The nature and extent of classical rhetoric's influence on subsequent ages has been the focus of much recent study. Scholars have been concerned with how classical authors, particularly Cicero and Quintilian, emerged in educational and rhetorical theories of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and later centuries. Despite this flurry of research, a great deal of Quintilian's enduring legacy remains unknown, particularly in seventeenth-century England.

"Quintilian's Influence on Obadiah Walker," then, extends our knowledge of Quintilian's influence into the seventeenth century by looking at one seventeenth-century thinker in particular, Obadiah Walker. More specifically, this thesis compares and analyzes the authors' primary works: Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Walker's *Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory and Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*.

This study investigates Quintilian's and Walker's similarities and differences within three comparable areas: their educational systems, their theories and placement of
rhetoric in their systems, and their educational purposes. Within these areas, this study questions how and to what extent did Walker appropriate Quintilian’s ideas when crafting his two educational/rhetorical treatises?

The comparison of the primary texts manifests some specific and general conclusions. There are two specific conclusions. First, Walker is heavily indebted to Quintilian; he liberally adopts and modifies Quintilian’s ideas in nearly every facet of his works. Second, Walker offers a seventeenth-century student a digest and modern version of Quintilian’s Institutio. Moreover, this study offers some general conclusions. First, it demonstrates that Quintilian’s influence extends into the late seventeenth century, at least in the works of one writer of the era. Next, it argues that if Quintilian’s treatise lost favor, at least it did not do so completely. And finally, it contributes another story to classical rhetoric’s incomplete history.
Quintilian's Influence on Obadiah Walker

by

Kathryn Ann O'Rourke

A THESIS
submitted to
Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of
Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies

Completed August 15, 1995
Commencement June 1996
Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies thesis of Kathryn Ann O’Rourke presented on August 15, 1995

APPROVED:

Redacted for Privacy
Major Professor, representing Speech Communication

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Associate Professor, representing English

Full Professor, representing Philosophy

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks to Professors Moore, Glenn, List, Watson, and McIlvenna. Thanks also to the Rose McGill Fund of Kappa Kappa Gamma fraternity for its generosity. In addition, thanks to my teachers from kindergarten through college. And, above all, thanks to my family for their encouragement.
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INTRODUCTION

The nature and extent of classical rhetoric's influence on subsequent ages has been the focus of much recent study. Contemporary scholars have been concerned with how classical authors, particularly Cicero and Quintilian, emerged in rhetorical and educational theories of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and later centuries. In addition, scholars have examined how rhetoricians of these eras appropriated classical authorities for their own uses. For instance, George A. Kennedy explored views of traditional rhetoric from Homer to Blair, John Ward examined the glosses and commentaries on Cicero from antiquity up to the Renaissance, and Wilbur Samuel Howell traced Ciceronian rhetoric into the eighteenth-century.¹ As for Quintilian, Priscilla Boskoff suggested that even the mutilated text of the Institutio oratoria had some effect on the development of rhetoric in the late Middle Ages, while F. H. Colson sketched

Quintilian's influence on Western Europe to the mid-eighteenth century.²

Despite the recent research in classical rhetoric, a great deal of Quintilian's influence remains unknown, particularly in seventeenth-century England. This is odd given how many seventeenth-century English individuals wrote on and were concerned about both education and rhetoric, Quintilian's two dominant themes. Francis Bacon, for instance, wrote on rhetoric and invention in his On the Advancement of Learning (1605). Additionally, William Kempe, a late sixteenth-century writer, treated rhetoric and education in The Education of Children in Learning (1588). Charles Hoole discussed both topics in A New Discovery in the Old Art of Teaching Schoole (1660). Thomas Farnaby, also, considered both themes in his Index Rhetoricus (1625). Both topics, of course, were discussed by John Locke in his work, Essay of Human Understanding (1690). Yet, despite all this work on rhetoric and education, twentieth century scholars know very little of Quintilian's influence on these or other writers of this period.

Consider the case of Obadiah Walker, another seventeenth-century thinker, who paid particular attention

to Quintilian’s two primary themes. And, it is to Quintilian and Walker that this study now turns.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (c. 36-95) and Obadiah Walker (1616-1699) were separated by sixteen centuries, yet both were educators and writers. They shared a dedication to educating young men and a concern for the formation of their students’ moral character. Although Quintilian’s doctrines are much more familiar to twentieth-century students and scholars of speech and writing, both provided treatises that are still in print today. Quintilian’s legacy is perpetuated by his only surviving work, the Institutio oratoria, or The Education of the Orator. On the other hand, Walker is best known for his works, Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory (1659), Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen (London, 1673), Ars Rationis ad mentem nominalium libris tres (Oxford, 1673), and Greek and Roman History Illustrated by Coins and Medals (London, 1692).

Little needs to be said of Quintilian’s reputation as an educator, rhetor, and writer. For purposes of this study, a few important details should be emphasized. First, Quintilian was born in Calagurris in northern Spain.

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4 The place of Quintilian’s birth is disputed. Some scholars feel that Quintilian is Roman by birth. For a discussion see both F. H. Colson’s treatment of Quintilian’s
Second, he lived during the first century in Rome, a time and place largely characterized by political decline. Third, education at this time and place was no longer strictly parental, and it consisted of studying literature and rhetoric, or, schooling by the grammaticus and by the rhetor. Finally, Quintilian attempted to meet the educational, moral, and political demands of the time and place. He was committed to cultivating Cato’s idea of the vir bonus dicendi peritus, perhaps to restore Cicero’s view of the citizen-orator. William M. Smail characterizes Quintilian’s spirit nicely, stating that “what distinguishes him from his fellows and remains as something of lasting value to all educators of whatever age, is his insistence upon the moral value to the community of a liberal education.”

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biography and Guthrie’s preface in his translation of the Institutes. Quintilian’s early education is also somewhat of an issue.


Little, however, is known about Obadiah Walker’s life and works. In fact, to date no single comprehensive biography or study of his rhetoric exists. At the age of 16, Walker entered University College, Oxford. There, he obtained his degree in Arts and four years later in 1635 he was elected fellow of the same college. In April, 1638, he received his Master of Arts. Until 1648, Walker was a noted tutor at University College and a "man of mark" at the university. At this time, the master and the fellows, one of whom was Walker, were ejected by parliamentary commission. During England’s Civil War, Walker and other learned Catholics travelled to and lived in Rome until 1665 when he was reinstated as senior fellow and tutor of his college. Following his return, Walker was offered the position of Master of University College. He refused this position at the time, but accepted it later in 1676. In the years following, Walker’s status and responsibility grew. Walker managed a printing press in the back of his lodgings and worked closely with King James II. Walker’s involvement with these two tasks and his close association with Abraham Woodhead—once his tutor, more often his close friend—raised questions regarding his loyalty to Oxford and to the Church of England. As truth of the rumor of his loyalty to the Church of Rome became more authentic, his earlier
reputation declined steadily. But despite Walker's dimming favor, William Smith notes how he is chiefly remembered:

a man of good reputation for learning and good morals under king Charles . . ., he was one that had his grace freely granted to be presented bachelor of divinity, in the year 1646. I have many good things to say of him, as that he was neither proud nor covetous.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and the two dominant works of Obadiah Walker: *Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory* and *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*. The analysis and comparison of doctrines in Walker's and Quintilian's works will show that Walker utilized a significant part of Quintilian's theory in building an educational ideal. Walker adopted and modified aspects of Quintilian's educational ideal, specifically his views on the progression of education, the appropriate

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curriculum in education, and the purpose for education. Considered together, the emphasis Walker placed on these three factors provides the foundation for the historical connection between Quintilian and Walker. By exploring the relationship between Quintilian and Walker's work, this study hopes to extend rhetoric's history and to deepen our knowledge of Quintilian's influence in seventeenth-century England.

It is apparent, however, that Walker was familiar not only with Quintilian but also other traditional rhetorical theorists. As a student at Oxford, for example, Walker was required to attend several lectures on rhetoric: some on Aristotle, some on Cicero, and some on Quintilian. Walker probably was knowledgeable of contemporary thinkers concerned with the art. It is even possible that Walker corresponded with his contemporary counterparts. Still, this study will show that Walker's dominant tenets strongly suggest that he primarily used and adapted Quintilian's ideas when writing Some Instructions and Of Education. This is significant because, even though Walker knew other rhetorics, he thoughtfully fashioned his rhetoric after Quintilian. For Walker, then, Quintilian's ideas appear to be superior and best meet the goals of his work.

Literature Review

Works on Quintilian's Influence

The Institutio oratoria, written in c. AD 93, is
generally regarded as one of the most important educational and rhetorical treatises of antiquity among the classics. George Kennedy reflects that Quintilian’s *Institutio* "enjoys a secure place in the history of education."\(^\text{10}\)

According to G. M. A. Grube, "The *Institutio* is a fine example of a professorial book. It is a complete survey of the field, eminently clear and sensible, authoritative and definitive."\(^\text{11}\) J. P. Ryan claims that "the *Institutio* has long been cherished as a permanent contribution to the growth and education of the human spirit; while to the present-day teacher of rhetoric, here is a textbook which some of them are unwilling to forget, and none of them can afford to neglect."\(^\text{12}\) Finally, James J. Murphy writes that "Quintilian was one of the best-known teachers of ancient Rome, and the author of one of the most influential books on education ever produced in the Western world."\(^\text{13}\) He later adds, "Quintilian is invariably treated in any serious study

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\(^{10}\) Kennedy 141.

\(^{11}\) Grube 284.


of education, criticism, or rhetoric of the ancient world, and in many dealing with the Renaissance."\(^ {14}\)

In light of the above respect, one may not be surprised to find a smattering of later rhetoricians and educators who, if not influenced by, are at least familiar with Quintilian's *Institutio*. Sadly, many of the discussions of his influence become more general as they reach the Renaissance and even more vague as they move into the seventeenth century. In fact, Murphy claims that "the Renaissance history of Quintilian's use and influence remains largely untold."\(^ {15}\)

Nevertheless, of those scholars who do treat the topic, F. H. Colson is most frequently cited. He traces Quintilian's influence throughout the history of Western Europe. In his introduction to *Institutionis oratoriae I*, Colson devotes 47 pages—14 for "Use by Authors til the End of the thirteenth Century," 7 for "Use by Authors from 1300-1416," and 26 for "Knowledge and Use of Quintilian After 1416"—to survey Quintilian's influence from the first up to the eighteenth-century. For a very general measure of Quintilian's historical influence, Colson offers:

If for some hundreds of years after Jerome the signs of the study of Quintilian are fitful and scanty, he rises into considerable prominence in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries in spite of the unhappy mutilation

\(^ {14}\) Newlands 60.

of the text. After the discovery of Poggio, his influence for perhaps the next hundred and fifty years is enormous and even through the next two centuries very considerable."

Of particular importance for the present study is Colson’s second division of his last twenty-six-page discussion, namely his treatment of Quintilian’s influence "In England." Colson discusses, among other English writers, Elyot, Ascham, Mulcaster, Jonson, Milton, Locke, Pope, and Mill. Colson considers evidence of Quintilian’s influence in educational treatises, but not so much on English rhetorical treatises during the period.

Harold F. Harding adds another study to broaden our knowledge of Quintilian’s influence. Harding, however, limits the scope of his discussion to the period after the Renaissance. To begin, Harding speaks of the esteem Quintilian’s work held during this time. He claims that since 1416 "the treatise became one of the great books of the Renaissance. . . . and a knowledge of its doctrine was deemed essential to the scholarly equipment of every learned man."17 In the sixteenth-century, Harding looks at the

16 Colson lxxxix.

17 Harold F. Harding, "Quintilian’s Witnesses," Speech Monographs 1 (1934): 2. Harding adds that there were no fewer than 118 editions of the Institutio and the Declamationes issued in Italy, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany from the first printed edition in 1470 to 1600. He argues that books in these days were costly, and printing was not large, but this number of editions is proof that scholars, teachers, and pupils kept demanding the rhetoric of Quintilian. Moreover, the custom of students in the universities of taking full and detailed lecture-notes
writings of Erasmus, Vives, Elyot, Ascham, and Mulcaster, and considers the respective author's knowledge of Quintilian. In addition to those familiar with Quintilian, Harding also finds proof that the study of Quintilian was not neglected at the English universities during the Renaissance. At Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for example, "the lecturer on humanity was to expound, among other prose writers, Cicero, Sallust, Pliny, Livy, and Quintilian." And the statutes of Cardinal College, Oxford indicate that the Professor of Humanity was to give daily lectures on Cicero, Trapezunitius, and Quintilian.

Concerning the seventeenth-century, Harding feels that Ben Jonson is Quintilian's "chief supporter." He passes over the rest of the seventeenth-century, mentioning briefly John Bulwer's Chirologia and Chironomia, Sir Henry Wotton's A Philosophical Survey of Education, or Moral Architecture, John Locke's Thoughts Concerning Education, and Obadiah Walker's Some Instructions and Of Education, which he treats in a brief paragraph. At this point, Harding begins his

must have put into circulation a rather large number of abstracts and commentaries of the Institutio.


19 Harding 8.

20 Harding 9.

21 Harding's statements about Quintilian's influence upon Walker will be included in a later section of this introduction.
discussion of the eighteenth-century. Like Colson, then, Harding concentrates on Quintilian's influence on seventeenth-century educational theory. What is again missing is Quintilian's influence on rhetorical theory and rhetoric in education during this time.

Several other scholars survey Quintilian's influence upon later writers of the Renaissance. Charles E. Little and William M. Smail, for instance, note the same Renaissance thinkers as Colson. W. H. S. Jones adds that, of the humanist educators' treatises during the Renaissance, "nearly every detail is derived either from Plutarch or Quintilian." Murphy's introduction to Watson's translation, Quintilian on the Teaching of Speaking and Writing, also relies on either Colson or Little, unless otherwise noted. Thus, in secondary studies, Quintilian's influence on 17th Century rhetorical education is still largely ignored.

22 Charles E. Little, Quintilian the Schoolmaster 2 vols. (Nashville, 1951) and William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education Being a Translation of Selected Passages from the Institutio Oratia with an Introductory Essay on Quintilian, His Environment, and His Theory of Education (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1938) xliiv-xlvii. Smail uses Colson and Jones as his authorities on Quintilian's influence.


More scholars submit that Quintilian's ideas were not highly influential during the Renaissance. Clarke suggests that what was most influential from Quintilian during the Renaissance was the first book, with its general educational precepts and directions on grammar school teaching. Yet, he argues, by the end of the seventeenth century the *Institutio* did not exert more than slight influence. It was seen as too detailed, too technical, and too long. Winterbottom echoes the view that Quintilian's influence is marked by a steady decline after the Renaissance. Despite the opinion that Quintilian's influence seemed to wane, both Winterbottom and Clarke attest respectively that Quintilian remains relevant and worthy of respect.

The basic thrust of this review should be clear: Quintilian was admired from the thirteenth century up to the Renaissance. Some scholars even suggest that Quintilian's ideas were favorably regarded even moving into the seventeenth century. At this time or soon after, however, his influence diminished. Nevertheless, experts who

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26 Clarke, "Quintilian on Education," 114.

recognize his influence appear to do so in two ways. First, their discussions become more general when they reach the seventeenth century and merely skim this time period. And second, their study of Quintilian's influence tends to focus predominantly on educational treatises alone. This study will illuminate Quintilian's influence on rhetorical education in the seventeenth century by investigating specifically Obadiah Walker, a seventeenth-century writer and educator.

Works that Discuss Walker

Our sparse knowledge of Obadiah Walker is limited largely to his association with Abraham Woodhead, his directing the printing press, his connection with King James II, and his affiliation with the Church of Rome. Little is documented of his educational and rhetorical theories. In the few cases where his theories are discussed, they are merely glossed or considered in segments.

Whenever a need arises to discuss Obadiah Walker's theories, Wilbur Samuel Howell is probably the most cited and leading authority. On three, nonconsecutive pages in Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700, Howell provides a general review of Walker and his educational and rhetorical

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theories. Howell places him among "the chief English rhetoricians of the Neo-Ciceronian school during the seventeenth century," and comments on both works. Howell notes that Of Education "was designed to indicate how an education could be acquired and how it could be used in the conduct of life." Various sections, Howell adds, "introduce the faculties of memory, style, invention, and judgment." Concerning Walker’s other work, Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory, Howell notes it is "an interesting interpretation of four of the main terms of Ciceronian rhetoric." In it, Walker relies heavily on traditional rhetorical divisions. Walker’s chief authority, Howell adds, is Quintilian’s Institutio oratoria. Shortly after this point, Howell concludes his discussion of Walker.

Another brief discussion of Walker is conducted by Thomas O. Sloan, in "Rhetoric and Meditation: Three Case Studies." Sloan devotes three pages of his fourteen-page article to a discussion of the "Catholic rhetorician," Obadiah Walker. Sloan, however, disagrees with Howell, and


30 Howell 317.

31 Howell 324.

32 Howell 325.
comments that Howell’s "characterization is misleading if it causes us to ignore the unique non-traditional features of Walker’s theory." For instance, Sloan argues that Walker departs from Ciceronian rhetoric, particularly concerning invention. Walker, Sloan adds, grounds his theory of invention "in the nature of the mind--but not so much the audience’s mind as the orator’s." Although Sloan examines Walker’s rhetorical theory and alludes to its possible classical link, he refers to only one of Walker’s works, Some Instructions. More to the point of the present work, nowhere in Sloan’s article does he indicate a connection between Quintilian and Walker.

Walker also is mentioned by William P. Sandford in his article, "English Rhetoric Reverts to Classicism, 1600-1650." Sandford argues that "the ancient ideas of rhetoric were firmly reestablished by about the middle of the [seventeenth] century." Sandford supports this view by indicating that voices of classical rhetorical theorists were found in contemporary rhetorical texts. For instance, according to Sandford, Quintilian’s, Dresser’s, Soarez’s, and St. Augustine’s ideas were evident in Thomas Vicar’s


34 Sloan 56.

Manuductio ad Artem Rhetoricam (1621). Sandford claims that Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian were influential for Thomas Farnaby’s Index Rhetoricus (1625). And Sandford notes that Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian were significant in Charles Butler’s two works, Oratoriae Libri Duo (1629) and Rhetoricae Libri Duo (1598). Toward the end of his article, Sandford includes Obadiah Walker’s Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory among a list of "Other Works" which helped solidify the return to classicism as a "definitely-established movement."36

Harold F. Harding is one of the few scholars who not only recognizes but also insists that Walker drew greatly from Quintilian. Harding claims that in Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory "Cicero and more frequently Quintilian seem to be the only authorities relied upon. Walker extracts sentences and ideas from the Institutio in practically every one of his sections . . . ."37 Harding, then, establishes that Walker was influenced by Quintilian however he does not address the specifics of what and how Walker extracts from Quintilian.

Other studies which cite Walker do so even more briefly. Ray Nadeau characterizes Walker’s work as an

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36 Sandford 523.

37 Harding 11.
oratorical formula. No mention is made of "courtesy writers," points out "that Obadiah Walker, author of the courtesy treatise *Of Education*, was also the author of a formal rhetoric entitled *The Art of Oratory."

And, George C. Brauer, Jr. also classifies Walker as a courtesy writer who contributed to the theories of gentlemanly education in England during the seventeenth century.

Regardless, then, of how Walker and his theories have been studied, scholars either have been unaware of the possible link between Walker and Quintilian, have consciously declined to address this relationship, or have merely noticed Walker's connection to Quintilian. In scholarly literature, it appears that the relationship between Quintilian and Walker has not been considered in any

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39 John L. Petelle, "Speech Education in the English Gentleman in the Seventeenth Century," *The Southern Speech Journal* 34 (Summer 1969): 304. Petelle defines a courtesy book "as that type or treatise which sets forth 'a code of ethics, esthetics, or particular information for any class conscious group.' . . . . In general the courtesy books of seventeenth-century England represent less a systematic treatment of some aspect of speech behavior and more a compilation of the kinds of advice thought suitable to a given social class.

significant depth. That is, no one has attempted to
determine the nature and scope of the connection.

Here my study begins. It is much narrower than the
studies considered above. Yet, hopefully, it should prove
useful for a number of reasons. First, I have chosen to
look at Quintilian's enduring influence because treatment of
it still lacks detailed description on specific writers.
As James J. Murphy indicates, "Renaissance history of
Quintilian's use and influence remains largely untold."
Second, I have chosen to focus on the seventeenth century
because it is often either attached to the conclusion of a
Renaissance discussion or affixed to the introduction of a
Modern Age discussion.41 Fred R. McMahon also claims that
the seventeenth century merits attention. He indicates that
"[a]lthough seeds of this classical revival appeared in
England during the early years of the sixteenth century, .
.; the major developments came during the seventeenth
century."42 Furthermore, Thomas Conley writes, "The most
accessible accounts of the history of rhetoric in the
seventeenth century have consistently neglected important
individual works and philosophical themes that have deeply

41 Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*

42 Fred R. McMahon, "Symposium: The Rhetoric of the
English Renaissance: Introduction," *Western Speech* (1964)
69.
affected the view of rhetoric held to this day . . . "

Concerning our knowledge of rhetoric in this period, Murphy argues that we have committed the "sin of synecdoche" because, "We do not yet have the data to make inductive reasoning possible and we need more studies of individual writers." By studying Walker and his works we can begin to sketch a more complete and informed picture of rhetoric's history. As Howell notes, Walker is among the chief English rhetoricians in the seventeenth-century. And, as pointed out earlier, R. C. Alston argues that Walker's work, Of Education, which experienced six editions before 1700, "constitutes a notable anticipation of Locke's great work on education which appeared in 1693." Still, Walker's works have not been adequately examined. In fact, Murphy includes Walker among the list of several neglected authors who, if investigated, may help correct rhetoric's skewed history. By comparing Walker's contributions to Quintilian's educational and rhetorical theories, this study will provide still another piece of the mosaic that Professor Murphy thinks will someday form the history of rhetoric.

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43 Conley 152.


45 James J. Murphy has written a number of articles on the importance of exploring rhetoric's history including "The Historiography of Rhetoric: Challenges and Opportunities," Rhetorica 1(1983): 1-8, "One Thousand
Procedure

This is a study in the history of ideas, and the procedure followed in it is a comparative analysis. Since the purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between the works of Quintilian and Walker, the comparison and analysis will focus on the primary works of the two authors. That is, the main body of evidence to be compared and analyzed is Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Walker's *Of Education and Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory*. Broadly speaking, there are two procedural issues that require discussion. The first is the general question of historiographic stance. The second is the particular question of influence.


So that the reader is aware of my scope, for this study, I rely almost exclusively on Butler's translation of the *Institutio* but also consult William Guthrie, trans., *Institutes of Eloquence of the Art of Speaking in Public, in Every Character and Capacity Translated into English with Notes*, by Quintilian, 2 vols (London, 1756), John Selby Watson, trans., *Institutes of Oratory or, Education of an Orator*, by Quintilian, 2 vols. (London: Bohn, 1882), and William M. Smail, trans., *Quintilian on Education: Being a Translation of Selected Passages from the Institutio Oratoria with an Introductory Essay on Quintilian, his Environment, and his Theory of Education*, by Quintilian (Oxford, 1938) to verify passages. The Latin text of Quintilian may reveal additional findings. I am consulting primary works of Quintilian and Walker. Personal and professional correspondence as well as teaching records may also provide additional insight.
The first procedural concern is the question of how to write a history. Recently scholars have paid considerable attention to writing histories of rhetoric. They have addressed general historiography concerns by asking two main questions. First, what is the most appropriate method for a writer of history? Second, what are the various perceptions that "lead inevitably to variations in focus, in choice of data, in mode of presentation?" The answers to these questions represent a spectrum of stances concerning the most appropriate method for a history writer. Some scholars write traditional histories where research methods are based largely on archival research. Others write revisionary

"" James J. Murphy, "Politics of Historiography," Rhetoric Review 7 (1988): 5. Various views are advanced by Quentin Skinner, Stephen Botein, Kathleen Welch, Victor Vitanza, John Schilb, Susan Jarrat, James Berlin, Robert Connors, Sharon Crowley, Richard Enos, Nan Johnson, Jan Swearingen, Carole Blair and Mary Kahl, Takis Poulakos, and Ann Makus. Some of the issues are: Is the writer recovering the author's intentions within the text, and using the context as a sort of "court of appeal for assessing the relative plausibility of incompatible ascriptions of intentionality." Is the writer aware of his or her own intentions? Is the writer reducing and replacing theories with simple categories? Is the writer admitting that there are a multitude of histories, and that his or her interpretation of history is open to scrutiny? Is the writer asking what constitutes "proof"? Is the writer approaching history as an attempt to tell "true stories"? Is the writer perpetuating a school or schools of rhetoric to the exclusion of another or others? Is the writer situating his or her interpretation within the economic, social, and political conditions of its historical moment? Is the writer viewing his or her efforts as interpretive story writing? Is the writer viewing his or her efforts as rhetorical? Is the writer attentive to his or her own choices about inclusion, organization, and contextualization? Is writing history even possible? If so, in what sense?
histories of two differing types. The first type focuses on traditional histories, and seeks to review, reinterpret, and "correct" these histories based on new archival and more "accurate" information. The second type of revisionary history attends to "a set of self-conscious critical practices that can be maintained in contrast to traditional historiography." Still other scholars write sub/versive histories, where, among other traits, the method deflects the traditional and the radical.

At a 1988 College Composition and Communication Conference panel, several participants characterize their views on writing history. In many ways their diverse opinions represent either continuations of or detailed elaborations on the above categories. Robert Connors argues that there are facts. He claims that "to have any reasonable discourse at all, there are simply some ideas we must agree to hold in common. The most basic such idea is

48 Some of the traditional historiographers include George Kennedy, James Murphy, Charles Sears Baldwin, William Samuel Howell, Harry Caplan, D. Bryant, Edward P.J. Corbett, Nan Johnson, Andrea Lunsford, Winifred Horner, and Michael Leff. There are of course others.

that there are facts we agree exist."\textsuperscript{50} Sharon Crowley asserts that [t]he writing of history is a profoundly rhetorical art . . . .\textsuperscript{51} Richard Enos explains that "historiography is itself an argument, an effort to advance an interpretation and articulate reasons that will be shared by readers. . . both readers and historians share, and even co-create meaning."\textsuperscript{52} Victor Vitanza indicates that "my business . . . in this case . . . is not 'circumference,' or 'closure,' or 'validity,' or 'cure'; it's 'counter'-themes to the tradition of dialectics . . . whether Socratic, Aristotelian, Hegelian, or Marxian."\textsuperscript{53}

Some of the above historiographical concerns are relevant for this particular study, and the following will sketch the immediate historiographical stance. First, writing is a rhetorical act. Readers are participants; critics if you will; they are capable of responding to the story. Rhetoric invites and encourages criticism, invites and encourages alternate methods, and invites and encourages different interpretations. In this way the history of rhetoric is best represented. Or, as Nan Johnson asks and answers, "What type of perspective is created when all this

\textsuperscript{50} "The Politics of Historiography." 37.

\textsuperscript{51} "Politics of Historiography." 40.

\textsuperscript{52} "The Politics of Historiography." 41.

\textsuperscript{53} "The Politics of Historiography." 41.
is going on? Depth of the field." Second, historians investigate and interpret material with recognized, or in some cases, unconscious biases and prejudices. According to Blair and Kahl, "One who reads a history . . . reads a historian's choices, reinscriptions and interventions, which constitute a particular reenactment." For this study, I am writing, in part, as a Catholic historiographer. Third, historians are capable of interpreting evidence. And finally, historians can contextualize their interpretations to write history more accurately. The last two portions of the present historical stance have been summarized best by Richard Enos and Nan Johnson:

[B]e careful of your own perspectives; weigh your evidence carefully; remember your prejudices and biases. . . . What concerns me is that sometimes there is almost a cynicism or folly to think that you might ever advance knowledge; that there's almost a despairing attitude that anything important could be said. . . . I believe that we now have the possibility to really contribute knowledge about very important phenomena that deal with composing.  

Furthermore, when attempting to write history, Nan Johnson reflectively professes that there needs to be a "methodological respect for evidence." She continues:


55 Carole Blair and Mary L. Kahl, "Introduction: Revising the History of Rhetorical Theory," Western Journal of Speech Communication 54 (1990): 148. Although Blair and Kahl discuss historians of rhetorical criticism, they assert that the roles are parallel for historians of rhetorical theory.

A traditional historian of rhetoric intends to account for the theoretical substance, the range of praxis, and the social and cultural function of the formal discipline of rhetoric as it existed in earlier eras. Such an intention requires the historian to offer an interpretive reconstruction or 'true story' based on factual evidence (in so far as the archaeological and rhetorical nature of research allows) of what, in that time and place, for those people and that culture, constituted normative theory and practice. In pursuit of this 'true story' . . . the traditional historian also addresses questions such as: what intellectual developments shifted the content or emphasis of rhetorical theory? what economic, social, and cultural trends created new rhetorical genres and/or shifted attention away from others? how did educational aims and standards affect the configuration of the discipline of rhetoric and how it was regarded?

The second procedural issue is the particular question of influence. The problem of influence today is far more complex than it once was. Currently, the subsequent writer is no longer seen as the passive recipient of an active prior writer. Or, explained differently, first theorist "A" does not linearly cause second theorist "B" to write or act. Much of this is caught up in the term influence.

Traditionally, as Stephen Botein relates:

[Influence] seems to suggest a causal sequence in which 'A'—being anterior in time—affects 'B.' . . . At the same time it is extremely difficult to demonstrate that—for example—a particular writer of Antiquity 'influenced' the particular ideas or behavior of this or that [theorist]. When interpreting elusive processes of intellect and will, historians rarely have enough evidence to move convincingly from post hoc to propter hoc. Furthermore, whether or not 'A' affected 'B' may be of less historical consequence than the fact that 'B' thought 'A' was an 'influence.'

In this study, however, "influence" is not used to suggest strong causality or determinism. As Celeste Condit argues:

In constructing theory, we still attempt to achieve an account of how important things and events might be related. We have merely come to realize that the infinitely complex multicausality of human life constitutes a quantitative shift of such magnitude that it requires a qualitative change in our methods. . . . We shift then, to the concept of influences or forces.

To say that something "influences" a process, or has "force," eschews the determinism latent in the term "cause." An influence or force may be overridden or supplemented by other forces. It may even require the active participation of other forces (e.g., "human choice") to become actualized.58

Condit and Botein's discussions of influence are particularly important for this study. For this study is not a question of whether Quintilian actively influenced Walker. The answer to this question is evident. Rather, Walker wanted to use and to be influenced by Quintilian. A cursory view of the texts reveals that Walker thought Quintilian influenced him, and shows that Walker used Quintilian. First, the two authors treat the same topics; they evidence overlapping material. Second, Walker's tables of contents are similar to Butler's table of contents in the Institutio. In some instances, chapter titles are not only similarly ordered but also identically worded. Third, Walker draws examples, passages, and ideas from Quintilian's

work. Walker liberally cites Quintilian in Of Education and surreptitiously uses Quintilian in Some Instructions.

Perhaps the use of the term influence can be illustrated more clearly by this scenario: The later writer is the actor. He or she is exposed to, draws from, interprets, and responds to an earlier writer. Moreover, what is especially important and what should be asked, according to Botein is: First, how and, supposedly, why did a later writer use an earlier writer? And second, how did references to the earlier writer’s ideas function in the later writer’s culture?59

Quentin Skinner, adds to the question a set of conditions for influence that are also important for this study. Skinner argues that in order to assert influence there needs to be first, a "genuine similarity between the doctrines of A [Quintilian] and B [Walker]," second, "B [Walker] could not have found the relevant doctrine in any writer other than A [Quintilian]," and finally, "the probability of the similarity being random [is] very low."60 Thus far, the review of literature indicates that the doctrines are genuinely similar, and furthermore the next chapter will show how the latter two conditions are met.

59 Botein 313.

Given Walker's abundant use of Quintilian, this study questions the historical relationship between the ideas of Quintilian and the ideas of Walker. More specifically, this study questions first, in what ways and to what extent are the aspects of Walker similar to Quintilian; second, in what ways and to what extent are the aspects different; third, which of Quintilian's themes are included in Walker's works; fourth, which themes are excluded; and finally, conceivably why?

Before addressing these specific questions, Chapter Two, "Seventeenth-Century English Background," will sketch the historical context. What forces possibly affected Walker and the development of his theories in seventeenth-century England? Chapters Three, Four, and Five will begin to address the specific questions. The chapters will examine through comparison and analysis the similarities and differences of three selected topics treated by both Quintilian and Walker. Chapter Three, "Educational Systems," will treat Quintilian and Walker's educational systems. Do they share the same educational vision? Chapter Four, "Rhetoric: Theory and Place in Education," will consider the placement of oratory in those systems. Do they perceive the significance of oratory as having the same force? Chapter Five, "Educational Purposes," will consider the general purposes in their educational system. The chapters, therefore, will provide the bulk of evidence for
how and to what extent Walker used Quintilian's ideas. By comparing, analyzing, and interpreting these three topical areas, Chapter Six concludes by speculating about the nature and scope of Walker's use of Quintilian. This study begins with a look at some of the dominant forces in seventeenth-century England.
CHAPTER II
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH BACKGROUND

Obadiah Walker taught and wrote during a time and in a place characterized by change. There are three dominant forces shaping 17th-century England which should be sketched to provide a framework for this study. Walker almost certainly was affected in some way by the tension between religion and politics, by the new models of education, and by the emerging and reemerging theories of rhetoric. Perhaps by looking at these forces shaping English society and their possible affect on Walker we can more accurately understand him and his views. In this chapter, I want to show, first, that Walker knew of Quintilian’s *Institutio* through his grammar school and college education, and second, that Walker probably started with and extended Quintilian’s ideas in response to the chaotic climate of the English seventeenth-century. As Howell remarks, "[T]he theory of communication as expressed in logic and rhetoric was throughout the Renaissance a response to the communicative needs of English society of that time, and thus it is not to be considered in a vacuum, but in complex relation to the culture surrounding it."¹

¹ Howell 9.
affected Walker was the constant struggle between religion and politics from the Reformation, and the subsequent struggle among the Church of England, Rome, and the dissenting churches. During the mid-sixteenth century, the English ties with Rome were severed. An historical account will show that if religious and political changes affected society, then they also affected the universities. According to W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley the universities were "the mirrors of English society." The universities, rather than existing as monastic sanctuaries, became closely linked with the Crown, and were seen as the principle ecclesiastical English institutions.

Elizabethan Age policies most likely affected Walker indirectly while he was a student and headmaster. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Crown and Church of England achieved greater sovereignty and stability. Queen Elizabeth's need to incorporate and reorganize the universities was satisfied in 1571, and English universities became more indebted to the Crown and less governed by divine doctrine. By the end of the Elizabethan Age, the Church of England was established by law, and society and university were grounded in the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Neither English society nor university, however, could be confined to one national uniformity of

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At the close of the century and the beginning of the next, religious issues were far from settled.

Individuals like Walker and other members of the academy, however, were not necessarily allegiant to the English church. In spite of the universities’ expressed loyalty to the Crown and Church of England, the religious nature of the universities was not exclusively lay nor entirely Anglican. Both universities contributed to the cause of dissent and furnished England with ardent Puritans. On a very general level, Cambridge was considered the chief academic center of the Puritan movement, while Oxford was characterized by its conservative nature and Romanism.

An extension of the political and religious chaos directly affected Oxford, and therefore, Walker. In the mid-seventeenth century a five-year struggle between King Charles I and Parliament disquieted English society and university. The English Civil War forced public allegiance either to the Royal King or to Puritan Parliament. For four of these years, the King moved his court to Oxford. During this period, however, Walker had been ejected from Oxford by a parliamentary commission. Still, the King’s presence there was a reliable indicator of the university’s commitment to the Crown. In turn, the King rewarded

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Oxford’s allegiance, more often subservience, with strong support for Oxford’s educational aims. This patronage, though, was not unique to King Charles. In this way, Oxford and the Crown maintained a steadfast affiliation before the Civil War in both title and policy.

Walker probably witnessed the tremendous flux in society and probably participated in the noticeable changes at Oxford. Mark H. Curtis, Oxford historian, writes that the universities in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries show two phases: first, a period of crisis and adjustment, and second, a period of settlement and steady development. The second phase, roughly 1560-1642, embraces Walker’s student days and brushes his teaching years. Curtis indicates that during this interval, enrollment grew, instruction for college was enlarged and refined, and the arts course was elevated to a high position. Curtis notes that the arts course was prized for its own contributions to the virtuous education of the individual, to civility among men, and to domestic tranquillity rather than for its usefulness to higher studies.5

Eventually Oxford’s adjustment and steady development slipped. The timing of the decline, though, is debatable. Historians mark the decline either during the latter part of the House of Stuart, while Walker was headmaster of University College, or place it during the Hanoverian age.

5 Curtis 5-6.
The decline has been attributed to the Crown's attachment to Oxford and characterized in this way: First, restoration legislation kept important segments of the population from enrolling in the university. As a result, enrollment declined and remained low. Next, the Crown imposed restrictive university rules and regulations. James II, for instance, attempted to replace the heads and fellows of some of the colleges with Catholics. As a result, Walker received higher rank. Finally, college heads and fellows, and Oxford professors and officers paid attention only to matters of self-interest. Curtis remarks that if "a university man kept on the right side of the authorities, fulfilled the outward and legal requirements for his office, and stifled his conscience, he could enjoy the fruits of past philanthropy without much concern for the intention of the benefactor or the primary function of his calling."

Other Oxford historians agree that Oxford experienced a regressive period. They, however, place it later than Curtis. V. H. H. Green indicates that the lowered standard of instruction was "more a feature of Hanoverian than of late Stuart Oxford." P. H. Hardacre also indicates that Edward Hyde, Chancellor of Oxford during the Restoration, enforced high standards of instruction. Hyde, Clarendon as he soon became, took his position and duties as Chancellor

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6 Curtis 279.
7 Curtis 280.
very seriously. He was a "genuine friend of learning and a considerable patron of scholarship." Green argues that at Oxford the Restoration was accomplished smoothly and with little opposition. During the Restoration, he claims, "Charles II was nowhere hailed with greater enthusiasm than at Oxford." And in this case, an Oxford loyal to both church and Crown received a loyal King.

Most scholars of the seventeenth-century English university recognize a union between university and Crown, and therefore, university and the Anglican Church. Before the last few years of the seventeenth-century, the universities were highly regarded and contributed significantly to England's social development. Oxford and Cambridge placed men—men educated for a life in the clergy and men educated for a life in the civil realm—in the public sphere who were responsible for the mental and moral cultivation of all influential groups in the community.

Based on glimpses of who Walker was, the political and religious stress in society, and the changes occurring in the university, this study can propose some working reflections about Walker's actions. Walker's ideal educational system may well have been prompted by, at least

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9 Hargreaves-Mawdsley 59.

10 Curtis 261.
in part, instructional and academic indifference. This trait, lack of concern for teaching, may shed light on why Walker proposed his educational program, which will be described in Chapter Three. Perhaps, too, Walker advanced and promoted the power of oratory from a concern for order and a desire to diffuse society and university chaos. Walker elevates rhetorical training which will be seen in Chapter Four. And also, it is feasible that Walker responded to the university's moral abuses and society's general combativeness by educating future public officials and clergyman to be virtuous gentlemen. Walker's desire for a more civil society, may provide insight on his educational ideal which will be examined in Chapter Five.

**English Education**

Naturally, if men were educated and therefore expected to be either public officials or clergyman, then a second force shaping English society at this time was a gentleman's education. And educational methods were also changing. Walker probably was affected by and engaged in the on-going debate over educational methods. The educational shifts were characterized by a desire for new learning and scientific centrality, and the focus of the shift was twofold: first, against mystery and fear, and second, against scholasticism. Considering the first, Catholic scholar Christopher Dawson explains that among all the religious skepticism, intellectual and social order declared
its independence owing no allegiance to any higher power; human life desired emancipation from dependence on the supernatural. Concerning the latter, scholasticism was viewed as an obstacle to the truth and as an opponent to inquiry. The seventeenth-century intellectual restructuring, then, moved towards practical solutions and absolute answers. That is, knowledge was based on accurate observation, and science emerged as an educational foundation.

Other scholars characterize the seventeenth-century educational changes similarly. S. S. Laurie indicates that education emphasized the study of physical science rather than the humanities, and education applied inductive method to instruction. Concrete description of reality, as Wilbur Samuel Howell adds, "came to be admitted to the status of sciences alongside the older generalizations of moralist and theologian." Additionally, M. Maritain suggests that during the rise of science, philosophy


12 Willey 14.


15 Howell 10.
abandoned theology, mathematics surpassed metaphysics, and the human mind professed independence of God.\textsuperscript{16} These traits were evident in the English universities' curriculum and helped characterize the intellectual changes in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{17}

Specifically, Oxford's curriculum at this time was set forth by William Laud in the Laudian Statutes of 1636. Although the code did much to organize the university, the traditional program retained much from the Elizabethan Statutes and the medieval curriculum in the arts.\textsuperscript{18} And while other universities abandoned the medieval curriculum, Oxford resisted the outside pressure. The Laudian Code traced the career of an Oxford undergraduate who was required to attend lectures on grammar, rhetoric, logic, and moral philosophy. The Code also listed a Master's requirements. The Master's candidate was required to attend lectures on geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy,

\textsuperscript{16} Willey 17.

\textsuperscript{17} Please see Curtis's discussion (231) of Cambridge and Oxford's involvement in the intellectual changes of the time. Curtis argues that the universities played a significant role in the rise of science. He makes a point to discuss Oxford's important role because other scholars (e.g., Mullinger & McConica) typically do not suggest that the universities were as influential. In fact, they suggest that at Oxford Aristotle was not only in theory but also in practice the principal authority.

\textsuperscript{18} McConica 159.
metaphysics, Hebrew, and Greek. A number of Oxford historians indicate that rhetoric remained a strong part of the traditional educational curriculum and the student was to attend lectures twice a week on Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, or Hermogenes. The rhetoricians listed in the statutes provides at least a starting place for Walker and others who were interested in rhetoric. Perhaps, too, Walker and others wished to become university orator, a position of distinction in academic life. Before and during Walker's years at Oxford, then, rhetoric claimed its place in Oxford's educational curriculum.

The study of rhetoric also retained its place in the grammar school curriculum. Foster Watson places rhetoric at the highest position in the English Grammar School curriculum. Watson writes that "if there is one school subject which seems to have pre-eminently influenced the

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writers, statesmen, and gentlemen of the 16th and 17th-centuries in their intellectual outfit in after life, probably the claim for this leading position may justly be made for Rhetoric and the Oration."22 Gerald P. Mohrmann endorses Watson's view, and indicates that "our knowledge of rhetoric in Renaissance England penetrates the educational establishment at several levels. At the broadest level, general theory drew regularly and directly from Quintilian and his Institutio oratoria, and the general purpose of education being little removed from that of the Italian humanists and their 'pursuit of eloquence.'"23

These educational developments may provide a context for why Walker studied, taught, and wrote about traditional rhetoric. First, Walker studied rhetoric. As a boy, Walker most likely studied in a grammar school where rhetoric was central to the school's educational curriculum. As a young man at Oxford, Walker almost certainly attended lectures on rhetoric under the direction of the Laudian Statutes, and under the underlying administration of the Elizabethan era and the medieval curriculum in the arts. During these intellectually and morally formative years, it is probable that Walker gained an appreciation for how rhetoric shapes a

22 Watson English 440.

civil society and a preference for rhetoric's central place in an educational system. It is also possible that the significance the study of rhetoric had on Walker's education moved him to craft his own educational system with rhetoric as a dominant aspect. (Walker's educational plan and rhetoric's place in it will be examined in Chapters Three and Four.) Second, when writing and teaching, Walker possibly witnessed and felt the educational shift from allegiance to a higher power to endorsement for scientific observation. As a Catholic, it is likely that Walker wrote on and prioritized religious duty for his ideal gentleman in response to this particular change. It is likely, too, that the displacement of a higher power from intellectual affairs explains, in part, how and why Walker differs from Quintilian when Walker explains a gentleman's obligations.

English Rhetoric

While it is clear that rhetoric held a dominant place in the grammar school curriculum, and it is clear that classical rhetoricians were studied and discussed at Oxford, it is also clear that, like today, rhetoric was interpreted in more than one way. English rhetoric at this time was a mis-matched jigsaw puzzle. Walker, then, presumably was acquainted with new and reemerging theories of rhetoric. According to Howell, rhetoric had four faces: 1. Tradi-

Traditional Rhetoric

Given the prominence of Cicero and Quintilian in both the grammar school and Oxford’s curriculum, it is most likely that Walker was schooled in Ciceronian rhetoric. Howell identifies Ciceronian rhetoric as an art made up of all or most of the five operations assigned to it by "traditional" rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian: *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronuntiatio.* Inventio, in this classification, is given priority above the other operations. Cambridge graduate Thomas Wilson provided his *Rhetorique,* the "earliest complete English account of the rhetorical doctrine connected with all five parts of the Ciceronian theory of oratory." According to Conley, Wilson draws heavily on Quintilian and on the *Ad Herennium.* Wilson’s *Rhetorique* and its lengthy popularity did much to preserve late medieval Ciceronianism up to 1585. Wilson’s *Rhetorique* opens by citing Cicero:

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26 Howell *Logic* 99.

27 Conley 138.
Rhetorique is an Arte to set soorth by utterance of words, matter at large, or (as Cicero doth say) it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaration of the mynd, in the handling of any cause, called in contention, that may through reason largely be discussed. . . Any one that will largely handle any matter, must fasten his mynde first of all, vpon these fiue especiall pointes that followe, and learne them every one. i. Inuention of matter. ii. Disposition of the same. iii. Elocution. iii. Memorie. v. Utteraunce."

Oxford graduate Thomas Vicars' Guide to the Art of Rhetoric, published in 1621, carried on an adapted version of "traditional" rhetoric. He discusses the five Ciceronian arts, and, when needed, also calls on Ramus. Vicar's work is divided by defining rhetoric, by discussing its five parts, and by treating rhetoric's three faces.

Two additional traditional rhetorical patterns, Howell notes, were stylistic rhetoric and formulary rhetoric. Stylistic rhetoric elevated the doctrine of style as the superior operation while it also recognized the other four operations as viable parts of full rhetorical teaching. Stylistic rhetorics differed from Ramist divisions because they treated the schemes and tropes as in part the concern of grammar and in part the concern of rhetoric. They viewed style in the larger content of the doctrine of elocutio, and viewed rhetoric with five parts under the ancient

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program. By the mid-seventeenth century, stylistic rhetorics had merged with Ramistic rhetorics.

Formulary rhetorics, the final pattern of traditional rhetoric, consisted of model compositions for guiding students' communication practice. Formulary rhetorics provided models of imitation not necessarily for the educated class but for the merchant and tradesman. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries they were the least popular theory of communication, yet they did manage to gain a foothold in English secondary education. Is it possible, then, that Walker may have wrote his rhetorical works in response to stylistic and formulary rhetorics?

Ramistic Rhetoric

Or is it possible that Walker wrote in response to another emerging view of rhetoric, Ramistic rhetoric? In the seventeenth-century, Peter Ramus' rhetorical ideas staked more than a stronghold in English society. In fact, Ramus "held an English following of some importance during most of the seventeenth-century." Ramus created his

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29 Howell Logic 127.
30 Howell History 23.
31 Howell Logic 143.
32 Howell History 23 & 27.
33 Howell Logic 7.
rhetorical and logical theories in response to what he viewed as redundancy and indecisiveness in the theories of the basic liberal arts. Thus, Ramistic grammar, etymology and syntax; Ramistic logic, invention and arrangement; and Ramistic rhetoric, style and delivery, were a revolt against both scholasticism and traditional rhetoric. One result of Ramism was that it challenged university instruction, specifically questioning Aristotle's supremacy in logic and Cicero's preeminence in rhetoric.

Despite the popularity of Ramus's logical and rhetorical theories in England between the late 1500 and 1700s, most of Oxford resisted the pressure to follow Ramistic doctrine. The medieval nature of the Oxford statutes at this time suggests that the ideas of Cicero and Aristotle still dominated instruction. According to V. H. H. Green, "From the Ramist movement, anti-Aristotelian in character, which so affected Cambridge, Oxford was comparatively free." Hugh Kearney claims that Oxford took part in the scholastic revival and directed its antagonism at Ramist and Calvinist. Followers of the revival paid "renewed attention to Aristotelianism and scholastic philosophy . . .." E. G. W. Bill, Charles

34 Howell Logic 147.
35 V. H. H. Green 54.
36 Green 60.
Mallet, and James McConica echo this sentiment about Ramism at Oxford. Walter Ong adds that Ramism:

never became academically respectable on a large scale within the universities. It had an attraction chiefly for schoolmasters or university graduates no longer in residence, and for many of the ambitious commercial class for whom an acquaintanceship with logic was often a status symbol more than a matter of serious scholarly concern.”

Scholars, however, disagree about the extent to which Ramus was influential at Oxford. Howell, for instance, identifies several Oxford students and masters who were interested in and complied with Ramistic doctrines, even in some Romanist assemblies. He mentions that John Case was "not so much an open opponent to Ramism as a neutral with some leaning toward Aristotle." Nevertheless, the individual cases and Case’s testimony indicate that Ramus held the topic of discussion a number of times in Oxford circles." Conley states that there was "a flurry of Ramist activity . . . within Puritan circles at Magdalen College, Oxford." In spite of this, Conley concludes that "Ramism, in fact, made rather less difference in


38 Howell Logic 191.

39 Please see Howell’s discussion on Ramism at Oxford in Logic 189-193.

40 Conley 140.
English rhetorics than has commonly been supposed . . . and [it] never quite succeeded in England."41

*Neo-Ciceronian Rhetoric*

Walker likely knew of the flurry to which Conley referred. In light of the Ramistic controversy, Walker, a catholic writing a Ciceronian rhetoric, maybe even taught and wrote in response to Ramism. Accordingly, he may fit more closely with the third view of rhetoric in seventeenth-century England, Neo-Ciceronian, which represented a continuance of a tradition and in part as a response to Ramism. Kennedy writes that the objection to Ramism "was its superficiality and the continued strength of the Ciceronian tradition which Ramus had only somewhat rearranged. Thus it is not surprising that a reassertion of the fuller tradition of classical rhetoric soon emerged."42 In the seventeenth-century universities, Cicero's works continued to be taught, studied, and practiced as the "practical opportunities for persuasive oratory began to increase in public life and in the Church."43 The three patterns of traditional rhetoric were very evident in works published by Oxford men. In fact three of the four writers that Howell names the chief English rhetoricians of the Neo-

41 Conley 140 & 141.
42 Kennedy 212.
43 Kennedy 212.
Ciceronian school during the seventeenth-century were educated at Oxford between 1607 and 1635."

*Baconian Rhetoric*

One final view of rhetoric moderately propelled this classical revival. Baconian rhetoric, the new rhetoric of the seventeenth-century, took "a fresh look at the theory of communication, and it did indicate that rhetoric had obligations to learned as well as to popular discourse . . . ." Baconian rhetoric consists of the four intellectual arts: invention, judgment, memory, and elocution. Bacon draws from Cicero's five arts, yet he restores and enlarges the arts' functions and meanings. Bacon was concerned with the acquisition of "real" knowledge and the accurate communication of it. Ong characterizes Bacon's views by saying, "Bacon's voice was indeed a new one in many ways, but is spoke to the opening seventeenth century with the unmistakable—if not always unmistaken—accent of the rhetorical past." Even in Bacon, who some say diverges from classical notions of rhetoric, there are the five

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45 Howell *Logic* 366.

46 Ong 69.
traditional rhetorical precepts found in classical authors like Cicero and Quintilian.

We are now in a position to place Walker in the changing religious/political, educational, and rhetorical society of seventeenth-century England. As a catholic, Walker could not have escaped feeling the Reformation at Oxford and likely felt the detachment of God from intellectual pursuits. As a student, while attending Oxford for baccalaureate and master's degrees, he contributed to the rising enrollment and most likely studied in the esteemed arts courses. In grammar school, he almost certainly studied rhetoric. In college, unless he skipped classes, he attended lectures on Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian on Tuesday and Thursday mornings and was aware of the flurry of Ramistic rhetoric. As a teacher, he likely used traditional rhetoric as the basis for his teaching. Somewhere, whether during his education or his profession, Walker read Quintilian's *Institutio*. As a writer, perhaps, too, Walker made a contribution which helped revitalize the ancient ideas of rhetoric, for they "were firmly reestablished by about the middle of the [seventeenth] century."47

It is in this context that Walker develops his rhetorical and educational theories. In so doing, he relies heavily on Quintilian. Walker's desire to train clergymen

47 Sandford 524.
and public officials, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, can be seen in part as a response to the social and political unrest so characteristic of his time. Walker saw education as a means of training needed leaders. Walker's detailed discussion of invention, which will be treated in Chapter Four, can be seen as a response to stylistic and formulary rhetorics. Walker's emphasis on rhetoric for forming habits of mind infiltrated a leader's training.

With these seventeenth-century English developments in mind, we can now look more pointedly at how and to what extent Walker drew from and modified aspects of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* when crafting his educational system, and thereby fostered and readjusted traditional rhetorical divisions and purposes.
CHAPTER III
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The skilful teacher will make it his first care, as
soon as a boy is entrusted to him, to ascertain his
ability and character. -- Quintilian

And first [the educator] should endeavor thorowly
to understand what parts and capacity, as also what
dispositions and inclinations, his charge hath. --
Walker

In Chapter Two, I argued that Walker almost certainly
studied Quintilian in grammar school and again at
university, and that Walker wrote Of Education and Some
Instructions at least partially in response to the social
turmoil he perceived. In this chapter, I will argue that
Walker sought to end this social turmoil by adapting some of
the chief tenets of Quintilian's educational system. In so
doing, he incurs a deeper debt than has here-to-for been
acknowledged.

Walker's Of Education demonstrates heavy use of
Quintilian as the leading, and at many times, the only
authority. Walker cites Quintilian three times when
discussing infant and early childhood education, three times
when discussing the educator, two times when discussing

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1 Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, Institutio oratoria,

2 Walker Of Education 36. Given the changing nature of
the English language, Walker's language does not reflect our
current tongue. From this point, Walker's quotations
accurately reflect what is in his text, and therefore, [sic]
will not be used.
educational subjects and methods, and thirty times when discussing elements of oratory. This, however, does not account for the number of times when Quintilian, although used, goes uncredited. Most importantly, it does not begin to suggest the depth and scope of Walker's debt to Quintilian. The questions that arise are 1. In what ways and to what extent are Quintilian and Walker's discussions of infant and early childhood education, educational environments, the educator, and subjects and methods similar? 2. In what ways and to what extent are they different? By looking at these facets of Walker's educational program, we will see that within each he reveals a deep indebtedness to Quintilian.

Early Education

Walker begins his treatise by claiming that three components are indispensable to education. A student's proficiency in any art, according to Walker, depends on capacity, instruction, and practice. On this score, Walker embraces and reproduces Quintilian's discussions as Quintilian in turn emulated Cicero and Isocrates.\(^3\) Quintilian notes in *Institutio* that "there is one point which I must emphasize before I begin, which is this. Without natural gifts technical rules are useless. They are of no profit in themselves unless cultivated by skilful

\(^3\) Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York: Columbia UP, 1957) 4-17.
teaching, persistent study and continuous and extensive practice in writing, reading and speaking."⁴ Later, he adds, "Skill in speaking is perfected by nature, art and practice."⁵

Walker indicates three capacities requisite to learning, capacities strikingly similar to Quintilian's requisite capacities. First, though, Walker notes that capacities arise in great variety, for "God Almighty distributing these his Gifts of Nature to every one in what measure himself thinks fittest."⁶ So Walker's students will be gifted to varying degrees.

In function and wording Walker and Quintilian offer nearly analogous natural capacities. Walker suggests that there are three important capacities natural to man: wit or invention, memory, and judgement. Wit or invention, Walker defines, is quick apprehension of what is proposed and copious invention. He describes wit later as fancy in imitation of others."⁷ Memory, according to Walker, is quick embracement and long retention of what is committed to it. Or, memory is "retaining what is imitated."⁸ Next,

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⁴ Quintilian Pr. 26.
⁵ Quintilian III.v.1.
⁶ Walker Of Education 2.
⁷ Walker Of Education 2 & 97.
⁸ Walker Of Education 2-3 & 97.
judgement, Walker states, is comparison and accurate
discernment of things that are like. Judgement functions,
according to Walker, "in selecting certain actions." In
the last capacity, we "judge of, true and false; good and
bad; better and less good." Walker maintains, however,
that the foundation of all capacities is a "virtuous
disposition." Quintilian indicates that the "surest
indication in a child is his power of memory. . . . [I]t
must be quick to take in and faithful to retain impressions
of what it receives." Next, is the child's power of
imitation, "for it is a sign that the child is
teachable." Finally, Quintilian continues, the boy "who
is really gifted will also above all else be good." Both
authors recognize these intellectual traits yet Walker and
Quintilian are bound together and moved by the moral
capacity of the individual's virtuous disposition and
class.

Walker and Quintilian, accordingly, introduce their
educational programs beginning with early education.
Education originating at infancy is one of the critical and

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9 Walker Of Education 3.
10 Walker Of Education 173.
12 Quintilian I.iii.1.
13 Quintilian I.iii.2.
14 Quintilian I.iii.3.
distinguishing facets of Quintilian and Walker's educational ideal. The first two Books of the *Institutio* provide the main doctrines of Quintilian's early educational theory, as some of his opening words indicate:

I . . . hold that the art of oratory includes all that is essential for the training of an orator, and that it is impossible to reach the summit in any subject unless we have first passed through all the elementary stages. I . . . propose to mould the studies on my orator from infancy, on the assumption that his whole education has been entrusted to my charge.\(^\text{15}\)

Although Walker does not mention openly that education needs to begin at infancy, he draws directly from Quintilian on early parental duties which begin at birth to help lay the foundation of his educational system.

Parental duty starting at infancy is rudimentary to both Quintilian and Walker, and this is one of several instances where Walker mentions Quintilian:

The Duty of the Parents therefore is first to begin betimes; for very frequently the blandishments of nurses, and the foolish, vaine, or evil conversation of those about them, leave such impressions even upon their Infancy, as are difficulty defaced, even when the child arrives to discretion, and maturity. . . (saith Quintilian).\(^\text{16}\)

Moreover, Walker and Quintilian both assert that parents should participate actively throughout their child's education. Education, Walker notes, is a parent's duty, a duty requiring many functions. Both writers argue in a similar manner for careful attention to nurse and companion

\(^{15}\) Quintilian I Pr.6.

\(^{16}\) Walker Of Education 18-19.
selection. Walker indicates that parents must exercise great judgment in order to employ "a discreet and carefull Nurse. . . . who forme the speech, the garbe, and much of the sentiments of the child." Likewise, for Quintilian, parents must "above all see that the child's nurse speaks correctly. . . . It is the nurse that the child first hears, and her words that he will first attempt to imitate."

Parents are similarly responsible for the choice of friends. Walker notes that parents should "have their children under their own eye and inspection." Therefore, they can be better kept "from evil companions." He adds that parents should set before their children "good examples; if of his own family, ancestors, and kindred 'tis the better." Quintilian's advice about selecting friends is identical: "As regards the boys in whose company our budding orator is to be brought up, I would repeat what I have said about nurses." That is, a boy's friends, too, should be of highest character.

Private v. Public Education

This advice can be seen in Walker and Quintilian's

17 Walker Of Education 18.
18 Quintilian I.i. 5.
19 Walker Of Education 22.
20 Walker Of Education 56.
21 Quintilian I.i.8.
consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of public and private education. The presence of evil companions and bad influences are two factors they consider when discussing the optimum educational setting. Walker ranks possible educational environments depending foremost on the presence of good examples. He prefers that if the father and family are good models, generally, that the best place to educate a student is at home. If this is not possible, an alternate place for a student's education is among companions, "as near as may be, his equals." The place should be where he can remove himself during the day but still return home each night. In the event that a child cannot leave his home, Walker's next preference is that a boy and his companions be educated in his "Fathers house." In this case, a father can keep his son under his own eye. Walker's next choice is formal education away from home where a student should be surrounded by a surrogate family of good example, such as the English boarding school.

Quintilian argues for public instruction for "an orator, who will have to live in the utmost publicity and in the broad daylight of public life, should become accustomed from his childhood . . . ." If a prospective orator

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22 Walker Of Education 23.
23 Walker Of Education 23.
25 Quintilian I.ii.18.
learns in private "what is required to be done in public, his learning is but the theory of a hermit." Public education, as depicted in the Institutio, renders additional benefits. "While at school," the orator will learn not only what is taught to him but "what is taught to others as well." Quintilian continues, "It is a good thing therefore that a boy should have companions whom he will desire first to imitate and then to surpass: thus he will be led to aspire to higher achievement."

In assessing the advantages and disadvantages of different educational settings, Walker, comparatively, does not reproduce Quintilian. Specifically, Walker's views diverge from Quintilian's views concerning public and private instruction. He differs in a number of ways. First, Walker is not nearly as thorough; he rarely mentions private education, and he does not detail the advantages and disadvantages of private or public learning to the same degree. Second, Walker does not supply reasons for what educational environments he prefers. On the other hand, portions of Walker's view do resemble some of Quintilian's. Walker contends that, generally, "the best place of Education seems to be amongst companions (as near as may be, his equalls) at some distance from home; but whither he may

26 Quintilian I.ii.20.
27 Quintilian I.ii.21.
28 Quintilian I.ii.29.
Walker seems to stress three criteria for educational atmospheres: the presence of companions, the presence of a good family, and, closely related, the avoidance of evil influences. Despite their differences on this point, both Quintilian and Walker endorse one essential position: both share the centrality of good companions for the finest educational setting.

Teaching Methods

When they characterize the educator, Walker and Quintilian not only discuss the conditions under which students should be educated but also specify by whom and how. Before describing an educator's desirable disposition, though, Walker restates an earlier precept. Namely, it is the parent's responsibility to select a teacher and ensure that the teacher possesses the noblest disposition. Walker advises that a "fathers greatest diligence is seen in choosing a good Governor, or Director of his Son." If a charge has good educators, they are more likely to prevent vices, then punish them."

For what, then, should a father look when assessing the advisable dispositions and actions of a governor? When assessing the qualities that a teacher should maintain,

30 Walker Of Education 25.  
31 Walker Of Education 27.
Walker discusses the same traits of a teacher that Quintilian does in the *Institutio*. Walker maintains that a competent governor should be 1. religious in order to provide good example; 2. prudent in order to observe a student’s disposition; 3. patient in order to endure, among other things, "many affronts, contempts, passions, and sometimes very evil words"; 4. master of his tongue, for the child will imitate; 5. diligent in order to produce habit; and 6. modest in order to nurture respect.

Quintilian states that a teacher should "adopt a parental attitude to his pupils and be free from vice and refuse to tolerate it in others." Not only does each hold that an educator be of good character but also each provides the same rationale. According to Quintilian, "[T]he preliminary task of unteaching is harder than that of teaching." Similarly, Walker states, "In all times, great care was taken for providing good Educators; for they said, it was better to prevent vices, then punish them."

Walker and Quintilian hold high expectations for an educator not only in character but also in method. Their ideal educators, respectively, should follow general directions beginning with understanding thoroughly their

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33 Quintilian II.ii.5.

34 Quintilian II.iii.3.

35 Walker Of Education 27.
pupil's capacity and dispositions. Quintilian indicates that a teacher "will make it his first care, as soon as a boy is entrusted to him, to ascertain his ability and character."36 In Book II, Quintilian builds on this theme:

It is generally and not unreasonably regarded as the sign of a good teacher that he should be able to differentiate between the abilities of his respective pupils and to know their natural bent.37

Comparably, Walker seems to assume the teacher's ability to differentiate traits:

The Educator having thus his end proposed, and his matter (the Educated) delivered into his hands; let him consider how to work this matter to that end. And first he should endeavour thorowly to understand what parts and capacity, also what dispositions and inclinations, his charge hath.38

Only by knowing his student's unique nature, the educator knows "which to correct, which restrain, which encourage."39

Quintilian and Walker share similar starting points for appropriate correction. That is, both writers advocate a situational balance between severity and leniency. If the educator detects vices (e.g., frequenting suspect places, tardiness, obscene discourse), then, Walker urges, he should not allow them to "pass unreprehended, and according to the

36 Quintilian I.iii.1.
37 Quintilian II.vii.1.
38 Walker Of Education 36.
39 Walker Of Education 36.
nature or danger of it, to be more or less eager."40 The method of correction to which Walker refers recommends that the "Governor be resolute to obtain the end, but sweet and mild in prescribing and exacting the means."41 The method, therefore requires balance: it is essential to avoid harshness or negligence, to provide reason and judgment with discipline, and to turn only to the rod "when the rest, tryed, are found insufficient."42 Quintilian offers similar instructions to the educator. He advises, "Let him be strict but not austere, genial but not too familiar: for austerity will make him unpopular, while familiarity breeds contempt."43

The two writers, however, seem to disagree slightly on one issue: corporal punishment. Quintilian idealistically insists that "there will be absolutely no need of such punishment [flogging] if the master is a thorough disciplinarian."44 Walker, however, realistically attests that corporal punishment should be used if only as a last resort. Generally, though, they both object to corporal punishment.

40 Walker Of Education 38.
41 Walker Of Education 38.
42 Walker Of Education 41.
43 Quintilian II.ii.5.
44 Quintilian I.iii.15.
An additional facet of their educational programs, for this study, is Walker's and Quintilian's curricula. They propose nearly identical courses to study and exercises to apply. Walker adopts much of Quintilian's expertise when he advances a curriculum. Walker's curriculum is straightforward, and aims to prepare a student for oratory. First, Languages are necessary and useful to a student's training. Second, a student should be taught "Rhetorick—speaking perspicuously, decently, and persuasively." A student, on the other hand, should not be taught "Rhetorick till he know Grammar, and the Latin Tongue, for so he will learn both more, and cheerfuller." For perfecting the art of oratory, a student must study Poetry, which "warms the imagination, makes it active," Logick, which promotes speaking "pertinently and rationally," Mathematics, which seeks truth by evidence," Natural Philosophy, especially Ethics and Politicks, "[w]hich will dispose him, when he comes to greater maturity, to comprehend the Laws," and, finally, as they grow toward maturity, the study of Divinity, which cultivates devotion. On the other

45 Walker Of Education 109.
46 Walker Of Education 108.
48 Walker Of Education 110.
49 Walker Of Education 113.
50 Walker Of Education 113.
hand, Walker asserts that *Musick* is not worth a Gentleman's labors. *Singing*, however, "strengthens the lungs, modulates the voice, gives a great grace to elocution, and needs no instrument to remove or tune."\(^{51}\)

Quintilian states, "As soon as the boy has learned to read and write without difficulty, it is the turn for the teacher of literature."\(^{52}\) That is, one who teaches "the art of speaking correctly and the interpretation of the poets."\(^{53}\) A boy must not only read the poets but "every kind of writer must be carefully studied."\(^{54}\) Further, Quintilian's ideal orator should be trained in music, astronomy, philosophy, geometry (which, according to Butler, "includes all mathematics\(^{55}\)), acting in order to "master the art of delivery,"\(^{56}\) and gymnastics.\(^{57}\) Before being taught rhetoric, a boy should first know grammar and Latin. A boy's studies should then include: poetry (including *Dramatick* as "one great piece of Poetry\(^{58}\)), logic, singing, mathematics, natural philosophy, and divinity.

\(^{51}\) Walker *Of Education* 110.
\(^{52}\) Quintilian I.iv. 1.
\(^{53}\) Quintilian I.iv.2-3.
\(^{54}\) Quintilian I.iv.4.
\(^{55}\) See Butler's note 1: Quintilian I.x.35.
\(^{56}\) Quintilian I.xi.1.
\(^{57}\) Quintilian I.iv-xi.
\(^{58}\) Walker *Of Education* 109-10.
Furthermore, Quintilian and Walker agree on how to approach the study of these subjects. Quintilian argues that the human mind is so swift and nimble and versatile, that it cannot be restricted to doing one thing only, but insists on devoting its attention to several different subjects not merely in one day, but actually at one and the same time. . . . [V]ariety serves to refresh and restore the mind, and that it is really considerably harder to work at one subject without intermission.  

Similarly, Walker states, "[S]uch studies as have correspondence and affinity may well be conjoined; for the comparing illustrates both, and variety takes off the tediousness."  

Clearly, Quintilian's and Walker's proposed curricula and their orders are strikingly alike. So too are their methods of instruction. Walker advocates particular exercises that a student should practice. Walker recommends Disputations—"publick and open Argumentation pro & contra. This is it which brings a question to a point, and discovers the very center and knot of the difficulty."  

Both authors also agree that models will help their students' style. To master style, a student should read

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59 Quintilian I.xii.2-3.
60 Walker Of Education 108.
61 Walker Of Education 117.
62 Quintilian X.v.20.
authors who are eloquent and even some who lack eloquence. To further perfect style, a student should translate and imitate great authors. And finally, to understand style, a student should take prose and turn it into an oratorical style. Quintilian advises that a student should read what is "eloquent" and "morally excellent." He adds, "It will even at times be of value to read speeches which are corrupt and faulty in style . . . and point out in them how many expressions are inappropriate, obscure, [and] high-flown." Walker shares this view. He urges that a boy should be acquainted with good examples, read stories of the good and virtuous, and know the lives of the moderns. Walker feels, additionally, that the boy should know examples of "evil men . . . being usefull to preserve him from the like."

Quintilian and Walker also urge the same instructional sequence in reading. That is, Quintilian urges that a student read the greatest orators and poets. Next, a student should "paraphrase in writing with the same

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63 Walker Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory 108-109.
64 Quintilian I.viii.4.
65 Quintilian II.v.10.
66 Walker Of Education 57.
67 Quintilian I.viii. 10-11.
simplicity of style."\textsuperscript{68} Walker claims, "verse him well in inventive Authors, generally Orators and Poets."\textsuperscript{69} He continues, "[L]et him imitate those he readeth (as is taught in Rhetorick) by translating, paraphrasing, . . . somewhat like the other."\textsuperscript{70}

Quintilian and Walker part company, however, on what is the easiest age to teach. Quintilian believes that it is easier to instruct the youth "[f]or the mind is all the easier to teach before it is set."\textsuperscript{71} Walker, on the other hand, believes that "Men of age make greater progress in learning, then Children."\textsuperscript{72}

While the preceding necessarily abbreviates much of Walker and Quintilian's educational programs, the comparison does begin to depict the nature and degree of Walker's debt to Quintilian. The number of times that Walker cites Quintilian does not even come close to demonstrating the depth and scope of Walker's debt. Walker extracts a great deal of Quintilian's ideas to construct his educational system. There are obvious similarities in subject, order, and in many instance, importance. Moreover, the nearly identical nature of Walker and Quintilian's language

\textsuperscript{68} Quintilian I. viii. 3.
\textsuperscript{69} Walker \textit{Of Education} 132.
\textsuperscript{70} Walker \textit{Of Education} 133.
\textsuperscript{71} Quintilian I.xii.9.
\textsuperscript{72} Walker \textit{Of Education} 108.
signifies that Walker borrowed liberally from the *Institutio*, even when he does not cite him. Walker’s discussion and classification of infant and early childhood education are from Quintilian. Walker stresses the same criteria emphasized in the *Institutio* for private and public instruction. Also, many traits of a teacher and suggestions for study found in the *Institutio* are the same as those found in *Of Education* and *Some Instructions*.

Yet Walker’s use of Quintilian goes beyond Walker’s educational system. In fact, Walker seems to draw much from Quintilian’s rhetorical ideas as well. By turning to Walker and Quintilian’s rhetorical ideals we can further see the nature of and extent to which Walker relied upon Quintilian’s *Institutio*.
CHAPTER IV

RHETORIC: THEORY AND PLACE IN EDUCATION

Walker discusses the nature of oratory and its parts in both of his dominant works. Approximately one third, or 102 pages, of Part I in Of Education contains discussions on oratory: "Invention, Memory, and Judgment" are treated in Chapters XI and XIII, while Elocution receives its own lengthy section, Chapter XII. In Some Instructions, Walker discusses invention in three sections, and devotes the other seven sections to style.

A comparison of the texts reveals that Walker adopts aspects of Quintilian's Institutio when constructing his rhetorical theory. There are a number of instances where Walker cites Quintilian in Some Instructions. In Section One, Walker cites Quintilian explicitly four times when he discusses first inventing matter and then, crafting, altering, and arranging matter. Found in the remainder of the work, there are additional instances where Walker directly cites Quintilian, including Walker's treatment of clarity for auditors (II.1); Walker's discussion on monosyllables and polysyllables (IV.1); Walker's treatment of adding greater emphasis (V.5); and Walker's handling of kinds of ornaments and figures (VI.1). Walker also cites Quintilian when he refers to similitude and enumerating parts (VI.3); when he refers to aetiology (VI.4); and when he refers to appropriateness for the ear and for the eye--
precision and perspicuity (VII). Sections VIII, IX, and X of Walker’s work also contain several direct quotations from Quintilian. From this initial appraisal it is apparent that Walker adopts Quintilian’s ideas extensively. What is not apparent, however, from this initial appraisal is the depth and nature of Walker’s debt to Quintilian. How and to what degree did Walker use these aspects of Quintilian’s rhetorical theory? In this chapter, I will consider facets of Walker’s rhetorical theory and compare them with Quintilian’s.

Walker opens his treatise, Some Instructions, by stating that "the parts of oratory are invention, taking care for the Matter; and Elocution, for the Words and Style." Simply, the two main aspects of Walker’s rhetorical theory are Invention, covering both invention and arrangement and Elocution, covering both style and delivery. Walker merely mentions memory in Some Instructions, while he describes it—along with wit and judgement—in Of Education.

Not surprisingly, Walker’s initial divisions of rhetoric correspond directly to Quintilian’s parts of rhetoric. In Book III, Quintilian notes, "Every speech however consists at once of that which is expressed and that which expresses, that is to say of matter and words."²


² Quintilian III.v.1.
Although the initial divisions correspond, Walker maintains these divisions in his treatment, whereas Quintilian compartmentalizes rhetoric in its classical five-part scheme. Within the overall structure of Walker's rhetorical departments, however, Quintilian holds a commanding presence.

**Inventio**

Walker begins his treatment of invention stating, "Invention consists in an acute Consideration, and particular weighing of all circumstances, & out of which any argument may be raised to advance the subject in hand." Invention can be bettered, according to Walker, by Practice, Reading, Imitation, and Common-places. Similarly, Quintilian claims that once a student has learned how to conceive and dispose his subject matter and understands how to choose and arrange his words, "we can attain our aim (perfecting true oratory) by reading and listening to the best writers and orators, imitating "whatever has been invented with success, writing as much as possible with the utmost care, and practicing simple and uncomplicated themes because "all cases ultimately turn upon general questions." He later remarks:

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3. Walker *Some Instructions* 2.
5. Quintilian X.i.8, X.ii.1, & X.v.12-13.
For eloquence will never attain to its full development or robust health, unless it acquires strength by frequent practice in writing, while such practice without the models supplied by reading will be like a ship drifting aimlessly without a steersman. 6

This brief description of writing, imitating and reading is indicative of how Walker folds Quintilian's ideas into his.

Greater support for Walker's vast indebtedness to Quintilian is seen when Walker discusses how a student should investigate and handle material. First, Quintilian and Walker distinguish what is the nature of the material a student should investigate. Quintilian recommends:

[S]o long as [the exercises] are in keeping with actual life and resemble speeches, they are most profitable to the student, not merely while he is still immature, for the reason that they simultaneously exercise the powers both of invention and arrangement, but even when he has finished his education and acquired a reputation in the courts. 7

Walker offers the same suggestion. He advises that the exercises of young students should be a "more serious search for truth":

And in them I think it not a fault to dispute for victory, and to endeavour to save his Reputation; not that their questions and subjects are concerning things of small moment, and little reality. 8

6 Quintilian X.i.2.

7 Quintilian X.v.14. He also mentions this earlier in II.x.4: "The subjects chosen for the themes should, therefore, be as true to life as possible, and the actual declamation should, as far as may be, be modelled on the pleadings for which was devised for training."

8 Walker Of Education 118.
Both authors, then, claim that a student will more likely perfect invention by arguing realistic questions.

Once the subject's nature has been determined, Quintilian and Walker emphasize investigating and debating both sides of an issue. Walker suggests that the means of "acquiring good Judgement, is consideration, weighing, or thinking much upon the probabilities of both sides; . . . In causation or weighing all things for, and against, the subject." Furthermore, belonging to Disputations and to discovering truth:

pulick and open Argumentation pro & contra. This is it which brings a question to a point, and discovers the very center and knot of the difficulty. . . . [I]t puts [students] upon a continual stretch of their wits to defend their cause, it makes them quick in replies, inventive upon their subject . . . .

Clearly, Walker is passionate about the place of investigation, which he seems to draw from Quintilian's force:

For he who has a clear view of the main issue of a dispute, and divines the aims which his own side and his opponents intend to follow and the means they intend to employ . . . will without a doubt be in possession of a knowledge of all the points which I have discussed above.

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9 Walker Of Education 190, 125.

10 Walker Of Education 117.

11 Quintilian III.xi.23. In VII.i.4., he also states, "When engaged in forensic disputes I made it a point to make myself familiar with every circumstance connected with the case. . . . When I had formed a general idea of these circumstances, I proceeded to consider them quite as much from my opponent's point of view as from my own. This point is also emphasized in III.vi.93, X.i.23, and X.v.20. See
Quintilian and Walker continue discussing investigation and recommend, particularly, ways to handle the investigated material. Walker and Quintilian, however, differ on the initial approach. Walker suggests to his reader, "Rather than reserve your compositions in your mind, till they are exactly formed, write them down at first without curiosity, and correct them after in your Paper." Conversely, Quintilian insists that the more correct method of writing is "to exercise care from the very beginning, and to form the work from the outset in such a manner that it merely requires to be chiselled into shape, not fashioned anew."

Despite this difference, the two authors share views on revision. Walker describes the reviewing process in the following manner:

> It is convenient . . . often to break off the thread you are spinning, and set your imagination on work afresh, upon some other new circumstance, as if nothing at all had been meditated before. All which variety of in-cohering matter is to be joynted and set together in the second review."

This is the same advice that Quintilian recommends in Book X of the Institutio:


12 Walker *Some Instructions* 11.

13 Quintilian X.iii.18.

14 Walker *Some Instructions* 13.
There can be no doubt that the best method of correction is to put aside what we have written for a certain time, so that when we return to it after an interval it will have the air of novelty and of being another's handiwork.\textsuperscript{15}

Further evidence of Walker's use of Quintilian is found in the instances where Walker only mentions that specific aspects of investigation are central components of invention. Walker's discussions are brief not because these subjects lack importance, but rather because he refers his reader to other authors for greater depth. In other words, rather than detailing central principles of invention, Walker refers his reader to Quintilian's expertise. For instance, in Some Instructions, Walker provides a list of "Common Places of Arguments . . . in all the three kinds of Discourses, Demonstrative, Judicial, Deliberative," mentions Topicks, and then refers his reader to Quintilian.\textsuperscript{16} Walker remarks, "See in Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 10. and in Farnabis, and other Modern, Rhetoricks"\textsuperscript{17} for discussions on common topics and kinds of discourse. Pages after, Walker directs his reader to "[s]ee concerning these Topicks Quintil. Instit. 1.5.c.10. & the first and second books of Aristotles Rhetorick."\textsuperscript{18} Fourteen years later, though, Walker provides examples of the topics in Of Education over

\textsuperscript{15} Quintilian X.iv.2.

\textsuperscript{16} Walker Some Instructions 20.

\textsuperscript{17} Walker Some Instructions 2.

\textsuperscript{18} Walker Some Instructions 7.
nearly forty pages. Walker, like Quintilian, discusses relationships, constituents, causes, end/means, actions, passions, qualities, quantity, time, places, subjects, and correspondents.19

The second major branch of Walker's theory of invention is Division, which he sketches over nine pages in Some Instructions. Walker offers guidelines for arranging material. His basic rule is to divide according to what "best fits [your material]."20 According to Walker, the best division should 1. "cleareth the Discourse," 2. "helpeth the Auditors judgment," 3. "showeth the Orators to facilitate the Transitions, assisteth the Memory, guides the Orator steadily, steers toward the point of the orator's design."21 Again, Walker's treatment of organization is consistent with Quintilian's. "Division," Quintilian remarks, "means the division of a group of things into its component part, order the correct disposition of things in such a way that what follows coheres with what precedes, while arrangement is the distribution of things and parts to the places."22 The purpose of arrangement is, then, to provide "firmness of structure," for without order, oratory

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19 Walker Of Education 122-160. Quintilian discusses these interspersed as parts of proof in Book V.

20 Walker Some Instructions 15.

21 Walker Some Instructions 15-16.

22 Quintilian VII.i.1.
"cannot fail to be confused, will lack cohesion, will fall into countless repetitions and omissions, and will be guided solely by chance without fixed purpose."23

Although Walker’s treatment of division is vague, he describes the purpose of transitions. Walker notes, a transition shows "how much is already finished, and the bounds also of what is yet to come."24 Walker’s statement duplicates Quintilian’s discussion of transitions; it is in fact one instance where Walker explicitly credits Quintilian’s authority. Quintilian advises, "At times it will be well to interrupt our narrative by interjecting some brief remark like the following: ‘You have heard what happened before: now learn what follows.’" Words, similar to these, he adds, will refresh the audience, for they bring our "previous remarks to a close" and will prepare the audience "for what may be regarded as a fresh start."25

Walker similarly discusses another aspect of arrangement. Walker urges that an orator "decide what is fittest to be first, and what to be last. . . . The beginning and ending of all these may be the most weighty."26 Additionally, he states, lead "the Auditor still from something less, to something more considerable

23 Quintilian VII.Pr.2-4.

24 Walker Some Instructions 16.

25 See Quintilian, IV.ii.50.

26 Walker Some Instructions 17.
and weighty.\textsuperscript{27} Here, Walker should sound like Quintilian, for again Walker directly cites him. Quintilian argues that "there should be an increase in force in the treatment of questions and we should proceed from the weaker to the stronger."\textsuperscript{28}

We can characterize Walker's use of Quintilian as piecemeal and succinct. Walker's selectivity on arrangement includes rationale, transitions, and emphasis. Walker does not detail, however, topics important to Quintilian such as the interaction of invention and arrangement, the natural parts of discourse, using proof, and artificial and inartificial proof.\textsuperscript{29} Moreover, Walker excludes such topics such as the example, the enthymeme, the epicheireme, and the syllogism. Therefore, we might say that his coverage of arrangement is not as deep or as dense. He offers his readers lists as if he is reminding them of something they already know. It may be that he treats arrangement on a more rudimentary level, for quite often he refers the reader to Quintilian or credits him and other relevant authors.

\textit{Elocutio} 

In the remaining seven sections of \textit{Some Instructions},

\textsuperscript{27} Walker \textit{Some Instruction} 22.

\textsuperscript{28} Quintilian VII.i.17.

\textsuperscript{29} Quintilian discusses much of invention when he discusses arrangement.
Walker discusses his second division of oratory: Elocution, covering both style and delivery. Words, periods, figures, style, recitation, pronunciation, and action are the seven divisions of Walker's theory of elocution. Not surprising, much of Walker's theory of elocution is taken directly from the Institutio. In fact, in the final seven sections of Some Instructions, Walker explicitly cites Quintilian twenty-one times, fourteen when discussing style and seven when discussing pronunciation.30

The foregoing overview provides convincing evidence that Walker profusely used Quintilian's expertise. The following points strengthen the evidence and demonstrate how Walker preserves Quintilian's ideas. First, Walker advances some general rules for style. Second, Walker recommends activities to improve style.

Interspersed within the seven sections on elocution are Walker's basic rules for style. As a general rule, he says, an orator should "avoid a perpetual equality, and likeness in [stile]."31 Next, Walker urges an orator to vary his style:

You ought to vary your stile, according as it is prepared for the ear of for the eye; for and Auditor, of for a Reader. For Speaking, tis necessary, that you observe a fuller and opener style; a stricter for the

30 This is a remarkable amount given that Walker discusses style over eighty-nine pages and pronunciation over fifteen.

31 Walker Some Instructions 87.
pen. For the same man, when an Auditor, is not so curious and vigilant, as when a Reader.32

Walker offers an additional guideline, that an orator should utilize his natural abilities: "Addict your self rather to that stile, to which your natural abillities incline you; some persons having a more acute conceit, fit for a short, others a more voluble expression, agreeable to a longer stile."33 Finally, and more crucial than the first three rules, Walker urges, "Endeavour a sufficient perspicuity therein; which as it ought to be the chiefest care of an Orator (the design of whose speaking surely, is to be understood)."34 Quintilian outlines similar guidelines:

eloquence cannot be confined even to these three forms of style. . . . For [the orator] will use all styles, as circumstances may demand, and the choice will be determined not only by the case as a whole, but by the demands of the different portions of the case. . . . Thus in one and the same speech, he will use one style for stirring the emotions, and another to conciliate his hearers.35

Next, Quintilian identifies different standards for what is read and what is heard:

We are moved not merely by the actual issue . . . but by all that the orator himself has at stake. Moreover his voice, the grace of his gestures, the adaptation of his delivery, and, in a word, all his excellences in combination, have their educative effect.36

32 Walker Some Instructions 95.
33 Walker Some Instructions 97.
34 Walker Some Instructions 99.
35 Quintilian XII.x.66, 69, 70.
36 Quintilian X.i.17.
For reading, he provides the following advice:

The critical faculty is a surer guide. . . Reading . . . is free, and does not hurry past us with the speed of oral delivery; we can reread a passage again and again if we are in doubt about it or wish to fix it in our memory.37

Furthermore, Quintilian highlights using natural abilities:

The next step is for each student to consult his own powers when he shoulders his burden. For there are some things which, though capable of imitation, may be beyond the capacity of any given individual, either because his natural gifts are insufficient or of a different character.38

Finally, the force seen in Walker’s treatment of clarity is found in Quintilian’s. Quintilian emphasizes, “For my own part, I regard clearness as the first essential of a good style: there must be propriety in our words.”39

Beyond Walker’s rules for style, he advances exercises for improvement. Many of these, too, correspond with Quintilian’s. In order to perfect the art of oratory, Walker indicates that the orator should practice two things: the orator must read eloquent pieces and the orator should translate what he reads.40 For instance, a translation might render verse into prose, contract things copiously said, or amplify what others have said concisely.41

37 Quintilian X.i.18-19.
38 Quintilian X.ii.19.
39 Quintilian VIII.ii.22.
40 Walker Some Instructions 111.
41 Walker Some Instructions 112-113.
Comparably, Quintilian states, "And we shall attain our aim by reading and listening to the best writers and orators." Quintilian then suggests that "copiousness and facility may most easily be derived" by first, translating, and second, paraphrasing. Paraphrasing, for instance, provides true merit which is "revealed by the power to expand what is naturally compressed, to amplify what is small, to lend variety to sameness, charm to the commonplace, and to say a quantity of good things about a very limited number of subjects."

We can conclude, then, that Walker chose to extract and reproduce portions from Quintilian's *Institutio* when he described general principles of and exercises for nurturing style. Here, the difference is little: Walker covers identical topics, uses almost matching language, and follows the same design. Quintilian's description of style is only slightly more detailed. Commonly, Quintilian will list, define, and describe various notions of style to a greater degree. For instance, he lists, defines, and describes figures of thought and does the same with figures of speech. Walker briefs these topics. Quintilian even provides for

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42 Quintilian 8.
43 Quintilian X.v.1.
44 Quintilian X.v.11.
45 In addition to Walker's discussion on style in *Some Instructions*, Walker does include over eleven pages in Book I, Chapter XII in *Of Education*. The chapter contains
his reader an historical basis of stylistic doctrines by mentioning authors of antiquity. Walker only alludes to historical notions.

The second major division of elocution, according to Walker, is delivery, covering both pronunciation and action. But first, Walker cautions, "an audible recitation of [your composition] is not to be omitted." An oral practice should determine if the words are appropriately placed, the numbers are adequately fitted, and the phrases are sufficiently perspicuous. Walker contends that if the composition does not please the ear, it will not affect the passions. He continues, "For none is an Orator to himself, but others." We see this message in the Institutio. Quintilian suggests that "the best judge to rhythm is the ear, which appreciates the fullness of rhythm or feels the lack of it."

A varied rhythm is one of several aspects of delivery mentioned by both writers. Walker advises that vocal delivery should not be of the same continued tone, the same stay upon every word, and the same pause between words. Not general directions for elocution and lists passions and figures of speech and thought.

"6 Walker Some Instructions 113.

"7 Walker Some Instructions 115 & 118.

"8 Quintilian IX.iv.116.
only are these errors, they are ungraceful."49 On the other hand, an orator's prose should be "tacitely modelled: though it must alwayes avoid the appearance thereof, lest is should seem to be more affected, less natural, less masculine."50 Furthermore, Walker claims, "Passion chiefly directs the pronunciation."51 Walker urges that action should be predominantly of the Eyes and the Hand. And, he concludes, "The left hand . . . must never be used, as principal."52 Walker's description of delivery is brief, and what he does include, reproduces Quintilian with almost no modification. For instance, Quintilian divides delivery into two parts: voice and gestures. Quintilian advises that good vocal delivery should be even and vary its tone.53 Moreover, "it is feeling and force of imagination that make us eloquent."54 Quintilian argues that gestures must conform to the voice, and the gesture of "greatest influence is exercised by the glance."55

The foregoing shows that almost all of what Walker chooses to discuss of style and delivery, and how he

49 Walker Some Instructions 119.
50 Walker Some Instructions 124.
51 Walker Some Instructions 126.
52 Walker Some Instructions 128.
53 Quintilian XI.iii.43.
54 Quintilian X.vii.15.
55 Quintilian XI.iii.65 & 72.
discusses it, is extracted from portions of the *Institutio*. He, however, differs from Quintilian. His treatment of delivery is again abbreviated. Walker selects and simplifies; his coverage of arrangement is not as deep or as dense. He covers briefly such topics as gesture and dress, and excludes such important topics as speaking appropriately to circumstance. Quintilian, on the other hand, extensively addresses appropriate gestures not only at different places in a speech but also for different circumstances and elaborates on speaking appropriately. Perhaps cultural differences between Quintilian and Walker can account for these variations. Walker only extracts from Quintilian those aspects of delivery that are appropriate to both first-century Roman and seventeenth-century English orators. Walker perhaps feels that the settings for public discourse in England are not as diverse or demanding as they are for a Roman orator. Or, perhaps still, there are personal differences between Quintilian and Walker. Or, some seventeenth-century authors would apply the same standards for delivery regardless of time and cultural differences, and that Walker has an inclination against highly choreographed and stylized delivery. The difference is, in all probability, a bit of each. Nonetheless, Walker still bases his ideas in Quintilian.

That said, however, the two authors differ on an important substantive matter. If forced to characterize it,
for Quintilian, rhetoric forms the base of his educational system; rhetoric is necessary to prepare a man for public life. Quintilian forcefully argues in his Preface that without rhetoric there is no educational system, there is no ideal:

My aim, then, is the education of the perfect orator. . . The man who can really play his part as a citizen and is capable of meeting the demands both of public and private business, the man who can guide a state by his counsels, give it a firm basis by his legislation and purge its vices his decisions as a judge, is assuredly no other than the orator of our quest.

Moreover, every area of study for Quintilian functions to create the perfect orator—the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. There can be no good man speaking well who is not an orator. For Walker, too, rhetoric is a central area of study; yet without it, his educational system would survive. The goal of Walker's educational system is to craft an ideal or virtuous gentleman. Yet, within his system he can fashion a virtuous gentleman who is not the consummate orator Quintilian demands. And seventeenth-century England, while certainly a place conducive to public oratory, offered other lucrative professions for the educated gentleman. In brief, without rhetoric, Quintilian can have no educational ideal; without rhetoric, Walker can have an educational ideal yet, it is weakened, as we will see in the following chapter.
CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

My aim, then, is the education of the perfect orator. The first essential for such an one is that he should be a good man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well.— Quintilian

Man cometh into this World to be serviceable to his Maker, . . . by doing good both to our selves, and others. A charge should have as his foundation Religion and virtue. These, and such like, are the Callings and employments of Gentlemen.— Walker

I discussed Walker’s educational practice in Chapter Three, and argued that Walker extracts portions of Quintilian’s educational ideals—his teaching methods, his style, and even his exercises. I discussed Walker’s rhetorical theories in Chapter Four, and argued also that Walker uses some aspects of Quintilian’s rhetorical theory, for instance, certain facets of his rhetorical divisions. But there is one more aspect of Walker’s theory which demonstrates his vast use of Quintilian: both authors pursue similar educational aims. In this chapter, then, I will consider their educational purposes.

Quintilian and Walker write their educational treatises with respective visions of an ideal student. Quintilian aims to educate the perfect orator. He describes, "The first essential for such an one is that he should be a good

1 Quintilian I.Pr.9.

2 Walker Of Education 30-33
man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well." Walker, comparably, aims to educate an ideal gentleman. Walker argues that a student should have first a virtuous disposition; "it is the chiefest and foundation of all [other dispositions]."

By now it seems obvious that Walker uses Quintilian in nearly every facet of his educational system and certain aspects of his theory of rhetoric in the educational system. It seems reasonable to expect, then, that Walker knew and understood well Quintilian's good man when crafting his ideal gentleman. Indeed, in the final chapters of Part I and in all of Part II of his Of Education, Walker seems to have adopted large portions of Quintilian's ideal. In these sections, however, Quintilian is never cited. The question is raised, then, Why does Walker not cite Quintilian in the latter part of Of Education, the predominant place where Walker describes his ideal gentleman?

Given Walker's abundant use and citations of Quintilian in other works and sections, one can conclude that Walker thoughtfully chose not to cite Quintilian. Put directly, Walker intentionally envisioned his ideal gentleman as different from Quintilian's good man: A gentleman more suited to the seventeenth century, more suited to England,

³ Quintilian I.Pr.9.

⁴ Walker Of Education 48.
more suited to the political structure, to new educational endeavors, and especially more suited to the evolution of religion. Initially, the resemblance between Walker and Quintilian’s educational purposes is great. Found within this initial similarity, though, the details are noticeably distinct.

There are three initial, obvious, and critical points of similarity between the educational endeavors in the *Institutio* and *Of Education*. Duplicating Quintilian, Walker’s educational system entails first, the need to create an ideal, second, the need to define and describe the ideal, and finally, the need to unite virtue with education. The similarity is significant, and it is probable that Walker did adopt some of the essentials of Quintilian’s view and considered them important parts of his view. That is, Walker probably modelled his ideal gentleman with variations of Quintilian’s good man in mind.

The three overlapping points alluded to above are emphasized with similar weight in the respective treatises. By looking more closely at these points, the following analysis will show not only these initial similar features but also where, within these similarities, the ideals differ. Since Quintilian and Walker spent the largest portion of their good man/ideal gentleman discussions defining and describing their respective ideals, the bulk of the following analysis is devoted to the similarities and
differences in how Quintilian and Walker define and describe their ideals.

Creating an Ideal

The first point of similarity, although perhaps obvious, merits consideration. Both create a model. In Quintilian's educational treatise, he aims to create an ideal: a perfect orator, the *orator perfectus*. He states:

> My aim, then, is the education of the perfect orator. 
> Let our ideal orator then be such as to have a genuine title to the name of philosopher: it is not sufficient that he should be blameless in point of character (for I cannot agree with those who hold this opinion): he must also be a thorough master of the science and the art of speaking, to an extent that perhaps no orator has yet attained. Perfect eloquence is assuredly a reality, which is not beyond the reach of human intellect.\(^5\)

In Walker's educational treatise, he also aims to create an ideal. Although it is never formally called such in his treatise, I have entitled it his *ideal gentleman*. Walker gentleman should follow certain rules and uphold principles of *Active life*. His purpose is to live in a manner pleasing to God, and thereby to attain the great end of his Creation.\(^6\) In so doing, Walker submits a gentleman's purpose, requisite foundation, and even appropriate actions, employments, and nature. Apparently then, like Quintilian, Walker has a clear model in mind.

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\(^5\) Quintilian I.Pr.9, 18-20.

\(^6\) Walker *Of Education* Preface A.
The Good Man and the Ideal Gentleman

What's more, the specific dispositions of Quintilian's good man and Walker's ideal gentleman are substantially alike. The two evidence many overlapping qualities, and their authors discuss them in the same manner. Hence, the second point of similarity. In the final portion of the *Institutio*, Quintilian defines and describes not only what a good man ought to be but also what a good man ought not be. Quintilian, additionally, depicts the desirable makeup of and appropriate actions for a good man. We see the same design in Walker's *Of Education*. In the final portions of his work, Walker devotes the greatest number of pages defining and describing what an ideal gentleman is and is not. When describing a gentleman, Walker, too, feels compelled to specify a gentleman's attributes, obligations, actions, and qualities. And, it is to these particulars that we now turn.

Walker not only adopts substance but also adopts language from Quintilian's good man discussion when forming his ideal gentleman. Many of Walker's attributes for and duties of his ideal gentleman are virtually parallel to Quintilian's attributes for and duties of his good man. And, in most instances, Walker conceives of his ideal gentleman's qualities with the same names and explanations found in the *Institutio*. First, Quintilian. He is seeking a man who is "uniquely perfect in every detail and utterly
noble alike in thought and speech." The attributes of a
good man, Quintilian continues, are integrity, knowledge,
bravery, sincerity, justice, kindness, courtesy, and
honour. Walker specifies analogous attributes. He
indicates that "a gentleman is virtuous, honourable, noble,
heroical, courteous, affable, humble, and courageous."

These attributes seem to suggest that both Quintilian
and Walker's ideals lead an active life for common good, a
life largely spent publicly bettering others rather than a
life spent contemplating in solitude. Yet, Walker leaves
out what is for Quintilian an important attribute:
knowledge. Perhaps this is merely Walker's oversight. Or,
perhaps knowledge is secondary to virtues that foster good
works. Or still, perhaps knowledge is found closely within
these attributes.

Despite this difference, the two writers exalt a common
quality, a moral quality. Quintilian suggests that "the
highest [quality] is that loftiness of soul which fear
cannot dismay nor uproar terrify nor the authority of the
audience fetter further than the respect which is their
due." Above all, he adds, an orator is ideally "a man of
virtue and good sense." Likewise, Walker elevates

7 Quintilian XII.i. 25.
8 Quintilian XII.i.16-36, XI.i.42.
9 Walker Of Education 48-56.
10 Quintilian XII.iii.8.
comparable qualities constituting a virtuous disposition. A charge should have as his foundation, first, a true sense of religion, second, knowledge of his own dignity, third, the seeds of true honour, and fourth, greatness of spirit. Walker emphasizes that an educator’s first responsibility is to "lay in his charge the foundation of Religion and virtue." He adds, however, that it is not enough to know what a virtuous man is but more what a virtuous man is not:

A gentleman . . . is bold without rashness; affable without flattery; prudent without cunning; secret without dissimulation; devout without hypocrisy. He is constant, not opiniatre; liberal, not prodigal; gentle, not soft; open, not foolish; frugal, not covetous. He feares nothing, he despiseth nothing, he admires nothing.

Walker also indicates that "[p]ride, insolence, stateliness, imperiousness, angriness, are not signs or qualifications of a Gentleman." His words echo Quintilian’s. Vices, "such as arrogance, temerity, impudence, and presumption," notes Quintilian, "are all positively obnoxious." Plainly Quintilian and Walker deplore like traits. In sum, then, Quintilian and Walker uphold that nearly identical traits make up a virtuous man, and the opposite traits depict a corrupt man.

11 Walker Of Education 48-54.
12 Walker Of Education 34.
13 Walker Of Education 56.
14 Walker Of Education 225.
15 Quintilian XII.v.2.
Although these virtues and corruptions initially sound similar, they are not identical, for Quintilian and Walker's ideals differ in obligation. Quintilian demands a virtuous man whose first obligation is to the state of Rome. He remarks, "He, whose character I am seeking to mould, should be a 'wise man' in the Roman sense, that is, one who reveals himself as a true statesman, not in the discussions of the study, but in the actual practice and experience of life."\(^6\) Quintilian urges that a good man serve and display his gifts of eloquence, "in the courts, in councills, in public assemblies and the debates of the senate, and, in a word, in the performance of all the duties of a good citizen."\(^7\) Walker, on the other hand, demands a virtuous man whose first obligation is to God. He claims, "First . . . man cometh into this World . . . to be serviceable to his Maker."\(^8\)

Walker proposes other obligations which parallel Quintilian's. Walker's gentleman can uphold religious virtue via public service and works that benefit others.\(^9\) Herein is Walker's student's second obligation. That is, a gentleman's second obligation is the same as good man's first obligation: Serve the public. Walker states that a

\(^{16}\) Quintilian XII.ii.7.

\(^{17}\) Quintilian XII.xi.1.

\(^{18}\) Walker Of Education 30.

\(^{19}\) Walker Of Education 30.
gentleman should undertake employment "especially such as are beneficial and advantageous to the publick." More passionately, he writes:

In these parts of the World we seem to run after Sciences, and think them to be all things; whereas the great and universal business of our life, especially active, is wisedome, prudence, nobleness, and liberty of spirit. . . . but the great universal Art is, Tu regere imperio populos, &c. to excell others in virtue, prudence, and those abilities which render him more useful in the generall concernsments of Mankind.

Walker, although he advises public service does not necessarily advocate a life as an orator. He itemizes his preferred callings for a gentleman which are is consistent with his gentleman's ordered obligations. According to Walker, a gentleman's choice employments range from courtiers to the prince, magistrates in peace, and commanders in war, to ambassadors in foreign parts, and clergymen. Whatever Walker's gentleman chooses, one thing is constant: He maintains that a gentleman should permit time for daily devotion. Simply, Walker believes that a gentleman's first obligation is to God, and in

20 Walker Of Education 33-34.

21 Walker Of Education 111-12.

22 Walker Of Education 33. See the professions that Quintilian notes in his discussion on retirement, XII.xi.1. After a life of "eloquence in the courts, in councils, in public assemblies and the debates of the senate, and, in a word, in the performance of all the duties of a good citizen."

23 Walker Of Education 33.
answering he "shall performe a service as acceptable, as beneficial, to Mankind."²⁴

Perhaps the above difference can be explained best by the status of Christianity and religion, generally, that changed from Quintilian's culture to Walker's. Quintilian lived in a time and when Christians were subjected to persecution, and Christianity was often viewed as the enemy of the empire. Yet, during Walker's life, Christianity was subjected to expectation, and the only issue was what form of Christianity. As a man concerned about religious issues in Protestant England during the mid-seventeenth century, Walker not surprisingly aims to infuse in his students first religion and virtue.²⁵

Walker places religion at the start and center of a child's moral formation, and then, as seen earlier, describes virtues which lead out of and are constant to a child's stable foundation. A "true sense of Religion," according to Walker, is "not that, which consists in Disputing for a party, or in discourse onely; but that in heart and affection."²⁶ It seems, then, that Walker is not arguing for Catholic virtues nor Protestant virtues. He seems to be arguing for religious virtues.

²⁴ Walker Of Education Preface.

²⁵ Walker Of Education 30, 34, & 48.

²⁶ Walker Of Education 48.
Even with the Christian developments, then, Quintilian and Walker may not be that different. Walker perhaps uses Quintilian's ideas here as a springboard for his own purposes. He may have adopted and modified Quintilian's virtues and given them a Christian hue. He may be proposing virtues that can unify England, virtues that Protestant and Catholic gentleman can both embrace. Conceivably by returning to an older ideal and infusing it with broadly Christian virtues, shared by Protestants and Catholics alike, Walker hopes to show that even in diversity he can find unity. Take his own life, for example. While he certainly disagreed on many issues of policy with his fellow Englishman, he still acted out of devotion to his God, his beliefs, and so too could an Anglican. So what we have may well be a system of education that has as its ideal neither Catholic nor Protestant virtues, and we arrive at it by drawing on something older. By doing so, Walker not only upholds religious virtue but also enables diversity.

Walker also recognizes diverse conditions, and remarks that a gentleman's obligations/duty are unique to his condition. He indicates that much of how a gentleman should act depends upon his means and opportunities, for the greater the means, the greater the duty. This is equally applicable to natural talents (e.g., strength).\(^{27}\)

Regardless of a man's distinctive condition, Walker argues for industry, a point shared by Quintilian. Walker feels that all gentleman should have some laborious employment either of body or mind. By remaining active, Walker reasons that a gentleman will not be idle or enjoy only his own pleasure. We see the same sentiment and rationale in the Institutio:

It is above all things necessary that our future orator, who will have to live in the utmost publicity and in the broad daylight of public life, should become accustomed from his childhood to move in society without fear and habituated to a life far removed from that of the pale student, the solitary and recluse. His mind requires constant stimulus and excitement, whereas retirement such as has just been mentioned induces languor and the mind becomes mildewed like things that are left in the dark, or else flies to the opposite extreme and becomes puffed up with empty conceit; for he who has no standard of comparison by which to judge his own powers will necessarily rate them too high.

Both authors feature and promote active participation in public affairs although to a slightly different degree. As surmised from above, Quintilian urges that a good man should live an active life rather than a contemplative life. He continues, "that man reveals himself as a true statesman, not in the discussions of the study, but in the actual practice and experience of life." Walker too addresses the topic of an active versus a contemplative life. Walker disclaims, "Whether of these [a life of a philosopher or a

28 Walker Of Education 30.

29 Quintilian I.ii.18-19.
life of public affairs] is better, I now dispute not."30

Earlier, however, his bias slips through in his characterization of philosophical devotion:

The Prudence here spoken of, is not that Wisedome of the Philosophers; which, that we may live happily, would never have us experience sorrow, or trouble; would reduce us to speculation, abstinence from employment, and a life abstracted from common conversation. That teacheth to menage action, publick affairs and negotiation with others; this shews how to escape inconveniencies, and sufferings, by withdrawing from business, and living with, and to, our selves onely; which that teacheth to avoid by discreetly governing, and regulating our actions. . . . The one adviseth temperance by abstaining from all Banquets, Feasts, & c. this shews how to be abstemious, though you come to them. The one tells us that the way to avoid danger, v.g. is never to go to Sea; this, since we are embarked, would have us govern our selves, and steer our course in the best manner.31

This does not mean, according to Walker, that there is not a place for contemplation in active life, only that it should benefit active life. Walker also indicates that in some instances, the contemplative life is equally good. He notes that there are several ways to fulfill our duty to God, "as I. by serving him in his own house, being members of his family, i.e. Officers in his Church, or Ecclesiasticall persons, whether active or contemplative."32

And in active life, Quintilian and Walker slightly differ on situational deeds. They contend, respectively, that a Roman statesman and an English gentleman are required

30 Walker Of Education 229.
31 Walker Of Education 229.
32 Walker Of Education 201.
to act differently in some situations. These include, for instance, a good man of Roman birth may be permitted to lie even in trivial cases, or, at times, conceal truth from a judge. According to Quintilian even a good man may make statements that are false. This does not, in Quintilian’s estimation, "invalidate our definition of an orator as a 'good man, skilled in speaking.'" An orator maintains his integrity of purpose, and modifies his pleading to suit the circumstances. Yet, a virtuous man, according to Walker, should never tell a lie. Walker counsels, "[T]o a wise man one lye doth more disgrace than a thousand truths can recover." In many respects, then, Walker shares most of Quintilian’s definitions and descriptions of a good man, and most of Walker’s departures from Quintilian’s views can be explained best by the Christian influences which in part characterize the differences between the two writers’ ages.

Virtue and Education

A final initial point of similarity is that moral advancement is essential to education. The distinguishing

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33 Quintilian XII.i.38-40.
34 Quintilian XII.i.12.
35 Quintilian XII.i.44.
36 Quintilian XII.i.45.
37 Walker Of Education 248.
feature of Quintilian's theory is the necessary union of moral formation to educational training. Quintilian's recalls that his educational purpose is, "to form my orator's character." This, too, is the cornerstone of Walker's theory; Walker emphasizes that virtuous development is inherent to a gentleman's education. The educator, Walker claims, must first "plant in [his charge] a virtuous disposition." Within Quintilian's educational framework, his foremost demand is that his orator maintain high moral character. Walker's is the same. Quintilian feels that a good orator must above all be a good man since "no man can speak well who is not first good himself." He later notes, "I regard the orator above all as being a man of virtue and good sense." Following Quintilian, Walker states that the foundation of a sound disposition is religion and virtue. These sound strikingly alike, and more evidence is noted when both writers describe ways to improve character.

Quintilian explains what an orator should observe in order to improve moral character. He begins, "The orator must above all things devote his attention to the formation of moral character and must acquire a complete knowledge of

38 Quintilian XII.Intr.4.
40 Quintilian, II.xxv.35.
41 Quintilian XII.iii.8.
all that is just and honourable.42 Character formation, Quintilian continues, should be cultivated by studying first, the precepts of philosophy and the dictates of reason; second, the noblest sayings and deeds that have been handed down to us from ancient times; third, a knowledge of civil law and of the custom and religion of the state in whose life [the orator] is to bear his part; and fourth, a rich store of examples both old and new.43 Walker also feels compelled to explain how a gentleman should improve character. He begins by offering general refinements for improving character deficiencies. He submits, "Wherefore the first step to a cure, is to convince by reason that they do ill . . . . So that it is in the power of reason to rule absolutely over the affections and dispositions of the Soul."44 And, he continues, because reason can at times "be misled, or obstinately mistaken, Almighty God hath given us his holy Religion, and his spirit to govern reason also."45 All bad dispositions, he adds, generally, "are reclaimed by conversation and the example of other persons,

42 Quintilian XII.ii.1.

43 Quintilian XII.ii.4., XII.ii.29., XII.iii.1., and XII.iv.1. respectively.

44 Walker Of Education 93.

45 Walker Of Education 93.
especially such as are eminent in the virtue you would produce."\textsuperscript{46}

Quintilian underscores the purpose of his work by stating that the treatise is "designed for the profit of young men of sound disposition."\textsuperscript{47} Likewise, Walker aims to lay in his charge a virtuous and religious disposition. There is, however, no clearer illustration of the nature and scope of Quintilian and Walker's shared and separate beliefs than that found in Quintilian's conclusion and Walker's preface. Quintilian concludes his educational treatise, "If the knowledge of these principles proves to be of small practical utility to the young student, it should at least produce what I value more,--the will to do well."\textsuperscript{48} The words in and tone of Walker's Preface confirm both his allegiance to and divergence from Quintilian. Walker opens his educational treatise acknowledging man's duty to God. He begins, "If any person shall hereby be any whit forwarded toward the attaining the great end of his Creation; 'tis all that is here aimed at."\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{46} Walker Of Education 96.
\textsuperscript{47} Quintilian III.vi. 64.
\textsuperscript{48} Quintilian XII.xi.31.
\textsuperscript{49} Walker Of Education Preface A.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this conclusion is threefold: 1. To summarize and highlight evidence demonstrating how and to what extent Walker relies heavily on Quintilian's *Institutio* in his *Of Education* and *Some Instructions*; 2. To provide some general and specific conclusions; and 3. To suggest directions for further inquiry.

Summary and Conclusions

The nature of Walker's use of Quintilian is deferential and astute. Walker uses Quintilian in this way: Walker was steeped in Quintilian's doctrines. He selectively reproduces aspects of Quintilian's theories, describes them when it is necessary, adapts them to be more culturally fitting, and respectfully refers his reader to him, for he is one of, perhaps the expert.

Walker's respect for Quintilian is commanding. Moreover, the extent to which Walker relied on Quintilian's ideas was vast and succinct. Walker's discussions of the educational system, rhetorical theory, and the educational ideal evidence how and to what extent he chose to use Quintilian. Walker liberally adopts passages and ideologies from Quintilian's *Institutio* in nearly every facet of *Of Education* where Walker designs his educational system. In design and language, he largely duplicates Quintilian on
notions of early education, parental involvement, standards for selecting friends, teaching principles and methods, and elementary exercises. His work, however, is a basic textbook rather than an advanced textbook like Quintilian's, Walker's is therefore, a digest rendition.

Furthermore, although Walker may not describe his debt this way, Newton's remark may help clarify the nature of Walker's use of Quintilian: "If I have seen farther, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants." Perhaps Walker would have altered Newton's words somewhat. He may not have wished to see farther than Quintilian, but merely to see with him and to use him to help others see as well. Both views, however, speak to Walker's deep regard for Quintilian. And, it is Walker's extensive use that pays Quintilian the highest tribute.

We can draw some specific conclusions about Walker's use of Quintilian. First, Walker is heavily indebted to Quintilian. Walker's abundant and explicit use of Quintilian's theories not only in Of Education but also in Some Instructions barely begins to reveal the extent of Walker's debt. Further evidence of Walker's debt is found in places where Walker chose to treat topics in nearly identical manners. Additionally, in several instances Walker uses Quintilian's ideas as a springboard for his own.

Second, Walker differs from Quintilian not only in degree but also, at times, in principle. In his educational system, Walker’s most noticeable departure from Quintilian’s ideas is his desire for private instruction, for he feels that by controlling educational settings a charge is less likely to succumb to evil influence. This difference is in theory not in rationale, for both authors share a desire to surround a student with the most exemplary models.

Third, Walker aligns himself with Quintilian again on almost all of his rhetorical precepts. In selection and, at places, emphasis Walker draws foremost from Quintilian. Although his selection is not as exhaustive or penetrating, Walker enlists Quintilian when he discusses rhetorical divisions, rhetorical exercises, the functions of arrangement, standards and exercises for style, and general principles for delivery. And, Walker shares Quintilian’s force when he stresses investigation. In most sections containing rhetorical facets, however, where Quintilian is meticulous, Walker is cursory. Again, part of the explanation here must be that Walker is writing a rudimentary textbook for beginning students, and he is careful to refer his reader to experts, particularly Quintilian.

Fourth, oratory holds a far more prominent place in Quintilian’s educational system than in Walker’s. Oratory is an important part, but not the whole, in Walker’s
educational system. Rhetoric, in Walker's system, seems to build a habit of mind, and even nourishes habits of character whereas in Quintilian's system, rhetoric is the essence, and forms sound character. In part, perhaps this difference can be explained by the assorted professions that Walker finds suitable for an English gentleman, professions where rhetorical training can help in a variety of ways, not just for preparation for the public oratory of Quintilian's forum. This partially may be situational: Walker must prepare students in seventeenth-century England, where it is not clear to what extent and in what fashion oratory will be allowed by the changing and succeeding English powers. In first-century Rome, despite imperial limitations on deliberative oratory, there remains a strong demand for legal and demonstrative oratory.

Next, Walker is largely indebted to Quintilian for his ideal gentleman theory even though Walker differs from him due, in part, also to situational demands. Walker has some differences in theory and in emphasis yet he predominantly and confidently folds Quintilian's ideas into his. This is evident particularly when, although he never cites Quintilian, Walker adopts portions of Quintilian's ideas in Of Education where Walker modifies Quintilian's good man

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when fashioning his ideal gentleman. The two ideals almost exclusively share attributes of character, views on duty, and notions of public service. Walker and Quintilian found these on a twin first conviction: the formation of moral character.

Finally, the greatest difference between Walker and Quintilian, though, is found within their first convictions. Walker adopts and modifies Quintilian’s *orator perfectus*. Walker does not maintain a need for a good orator; he does, however, maintain a need for a virtuous man. And, he certainly has a unique goal in mind when characterizing this virtuous gentleman: Walker aims to mold a Christian gentleman. One variation, in aim, then, is Walker’s addition of religious virtue for his ideal gentleman. The addition can be interpreted best by the developments of Christianity from first-century Rome to seventeenth-century England. The greatest difference, moreover, is that Walker may be writing in part to help lessen religious disharmony so present during his time, and therefore, features virtues that all religious men, Protestants and Catholics, can embrace.

In addition to specific conclusions about Walker’s use of Quintilian, some specific conclusions can also be drawn about Walker’s position as a rhetorician. Walker’s *Of Education* is more than a courtesy treatise. While some scholars have classified *Of Education* as a courtesy
treatise, and while it does share many of the features that John L. Petelle and George C. Brauer include as components of a courtesy treatise, taken as a whole it goes beyond and diverges from the accepted standard for these texts. In fact, given Part I, the Educational Ideal, and its emphasis on education for public good rather than individual social improvement, and given certain aspects of Part II, Dispositions of a Gentleman, Of Education paired with Some Instructions fits more closely as an interpretation and a modernization of Quintilian's Institutio. As such, it is fuller than a courtesy treatise in that it goes beyond "prescriptions about behavior and offers theoretical formulations." It also espouses ornamentation rather than vehemently attacking it, a feature characteristic of seventeenth-century courtesy books.

Directions for Further Study

Yet these findings lead to still further questions. We know that in the seventeenth century rhetorical theory was diverse. What, then, do other lesser known writers say about rhetoric and education? Do they, too, adopt and

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3 See the literature review on Walker in Chapter One.


5 Petelle 301.
modify classical notions of rhetoric, especially notions from Quintilian? If so, how?

Since we have inched Quintilian’s influence into the late-seventeenth century, can we go still further? Can we flush out histories of Quintilian’s influence after 1675? Can we get to the mid-1700s or beyond? Harding indicates that Blair and Adams draw from Quintilian in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.6 Are there others?

Is there a possible link between Catholicism and Quintilian? In the seventeenth century, Walker, a devout Catholic, spoke from a religious inclination. In the late-nineteenth century, several Jesuits (for instance Rev. Charles Coppens, S.J., and Nikolaus Schleiniger, S.J.7) also draw from Quintilian considerably. Are large portions of Jesuit training, then, based on Quintilian’s doctrines? If so, when did this occur and which writers continue this tradition? Is there something intrinsic to Quintilian’s ideas that model and promote Catholic doctrines?

Chapter I raised some additional questions. Generally, how would consulting additional primary sources effect this

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study's conclusions. More specifically, this study relied on several English translations of Quintilian's *Institutio* for analyzing doctrines. What additional findings might Quintilian's original Latin manuscript produce? Next, what might we find by consulting Walker's personal correspondence and his professional documents housed at Oxford? Even though it was almost certain that Walker studied classical rhetoric in grammar school and at Oxford, his private correspondence and documents may answer the following questions: Was Walker inspired by Quintilian in the classroom as a student? Was Walker encouraged by Quintilian in the classroom as a teacher? Did Walker use the *Institutio* in his own classroom? That is, Walker's published works reveal a great deal of his educational and rhetorical theories. They, however, leave questions unanswered about his educational and rhetorical practices.

**Closing Remarks**

These, however, are questions for future studies to pursue. For the present study, we can offer some closing remarks. First, we can now say with confidence that Quintilian's influence extended well into the seventeenth century, for we can add one more English rhetorician to those that Colson discusses in his introduction. Each figure, in some way, is indebted to Quintilian. And Walker, 

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*Please see footnote 46 in Chapter I.*
specifically, is an addition who not only mentions Quintilian but more, adopts him whole heartedly. Second, we can speculate that Quintilian may not have lost favor around the mid-seventeenth century as some scholars theorize. Or, if Quintilian did lose favor, the loss was by no means complete. Minimally, his ideas were kept alive in Walker’s published works, and maybe even in his correspondence and classroom. And, finally, following Murphy’s suggestion, we have considered to a greater degree one small figure’s contribution to rhetoric’s incomplete, and therefore, perhaps, skewed history. We, by placing and recognizing Walker among other rhetoricians in our history, have added greater detail to a piece of the mosaic that will one day form the history of rhetoric.
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