

# A Consideration on the School Class Arrangement Devised by John Dury<sup>1)</sup>

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## I. Introduction

This paper concerns the distinctive ideas of John Dury (1596–1680), in particular his views on the matter of the practical organization of the school class. It is therefore part of the history of educational ideas, and can be traced through the various stages of his thought. Dury is best known for his support for Protestant unification in Europe, but also turned his attention to the more general topic of educational reform at around the time of the English Civil War. Regarding Dury's ideas on educational reform, Henry Knox has commented that,

*The Reformed School* may lack the eloquence of Milton's *Tractate*, the freshness of Petty's *Advice*, and the philosophic sweep of Locke's thoughts, but it surpasses any of them in depth of psychological insight and thoroughness of exposition.<sup>2)</sup>

In his study on childhood, Phillipe Ariès has attributed the formation of the school class to the “increase of the school population” with the consequent

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1) This paper is a revision of the author's paper titled *John Dury no Kurasuron ni tsuite no ichi Kousatsu* (*A Study on the Idea on “School Class” of John Dury*) which appeared in *Studies in the History of Education, Research Bulletin of Japan Society for the Historical Studies of Education*, Vol. 37, Tokyo, 1994, pp. 160–173. I gratefully acknowledge helpful suggestions from Prof. Malcolm Benson, Hiroshima Shudo University on several points in the paper.

2) Henry M. Knox (Ed.), *John Dury. The Reformed School*, Liverpool University Press, 1958, p. 17.

separation of the students “according to their ages”.<sup>3)</sup> The increase in the school population brought about problems which hitherto had not appeared, leading to the situation in which much attention was paid to the reinforcement of discipline. As Malcolm Seaborne commented, “a number of revolutionary new ideas about the planning of schools appear”<sup>4)</sup> in *The Reformed School*, the following passage from *The Reformed School* shows its extraordinary features in the 17th century standard:

The Rooms wherein the Scholars should be their exercises, should be foure: Three lesser ones, for each Usher and his peculiar Scholars one; and one large one, or rather a Gallery, which should be for common Use unto all. ... The large common room ought to be furnished with all manner of Mathematicall, Naturall, Philosophicall, Historicall, Medicinall, Hieroglyphicall and other sort of pictures, maps, globes, instruments, models, engines, and whatsoever is an object of sense in reference to any Art or Science, these things are to be set in their order, according as they are subordinate unto severall Sciences; that at the times appointed, the Ushers may leade their Scholars into it; to receive the lessons which they shall give them; upon the ocular inspection of the Things, which shall be showed unto them. The lesser rooms each ought to be furnished with a high seat for the Usher, that he may overlook all his Scholars, and with twentie distinct places, so ordered for the Scholars to sit or stand in; that their faces may be all towards him: and each in his place may have his own desk, to keep all his papers and other things to be used in good order.<sup>5)</sup>

The ideas shown above — having one room per class, a ratio of 20 students per teacher, and all the students facing the teacher — may have been abstrac-

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3) Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1960. [Tran. Robert Baldick as *Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life*, Random House, 1962, pp. 186–188.]

4) Malcolm Seaborne, *The English School: its architecture and organization 1370–1870*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 63.

5) John Dury, *The Reformed School*, 1650, pp. 75–76 (hereafter; *RS*). In: *The Early English Books* (hereafter; *EEB*), Short Title Catalogue 2, Reel. 27.

Shin'ichi Sohma: A Consideration on the School Class Arrangement Devised by John Dury tions as far as Dury was concerned, but it should not be overlooked that these advanced features were thought out within the context of 17th century educational thought. The interesting question is where Dury got his ideas from. In this paper I would like to suggest two sources for his ideas, both of which contributed to the development of his conception of how a school should best be organized.

## 2. Dury's Two Conceptions of School Organization

### (a) A Visit to a Jesuit College

Dury's life work was concerned with ecclesiastical peace, and his interest in the reform of schooling should be seen as part of that effort. Ecclesiastical Peace to Dury meant the reconciliation of the Protestant churches, and in that effort his influence was felt all over Western Europe. In his draft entitled *A Description of a Transmarine Schoole* (1645), he left a vivid description of a school which he visited on a journey. The draft was unearthed by Timothy Corcoran in the early years of the 20th century.<sup>6)</sup> There is no indication of the location of the college described by Dury, but Timothy Corcoran presumed that it was a Jesuit foundation, based on evidence such as the teachers' duties, the curriculum, and the rewards and punishments mentioned in the text. This interpretation appears to be correct, as the description in the draft bears great similarities with the *Ratio Studiorum* ("System of Studies", the authoritative Jesuit manual on teaching, 1599), for instance over the matter of the use of drama in the classroom, a unique Jesuit feature.

Dury's draft depicts — literally — one aspect of education which is not available in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the actual arrangement of a classroom (Figure 1).

Dury's description is as follows:

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6) Timothy Corcoran, *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching. Irish and Continental 1500–1700*, Longmans Green and Co., 1911, pp. 230–232.

The schoole itself is of an oblong square figure, commonly hung round with pictures or Maps, divided into two parts, viz.: into Orientall and Occidentall; and whatever places there are on the one side, there are as many and the same on the other. The Regents pulpit is betweene both, from which there is a vacant alley to the doore, according to this platforme. At A is the Doore, B the Regent's pulpit: C the seats of the two Censors, E the Chaire of the Emperor of the West, D of the East: oooo the Senators o each hand of the Emperors, xxxx the Equites, whereof hee next the Senators is called Princeps Equitum, iiii the Comites, whereof hee next the Emperor is called Primus Comitum. The low benches marked with Arithmetically figures are called Decuriae, the chief whereof is called Decurio. ... The Regent either opening his pulpit or walking into the Alley, biddeth any whom hee most suspecteth of negligence to render his lesson: as suppose the first Decurio of the East. The said Decurio of the East, and also hee of the West both rise together: hee of the East sayeth the lesson, hee of the West correcteth him where he misseth, and then the Decurio of the West sayeth also, and is corrected in like manner by his fellow opposite of the East. The Regent spendeth neere halfe an houre in this business, which having done, hee giveth another lesson out of the same author,....<sup>7)</sup>

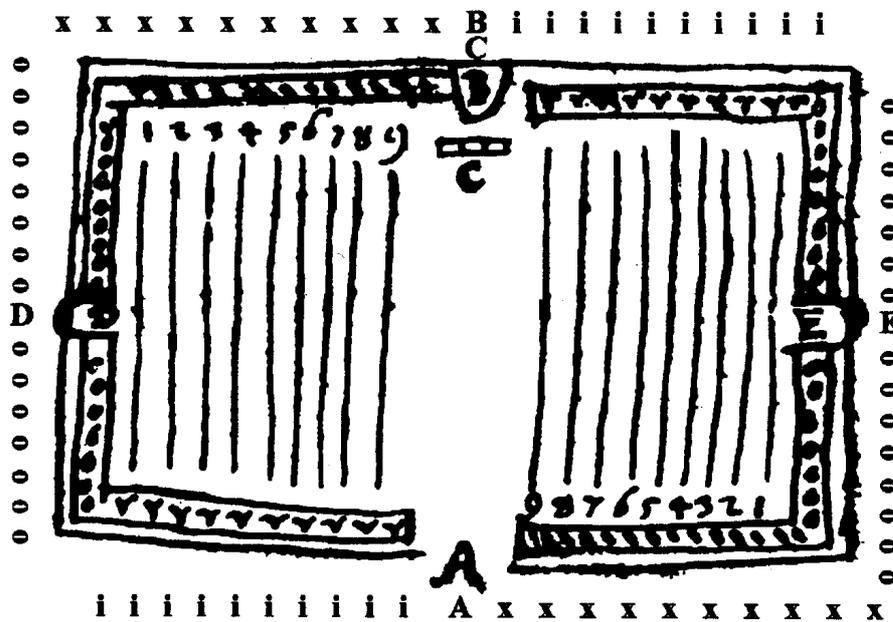


Figure 1<sup>8)</sup>

7) Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

8) Dury, *A Description of a Transmarine Schoole*, 1645, *Sloane Mss*, Vol. 649.

In the above description, the word “schoole” has the meaning of a modern classroom, and each classroom contained a homogeneous class, similar to the modern system. The students apparently progressed from classroom to classroom on the basis of an *annus scholaris*, again as in the modern system in which scholarly steps correspond to a school year. Within any one classroom, as Dury said, “All the scholars of the same *Classis* reade the same books, make the same exercise, so that they are all taught with the same ease to the Regent, as one alone”.<sup>9)</sup> The institution that Dury described contained seven lower classes that studied grammar and humanities using the classroom arrangement shown in Figure 1. The terms “Emperor”, “Senators”, “Equities”, and “Comites” almost certainly represented academic progress within the class.

In addition to the seven lower classes there were three upper classes of logic and ethics, metaphysics and physics, and casuistry. These senior classes were evidently smaller as there is no illustration of the kind of classroom they occupied, and as Dury comments that “there is no degrees of place observed”.<sup>10)</sup> Given that each of the seven lower classrooms held 212 students, and with the addition of a small number of upper students, it is clear that the college Dury visited was educating about 1,500 persons.

Dury also offered a description of how lessons were conducted.

In the schoole no man learneth lesson or maketh exercise, but are to render the lesson and shew the exercise last enjoined them to make, and so hearken to the

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9) Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

10) *op. cit.*, p. 246. This reference coincidents with the school class of Comenius in *Didactica Magna*. “If he divide the whole body into classes, groups of ten, for example, each of which should be controlled by a scholar who is, in his turn, controlled by one of higher rank, and so on.” Jan Amos Comenius, *Didactica Magna*. In: *Opera Didactica Omnia* (hereafter, *ODO*), Tomus I, Pars I-II, Amsterdam, 1657. reprinted in Prag, 1957, p. 103. [Tran. M. W. Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, New York, Russell & Russell, 1910, p. 166.]

exposition of new lessons, to write new themes, or other things as the Regent dictates unto them".<sup>11)</sup> ... "the Emperor takes notice of the Senators in respect of their absence, prating in the Schoole, et cetra, and taketh every one of their exercises, which having filed together hee send to the Censor, together with a bill of absence, misdemeanours, default of bringing exercise of every one of his senators. The same doth the Princeps Equitum for the Equites, the primus Comitum for the Comites, and each Decurio for those of his Decuria."<sup>12)</sup>

From this description we can gather that competition among groups was a prominent feature of education at the institution Dury visited. Each group had a head, or leader, who was responsible for his group.<sup>13)</sup> This is similar to the monitorial system, which placed monitors mid-way between students and the teacher. Generally speaking, the monitorial system has been regarded as a product of the industrialized society. In fact, Andrew Bell (1753–1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) devised the collective tutorial system respectively in the early 19th century, the golden age of the Industrial Revolution. However, Dury's depiction of the Jesuits' system puts the origin of the collective tutorial system back to the end of the 16th century. In this institution, unlike the mass production system in the 19th century, the old Roman military model was evidently adopted in the pursuit of the efficiency of administration and organization of schooling.

Dury was not impressed with what he regarded as the excessive size of the place: "The Schollars of each Classis are commonly so many that Regents especially at the first hand of the yeare scarce knowing them, cannot themselves take due notice of them all".<sup>14)</sup> However, it is not difficult to imagine that his

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11) *op. cit.*, p. 237.

12) *op. cit.*, p. 239.

13) On the education at Jesuits college, Émile Durkheim introduced that the class was divided into the Roman and the Carthaginian. Cf. Durkheim, *L'évolution pédagogique en France*, Felix Alcan, 2 vols., 1938.

14) Corcoran, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

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visit to this college became an important factor in his own thinking about classroom management.

### **(b) Dury's Educational Practice at Winchester**

Dury's experiences with educational practice applied not only to classroom management, but also to his whole educational thought. He became tutor to the Royal Family, for example Queen Mary and King James II. In addition, he and his wife Dorothy had four children.<sup>15)</sup> However, what is of interest at this stage is his appointment as a minister of Winchester Cathedral in 1646, where he also performed educational duties. The ideas seen in *The Reformed School* stem from the practice at Winchester.

In 1646 he produced a draft entitled *Catechetical Exercises Used at Winchester*, in which he describes the catechetical education offered to both old and young there. He writes that,

on Tuesday mornings at the weekly catechetical exercise the children of from 5 to 8 years of age, who can do nothing but memorize, go over all the heads of a brief historical catechism which contains, in the form of question and answer, the fundamental truths of God's dealing with man. After that, the children of 9–12 are taught a summary of catechetical truths concerning the fundamentals of religion in brief propositions arranged in an orderly manner, ...Those who have arrived at the age of understanding are exercised in two kinds of propositions, those containing doctrinals of faith and those containing doctrinals of practice.<sup>16)</sup>

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15) In 1642, Dury moved from England to the Netherlands because of the Civil War. He worked as a royal chaplain of Queen Mary in the Hague. After returning to England, in 1647, he also worked as a tutor to the children of King Charles I, including the 13-year old Prince James, and other two children in London. Dury's own marriage to Dorothy, a widow with two children; together they had two further children, of whom one died young and the other, a girl, became wife of Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society.

16) George H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, Gleanings from Hartlib's papers*, London, 1947. (hereafter; *HDC*), pp. 253–254.

The idea of a developmental stage theory based on faculty psychology — as was later seen in *The Reformed School* — had already been evident here.<sup>17)</sup>

In a letter addressed to Samuel Hartlib in 1646, Dury also lamented that young scholars and candidates for the M. A. degree were weak in reasoning, and occupied their time idly in unprofitable fancies and notions. He began to teach two children (presumably his step children) Logic and Analytic Exercises. Though Dury had sent a treatise about teaching methodology for Logic to Samuel Hartlib at that time, George Henry Turnbull presumed that this was *Of Teaching Logick*, which was added to the end of the first edition of *The Reformed School*.<sup>18)</sup>

Dury was clearly interested in the developmental process of the child's mind, and made much of the teacher as a man possessed of professional knowledge. This view of education contrasted with the Jesuit one, even though the Jesuits were successful in running large educational institutions which served the secular world. Their large class sizes (see previous section) would create a huge labor problem if supervision of the kind envisaged by Dury were to be applied. His critical faculties would now be aimed at Winchester College, which was of course smaller than any Jesuit college.

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17) *HDC*, p. 254. It is recorded that Dury and his colleagues at Winchester sent three drafts of catechism to Samuel Hartlib, and ordered 300 or 400 copies. As for Dury's developmental stage theory, see Shin'ichi Sohma, *Descartes and Dury — An Examination on the Pedagogic Significance of Their Encounter*, *Studies on the History of Education*, *Bulletin of the Seminar of History of Education in Foreign Countries*, Tsukuba University, Vol. 21., 1993, pp. 23–37.

18) *HDC*, pp. 256–257. Hartlib mentioned, “publish this, with an addition of some directions for teaching of Logick” in a preface of *The Reformed School*. It is understood that this part had been written separately, and that Hartlib inserted it on the occasion of publication. Cf., *RS*, p. A5v.

### 3. The Connection between Teaching Method and School Class

#### (a) Dury's Emphasis on Teacher Initiative and the Reform of Teaching

So far, this paper has dealt with two aspects of Dury's educational thinking. We are now ready to consider his ideas on classroom management. As mentioned above, because of his interest in child psychology and his views on the necessity for study guidance to correspond to the child's developmental stages, he made much of teacher initiative and expected the teacher to function expertly.

Dury's colleague Hartlib had written to him that "the readiest way to Reform both the Church and Commonwealth, is to reform the Schools of Education therein".<sup>19)</sup> This saw the teacher as an important part of educational reform, which in turn would lead to complete social reform. In addition, it must be pointed out that his view of a teacher was a religious one.

In 1653, Dury published a pamphlet entitled *A Summarie Platform of The Heads of a Bodie of Practicall Divinity*. This is regarded as a product of his pursuing a generally accepted standard of Christianity, especially among Protestants. Dury writes, "Jesus Christ is considered as he is the Alone Mediator between God and man by a Covenant", and is seen as "a true Medium and centre of all God's and men's properties".<sup>20)</sup> Instead of Jesus Christ, those who fill the role of a true mediator between God and men should be professors and prophets. They are expected to be "instituted and appointed by God, to be outward means to assure us of his meaning; and to seal up the realty of his working and effecting the tenour of the Covenant in the inward man".<sup>21)</sup> It is

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19) RS, A4r-A4v.

20) John Dury, *A Summarie Platform of The Heads of a Bodie of Practicall Divinity*, 1653, p. 4. In: *EEB*, STC-2, Reel. 1091.

21) *op. cit.*, p. 5.

clear that Dury sees the professors and prophets as ideal for teachers. The teacher, therefore, should not be merely defined from a theological standpoint, but should literally be a medium between the child and God.

Dury therefore rejected the monitorial teaching method, which in essence was indirect and was also inexpert. The arrangement proposed in *The Reformed School* was three ushers under one governor. As he stated, the Governour

shall therefore teach the first lesson of every kind himself in the presence of his Ushers, that they may observe his way: and at the second lesson, when they shall beginne their work; he shall be present at it, to observe them how they performe, and tell them of their faults if any be committed."<sup>22)</sup>

We can gather that ushers were supposed to take professional training from the governor and in principle each to take charge of lessons in three classes.

It is clear from Dury's description in *The Reformed School* that one usher and 20 students constituted a class, and the actual presentation of materials in the class is shown below:

Let the Generall notion of every Object or the shape of the whole; be first offered the Imagination, and then the parts which contained under it, to be represented unto thought by way of Division. and this be done; Let the mind afterward be led retrograde to review the parts as they look to one another; and make up the whole by way of collection. And at the conclusion of every lesson, a brief and summary Recapitulation of that which hath been offered unto them is to be proposed.<sup>23)</sup> Now, as the proposall of a lesson, ..., the first part shall be spent in receiving, the second in entertaining the thoughts thereof.<sup>24)</sup>

Four steps are therefore proposed: presentation of the general notion, breaking down into sub-themes, re-assembling the whole notion, and final review.

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22) *RS*, p. 71.

23) *RS*, p. 72.

24) *RS*, p. 73.

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The first part of the lesson may be taken as “proposing” by the teacher, and “receiving” by the student. The second part “entertaining” is understood to accept the content of the materials.<sup>25)</sup> In addition, Dury has a unique idea of “precognition” for proposing general notions: he meant “certaine preliminarie informations, which should be premised to the teaching of every Art and Sciences touching the subject matter”.<sup>26)</sup> He insisted on this pre-teaching step as a necessary part of the methodology, with the result that Dury’s conception of the teaching process, as seen in *The Reformed School*, actually contained five steps. All of this presupposed an expert teacher, and taken together with the ideas on classroom management set out in the first part of this paper, show that Dury had a firm idea of advancing the child by means of gradual steps.

Dury’s method is associated with the Herbartian method of the 19th century as far as the method is also conducted through five steps. Dury undoubtedly favored a simultaneous teaching system over the monitorial system, just as the Herbartians did.

### **(b) Classroom Arrangements and the Curriculum**

The large classroom arrangement suggested in *The Reformed School* was devised to facilitate the observation of things or sensory objects. On the other hand, the lesser rooms were clearly designed for language instruction. This reflected the view that had been prevalent since the Renaissance, that the curriculum consisted firstly of the Humanities, and secondly of the newly risen

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25) Thomas Rae interprets it as meaning of “application”. (Thomas H. H. Rae, *John Dury. Reformer of Education*, Marburg, 1970, p. 229.) According to *OED*, “entertaining” in this period meant “receiving or accepting something, as information, a present, a proposal.”

26) John Dury, *Some Proposals towards The Advancement of Learning*, 1653, p. 4. In: *The Hartlib Papers*, 47–2.

science of the 17th century.<sup>27)</sup>

Dury had good reasons to plan such a curriculum. Regarding a means of study, he paid much attention to not only *sense* and *reason* but also to *tradition*. If he had adopted sense and reason without tradition, he could have put more emphasis on sensory objects in his curriculum proposal. As he wrote, “that nothing is to be counted a Matter of true Learning amongst men, which is not directly serviceable unto Mankind towards the supply of some of these defects, which derive us of some part of our naturall Happiness”,<sup>28)</sup> he could not separate children from the *world view* (*Weltanschauung*) of the day which was grounded in the Biblical view of history.<sup>29)</sup> The implication here is that scientific knowledge was therefore not approved automatically for inclusion in the curriculum, but was in Dury’s view under religious and ethical control. Regarding language, he wrote:

Tongues are no further finally usefull than to enlarge Traditionall Learning; and without their subordination unto Arts and Sciences, they are worth nothing to

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27) I would like to emphasize that Comenian sensualism [the doctrine that the senses are the sole source of knowledge] might give a considerable impact on the classroom arrangement of Dury. It is presumed that Dury planned a large common room in order to introduce sensory objects into the curriculum. Hartlib read Comenius’ draft of *Prodromos pansophiae*, and translated into English and published in 1642. Probably, Dury was influenced by that fact. After that, Comenius got to pay more attention to sensualism than to verbalism in spite of his success of his *Janua linguarum*, and planned to publish *Janua Rerum* which was not published during his lifetime. However, his interest was realized as *Orbis pictus sensualium* (1656); the combination of sensualism and verbalism.

28) RS, pp. 40–41.

29) Special attention is paid to his peculiar conception “*precognition*”. In *A Summarie Platform of The Heads of a Bodie of Practicall Divinity*, *precognition* points to various theological premises such as the existence of God. In this sense, it would be interpreted that *precognition* was introduced not only to improve teaching method but to put learners under religious control.

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wards the advancement of our Happiness.<sup>30)</sup>

Language is here seen in purely functional terms,<sup>31)</sup> and indeed Dury went on to state that “the Curious study of Criticisemes, and observation of Styles in Authors, and of straines of wit, which speak nothing of Reality in Sciences, are to be left to such as delight in vanities more then in Truths”.<sup>32)</sup> In his idea on curriculum, therefore, classical literatures had to be introduced in the most advanced level. His critical attitude was also aimed at Scholastic speculation.

Through devising a curricular plan which combined language with things, he would aim at preventing Scholastic speculation on the language side of the curriculum, and lack of morality on the scientific side. This viewpoint was probably influenced by Comenian Pansophy, and Comenius' idea on language education.

Generally speaking, Comenius' contribution to language education has been overestimated. Comenius himself was well aware of his debt to earlier writers who had presented various plans for language education reform. One of these was William Bathe S. J. (1564–1614). Born in Ireland, Bathe is best known for his *Janua Linguarum*, which he completed in Spain in 1611. This *Janua* was published by the Hirbenus order in 1615, and had many years of success as a language teaching textbook.<sup>33)</sup> Comenius received Bathe's *Janua* critically from

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30) *RS*, p. 47.

31) An intelligent background of this is detailed in the following writing: James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France 1600–1800*, University of Toronto Press, 1975.

32) *RS*, p. 49.

33) According to S. P. Ó Mathúna, some thirty different editions of Bathe's *Janua Linguarum* by various writers were printed between 1611 and the end of the century. Unlike Bathe's aim, they were in widespread use in Protestant schools in Germany and England. In England, *Janua Linguarum* was edited twice in 1634 and in 1645 by Thomas Horne who was headmaster of Eton, also known as an editor of English ↗

his viewpoints as the originator of pansophic principles, even though he was to admit that its influence on him was great.<sup>34)</sup>

Bathe classified language education as *via regularis* and *via irregularis*. The former is steady because it follows grammatical rules; the latter is easy because it uses oral teaching. His approach was to take the *via media*, which blended both sides, using 5,300 vocabulary items in 1,200 phrases. (Comenius' *Janua* used 8,000 vocabulary items in 1,000 phrases.) Each 100 phrases took up contrastive values — good and evil, discretion and indiscretion — and the book included an Appendix of vocabulary used.<sup>35)</sup> In this way Bathe hoped to combine language teaching and moral cultivation. There is emphasis on the teacher student relationship, and conversation and writing are vital parts of each lesson. By contrast, Comenius focused on vocabulary items at the expense of syntax in his *Janua*, and this had the effect of reducing the role of the teacher.<sup>36)</sup>

↘ editions of *Janua Linguarum Reserata*. Comenius himself said in *Porta Linguarum Trilinguis Reserata et Aperta* that editions of the Irish Jesuit's book had been published in several German cities. Ó Mathúna points out that those German editions were revised by Johann Rhenius, Issac Habrecht, Casper Schoppe and etc. Cf. Seán P. Ó Mathúna, *William Bathe, S. J., 1564–1614 A Pioneer in Linguistics, Studies in the History of the Language Science*, Vol. 37, John Benjamin Publishing Co., Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1986, pp. 83–104.

34) Comenius criticized Jesuits' *Janua* as follows: its vocabulary bears no relation to daily use; even homonyms and multivocal words are used only once; and the vocabulary was used in mainly metaphorical meaning. Cf. Comenius, *Janua Linguarum Reserata*. In: *ODO*, I, p. 252.

35) Corcoran, *op. cit.*, Part I. Chapter IV.

36) It appears here that Comenius aimed to overcome the politicization of the teacher-student relationship by making the educational material more prominent. In *A Reformation of Schooles* he wrote: "if we had so effectually performed, as to set open a Gate to the understanding of all things, and all bookes, without the helpe of others to guide men therein." Cf. Comenius, *Pansophia Prodromus*. In: *ODO*, I, p. 444. *A Reformation of Schooles*, London, 1642, p. 48.

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In the 17th century which gave rise to the Scientific Revolution, sensualism — the doctrine that senses are the sole source of knowledge — was gaining ground against verbalism as the Scholastic-Renaissance tradition. Sensualism presented the way to overcome the divorce between things and language owing to Scholasticism. However, sensual experiences can not be moral cultivation as it is without letting lie linguistic cognition between the two. Each viewpoint of two *Januae* contrasted one another reflects the historical and cultural trends in the age.

Dury's idea of assigning space in relation to the educational content showed that he tried to introduce the sensual experience into the curriculum, and to maintain the moral cultivation through language education as the core of the curriculum. And also his idea of arranging front seats as the place for language education, it is clear that he regarded language education as not only the teaching of language, but also of moral cultivation.

### Conclusion

In general, the kind of classroom arrangement devised by Dury has been regarded as a 19th century innovation. It is often seen as part of the *disciplining* (*Disziplinierung*) process, as may be seen in Figure 2.

The left hand illustration shows a village school; the right a facility for the collective training of juvenile delinquents (*Fürsorgeanstalt*). Ludwig Fertig has commented as follows:

The trend towards frontal instruction was essentially a consequence of the history of the school in the 19th century. A comparison of the two pictures should elucidate this. The first presents the interior of a school in the village, and is an etching on copper of Ludwig Richter. The second, a photo taken seven decades later is problematic, and it shows the arrangement at the juvenile delinquency facility "Heinrichshaus" in Grossspaschleben. ... The picture shows the contrast between a cozy atmosphere and a scene dominated by the idea of correction. One

feels that the tension between teacher and pupils derives not only from the unusual situation of having their picture taken, but from the fact that discipline has conquered.<sup>37)</sup>

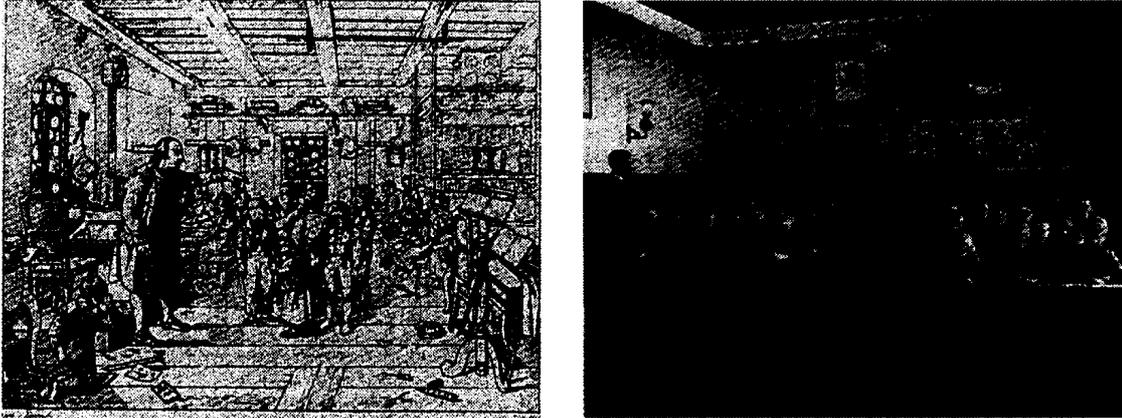


Figure 2<sup>38)</sup>

This passage — with its emphasis on the disciplining aspect of education — might have come directly from Michel Foucault or Ariès. Foucault, in his influential work *Surveiller et Punir*, regarded the school as a place for enforcing power, along with the army, the factory, and the hospital. He saw modern

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37) Ludwig Fertig, *Zeitgeist und Erziehungskunst*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1984, S. 199. translated by the author. The original text is as follows: “Der Trend zum Frontalunterricht war im wesentlichen eine Folge der Schulgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert. Der Vergleich beider Bilder soll diese Entwicklung verdeutlichen. Das erste stellt das Innere einer Dorfschule dar und ist ein Kupfer von Ludwig Richter (1836). Beim zweiten handelt es sich um eine Fotografie, etwa sieben Jahrzehnte später aufgenommen. Sie gewährt Einblick in den Schulunterricht in einer Fürsorgeanstalt, dem “Heinrichshaus” in Grosspaschleben (Anhalt). ... Das Bild lebt von dem Kontrast zwischen der heimeligen Atmosphäre und der Strafszene. ... Man spürt deutlich: Die stramme Haltung von Lehrer und Schülern liegt nicht nur an der Ausnahmesituation des Fotografiertwerdens. Die Disziplin hat gesiegt”.

38) Fertig, *op. cit.*, S. 198.

Shin'ichi Sohma: A Consideration on the School Class Arrangement Devised by John Dury society as the product of such disciplining institutions.<sup>39)</sup> At a glance it might be natural to regard front facing seats in a classroom as a typical example of the institutions. In fact, Foucault saw the Panopticon, the facility for supervising condemned men devised by Jeremy Bentham, as the crystallization of disciplining.

However, the word *discipline* has its etymological origin in *discere*, which means “to learn or get to know”. The Foucaultian usage of *discipline* is from a derivative of *discere*, *disciplina*. It is clear here that Foucault grasps “discipline” not as internal and behavioral but as external and institutional. When Foucault himself referred to the school class arrangement of Jesuit colleges as a dual role of the Roman model, the very embodiment of liberty in its republican aspects and the ideal schema of discipline in its military aspect, he had unexpectedly showed the turning point of the meaning of *discere*.<sup>40)</sup>

As a matter of fact, the Jesuits acted in the secular world away from the enclosure of the monastery, and took a massive number of students into their colleges. Till then, the opportunity of formal and moral education had been restricted. Popular education had been mainly occupied with secular knowledge, for example the succession of technical skills in the master-disciple relationship, and had been short of moral cultivation because that should have been dealt with by the church. The ideal of moral cultivation had been preserved in the monastery. Through the Jesuits' efforts, religious principles such as the *outer worldly ascesis* (*ausserweltliche Askese*) which Max Weber pointed out were largely and systematically introduced into the secular world through adopting the monastic model of education.

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39) Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la prison*, Gallimard, Paris, 1975. [Tran. Alan Sheridan as *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of Prison*, Penguin Books, 1977, pp. 209–210.]

40) *op. cit.*, p. 146.

The Jesuits took huge numbers of students into their colleges, which necessitated the systems of competition and the arrangement of rewards and penalties that they created. For example, when the head of each group performed tutorial guidance to the members of his group, the teacher had to switch from teaching to supervising. However, it must be pointed out that discipline in this sense is separate from *discere*. Discipline in the Jesuits colleges had already nearly meant punishment as the externalized meaning of *discere*.

If so, contrary to Foucault's description, it may be that Dury devised the front-facing seating arrangement in order to make a statement against *disciplina*. Needless to say, Dury understood the concept of school discipline (*Disciplina Scholastica*) as well as Comenius did.<sup>41)</sup> In a similar vein, Dury's colleague Samuel Hartlib had written a treatise on poor relief which emphasized public security.<sup>42)</sup>

Dury described school discipline as follows:

Laws are to be published amongst them concerning their very looks, their angry words, and their hasty actions, proceeding from passion, and tending to the breach of Christian Love; forbidding the same under the notion that they are contrary to the life of Christ. ... The law of watchfulness ... is not only to be taught them; but some that are more stayed then others, and better set, are to be made Monitors of the rest, and besides the Monitors Spyes are to be appointed to oversee them: and in Case of grosse failing, after due admonitions, some exemplary punishments of shame and smart may be used, that all may feare. ... the lying and deceitfull spirit may be hunted out from amongst them; a speciall reward is to be proposed unto every one that shall, upon due admonition of his neighbour before witnesses, dis-

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41) Comenius, *Didactica Magna*. In: *ODO*, I, p. 188. In: *The Great Didactic*, p. 291. 'whoever wishes to learn at a school must be subjected to its discipline.'

42) Samuel Hartlib, *The Parliaments Reformation*, 1646, p. 1. In: Charles Webster (ed.), *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 112. "The godly and laborious poore may be countenanced and cherished, and the idle, and wicked poore supprest". At the back of such reference, there may be the millenarian tendency pursuing the disciplinization of the society.

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cover to the Usher any matter of falsehood practised by any.<sup>43)</sup>

However, he continued,

Except their education by the Reformation of their Manner finally tend and result unto this (the life of Christ); it will be avail them nothing towards the salvation of their souls; it will only make lesse them hurtfull unto the societie of mankind.<sup>44)</sup>

For all his reference about school discipline in detail, there is no doubt that for him the education of manners was just preparation for moral cultivation, which was the essential content of education. External discipline was grasped just as a preventive measures against immorality. To ignore this fact is to misunderstand the main thrust of Dury's teaching theory.

In the Jesuits college, *discere* as the behavior of students did not correspond to *docere* as that of a teacher because he did not teach them but supervised. Dury considered that even *disciplina* was insufficient, and turned his attention to *docere*, the other element of educational behavior. Generally, it seems reasonable to conclude that the front-facing seating arrangement envisaged by Dury was less to strengthen the supervisory system and more to promote learning and sound educational relations.<sup>45)</sup>

Seaborne described Dury's seating arrangement as "a visionary's dream"<sup>46)</sup>, and indeed it was not realized while he was alive, but in the 19th century when

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43) *RS*, pp. 36–37. It may be argued that the conception in *The Reformed School* paid more attention to discipline than the *petit école* of Port Royal actually practiced at the same time. This school was regarded as a pioneer example of a school that avoided an informing system. However, in the English tradition there existed a monitor system in existing public schools. Cf. Ariès, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–265.

44) *RS*, p. 35.

45) Ariès said that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries supervision became one of the essential principles of education (Ariès, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Even so, one might ask whether watching became essential for its own sake, or because it was necessary.

46) Seaborne, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

public education became widely organized. It should be noted, too, that Dury's arrangement was created to promote efficient learning, while in the 19th century the motives were mainly to instill discipline. When one asserts that educational behavior is just included as a corollary of punishment, he saw education in the region of public security.

Dury did not consider education as public security because external discipline was a derivative of *discere*. In this sense, Dury may have chosen to control *discere* by *docere*, which would reflect the general view of the 17th century as the "didactic" era. This would place Dury, historically, as a person who not only accepted individualization as the cornerstone of the newly risen science and the premise of modern society. It would also place him as a person who had to assert the logic peculiar to education in the society which brought over whole cultural conditions such as moral standards, human relations, social institutions and so forth from the previous era.<sup>47)</sup>

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47) "Individualization of human being" was a 17th century idea, for example in the case of Thomas Hobbes. This idea did not immediately translate into the "individualization of education," and this might be an example of the distance between the modern in general history, and the educational modern.

## Summary

### A Consideration on the School Class Arrangement Devised by John Dury

Shin'ichi Sohma

This paper concerns the distinctive ideas of John Dury (1596–1680) on the matter of the practical organization of the school class.

His ideas on the school class — having one room per class, a ratio of 20 students per teacher, and all the students facing the teacher — are regarded as one of the most advanced one within the context of 17th century educational thought.

In general, the kind of classroom arrangement has been regarded as a 19th century innovation, and as part of the *disciplining* (*Disziplinierung*) process which might have come directly from Michel Foucault or Phillippe Ariès.

However, as it is clear that the word *discipline* has its etymological origin in *discere*, which means “to learn or get to know”, the Foucaultian usage of *discipline*, the external discipline is from a derivative of *discere*, *disciplina*.

Needless to say, Dury understood the importance of school discipline. However, he grasped external discipline just as a preventive measures against immorality. Dury considered that even *disciplina* was insufficient, and turned his attention to *docere*, which means “to teach or to instruct”, the other element of educational behavior.

It seems reasonable to understand that the front-facing seating arrangement envisaged by Dury was less to strengthen the supervisory system and more to promote learning and sound educational relations.

It would reflect the general view of the 17th century as the “didactic” era, and should be noted, too, that Dury’s idea suggests to reconsider the view which regards the modernization of education just as the disciplining process.