| * — — —. 1888. <i>The Revised Latin Primer.</i> London; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co.   | M | C  |
| — — —. 1896. <i>The Shorter Latin Primer.</i> London: Longmans, Green, and Co.   | M | C  |
| — — —. 1898. <i>The Shorter Latin Primer.</i> London: Longmans, Green and Co.  | M | C  |
| Kenrick, John. 1834. <i>An Abridgement of Zumpt's Latin Grammar For the Use of Schools.</i> London: B. Fellowes.   | M | Gr |
| — — —. 1838. <i>Exercises on Latin Syntax; Adapted to Zumpt's Grammar. To Which Are Added Extracts from the Writings of Muretus.</i> London: B. Fellowes.  | M | E  |
| **Key, Thomas Hewitt. 1847. <i>A Latin Grammar: On the System of Crude Forms.</i> London: Dulau and Co.  | M | Gr |
| — — —. 1858. <i>A Latin Grammar.</i> Cambridge: Bell & Daldy.  | M | Gr |
| — — —. 1870. <i>A Short Latin Grammar.</i> London: Bell & Daldy.   | B | Gr |
| — — —. 1871. <i>Latin Grammar.</i> London: Deighton, Bell, and Co.   | M | Gr |
| Kingdon, George Renorden. 1894. <i>The Beaumont Latin Grammar.</i> London: James Stanley.  | B | Gr |
| Kirk, Thomas. 1871. <i>First Latin Book. A new exercise book with rules for beginners, etc.</i> London.  | B | E  |
| *Krebs, Johann Philipp. 1833. <i>Lateinische Schul-Grammatik.</i> Giessen: Georg Friederich Hener.   | M | C  |
| **Kritz, Friedr, and Friedr Berger. 1848. <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache.</i> Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.  | B | Gr |
| *Krüger, Georg T.A., and August Grotefend. 1842. <i>Grammatik Der Lateinischen Sprache.</i> Hannover: Hahnschen Hofbuchhandlung.   | M | Gr |

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\*Kühner, Raphael. 1842. *Schulgrammatik Der Lateinischen Sprache*. Hannover: Hahnschen Buchhandlung.

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B

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———. 1878. *Lateinische Vorschule oder kurzgefaszte Lateinische Grammatik...* Hannover:Hahn'sche Hofbuchhandlung.

B

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\*Kuhr, A. 1856. *Schulgrammatik Der Lateinischen Sprache*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

B

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Laisné, C. 1813. *A Grammar of the Latin Language in Which the Rules Are Illustrated by Examples. Selected from the Classics*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, etc.

M

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Lancelot, Claude, Antoine Arnauld, and Pierre Nicole. 1816. *A New Method of Learning with Facility the Latin Tongue [...]*. Translated by T. Nugent. London: F. Wingrave & J. Collingwood.

M

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\*Lattmann, Karl August Julius. 1861. *Lateinisches Lern-, Lese- Und Übungsbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag.

M

C

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M

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M

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B

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| Liddell, Alfred Crichton. 1898. <i>Latin Grammar Papers</i> . London: Blackie & Son.   | A | C  |
| Liddell, D, and Alexander Adam. 1835. <i>Exercises in Connection with Adam's Latin Grammar</i> . Newcastle-upon-Tyne: M.A. Richardson.   | M | E  |
| Lily, William. 1818. <i>The Accidence; Or, First Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, for the Use of Youth</i> . London: E. Williams.  | B | Gr |
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| *Locke, John. 1827. <i>A Short Latin Grammar</i> . London: J. Taylor.  | B | Gr |
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| *Macgowan, James. 1825. <i>An Improved Latin Grammar</i> . London: Sherwood, Jones, and Co.  | M | Gr |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| *———. 1857. <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre Für Schulen</i> .<br>Braunschweig: Friedrich Bieweg.  | M | Gr |
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| Mannhart, J.B. <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> . Sulzbach: Seidel.  | M | Gr |
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*\*included in Corpus    \*\*included in Sub-corpus*

*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| *———. 1864. <i>A Smaller Latin Grammar</i> . London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green.   | B | Gr |
| Mitchell, James. 1819. <i>An Introduction to the writing of Latin exercises ... adapted to the Eton Grammar</i> . London: [publisher not identified].   | B | E  |
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| Moody, Clement. 1838. <i>The new Eton grammar</i> . London: Stewart and Murray.   | M | Gr |
| Morris, W. H. 1879. <i>Elementa Latina, Or, Latin Lessons for Beginners</i> . London: Longmans, Green, & Co.  | B | C  |
| Mühlmann, Gustav. 1843. <i>Elementarbuch Der Lateinischen Sprache Nach Seidenstücker's Methode</i> . Leipzig: Ludwig Schumann.  | B | C  |
| Müller, Hermann Joseph. 1897. <i>Lateinische schulgrammatik, vornehmlich zu Ostermann lateinischen übungsbüchern</i> . Leipzig.   | B | Gr |
| *Murphy, James Gracey. 1847. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Language</i> . London: Longman.  | M | Gr |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| *Nolan, Frederick. 1819. <i>An Introduction to Latin Grammar</i> . London: Samuel Bagster.   | B | Gr |
| Ollendorff, Heinrich Godefroy. 1862. <i>Introductory Book to Dr. Ollendorff's New Method of Learning to Write, Read, and Speak a Language in Six Months, Adapted to the Latin; Or, The Latin Declension Determined</i> . London: Whittaker & Co. | B | C  |
| Peithman, L Edward. 1830. <i>A practical Latin grammar</i> . London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green.   | B | Gr |
| **Ostermann, Christian. 1863. <i>Uebungsbuch Zum Uebersetzen Aus Dem Lateinischen Ins Deutsche Und Aus Dem Deutschen Ins Lateinische</i> . Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.  | M | E  |
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| ———. 1871. <i>Lateinisches uebungsbuch im anschluss an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes vocabularium</i> . Leipzig: BG Teubner.  | M | E  |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| — — —. 1881. <i>Lateinisches uebungsbuch im anschluss an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes vocabularium</i> . Leipzig: BG Teubner.  | M | E  |
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| — — —. 1890. <i>Lateinisches Vocabularium: in Verbindung mit einem Übungsbuche zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.  | M | E  |
| — — —. 1893. <i>Lateinisches Übungsbuch in Anschluss an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes Vokabularium</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.  | M | E  |
| Ostermann, Christian, and H. J Müller. 1898. <i>Christian Ostermann's Lateinische Übungsbücher</i> . Leipzig & Berlin: B.G. Teubner.   | M | E  |
| Pinnock, William. 1810. <i>The Catechism of Latin Grammar: Consisting of the Eton Accidence, with Easy Questions, and Familiar Exercises. For the Use of Junior Classes in Schools</i> . Newbury: Mentor Press, by S. Maunder. | B | C  |
| — — —. 1831. <i>A Catechism of Latin Grammar, containing principally the Eton Accidence ...</i> London: [publisher not identified].  | B | C  |
| ** — — —. 1844. <i>First Latin Grammar and Exercises in Ollendorff's Method</i> . London: Whittaker and Co.  | B | E  |
| Pirscher, F. W. 1852. <i>First Lessons in Latin</i> . London: Whittaker and Co.  | B | Gr |
| Postgate, J. P, and C. A Vince. 1898. <i>The New Latin Primer</i> . London: Cassell.   | M | Gr |

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Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Level Type

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

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| Potts, Thomas. 1810. <i>An Introduction to the Latin Language.</i> Birmingham: C. Wilks.  | B | Gr |
| *Powell, Walter Posthumus. 1838. <i>A Simplified Latin Grammar.</i> London: John Murray.  | B | C  |
| Putsche, Karl Eduard. 1842. <i>Lateinische grammatik für untere und mittlere gymnasialclassen so wie für höhere bürger- und realschulen.</i> Jena: F. Mauke.  | B | Gr |
| **———. 1852. <i>Lateinische grammatik ...</i> Jena: Mauke.  | M | C  |
| Putsche, Karl Eduard, and Alfred Schottmüller. 1880. <i>Lateinische schul-grammatik.</i> Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer.   | M | Gr |
| **Pycroft, James. 1844. <i>Latin Grammar Practice.</i> London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.  | B | C  |
| Quin, Thomas. 1826. <i>Principia Latina: or, short sentences adapted to the rules of syntax in the Eton Latin grammar, with a vocabulary: being an introductory work to the "Collectanea Latina."</i> London: W. Simpkin & R. Marshall. | B | R  |
| Ramshorn, Johann Gottlob Ludwig. 1826. <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik.</i> Leipzig: Frie.  | M | Gr |
| ———. 1830. <i>Lateinische Grammatik.</i> Leipzig: Friederich Christian Wilhelm Vogel.   | M | C  |
| **Rawlins, Francis Hay, and William Ralph Inge. 1888. <i>The Eton Latin Grammar.</i> London: John Murray.   | M | Gr |
| Reisig, Karl, and Friedrich Haase. 1839. <i>Professor K. Reisig's Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft.</i> Leipzig: Lehnold.  | A | C  |
| Ritchie, Francis. 1898. <i>Fabulae Faciles, a First Latin Reader, Containing Detached Sentences and Consecutive Stories, with Notes and a Vocabulary.</i> London; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co.                                    | B | R  |



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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| **———. 1871. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Language from Plautus to Suetonius</i> . London: Macmillan and Company, Limited.   | M | Gr |
| ———. 1874. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Language from Plautus to Suetonius</i> . London: Macmillan and Company.  | M | Gr |
| ———. 1879. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Language from Plautus to Suetonius</i> . London: Macmillan and Co.   | M | Gr |
| ———. 1885. <i>A Latin Grammar for Schools</i> . Macmillan and Co.   | M | Gr |
| Rooper, E. P, Francis Herring, and Benjamin Hall Kennedy. 1893. <i>Primary Latin Exercises: Specially Adapted to the New Public Schools Latin Primer</i> . London: Percival and Co. | B | E  |
| *Ruddiman, Thomas. 1854. <i>Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin Language</i> . Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.   | M | Gr |
| Russell, John. 1827. <i>Rudiments of the Latin Language for the Use of Charterhouse School</i> . London: R. Taylor.   | B | Gr |
| **Scheller, Immanuel Johann Gerhard. 1803. <i>Ausführliche Lateinische Sprachlehre Oder Grammatik</i> . Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch.  | M | Gr |
| **Scheller, Immanuel Johann. 1825. <i>A Copious Latin Grammar</i> . Translated by George Walker. London: John Murray.   | A | Gr |
| ———. 1838. <i>A Copious Latin Grammar</i> . Translated by George Walker. London: John Murray.   | A | Gr |
| Schmidt, Hermann, and Leonhard Schmidt. 1890. <i>Elementarbuch der Lateinischen Sprache</i> . Halle: Hermann Geseenius.   | B | C  |
| *Schmitt-Blank, J.C. 1870. <i>Latinische Grammatik Für Gelehrtschulen</i> . Mannheim: Tob. Löffler.   | M | Gr |
| Schmitz, Leonhard. 1865. <i>Elementary Latin Grammar</i> . London: William and Robert Chambers.   | B | Gr |

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Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)

Level Type

Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)

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| *———. 1880. <i>Introductory Grammar of the Latin Language</i> . London: Wm. Collins, Sons & Co.  | B | Gr |
| Schultz, Ferdinand. 1869. <i>Kleine lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst für die untern und mittlern Klassen der Gymnasien</i> . Paderborn: F. Schöningh.                                | C | Gr |
| **———. 1871. <i>Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst für Gymnasien</i> . Paderborn: F. Schöningh.  | B | C  |
| Schulz, Johann Otto Leopold. 1815. <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> . Halle: Buchh. des Waisenhauses.  | M | Gr |
| ———. 1834. <i>Ausführliche lateinische Grammatik für die oberen Klassen gelehrter Schulen</i> . Halle: Waisenhaus.   | A | Gr |
| **———. 1843. <i>Schulgrammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> . Halle: Buchh. des Waisenhauses.  | B | Gr |
| Schweizer-Sidler, Heinrich. 1869. <i>Elementar- und formenlehre der lateinischen sprache für schulen</i> . Halle: Waisenhaus.  | M | Gr |
| *Schweizer-Sidler, Heinrich, and Alfred Surber. 1888. <i>Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> . Berlin: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.   | M | Gr |
| Sears, Barnas, and Ernst Ferdinand Ruthardt. 1844. <i>The Ciceronian: Or, The Prussian Method of Teaching the Elements of the Latin Language</i> . Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. | M | C  |
| *Seyffert, Moritz, and Friederich Ellendt. 1869. <i>Dr. Friedrich Ellendt's Lateinische Grammatik</i> . 9th ed. Berlin: Weidmannsche.  | B | C  |
| **Siberti, M., and Matthias Meiring. 1870. <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik: für die untern Klassen bearbeitet</i> . Bonn: M. Cohen & Sohn.   | B | C  |
| *Smith, John Pye. 1816. <i>A Manual of Latin Grammar</i> . London: Gale and Fenner.  | B | Gr |
| Smith, Thomas. 1837. <i>Latin Delectus; Or, Easy Lessons in Construing</i> . London: T.J. Allman.  | M | R  |
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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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|---|---|----|
| Smith, William. 1813. <i>A Smaller Grammar of the Latin Language: For the Use of the Middle and Lower Forms in Schools</i> . London: Murray.  | B | Gr |
| ———. 1860. <i>A First Latin Course: Comprehending Grammar, Delectus, and Exercise-Book, with Vocabularies : For the Use of the Lower Forms in Public and Private Schools</i> . London: John Murray. | B | C  |
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| *Smith, William Brownrigg. 1856. <i>Inductive Latin Course for Beginners</i> . London: J.B. Bateman.  | B | C  |
| *Smith, William, and Theophilus Dwight Hall. 1867. <i>The Student's Latin Grammar</i> . London: John Murray.  | M | Gr |
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| ———. 1878. <i>A Grammar of the Latin Tongue for the Use of Colleges and the Upper Forms in Schools</i> . London: John Murray.   | M | Gr |
| Sonnenschein, Edward Adolf. 1888. <i>A Latin Grammar for Schools</i> . Parallel Grammar Ser. London: [publisher not identified].  | M | Gr |
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| Spurgin, John. 1849. <i>Syllabus of Latin Syntax, Adapted to the Eton Latin Grammar</i> . London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.   | A | C  |
| Stoddart, George Henry. 1848. <i>The New Delectus: Or Easy Steps to Latin Construing</i> . London: Whittaker and Co.  | B | C  |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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|---|---|----|
| Stretton, Henry. 1869. <i>The Progressive Latin Lesson Book, consisting of varied exercises in composition, translation, grammar, etc.</i> London.  | M | C  |
| Strutt, Perry. 1854. <i>The Boy's First Pen and Ink Exercises on the Latin Accidence.</i> London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.   | B | E  |
| Sykes, G. F. H. 1880. <i>First Readings in Latin: With Vocabularies and a Short Accidence.</i> London: Wm. Isbister, Limited.   | B | R  |
| Taylor, Charles. 1823. <i>A Latin Grammar, Arranged according to the Principles of the Madras Mode of Instruction, Etc.</i> Hereford: G. Wright.  | M | Gr |
| Taylor, George. 1828. <i>The Eton Latin Grammar [...]</i> London: Lackington & Co.  | M | Gr |
| *———. 1844. <i>A Latin Grammar, Founded on the Eton.</i> London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.  | M | Gr |
| Thring, Edward. 1871. <i>A Latin Gradual. A First Latin Construing Book for Beginners.</i> London: Macmillan and Co.  | B | C  |
| Tischer, Gustav. 1858. <i>Übungsbuch Zum Übersetzen Aus Dem Deutschen Ins Lateinische Für Mittlere...</i> Braunschweig: Friedrich Bieweg.   | M | E  |
| *Traut, Georg. 1868. <i>Dr. H. G. Ollendorff's neue Methode....</i> Frankfurt am Main: Carl Jügel.  | B | C  |
| Turner, William. 1819. <i>Exercises to the Accidence and Grammar [...]</i> London: [publisher not identified].  | M | E  |
| ———. 1823. <i>Exercises to the Accidence and Grammar. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.</i>   | M | E  |
| Turner, William, and George Ferguson. 1838. <i>Grammatical Exercises, on the Moods, Tenses, and Syntax of the Latin Language: Adapted to the Method of Ruddiman's Rudiments.</i> Edinburgh; London: Stirling, Kenney, & Co. ; Whittaker & Co. : James Duncan. | A | E  |
| Underwood, J. W. 1835. <i>The Medical Student's Practical and Theoretical Guide to the Translation and Composition of Latin Prescriptions: With an Explanatory Latin Grammar</i>  | A | C  |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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| [...] <i>Together with a Text Book and Exercises.</i> London: J. Souter.  |   |    |
| Valpy, Edward. 1804. <i>Elegantiae Latinae, Or, Rules &amp; Exercises Illustrative of Elegant Latin Style: Intended for the Use of the Higher Classes of Grammar Schools.</i> Reading: R. Snare and Co. | A | C  |
| ———. 1837. <i>Second Latin Exercises Applicable to Every Grammar, and Intended as an Introduction to "Elegantiae Latinae".</i> London: [publisher not identified].                                      | A | E  |
| Valpy, Richard. 1809. <i>The Elements of Latin Grammar [...]</i> London: Messrs. Richardson, Law, Rivington, etc.   | M | Gr |
| *von Gruber, Johannes. 1868. <i>Lateinische Grammatik Für Gymnasien Und Realschulen.</i> Strasfund: C. Hinst's Rachfolger.  | B | Gr |
| Votsch, W. 1898. <i>Grundriss der lateinischen Sprachlehre.</i> Leipzig: Goeschen.  | B | C  |
| *Walford, Edward. 1851. <i>A Series of Progressive Exercises in Latin Elegiac Verse.</i> London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.  | M | E  |
| ———. 1854. <i>A Grammar of Latin Poetry.</i> London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.   | A | Gr |
| ———. 1856. <i>The Shilling Latin Grammar.</i> London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.   | B | Gr |
| Wanostrocht, N. 1815. <i>An Elementary Introduction to the Latin Grammar, with Practical Exercises [...].</i> London: [publisher not identified].   | B | Gr |
| *Weissenborn, Wilhelm. 1838. <i>Lateinische Schulgrammatik.</i> Eisenach: Joh. Fr. Bärecke.   | B | Gr |
| Werner, Georg A. 1822. <i>Praktische Anleitung zur lateinischen Sprache nach den Regeln der Bröderschen Grammatik.</i> Stuttgart: Cotta.  | M | Gr |
| Wesley, John. 1813. <i>A Short Latin Grammar.</i> London: T. Cordeux.   | B | Gr |

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*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

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|---|---|----|
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*\*included in Corpus    \*\*included in Sub-corpus*

*Level: Beginner (B), Advanced (A), Multiple (M)*

*Level*

*Type*

*Type: Reader (R), Exercise (E), Grammar (Gr), Combination (C)*

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