

The beginnings of JACT – the Sharwood Smith era

The most fitting place to begin this volume is with a look back at our earliest years. In this period the presence of John Sharwood Smith is felt everywhere. There is little doubt that JACT would not have made it to our fiftieth anniversary without his efforts and contributions. It seems entirely appropriate to begin this volume with a record of John's work with JACT in its earliest years as told by the people who knew him best and worked with him. Consequently start with the proceedings of a conference in tribute to John titled 'John Sharwood Smith: contributions to *Metadidaskalos*, *Recalling and Retelling*', held at the The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, on Friday 5 June 2009.

Nick Sharwood-Smith

Good morning! For those of you who don't know me, I am John's son and I open this day with some trepidation, since I regret that my level of scholarship in the Classics is – as I will explain – somewhat limited. However, I do have the advantage of having grown up with my father and, apart from during my adolescence when I went through a period of suitably monosyl-



John Sharwood Smith

lablic communication, we had much to share and I have much that I could recall about him.

Many of you will be aware that John's father, Edward Sharwood Smith (right), was a very successful Headmaster, who had a lifelong love of the Classics. John was highly influenced by his father, both by his approach to teaching, and his attachment to classical education. In turn, I was also highly influenced by my father's chosen profession.



To me I'm afraid that it seemed to involve an inordinate amount of hard work, and commitment and I decided that I certainly wasn't going to go anywhere near it as a way of earning a living. Instead I went off and became an audio engineer – an obvious alternative as I'm sure you will all concur. I did make a few concessions to my father's desire to educate me in his own image. I was sufficiently deferential to deign to get an O-level in Latin, and I did allow myself to accompany him to the Greek summer school for one season. But that, I am afraid, is the totality of my scholarship in the Classics.

What then did we have to share? Was it a case of him quoting Greek epigrams at me, whilst I responded with a short description of quantisation noise suppression within digitally modulated transmission systems? Well, no, fortunately not. What we did share was a fascination with History that provided us with many opportunities for discussion and argument and it is not unreasonable to suggest that without his patient and considered tutoring during those sessions in my sixth form years I would never have been as successful in my university entrance exams, so for that reason alone I think I can claim to be a product of John's teaching expertise and enthusiasm.

We both enjoyed a good story, and fortunately history books are full of those, both accurate and – probably – slightly less accurate, but as my journalist friends would say to each other, 'Never let the facts stand in the way of a really good story'. And it is true to say that we did both enjoy the eminently debatable linkage between the piecing together of historical facts and the resultant interpretation of the 'story' that they told. As he related it to me, John was told when at Cambridge about a graduate student who, returning to his College some years after getting an excellent degree, dropped in to see his old tutor who was busy marking Tripos papers. Glancing through the questions he was quite surprised to see that he recognised many of them from his own time at the college. 'These questions haven't changed a bit since my day' he complained to his tutor. 'No', came the reply, 'but all the answers are quite different now!'

And so it was that I learned that each generation will impose its own interpretation on events and each interpretation will tell you something, not only about those events but also about the interpreter. And interpretation and discussion were, for me, the heart of what John regarded as education. Education was about discourse. Education was about informed argument. Above all, Education was about discovery. John had very little time for certainties and a lot of his humour derived from a perverse desire to challenge and to question. Certainly any opportunity to be able to puncture the inflated pomposity of 'the establishment' was a challenge that he could rarely pass up.

Thinking about what to bring to you today, I was aware that he was an excellent speaker. And as a professional audio engineer one of my first thoughts was to play you a short clip of John holding forth – hopefully on some topic of suitable erudition for

such a distinguished company. Unfortunately the only clip of him discussing teaching that I could find involved a detailed description of the psychology of the ideal and non-ideal classroom, and a conclusion that most teaching would be made a great deal easier by taking out one of two key individuals from a disruptive class and quietly drowning or poisoning them. Whist no doubt entirely valid as a concept this didn't seem to lend itself to meeting the requirements of the event and so I reluctantly dismissed the idea of an audio clip.

My next course of action was to turn to his writing and in his memoirs I did find something that I felt was relevant. John's memoirs by the way are published in three eminently readable volumes and still available from the publisher at a very fair price – that publisher is me: I have a very special recession-busting offer on at the moment and can take either cheques or cash if anyone would like to make a purchase ... But to return to the memoirs. At the end of the third volume, John is describing his feelings when he first came up to Cambridge and his delight at the opportunities for indulgence in the intellectual freedom that he and his friend Leo Hancock found there. He wrote:

Leo and I had between us some understanding of ourselves, a little understanding of the world, but far less understanding of that other world that is seen darkly through the medium of ... the arts – and we craved more of all three.

By comparison he goes on to point out that he was unimpressed by the closed thinking of a number of his fellow students:

The objects of our scorn seemed to be wholly satisfied that they had learnt all that there was worth knowing about themselves, the world, and any other world there might be.

Well, in my mind that just about sums up John's approach to intellectual life.

He had a craving for constant enquiry, for constant debate, and a constant desire to extract the intellectual wheat from the chaff of everyday life.

For John, there was always a desire to understand himself better – a desire that, to be honest, he never truly satisfied; always a desire to understand the world around him – to be practical and to be rooted in the reality of his profession, but most importantly a desire to reach for something else, in the belief that he could develop not only his own thinking but whilst doing so he could also develop that of the people and institutions around him. He was pragmatic enough to realise that such development may well be fired by a single spark of brilliance, a Eureka moment if you will ... however real progress involves bringing together ideas and people, people and ideas. One of those ideas was JACT, and it is thanks to the efforts of many of you here that it remains rather a successful idea.

So there is no doubt in my mind that John would have approved highly of today's event - bringing together people and ideas. It represents all that he felt was valuable in promoting discussion and development, and it is taking place in what became one of his most favourite environments. Most importantly may I thank David Taylor, James Morwood and Chris Stray for putting together today's programme. I am delighted to have been invited to join you and I hope that you all enjoy today as much John would have done.

David Taylor

It is over forty years since, as a member of the 'class of '67', I embarked with some twenty others on the often-derided and undervalued course which led to the qualification PGCE (Institute of Education, University of London). My own most acute and painfully exquisite reminiscence of John during that year of exacting training is of a lesson at St Ignatius College, where I was on teaching practice in 1968. John was observing a

Latin lesson I was taking with what now we should call Year 8. I now understand, from my thousands of lesson observations as an inspector over the past thirty years, that he was experiencing that sense of deep ennui and frustration which the observer of the irretrievably dull and mediocre must often feel. Half-way through the scheduled longueurs, John, with his infinitely polite and self-effacing style, asked me if he might have a go at taking the class. For the rest of the lesson, I witnessed a dazzlingly magical display of pedagogic pyrotechnics, with an irresistible pace and urgency and with all pupils constantly involved, kept on their toes and learning more in twenty minutes than they had with me in a fortnight. It was, you might say, the archetype of what thirty years later became known by the sense-numbingly awful term 'whole class interactive methodology'. It shaped my own teaching and I know that others had similar experiences, since their own teaching bore indelibly the JESS stamp, carried forward with great skill (I know because I inspected their departments on several occasions) by those similarly inspirational *diadochoi* Richard Woff and Bob Lister. 'Those who can't do, teach; those who can't teach train teachers.' In John's case, palpably wrong and again wrong!

I have referred to the epigrammatic tradition in relation to John, and for the last few weeks, since hearing of John's death, the words of Cory's version of Callimachus' epigram 'Heraclitus', as set to music by Charles Villiers Stanford, have been running through my head. The poem ends (with no apology for quoting Greek in this audience) with the words:

*αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζῶουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἦσιν ὁ πάντων ἀρπακτῆς
Αἰδῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.*

'Your "Nightingales" still live' refers to the poet Heraclitus' collected verses. Cory, often too florid, finishes aptly:

For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take.

Reference has been made to John's literary interests, and I hope it does not do too much violence to the original thought to end by looking at John's varied legacy as his own 'nightingales', not least because his own prose was imbued with poetry and his ideas spoke deep poetic truths. The word 'inspiration' has rightly characterised many of the tributes. *Didaskalos* editorials and his unsurpassable book (with respect to his *diadochoi*) 'On Teaching Classics' repay repeated revisiting, and have imprinted themselves eternally on the classical landscape. But JACT too, and LACT and the many subsequent ACTs, are themselves John's nightingales. And so too may we who remain dare to claim to be if we carry on, albeit with a more flickering torch, the love of learning and care for the classics. Horace's 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius' takes Callimachus's thought one stage further: words outlast memorials in bronze and stone. Sir Christopher Wren's epitaph in St Paul's has an apt resonance here today. Look all round, if you wish to see John's legacy: 'si monumentum requiris, circumspice'.



Chris Stray

John Sharwood Smith was born in 1919, the son of Edward Sharwood Smith and his wife Lucy Evers. His brother Bryan, twenty years older than John, joined the Colonial Service and ended up as governor of Northern Nigeria. Edward Sharwood Smith had been at Jesus College, Cambridge in the 1880s, when those who ran it cared much more for rowing and rugby than for scholarship. He became a leading liberal educationist, making his mark as headmaster of Newbury Grammar School (1902-24) and publishing his credo in *The Faith of a Schoolmaster* (1935). He makes an interesting contrast to his contemporary W.H.D. Rouse, headmaster of the Perse School 1902-28. Rouse, son of a Baptist missionary, the great proponent of direct method teaching – a baptism of language – was not a liberal but a radical conservative. Rouse resisted the modern world, Sharwood Smith engaged with it.

Edward Sharwood Smith was a friend and admirer of Edmond Holmes, a senior civil servant at the Board of Education who had reformist, indeed visionary tendencies. Holmes, the brother incidentally of Rice Holmes the historian of the Roman republic, had been an HMI for 30 years, and had seen and denounced the system of payment by results introduced in the 1860s (and some would say, now with us again in a new age of control freakery). At the Board of Education he tried to counteract the conformist ideology of competition and regulation. In 1911, after his retirement, he published a summary of his creed called *What is and what might be*. John's father read it in 1913 and took it as his bible. Not only is his own statement of faith, *The Faith of a Schoolmaster*, dedicated to Holmes, he also wrote a biography of him, though it was never published. As headmaster of Newbury Grammar School, he tried to establish a classical curriculum which broke away from the deadly routine of the standard public school grind.

In many ways, John Sharwood Smith carried on in the 1950s his father's campaign for a classical curriculum broadly conceived, as opposed to the narrow and grammar-dominated idea of the subject which was still powerful in schools when John was teaching. This was not surprising, since key periods of his pre-university teaching came from his father. John's schooling however began at a very unusual school, The Hall School, Weybridge, founded and run by the gifted Eva Gilpin (who later married the educationalist Sir Michael Sadler). At The Hall School, John found himself in the unusual position of being the only boy in a school for girls; though he went on to a more conventional boys' prep school. A severe illness meant however that once again John was taught by his father. Needing a scholarship in order to meet the cost of his schooling, John applied to the only public school which would allow him to sit for a scholarship at such a late stage. Following his father's tutoring he was successful, but found himself in a highly conventional and hierarchical environment which he disliked intensely – as he said himself, the change from a precocious learning from his father at home to a philistine minor public school was a shock. (Others suffered in a similar way: I think of Harold Nicolson, who would have thrived at Eton, being sent to the army-oriented Wellington College; and of Maurice Bowra, who survived at Cheltenham, another militaristic school, only by becoming a jester.) Later on, John's father tutored him again for a university scholarship, which John gained at his father's old college, Jesus, Cambridge. In the months before going up John was sent to Switzerland to learn French, and then to Italy, where as well as learning Italian he acquired a lifelong love of its culture and its people. He was at Jesus College for four highly enjoyable terms, with his academic work increasingly overshadowed by the prospect of war, before he was called up.

The varied experiences of John's wartime years, including training as an RAF pilot in Florida, and flying bombers and fighter-bombers over the hills and plains of Burma, can be found in the first volume of his three-volume autobiography *Genes and*

Circumstances (2001-3). He was, incidentally, taught to fly by John Gould's father-in-law. He mentions very little about his Distinguished Flying Cross – he told the headmaster of Bradford Grammar School, where he got his first job, that he had won it not for flying, but for staying out of trouble. On his return to Cambridge in January 1946, he worked ferociously and gained a first in Part I of the Classical Tripos; then, wanting to broaden his education, he changed to Modern History for Part II. After graduation he went to the Institute of Education in London for teacher training. The Classics course was run by Francis Kinchin Smith, who knew John's father and was also something of a liberal reformer – John described him as 'charming but disorganised'. His first job was at Bradford, a well-oiled machine for sending boys to Oxbridge; where he found an efficient old-fashioned system in operation. The senior classics master was L. W. P. Lewis, a friend of Gilbert Murray. Until recently I knew him only as an experienced conservative teacher; but in Frank Walbank's memoirs, he appears as a brutal and arrogant figure. At this point John had a grand plan: to teach for five years while saving enough for a year off in which he would write, probably fiction. This plan was knocked off course, as so many such plans have been, by his falling in love. He and Felicity Mahoney were married in April 1949 and it was not long before, armed with a young family, John abandoned his writing plans and looked for jobs. He eventually found one at Southgate County Grammar School, where he taught Classics for seven years. Here he put into practice some of his father's liberal ideas, for example holding informal discussions with sixth formers. He also produced plays – Greek in summer, Shakespeare in winter – breaking away from the school's previous unvaried diet of Gilbert and Sullivan. In 1958 Kinchin Smith died, and John was appointed to replace him from April 1959.

John's position at the Institute put him at the heart of the British classical system, linking schools and universities, just at the point when the old compulsory Latin system, which had tied schools, universities and classics together in a deadly embrace, was on the point of collapse. He used this position with great skill in the diplomatic campaigns of the late 1950s and early 1960s which led up to the foundation of JACT in 1962, during the crisis brought on by the abolition of compulsory Latin at O-level. He had to deal not only with the hostility of non-classicists, but with the entrenched attitudes of some classicists and with their mutual hostility. The emergence of JACT (originally planned as FACT – the Federation of Classical Teachers) in 1962 was the product of a long and difficult process of negotiation. Here John skilfully brought in powerful allies: Brian Forrest, his headmaster at Southgate, who became treasurer of JACT, and his old college tutor David Balme, now a professor of classics at Queen Mary College. The founding of *Didaskalos* – its crisp layout designed by Herman Hecht, whom John had met by chance at a bus-stop – developed and crowned the earlier achievement and allowed him, as its Editor, to focus debate and prompt discussion, often by writing articles himself under suitably oblique pseudonyms. Among his other successes were the *Didaskalos* conferences, at which invited discussants focused on a single topic in secluded surroundings. Two of them were chaired by Charles Brink, Professor of Latin at Cambridge, whose *auctoritas* had helped to convince some traditionalists that in the wake of the abolition of Compulsory Latin in 1960, reform was a necessity. Brink was no radical, but he saw the writing on the wall. Like John he brought a wider perspective to the crisis: he had been born Karl Levy in Germany and had fled it in the 1930s. Another conference, in 1964, focused on the use of applied linguistics in Latin teaching, and led eventually to the development of the Cambridge Latin Course.

I first met John in 1966, when I started his PGCE course in Classics at the London Institute of Education. I had come from Cambridge, where I had been taught ancient history by Moses Finley; John struck me (in my youthful arrogance) as curiously old-fashioned, not just because he was older, but because he was

very much a litterateur. His heart was in accomplished writing, and not just the literature of the ancient world, but modern European literature as well. John had a very mixed bunch of people to deal with on the course, and I admired the way he led from behind, encouraging, prompting and asking questions in a way which made clear he had no preconceived answers. Behind those hooded eyes and those careful questions was a man who, as Moses Finley told me in Cambridge before I went to the Institute to start my PGCE course in 1966, 'thinks about everything he does'.

Anyone who reads John's three volumes of autobiography will regret that they do not take us past 1950. They will, however, encounter in sensitively-observed detail the life of a variously-talented man. In 1959, he was the right man in the right place at the right time. Disliking the idea of being a don, he was happy at the Institute, where he was half don, half teacher, and could mediate between different worlds. Perhaps in this lies the key to his achievement in Classics. John brought people together from different fields and encouraged them to talk to one another. His own experience, crucially, had included both good and bad examples of conventional education. In addition, his early teaching at The Hall and from his father had shown him how convention could and should be broken. That mixture of experiences brought him to the Institute of Education in 1959 powerfully equipped to see both what was wrong and how it might be changed, on the eve of the abolition of compulsory Latin. In 1985 *Greek Religion and Society*, a lightly disguised festschrift for John's retirement, was published by Cambridge University Press. In his foreword, Moses Finley referred to John as 'the presiding genius over the renewal in our time of classical studies in this country'. It was, and remains, no more than the truth. What made him the man for the job was, I think, his experience of variety in educational provision, and not just in Classics. He had seen, to go back to his father's inspiration Edmond Holmes, both what was, and what might be. Without wanting to anticipate what others may say today, it seems to me that this is still what we need. We need to understand what is, while aiming for what might be.

James Morwood

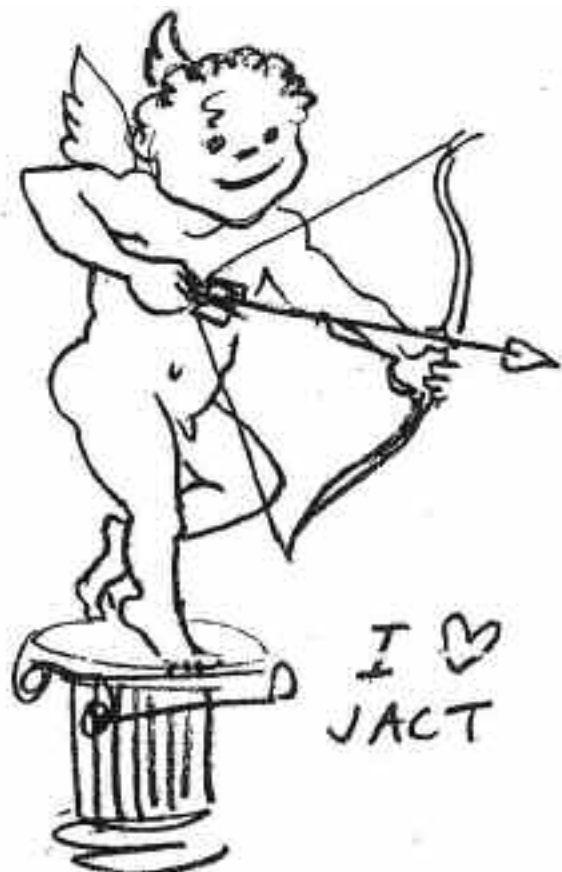
In March I spoke at a conference on Latin teaching in Vicenza. I had a good time throughout but the undoubted highlight was a visit to the Villa Valmarana ai Nani just outside the town. Here there are fabulous frescoes by Giambattista Tiepolo, including illustrations of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. When I got back home, I e-mailed the Italian classics teacher who had been looking after me and said how very lucky he was to have these sensational works of art on his doorstep: they must be a revelation and a powerful stimulant to his students. He replied that he wasn't allowed to take his pupils there. Such visits were the responsibility of the art department. As I sighed regretfully, the figure of John Sharwood Smith came to mind. He would have been profoundly depressed by this failure of interdisciplinary thinking. Today we are trying to recreate the spirit of John in an attempt to show how such barriers can be broken down.

John was, of course, a profoundly cultured man. I remember sitting in the common room of the JACT Greek summer school at Cheltenham reading Graham Greene. I came across an obvious quotation and asked the assembled company to identify it for me. It was 'luxe, calme et volupté'. Everybody else sat bemused, but John got it at once. 'It's from Baudelaire's *L'Invitation au voyage*,' he said and he completed the couplet. (Là, tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté, Luxe, calme et volupté.) He was a man of great intellectual range and distinction.

I just want to make two more points. One is that he displayed the foresight that Thucydides admired so much in Pericles. As most of you here will know, between 1975 and 1977 he taught in a comprehensive school in Hertfordshire. This led to his admirable book *On Teaching Classics*. The book does many

things. Perhaps the most important is that it advocates what we now call Classical Civilization as a major way forward. In his view, Class.Civ. enabled the classics to play a real part in the education of all pupils. There were, he argued, two strands in English education – on the one hand the elite public/grammar schools with their particular curriculum which included the classics, and on the other the schools attended by more than 90% of the age group where education for the majority did not include the classics but Class. Civ. justified inclusion. In this respect – as in so many others – he was right. This is now the great growth area in school classics, and some classical elements exist in the National Curriculum. Indeed, at a time when an A-level Latin or Greek set book is only three hundred lines long, surely to read the whole of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* or the *Aeneid* in translation is a far more rewarding intellectual experience than to master less than half a book in the original. After all, the classics are available in good translations. John's good friend David Raeburn has recently contributed two of them to Penguin. After working with such translations, a number of the best students will wish to go on to learn the languages.

The other point I'd like to make is that John was the ultimate collaborator, the great diplomatist. If he had not been, JACT would never have come into existence. He brought together teachers at universities and schools, and we have tried to emblemize that in today's proceedings. We have only recently discovered, by the way, that he was instrumental in the founding of CUCD. Above all, he was anything but doctrinaire. He *co-operated* with people, bringing out their best qualities. He was happy with anything that *worked*. He was a genuinely progressive figure, but, as I discovered when I was director of studies at the JACT Greek Summer School, he was not at all a trendy teacher, simply a very good one. He helped us to become a band of brothers and sisters, and with all the perversity and arrogance that can mark our profession, that was an amazing achievement. The impressive turn-out today shows that this continues and that his spirit lives on. A remarkable man.



Cartoon by Andrew Morley.

JACT – the middle years

John Murrell

By the time I became involved in an executive capacity in JACT the organisation and the operations of the Association were firmly established: President, Officers, Council, Subject Committees, Summer Schools, local ACTs and publications – *Hesperiam* the successor to *Didaskalos* and a termly Newsletter containing information and reviews. On the surface all appeared to be going well but the appearance was deceptive.

At the previous AGM in Newcastle the report of the Treasurer revealed that it had been necessary to take some £10,000 from accumulated funds to balance the expenditure for running the Association during the year – the bulk of the money being needed to finance publications. It was clear that urgent action was necessary if JACT were to remain solvent. The income of the Association was derived almost entirely from the subscriptions of its members – their number hovered around 1800-1900 at that time. At the foundation of JACT agreement was made that a part of the annual subscription would be paid to the constituent bodies – the Classical Association [CA], the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching [ARLT] and the Orbilian Society (by the 70s the latter had ceased to exist) with the largest portion going to JACT. JACT members constituted perhaps a third or less of the CA membership and the Treasurer paid 5 shillings [25p] per member to the CA Treasurer. The activities and the publications of the CA made it quite independent of JACT. The position of ARLT was rather different: there were few members who were not members of JACT and the Association needed the subscription paid for JACT members which was rather more than that paid to CA if it were to continue its valuable educational activities, the Weekend Course, the Summer School, the Archaeological and Visual Aids and its journal, *Latin Teaching*.

JACT Officers decided that there would have to be a reduction of its publications: *Hesperiam* would cease publication and the Newsletter would be published twice a year instead of termly. Council reluctantly accepted these proposals. The Officers advised ARLT that it would not be possible to agree an increase in its share of the JACT subscription then being sought and that in the light of the financial position of JACT there would need to be some review and revision of the relationship between the two associations. Two fraught JACT Council meetings and a series of delicate negotiations between representatives of the two associations resulted in an agreement that both would cease their publications and produce a new joint journal which would incorporate *Latin Teaching* and the *JACT Newsletter/Review*. This journal would be published twice a year with each issue being alternatively the responsibility of an editor appointed by ARLT or JACT, the costs of each issue being funded by the Association responsible for its publication. JACT would continue to pay the subscriptions of its members to ARLT; that historic agreement is still recognised on the front and back covers of the *Journal of Classics Teaching*.

JACT continued in the 70s and early 80s to fulfil its aims 'to preserve and support the teaching of Classics in schools and colleges'. Small but significant changes to Council membership saw the representation of the Hellenic and Roman Societies and the Council of University Classics Departments [CUCD], the aim being that the Societies and university teachers should be kept informed of the position of Classics in schools. This was the period when both the Societies established Schools Committees which were empowered to make grants to schools and local associations in support of Classics. Relations with the

examination boards were generally cordial and indeed some boards formally appointed JACT representatives to their committees. There were regular meetings with HMI [Her Majesty's Inspectorate]. I used to meet twice a year with the Staff Inspector for Classics at the Department to exchange information and seek advice, while a Classics HMI regularly attended meetings of JACT Council by invitation. It was a period when educational matters, curriculum and examinations were subject to rational discussion and negotiated agreement and in this discussion JACT through its Council, its Committees and its representatives actively participated. It was a world that was soon to disappear.

One issue that proved insoluble during my time as an executive officer was the criticism frequently levelled that JACT was too London/Home Counties based. There had at the origin of JACT been attempts to face this problem by appointing deputies to the Executive Secretary based in Leeds, Liverpool and Nottingham; attempts were later made each year to try and create a geographical spread in the membership of JACT Council with some success. A specific JACT Officer was appointed with responsibility for the local ACTs but none of these initiatives was ever wholly successful. It was a two-way operation that required energetic local activists who were not always easy to find, the more so as time went on and the business of teaching became more demanding and bureaucracy more insistent. This was, of course, a world without electronic communication. As I contact JACT office and the website from my study here in Lisbon and Skype with family and friends around the world ('you are not alone', as a German advert has it) it appears to me that it must now be possible for JACT officers to confer with one another and - vitally - with the office administrator without having to travel to London and that individual members can have ready access to the Association and one another: that issue is now surely soluble.

The Conservative government led by Mrs Thatcher came into office in 1979. The world of education was to face and to experience unprecedented and permanent change, which JACT was ill equipped to deal with. The Association was essentially amateur: its officers, the members of the Council and the Committees were almost without exception teachers working full-time in schools and universities. The exceptions were the Treasurer, Joan Deccker, and the Office Secretary, June Redhouse and her assistant Ann Brown; they all gave long and devoted service to JACT but never received commensurate remuneration because the Association could not afford it. JACT never commanded the financial resources to pay a professional administrative assistant in the office nor could it ever consider having a full time subject officer able to deal with the educational issues it was going to face. Even before the proposals for a new Education Act incorporating a National Curriculum were published in July 1987 there was a climate change: education at every level, it appeared, was to be harnessed to the needs of the country as perceived by government – disciplines and subjects which did not contribute faced being marginalised. Education, at least in the maintained sector which catered for the majority of the nation's children, would become subject to a business model with specific targets for each stage and accountability in the form of league tables.

When the proposals for the National Curriculum [NC] were published in July 1987 with responses required by early September – as cynics noticed, during the school and university

summer holidays – Classical Studies/Civilisation, Greek and Latin were not included in the 11-16 stage. JACT was fortunate that the Chairman of Council at the time was the late Dr John Moore, then Headmaster of the King's School, Worcester and Chairman of HMC Curriculum Committee. He was able to consult with colleagues within and outside JACT and to formulate an agreed response on behalf of the Association. The Treasurer agreed an extraordinary mailing to all members containing the response and suggestions for action that they might take. All the other classical bodies were alerted and took action; the result was a campaign in the press and media to the extent that the position of Classics was raised in debate in both Houses of Parliament.

The Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker, invited a delegation from JACT to meet him. Professor Pat Easterling, the Professor of Greek at University College London, Martin Thorpe, a former President of JACT and Principal of Shrewsbury Sixth Form College and I went to the meeting. We were given a gracious hearing and told how much the Secretary of State had enjoyed his Latin at St Paul's and how important he considered the subject. He was, however, under enormous pressure from other subjects for their inclusion in the NC and did not think the inclusion of Latin and Greek would be possible. Since the subjects of the NC would not require the whole of the available time during the school week there would be the possibility for the inclusion of the classical languages in non-NC time, while a classical element might be possible within literature and history. After a biscuit and a pleasant cup of tea, served in bone china cups, Mr Baker reiterated his regard for Classics; he was pleased to have been able to reassure us of the continuing importance of Classics in education but ended by advising us not to overplay our hand. His reassurance seemed rhetorical rather than real and his advice suggested, at least to me, that our co-ordinated campaign was having some effect to his discomfiture. Immediately following our meeting we went to see the late Mavis Crisp, then HMI Staff Inspector for Classics. She had seen a report of our meeting obviously prepared in advance; she agreed that we should press on with attempts to get some classical input in the first stages of the NC and she did not suggest that we ought to cease our campaign with politics and the media. Looking back now it is clear that this was a defining moment in JACT's history.

The government was clearly determined to press ahead with its proposals: the NC would be imposed upon all maintained primary and secondary schools but independent schools would not be required to follow it. This had implications for Classics which was still strong in many independent schools, while it made the position of the subject in maintained schools more precarious. Heads of maintained schools might feel obliged to concentrate their efforts and resources upon the NC subjects so that pupils would do well in national testing and enhance their school in the league tables with obvious consequences, while subjects outside the NC would be less favoured thus nullifying Mr Baker's assurance to the JACT representatives. The gap between independent and maintained schools might grow and Classics become more elitist – a criticism frequently aired in public and the media.

The campaign to support Classics continued and produced an unusual united front among all the classical bodies. A suggestion was made that representatives of each body might meet to see if a common approach and policy might be thrashed out and thus was born the Coordinating Committee for Classics [CCC]. Representatives from ARLT, CA, CUCD, the Hellenic Society, JACT, the Roman Society and the British Academy attended the inaugural meeting; also present was Dr Peter Jones, then a lecturer in the Classics Department at Newcastle who had directed the highly successful JACT Greek Project. He was already developing a second life as a national journalist and protagonist for Classics. It was agreed unanimously that he should be appointed spokesman for Classics and that the various bodies would do their best to provide him with material to

keep Classics in public view. It was at this time that I happened to attend a meeting in New York of the American Philological Association – the association whose membership for the most part comprises teachers in college and university – where I met a number of British academics teaching in the US who voiced support for the subject in the UK in union with their American colleagues. Professor Ed Phinney who until his untimely death was a towering figure in American classical education and a good friend of JACT once told me of how he and colleagues regularly held breakfast meetings on Capitol Hill to lobby on behalf of Classics. At one meeting with his home Senator, Ted Kennedy, Kennedy had promised Phinney that if he could produce 10,000 signatures in support of his proposal, he would then put that proposal before the Senate. Another American academic asked me why British teachers did not petition the Queen! While one could not envisage Classics teachers descending in large numbers on Parliament, the CCC and its spokesman did find MPs of the main parties who, because of their background in Classics, were prepared to speak publicly on behalf of the subject in the Commons and also individual members who would speak in the Lords. So it seemed that in a different way Classics could be as effectively represented in London as in Washington. Although the immediate campaign did not succeed – neither Latin nor Greek was included in the NC – it did nonetheless serve, and still does, to keep the subject in the public eye, especially through the powerful pen of Peter Jones. It would also lead to the formation of Friends of Classics, people drawn from all walks of life who maintain an active interest in the subject and who are able to offer financial support.

The 90s were a decade of constant change which stretched the resources of JACT and efforts of its officers to the limits. Individual teachers sought help and support when their subject was threatened with extinction for financial, not educational, reasons. There were wholesale changes in the system of syllabus and examinations; amalgamation of examination boards into vast conglomerates – the Oxford and Cambridge Board with which JACT had always had a good working relationship became a part of OCR. This was a group made up of the former Cambridge Local Syndicate, the Oxford and Cambridge Board, the Oxford Local Delegacy and the Royal Society of Arts. Such groups now tended to be run by a new breed of administrators ('the men in grey suits') imbued with the business ethic of government, which imperilled minority subjects: one board actually proposed that candidates for Classical Greek should pay a surcharge for entry (and with the support of the Chief Examiner!) but that proposal was shot down. However several boards took an alternative route and simply ceased to examine the classical subjects till a point was reached where only one Board – OCR – offered Classical subjects. Since the Boards were *sui iuris* in what they offered for examination and the government was unwilling to intervene provided there were one syllabus for each subject, JACT, while concerned that there would no longer be any choice, was powerless to prevent the situation. It did, however, seek to ensure that the syllabuses and examinations that remained would be the best and most suitable. At the same time JACT could be asked to submit its views on issues of curriculum and examinations to the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [QCA], to the Department for Education and Science [DES], e.g. on the numbers and provision for Teacher Training and manifold other matters. The Government, suddenly and quite unexpectedly, announced a proposal to fund a multi-million pound project to fund distanced learning in three subjects of which one was to be Latin. JACT was invited to become involved in assessing the bids and it was fortunate that at this time the Chairman of Council was Geoffrey Williams, a former deputy chief education officer of Hertfordshire who had had considerable experience in dealing with the bureaucracy of government.

Then there was administration: the preparation for the annual audit and awaiting the verdict and advice of the auditors; at an

early stage the question was raised of whether JACT should register for VAT exemption which involved clarifying its relationship with the Summer Schools and the Greek Project; at a later stage came the requirement to conform with the new charity legislation and to satisfy the Charity Commissioners. At times one felt that administration got in the way of the essential business of JACT, but then reflected that such was unavoidable if the integrity of the Association were to be preserved.

It has to be conceded that the organisation of JACT, with Council and Committees meeting as a rule just twice a year, was not well suited to this frenzied period; it was as if what the Association needed was a corps of experienced shock troops who could deal immediately with any issue that arose since responses were often required within a short period of time. JACT's organisation belonged to a more unhurried age but now was too busy a time to consider altering its structure fundamentally. There was some criticism at this time, unthinking in my view, that JACT did not display a high enough profile and was not visibly responsive. It does have to be remembered that financial resources were limited and I stress again that all the officers, the members of Council and Committees were volunteers working without emolument for JACT in the interstices of full-time teaching posts in schools, colleges and universities. It could thus be argued that it was remarkable that the Association did achieve so much.

In the late 90s two fortuitous events were to transform the position of JACT. From its start in the 60s it had occupied a small office on the sixth floor of the Institute of Classical Studies. When the Institute opened in 1958 with the joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, that office had been designated for the Classical Association and so it remained. The CA made very little use of it since its officers were university teachers in different parts of the country and it was agreed that JACT could have full use of the office. By the late 90s the need for more space for the Institute and the Library was desperate and following prolonged and difficult negotiations a move was made in 1998 to Senate House where JACT was to share a spacious and well-appointed office with the CA together with the Hellenic and Roman Societies and the London office of the British School at Athens. It put JACT at the heart of a national and international classical cluster, although later problems with the University of London and relocation within Senate House would cloud the bright beginning.

At a lunch break during a meeting of JACT Council about the same time, the Chairman and Secretary of the CA, who were also holding a meeting at Senate House, approached me and Geoffrey Williams, the Chairman of JACT Council, to float a proposal for working more closely together. The CA Treasurer was due to retire and it had been decided that he should be replaced by a full time administrative assistant who would work from the joint office in Senate House. The suggestion was made that JACT might consider a joint post and a share of the cost so that a full time professional administrative assistant could be appointed. JACT had for some time been using the casual services of students/postgraduates; the proposal was carefully considered and readily accepted. Clare Roberts was duly appointed and took up her post; she immediately began to put the operations of JACT on a more efficient and electronic basis. Her work was of inestimable value in bringing the Association into the 21st century and it is sad to relate that for varying reasons that agreement with the CA failed to mature.

By the late 90s I had decided to retire from full time teaching; I had always held the view that JACT, as an Association aimed primarily to assist teachers in schools, needed to have officers similarly employed. I informed the other officers that I would give up as Executive and Consultant Secretary at the next AGM. In a tribute to John Sharwood Smith, the founding father of JACT, James Morwood wrote in the *Journal of Classics Teaching* 2008 'One of his many strengths was his ability to identify the right people for the jobs to be filled and then leave



them to get on with them, while at the same time lending them his full support'. Throughout my time in JACT I had attempted the same approach and generally succeeded. My successors as Executive Secretary – Lorna Kellett, Jeannie Cohen, and Barbara Bell - were all uniformly excellent. When Barbara had to retire for family reasons, the Sharwood Smith approach was no longer in favour and we were in a world where job descriptions, accountability and transparency were the order of the day. It proved impossible to find a successor and for some years I assumed the post of Executive and Consultant Secretary. When I finally retired it proved impossible to appoint a single successor and the post of Executive Secretary was to be taken on by two people but I do not think that this proved altogether successful. I still prefer to think that Sharwood Smith had the right approach.

In the early and heroic days of JACT the third Executive Secretary, Michael Gunningham, took charge of the daily workings of the office with the help of June Redhouse; he attended meetings of JACT Committees; he primed the Forward Planning Working Party which prepared business for the Council; he edited and saw to the publication of the termly *Bulletin* and much other JACT business besides; he did all this for more than a decade while at the same time leading a large and successful classical department in a maintained school. At this distance his contribution now seems quite amazing and his successors were never able to equal his achievement; they were only able to survive by sharing out the work for more limited periods and it was that division of labour which lasted until my retirement at the end of the century.

As I review this essay and the years that I served JACT two things come to mind. Firstly that where there were teachers who practised their art with skill, insight and determination and inspired their pupils to enjoy and understand their subject, then Classics prospered and it was a foolish Head or Governors who were prepared to snuff out success, especially during and after the time of Mrs Thatcher's government. Secondly that JACT was so well served by its rotating leaders, the Presidents and Chairmen of Council, who held office for two and three years respectively; as Consultant Secretary I regularly offered the Association's thanks to the retiring Chairman both in Council and at the AGM and I found myself saying, in all honesty and sincerity, that the Association had been fortunate to have exactly the right person for the time. If these reflections remain valid for JACT and its members in the second decade of the 21st century, then the shade John Sharwood Smith will rest content.

Moses Finley & JACT

Paul Cartledge

The obituary notice for Moses Finley that was published in the magazine of his first Cambridge college (Jesus, of which he was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1976) included this seeming understatement: 'It was characteristic that he devoted much energy to great effect to improving the teaching of ancient history in our schools'. That notice appeared in the year of his death, 1986, 31 years after he'd taken up a teaching Fellowship there. Moses had come to Jesus – but the biblical names belied a general lack of interest on his part, both personal and academic, in religion ancient or modern. However, he did once write something in a volume devoted precisely to ancient Greek religion – and society (edited by Pat Easterling and John Muir for the C.U.P., published in 1985): the preface to what was presented as a Festschrift for John Sharwood Smith.

Here Finley handsomely credited Sharwood with transforming the teaching of ancient history in the Schools, via the foundation of JACT and the JACT Ancient History A level paper not least. But in truth Moses himself deserved at least a share of the credit and honour for those innovations. JACT was founded in 1962/3, and Moses's contributions to its growth and development began early. In the first, 1963 issue of JACT's house journal, *Didaskalos*, the founding Editor (Sharwood) noted that the contents of the second issue, slated for May 1964, were expected to include 'Sixth Form Studies: Ancient History' by M.I. Finley and C.M. Haworth. In fact, their articles did not appear until issue 3 (vol 1.3, 1965), under the title 'Ancient history in the senior forms – I and II', and in an issue which also included a small symposium on 'Ancient History at A-level' by three other writers. (Finley's paper was reprinted in 1982, in a *Didaskalos* anthology chosen and edited by Jean Mingay and Sharwood.) One possible reason for the delay was that their papers had been discussed by a number of university and school sixth-form teachers at London University's Institute of Education (Sharwood's base of operations) and required further modification.

By 1965, too, Finley had already made a published contribution to pedagogical debate in his essay on 'Classics' in a Penguin collection edited by Jack Plumb addressed to what was billed more generally as a 'Crisis in the Humanities' (1964). Nothing new under the sun, there. An overt anti-elitist message was common to both papers (later reinforced in an essay entitled 'The Heritage of Isocrates' that Finley included in his *Use and Abuse of History* collection, originally published in 1975). So far as the study and teaching – and examining – of ancient history in the schools went, Finley laid out his manifesto against pseudo-comprehensive 'outlines' and in favour of 'a few first steps in an understanding of (and thinking about) what is involved in "discovering" history, of a few historical questions which still retain their relevance (and which can be studied in sufficient detail and depth to invite reasonable student assessment and even judge-

ment), and of the interplay between ancient literature and society (*our* society, too)'.

The tone and the emphases as well as the content are utterly characteristic of Finley. He had been proud that his Columbia University PhD dissertation (1950) was in History – not Classics. After falling foul of McCarthyist anti-Communist witchhunting in his native United States, he had hit the ground running in his adopted Cambridge with teaching and writing that emphasised first and foremost historical conceptualisation and historiographical method. Not for nothing is he the ancient historian with the largest number of entries in Neville Morley's *Ancient History: Key Themes and Approaches* (2000). But we must note no less the firm emphasis on practical application and realisation. Finley was a man of action as well as ideas, and it was for the crucial role that he played in translating the notions put forward in that *Didaskalos* article into first an experimental A level syllabus and then a fully-fledged A level syllabus plus exam that in 1981 JACT Council decided to ask him to be its next President, for 'his great services to JACT in its early years'.

For Finley, had chaired the first JACT Ancient History Committee, which had been formed to monitor the new syllabus and exams. The JACT Bulletin notice of 'Our Next President' laid stress on the vital role played by his intellectual authority and charm, his charisma and skill, to the time and energy he had devoted to the cause – up until his resignation on health grounds in 1970. In 1986 Sharwood repaid the compliment Moses had paid him the year before, in a most moving 'In Memoriam' notice in JACT Bulletin no 72. Again, glowing mention is made of Finley's charisma: 'Those JACT members who worked with him found him at once exotic and reassuring, not only infinitely stimulating but also kind, sympathetic and interested.' But the nub – what Thucydides might have called the *xympasa gnome* – of Sharwood's valedictory laudation is contained in the following complex sentence:

'It took the logic and authority of Moses Finley to demonstrate that a pupil might learn more of what was significant about

Fifth Century Athens from reading, in translation, Thucydides, some plays of Aristophanes and a handful of Plutarch's *Lives* together with a very few well-chosen books and articles by modern scholars, than by the slow and painstaking study of two Greek texts of modest length, with the focus on language not argument, form not content'.

'...in translation...' Finley the pedagogue was concerned above all with bringing across the thoughts and values of the ancients, especially the ancient Greeks, into the school rooms and lecture halls of contemporary Britain – not merely for contemplation, let alone adulation, but for active engagement and criticism including self-criticism. The dead past', he once wrote, 'does not bury its dead' – in fact, as his work supremely well demonstrated, it's not even dead. Long live JACT Ancient History – and that it will be due not least to the Titan that was Moses Finley.



LACTORS, a brief history

Melvin Cooley, Peter Liddel, Robin Osborne

Brian Wilson writes:

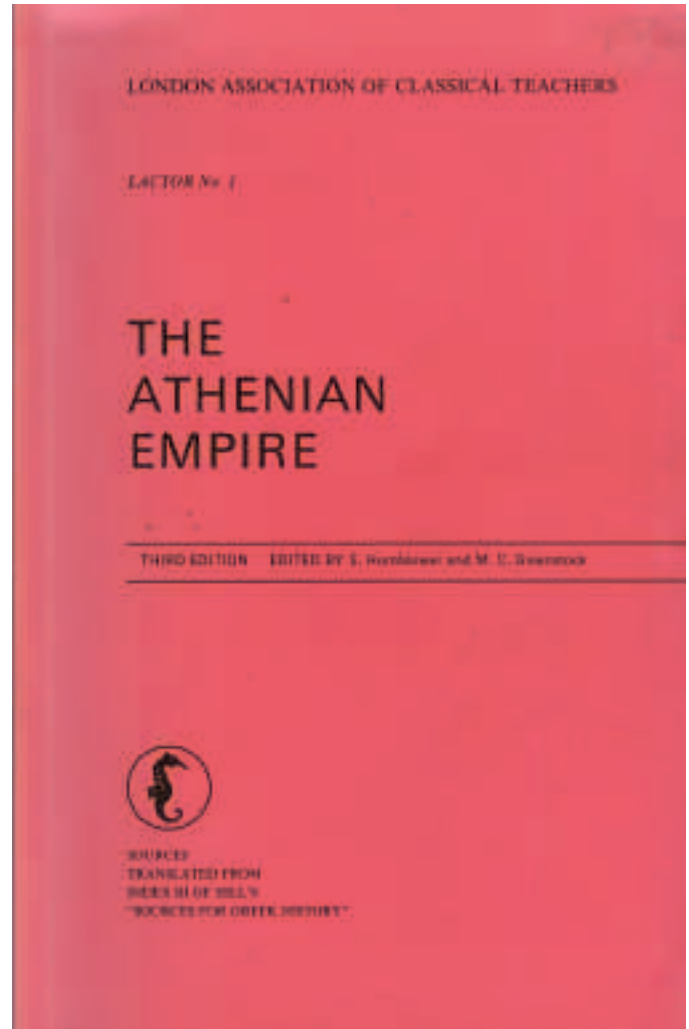
The LACTOR (London Association of Classical Teachers – Original Records) series appeared in 1968. A key principle from the start was that it was essential that syllabuses and teaching materials must be the joint work of a don and a teacher. The key pedagogic figures were Christopher Stray, John Roberts of Eton and Kit Haworth of Wycombe Grammar School. Moses Finley was the inspiration; Finley and Peter Brunt the key academics; John Sharwood Smith the central lubricant, the catalyst for the whole operation, the eminence grise, with his links to the London School of Education, and of course the main JACT Committee. The academics gave intellectual respectability to the operation, John Sharwood Smith gave an impression that we were educationally “sound”, and the schoolmasters (who were decent enough academically) ensured that the committee kept its feet on the ground.

There was, from the start, a very important alliance with LACT, the very dynamic London Association of Classics Teachers: important figures in that initiative include Martin and Margaret Thorpe, RWJ Clayton, and Ken Hughes. It was this London group who were either already experimenting with the use of original resources in translation or were simply much quicker off the mark than others to get their act together in response to the impending arrival of the new syllabus. They were helped by grants from the Cambridge Classical Faculty, where Moses Finley was very influential, and possibly from the Classical Association, who associated themselves with JACT, despite their slightly differing objectives, from pretty early on.

LACTOR 1 was *The Athenian Empire*, which appeared in 1968, consisting of sources translated from Index III of Hill's *Sources for Greek History* (a collection which itself had its roots in the 1897 edition of Hill's work). Its preface reads as follows:

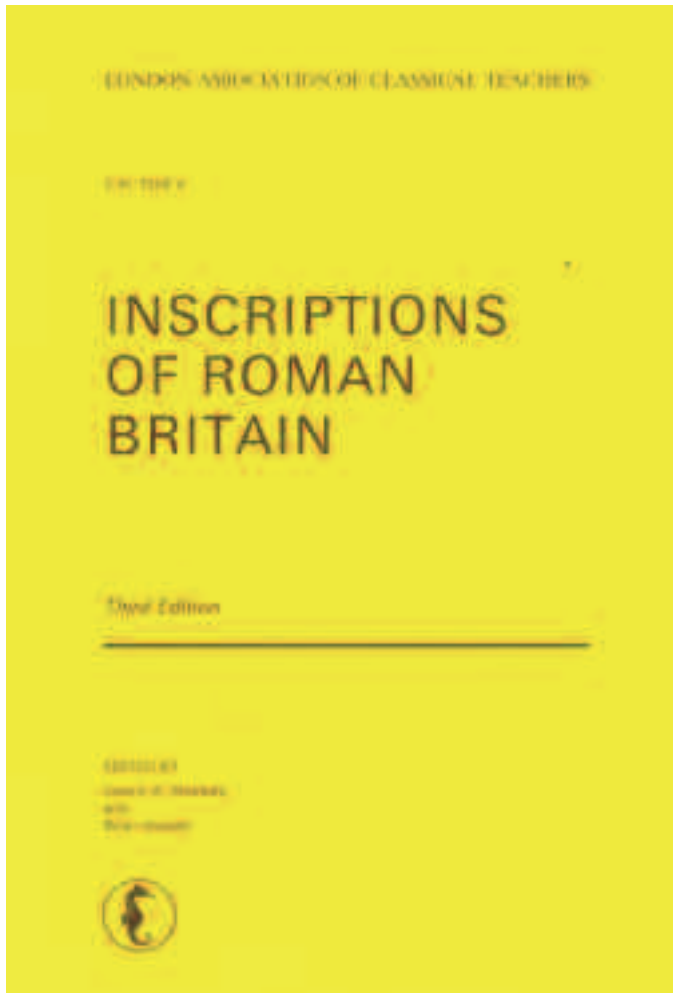
This pamphlet is the first of a series of translations of sources in Ancient History. The primary purpose of the series is to provide access to Greek and Roman source material for those (in particular, those taking the JACT Ancient History syllabus at Advanced Level) who cannot read either or both of the two languages. This was one of the fundamental aims underlying the construction of the JACT syllabus, and these translations will, it is hoped, make it easier to realise this aim.

The first edition sold out within a few months, and a new edition was prepared and published to ‘provide as complete an introduction as possible to the Athenian Empire, for the use in both schools and at universities’. LACTOR 1 was edited by R. W. J. Clayton of East Ham Grammar School for Boys; the assistance of J. K. Davies, R. Meiggs and G. L. Cawkwell was acknowledged in the preface. The early LACTOR, like many of the later volumes, did more than just translate sources: Davies contributed a valuable essay to the second edition on the Athenian Tribute Lists; Osborne's fourth edition of LACTOR 1 continues and expands upon that tradition, containing several essays that are useful for teaching in both schools and universities.



John Roberts, who went on to produce an abbreviated version of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, was an important influence: as Chairman and General Editor of the LACTOR series before 1994, his energies ensured that existing editions were revised and new volumes were commissioned. John was responsible for overseeing the resetting of LACTORS from books produced on a type-writer to word-processed and professionally printed volumes. Since 2000, black and white photographs and line-drawings have been added, and the most recent LACTOR, (19, Tiberius to Nero, ed. Cooley, 2011), contains photographs of 54 coins, kindly provided by the British Museum, 8 photographs of sculptures, as well as various maps and family trees.

The LACTOR series has gone from strength to strength in recent years, and published volumes have taken on diverse forms. LACTOR 8 of 1971 (*Greek Historical Inscriptions 359–323*) was based on translations prepared by P. J. Rhodes for teaching at Durham University; LACTOR 4, *Inscriptions of Roman Britain* provides the Latin as well as translation of all the texts; LACTOR 15 of 1992, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians* by Jonathon Edmondson of York University, Toronto, includes a full-scale commentary, still the only one available on books 58–63 of Cassius Dio; LACTOR 16 of 2000, *The Persian Empire from Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I* is, for teachers and students a valuable resource for documents from the Persian empire.



LACTOR 17 *The Age of Augustus* started out as a collaborative project between John Rich of Nottingham University and Brian Wilson. Melvin Cooley took over the project and in 2004 published an impressively rich volume, with major contributions by a number of scholars, which provides an unparalleled resource for the teaching of that period of history.

It must be added that not all teachers of ancient history are completely at ease with the deployment of source-books in teaching. Before the birth of the LACTOR series, Moses Finley warned against ‘the annotated sourcebook’, arguing that

the idea is superficially attractive but, in my view, it has fatal flaws. It is geared to the outline; it pre-digests the material in such a way that it encourages precisely those vices to which I have already alluded in criticizing the traditional outline; and, perhaps, worst of all, it subverts the essential idea of a book, play or a poem. There is a level of study on which it is legitimate to pull out the bits one needs as source material, and a measure of selection is always inescapable ... We have no right to foster the false idea that it is proper to have bits served up for interpretation out of context. In the study of history, furthermore, the exercise of discovering the relevant bits within their context is itself too valuable to be denied the student.¹

Finley’s comments are polemical, and the ‘outline’ accusation is hardly applicable to the LACTOR series, but from them we must take the point that the use of sourcebooks (the LACTOR series included) must be guided by the teacher and should be informed by awareness of the context and themes of texts as a whole (whole books of Thucydides; whole plays of Aristophanes).

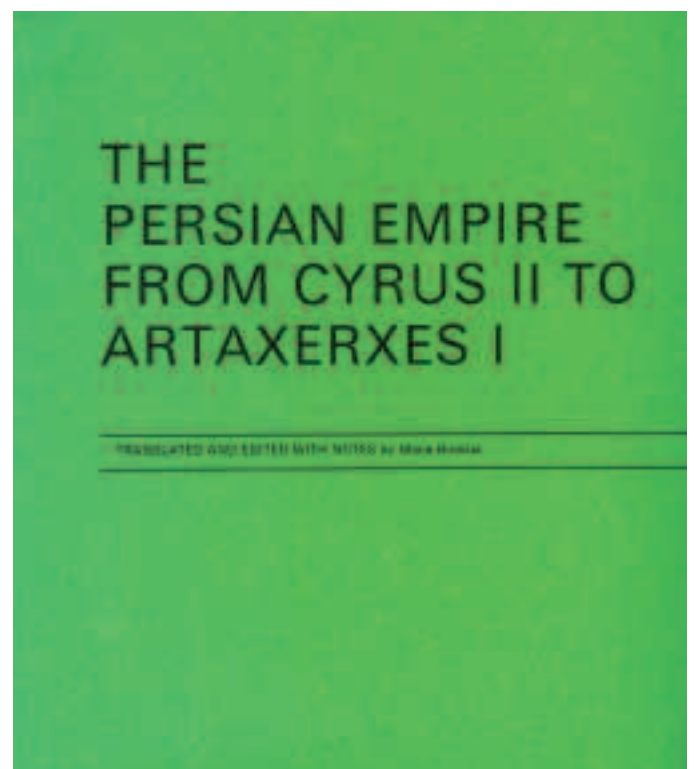
The LACTOR series is an invaluable resource for teachers of all aspects of the A-level syllabus. They bring together sources which are published in inaccessible or diverse publications:

LACTOR 8 *Inscriptions of the Roman Empire AD 14–117*, for instance, collects numismatic and epigraphical evidence for that period. They translate relatively obscure texts, and offer explanatory commentaries on them: the second edition of LACTOR 2 *The Old Oligarch*, for instance, brings it up to date with modern scholarship and offers an introduction which considers its credibility, original intentions and its value for thinking about dissent and the subversion of classical Athenian democracy. LACTOR 1 *The Athenian Empire* translates and offers context for obscure fragmentary authors, difficult inscriptions, and, by translating excerpts from the major literary sources, highlights the passages in, for instance, Thucydides’ work which are particularly enlightening for the study of Athenian imperialism. But there is still much to be done, in revising early editions and bringing them up to the standard of the new ones. A Flavian volume is being planned, and a new LACTOR, on sources for ancient Sparta is currently in preparation, and we hope that it will provide a valuable resource for teaching and learning about the sources for ancient Sparta.

It was initially thought that LACTOR volumes could cater for what would now be KS3 classical civilization. A LACT conference in December 1967 on ‘The Teaching of Foundation Courses in Classical Studies’ produced a report which led to an unnumbered LACTOR (revised edition 1970) entitled *Roman Home Life*. This venture was also unusual in that it used permission from Penguin to reprint extracts from their translations of literary authors, in contrast to the general LACTOR policy of commissioning and using new translations.

LACTOR continues to aim at the balance between school teachers and university academics originally envisaged: current affiliations of members of the committee are: King’s College, Cambridge; King’s College, London; Warwick School; OCR chief examiner; Cambridge University Education Dept; St Paul’s School; Berkhamstead School; Gosport College. In publishing volumes we are aware that our materials will be used for A-level Ancient History, but also on a range of university courses, and also by school teachers from outside the traditional classics background, especially ones who trained as (modern) historians.

1 M. Finley, ‘Ancient History in the senior forms. Part I’, *Didaskalos* 1.3 (1963–5) 66–74, at 73.



All aboard! the *Omnibus* journey

Robin Osborne and Oliver Taplin

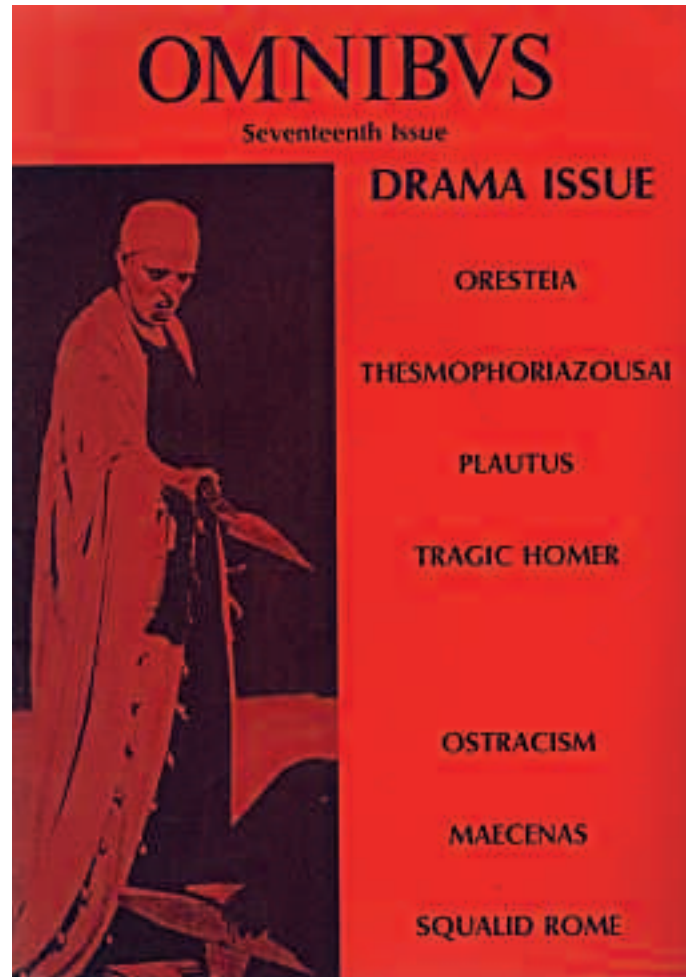
Omnibus was conceived in the back of a mini. The parents were Oliver Taplin and Geoffrey Fallows, and they were travelling home from the Greek Summer School, which was in those days in Cheltenham. There had been talk for a while about starting a magazine aimed at sixth-formers, and Geoffrey wanted to seize the opportunity while he was Secretary of JACT. Fortunately the Council agreed to give them a temporary carte blanche, and the first issue saw the light in 1980.

Geoffrey and Oliver made decisions on a set of principles and guidelines (as well as hitting on the title). The magazine should serve both those studying Greek and Latin and those studying Classical Civilisation. Articles were to be no more than 2000 words long and without footnotes.* And at least some of them were to tie into the A level syllabus (Homer and Virgil were almost always on the menu). But all contributions should be written with a light touch and show how much more there was to Classics than A-level teaching could encompass. The classical “heritage”, now known as “Reception”, was included from the start, as was archaeology, material culture, theatre (Tony Harrison contributed on the 1981 *Oresteia*) and translation. There were to be competitions, cartoons--and pictures. This now seems obvious, but was then technologically challenging. Colleagues were to be enticed to contribute by being offered an honorarium. Modest then, it has certainly not increased with inflation!

Word-processing was still very primitive, and print-outs of proofs cryptic; fortunately Simon Squires was – and still is – a brilliant proof-reader. Once the columns of print had been produced they could not be changed. Oliver edited the first three issues single-handed, and then realized that there needed to be a team to nurture the new-born. He turned to his Oxford colleagues, Don Fowler, Simon Price, and Robert Parker to become fellow editors. Also Veronica Evans (then Anstey) and David Ferraro were recruited to help assess whether the submissions were suitable for the readership. A routine soon became established. The editorial board met twice a year to commission contributions and to pass judgment on what had come in. The academic editor rotated, with each producing two issues in succession before handing on. Editors manhandled the contributions into suitable shape and went in search of illustrations. Great piles of picture books were taken to the Ashmolean for Nick Pollard to produce photographs.

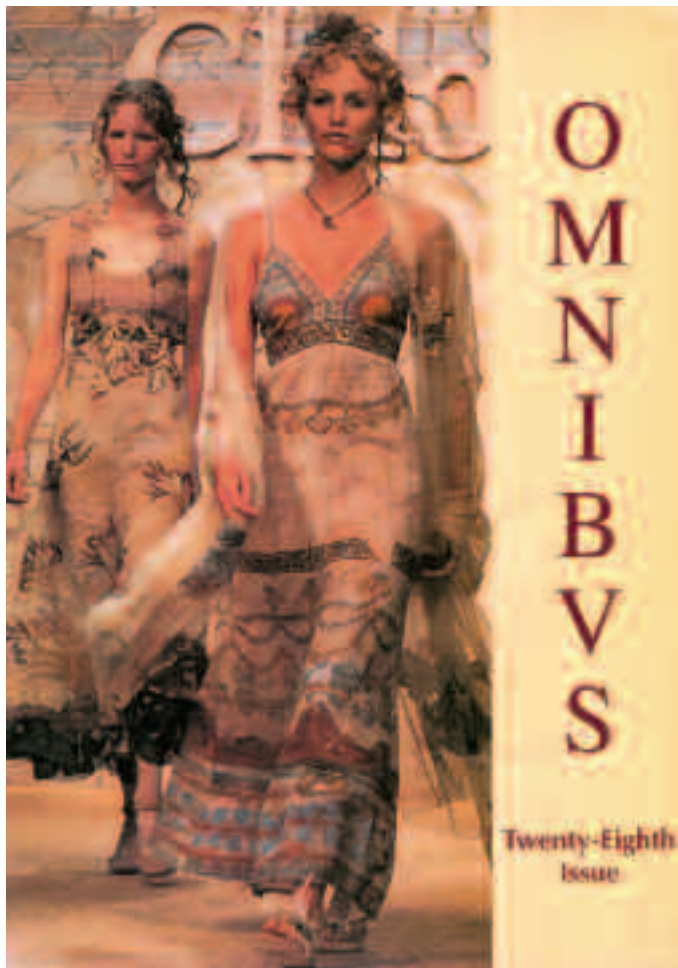
The actual production was a whole day’s work, and used to take place round the kitchen table, at Geoffrey’s house in Barnet. Geoffrey and Veronica cut up the galleys, pasting them on to A4 sheets, their margins delicately indicated in blue; Geoffrey became incredibly adept at working out exactly how large the pictures would be when turned into single or double column width. It is remarkable that mistakes did not often happen. There was, however, a spectacular exception when the columns of a piece by a highly distinguished scholar were pasted up in the wrong order. The great man was not amused.

If production was something of a sprint, distribution was more like a steeplechase. Certainly there were the big hurdles to jump with hundreds of copies to be dispatched when the delivery arrived. But there was also constant processing of orders and, soon, the sending out of back-numbers to those who had just discovered what they had missed out on, or who needed more copies for a new class. All of this was taken in hand, indefatigably, by Carolyn Fallows, and soon the rafters of the Fallows garage began to bow under the weight of accumulating boxes.



Omnibus became somewhat notorious for the ferocity of its editing (Simon Price was especially severe!). Early despair at the inability of academic colleagues to write in words of less than four syllables led to a sheet of advice to those asked to write, spelling out the importance of short sentences, short paragraphs, and straightforward language. Whether colleagues could manage this turned out to be hard to predict. Some whose academic work was quite abstruse managed the transition beautifully; others whose academic work was itself more accessible failed to hit the *Omnibus* target. There are distinguished colleagues who still bear the scars of having *Omnibus* saying “no thank you”. And even *Omnibus* editors haven’t always managed to get it right, and found themselves savaged by their own Board-members.

Omnibus was an immediate success. In the early days 5000 copies used regularly to sell out. Teachers were delighted with it, and soon there was an *Omnibus* Omnibus, collecting the best of the articles from the first issues. When a second *Omnibus* Omnibus was published to mark the tenth anniversary the plunge was taken and a colour cover produced. After that the black and white of the ordinary issues came to look rather dowdy. But costs of colour were prohibitive. Cambridge University Printing had become the regular printer, but suspicion at their costs led in 1993 to trying an alternative. Rarely have the virtues of the devil you know been better proven by the vices of the new devil.



Printing errors abounded, and the quality of the images was visibly worse. Printing returned to Cambridge in 1994 and stayed there until CUP decided to stop that part of its operation altogether.

Not everyone liked everything. *Omnibus* 12 (a splendid Don Fowler issue) was so saucy that a convent school cancelled its subscription. The provocative column by “Thersites” (Peter Jones) regularly offended people – but then that was the idea! Nor were academic colleagues always pleased with the editors’ jokey captions and author descriptions. The *Omnibus* mail-bag, passed on from editor to editor for many years until e-mail took over, included complaints – but also some treasured pieces (like a letter from William Golding, who was a regular subscriber).

All the early academic editors were from Oxford – Robin Osborne was recruited shortly after his arrival at Magdalen in 1986. The reason for this was predominantly practical. The whole production process revolved around Nick Pollard’s photography. But there were rumours that Cambridge was not happy. The solution adopted was that Paul Cartledge would be invited to join the editorial board, but as a non-editing editor. All the early academic editors were also men. Veronica Evans alone was responsible for restraining Thersites’ sexist jokes. But when the tragic early deaths of not only Don Fowler but also David Ferraro created a need for recruits to the editorial board, Sarah Oliver joined the teachers and Catharine Edwards and then Helen Morales the academic editors.

Over time the technology of word-processing and printing was changing. Colour printing became gradually cheaper, and, starting with the cover of issue 24, *Omnibus* gradually turned itself from black and white to colour, reaching full colour with *Omnibus* 50. Technically the big change – though not one perceptible to the readers – came in 2000 when Robin Osborne persuaded the editors that it was time to give up the kitchen table and go over to desktop publishing. The Jowett Trustees contributed to the cost of Quark XPress and Robin took on the

task of learning to use it. He has typeset *Omnibus* ever since. There is no doubt that *Omnibus* is now visually markedly more attractive than it was when it started – but then readers’ expectations on that front have changed massively. Overall, however, the *Omnibus* formula remains pretty well unchanged. Articles have got a bit shorter, and humour a bit harder to come by. After the demise of ‘Thersites’ no replacement was found (the *Omnibus* editors are still looking!) and after a brush with some cartoonists who were sensitive about *Omnibus* reproducing their work, cartoons have been scarce too (come back Martin Pickles – the great cartoonist of *Omnibus*’ earlier years!). After early success, *Omnibus* competitions, even in translation, had to be abandoned for lack of entries. But the generosity first of the Gladstone Trust, offering large prizes for an essay competition, and then of Judith Katz, funding a prize for creative translation in memory of Sam Hood, has revived interest and entries once more flood in. One of the effects of desk-top publishing is that there are now more ways of making articles and their illustrations fill complete pages, and so ‘filler’ notes, and pictures of gorgons, have become less common. But this is also because none of the current editorial team can quite match Geoffrey Fallows’ skill at finding material in the broadsheets that might be used as welcome news-items.

Two things about *Omnibus* are now completely different. One, to be much regretted, is that the *Omnibus* readership has been stricken with apathy. Nothing that the editors have done in the last decade has managed to fill their mailboxes with ‘disgusted, Tunbridge Wells’ letters. Getting critical views from readers has become harder and harder. The other feature is that the editorial board is now based all across the country, with the current team consisting of Katherine Clarke from Oxford, Karen Ní Mheallaigh and Matthew Wright from Exeter, Matthew Nicholls from Reading, and Robin Osborne and Caroline Vout from Cambridge, advised on the teachers’ side by Judith Affleck and Claire Gruzelier. What is unchanged is that though there are no scissors, editorial meetings are as cutting as ever!

*A rule broken just once, in *Omnibus* 22 by Alan Beale (below).



wasn't about to slay a monstrous hybrid?

hears that the formation of hybrid words is or hybrids are declared ‘monstrosities’ of the they were like mythical hybrid monsters, too ordinary folk and terrible adversaries for the wiser or teacher to slay. In his standard, *Modern English Usage*, first published in 1925, he wrote: ‘that word-making... should be done know how to do it; others should neither invent nor assist the deplorable activities y giving currency to fresh coinages before time to test them.’ His final phrase calls attention to language laboratories hastily testing on they are released to the public. Maybe we there issuing warnings: ‘television can air-purify linguistic health.’ Fowler’s sign reads: ‘but his hostility towards hybrids is still many minds. Robert Burchfield in his *Modern English Usage* (O.U.P. 1985) is less a still thinks ‘good taste’ in such matters ‘a king.’ Here the approach has mellowed and active, but unfortunately this means that ‘yet universal. A recent review of Adrian to blamed him for not disapproving of ‘Sue, using Greek and Latin elements indiscriminately.’ Should they?’

History and the unscrupulous inventiveness of the human mind are against the purists. Hybrids have been with us a long time and are frequently used without recognition. How many readers notice that ‘chauntar’ is a hybrid? The term was originally the chester (or similar spelling), a wood which came via French from the Latin *castanea*. To this the English word nut became attached, at first signifying the fruit and later the tree itself. Nutmeg (sovereign in Chinese) is a similar case: *myrica* is the old French form of the Latin *myrica* (myrtle). In this paragraph too, ‘attach’ would normally pass by with its origin unquestioned, but it is an early French combination of the Latin *ad* (to) and a Celtic or Germanic word (related to stake or tack). French is not the only language to provide us with ready-made hybrids. Tyrosinicide comes from the Latin *tyrosinicide*, a compound of Greek (*tyrosin*, tyrosin) and Latin (*cidere*, to kill). The Dutch *soepwafel* has become interloper in English, making its hybrid origins clearer: Latin *mas* and Dutch *soep* (a name). The Italian *piastrella*, a compound of *pietra* (<L. *petra*, *praefer*, a foot) and *stella* (< Germanic *stall*; a stable or stall), travelled via French or Spanish to give us *pedestal*. Its ultimate hybrid origins led Walter Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary* (1882) to declare, ‘Skeat’s preference has had no success in competing against pedant, his despised “disgusting hybrid”. Let us return to native shores for a short list of hybrids which we have been using for a long time. *chapeau* (a merchant, now only used in names) L. *capa* (merchant) + E. *man*; *schlemiel* L. *schela* + E. *man*; *perfidious* L. *perfidus* (of the same class) + E. *man*; *manservant* E. *man* + L. *servus* (slave); *benefactor* F. *beneficere* (<L. *bonum*, good; *facere*) + E. *man*; *commonwealth* L. *comune* + E. *weal* (prosperity, welfare).

GREAT MOMENTS IN ACADEMIC HISTORY



ODDUS COMPENDIUM, A ROMAN SCRIBE, INVENTS THE FOOTNOTE

*Derivations in this article have generally been simplified for clarity. Abbreviations: G. = German, Gr. = Greek, L. = Latin, < = derived from, E. = English.

The JACT Greek Committee

Catherine Steel

JACT's Greek committee, like the other subject committees, acts as a consultative and advisory board for its discipline and provides a framework for the exchange of views between the secondary and tertiary sectors and the exam board. Its subject has always been the most vulnerable of those under JACT's

purview, and the desire to respond positively to the decline of Greek in schools has driven two of the committee's most important activities, whose successes have now created separate bodies within JACT: the JACT Greek Summer School and the JACT Greek Project.

The JACT Greek Project

Peter Jones

In September 1974, Frances Corrie and I started work in Hughes Hall, Cambridge and in January 1975 were joined by Dr Keith Sidwell from Forest School. Our mandate was to write a one-year course for sixth-formers, undergraduates and adults that took beginners to the point where they could begin to read Greek literature 'fluently and intelligently'. The driving force behind the concept was John Gould, a brilliant scholar and inspiring teacher with an extraordinary capacity to take almost any passage of Greek literature and talk about it in such a way that it seemed you really understood it for the first time. It was his uncanny sense of the culture in which the language was embedded that made this possible – a revelation and education for all of us.

The Greek Committee had learnt from the Cambridge Latin Course experience, so the Course was to be inductive; culturally authentic; but grammatically fairly traditional. As a result, from the very beginning we could get straight down to the two big questions: the content of the continuous reading-matter and the order in which to present grammar. At that time, too, we could assume that most students would know Latin. Further, to give us guidance, support and the benefit of their experience, the Greek Committee put together an extraordinarily distinguished body of teachers and scholars, separated into a Steering Committee and Advisory Panel (they are listed in *Reading Greek*). We met with these once a term in Cambridge or London, and were in constant individual communication on various matters. We could not have made the progress we did without their generous commitment to, and understanding co-operation in, what we were trying to do.

In 1971 a JACT Greek Committee team, inevitably led by John, had already had a shot at a story-line featuring (as I remember) Lysias travelling round the Mediterranean. Given that 'cultural authenticity' was such a key concept, we decided that we needed a story-line built directly out of the actual situations described in 5th and 4th C Greek literature. So for the first term, Frances and I spent our time reading and identifying cracking stories and striking episodes, preferably in easy Greek, that would open up the Greek world to the beginner.

Not that we intended to offer the beginner only original Greek from the very beginning. As Kenneth Dover pointed out, if it was impossible to invent acceptable Greek on the evidence provided by original Greek sources, it was impossible to compose a grammar describing Greek usage. We would, of course, use as much real Greek as possible, but it was agreed that the earliest stories would have to be composed in very simple

invented or adapted (and highly repetitive) Greek, the invention and adaptation lessening chapter by chapter until the real thing was being read. Maurice Balme's heavily adapted *Satyricon* school text gave us a model. Dialogue was of vital importance: it allowed endless and fairly natural repetition of words and phrases (easy to overdo, as we discovered).

By the end of 1974, Frances and I had drawn up a check-list of essential early grammar (definite article, all noun types, nom. and acc., present and aorist, active and middle, participle and infinitive). We noted the importance of def. art., which immediately identified case, number and gender, allowing us to introduce any noun-type we liked into the reading before the type and its endings *had* to be learnt; observed that common single-meaning prepositions that took dative and genitive (e.g. ἀπό, ἐν etc.) could also be used before that case had been properly introduced; and took on board the importance of using imperatives like ἰδοῦ and ἐλθέ as 'fixed forms' to drum home early on certain important verb stems.

We were also homing in on the content for the story-line, to be suitably dumbed down and turned into baby Greek: [pseudo] Demosthenes' *Neaira*, *Euergos* and *Polycles* to start the course (!); moving onto Thucydides, the Persian Wars, the Athenian Empire and sophism; and ending with scenes from Homer, *Frogs*, Herodotus (Solon and Croesus), *Ion*, and more Thucydides – a strangely mixed bag! We then envisaged the 'target texts' (probably in a separate volume): any of Iliad 1 or 6, *Troades/Medea*, *Clouds/Lysistrata*, *Apology/Gorgias*, Thucydides 2, 3 or 7, and Social Life (*Eratosthenes/Simon/Conon/Eubulides*).

By January 1975, when Keith joined us, we had the basic grammatical structure of the course in order; and *Neaira* had been shifted from the early sections to the middle of the Course, and analysed closely to show us what had to be known by then and what *Neaira* could be used to teach. But we now needed to turn to the actual story. While we had identified and agreed on a story concentrating on important situations in classical Greek literature, there was as yet no story-line. Keith's active imagination was exactly what we needed. Enter, therefore, Dikaiopolis and a story-line which would see him arrive in Athens at a key moment, face certain well-known situations (e.g. the plague, the attack on Peiraeus, the abandoning of Attica), interleaved with scenes adapted from Aristophanes and other authors illustrating the various predicaments facing Athens at the time, all arising from Dikaiopolis' experiences, and winding up with *Acharnians*. It was, admittedly, still something of a

mish-mash, but we felt such a *Text* provided the range, variety and interest that would appeal to an older audience. It was then that we decided to put the running vocabulary not in the *Text* but in the accompanying grammar and exercise volume. The aim was, as far as possible, to keep the focus firmly fixed on the Greek of the *Text*.

At the same time, we were working on a book of background material. This turned out to be 89 pages of A4, consisting of pictures, textual sources (some being the sources for the *Text*) and essays – both original and photocopied – all relevant to the *Text*, together with other mostly secondary sources relevant to the themes in hand.

In summer 1975 the Course was given its first run-out at the JACT Greek Summer School in Cheltenham. It consisted of the *Text*, + running vocabularies, of the Dikaiopolis story (today's Sections 1-11: used then by five beginner's groups), and *Neaira* and dialogue-free *Euergus* (Sections 12-17: five intermediate groups), the last two computer-printed (Frances had been working on this with the Cambridge Literary and Linguistic Computing Laboratory). It was supported by the background material; and the grammar for the *Text* was provided by Abbott and Mansfield. Trial 'target' texts – forerunners of today's *World of Heroes* and *Intellectual Revolution* – with commentaries, were also provided for more advanced groups.

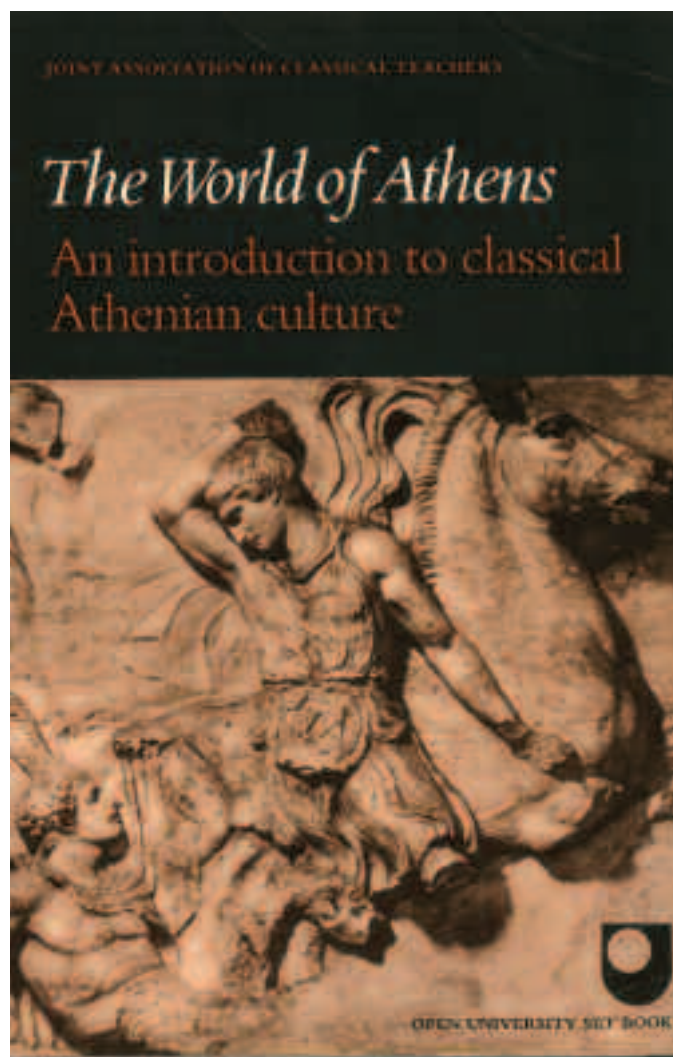
This trial was invaluable. Criticism was clear, forthright and remarkably unanimous, and gave us the best possible guidance for the next steps. Some universities began testing the Summer School material in October.

Revisions apart – always the priority – ,work in autumn 1975 turned to the production of the accompanying grammar and exercise volumes for Sections 1-17, the final stages of the course (today's Sections 18-20), decisions about follow-up 'target' texts, and any possible O-level or N-level (whatever that was) examination that could be attached to them. Negotiations started with CUP about publication and, briefly, with Cardiff University Press, which could publish far more cheaply but perhaps with less impact.

In January 1976, schools testing began: three FE colleges, three sixth-form colleges, twelve comprehensives and eight independents. In August 1976, as a result of this and of further testing at the next Summer School, we were able to feel that the *Text* and follow-up 'target' texts, with vocabularies, were now complete, but the *Grammar* volume still needed more work. That occupied the rest of the year. Over Christmas 1976 I visited the APA conference in New York, manning the CUP stall to spread the good word to the Americans. By now Cambridge had agreed to publish the Course, but it was becoming clear that a fourth year (1977-8) would need to be financed to see through the proofs, begin dissemination, wrap up the 'target' texts and turn the background material into a usable book (today's *World of Athens*). Desmond came up trumps again with the requisite funding.

In 1977 the Steering Committee and Advisory Panel, whose work up till now had been of a more general nature of principle and subject-matter, now came into their own. Throughout that year, divided up into groups covering *Text* (especially pictures for the *Text*), grammar and exercises, they subjected everything we had done to an intensive, line-by-line scrutiny. Having Kenneth Dover's comments on the Greek of the *Text* and Anna Morpurgo Davies's and John Chadwick's on the *Grammar* was indeed chastening, but pure gold. 'Language Surveys' were added to the running grammar and reference grammar. On Desmond's urging, Kenneth wrote a foreword to the Course.

Opening again the vast files of corrections and suggestions that came pouring in, I reflect that no don or teacher these days would be able to spend anything like that amount of time on what could hardly have been mainstream work. We were phenomenally lucky in having behind us the team that JACT put together. After final testing at the 1977 Summer School and final revision, the ms. of *Reading Greek (Text)* and *Reading Greek (Grammar,*



Vocabulary and Exercises) was handed to the Press. I again helped man the CUP desk at the APA conference in Atlanta over New Year.

In 1978, time that was not devoted to design, lay-out, galleys and proofs was spent on the 'target' texts (which CUP decided to publish in two volumes), development of the background material and dissemination. Sixteen one-to-three day short courses involving the whole team were run up and down the country, from Newcastle to Norwich and Southampton, and in March I visited Ottawa, Yale, Harvard, Wellesley and New York introducing what we had done and how it worked. Many Americans were not convinced that reading lots of simple Greek was a sensible or even useful thing to combine with exercises and learning grammar and vocabulary.

In summer 1978 *Reading Greek* was published, and the Project team broke up. As the sole remaining team member, seeing the 'target' texts through to publication and to work on *The World of Athens*, I moved to the basement of 17 Panton Street, the rest of which was occupied by Pat Story and the Cambridge Latin Course team. I was able to use the facilities of the CLC offices and learn from Pat Story about how to forward the Project, while teaching in the Classics Faculty and (one evening a week) in University College, London. A Continuation Committee was formed to oversee this stage, involving in particular Desmond, Pat and the JACT Treasurer. Since agreement had already been reached that all the royalties accruing from the sale of the Course would go back into the Greek Project's work, not into JACT's general coffers, the JACT treasurer needed to be certain that the money was being properly spent. This eventually turned into the Greek Project Finance Committee, which still meets in Cambridge once a year (with Frances, now retired as a manager from KPMG, as treasurer, and with the JACT trea-

surer's continued presence) to oversee spending and generate ideas, under the general aegis of the JACT Greek Committee - which started it all back in 1974.

In March 1979 I was offered a lectureship at Newcastle, and took the Project's work with me to Tyneside: short-courses (run by myself and Newcastle postgraduates), grant-giving (including in recent years to the forthcoming Cambridge *Greek Lexicon*) and further publications, authors being paid a fee and all royalties going to the Project. One of these was the background material. The idea was to turn what was basically a list of primary and second sources related closely to the Course into a general book about Athens, both for users of the Course and the general public. John Wilkins was employed part-time (1979-80) to grapple with the problem but it became clear it needed a complete re-think. The sub-committee kept on to deal with it (Brian Sparkes, George Cawkwell and John Gould) built on the proposals that emerged and invited a number of scholars to write general chapters suitable for public consumption, but with a firm eye on the themes of the *Text* of the Course. *The World of Athens* was the result. Meanwhile dissemination went ahead: six teachers' meetings that year and 12 nation-wide school short-courses, run by myself with Newcastle postgraduates - and for many years to come.

Discussions had also been going on for some time with the O and C exam board for an A Level exam based on the Course, and the first exam had been sat in 1980. There were 60 takers and would need to grow to remain viable. In fact it proved unsustainable. So it became a two-stage JACT Diploma, overseen by Margaret Williamson and then Jeannie Cohen, and validated by O and C. It ran with modest success till 1998.

One other important development - Geoffrey Kirk's idea - was courses in Greek at Cambridge's extra-mural arm, Madingley Hall. One-week courses were laid on for school pupils, and weekend courses for adults. The latter still flourish, with Latin and Classical Studies courses too.

In 2002 - nearly 25 years on - it became clear that a second edition was needed. *Tempora mutantur*, and users could no longer be expected to know Latin, the lay-out of *Reading Greek* was looking cramped and old and needed a complete redesign (with a splash of colour promised too), and so on. It was decided that the *Text*, and therefore the grammar and vocabulary sequence, would remain the same, but grammatical explanations would be rewritten, vocabulary moved from the *Grammar* into and alongside the *Text*, learning vocabularies re-organised and clarified, exercises updated (with the addition of one-word tests) and extracts from Robin Osborne's superb updating of *The World of Athens*, which went on at the same time, fed in here and there. It appeared in 2007. *Teachers' Notes* and the *Study Guide* have been updated to match, and soon the second edition of *World of Heroes* and *Intellectual Revolution* will be published, offering far more help than the first editions. One of the pleasantest jobs was producing the pronunciation CD, complete with FX, over two days in Manchester. Ian McAuslan and James Morwood gurgling to their deaths in the surge of the sea to the tweet of overhead seagulls (Section 1F) produced a moment of almost unmatchable pathos. It certainly reduced the rest of us to tears.

Coming next (we hope): Mikromus.

Then professor of Greek at Swansea and a leading light of the JACT Greek Committee, which thought up the idea of the Project. The money was raised largely by Sir Desmond Lee, ex-head of Winchester and President of Hughes Hall, Cambridge throughout the time the Project was housed there (1974-1978).

In this last respect at least we took a different approach from CLC, which could be too easily described as a 'look and guess' course at that time. But it was the Latest Thing, and I still remember the intake of breath and slight shaking of heads when I told teachers that, yes, the Course would teach conjugations and declensions and expect students to learn them. Talk of 'authen-

tic cultural context' would always restore the audience to benign nodding mode. We also did not employ a linguist to guide the grammatical sequence of the Course (as CLC had done). All scholars and language teachers, we were concerned only with what worked.

Other advisers from the USA, Australia, Holland, Denmark and New Zealand were also enlisted.

Infuriatingly I have been unable to locate this.

I had spent a day with Professor Zuntz in Manchester who had composed such a course. It was fascinating, the product of vast, thorough and sensitive reading, but lacking in structured gradation of learning, adequate repetition of constructions and vocabulary, and development of reading skills, let alone cultural homogeneity.

John Gould had made us very excited about the insights these gave into cultural attitudes, and that year Kenneth Dover's brilliant *Greek Popular Morality* (Blackwell) appeared, confirming all our beliefs: his favourite of all his publications, Kenneth told me.

In the event we decided students would probably have had enough of comedy and oratory.

There had been intense concern about giving the work to CUP, price being the main consideration. At once stage £13 for the two volumes was being touted. In the event, they came out at £6.25, with discount for JACT members. Thanks to CUP, various elements of the Course have been published in Spain, Portugal, Holland, Italy, Japan and Brazil.

Kenneth summarised the most important features of Denniston's *Greek Particles* for us in eight masterful pages.

Royalties now come to anything between £10,000-£16,000 a year and, while most is annually disbursed as indicated, a reasonable balance has been built up. The Open University's adoption of the Course in 1987 made a radical difference to the Project's income.

A pronunciation tape (Professor WS Allen and David Raeburn), *Teachers' Notes*, *Independent Study Guide*, *New Testament Greek* (an important new departure), *Greek Anthology*, *The Triumph of Odysseus*, and (coming shortly) *Iliad* Books 16 and 18.

Now professor of classics at the University of Exeter.

Cost was the problem. When I subsequently volunteered to type up the exam which O and C then photocopied, costs fell from £600 to £15!

Now Associate Professor of Classics, Dartmouth, USA.

Now teaching at Francis Holland School, a co-founder of *Friends of Classics* and a trustee of *Classics for All*.

Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.

Andrew Morrison (Manchester) revised the grammar for the vital opening two sections and James Robson (Open) sections 3-9. Professor David Langslow (Manchester) revised the Reference Grammar.

It was a pleasure for me to learn, at last, the technicalities of how it really should be done from David Langslow and Philomena Probert (Wolfson, Oxford).



The JACT Greek Summer School

James Morwood

In the summer of 1968 52 students and six tutors forgathered at what was then Bedford College in Regent's Park to spend a fortnight learning and teaching Greek. 44 years later 376 students and 45 tutors arrived for a fortnight at Bryanston with the same objectives, thus giving a clear demonstration of the truth of a schoolboy's famous dictum that 'Tall oaks from little acorns grow'. The Bedford initiative sprang from the anxieties about the parlous state of Greek in UK schools in the mid sixties felt by the recently formed JACT Greek Committee, which duly asked David Raeburn, at that time the Headmaster of the state grammar school Beckenham and Penge, to serve as its Director. This was a fateful appointment. Far more than anyone else, Raeburn, who was to direct the Summer School 14 times, set its tone with a passionate and inspirational commitment. The patterns and – more importantly – the ethos he established remain basically unchanged to this day.

The team that assembled at Bedford included Maurice Balme, Carol Handley and John Sharwood-Smith. These were all to prove key figures – as was John Gould, then a tutor at Christ Church, Oxford, who came to observe and found himself sharing the teaching of the large advanced group with Raeburn. After the course was over, the tutors had a picnic in the park. They were unanimous in their bubbling enthusiasm about what had just happened. The Summer School must clearly continue and must occur annually. Christopher Turner, then the Headmaster of Dean Close in Cheltenham, opportunely offered his school to host the course, and that was to be its home until 1985.

Dean Close School was in many ways the ideal location. Set in beautiful grounds on the outskirts of a fine Georgian town surrounded by the wonderful Gloucestershire countryside, it had the great advantage of being within walking distance of a well-served station. The accommodation in those days was decidedly Spartan and the food often terrible, but the school was easy to get to and what Raeburn twinklingly referred to as 'the heady wine' of undiluted exposure to Greek ensured that the fortnight passed in a flash. Unsurprisingly the focus on the study of Greek language was intense and, while the beginners have always been given an especial welcome, the wise decision was taken to admit students at all levels. The more advanced could show what could be achieved and take the star roles in Greek plays. In addition, over the years the Summer School has had an impressive record in attracting students from maintained schools, though the situation of Greek in secondary education has made it inevitable that a considerable majority come from the independent sector. Each year between 10 and 18 students arrive from overseas, from countries ranging from China through Turkey and Europe to North America. This international ingredient in the mix helps us to ward off insular provincialism. The list of tutors, of course, reads like a Who's Who of distinguished classics teachers. I remember my schoolmaster's heart swelling with academically snobbish pride when under my directorship Peter Parsons, the then Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and Eric Handley, the recently retired Regius Professor at Cambridge, were giving their all to their groups, and the latter's successor to the Chair, Pat Easterling, ever a good friend to the Summer School, came over to give a lecture. In fact, the mix among the tutors of university and school teachers, which continues to flourish to this day, is a splendidly vitalizing feature of the Summer School's success. Both sides learn from and stimulate each other in an extraordinary process of cross-fertilization perhaps unique to this subject.



Greek School Tutors 1980, photo Tony Verity.

The course consists of 30 hours of Greek teaching over a fortnight, with three well-spaced sessions on most days. There is plenty of study time, and almost all the students find themselves caught up in a passionate absorption in the subject. One of our Directors tells the new arrivals that they will cover in two weeks what takes them a year at school, and then at the final meeting asks them whether this has proved to be the case. The answer is an enthusiastic and amazed yes. They are exhilarated by what they have achieved. Beginners have laid secure foundations in the subject; intermediates have gained in knowledge and confidence; and advanced students have read all – or the greater part – of three texts. Coming from schools all over the country where they may be one of a very small number of pupils studying Greek, they find themselves amid some 350 Hellenists. In this potent atmosphere, the committed find that commitment strengthened and waverers discover that they are waverers no more. Our strong links with the universities ensure that we are for many a seemingly indispensable part of a process of Greek studies in the UK. The number of friendships formed at the Summer School makes the students' arrival at university far less tense than it would otherwise have been and, if Oxford is anything to go by, breaks down the barriers in a frequently narrow collegiate system. Inevitably the magic doesn't work for quite everyone, but can we extend an invitation to those who doubt the considerable enrichment on offer to visit us and see for themselves? We are self-confident but far from complacent: we constantly debate teaching methods and priorities. In recent years we have conducted a highly successful scheme in which students in their final year at university spend up to a week with us to make up their minds. And it is surely worthy of celebration that many current teachers of Greek at both university and school level started the subject at the summer school.

Surrounding the core of Greek language there is a multiplicity of other activities, perhaps the most notable being the series of lectures throughout the course. A wonderful array of visitors has descended upon the Summer School, but the home team can more than hold its own. In those early days, it was a joy to savour the imaginative reach and insight of John Gould, as it were the course guru, the quiet lucidity of Malcolm Willcock, and the burning heat of the young Oliver Taplin. And then of course

there was Raeburn's Sound of Greek, still coming up as fresh as new paint after the fifteenth hearing. More recently we have savoured the humour and wisdom of Eric Handley on Menander, the wondrous clarity of the philologist John Penney, and the special take on the sound of Greek by Philomen Probert among so many other edifying delights. An array of seminars laid on by the current tutors provides the icing on the cake.

A tradition of Greek plays to round off the course soon developed. Here again Raeburn was in his element, directing a memorable series of dramatized readings and fully memorized performances, some of them stunning, of complete tragedies. At the time of writing, the most recent production, of *Bacchae* by the three Graces (Keren Carmichael, Claire Le Hur and Soo-Lin Lui), demonstrated triumphantly that the Raeburn tradition is still very much alive. To the feast of tragedy, Taplin was soon to add an Aristophanes dramatized reading at the mid-point of the course. In those days it was an all-staff affair and there was some classy acting on offer, e.g. Ian McAuslan as a beautifully studied hoopoe in *Birds*, but it was always Taplin's show: he was the perfect exponent of the great comic central roles. More recently the tradition has largely – and probably rightly – been taken over by the students. A wonderful costume library has been built up first of all by Nancy Silver and now by Clare Sharp, lending considerable enhancement to comedies and tragedies alike. And I must not fail to mention the course concert which regularly reveals a vast range of talent.

Raeburn took a year off from the burdens of directorship at regular intervals, with Turner, Tony Verity, Willcock and Silver standing in for him. It would be idle to pretend that student behaviour was always of the highest standards. One midnight Willcock spotted a light on in the swimming pool and going to investigate and found before him a scene of nude mixed bathing. With unruffled aplomb, he simply stood there while the students scurried about in appalled embarrassment! There were also occasions – fortunately few – when the tutors too could let their hair down to excess, but perhaps a discreet silence is best observed in that regard!

A double crisis occurred in 1985. Various factors made it impossible for Dean Close to continue to accommodate us. And Raeburn, after his long and doughty stint of running the Summer

School, felt that the time had come for him to step down as Director. Since 1970 he had been the Headmaster of Whitgift and his admirable secretary Pat Dawson-Taylor had handled all the Summer School enquiries, applications and general correspondence. 'Raeburn' was in effect two people, indeed three people when one adds in his wife Mary Faith, the devoted course matron, whose commitment to the cause was no less than his; and it was far from clear who could succeed him. A committee was formed to look into this and, for reasons best known to them, they asked me to take on the role of Director. I freely admit that I was staggered by the honour. However, what made the continuation of the Summer School possible was the reappearance of Carol Handley, one of the initial Bedford team, on the scene. She nobly volunteered to do all the advance work as well as see to all the financial and administrative arrangements during the course itself. One of the first problems she faced was the fundamental one of where the 1986 Summer School would take place. She contacted location after location and suffered continual disappointment, usually because the cost was too high or there was not sufficient accommodation. Eventually she tracked down Bryanston School in Dorset and I vividly remember driving there to investigate, thinking that if things didn't work out there, we would have to cancel the Summer School for that year. Very fortunately, the school, set in its magnificent estate with its two mile drive, proved ideal. It was far more comfortable – and served considerably better food – than the Dean Close of those days. It even had a Greek theatre, sadly overgrown at the time of my exploratory visit but cleared by the time of our arrival in force. The drawback was the school's isolation, 20 miles away from the closest railway station. To all the arrangements that Carol had to make from scratch was added the need to fix up coach travel to and from London and Salisbury. Carol's total commitment, her perfectionism and her sense of care for all the students from their initial application onwards were of incalculable importance in the launching of a new era of the Summer School. It needs to be said that the job she did all by herself in 1986 is now shared between three people. Of course the Summer School has grown considerably since then, but my admiration for the way she shouldered such responsibilities and anxieties unaided remains undimmed.



Greek School Tutors 2012, photo Elizabeth Warren.



Above and below, activities at the 2006 Greek Summer School.

Carol set high standards, and the Summer School has been enormously fortunate in her successors as Course Secretary. Elizabeth Merrylees and Elizabeth Warren have followed in her footsteps with equal commitment and equal success. Carol had had to cope with a (let us charitably say) sleepy school administration and dealt with it with effective tact. If relations with Bryanston, supremely well-run in recent years, now seem to be excellent, that is largely the secretaries' work, and tutors and students alike know how much we owe to them. Our move to Dorset coincided with the start of an era of never-ceasing regulation and the secretaries have grappled with this magnificently. Thanks to their labours, backed up John Muir's golden touch at fund-raising, the Summer School has been run on an even keel financially. Their success in this area has meant, among many other things, that we can give grants that ensure that no potential student need be kept away because of lack of money.

The move to Bryanston also coincided with a time of increasing concern about child-care, and the Director had to try to upgrade the level of behaviour among students over whom (s)he had no real power. This took some time, but I believe that it has been by and large achieved. We were blessed by good fortune when, after our first Bryanston matron had to leave unexpectedly half way through the course, we found in Jean Pollard a substitute who we saw at once was quite simply ideal. She was to stay with us for 24 years. A professional nurse, she brought true humanity to her work with students and tutors alike. We all came to love her.

After three continuous terms of serving in the role of Director, I thought it best to start alternating the responsibility. It was not



just that that I clearly lacked the stamina of David Raeburn, *kubernêtes* extraordinary; I also felt that the events of 1985 indicated that the enterprise had become dangerously dependent on one individual. I coxed and boxed with the sagacious, dedicated and multi-talented Keith MacLennan (at present the admirable Chair of the Summer School's Management Committee). Then in 1996 the genial Andrew Hobson (who had previously brilliantly mastered the arts of accountancy to help the Secretary as Treasurer) took the first of four turns at the helm. From 2009 we have been in the happy position of being directed by one of a gang of three, David Langslow, John Taylor and Catherine Steel. We have been fortunate indeed to have such committed, enthusiastic and inspirational leadership. Three very different characters, they are as one in their range of talents, their integrity and their passion for the cause. And then, with the Summer School's ever-growing size, the role of Director of Studies has become of increasing importance. Particularly long-serving individuals in this role have been Anthony Bowen, Taylor and (at the moment) Chris Burnand, who has allocated today's unprecedented numbers to groups with extraordinary success. Burnand's exhortations to the students to give their all to their work have been highlights of our Bryanston fortnight. And I must acknowledge the considerable input of the trusty Jeffrey Swales whose computing skills have ensured that we are firmly located in the modern world, and also of the stalwart Andrew Downey, now in his twentieth year as Hobson's successor as Treasurer.

The tutors do have some time to themselves and this has led to some key publications. Balme typed and tested his Greek course *Athenaze* there; Shirley Barlow dedicated her best-selling edition of *Trojan Women* to her 1984 group; Taplin dedicated his ground-breaking *Greek Tragedy in Action* to the Summer School plays; and I tested portions of my *Oxford Grammar of Classical Greek* there and dedicated it à la Taplin to the Summer School. Most importantly, Peter Jones, a vital participant in the Cheltenham years, used the Summer School as a testing ground for the various volumes of the superb JACT language course *Reading Greek* (1978) and its fine revision of 2007 with its helpful acknowledgement of the needs of non-Latinists. Characteristically of so much that the protean Jones has done, this course has had an entirely beneficial effect far beyond the Summer School, where it remains the central text for all except the most advanced.

I am only too aware that this brief canter through the Summer School's history omits a host of names of tutors and others who have contributed in so many ways to its success. The operation is only possible because of the willingness of a large number of teachers to work for less than half of the university tutorial rate and then to assume boarding school responsibilities in addition. In fact they are more than willing; they relish the opportunity and delight in the fortnight. They are united in a passion for Greek and it is that passion which lies at the heart of an extraordinary success story.

This will delight all those who have had anything to do with it. But it is a disturbing thought that a major factor in that success has been the decline of the study of the Greek language at the secondary level in Britain, a decline which has forced those interested in learning the language to seek other sources of teaching. It would of course be a matter of huge celebration if Greek could once again become a strong school subject and the Summer School could thus become less vital to the continuation of the study of the language in the UK. However, until the millennium comes, we are there with open doors doing whatever we can to serve the cause.

James Morwood was Head of Classics at Harrow School for 17 years. Subsequently he was the Grocyn Lecturer, in charge of the Greek and Latin language teaching at Oxford University. He is at present an Emeritus Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, where he teaches Greek language and literature.

The JACT Latin Committee

David Stephenson and Aisha Khan-Evans

The JACT Latin committee first came into existence primarily to oversee the Latin Summer School, following in the footsteps of the Greek Committee. Together with that original brief, the Committee has, for many years, quietly and without fuss carried out its main task of monitoring all aspects of the subject. It has always taken an interest in the Latin courses taught in schools and in the public examinations offered. In addition, the Committee has worked to provide support materials and training. For much of the 1980s, a dedicated core met at Birmingham University, drawing members from a range of schools and also seeking to ensure that there was always representation from universities. It was not until the mid 1990s that JACT formalised this arrangement and the Committee has gone on to include representatives from every kind of school and from across the country, as well as university lecturers.

Keeping a watchful eye on the examination system has always been a key task, generally but, in particular, at key moments such as the emergence of GCSEs to replace O-levels and more recently the Committee has expressed their views to the board regarding changes to the GCSE and A-level Latin specifications. There has always been a wealth of experience on the committee, in terms of setting and marking exams as well as in terms of teaching. Over the years, although the number of exams available has decreased, in some ways the task of examination review has become more complex as the examination boards have become larger and this task now takes up much of the Autumn term meeting.

In spite of the links between them, the JACT Latin Summer School has operated independently from the Latin Committee but the committee has always given its support, providing a number of tutors over the years, and the Director has almost always been a member of the committee. The summer school was initially set up by Barbara Bell but the first one was actually run by Lorna Kellett, who ran a further nine before handing on to Jo Wallace-Hadrill. From small beginnings, the summer school, based at Kingswood School in Bath, grew to around 70, mostly from schools in the early years but with an increasing number coming from universities. In 1997, Tim Wheeler took over to run a total of eleven summer schools, overseeing a move to Wells Cathedral School and the gradual growth to well over 100 students. Tim's ascent to the dizzy heights of headship led to a restructuring of the Summer School's management and the various responsibilities were reworked into two simple co-director positions held by Alexandra Boyt and David Stephenson. (David currently sits on the JACT council and acts as secretary to the Latin Committee.) Over this time, due to ever-increasing marketing, numbers have not only continued to rise (the record being 153 students and 18 tutors) but also to become more international, with people travelling from as far afield as California and South America as well as several international universities, including the Université de la Sorbonne, Auckland University, Charles University in Prague and Yale University. There is always a superb team of able and committed tutors - some old hands come back year after year but this is always infused with at least one or two new tutors.

There have been various other developments to the Summer School. Everything is now online, including the application process. Do visit www.laticamp.co.uk for all the details you could need on what is available over the two weeks, not to mention some highly amusing photos. There are now two separate programmes of clinics running daily, one for any non-begin-

ner pitched at post-GCSE standard and another very advanced programme to stretch our most experienced students, with considerable focus on prose composition and work into Latin. In addition, the beginners have access to a daily "drop in" session to help consolidate the considerable amount of grammar encountered over the course. David and Alex took the decision to extend the previously-ten days to match the length of the Greek Summer School, with the philosophy that you can never have too much of a good thing! The traditional trip (and preceding talk) to Caerleon and Caerwent (to see the military barracks and bathhouse) continues but the Bath trip has been extended to a full afternoon and evening and there is now a Saturday drama workshop which has proved very popular.

Aside from the Summer School, Latin Committee has regularly been involved in the production of materials to promote the



teaching of Latin and in the early 1990s took on the enormous task of providing an answer book for the numerous and often quirky exercises in *Reading Latin*, eventually published by the Open University. With a member also on the group working with Barbara Bell on *Minimus*, the committee was well placed to offer support to the Primary Latin

Project. Similarly, Committee members have contributed to continuing professional development, such as providing articles or training sessions on using sources for Latin, teaching set texts and Assessment for Learning. In addition, the Committee has played its part at various crisis points, for example, writing to Royal Holloway in defence of the proposed cuts to the Classics Department, to Members of Parliament in support of the broadening of qualifications in Latin, and meeting with government bodies on the training of Classics teachers.

Although the function of the committee has not changed greatly, the way that it operates has, with the advent of email and conference calls allowing a far greater degree of discussion between meetings. The Committee also provided materials for the JACT website in its early days, with members both supplying and editing contributions. Finally, the committee has also overseen the production of publicity materials, perhaps the most significant being the original leaflet to promote Latin, which, with a print run of 100,000, stood the test of time surprisingly well.

With the recent resurgence of interest in Latin in schools, the future perhaps looks brighter than it has for some time and the Committee is looking forward to supporting and promoting this revival.



50 years and two crises: JACT's Ancient History

Peter Liddel and Tom Harrison

The JACT Ancient History Committee has a long history, but disappointingly, not much has been set out in print: the author of the article celebrating the 10th anniversary of JACT had little to say about its activities (other than to mention the abortive plans laid by a sub-committee for a classical component in General Studies A-level).¹

The Committee has its origins in the plan to revive ancient history teaching in schools in the early-to-mid 1960s; it has its most famous moment in the 2007 campaign to reprove Ancient History as a free-standing A-level; as a celebration the 50th Anniversary of JACT, this article will focus on these moments in order to illustrate what the committee has to offer the study of ancient history at the best and worst times.

The first crisis: 1963

Fifty years ago, the study of ancient history at schools appears to have been at a low ebb. In an article, 'History at Advanced Level', F. H. Sparrow, an experienced classics teacher and Research Fellow at the University of Southampton Institute of Education, set out some of the problems which beset both History and Ancient History at A-level. 'Where', he asked 'are the questions on such topics as literature, art, architecture, economics and science which are regular features of most modern history papers?'; the A-levels as he describes them seemed narrow in their thematic focus, yet over-loaded in their coverage, and discouraging to the candidate.² The syllabus of the University of London summer 1963 A-level papers in Ancient History reflected this: there were three papers, 'Outlines of Greek History', 'Outlines of Roman History', and 'Greek and Roman History', which were chronologically divided. There was a marked emphasis on the experiences of Great Men, the location of places on maps, and military and political narrative.³

The early days of the Ancient History Committee

As Brian Wilson writes, JACT Ancient History Committee has its origins in conferences on ancient history teaching organised by Moses Finley, Peter Brunt, and John Sharwood Smith at which they announced their intention to develop a new ancient history A-level syllabus: 'It may well not have been recognised as part of JACT initially, but knowing the skills of John Sharwood Smith as I do, I suspect he soon persuaded the management to give them official recognition'.

From the earliest point, the role of the AH Committee was indeed to devise the A-level syllabus. Moses Finley (Chair of the Committee until 1971, when Peter Brunt took over), campaigned to transform the teaching of ancient history in schools. The development of the subject had been held back by two tendencies: on the one hand, the inclination to place emphasis on the learning of strings of events gleaned from modern histories of Greece; on the other, the widely-held assumption that the point of the study of ancient history was merely to offer a background to the study of Greek and Roman literature. Finley published a critique of the current ancient history A-level in the 1965 edition of *Didaskalos*, the JACT journal, and also in the *Times* of 22

August 1966.⁴ These articles made several points, both positive and negative:

- In the first place, Finley encouraged the reformulation of the subject along more analytical lines, urging that ancient historians, even early on in their careers, should act more like historians, evaluating and engaging with documents and sources (in translation, if necessary) rather than regurgitating facts and dates. As a means of encouraging dialectic between student and teacher, students should be encouraged to engage at first hand with ancient sources, not just Thucydides and Tacitus, but also Aristophanes and Horace.

- In terms of content, he argued that the study of ancient history should be about more than chronology, military tactics, and constitutional matters, topics which encouraged 'mechanical repetition of what others (or only one writer and the teacher) have said, interlarded with equally mechanical (and often arrogant) expressions of vague general points of view and prejudices' (*Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965), 69). Ancient history, therefore, should be concerned with the nature of the Roman mob, or the significance of political comedy in Athens; it should concentrate on historical problems, and 'should serve to enrich the students' understandings of society, politics, culture in terms of, and in the interests of, their own experience and ultimately of the situations they will face in our society' (71).

- It should also avoid speculation on the psychological inclination of individuals who have been dead for 2000 years; the current nature of 'ancient history taught and examined through outlines... put in a box, insulated from everything else of the literature and language syllabus' should be transformed (*Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965), 70)

- That it should focus on shorter periods, characterised by significant cultural achievements, during which major authors lived and wrote.

By 1969, the JACT Project in Ancient History at A-level, a qualification under the auspices of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board was complete, and its syllabus was published in *Didaskalos* 3.1, 1969, 36-47). That syllabus built upon some of the important principles worked out at JACT Conferences in March 1964 (London) and January 1965 (Cambridge), some of which had been aired in Finley's 1965 *Didaskalos* article, and its teacher's counterpart, penned by C. A. Haworth.⁵ The 1969 'Prefatory Memorandum' of the syllabus was as follows:

1. *The subject should be available to non-classicists as well as classicists. That is partly why suggested reading in ancient sources has been chosen with an eye to the existence of English translations.*

2. *For classicists, ancient history is conceived as an extension of their work in another dimension, not as an unrelated subject which happened to be about Greeks and Romans. That is why the periods and subjects chosen have a considerable concentration of classical authors who are normally studied at this level; though this might not be true of some more archaeological subjects such as 'Roman Britain'.*

3. *Although it is recognised that the study of a long period is not without value, the traditional outline papers have been replaced by papers on much shorter periods (a century or less) to permit the balanced and coherent study which, experience seems to show, is not possible when the period is extended much further.*

4. *In the syllabus of the periods set for study, the traditional stress on political and military questions has been balanced by an equal stress on social history.*

5. *Each pair of subjects has been chosen so as to give candidates an opportunity to pursue different interests, ranging from the political to the cultural. In general, the principle of maximum flexibility within obvious limits has been adopted. A considerable number of alternative subjects are possible, and it would not be hard to devise, say, a three-year cycle. Some variations in the periods set might also be possible.*

The syllabi for individual periods (Greece 478–402; Rome 81BC–AD 14; Herodotus and the Age of the Persian Wars; The Culture of Athens, 447–399 BC; The Age of Augustus; Claudius and Nero; Roman Britain) placed stress on engagement with the sources and awareness of social, economic and cultural questions. John Hart, at Malvern College, praised the success of the JACT A-level, offered congratulations to the examiners and thanked the Board.⁶

Debates on the coverage and nature of the ancient history syllabus continued throughout the 1970s,⁷ but many of the sentiments of the original JACT syllabus were refreshed in John Sharwood Smith's 1977 book, *On Teaching Classics*, which, as a way of emphasising the good about the JACT Ancient History, outlined differences between the 'old' and 'new' forms of teaching ancient history in schools. The 'old' school, of the pre-1965 era, tended to see ancient history as purely an ancillary subject to the study of Latin and Greek, placed emphasis on facts and dates, military operations and political activity, and prepared the candidate to respond to questions like 'Why did the Athenians fail to win a land empire in Greece between 461 and 446 BC?'; on the other hand, the new-style ancient history encouraged students, including those without Latin and Greek, to engage with 'the interaction of economic, social political and cultural forces in the period studied; the uniqueness of the period; the nature of historical evidence and the criteria for assessing it; and the logical coherence required of a historical narrative'.⁸ Understanding, rather than factual knowledge, was the objective, and the pupil was expected to play a more active role in learning, in discussion, in reading and writing; critical study of the sources was expected. Sharwood Smith stressed the idea of 'the past as contrast', thinking of the Graeco-Roman world as a distinctively different place: he criticised the view that history was to be studied with the intention of enabling students to develop a teleological view of his own world or to understand 'unchanging laws of economic, political and social behaviour'.⁹ So, the design and establishment of a syllabus that entrenched the combined principles of source-based focus, accessibility to those without Latin or Greek, critical analysis of the sources, and attention to social, economic and cultural matters, was the first achievement of JACT Ancient History Committee.

Ancient history today

The contemporary teaching of ancient history shares many of the goals expressed in Sharwood Smith's work: accordingly few today will uncritically defend the idea that Graeco-Roman antiquity is a straightforward 'root' of Western culture or politics, but at the same time we recognise that ideas about antiquity have had persuasive value in the creation of some contemporary political institutions, ideas, and identities. We champion the study of

ancient history not merely as a list of political or military events, but we try to understand the political cultures of antiquity, the motivations behind military and diplomatic decisions, the social anxieties and tensions which existed in their societies, and their modes of cultural expression.

As for the sources: the challenge still remains to find new ways of fostering in our students the skills to read critically the sources for such rich and different civilisations. Telling our students that it is essential for them to engage with the sources is one thing, but getting them to do so is another. And we continue to grapple with the question of the most effective way to read ancient sources in translation. As Brian Wilson asks, should we encourage students to deduce the narrative element from the sources by themselves, by pointing them towards secondary scholarship, or should we offer them the traditional outline first? These questions are, of course, irresolvable, but the AH Committee Teachers' Notes are designed to offer guidance for both approaches.¹⁰

The Second Crisis of Ancient History?



At what is now close to the mid-point in the AH Committee's existence, in 1988, John Murrell (Deputy Head at John Henry Newman School, Stevenage and from 1985–8 Executive Secretary at JACT) published a succinct description of the workings and organisation of JACT, which had its origins in a submission to the officers of Customs and Excise. It described the role of the Ancient History Committee: 'The Ancient History Committee was formed to devise the JACT Ancient History syllabus, operated by the Oxford and Cambridge Board – and that Committee still meets regularly twice a year to consider the operation of the A-Level Examination: changes in topics, help for teachers etc'.¹¹

The JACT Ancient History Committee continued to have a significant voice in the shape of the A-level syllabus. Terry Edwards and Robin Osborne spear-headed the design of a six-module syllabus at incredibly short notice, reworking the syllabus not only to fit the requirements that every A level had to have six roughly equal parts and that historical papers should cover a period of at least 100 years,¹² but also introducing a 'document study' and an increased chronological coverage.

Indeed, when Tom Harrison¹³ took over the chairing of the committee, it was expected that the AH Committee would play a role in the rewriting of the A-Level specifications. But that did not happen: the Committee was, in the words of Harrison, 'increasingly frozen out' by OCR (Oxford and Cambridge and RSA Awarding Body, the exam board responsible for the A-Level). At a meeting of the Committee on 24th March, 2007, OCR's plans to scrap Ancient History as a free-standing A-level subject emerged; the idea was that aspects of Greek and Roman history would be shoehorned into Classical Civilisation A-level. JACT and the other classical subject associations (Hellenic and Roman Societies, the Classical Association, Friends of Classics,

the Council of University Classics Departments) played a decisive part in the campaign for the A-Level.

The reasons for OCR's decision were, at the time, thoroughly opaque. In retrospect, it was probably driven by a combination of factors: the desire to save money by rationalising the number of classical qualifications (it was not 'purely' an economic issue, we were later told); the prejudice of one OCR subject officer against non-linguistic subjects; and finally, a culture in OCR at the time that seemed set against listening to any but well-chosen 'stakeholders'. The public line, of course, was not that Ancient History was being scrapped at all, but that it was being incorporated into the overall Classics 'suite'. In practice, however, this added up to very little: a bullet point here and there in the specifications insisting that existing literary papers such as the *Odyssey* would also be 'concerned with history and archaeology'. A whole range of traditional topics – the Persian Wars, the Athenian empire, the Roman republic, ancient democracy – were out. And there was no acknowledgement that Ancient History required different skills from other Classical subjects.

But what could be done? Beyond trying to smooth the way for those teachers who would inevitably transfer to teaching AQA's Classical Civilisation course, or sitting back and hoping that the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (the quango then responsible to government for overseeing the curriculum, and the body to whom their new set of specifications were submitted) might force them to soften the edges of their proposals, it did not seem as though there was much that JACT could do. We did, however, determine at least to give OCR a bloody nose.

The fact that we had advanced knowledge of the change meant that we could prepare a salvo of negative publicity in advance of OCR's releasing the news. This first blast included an appearance by Robin Osborne on the BBC *Today* programme, and a long piece in the Education section of the *Guardian*, citing Boris Johnson (then only the Higher Education spokesman, but already a notorious figure, and the incoming President of JACT). This media effort was coordinated (brilliantly) by Peter Jones who used all his contacts and any opportunity to get the story into the papers with a new twist. And quickly a number of tunes were found which could be played relentlessly: the list of perennial topics within Ancient History (Athenian Democracy, and so on), which were due to disappear from the curriculum; and (since Ancient History was so disproportionately studied within the FE sector) the socially regressive aspect of the change.

Soon the campaign began to develop further fronts and with it a loose team of other volunteers. The political angle was led by the conservative MP Michael Fallon, then the chair of the parliamentary Classics group. It was Michael who gingered up Boris Johnson and who kept him on message. (Boris had only recently before described the Cambridge Latin Course as 'pre-masticated pap', and had initially been under the impression that the Ancient History A level – a 'crunchy subject' as he saw it – still required reading of extensive passages of Thucydides in Greek. But he also went to great trouble, travelling to Cambridge to challenge OCR on their plans, where – as he put it – they 'tried to blind [him] with science'.)

An electronic petition was initiated by a Nottingham student on the Downing Street webpage, asking (hopelessly, we thought) for government intervention – a petition that harvested thousands of signatures. A campaign of letter writing took off, with leading academics (Robin Osborne, Robert Parker and others) at the forefront. As soon as Peter indicated that there was an opportunity we could take advantage of (any new development, or an opinion piece such as Tom Holland's 'socialist case for Ancient History'

– as he described it – in the *Guardian* on May 7th), a volley of letters was sent off. The case was made to QCA, who remained almost entirely silent. And increasingly also, contact with was made behind-the-scenes with OCR's parent body, Cambridge Assessment, and with Cambridge Assessment's ultimate owner, Cambridge University. In essence, as soon as any new breach appeared, a wedge was driven in.

The legal front in the campaign was opened up by a query from a JACT member, Jenny Ramsay, a former solicitor who taught Ancient History at South Downs College (where she was Head of Law). Led by Jenny, legal routes were investigated: the possibility, for example, that QCA's decision, when it came, might be vulnerable to judicial review since they were a public body. An appeal to *Friends of Classics* members elicited a number of offers of *pro bono* help from barristers and judges, and allowed us at least to go in for some mild sabre-rattling.

The first landmark in the campaign came when a team from JACT (David Tristram, David Taylor, Katharine Radice, Jenny Ramsay and Tom Harrison) travelled for a meeting with OCR on 24 April – the day before a scheduled adjournment debate in the House of Commons. Not imagining that they would easily back down, the group agreed in advance a strategy of making no deals, collecting information, and conveying a relentlessly lawyerish impression. To this end, they took a very ordered approach, with roles and questions apportioned between them. Jenny came with a dossier of papers all marked up in legal fashion. And Katharine took detailed notes throughout the meeting, to the OCR staff's intense discomfort.

The tone of discussion was deeply ratty. Tom Harrison seemed to offend one senior OCR figure by supposing mistakenly that she worked in their Coventry office. The same woman later snapped that it would be easier to carry on discussion without the 'media barrage' – a revelation which only made us more determined to maintain the barrage. And the meeting offered no obvious grounds for hope. Though OCR claimed defensively that they were now consulting us on their plans (their formal consultation had never focussed on their plans for abolishing Ancient History as they had only formulated that plan at a very late stage), they claimed that it would be impossible now to reintegrate Ancient History into the 'Classics suite' even if they wanted to.

The other landmark in the campaign was the demonstration outside the Houses of Parliament on 14 May. This was the idea of the girls of the Godolphin and Latymer school in West London who arrived toga-clad with Latin mottos on placards; JACT took an arms-length approach to the demonstration, at least publicly





(the JACT secretary, Anna Bayraktar, was as busy as anyone copying placards). A group of polite protesters (maybe 50 at any given time) assembled, as instructed by police, in the centre of Parliament Square where interviews were given to newspapers and one TV crew; at the heavily fortified entrance the G&L girls led some chanting. After a considerable wait, Boris Johnson emerged like a prize fighter, flanked by Michael Fallon and the then Labour MP for Knowsley (and former teacher of Ancient History), Eddie O'Hara. At some stage, Boris too had had a toga draped over his suit; he was then garlanded and presented with a scroll, and proceeded to address the crowd (including a number of tourists and passers-by) with his rendition into Latin of 'We will fight them on the beaches'. Then we were all invited into a committee room, where rather formally we were invited to update the gathered members of parliament on the state of the campaign. As Tom Holland, who had turned up with his daughters, observed at the time, it was one of most bizarrely British occasions one could imagine, but strangely wonderful. The *Times* diary later covered a story about a Belorussian dissident visiting London who thought to go to parliament to see how demonstrations worked in an established democracy – only to be completely perplexed.

It was in parliament, two days later, that the denouement of the campaign focussed. During a scheduled debate on the issue in the House of Lords, the Education minister Lord Adonis announced that the government was 'not content to see the withdrawal of Ancient History as a free-standing A-level' and called on OCR to bring forward new proposals. On the day of the Lords debate, it was startling to hear the news of Lord Adonis' intervention on the Radio 4 news and to be able to revel in it by listening to *Today in Parliament* later that night. A *Private Eye* cartoon in the same week showed two OCR staff looking out of the window at a figure lying with a dagger in his back; the caption identified the corpse as the person who had abolished the Ancient History A level.

OCR then set about the urgent (but it turned out, doable) task of integrating an Ancient History strand within their A level suite. They subsequently denied that political pressure had any bearing on their decision to capitulate, a denial that rang pretty hollow. However, it is possible that behind the scenes they had been preparing to back down (in some way) for some time. They had been prevented from making any announcements by the fact that they were awaiting QCA's response to their proposals (the deadline for QCA's response was 18 May, hence the timing of the Lords debate). So it is possible that the last events in the campaign were just an added humiliation for OCR. At any rate, as soon as they capitulated, relations turned quickly (if cautiously) more friendly. JACT expressed the desire to support OCR in any way in the development of the specifications. And OCR initiated regular meetings with us – as well as a broader review of how they handled 'stakeholders'. OCR's then Chief Executive, Gregor Watson, took Tom Harrison for a very good lunch to seal the peace.

And the peace has held. OCR has, since then, shown a commitment to Ancient History by introducing a fast-growing GCSE alongside the A level. Ancient History has grown as a school subject. And relations between OCR and JACT have continued to run well, through the work of the Ancient History committee and staff at OCR (especially Sarah McPhee). On one level then, the campaign for the Ancient History A level represents a straightforwardly successful fight-back – and one which it was unquestionably right to engage in. At the same time, it is difficult not to register some notes of regret. Classicists held together remarkably for the length of the campaign, but can the same resolution be maintained in building our subject, not just fighting rearguard actions? Above all, the whole episode was completely avoidable.

It is important that Ancient History A-level was saved by the message that its supporters were able to project on political and public platforms about the benefits of studying ancient history: in the House of Lords debate, for instance, Lord Adonis, emphasised the transferability of the skills garnered in the study of ancient history. In the Commons adjournment debate (Hansard, 25th April 2007, columns 1004-14) Michael Fallon warned that the developments ran the risk of reverting the study of ancient history at schools to little more than a 'context for literary study' (column 1006), and emphasised the significance of the study of ancient history for modern debates about the notions of democracy, Europe, and imperialism; he emphasised its importance for training in historical methodology and, at the other end of the spectrum, placed stress its marketability at a time of Blockbusters like *Troy* and *The 300*. Elsewhere, the argument was used that the study of ancient societies enables us to study issues like citizenship, democracy, and participation, from different angles. In a *Guardian* interview, Tom Pearson's position, as an experienced schoolteacher and Head of History and politics at Queen Mary's College, Basingstoke (a bastion of Greek and Roman History), stressed the democracy of the subject: by offering an alternative to modern history, it attracts students of all backgrounds and all abilities.¹⁴

Looking to the Future

The response to the second crisis demonstrated that JACT is at its most effective when it engages with the public, the media, and the other classical subject associations. There were other positive outcomes too, and important among them is closer contact with OCR. Members of JACT Ancient History Committee (Gill Partington, Zahra Newby, Tom Harrison, Terry Edwards, David Hodgkinson) worked with OCR in July and August 2008 to create the new specifications and assessment material for the A-level. OCR and JACT now have several points of contact: the JACT Examinations Committee meets annually with OCR, the OCR Qualifications Manager is now a member of the JACT AH Committee and four members of AH Committee are now members of the OCR History Consultative Forum. The very successful OCR Ancient History INSET Day held at the British Museum in May 2011 included contributions from members of the JACT Ancient History Committee.

Soon after deciding the fate of the A-level, OCR set up a GCSE in Ancient History: David Hodgkinson, the Chief Examiner for Ancient History, wrote: 'When we began work on this, we decided that it should guide students to study topics which would inspire them to continue with the subject and give them an opportunity to study formative moments and people in European culture'.¹⁵ Numbers are still relatively low but growing (they have increased sevenfold in three years, and it is reassuring that it is now part of the English Baccalaureate), and so it is clear that the merits and value of the qualification need to be extolled as widely possible.

On 12th November 2011, members of the Ancient History Committee joined with teachers of ancient history from universities and schools and colleges in the independent and main-

tained sector for a meeting in memory of John Sharwood Smith at Wadham College, Oxford. We discussed issues that confront the subject today as well as future directions, and some interesting perspectives emerged: for instance, the desirability of laying stress upon the intellectual skills that the study of ancient history fosters, and, as Morwood reports, 'the access it gives to ancient cultures, specifically to rich and alien cultures, and to (some of) the roots of western civilisation'.

That day's discussion of many of the challenges that the teaching of ancient history faces helped to set the agenda that the current AH Committee pursues. The very limited number of Classics PGCE places nationwide (there currently exists no Ancient History PGCE) and the fact that the current courses at Cambridge and King's College, London, require prior qualification in Latin means that Ancient Historians who want to enter the teaching profession first have to do a History PGCE. Moreover, many teachers of Ancient History are non-specialists. Accordingly, then, AH Committee has a role to play in the development of teacher-training provisions. These might take the form of subject-specific INSET days: the most recent one (*From Ancient to Modern: Sources and Resources for Ancient History*) was held in London in September 2012 and focussed on both ancient sources and new resources for teaching ancient history; members of AH Committee offered contributions on innovative and ambitious topics: 'Differentiated Approaches', 'Starters and Plenaries in Ancient History Teaching', 'Embracing New Creative Teaching and Learning Ideas for the Classroom', as well as sessions on 'The Use and Abuse of Sources'. Plenary lectures were given by Professors Stephen Hodkinson (University of Nottingham) on 'New Approaches to Ancient Sparta' and Chris Pelling (Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford University) on 'Truth, but not as we know it: the joys and the dangers of using Plutarch'. The AH Committee is in the process of going ahead with the production of new resources for the teaching and learning of ancient history. It is currently producing a pair of booklets, provisionally entitled 'An Approach to Roman Imperial History' and 'An Approach to Greek History', which aim to introduce teachers and students to the sources and methods of the study of ancient history.

There is much to do: we are keen to develop a closer working relationship with AQA, whose Classical Civilization A-level contains a significant amount of ancient history. JACT Ancient History Committee is now stronger than ever, and is made up of members from schools (both independent and state), colleges, and universities (the full list is Gower College Swansea, Queen Mary College Basingstoke, Headington School, Oxford, Bootham School, York, Aylesbury Grammar School, St Vincent's College, Gosport, Warwick School, the Universities of Warwick, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester). It is clear, however, that we should do everything in our powers to reach out to teachers of ancient history across the UK; we want them to contact the committee and to tell us what they think of the current specifications and the resources available for the teaching of ancient history. We must improve the profile of our on-line presence: the website of the Classics Library provides excellent resources for teachers, an active and stimulating blog, and an important hub for the teaching of classics generally, and JACT aims to create its own website that compliments and extends what is already available: we might use as a model, for instance, the website of the Historical Association, which offers excellent resources in terms of downloads and booklets for members. But to fulfil such an ambition we need more financial and better technical support.



As a body which aims to represent the interests of teachers of ancient history at all levels and which aims to liaise between teachers and the examination boards, the JACT Ancient History Committee will continue to play a role in the ongoing development of the A-level and in supporting the teaching of the subject. The more closely we work with teachers, the more effective we will become. We urge members of JACT and teachers of ancient history to contact the committee: we welcome reflections on the experiences of teachers in the classroom, comments and criticisms of the current specifications and assessments, and reactions to the resources that we provide.¹⁶

The JACT Ancient History Committee is as keen as every to help – just e-mail: ancienthistory@jact.org

- 1 Extispex, 'The first decade: a scrutiny of JACT,' *Didaskalos* 4.2 (1972), 259–75.
- 2 F. H. Sparrow, 'History at the Advanced Level,' *Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965), 23–30, at 28–9.
- 3 The papers are published at *Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965) 31–4
- 4 M. Finley, 'Ancient History in the senior forms. Part I,' 66–74; a response by a schoolteacher followed, C. A. Haworth, 'Ancient History in the senior forms. Part II,' *Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965) 75–82, and contains a specimen paper for Greek History 478–402, containing the hitherto unthinkable question 'What was the Parthenon for?'. For the *Times* article, see R. Osborne and J. Cloughton, 'Ancient History', 117–23 in J. Morwood (ed.), *The Teaching of Classics*, Cambridge, 2003, at 117.
- 5 C. A. Haworth, 'Ancient History in the senior forms. Part II,' *Didaskalos* 1.3 (1965), 75–82.
- 6 'J. Hart, 'The JACT ancient history project,' *Didaskalos* 3.1 (1969), 48–59, with response by the Chief Examiner in Ancient History, G. E. F. Chilver, at 60–3.
- 7 See, for instance, the debate on the content of ancient history syllabi, see J. K. Davies, 'New Ways of teaching Ancient History', *Didaskalos* 5.1 (1975) 75–89; P. A. Brunt, 'What is ancient history about?' *Didaskalos* 5.2 (1976) 236–49; R. B. Sinclair, 'On teaching Athenian Democracy at O-level,' *Didaskalos* 5.3 (1977) 380–94.
- 8 J. Sharwood Smith, *On Teaching Classics*, London, 1977, 65.
- 9 J. Sharwood Smith, *On Teaching Classics*, London, 1977, 63–9.
- 10 A nearly-full set of these Teachers' Notes for Ancient History A-level is available on request to all JACT members free of charge from the JACT office (jact.office@gmail.com).
- 11 JACT Review, Second Series, no. 4 (Autumn 1988, 2–5)
- 12 On the specifications in the early 2000s, see Osborne (above, n. 4), 118–19.
- 13 A fuller version of the story of the A-level campaign can be found in T. Harrison, 'The Campaign for the Ancient History A-level', 167–82 in A. Chaniotis, A. Kuhn, C. Kuhn (eds.), *Applied Classics. Comparisons, Constructs, Controversies*, Stuttgart, 2009; see also T. Harrison, 'JACT and the Ancient History A Level', *Journal of Classics Teaching* 12 (Autumn 2007), 4–5.
- 14 Interviewed by J. Crace, the *Guardian*, 22nd May 2007. See also T. Pearson, 'Ancient History – a Surprising Success Story', *Journal of Classics Teaching* 16 (Spring 2009), 6–8.
- 15 D. Hodgkinson, 'GCSE Ancient History: A new opportunity to teach Classics', *The Journal of Classics Teaching* 16 (Spring 2009), 9.
- 16 This article would have been impossible without the help of Michael Crawford, Ken Hughes, Stephen Kern, Robin Osborne, and Brian Wilson

50 years of Classical Civilisation

Steven Hunt

This paper tells the story of the development of Classical Civilisation as a subject taught in primary and secondary schools over the last 50 years. It looks at the early and important role played by JACT and other organisations, either directly, through influencing the UK Government and examination boards, or indirectly, through proselytising by means of articles in journals, conferences and other discussion papers. There follows a consideration of the influence of JACT on the production of resources and training in the 1970s and 1980s and its reactions to the educational reforms of 1988. The paper finishes with some observations on the current state of thinking about Classical Civilisation from the present government and ways in which JACT can continue to play its part in supporting teachers of Classical Civilisation in the future.

Introduction.

Firstly, a definition. Classics is the study of the ancient world, under the heading of which, in UK schools, four separate but interconnected subjects may be taught: Latin, ancient Greek, Ancient History and Classical Civilisation.¹ Classical Civilisation is the study of the ancient world through literature in translation and the socio-cultural aspects and material culture of the Graeco-Roman world. The study of the ancient world takes place at all levels of schooling in the UK today. Some of this is due to the fact that every child at UK state primary schools must, by law, study the main achievements of the ancient Greeks and the Romans. At secondary school level, however, where Classical Civilisation is an optional subject, the numbers of examination entries at GCSE and A Level² indicate that the subject is healthy, faring better, if one measures it by the number of examination entries, for example, than the traditional linguistic courses in the non-selective state school sector.³ Two major UK public examination bodies (OCR and AQA) offer their own examination specifications in Classical Civilisation at both GCSE and A Level. The study of Roman civilisation is a very popular option in the OCR GCSE Latin examination. The WJEC provides examinations in a single examination called ‘*Latin Language and Roman Civilisation*’ at Level 1 and Level 2 Certification, and there are possible examination modules in Roman and ancient Greek civilisation and Classical Heritage in the International Baccalaureate and the Cambridge Pre-U qualifications for those who wish to take them. At University level, Classical Civilisation courses are more popular than ever before, and frequently more popular than traditional linguistic Classics courses (Roth, 2011).

And yet Classical Civilisation, as a subject, seems to be something of a Cinderella. Classical Civilisation is not included on the Department for Education’s list of core academic subjects to be studied at GCSE as part of the English baccalaureate (Department for Education, 2012), and it is not one of the proposed English Baccalaureate Certificates which will replace GCSEs in a number of subjects (although Latin and ancient Greek are), despite the best entreaties of JACT and the other learned societies that it should be included.

This state of affairs may have been exacerbated by the fact that there has been little discussion over the years about what constitutes an appropriate curriculum for the study of Classical Civilisation. Instead, rightly or wrongly, discussion has focused on ensuring the survival of the teaching of Latin and, to a smaller

extent, ancient Greek, instead of or as well as reinforcing the case for the study of literature in translation and the socio-cultural aspects of the Graeco-Roman world. Martin Forrest has already described with great clarity the way in which the Classics community fought off the attacks on the study of the ancient languages in the 1960s and 1970s and again in the 1980s (Forrest, 1996) and there is no need to go into these matters yet again. But it is worth remembering that Forrest himself was one of the pioneers in the development of a series of resources which seriously addressed the needs of teachers of Classical Civilisation courses at the same time as the Cambridge Latin Course (CLC) was under development in the early 1970s. The development of Classical Civilisation as a recognised course of study suitable for the whole ability range of pupils in primary and secondary schools owes much to such individuals’ perseverance, and this article attempts in some little way to draw attention to their unsung efforts. Much of the first part of this article draws heavily on information provided by Forrest himself.

Early ideas about Classical Civilisation.

John Sharwood Smith had set up JACT in 1962. Its early focus was inevitably on finding ways to support teachers of Latin. Nevertheless, early JACT minutes show equal interest in developing materials for Classics Civilisation courses. This was especially felt to be necessary to support the teaching of Classics in those Local Education Authorities (LEAs) which were abolishing the grammar schools and reorganising their schools on the comprehensive model. Sharwood Smith, who had observed a great deal of teaching of Classical Civilisation in comprehensive schools in London, foresaw that such a course had the potential to deliver two aims at once. Firstly, in those schools which had been reorganised from selective grammar schools to all-ability comprehensives, where Latin teachers were already present but teaching to a small, select cohort, a Classical Civilisation course had the ability to prepare pupils for later study of the languages themselves. Secondly, in schools where there had been no tradition of offering Latin at all, a Classical Civilisation course had merit in itself in offering pupils of all abilities the opportunity to learn about the ancient world and to find ways of responding to it. Sharwood Smith allowed the pages of the journal of JACT, *Didaskalos*, to air the differing and sometimes competing claims of Classicists to define and defend their subject, with, perhaps, the comforting notion that the world of Classics teaching, like it or not, was going to have to move in the direction of the modernisers like himself. *Didaskalos* became the public face of JACT and its forum. It helped teachers give voice to what it was that they thought made the study of the ancient world worth doing.

In the early stages of the discussions held within the pages of *Didaskalos*, however, it was as if the study of Classical Civilisation did not exist at all. In 1962, a year before the first edition, Charles Baty, one of Her Majesty’s Inspectors (HMI) for Classics, was writing in *Reappraisal, a Supplement to Greece and Rome*, in defence of Classics. He did not mention Classical Civilisation or ‘background material’ at all (Baty, 1962). This is not especially surprising when we learn that none of the other articles in the volume did either, since it was edited by T. W. Melluish, a firm traditionalist and defender of the study of Latin being the study of language and literature alone. In the

grammar and independent schools the study of Classical Civilisation (such as it was) had primarily been seen as a background to the more serious study of Latin and Greek literature in the original: it helped to set the context, but was not much thought worthy of study in its own right. However, Classical Civilisation courses were starting to be taught in increasing numbers in non-selective schools, and were being examined at CSE.⁴ Soon their influence was beginning to be felt even in the traditional O Level Latin examination. For example, in an O Level Latin examination of 1960, quoted, with reviews, in the first issue of *Didaskalos*, we find, among the standard requirements of prose composition, unseen translation and examination of literature, the following embryonic, if rudimentary, Classical Civilisation-style questions:

- Describe in not more than fifteen lines a typical day in the life of a Roman senator.
- Name three Roman roads (in Italy or the provinces), and give the Latin names of two towns on one of them.
- State (in no more than one sentence each) the claim to fame of five of the following: *L. Iunius Brutus*; *Horatius Cocles*; *Pyrrhus*; *Regulus*; *Vercingetorix*; *Maecenas*; the Emperor *Titus*; *Pliny the Younger*.
- Describe (in not more than two lines on each) the activities of five of the following: *The Muses*; *the Furies*; *the Parcae*; *the Harpies*; *the Sirens*; *the Argonauts*; *the Giants*; *the Centaurs*.
- What were the powers of either the consuls, or the tribunes of the plebs?

Latin O Level, Paper II, Wednesday 14th December, 1960 (Baty, 1963)

It has to be said that these questions were not highly regarded by the *Didaskalos* reviewers. Wilson considered them to be 'a mere sop to the progressive theory [which could be] answered by rote' (Wilson, 1963, p. 86) and was dismissive of the inclusion of Classical Civilisation questions as part of a Latin examination. Sharwood Smith himself came to a similar conclusion, at least as far as the simplicity of the questions was concerned. But he followed this with a radical proposal: '...that the examination known as O Level Latin should be abolished and its place taken by a paper entitled Latin Literature and Roman Civilisation...[and] that these should be examined by...questions exacting intelligent knowledge of the social and historical background to the texts' (Sharwood Smith, 1963, p. 92). This was heady stuff for 1963. But the wind was blowing in the direction of modernisation rather than tradition and it could be said that the foundations for Classical Civilisation as an integral feature of Latin examinations can be traced.

The biggest impetus for the development of Classical Civilisation courses came shortly afterwards. The comprehensive of nearly all UK schools was becoming a reality not just a distant dream. Latin and the study of the ancient world needed to be made appealing and teachable to a much wider range of pupils than it had ever been before. In 1963, for example, JACT was galvanised into action by the reorganisation of schools in the Leicestershire LEA. An early convert to comprehensive education, Leicestershire had instituted a two-tier high school system with Middle Schools for pupils from age nine to 12 and Upper Schools for pupils aged 13 to 16. JACT felt that it would be difficult to introduce Latin into such an arrangement as pupils who started in their Middle School might not receive further tuition on transfer to the Upper School if that school did not have its own Latin teacher. A paper submitted internally by JACT, cited by Forrest, states the case for supporting the development of Classical Civilisation courses in these cases:

JACT should press for general Classics of some sort (e.g., Literature in Translation, ancient history, art etc.) and JACT might well try to mobilise its resources in dons and schoolmasters to run courses for middle school teachers and that sort of thing. It is important that there should be an opportunity for kindling an interest in Graeco-Roman civilisation at this stage, so that a pupil may opt for Latin as soon as he reaches the Upper School. (Forrest, 1996, pp. 19–20).

It should be noted that the study of Classical Civilisation was seen by the anonymous writer of this paper not so much as an end in itself, but rather as preparation for the pupil who is to go on to study Latin at the next stage of their school career. This feeling persists today and is perhaps one of the reasons why Classical Civilisation continues to be considered a low priority and somehow of lesser status than the study of the ancient languages, literature in the original and political and military history.

A series of conferences were set up to discuss the impact of the Leicestershire plan and others like it, led by Sharwood Smith. The plan was to develop consensus among Classics teachers and university specialists as how best to adapt Latin, and to develop new Classics curricula (such a motion had been passed at the first JACT conference in 1962), or else, it was felt, the study of Classics in schools would perish. But these conferences were themselves soon overtaken by events of a different nature when the Nuffield Foundation, an educational charity, stepped in.

Classical Civilisation and the Nuffield Foundation.

The Nuffield Lodge Conferences in 1964 led directly to the formation of the Cambridge Schools' Classics Project (CSCP) and the publication of the CLC. Forrest tells the story well and there is no need to repeat the whole thing here (Forrest, 1996, pp. 24–36). Suffice to say, Baty, having retired from being an HMI and now Secretary General of JACT, along with R. W. Morris, an HMI and member of the Department of Education's Curriculum Study Group, drew up plans with R. A. Becher from the Nuffield Foundation to develop new kinds of courses for schools. A preliminary document, prepared by Baty and Becher, stressed the importance of the Nuffield Foundation supporting the development not just of a linguistic course in Latin, but also of non-linguistic courses (cited in Forrest):

...[less able pupils] should also be acquainted with Greek and Roman civilisations...[Such a course might include] a wide reading of literature in translation and an introduction to the history, social structures and values of ancient Greece and Rome and a study of the influence of their culture on our own. (Forrest, 1996, p. 27).

Although the term 'less able pupils' was not actually used, the document contrasted the sort of pupils who might benefit from a non-linguistic course with more able pupils who would continue to study a more traditional linguistic one. Whatever the rights or wrongs of this assumption - that Classical Civilisation was suitable only for the weaker pupils - at least the paper recognised that if the study of any form of Classics were to remain in schools, it would have to be more inclusive. However, this unequivocal statement was curiously side-lined in the conferences themselves, held in Nuffield Lodge in November and December 1964. The focus there seemed to have remained resolutely on the teaching of Latin, with occasional deviations towards the teaching of ancient Greek. This was despite the fact that in the second of the meetings Sharwood Smith had especially invited a highly successful exponent of the teaching of Classical Civilisation from a comprehensive school to make the case for the non-linguistic courses. This mismatch between the stated aims of the conference paper cited above and the discussions which followed also seemed apparent when the proposal

for locating the curriculum development project for the new courses at the University of Cambridge was put before the Faculty Board of Classics in 1965. There was no mention of any non-linguistic courses made at all (Forrest, 1996, p. 39).

In the end, all was not lost for making Classics more accessible to more of the school population, when, in the press release from the Nuffield Foundation announcing the formation of the CSCP, the possibilities of the development of the wider study of Classical Civilisation and culture was explicitly mentioned as being in the remit of the new project. Perhaps more significantly, the job description for the post of Director of the CSCP specified that they should develop material for non-linguistic as well as linguistic courses (Forrest, 1996, p. 42). The Nuffield Foundation awarded a grant to support the CSCP jointly between the Faculties of Education and Classics in the University of Cambridge for a period of three years. The time was right: the Education Act of 1965 had just become law, requiring all LEAs to start converting their schools to comprehensives. Classics courses - whether linguistic or not - were going to have to appeal to a much wider ability range than ever before.

In 1966 the Schools Council, part of the Department of Education responsible for curriculum development and change, supplemented the original Nuffield Foundation grant. Progress on what was to become the CLC was developing fast. It was felt that a separate post within the CSCP should be created to support the development of non-linguistic materials to serve pupils both as a foundation course for future study of Latin and as a course of materials worthy of study in their own right. Forrest was appointed to the post and was also expected to contribute to the background civilisation materials in the CLC. By 1967 sufficient progress had been made on the CLC to permit trials in schools and in 1968 a further grant from the Schools Council enabled further development of the CLC and the Classical Civilisation materials.

By this stage Forrest had produced four initial folders of material on the ancient Greeks, with a teacher's handbook, entitled *Troy and the Early Greeks*, *Gods of Mount Olympus*, *Greek Religion*, and *Athens, Sparta and Persia*. Rather than producing a standard text book, Forrest had produced a resource pack of printed cards. These materials required considerable thought by teachers as to how best to employ them in the classroom. Therefore the project began extensive trials in some 60, mostly comprehensive, schools and began to receive widespread support (Forrest, 1996, p. 86). Later Forrest started to produce materials based on the Roman world, focusing particularly on primary sources drawn from the wide range of primary source materials available from Lugdunum in Southern France. The financial support of the Schools Council and in-service training events provided by JACT was proving to be essential in keeping the development of a school Classical Civilisation course alive.

Classical Civilisation and *Didaskalos*.

At the same time, JACT was stimulating other developments in the teaching of Classical Civilisation. If the first volume of *Didaskalos* in 1963 had almost nothing to say about the teaching of Classical Civilisation, further editions began to be more investigative in the field. The chief examiner for the East Midlands Regional Examination Board's CSE examination syllabus in Classical Studies of 1965 explained the rationale for including questions on Classical Civilisation material thus:

For many years progressive teachers of Classics have taken pupils to sites here and abroad; they have visited museums and fostered an interest in archaeological digs... Models have been made of Roman temples, villas, siege engines, etc. Yet these activities have received scant recognition in syllabuses and examinations. The sale of the Penguin translations of the Classics and the spate of

cheap paperbacks on classical history, art, and archaeology all point to the existence of a vast curiosity about classical times which the schools have not met. We must stand before we walk; we must walk before we run. We hope that syllabuses such as these may help some to run who might never have stood. (Osborne, 1966, pp. 153-154).

Osborne's paean to inclusivity perhaps encouraged more teachers to contribute to articles in *Didaskalos* on new approaches to teaching pupils about the ancient world. Articles began to follow on the teaching of the performance of Greek tragedy (Raeburn, 1964), Graeco-Roman comedy (Fay, 1966), Roman Britain (Cook & Johnston, 1967), mythology (Moore, 1972) and Pompeii (Frohne, 1974), amongst others. At the same time, the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching (ARLT) was publishing information about new directions in Classical Civilisation courses. A review of a film strip called *The Roman Wall* appeared in its own journal *Latin Teaching* in 1962 and information about teacher-training in 'classical background' at Homerton Teacher Training College published in *Latin Teaching* in 1963 (Soames & Hazel, 2011). These reports seemed to be pointing to a wider use of resources and teaching approaches in the classroom than might otherwise have been suggested by the standard diet of articles there and in *Didaskalos* about the value of prose composition, translation or examination standards. When *Didaskalos* ceased publication and was succeeded by JACT's new journal *Hesperiam* in 1978, articles on Classical Civilisation became yet more prevalent - perhaps stimulated by the ready availability of examination syllabuses in the subject and the effect on classroom practice of the CLC. This Latin text book was proving to be remarkably successful and highly influential. In 1970 the first edition of the CLC had started to be published and by 1979 around 10,000 were taking the project's own O Level examination⁵ - nearly a third of the total entry (Forrest, 1996, p. 154). The blend of Roman life and society and Latin is the hallmark and greatest success of the CLC. Pupils seemed to be more motivated to read the Latin stories in order to find out about Roman life, and the careful arrangement and wide variety of interesting drawings, photos and informative text - selected and written for the age-group intended - was highly successful in supporting the understanding of the Latin language itself.

Didaskalos and *Hesperiam* were influential in other ways too. From the early days articles appeared exploring Classics teaching in other countries. Changes in the way the American Universities were teaching Classics, with foundation modules of literature in translation as part of a general Humanities course were reported with interest, especially since these permitted all enrolled students to come into contact with the Classical world before they started specialisation (Ryder, 1968). In the same piece Ryder drew attention to the large and growing number of collected source material in translation, designed for the undergraduate outline courses. The facility with which large numbers of pupils who had previously had no contact with the study of the ancient world could gain access to it was especially valuable, he thought, saying 'there is no problem in showing even a large class a good deal of source material' (Ryder, 1968, p. 51). Such materials for UK schools were also being suggested by JACT and a series of ten Pamphlets was proposed to assist teachers in developing courses, provide guidance to pedagogy, and list relevant books for study. Sadly, the JACT Classical Civilisation subcommittee was not able to fulfil its role of producing Pamphlet 4 on Classical Studies because its Chairman took up a post abroad (Sharwood Smith, 1973). Nevertheless, the subcommittee was able to establish an A Level Classical Civilisation course in the late-1970s. This reflected the much greater interest in the study of original sources in translation. This examination made great use of translated texts published by Penguin and thus readily and cheaply available. In addition, in 1966 JACT supported the formation of the London

Association of Classical Teachers (LACT). Under the leadership of Michael Gunningham, from 1968 LACT started to produce the LACTORs⁶ publications were also employed for the collections of source materials needed for the JACT Classical Civilisation A Level examination (Forrest, 2003). In addition LACT kept up the pressure for the need to develop useful courses in Classical Civilisation with a series of well-attended conferences in the London area, each of which culminated in a published paper for wider dissemination to examination boards, the learned societies, schools and the Government.

Classical Civilisation and the comprehensive schools.

JACT was keeping up the political pressure too. In 1971 it appointed Muriel Telford, a non-Classicist Head of a comprehensive school in Staffordshire, as the President of the Association. Her school had long taught Classical Civilisation, as well as the CLC and a little Greek. JACT saw her appointment as representing the long way which the teaching of Classics had come in offering the study of the ancient world to pupils of all abilities. JACT deliberately invited the Times Educational Supplement to her inaugural speech, which, as Forrest describes:

...went on to describe the role that non-linguistic Classical Studies was making to the general education of slow learners in her school, and she described her joy on hearing a "problem child of a problem family, maladjusted, IQ about 80, say 'My favourite subject is Classics.'" (Forrest, 1996, p. 106).

JACT's promotion of Classical Civilisation through public meetings such as this did much to influence support from the Schools Council and HMIs. This was seen as essential. The LEAs themselves, responsible for much of the re-organisation of secondary schooling in the first place, took little lead in organising training. Forrest's 1972 launch of the Greek project materials took place at the Department of Education at Bristol University; other Classics conferences took place at the instigation of the HMIs at the Departments of Education at the Universities of Nottingham, Oxford and Liverpool between 1968 and 1973. It was as a result of the last of these conferences, where Forrest made a presentation, that the DES began to sponsor the continued development of Classical Civilisation courses under the influence of John Graham, an HMI in the Classics team, and a supporter of the inclusive approach of Classical Civilisation courses. Between 1973 and 1974 HMIs carried out a major survey of the position of Classics in comprehensive schools and found that:

In a number of comprehensive schools Classics is making a substantial contribution to the general education of the majority of pupils in addition to fulfilling, though in new ways, and for a wider clientele in the past, its more traditional role of offering a more demanding educational experience to the more able. (Department of Education and Science, 1977).

Support from the Department of Education and Science enable the CSCP and Forrest to embark upon the publication of a series of booklets to support the Roman materials on Lugdunum which Forrest had been developing. In the late 1970s this resulted in a small set of booklets of translated materials for use with pupils in foundation courses, such as *The Witches of Thessaly*, *Two Journeys*, *Three Letters from Pliny*, *The Gauls*, and *Baucis and Philemon*. Later still, with the help of Margaret Widdess, in the late 1980s, came booklets designed for pupils studying Classical Civilisation at a higher level: *The Romans Discover Britain*, *Pompey and Caesar*, and *Athens: City and Empire*. By this time, however, it was found that the Greeks and Romans projects resources packs had not taken root, as hoped, in standard school practice. Teachers seemed to find the individual resource cards difficult to use in the classroom. There

seemed to be significant problems in managing the large number of work cards (a problem which had beset the first edition of the CLC as well which had been issued in individual pamphlets rather than as a single text book). Also teachers seemed on the whole unwilling or unable to adapt their pedagogical approach to ensure effective learning was taking place when they were using them. An early report on the resources by Nicholas Whines in *Didaskalos* in 1971 had drawn attention to this problem: he felt that the success or failure of the CSCP materials depended to a great degree on the teacher's capacity for organisation, and that the materials themselves, used poorly by inexperienced teachers, only encouraged a superficial degree of knowledge and understanding by the pupils (Whines, 1971). By the 1980s teachers and Government were beginning to cast doubt on the so-called 'discovery method' of learning with which the project folders seemed to be aligned.

In the meantime, from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, the publisher Longman had published a series of short Classical Civilisation text books under the title *Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*, which were aimed at the middle school market. This whole series, including such titles as *Mycenae*, *Greek and Roman Technology*, *Roman Religion*, *The Roman House*, *Roman Sport and Entertainment*, and *Greek Exploration and Seafaring*, among others, became very popular among teachers. They were perceived as easier to use than the CSCP folders, and are still occasionally in use today, although now out of print. By 1982 the CSCP Greek project folders were also out of print, and the Roman folders went the same way by the 1990s. The CLC learnt to adapt its presentation with newer editions. It had moved away from the numerous individual pamphlets of the first edition to a combined text book version in the second edition and more recently into the glossy, full-colour fourth edition of the present. Perhaps in the same way the Roman and Greek project folders could have made a greater impression if money could have been found to keep them updated and (most importantly) to provide regular training in how to use them effectively. But it is one thing to amalgamate 12 individual CLC pamphlets into one single text book, and quite another to find a way to present a series of some 50 or more work cards into a book-like format which would still allow pupils the opportunity to sort and select materials as freely as the originals did. Perhaps the original resources might find a new home one day on the internet, where a specially-designed website might allow pupils to carry out searches, categorisation and analysis electronically. Or it might still be worthwhile to reissue the cards, updated where appropriate, much as they were, in an age where group work and kinaesthetic learning is more embedded in common teaching practice.

In any case, for the time being Classical Civilisation as an examination subject was going from strength to strength. New examinations in the 1980s developed by the Midland Examinations Group were, due to a paucity of suitable resources elsewhere, using material drawn from the background materials of the CLC itself with great success (Forrest, 1996, p. 153). Even today, present examinations suggest that the CLC is an extraordinarily rich vein of information. Perhaps it could be said that CSCP is fulfilling its original remit to provide materials for classical studies after all.

A theory of Classical Civilisation.

What Classical Civilisation consisted of, however, had still not really been defined. Although it was an examined subject at all levels in schools, what materials had been chosen to be examined, and how they should be examined, seemed to depend on the chief examiner's will and the precedent set by previous examinations. What appeared in the examinations seemed to be driven more by content and appeal to teachers' favourite topics, than by any sense of particular or over-arching educational aims. In 1977 Sharwood Smith had identified the problem of definition. Firstly he gently attacked the view that Classical

Civilisation was seen as the poor relation to Latin:

The teaching of Latin... has inherited an excessive burden of justificatory theory; Classical Studies is still dangerously (if refreshingly) innocent in respect of its theory. There are currently a number of rather crude and dismal theories, which could lead to crude and dismal practice, such as: that the function of Classical Studies is to keep the Classics teacher in employment so that he can complete his proper task, which is the teaching of Latin and Greek to a select few; that its function is to be a bait to catch bright pupils for next year's Latin beginners' class; that in a proper selective school everyone should be capable of learning Latin, but now the Goths are at the gate, if not actually inside it, thought must be given to civilising them. Too barbarous for Latin, they might nevertheless make something of Classical Studies, which has thus become an inferior substitute for Latin. (Sharwood Smith, 1977, p. 8).

In answer, he identified two theories of his own, which might, he hoped, go some way to help clarify thinking:

[Theory A] believes that many of the categories of thought, much of the segmentation of reality and experience, many of the ways of viewing the world and man's activities in it (or however this idea is expressed) that are implicit in the thinking and behaviour of modern civilised man derive from our Graeco-Roman inheritance. Inasmuch as the function of education is initiation into society and its values and achievements, every pupil should be initiated into the Greek (or Roman) archetypes of our categories of thought... [Theory B] begins from the eleven-year-old or twelve-year-old child and asks what the Ancient World can contribute to his intellectual, imaginative and social development... Crudely the two theories may be categorised as (A) Education in Classics and (B) Education through Classics. (Sharwood Smith, 1977, pp. 8–9).

Sharwood Smith argued that the two theories were not incompatible. Effective teachers would, however, need to guard against too much of one and not enough of the other. Those who adhered too strongly to Theory A might run the risk of encouraging superficial knowledge about the Graeco-Roman world and for nothing more than its own sake. Devotees of Theory B might be tempted to encourage their pupils to spend too much time responding creatively to the myths and stories of the Ancient World (for example) without probing more deeply into its difficult, uncomfortable and occasionally disturbing realities. Good teachers of Classical Civilisation do in fact, of course, mostly accomplish this delicate balancing act. However, it seems to this author at least, that what they teach is still governed more by the demands of an examination system than on a properly worked-out curriculum: the tail truly wags the dog. It seems today that the large numbers of resources available for the teaching of Classical Civilisation are geared primarily to help pupils study for and pass particular examinations. The majority of text books which have been published in the last ten years for the study of Classical Civilisation link directly into them – and especially into examinations for A Level where the market is large and crosses over into the first year Undergraduate level. One cannot blame the publishers: they need to make money. And one cannot blame pupils and teachers for wanting such resources when they learn and teach under a system which sets such store by their examination results alone. The *Greece and Rome: Texts and Contexts* series published by Cambridge University Press, the same publisher's *Cambridge Translations from Greek Drama* and the Bloomsbury / Bristol Classical Press' *Classical World* series are magnificent resources for the teacher and pupil at A Level. However, there is precious little currently available for foundation and GCSE. The AQA examinations board recom-

mends *These were the Greeks* and *These were the Romans*, which are both out of print for a long time, and James Renshaw's *In Search of the Greeks* and *In Search of the Romans*, while the OCR board recommends its own *GCSE Classical Civilisation for OCR pupils' and teacher's handbook*. None of these publications could be said to be progressive and leaders in their field in the way that the CLC has been. There is still the chance that this might be rectified in the near future, however, as shall be reported later in this paper.

Classical Civilisation and the National Curriculum.

From 1984 HMI began to publish a series of pamphlets entitled *Curriculum Matters* in answer to concern by the Government about education standards. It seemed to be the thinking of the Government that neither linguistic nor non-linguistic Classics was going to be included in a future National Curriculum as foundation or core subjects for study in the secondary school. However, some elements of it would be included in the primary curriculum. In 1985 JACT made an impassioned contribution to the Select Parliamentary enquiry into the curriculum of primary schools. It then set to producing a new set of six pamphlets to support primary school teaching about the Greeks and Romans – the result of a JACT conference at St Mary's College, Twickenham (Forrest, 1996). By the time HMI got to the twelfth in its own series of pamphlets, in Classics, in 1988, the National Curriculum was already about to be unveiled.

This HMI pamphlet – *Classics from 5–16, Curriculum Matters 12* – stressed the 'distinctive contribution' (HMSO, 1988, p. 1) Classics could make to the primary and secondary curriculum. The pamphlet drew attention to 'the two main reasons for studying the classical world: its intrinsic interest, and its capacity to increase pupils' understanding of themselves and of the world in which they live' and made the telling point that 'a Latin and Greek course is not just a "language" study' (HMSO, 1988, p. 2): after twenty years, the modernisers seemed to have won the argument. But this victory was short-lived. Despite further warm words about the value of studying the Ancient World, however, no curriculum time was specifically allocated to the study of Classics and when the ten core and foundation subjects were allocated to the school timetable, there was found to be precious little space left for Classics at all. But it was still there in some shape or form, and it is probably due to the encouragement of JACT, the success story of the CLC and its similarity of approach to the National Curriculum History Working Group, and general goodwill on the part of HMI, that some study of the Greeks and the Romans became embedded in the National Curriculum programmes of study for History and English. Kenneth Baker was the Minister of Education responsible for the implementation of the National Curriculum. It was probably his preference for a chronological approach to learning about history which served to locate the study of the Greeks and the Romans in the primary and early secondary school. From 1988 at primary school (Key Stage 2) all pupils were to study a whole unit on the ancient Greeks and Romans, and at secondary school (Key Stage 3) all pupils were to study a short module on the Romans, as part of the *Invaders of Britain* module. The programmes of study for English at Key Stage 1 also drew attention to the study of myths, and at Key Stage 2 to the study of world literature, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Several publishers hastily brought out text books to support the teaching of the Roman subject matter, sometimes carefully linked in with the History National Curriculum level descriptors.⁷ Of these, the best by far have been found to be the series by Peter Connolly and Andrew Solway: *Pompeii*, *Ancient Greece*, and *The Ancient Greece of Odysseus*, among others. However, the National Curriculum was soon found to be too unwieldy. It is interesting to note that in 1987 Baker had considered that his set of ten core and foundation subjects was still too few for what he considered to be every pupil's educational entitlement and he had wanted

to include more, but he was unwilling to take on the teaching unions in order to add an extra hour a day to the school day to accommodate them (Woodward, 2008).

If we are to play the 'What if?' game, it would be interesting to consider another possibility. It is generally agreed that the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had only envisioned a National Curriculum which consisted of three or four core subjects in total. It was only the threat of resignation by Baker over the issue that persuaded her to allow him to establish the huge and complex system which he did (Young, 1990). In either case Classics in secondary schools might have stood a better chance: finding a place within a larger National Curriculum corpus of subjects, or not being crowded out in a smaller one. In reality, however, the main effect of the implementation of the 1988 reforms on the study of Classics was that at secondary school level it became increasingly the preserve of the independent schools. In the private sector the National Curriculum did not apply. This legislative anomaly puzzled many at the time (Aldrich, 1988) and served to entrench differences of provision between the two sectors, especially in Classics.

Complaints about the overcrowding of the curriculum led to a series of small changes from 1993, but from 1995, rather like the reforms of Solon, it was agreed that the Baker reforms would not be touched again until 2000, so that time could be allowed for them to 'bed down'. In 1995 Nicholas Tate, the chief executive of the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority⁸ had already advised teachers at a meeting held in Cambridge that they should seize the opportunity which was going to be afforded by a more flexible curriculum:

There is therefore a much more flexible situation now than at any time since 1989 for schools wishing to consider retaining or reinstating classical subjects as either an optional or compulsory element of the curriculum during these phases of schooling. There are of course competing pressures for time within both the optional and compulsory elements of the non-statutory curriculum: a second modern foreign language; personal and social education; careers education and guidance; additional history and geography; additional physical education; vocational options. But the possibilities for classical subjects also are now there. How you choose to use this flexibility will obviously depend on the weight you place on competing priorities, on your perception of pupil and parental attitudes, and on the availability of staff. I do not necessarily see the growth of vocational options at Key Stage 4 as a problem for classics. I would be very surprised if many schools chose to require all pupils to opt for a vocational course. (Tate, 1995).

Tate's words were of little avail. The list of subjects which had to be studied by law in state schools continued to take up the majority of space on the timetable and schools which did not already have Classical subjects on the timetable did not at this stage tend to consider offering them as optional extras.

In 2000 the National Curriculum went through the first of its many adaptations, under Ron Dearing, which still continue today. The number of subjects was slightly thinned out, in order to accommodate still a greater degree of flexibility for others, especially vocational ones, and also to meet the needs of a new idea in education: not a one-size-fits-all monolithic curriculum, but a more personalised and responsive one. What Classics there was still remained. Some teachers clung to a new chance offered by a new route: it was possible, under the terms of the revised National Curriculum of 2000, for schools to dis-apply up to two core subjects, under special circumstances, for some of their pupils. This procedure was designed to help two groups. Pupils who were making less progress than others in their class could 'drop' subjects and use the extra time to consolidate the foundation subjects of mathematics, English and science. Pupils who were considered particularly gifted or interested in a particular

area could use the time freed up for a more personalised curriculum of their own. Some teachers tried to use this loophole to dis-apply the study of one otherwise compulsory subject which could then be replaced with the study of a Classical one. However, the process was long and tortuous, required convincing the head teacher of the school and considerable bureaucratic form-filling, and was really only designed for individual pupils rather than for whole sets or classes. A very few teachers were able to make use of the procedure (Gay, 2003). In the same personalised education vein, the Government set up the Young, Gifted and Talented (YG&T) programme in 2002. All state schools had to identify the top 10 per cent of pupils who, because of their talents in music, sports, languages or other, would benefit from extension and enrichment activities. These activities were given additional funds. It is interesting to note that Latin, not Classical Civilisation was the main 'winner' of these two initiatives, at least on the evidence we have. In the period between 2002 and 2010, when funds for the YG&T programme came to an end, applications for grants from the Roman Society for the purchase of books to support Classics teaching rose almost threefold.⁹ Of these, nearly all were from state secondary schools for buying Latin text books; very few were for the purchase of Classical Civilisation. Marion Gibb was hesitant about the effectiveness of the early success of the YG&T programme in fostering take-up of Classics, saying: 'Classics is certainly finding a place as part of this offering, although this may reinforce the stereotype of classics as a particularly elitist option' (Gibb M., 2003, pp. 37-38). Schools could not be blamed for exercising their choice over which Classical subject they wished to provide for their pupils. But Latin identified as a subject suitable only for the most able needs still to be kept under review for the time when government decides that it wants a more inclusive general curriculum. Otherwise Classicists may have to fight the same battles of the 1960s all over again.

Classical Civilisation and the primary schools.

Meanwhile, at primary level, the Greeks and the Romans continued to survive in the National Curriculum programmes of study for History. For Classics it meant making the study of the Romans an optional subject at Key Stage 3, but keeping the study of the Greeks and Romans in Key Stage 2. The study of the Greeks and the Romans continues to be a popular topic in primary schools today, but primary school teachers have been hampered by a dearth of support and suitable materials for teaching. This had already been identified as a problem in a Qualifications and Curriculum Authority report of 1999. The authors noted their concern about:

Textbooks that seemed to provide breadth at the expense of depth and detail,... [CD-ROMS whose] presentation tended to take precedence over content, providing pupils with little opportunity for research,...[and] the relative paucity of artefacts in schools. (Bage, Grisdale, & Lister, 1999).

JACT co-sponsored this report and perhaps it would have been an opportunity for it to have made a start in supporting primary school teachers – nearly all of whom were non-specialists in teaching the ancient world – with the sorts of materials required. Every pupil in every state primary school was studying the Greeks and the Romans and such an opportunity has so far been missed. Instead, primary school teachers have seized the opportunity to supplement what text books and worksheets they do have with visits to local museums and sites. These places, in their turn, have developed teaching programmes and training of their own, wherever there is even only a tiny Greek or Roman collection (Woff, 2003). Some organisations have also started to make use of the internet to present information about the ancient world in ways which are accessible to primary school children. For example, the British Museum offers an

outstanding website on Ancient Greece,¹⁰ and the BBC a series of clips and informative pieces on the ancient world.¹¹ Bob Lister's *War with Troy* project aims to bring the *Iliad* to a wide audience in the primary and early secondary sector.¹² Barbara Bell's *Minimus* books, with the support of JACT, are aimed at the primary school pupil, and successfully blend Latin stories with a substructure of Classical Civilisation based on artefacts found on Hadrian's Wall.¹³ There are several children's authors, too, who have done much to raise awareness of the ancient world through their fiction. Caroline Lawrence, for example, the author of the Roman Mysteries¹⁴ series, is shortly to become the President of JACT and it is hoped that she will add her voice to the support of the teaching of Classical Civilisation in the world at large. The impact of this primary school experience of the ancient world on pupils is lasting: unpublished surveys by this author on pupils at sixth form colleges in the South West of England in 2012 revealed that the biggest impact on their choice to take courses in A Level Classical Civilisation was the study of Greek Mythology from their primary school days. JACT should see it as a priority to support the teaching of the ancient world in primary schools.

Recent developments in Classical Civilisation.

JACT has supported numerous other endeavours, including the setting up of Summer Schools in Classics. The JACT Ancient History and Classical Civilisation Summer School began in 1988 at Kingswood School, Bath, under Peter Evans with around 30 students in attendance. In 1989 it moved to Radley College, under the same directorship, moving (after a gap) to Roedean in 1991 and 1992, under Bob Lister, then Director of the CSCP and Tutor in charge of the initial teacher training for the Classics Postgraduate Certificate in Education at the University of Cambridge. The annual course has since moved to Repton College in Derbyshire where it has remained ever since. Early documents show how rapidly the number of topics taught increased in number and variety. In 1991 there were a mere five topics: Philosophy, Greek History, Comedy, Vases and Tragedy. In 1992 Sculpture, Roman History, Virgil, the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* were added, along with beginners' Latin and ancient Greek. These were joined by Socrates and Minoan History in 1993,¹⁵ and this wide mix has continued ever afterwards. The course has become a very popular annual fixture to the present day and attracts around 70 participants from a very wide range of schools (49 institutions in 2012) as well as some university students and adults.

Since the inception of the National Curriculum there has been relatively little public support for Classics by Government, compared with the almost daily announcements about initiatives for the National Curriculum subjects. The award of a £5,000,000 grant from the Department for Education and Skills¹⁶ by the then Labour Government of 2001 came as a huge surprise. The grant enabled CSCP to publish its now world-leading internet and digital resources in 2005. These resources include video documentaries on the Roman background materials and many hyperlinks to websites which relate to the information in the CLC. These all make excellent resources for teachers of Classical Civilisation at GCSE and A Level. Further exciting developments from CSCP include an eagerly-awaited Classical Civilisation text book for the early secondary school, promised in 2013.

Meanwhile there has been over 20 years of neglect of Classics from both Conservative and Labour Governments. JACT has continued to play a *sotto voce* role, however, by encouraging Government ministers and Members of Parliament in order to push for change wherever it could. In this Peter Jones, Jeannie Cohen and Geoffrey Fallows have been tireless in their pursuit of contacts and gentle political pressure, through JACT, Friends of Classics¹⁷ and most recently the charity Classics for All.¹⁸ In 2007 the then Shadow Minister for Education, Boris Johnson,

was invited to become President of JACT. He had already stood up against the decision of the examination board OCR to merge A Level Ancient History with Classical Civilisation in the same year, by marching on Downing Street, clad in toga, and carrying a petition, in full view of the cameras. But in the debate in the House of Commons which followed, the Member of Parliament for Newark, Patrick Mercer, while applauding the defence of the study of A Level Ancient History, made some comments about the value of Classical Civilisation which were somewhat disparaging:

[A colleague said to me,] "Ancient history is a bona fide academic subject in its own right whereas Classical Civilisation tends to be a watered-down version with less historical rigour." ... I suggest that [Ancient History at A Level] has been dumbed down [to fit into the Classical Civilisation specification], as there has not been any consultation, and very few people who are in a position to influence the syllabuses have been talked to in detail. (Mercer, 2007).

It is disheartening to find such a representation of Classical Civilisation reported in the House of Commons, of all places. The comment attributed by Mercer comes from a Classics teacher; Mercer's additional personal comment does little to mollify it. This sort of language does little to respect the efforts of teachers throughout the UK in encouraging pupils of all backgrounds and abilities to study the ancient world.

Let us look at some figures. In 2011 (the most recent date for which reliable figures are available) entries for Classical Civilisation at A Level exceeded those for Latin, ancient Greek and Ancient History combined by a long way: 3,910 to 2,217.¹⁹ Of these students of Classical Civilisation at A Level, twice as many learnt it in the state sector as did in the independent sector. It is clear that the subject has enormous potential in recruiting Classicists for University courses from the state sector – something which the Government and, one assumes, the University Classics departments themselves wish to see. By comparison, the numbers studying Latin at A Level are much smaller over all: 1,333, with only 342 in the state sector and the rest privately educated. Meanwhile, at GCSE, the numbers entering Classical Civilisation were roughly the same in each sector: 1,833 in the state and 2,109 in the independent (JCQA, 2011). Is this evidence of a tendency to choose examinations which are 'dumbed down' or evidence of the subject's inclusivity and its perceived value by state and independent school alike? Many pupils who have studied Classical Civilisation go on to study the Classical languages, if they wish, at University, and Classical Civilisation would no doubt be considered to be a facilitating subject for those courses. How much smaller would be the number of pupils at University if they were restricted to learning about the ancient world through the medium of the languages alone or by political and military history? This is the debate JACT started in 1963 and it is just as relevant today.

Johnson himself seemed to be somewhat out of kilter with the prevailing views of Classics as taught in state schools at the beginning of the twenty-first century too. His comments in an interview with Simon Carr, editor of the *Journal of Classics Teaching* (JCT)²⁰ rang alarm bells among many when he is reported to have said:

I don't think the way forward is endlessly to introduce [pupils] to the way Romans lived or what went on in Pompeii and the kind of people Caecilius would have met if he walked down the street. The surest and most intoxicating way to get pupils to love Latin is to make them as soon as possible the possessors of the ability to construe the ancient texts. (Carr, 2007, p. 1).

Carr's gentle prodding provoked something of a climb down from this lofty position, but members of JACT who favoured a more inclusive approach cannot have been impressed by this

performance from the man they hoped to persuade potential government ministers to be more supportive to Classics. With the change in Government in 2010 Classics teachers were rewarded by a more sympathetic regard with which the Coalition partners seemed to treat Classics. But again this generosity did not stretch to all areas of the study of the ancient world. The new Minister Michael Gove, in his often-stated determination to raise standards in the state sector, made much of the value of what he called the intellectual rigour involved in learning foreign languages, including ancient ones. The result has been that both Ancient Greek and Latin are currently being considered for inclusion in the suite of languages which are to be recognised in new, tougher examinations – the so-called English Baccalaureate Certificate. This qualification is scheduled to become available in 2014. In the meantime a temporary way of recognising school achievement from 2010 has been another performance measurement, confusingly called the English baccalaureate,²¹ which consists of a selection of six GCSEs chosen from a Government-approved list. In this list appear Latin, ancient Greek and Ancient History too. However, Classical Civilisation has been deliberately omitted. In 2011 the then Secretary of State for Schools, Nick Gibb, in response to JACT, writing campaigns from teachers and the learned societies, and a question from the Member of Parliament Michael Fallon, replied why this should be so in a written Commons answer:

One of the intentions of the English baccalaureate is to encourage wider take up of geography and history. Classical civilisation was not included in the humanities element of the English baccalaureate for the 2010 performance tables because the historical element of the course was not sufficient. We will however be considering comments about the English baccalaureate measure and reviewing the precise definition of the English baccalaureate for the 2011 performance tables. (Gibb N., 2011).

It seems strange that Classical Civilisation at GCSE should not be considered to be worthy of being classed as a Humanity because of its lack of a sufficient historical element. For the present OCR examination there seem to be six options out of 12 which are historical in outlook, of which four are compulsory;²² and for AQA three out of the four areas of study are broadly historical in scope.²³ What is the study of Sparta, Pompeii, Athenians democracy, the end of the Roman monarchy, if not historical? It is almost as if Gibb was more concerned with the title of the subject than with the subject content. In 2012 Gibb was replaced by David Laws. There has been nothing forthcoming since about Government thinking about the position of Classical Civilisation. In the meantime, anecdotal evidence suggests that a small number of secondary schools have been moving away from the teaching of Classical Civilisation in favour of Ancient History, anxious to encourage pupils to study a subject which ‘counts’ in the annual school performance league tables. It is interesting to note that in the gradual ‘freeing-up’ of the timetable for the study of subjects outside the National Curriculum, the classical subject which has attracted most attention from head teachers has been Latin. Unpublished research carried out by this author suggests that head teachers do this for several reasons. By offering Latin they feel they:

- Differentiate their school from that of other, neighbouring schools which do not offer it, and thereby make their school seem attractive to parents;
- Offer a subject out of the ordinary and more challenging for their high-achieving pupils.²⁴

Very few head teachers seem to have considered setting up a Classical Civilisation course at Key Stage 3 or GCSE. This suggests that the case for the study of Classical Civilisation at secondary school level does not seem to be being made. By contrast, in primary schools the study of the Greeks and Romans is effectively enshrined in law. Then there is a gap. The again at

A Level, more pupils nationally study Classical Civilisation than either of the languages and Ancient History combined. Further, in the Universities, the popularity of courses in Classical Civilisation continues unabated – whether the students have taken anything Classical or not. The gap in provision between primary and A Level is poorly filled. This is something which JACT could do well to deal with.

Classical Civilisation and the future.

The JACT Classical Civilisation subcommittee has made a start by writing detailed notes on how to begin teaching Classical Civilisation in secondary schools. This will be published on the JACT website. Perhaps another way forward might be to find a way to reprint some of the publications of the past and make them available through JACT, or at least add a list of resources which already exist on the website.

In this paper I hope to have shown how important individuals are in identifying what needs to be done and finding the right people, resources and sometimes financial help to achieve it. The process is often a very slow one and requires a great deal of patience and energy. JACT has tremendous good will on its side and it is respected as an organisation. Over the years it has campaigned long and hard to keep the idea of Classical Civilisation as a subject worthy of study alive. It remains one of the most popular subjects of the four available to pupils studying the ancient world in schools and is often the way into further study at University level. JACT must continue to support the school subject of Classical Civilisation over the next few years as it has done for the last 50 by promoting its virtues: its accessibility to the full range of ability of pupils, its range and interest to pupils from all backgrounds, its ability to promote literacy and analytical thought, its stimulation of imagination and creativity, and its ability to open the door for further study at University, including the ancient languages at a later stage. It is possible that the Cinderella subject might then be seen as it truly is.

1 I shall use the description ‘Classical Civilisation’ in all references except when individual authors are quoted using alternative terms, such as ‘Classical Studies’ etc.

2 The GCSE (the General Certificate of Secondary Examinations) is the main UK national qualification at the minimum school-leaving age of 16. A Levels are the main UK national qualifications for pupils at age 18 and traditionally are seen as the qualifications which enable pupils to access Higher Education.

3 Unconfirmed entry numbers in 2012 were as follows:

- At GCSE: Classical Civilisation: 4,443; Latin: 8,978; ancient Greek: 1,283; Ancient History: 350.
- At Level 1 Certification: Latin: 1,012.
- At Level 2 Certification: Latin: 2,280.
- At A Level: Classical Civilisation: 3,999; Latin: 1,398; ancient Greek: 299; Ancient History: 753; Classics (a mixture of linguistic and non-linguistic modules): 257.

Sources: AQA 2012 A Level examinations statistics: http://store.aqa.org.uk/over/stat_pdf/AQA-A-LEVEL-STATS-JUNE-2012.PDF, accessed 31st December 2012; AQA 2012 Full Course GCSE examinations statistics: http://store.aqa.org.uk/over/stat_pdf/AQA-GCSE-FC-STATS-JUNE-2012.PDF, accessed 31st December 2012; OCR 2012 Provisional A Level and GCSE examinations statistics: <http://www.ocr.org.uk/images/16477-provisional-exam-statistics-june-2012.pdf>, accessed 31st December, 2012; WJEC 2012 Provisional Level 1 and Level 2 Certificates in Latin examinations statistics, personal communication, 20th December 2012.

4 CSE: Certificate of Secondary Education. A qualification designed for pupils who were not deemed of sufficient ability to gain an O Level qualification. A Grade 1 CSE qualification was

considered to be the equivalent of a Grade C at O Level. The CSE was abolished in 1988, along with O Levels, when a single set of qualifications – the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) – was introduced.

5 Originally the Southern Universities Joint Board of examinations offered a CLC project examination. This was subsumed in Schools Classics Project examinations at GCSE organised by the Midland Examining Group and the Northern Examinations and Assessment Board after 1988. Current and future developments are referred to later in the article.

6 LACTORs (London Association of Classical Teachers Original Records) are thematic collections of source material in translation, designed for the use of Sixth Form and Undergraduate students of Classical Civilisation and Ancient History.

7 Level Descriptors are nationally-prescribed statements of achievement for individual subjects.

8 SCAA was an independent agency formed in 1993 with responsibility for curriculum development. It ceased in 1997 when its responsibilities were taken over by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

9 This is the subject of a forthcoming article (2013) about the Roman Society and its support for Classics in UK schools.

10 <http://www.ancientgreece.co.uk/>, accessed 2nd January 2013.

11 http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/primaryhistory/ancient_greeks/, accessed 2nd January 2013.

12 http://www.cambridgescp.com/page.php?p=mas%5Ewar_w_t%5Eintro, accessed 2nd January 2013.

13 <http://www.minimus-etc.co.uk/>, accessed 2nd January 2013.

14 <http://www.romanmysteries.com/>, accessed 3rd January 2013.

15 Personal communication, Bob Lister, 6th January 2013.

16 The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) had taken over the role of the Department of Education and Science (DES) in 2001.

17 <http://www.friends-classics.demon.co.uk/>, accessed 3rd January 2013.

18 <http://www.classicsforall.org.uk/>, accessed 3rd January 2013.

19 The figures in 2011 for A Level were: Classical Civilisation 3,910; Latin 1,333; ancient Greek 269; Ancient History 615.

20 JCT had become the new journal of JACT from 2004.

21 With a small 'b', if the evidence of Hansard is to be taken.

22 <http://www.ocr.org.uk/>, accessed 3rd January, 2013.

23 <http://web.aqa.org.uk/>, accessed 3rd January 2013.

24 The author bases these comments on personal communications with head teachers and teachers of Classics across the UK from 2011–2012.

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