Despite these flashes of insight and provocation, Lupher's work suffers from a few serious shortcomings. Foremost, entirely lacking from this present monograph is any consideration of childhood education. Were there grammar schools in Plymouth? How many students studied Latin and Greek, and in what way? Did parents always feel comfortable contributing the time and money to a classical education for their children? These are questions that have been fruitfully, albeit not yet fully, explored in the Boston context. On the Plymouth front, Lupher leaves these inquiries not just unanswered, but entirely unexplored. More concerning, however, is the failure to consider how separatist pilgrims engaged with classical learning at nearby Harvard College. Lupher appears to have taken it too much to heart that Plymouth pilgrims constituted a "peripheral to a periphery" (22). It seems odd that the possibility is not entertained that Plymouth county residents could have made use of classical works in Harvard College's library. Indeed, there are striking similarities between those classical works that William Bradford alludes to and those that college students routinely toiled over, even on the level of the precise book, chapter, and verse quoted of an individual work.[4] In other words, Plymouth appears a quite connected "periphery."

That being said, Lupher's work still stands out as an original contribution to the field of classical reception studies. Eschewing the habitual subject matter of the "founding fathers," Lupher guides the American historian and classicist alike on a tour through the neglected intellectual recesses of Plymouth County. For the classical educators among us, this is just yet another example for students of how a sound grounding in Latin and Greek can bring insights to topics and time periods beyond just ancient Rome and Greece.

[1]Thomas Keeline and Stuart M. McManus, "Benjamin Larnell, The Last Latin Poet at Harvard Indian College." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 108 (2015): 621-642.

[2]Theodore Delwiche, "An Old Author in the New World: Terence, Samuel Melyen, and The Boston Latin School ca. 1700," *The New England Quarterly* 92.2 (2019): 263-292.

[3]Thomas Keeline and Stuart M. McManus, "*Aenigma Omnibus*. The Transatlantic Late Humanism of Zinzendorf and the Early Moravians," forthcoming in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (2019).

[4]The Latin compositions of Harvard student Joseph Belcher (A.B. 1690), for instance, contain classical allusions similar to those of Bradford from Terence's *Eunuchus*, Ovid's *Tristia*, and Juvenal's *Saturae* (on this last one, the exact same verses). See Theodore Delwiche, "The Schoolboy's Quill: Joseph Belcher and Latin Learning at Harvard College c. 1700," forthcoming in *History of Universities*, Oxford University Press, 2019.

THEODORE R. DELWICHE
University of Groningen
t.delwiche@student.rug.nl

William Sanders Scarborough's First Lessons in Greek. A Facsimile of the 1881 First Edition. By William Sanders Scarborough. Foreword by Ward W. Briggs, Jr. Introduction by Michele Valerie Ronnick. Mundelein, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2018. Pp. xiv + 187. $24.00.

It is not every day that a publisher in the 21st century decides to take a chance on reprinting a beginning Greek textbook from the 19th century. So, what makes this little book worthy of once again seeing the light of day?

First, its author is William Sanders Scarborough. He was born into slavery in 1852 and educated in Macon, Georgia and at Atlanta University. An 1875 graduate of Oberlin College, he was hired to teach Latin and Greek by Wilberforce University two years later, a school supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.). At the age of 29, he became the first African American to publish a work of scholarship and pedagogy on a classical subject, *First Lessons in Greek*, a feat that marks "his birth as a scholar" (17).

Second, Ronnick's excellent twenty-five-page introduction provides the historical context for Scarborough's scholarly endeavor. Beginning with a brief outline of his life, the introduction offers an overview of 19th century Greek and Latin textbooks, showing what grammars and textbooks were available, the lively competition among publishers for classical textbooks, the constraints on publishing books with Greek fonts, the costs of printing, and a mention of the textbooks that influenced Scarborough's work. The middle portion of the introduction gives voice to Scarborough's thoughts (from his *Autobiography*) as he prepared the manuscript. "In order to make my class more efficient I began to cast about for devices that might assist in making the ancient tongues living languages . . . . I at once conceived the daring idea: Why not write such a book myself?" (11-12). This middle section also recounts the encouragement he received from others, the publication by a major publisher, A. S. Barnes and Company, the adop-

tion of the book by Adelphi Academy, a white school in Brooklyn, and the many positive accolades by both white and black reviewers. The Introduction concludes by situating Scarborough's accomplishment within the nascent African American book culture in the US.

Third, *First Lessons in Greek* reveals a glimpse into 19th century methods of teaching and learning classical languages and insight into Scarborough's thoughtful and caring approach to teaching Greek. Consisting of seventy-five chapters, each meant to take roughly two class periods each, the grammar and vocabulary is built up in small, digestible amounts. Each lesson contains a set of ten to twelve short sentences from Greek to English and a matching set from English to Greek. Unlike many of his contemporaries who eschewed mentioning their predecessors, Scarborough in his preface explicitly acknowledges his debt to four previous Greek textbooks, all of which focused on preparing the student to be able to read Xenophon's *Anabasis* as their first author. Yet he grants the most credit to Elisha Jones, whose *A First Book in Latin* offered a prototype for organizing the overall structure of the *First Lessons in Greek*. Both textbooks introduce the verb early and alternate lessons between noun and adjective declensions and verb forms "so as to give greater variety to the character of the sentences."[1]

In addition to generously recognizing his models, Scarborough articulates three principles that shape the pedagogy of his textbook: "to simplify . . . the confused matter often found in similar works; to rearrange that which has been used before . . . , and to illustrate the forms and principles of Greek syntax [so] that the diligent student may have little trouble mastering it" (29). These same principles govern modern language pedagogy: isolate the grammatical or syntactical element so that students notice it; recycle the material in new contexts; and illustrate the form within a context that allows the students to match meaning, form, and function. For example, in the opening chapters the textbook regularly chooses vocabulary that is concrete and imaginable, items that rural students might be familiar with, e.g., ἡ πύλη (gate), ἡ πηγή (spring), ἡ κώμη (village), τὸ πεδίον (plain), τὸ ἐμπόριον (emporium, a place of trade), τὸ πλοῖον (boat), τὸ κάνεον (basket). Although the book opens with first and second declension nouns, the use of prepositions and noun phrases allows the student to become familiar with characteristic Greek word order within meaningful phrases, e.g., οἱ τῶν θεῶν νόμοι (the laws of the gods); ἡ ἅμαξα ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ (the man's wagon [is] in the plain [43]). Although all six tenses of the verb are introduced by Chapter 9, the earliest exercises emphasize the verbs whose stem ends with a vowel and saves the less regular examples for later. In fact, in introducing the third declension (Chapters XI-XVII) and in reviewing verbs (Chapters XXXII-XXXVI), students gain extra practice with the euphonic changes of different stems over multiple chapters. Even as students learn subordination, sentences within the exercises are presented in straightforward word order clause by clause, e.g., Ἀβροκόμας ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν (Abrocomas, when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, turned back from Phoenicia and rode to the King [88]).

A sense of Scarborough's humanity and generous spirit emerge as one reads through the book. For example, although the textbook does introduce words such as ὁ κίνδυνος (danger), ἡ ὑποψία (suspicion), and πολέμιος (hostile), words chosen for the vocabulary, e.g., δικάζω (to judge), ἀληθεύω (to speak the truth), παίζω (to play), θαυμάζω (to admire), εὔνους (well-disposed), καρποφόρος (fertile) reveal an emphasis on justice, kindness, and harmony. The major recurring figure through the earliest chapters is the judge (ὁ κριτής), not the citizen or master. Although the judge is occasionally depicted as "bad," he is more likely someone who lives in town, is wise, and speaks the truth. Footnotes in the exercises offer the student help with tricky meanings or unusual constructions, but also pose questions (what gender is νόσον? Or what about the position of this adjective?) to the students, creating an ongoing dialogue between an "ally" and the student.

This reprint edition offers students, teachers, and methods instructors plenty of fertile ground for discussion. Beginning students can be introduced to Scarborough, professor, public scholar and later the President of Wilberforce University, and to other early leading influencers of African American education and culture.[2] Beginning students can compare Scarborough's approach to introducing and reinforcing various grammatical points with that found in their own textbooks. Capstone students can contemplate the role that African Americans had within the history of the discipline. Teachers can create a lesson exploring the history of education in the US, the role of classical languages in education, and the intersection of race and education in this country.[3] Methods instructors can use this edition to help pre-service teachers think about choosing

vocabulary, structuring the overall course, investigating the give-and-take of recycling grammar and vocabulary, and examining how Latin was taught in the 19th century and continues to be taught. In short, we are all indebted to Michele Ronnick for recovering this gem and providing a new generation of students the opportunity to gain a deeper appreciation of the role of African Americans in contributing to our discipline.

[1]Elisha Jones, *First Lessons in Latin* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company, 1878) iii.

[2]E.g., Richard Greener, W. E. B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Fanny Jackson Coppin.

[3]Margaret Malamud, *African Americans and the Classics: Antiquity, Abolition, and Activism* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016) offers a broader historical picture.

JOHN GRUBER-MILLER
Cornell College
jgruber-miller@cornellcollege.edu

Aristotle: The Art of Rhetoric. Translated by Robin Waterfield. With an Introduction and Notes by Harvey Yunis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. 288. Paper. $14.95.

"Rhetoric is a counterpart (*antistrophos*) of dialectic . . . ." So begins the first sentence of Robin Waterfield's new translation of Aristotle's very influential treatment of rhetoric and persuasion. I say "treatment," because, only one century before (ca. 450 BC), the rapid rise of rhetoric in Greece had exhibited formidable and ultimately dangerous new powers that ripped Greek society's moral fabric. Witness the speechwriter Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*, or Alcibiades' speech goading Athenians on a dangerous new venture in Sicily (Thucydides, *Hist.* 6.16.) as illustrations. Socrates, too, had been the victim of specious and unjust accusations by Anytus and Meletus, and then put to death (399 BC).

The philosopher Plato's reaction to the tragedy of Socrates and to rhetorical "art," (*technē*) — reflected in his dialogue *Gorgias*, ca. 380 BC — accordingly stamped it as a specious kind of flattery (*kolakeia*), a pejorative label from which the term "rhetoric" has never quite recovered. Even today, most would agree that the term "rhetoric" is nearly synonymous with verbal dishonesty. It was against this opposition between admirers of "rhetorical art" (*technē rhētorikē)* and its detractors that Aristotle wrote his treatise.

Antistrophos ("counterpart")[1] in Aristotle's first sentence already begins to elevate rhetoric (persuasive argument) to a position of equality with dialectic (impartial discussion aimed at truth). But a careful reading of Book 1 reveals that rhetoric ultimately does not measure up to dialectic in rigor and honesty. So, Aristotle attempted to bridge the gap between admirers and people who feared rhetoric's power.

While dialectic and rhetoric both lack specific subject matters (*Rhet.* 1.1), rhetoric specifically transcends disciplinary boundaries by focusing on principles of ethics, politics, and human psychology (Book 2). This work thus becomes relevant to students of psychology and sociology concerned with speech. Book 3 on style (*lexis*, "expression") will also be fundamental for students of writing and literature.

But how best to introduce a reader to the *Rhetoric*, a work that is both relevant and interesting, yet filled with manifold references to people, ideas, and literature likely unfamiliar to today's student? The present translation incorporates a somewhat lengthy introduction and explanatory endnotes that will often identify writers, poets, speakers or other passages mentioned by Aristotle. So far, so good, though the use of endnotes rather than footnotes (as in the introduction) means conscientious readers will spend inconvenient hours flipping back from text to notes.

The introduction itself encompasses six parts: 1) Approaching the *Rhetoric*, 2) Key concepts of the *Rhetoric*, 3) The composition and transmission of Aristotle's corpus and the structural discrepancies of the *Rhetoric*, 4) Aristotle's life, and 5) Synopsis of the *Rhetoric*. This is followed by a Translator's Note and Bibliography, the latter of which is particularly useful. Of these sections, "Aristotle's life," and the "Synopsis" are most useful to a beginner, and ought probably to have been put first, and the synopsis more appositely included as section headings within the translation.

Part 1 ("Approaching") concerns the historical context of Aristotle's work (rhetoric in the city state, sophistry, Plato, etc.) as well as discussion of the misleading concept "art of rhetoric" (*technē rhētorikē*). Much here is useful, but raises the question: why has "Art of Rhetoric" been retained as a title, if so misleading? Part 2 ("Key concepts") discusses in detail the standard genres of rhetoric according to Aristotle (judicial, deliberative, epideictic), the various types of proof (*enthymeme, ethos, pathos*), plus Aristotle's notion of style. This sec-