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The most important historical documents relating to the origins and development of British educational institutions are collected in an accessible way in this volume. From the earliest cathedral schools, through the universities, to the foundation of the late Victorian Schools Trusts, these charters reveal the intentions of the founders and allow comparisons to be made across the centuries. The documents are edited down to the essentials and those originally in Latin are translated. Arthur Francis Leach (1851–1915) was best known for his study *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915), the first connected history of English schools to the time of the accession of Edward VI. In the field of educational history, Leach was a controversial figure whose sweeping conclusions failed to convince his colleagues, while they admired his research. This volume shows him a careful and sensitive editor of the historical documents central to his work.

Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909

ARTHUR F. LEACH

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book aims at doing, so far as the scantier space allows, for the educational history of England what Bishop Stubbs' *Select Charters* did for its constitutional history. It sets out the text of the salient documents relating to the origin and development of educational institutions.

Educational charters, being largely both legal and ecclesiastical, tend to combine the prolixity of the preacher with the verbosity of the conveyancer. Hence, few of them can be presented at full length. As the chief object of the work is to show the origins of educational institutions, which are in many cases centuries earlier than hitherto supposed, the earlier bulk much more largely than the later documents.

In nothing, not even in religion, has the innate conservatism of the human race been more marked than in education. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the subjects and the methods of education remained the same from the days of Quintilian to the days of Arnold, from the first century to the mid-nineteenth century of the Christian era.

The history of English education begins with the coming of Christianity. But the education introduced by Augustine of Canterbury was identical in means and methods with that of Augustine of Hippo. The conversion of the English caused the establishment in Canterbury of a school on the model of the Grammar and Rhetoric Schools of Rome, themselves the reproduction of the Grammar and Rhetoric Schools of Alexandria and of Athens.

This is brought home to us by the first document in the text, an extract from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. It relates how in a year, fixed to 631, Sigebert, king of the East English, with the assistance of bishop Felix, who came from

Canterbury, provided masters and ushers after the Canterbury (or Kentish) fashion, and set up a school in which boys might be taught grammar. For so the word *litteris*, commonly translated *letters*, a translation which gives an erroneous impression either of a mere A B C school, or of a school of *belles-lettres*, is properly and accurately translated. The term *ludus literarius*, a translation of the Greek grammar school, first appears in Plautus *c.* 210 B.C. Suetonius, *c.* 120 A.D., specifically states in his book, *On Famous Schoolmasters*, that the grammar masters were at first called *literati*, a translation of the Greek *grammatici*, a term which by his time had superseded it. At all epochs the term *ludus literarius* or *schola literarum*, or *literae* simply, was used as a literary equivalent to the usual grammar school or grammar, and at all epochs too, grammar meant and included, not merely grammatical learning, but the learning to speak and write Latin and the study of the matter as well as the language of classical authors, especially the poets.

Grammar Schools and Rhetoric Schools were spread all over the Roman Empire. For centuries after the introduction of Christianity, eminent Christians like St Jerome and St Augustine, the latter himself a schoolmaster, were bred in pagan literature, and under heathen teachers. When these schools, which from the days of the Antonines were public schools, gave place to church schools is not, probably cannot be, precisely ascertained. Gregory of Tours is perhaps the earliest celebrity who, though he was a master of the classical learning of the age, is said to have been brought up, not in a public school, but by two bishops, *c.* 520. Though in France the bishops appear to have obtained long before the control of the schools, a letter of Pope Gregory (*Ep.* xi. 54), addressed to Desiderius, bishop of Vienne in 595, is probably the first actual evidence of a bishop himself teaching school. 'As we cannot relate without shame it has come to our knowledge that your brotherhood teaches grammar to certain persons, which we take all the worse as it converts what we formerly said in your praise to lamentation and woe, since the praise of Christ cannot

lie in one mouth with the praise of Jupiter. Consider yourself what a crime it is for bishops to recite what would be improper in a religiously-minded layman.' These words are an adaptation of a phrase of St Jerome. They refer to the fact that the Grammar Schools still brought up their pupils on the classical authors, and especially to the famous line in Virgil's *Eclogues*, which always remained one of the chief of school books, *Ab Jove principium Musae, Jovis omnia plena.* This letter brings us close to Canterbury School, for it was a letter of introduction of Lawrence the priest and Mellitus the monk, who were returning from Rome to Canterbury with a new batch of clerks and monks.

As Sigebert was assisted by bishop Felix, the first bishop of East Anglia, and his see was at Dunwich, his school has been rightly inferred to have been in the same place; and Dunwich has been often dubbed in consequence the cradle of English learning. It is strange that the fact was overlooked that, as Dunwich took its masters from Canterbury, the earliest English school must be sought, not in Dunwich, but in Canterbury.

Now if Canterbury had a school which was a model in 631, who is likely to have founded it but its first missionary and archbishop, Augustine? We know that in the next century when the English Winfrid became, under the name of Boniface, the first missionary and archbishop of the Germans, he set up schools as an essential part of a missionary establishment, just as missionaries everywhere do to-day. We cannot therefore be wrong in asserting that the Canterbury School was founded at or about the same time as the church of Canterbury, namely, in 598, when king Ethelbert was baptized and 'did not defer giving his teachers a settled residence in his metropolis of Canterbury with such possessions as were necessary for their subsistence.' Here Augustine lived according to the express directions of Pope Gregory not like a monk in a cloister, but as a bishop with his clerks, preaching, that is, and teaching, as well as praying and singing the services.

This brings us to one of the fundamental facts which receives

continuous illustration in our documents, that in England from the first, education was the creature of religion, the school was an adjunct of the church, and the schoolmaster was an ecclesiastical officer. For close on eleven hundred years, from 598 to 1670, all educational institutions were under exclusively ecclesiastical control. The law of education was a branch of the canon law. The church courts had exclusive jurisdiction over schools and universities and colleges, and until 1540 all schoolmasters and scholars were clerks, or clerics or clergy, and in orders, though not necessarily holy orders.

Our next document shows us this very plainly. Bede's account of the coming of the Greek archbishop, Theodore, and his colleague, the abbot Hadrian, in 668 and of the archbishop's visitation of all England and his acceptance as Primate by all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, round which he went preaching and teaching, has been misinterpreted into an account of the foundation of Canterbury School and of schools elsewhere. What it does show is that the introduction of Greek in addition to Latin gave an impetus to English learning which made English scholars the first in the world, and conduced to the production of Bede, himself the sanest of historians for 800 years. Bede, in his account of Paulinus, the apostle of the North, shows us also that side by side with the Grammar School arose the Song School, which has been often confused with it, but was from the beginning quite distinct, and though it sometimes encroached on the sphere of the Grammar School, and in smaller places was combined with it, always had a different function. Canterbury supplied York with its Song School on the Roman, i.e. Gregorian, model, as it did Dunwich with its Grammar school model. Bede vaunts the learning of the pupils of Theodore and Hadrian, who knew Greek and Latin as well as English.

In the next generation, Aldhelm appears to have owed his learning to Winchester, not to Canterbury, and to Irish rather than Roman sources. The dates and facts of the life of this scion of the West Saxon royal house make it impossible for him

to have been a pupil, as sometimes claimed, of abbot Hadrian, while his Brito-Irish teacher Maidulf seems to be evolved from Bede's place-name for Malmesbury. In a letter to his former chief, Haeddi, bishop of Winchester, excusing himself from a visit to join in the Christmas dances, Aldhelm sets out a marvellous programme of studies. It includes Roman law, prosody, even to the niceties of brachy- and hypercatalectics, astronomy, and the most laborious of all studies, arithmetic, in which, 'by the special grace of God,' he has at last understood 'the most difficult of all things, fractions.' Leaping a generation and passing from Wessex to Northumbria, we come to Alcuin's poem 'On the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York,' one of the most illuminating documents in the history of education. A false monastic educational genealogy has been concocted, making Bede the pupil of archbishop Theodore, archbishop Egbert of York of Bede, Alcuin of Egbert, and Rabanus Maurus and a host of Franco-German monks of Alcuin. Alcuin's own poem snaps the chain at the second link. Egbert was not a pupil of Bede, of whom he was the superior and patron, and was a secular, not a monk. Nor was Egbert the master of Alcuin, but of Ethelbert or Albert, who succeeded him in the archbishopric. Albert was also emphatically a secular and no monk, and a teacher so famous that foreign potentates tried in vain to lure him away from England as Alcuin was afterwards lured by Charlemagne. He it was who was Alcuin's master.

The truth is that, except for perhaps a century and a half in Ireland and such scattered parts of England and France as in the 7th and 8th centuries fell under Irish influence, the monasteries were never schools nor the monks educators, except of their own younger brethren. Their own rules forbade them to be so. Bede particularly mentions that when, *c.* 648, the little English boys and some older were taught by Scots (i.e. Irish) it was the regular, i.e. monkish, discipline they learnt. The Cathedral and Collegiate churches, in which schools were an essential and important part of the foundation, were the

centres of education. The clerks, later called canons, who taught the schools, were the educators and promoters of education. Alcuin's poem shows us that at York the curriculum was encyclopaedic. Grammar and rhetoric came first, but were followed by law, music, mathematics comprising astronomy, arithmetic and geometry; the science of the calendar; and finally theology. It was a boarding school. 'Whatever youths he saw of conspicuous intelligence he joined to himself, he taught, he fed, he loved.' Architecture also seems to have been included, as, with his two favourite pupils, of whom Alcuin was one, Albert built a new cathedral with 30 side-altars and chapels round it. When Albert died the mastership of the school was separated from the archbishopric, Eanbald taking the latter, while Alcuin succeeded to the 'school, the master's chair and the books,' a catalogue of which is given. In it the grammarians vie with the theologians in number, while the classical authors, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Cicero, Pliny, Aristotle, are rivalled by the Christian poets Sedulius and Juvencus, and others. It is pleasing to note that Bede and Aldhelm were already numbered among the classics. When Alcuin went over to teach the Palace School of Charlemagne, his letters show him still interested in the promotion of English education at Lichfield under Offa, at Canterbury, and at Hexham, as well as in his own old school at York. In the last he recommends a division of labour, the separation of the Song and Writing School from the Grammar School, under different masters. We last see him about the year 804 when retired to become abbot of Tours sending for some of his books at York to scatter the perfumes of English learning on the banks of the Loire.

A canon of Pope Eugenius made in 826 enforced as law what was already established by custom, the duty of bishops to act as inspectors of schools with the Pope as President of a European Board of Education.

Our next document, if it is to be taken literally, shows a sad falling off in England since the days of Alcuin. In the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*,

Alfred the Great draws a depressing contrast between 'the good old days' when foreigners came to England in search of education and learning, and his own day when England had to get learning from abroad. We cannot but think that he is guilty of rhetorical exaggeration when he says that he could not recall anyone south of the Thames who could understand the services in English. However, he ends his preface with the hope that if peace is preserved, every English freeman's son will learn to read English, while those who wish to continue in learning, and go to the higher ranks or orders, will also learn Latin. If the canons of Edgar imputed to the year 960 are to be trusted as to date and to being a true representation of the state of England at the time and are not merely repetition of old canons, this hope had been more than realized.

Not only suspect but self-convicted as to its real date and authenticity is the Life of Alfred purporting to be by Asser. In it two miracles are recorded in regard to the education of Alfred. The first enabled him to read Saxon as a little boy at his mother's knee, pleased at a pretty picture-book, by the simple process of taking the book out of the room to a master, getting him to read it aloud, and coming back able to read it to his mother. The other is even more marvellous. For he learnt to construe Latin, we are told, not merely in a single day but during the time which it took the biographer to write down a single Latin passage in the hero's note-book. The first miracle has long been shown to be impossible. At the time when it is said to have occurred, when Alfred was 12 years old, in 861 or 862, he had no mother. His stepmother, a Frankish girl, Judith, had been married to Alfred's father in 855, when she was 13 years old. In 859, when Alfred's father died, she married Alfred's brother, who is depicted as looking at the pretty picture-book with him. No earlier date can be assigned for the incident, as Alfred was sent to Rome in 853, when four years old. The other miracle is self-contradicted. For while chapter 22 represents Alfred as 'illiterate,' i.e. ignorant of

Latin only to his 12th year or more, chapter 25 says that 'to the present day,' i.e. 887, and, 'I believe to the day of his death,' he insatiably desired to learn Latin but never did, and chapter 87 relates the miraculous learning in a day. All three accounts cannot be true. Probably none are true, and Alfred began Latin as a little boy at Rome. These and other contradictions have been sought to be explained as being due to the Life being an unfinished draft. Such a defence is a plea of guilty. The only MS. of Asser ever known is admitted to have been written about 100 years after Alfred's death. That a hagiographer should have written three different versions of his hero's education and learning in a draft romance is a rational explanation. That a contemporary should do so of the hero with whom he lived in daily intercourse, speaking of things within his own knowledge, is merely impossible.

While therefore we cannot consider Asser's Life as evidence of the state of education in the 9th century it is highly interesting as evidence of what an early 11th century writer thought possible. It shows at all events that English mothers of the 11th century taught their children, even royal children, to read English poetry, and that it was customary for English kings and nobles to send their sons to the Grammar School with ordinary freemen, to learn Latin and fit them for judicial business, or for clerical work in the modern as well as the medieval sense.

The two school-books of Aelfric, the *Colloquy* and the *Grammar*, show that Alfred's ideal was realized in the 11th century. It is now well established that Aelfric is not the archbishop of Canterbury of that name, but a scholar and clerk of Winchester, who became abbot of Evesham, and devoted himself as a sort of medieval Bohn to the translation of Latin works into English. The *Colloquy* is fixed to the year 995. If it really represents English schools at the time it shows an amazing diffusion of education among all classes, boys in all the different occupations, ploughboy, gamekeeper, hawker, baker, smith, merchant, learning Latin of a secular master side by side with a young monk. It may be that it is only a trans-

lation of some older Latin original of the days of the Roman Public School. The opening sentences, which assume the incessant use of flogging as a means of instilling learning into the youthful mind, are characteristic proof of the Rule of the Rod which prevailed in all schools from the date of the Mimes of Herondas at Alexandria, *c.* B.C. 270, to the days of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, A.D. 1850.

Aelfric's *Grammar*, however, proves the existence of a considerable amount of learning and demand for education. It is taken chiefly from the *Ars Major* of Priscian, a great work in 18 books, by a Constantinople Grammar Schoolmaster at the beginning of the 6th century. That book was itself chiefly a translation—the extant MSS. of which descend from one made in 526–7—from the Greek of Apollonius of Alexandria, written three centuries before. Aelfric's *Grammar* postulates a previous acquaintance with Donatus, whose *Ars Minor* or Short Treatise on the Parts of Speech, was written by Aelius Donatus, a schoolmaster at Rome, in the latter half of the 4th century. Donatus was the teacher of Hieronymus (St Jerome) who preserves his famous *mot*, 'Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.' A 'Donat' became a term for a first text-book in any subject, and a knowledge of 'old Donatus' was demanded by William of Wykeham as a condition precedent to admission to his college at Winchester.

It is remarkable that Aelfric's *Grammar* assumes not only that boys are learning Latin but girls also, his example to illustrate that the gerundive in *-do* does not vary in gender, being 'ipsa monialis vigilat docendo puellas,' 'the nun is awake teaching maiden-children,' and 'a man and a woman are taught by reading.' Now it is certain from the letters of Boniface of Mainz to the friends he left behind in England that princesses and high-born abbesses and nuns were educated. Several of them send him Latin verses of their own composition for correction, and he asks them in return for learned books and discusses points of scholarship with them. It is almost equally certain that after the Conquest this had ceased.

Whereas the monks were addressed in Latin the nuns were invariably addressed in the vernacular. Even as late as the 13th century, when archbishop Peckham wrote to rebuke the nuns of Godstow for their familiarity with Oxford undergraduates, he wrote in French; and from the reign of Henry VI onwards nuns were addressed not in Latin but English.

It is interesting to see the Danish conqueror, Canute, depicted by an 11th century chronicler going about as a sort of Charity Commissioner, settling educational endowments in the chief centres of population and establishing exhibitions, not only for freemen, but freedmen's sons. The curious document called 'Ranks,' attributed to Canute's time, lends some credit to this account, as scholars are especially mentioned as receiving worship (*weorthscipe*), or honour, according to their proficiency.

The two last of our documents referring to pre-Conquest times bear witness at least to the existence of flourishing Grammar Schools attached to two great collegiate churches of secular canons.

The last of the English kings, more Dane than English, Harold, when he was still only earl, enlarged the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham into a college for a dean and 12 canons. The dean was English, but the second dignitary of the church, the schoolmaster, Master Athelard, was sought for abroad, not in Normandy or France, but in the Teutonic lands, a native of Liège. The reason for this was, perhaps, rather a reactionary one, namely, that the Teutonic churches still combined the grammar school and singing school in one, and that the discipline was severe. The 'Child Master,' one of the canons, was sent to Hastings under the banner of the founder, and brought back his body to burial at Waltham. An interesting account of the school in *c.* 1100 is given by one of the last of the secular canons, who were turned out by Henry II about 1170 for the crime of luxury, that is marriage, when he converted the church into a priory of regular canons in vicarious atonement for the death of Thomas à Becket.

The school attached to the collegiate church in Warwick

Castle, which we may fairly attribute to the foundation of Ethelfleda, lady of the Mercians, daughter of Alfred, appears in a writ of Henry I, confirming to the original mother church of All Saints 'the school of Warwick as it was in the days of King Edward,' the Confessor, against the Norman earl who sought to transfer it to the rival church of St Mary's. The dispute was eventually settled by a union of the two churches, the school of All Saints' being transferred from the castle to St Mary's in the town in 1123.

The Norman Conquest had little direct effect on the schools, though it no doubt at first cut off the supply of scholars, and substituted French for English as the vernacular into which Latin was translated, and made all the Old English translations and school-books obsolete. The cathedrals and collegiate churches which kept the schools, remained. At York, which had suffered most from Norman fury, the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, appointed in 1072, though he found the whole place depopulated and ravaged, yet found 'of the seven canons (for there were no more) only three among the ruins of the burnt city and cathedral; the rest being dead or fled through fear.' He re-roofed the church, collected and restored the canons, and increased their number, placing them under a Provost. 'But a few years later,' about 1090, he substituted a Dean for a Provost and established a treasurer and precentor; 'the school-master (Magister Scolarum) he had already established.' As it is in the highest degree improbable that the school had ever ceased except during William's devastation, this must mean that he had restored the master, as the second person in the church. The new constitution of four principal persons or dignitaries, dean or provost, precentor, schoolmaster, or, as he was later called, chancellor, treasurer or sacrist, in which the schoolmaster sank to the third place, became the normal one in all the English cathedrals, which had not passed into monkish control, and of the ancient collegiate churches like Beverley. It appears most clearly in the *Institution of St Osmund*, or foundation statutes of the first bishop of

Salisbury. While the precentor ruled the choir in singing, and the treasurer presided over its lights and ornaments, the chancellor presided over the teaching of the school and the correction of the books;—the reading presumably, not the singing books. It is the duty of the chief of the school (*archiscola*) to hear and determine the lessons, carry the seal, and compose letters and deeds and mark the readers on the table (the orders of the day), while the precentor marks the singers on the table. The use of the word 'chancellor' suggests that the *Institution* is not in its original state but brought up to date in the late 12th or beginning of the 13th century. For, in a later document of the reign of Stephen, we find the schoolmaster of Salisbury still called by that name. At York, the schoolmaster was still so called at the end of the 12th century, as he was also at St Paul's until the year 1205.

At St Paul's we see the schoolmaster given an official residence and the duties of librarian as well as schoolmaster in a document of about 1111. A later document, of about 1127, giving the appointment and further endowment of his successor, has the interest attaching to its being the oldest appointment of an English schoolmaster actually extant. A similar interest attaches to the writ in which Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, as acting bishop of London, from 1138 to 1140, threatens the thunders of the church by excommunication to put down rival masters, and enforces the monopoly of teaching and granting licences to teach of the schoolmaster of St Paul's. Twenty years later, the same bishop was concerned in a similar contest for monopoly at Winchester. An appeal was taken to the famous John of Salisbury as 'Official' of Canterbury and was sent on by him to the Pope. The requirement of a licence from the Ordinary (i.e. generally the bishop) before any kind of teaching could be given prevailed down to 1670, and for grammar still prevails, except in cases in which schemes made under the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, have deprived him of his power.

At Canterbury, the new Norman archbishop, Lanfranc, no Norman but an Italian, had himself been a schoolmaster before

he became an abbot, and was one of the greatest doctors of the age. He, too, published new constitutions for his cathedral, but as it was in the hands of monks, the *Constitutions of Lanfranc* are purely monastic. Though boys are mentioned, they are only the oblates, or boys 'offered' as infants or little children on the altar and sworn to monkhood when old enough. An elderly monk was assigned as a master to every two oblates, who were carefully kept from contact with the monks and each other. The only reference to instruction is contained in the direction that they should read a little when they first go in the cloister in the morning. They seem to have been taught little but the Rule of the order. The same applies to the novices, brought in from the world at a later age. The School of Canterbury, the Grammar School, was outside the monastery and had nothing to do with the monks, and does not therefore appear at all in these *Constitutions*. It remained, as was the case in all the monastic cathedrals, under the exclusive and immediate control of the archbishop or bishop, who himself appointed the master, as may be seen from examples given at Canterbury, Worcester and Norwich; which could be extended to Winchester, Carlisle and Ely, and elsewhere.

At the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, a movement towards monasticism took place, which threatened to extrude the secular clergy altogether from the cathedrals and collegiate churches in favour of monks. Opinion was not all one way. Some bishops, like Walkelin of Winchester, and many laymen were in favour of the secular clergy. There was at first a certain movement for the establishment of new collegiate churches or the consolidation of old ones, especially in the castles. Thus we find Ilbert of Lacy founding the collegiate church of St Clement in Pontefract castle, and confirming or giving to it the school of Kirby-Pontefract, *c.* 1075; while at the other end of the kingdom, Robert, count of Eu, in founding the collegiate church of St Mary in the castle of Hastings, or perhaps dividing into separate prebends what had been a college of clerks living on common estates, made one canon *ex-officio* master of the Grammar School, and

another of the Song School. In both cases, we learn of this from a confirmation by their grandsons.

The monastic movement appears in the documents which show the schools already transferred to the control of the monastery, as at St Albans where we hear of the abbot appointing the master *c.* 1100; at Thetford in 1114 as being re-transferred from monastic to secular control; and as being transferred from secular to regular control at Huntingdon in 1127; Dunstable, 1131; Reading, *c.* 1135; Gloucester, *c.* 1137; Derby, *c.* 1150; Bedford, *c.* 1160. These are only isolated instances of what was going on all over the country, the documents relating to which do not happen to have been preserved or yet produced.

A similar movement, which proceeded to greater lengths, was going on in the transfer of hospitals for the sick, infirm and poor. The movement bid fair to run the course it did in the Greek church and transfer the bishoprics, and all higher posts in the church and education to the monks, leaving only poor married priests to do the isolated work of the parishes. Two things stayed the plague. The secular clergy gave way to the monastic *furore* so far as to forswear matrimony, while in the sphere of education the rise of universities restored to seculars a corporate organization. In England, the Council of 1150 finally accepted the principle of the celibacy of the secular clergy, while from 1130 onwards Oxford University was becoming one of the strongest bodies in the country.

The account given by FitzStephen in his *Life of Becket* of the schools of London in Becket's boyhood, where the monopoly of the schoolmaster of St Paul's and his two colleagues was broken for anyone famous in philosophy, and the rivalry of the schools in organized debates and disputations shows that a university was in the air there also. In modern times a university tends to mean a corporate body with the power of granting degrees, or titles of honour which are certificates of proficiency, attained by a course of training in a certain number of subjects by pupils older than school-age. The word 'university' means simply a corporation. Just as corporation has

become the more or less exclusive term for a municipal corporation, and company for a trading corporation, so university became the distinctive term for an educational corporation of teachers and pupils in the higher faculties. Attempts have been made by a German friar, Denifle, to establish that a university was no university without incorporation by the Pope. But this is to fasten the ideas and the laws of the 14th on the institutions of the 12th century. The earliest universities were not made by Pope or Prince, Parliament or Privy Council. They grew. They were voluntary congregations of learners to listen to popular teachers in the subjects of law, physic and divinity: and more like University Extension movements than any other modern institution. The Pope was introduced because these voluntary congregations of clerics wanted to escape from the interference of the ordinary clerical authorities of the places in which they met. The real name of the university was a *studium generale* or common or public school. The term 'university' was not used till more than a century after the universities were established; at first in the form of 'university,' i.e. corporation, 'of scholars,' or 'masters and scholars,' in 1219 at Paris, in 1245 at Oxford. The local term 'University of Paris' does not appear before 1262, nor that of 'University of Oxford' before 1274.

The *jus ubique docendi*, or right of a master in one university to teach anywhere without fresh noviciate or licence, was only invented and fostered in Paris in 1291, and was only asked for Oxford, in a document here printed, in 1317. Degrees were then already becoming titles of honour rather than what they were at first, licences to teach. The 'Origin of Oxford' is to be found in the contemporaneous teaching in the higher faculties recorded between 1130 and 1135, of Robert the Chicken, afterwards chancellor of Rome, in divinity, Robert of Cricklade, afterwards prior of St Frideswide's, now Christ Church, Oxford, in arts, and Theobald of Étampes, who, while lecturing to from 60 to 100 scholars, was consulted by the archbishop of York on points of canon law. The civil law was taken up in 1149 when

Vacarius came from Lombardy, probably from Bologna University, to lecture on it. We may infer from the teachers named the existence of other teachers who remain unnamed.

Want of space has kept out two documents on which Dr Rashdall has based the hypothesis of a later origin of Oxford in a migration of English scholars from Paris in 1167. As these documents contain no mention of Paris, Oxford, or students, they have no real claim to inclusion. Both were proclamations of Henry II, one forbidding any ecclesiastic, regular or secular, from going between England and France without a passport, another ordering all clerks who held English benefices to return to them without delay on pain of deprivation. Both were aimed at Becket, the first to prevent adherents joining him in his exile in France, the second to deprive him of the assistance of the Italian and French clerks beneficed in England. University students were not as a rule beneficed. As Dr Rashdall himself in a note does 'not assert that the connexion of the migration,' which itself is not even shown to have existed, 'with Oxford is direct or immediate,' *cadit quaestio*. It is more historical to seek the origin of Oxford in a proved congregation of masters and scholars in 1130–49 than in a hypothetical migration of 1167.

That the university was in full bloom in 1189 is admitted on all hands. In that year it is recorded that Gerald of Wales read his Irish travels at Oxford where the clergy in England chiefly flourished and excelled in clerkship, and entertained on three successive days (1) the poor, (2) the doctors and chief scholars, and (3) the rest of the scholars, knights and burgesses. So that while St Thomas of Canterbury (Becket) and Alexander Neckham went to the University of Paris and the Warrens of St Albans to that of Salerno, St Edmund of Abingdon, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1228, was purely English bred, being a boy in the grammar school at Oxford, then an M.A., and before he passed on to become a D.D. was student and lecturer in mathematics there. Whether the royal exhibitioners at Oxford in 1195 and at Northampton in 1175