

METHODS
OF
TEACHING
AND
STUDYING
HISTORY

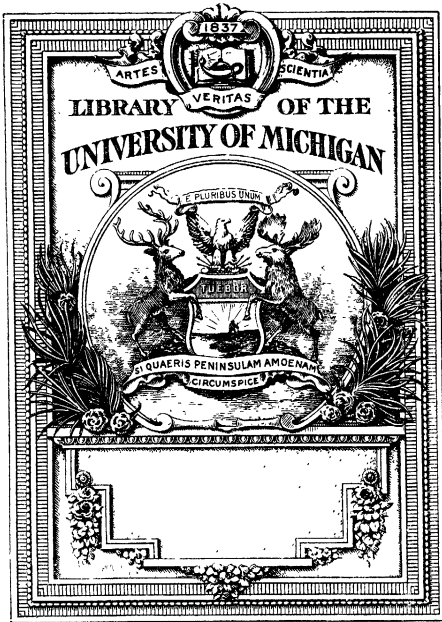
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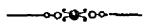


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Pedagogical Library.

EDITED BY G. STANLEY HALL.



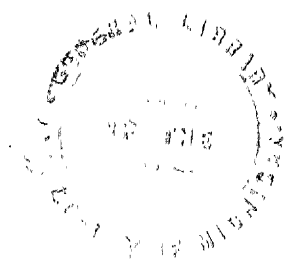
VOL. I.

METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY.



BY

DR. G. DIESTERWEG, PROFESSORS HERBERT B. ADAMS,
C. K. ADAMS, JOHN W. BURGESS, E. EMERTON,
W. F. ALLEN, AND MR. THOMAS
WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.



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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book was intended to be the first of a series entitled a *Pedagogical Library*, devoted to methods of teaching, one volume of which was to be occupied with each of the more important branches of instruction in grammar and high schools. The design and plan of the work was not to produce systematic treatises, and still less to develop anything ultimate or absolute in method; but to gather together, in the form most likely to be of direct practical utility to teachers, and especially students and readers of history, generally, the opinions and modes of instruction, actual or ideal, of eminent and representative specialists in each department. The present volume has been an unremunerated work of love on the part of each writer, and the appearance of subsequent volumes in the series is not yet assured. It should be added that the contribution of each writer was made without knowledge of what the others had written.

Nowhere have the educational value of history and the methods of imparting it to the young been so long and minutely considered as in Germany; and, after careful comparison, it was decided that, despite his obscure and often confusing style, which renders an entirely satisfactory translation quite impossible, the monograph of Diesterweg pre-

sents a better and more comprehensive view of the questions which interest German teachers than any other. Besides this, however, teachers in whom a methodic interest has been awakened will find many useful hints in the following pamphlets :—

Grundzüge der Historik.

Von Prof. Georg Gottfried Gervinus. Leipzig, 1837. pp. 95.

Der Geschichts-Unterricht in der Schule, seine Mängel und ein Vorschlag zu seiner Reform.

Von Prof. Friedrich Karl Biedermann. Braunschweig, 1860. pp. 45.

Grundriss der Historik.

Von Prof. Joh. Gust. Droysen. Leipzig, 1868. pp. 38.

Wie ist der Unterricht in der Geschichte mit dem Geographischen Unterricht zu verbinden. Dargelegt an der Darstellung der Mark Brandenburg. Eine Anleitung für Lehrer und reiferen Schülen. Mit Karts.

Von Prof. Rudolph Foss, Realschule Director. Berlin, 1874. pp. 48.

Die Geschichte in der Volksschule. Von der Diesterweg-Stiftung in Berlin prämierte Concurrrenzschrift.

Von F. Muster, Hauptlehrer in Köln. Köln, 1876. pp. 78.

Die Neuere und Neueste Geschichte auf Gymnasien.

Ein Votum von Prof. F. L. W. Herbst, Recter der Kön. Landeschule Pforta. Mainz, 1877. pp. 40.

Die Culturgeschichtschreibung; ihre Entwicklung und ihr Problem.

Von Dr. Friedrich Jodl. Halle, 1878. pp. 124.

Friedrich Christoph Schlosser und ueber einige Aufgaben und Principien der Geschichtschreibung.

Von Ottokar Lorenz, Wirkl. Mitglied der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien, 1878. pp. 91.

*Ueber der Geschichts-Unterricht in einer Volksschule von acht Klassen.
Ein methodischer Versuch.*

Von H. Nohascheck. Mainz, 1878. pp. 38.

Erziehung und Geschichte.

Ein Vortrag von Prof. Dr. M. Lazarus. Breslau & Leipzig, 1881. pp. 51.

*Bemerkungen ueber den Geschichtlichen Unterricht. Beigabe zur dem
"Hilfsbuch für den ersten Unterricht in alten Geschichte."
Für Lehrer der Geschichte an Höheren Schulen.*

Von Dr. E. F. Oscar-Jägen. Wiesbaden, 1882. pp. 47.

See especially *De L'enseignement Supérieur de l'histoire en Allemagne. Revue de L'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1882. pp. 18-79. Also, *L'enseignement Supérieur de l'histoire à Paris. Revue Internationale de L'enseignement*, 1883. p. 742. Both by Prof. P. Frédéricq.

See also, *Alte und neue Ansichten ueber die Ziele des Geschichts-Unterrichts.* Von Dr. F. Noack. *Pädagogische Archiv*, 1883, Apr. 6. *Der Lernstoff in Geschichtlichen Unterricht.* Von E. Stutzer. *Ibid.* 2 Aug.

Many of the systematic German treatises on pedagogy also contain suggestive chapters on sections devoted to the didactics of history; of these, Kehr and Schrader deserve special mention.

History was chosen for the subject of the first volume because, after much observation in the schoolrooms of many of the larger cities in the eastern part of our country, the editor, without having a hobby about its relative importance or being in any sense an expert in history, is convinced that no subject so widely taught is, on the whole, taught so poorly.

Most text-books now in use are dry compilations, and yet are far more closely adhered to than even the best should

be in this department. Teachers of history generally give instruction also in several other often unrelated branches; and, worst of all perhaps, history is crowded into a single term or year. Two radical changes, which have long since been found practicable in schools of corresponding grades in Germany, are greatly needed here. First, there should be in all the larger towns special teachers, who should go from room to room, or from one schoolhouse to another, and give instruction in history alone. They might qualify and be examined in higher and higher grades of work, and this would tend to give to their vocation a professional spirit and character. It is not impossible that, eventually thus, the way into the professors' chairs in our colleges and universities might be as open to teachers here, who have worked their way up through such an apprenticeship, as it is in Germany. The teacher's mind must be kept saturated with its spirit, stored with copious illustrations of its varied lessons, by wide and diligent reading, or history cannot be taught effectively to the young. The high educational value of history is too great to be left to teachers who merely hear recitations, keeping the finger on the place in the text-book, and only asking the questions conveniently printed for them in the margin or back of the book,—teachers, too, who know that their present method is a good illustration of how history ought not to be taught, and who would do better if opportunity were afforded them. Nowhere is so much of the time spent on text-books by pupils lost on school artifacts, mistaken for perplexities inherent in the subject itself. When we

reflect that what men think of the world depends on what they know of it, it is not surprising that the wider altruistic and ethical interests, which it is a special function of history to develop, rarely become strong enough to control narrower and more isolated and selfish aims in life.

Secondly, the time devoted to historical study in the public schools should be increased. So slow is historical comprehension, and so independent of all cram-work, that even the time now given to history would probably be more advantageously used if distributed over more months or years, by devoting to it a correspondingly less number of hours per week; though this could not be said of most studies, and is not true of the examinable elements in this. We have not yet in this country considered the problem of adapting historical material to the earlier phases of the development of the childish mind from the first years of school life, as Ziller and his pupils, especially Rein, Pickel, and Scheller, have done in their recent *Pädagogische Studien*. The child's love of stories, they hold, is the earliest manifestation of historic interest, and should be developed by systematic story-telling, which, since the much-lauded invention of Herr Güttenburg, has become a lost art. So important is this art, that normal schools should give special training in it, and it should be made, with respect to young classes, the culmination of pedagogic skill. These writers have selected and arranged twelve of Grimm's tales, and would bring nearly the whole work of school the first year about these, upon the principle of the well-known concentration method of the late Professor

Ziller. They are to be told and retold, and then reproduced by the children item by item, and moral and religious sentiments, as well as all manner of material information and illustrative object-lessons, made to centre about them. The next year connected stories from Robinson Crusoe are treated in the same way, till the child comes to almost identify itself with the hero, and repeat with him the slow progress, not unlike that of the race, from destitution to comfort and comparative civilization by the use of powers which every child feels itself possessed of and as competent as Robinson to put forth under like circumstances for his own amelioration. Later select tales from the Old Testament are made the focal points of the school work. Thus the unity of the child's mind is secured from distracting special studies, which with advancing school years become more and more independent and isolated. Selections from the Odyssey, the Norse sagas, tales from Shakespeare, Herodotus, Livy, Xenophon, etc., follow,—all stimulating the historical sense, and creating centres of interest before technical instruction in history begins.

A teacher who has a prescribed period of history in which to qualify pupils in a given time should elect a method with the greatest care. For certain periods and for certain ages it may be best to group all the material about the biographies of eminent men; for others, about important battles; while a purely pragmatic narrative may again be most effective. With somewhat older children, the investigating method, which follows the order and describes the process of search

and discovery of historic facts; or the discussive method, which applies a body of historic material to the determination or elucidation of a problem of the present; or the other presentative methods which Droysen has enumerated, may have peculiar pedagogic merit. No rules can be laid down here or anywhere in pedagogy to be followed blindly. What is essential is that the teacher shall know and ponder many good methods, so that he may have a wide repertory of means from which to choose the best for the attainment of his ends.

A purely colorless presentation of facts, such as used to be postulated, is clearly impossible for the average teacher, and, could it be secured, would rob his instruction of most of its value and interest, — and yet it is the safest of all ideals. Teachers of the grades here contemplated seem just now peculiarly liable to hobbies which sometimes actually deform the pupil's historic sense, and illustrate the danger of great ideas to minds not well disciplined for them. Some who have very lately caught the national idea of Freeman, Stubbs, etc., do scanty justice to Norman influence in English history. Others, who have realized the pregnant sense in which "history is past politics," forget the other sense in which the history of the world has been at nearly every point very different from the history of the conscious purposes of the leaders in its movements, and that "while men thought they were doing this thing by these means, it was soon seen that they were really doing quite other things by very different means." Physical geography, as impor-

tant perhaps for a correct understanding of historic events as some knowledge of the senses and the brain is for mental science, is very apt to be too much neglected or, though far more rarely, to be made too prominent. History, a wise teacher has said in substance, is neither a theophany, or a series of special providences, nor a play of absolute ideas on the one hand, nor the product of material necessity on the other. This dualism is not normal, and a true pedagogy, like a true philosophy of history, will tend to reconcile and not to emphasize it. If a teacher feels the need of a philosophy of history as a background for his methods and as a safeguard against one-sidedness, he will hardly find a saner one than in the chapters of the third volume of Lotze's *Microcosm*, which opens up a broad and safe middle way between extremes, like those of Hegel and Helwald; but let him remember that philosophic ideas, while they may often enliven historic work, are dangerous if premature, and should be made centres of historic interest only quite late in the pupil's mental development.

G. STANLEY HALL.

INSTRUCTION IN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The Meaning of History.

NOT only a theoretical, but a practical interest as well, seems to demand that a treatise on "Instruction in History" should begin by a reply to the question, What is "History"? Since it must be irksome to the thoughtful student of pedagogy to consider the details of any subject before he has learned to comprehend all its principal features, it does not seem at all advisable to omit this reply when so vast a subject as history is to be discussed. But, least of all, can the question be ignored when, in our day, it is said of this science, on no mean authority, in spite of its Herodotus and Thucydides, Polybius and Tacitus, its Machiavelli and Puffendorf, Macaulay and Leopold von Ranke, and in the very face of the profound and systematic research, and of the brilliant authorship of its exponents, that, "any author who, from indolence of thought or from natural incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of science, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to be an historian; he is able to write the history of a great people, and his work becomes an authority on the subject he professes to treat." And, further, that, "for all the higher purposes of human thought, history is still miserably deficient, and presents that confused and anarchical appearance natural to a subject of

which the laws are unknown, and even the foundation unsettled.”

The novice may well feel dismayed in regard to his chosen science, if, in accordance with the ancient definition of history as a confused mass (*ἀμύθωδος ἕλη*), he has observed certain phenomena of literature and of state instruction belonging to a period now happily passed. I will here merely mention Cæsar Cantu's Universal History for Catholic Germany, in a stately array of volumes, and the address of Minister von Mühler, in a session of the Diet, on the 10th of December, 1868, — an address which did not find its echo in so-called pious circles alone.¹

According to one opinion, history is first to be raised to the rank of a science, by applying to it the method of the natural sciences, and thus finding its laws of development by the observation of analogous phenomena; according to the other, it follows that history, as a science, is entirely out of the question in treating of just those events that concern us most, and the importance of which affects our time. On this view, it is not only for modern history since the Reformation that Clio would wear a double face, — one for the Protestant, and another for the Catholic; but the opinions of Cæsar Cantu and Fr. W. Giesebrecht concerning the struggles of the middle ages, between emperors and popes, would be equally justified. John Gustav Droysen has been most prominent in the work of setting forth these views in opposition to Buckle. With regard to this second theory, I shall confine myself, for the present, to recalling L. von Ranke's modest words, spoken by him at the beginning of his historic labors: “I will only relate how it really was.”

Now, then, what is the meaning of “History”? Although history and nature are often directly contrasted, yet there

¹ Buckle, *Hist. of Civilization in England*, Vol. I., pp. 3-5.

is no doubt that the ordinary use of language does not admit of such a contrast when the terms are to be employed in detail.

We do not only speak of the history of a person, of a nation, of the human race; not only may every object of human activity, every thought, every idea, — the realization of which the human mind has seriously attempted, — have its history; not only may we have a history of agriculture and trades, of manufactures and commerce, of war, of law, of science, art, and religion; but the use of language carries us even beyond the domain of the human mind. The sportsman is interested in the history of the winner of a race, and Löffler has even written a history of the horse. There is doubtless a history of wine. The Kohinoor has its history, as has the diamond generally; and the history of the origin of minerals, like that of our globe, furnishes geognosy and geology with exclusive material for investigation. As the physician finally writes the history of his cases, so in the various domains of organic nature the history of development of organic beings plays a principal part. To judge by this use of the word, the domain of history may extend to everything that has ever transpired on earth. Just as the life of an individual, of a nation, of the human race, belongs to history, so do the processes of inanimate nature.

Nor does the original Greek model anywhere point to a contrast between nature and history; for the Greek *ιστορία*, from *ιδεῖν*, with Herodotus, the father of history, means “to learn by investigation.” He calls his work an *ἀπόδειξις ιστορίας*, “an exposition of that which has been learned.” Not until later, when, in view of the mass of collected material, the personal form of investigation — that of questioning people, travelling, and seeing places — began to be of secondary importance, did the *ιστορία* assume

the objective form, corresponding to our conception of "past events."

Neither the modern use of the word, therefore, nor that of the original Greek, implies a contrast between nature and history. The expression *ιστορία* means, first and foremost, "investigation"; then its results, pertaining to everything concerning mankind, as well as to nature outside of man. History, in the Greek sense, is the idea of everything that can be learned by investigation; and according to our idea, of all that has happened. Buckle, then, seems to be in the right when he assumes the meaning of history and nature to be so identical that history is open to the severe reproach of having remained far behind its twin sister, natural science; and that it must speedily adopt the principles of investigation applied to the natural sciences, in order itself to be elevated to the rank of a science, and at last endeavor to place the phenomena of human life upon the same level with those of external nature. The scientific method might likewise advance materialistic arguments, in order to extend its dominion into the realm of history, if the unconscious logic of language should seem an insufficient guarantee.

What if the phenomena of nature were repeated in exact parallels in history? A germ breaks the crust of mother earth, with the inherent predisposition to become an oak. First of all, it depends upon a favorable environment for the fortunate, vigorous, and harmonious development of its powers; it thrives, and soon repays its debt to its surroundings; it lends shade, and with its companions attracts refreshing moisture to the spot, and breaks the force of the wind. What further illustration is needed? The poets of all ages have pictured it sufficiently.

A similar process takes place with an infant. The develop-

ment of inborn qualities, acting and being acted upon by its surroundings, will also determine the sequence of phenomena in him. A proof that this parallel holds good beyond the mere expression of poetic fancy may thus be stated: The importance of history appears to require that its phenomena should be physically connected. Government by fixed laws is the fundamental trait of nature. Do chaos, chance, and the caprice of fate reign in the life of individuals, of nations, of mankind? Why the thankless task of losing one's self in chaos? In that case, historical recollections would be mere pastime for children, who admire the changing colors of a kaleidoscope in the evolutions of time.

Our statesmen, too, in cabinet and parliament might retire, and the pedagogue shake off his cares with a sense of relief; for who can struggle against what a caprice of fate may bring to-morrow? An example quoted from Buckle's "History of Civilization" may be cited here. In Part II. of Vol. I., "History of the French Intellect from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," he discusses the tardiness of intellectual development in France as compared with that of the English, and on p. 92 he arrives at this result: "It is clear that the French knew less, because they believed more." The implied law may be more distinctly indicated as follows: "It is clear that their progress was checked by the prevalence of those feelings which are fatal to all knowledge; because, looking on antiquity as the sole receptacle of wisdom, they degrade the present to exalt the past," etc. Or, expressed more tersely as an historical law: The progress of science is retarded by a state of feeling which overrates the past.

Setting aside the merit or demerit of this law, other examples can be cited: Inactivity weakens the intellect and energy of a nation; or, continued wars develop the brutal

passions of a nation. Further: When two nations about equal in numbers are merged one in the other, the higher civilization of the more advanced nation asserts itself, even though it has been conquered. According to Horace, "*Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam, rectique cultus pectora roborant.*" Thus history seems to be not without laws.

So far, no difference between the domain of natural science and that of history has appeared. No such difference appears in the use of language; human development does not lack a close contact with the conditions of nature, nor do natural objects lack historical phases.

The use of the word "history," for events in the existence of the human race alone, seems to be due to the fact that the interest in them is the most ancient, the most comprehensive and intense, so that the term has arisen *de majori*. And yet what a difference between the interest in an historical subject and in one from natural science! When, for instance, the tyranny of the Decemvirs is described, or the death of Virginia; and when, on the other hand, the suboxide of nitrogen is being characterized, a difference is at once apparent; namely, this: The question is not of a species of Virginias, but of a distinct individual; on the other hand, we are not interested in any particular particle of gas that puts a person into a happy frame of mind, but in the kind of gas and its constituent parts and properties generally. Again, the investigator may be tracing either a tribal migration or the natural history of a bird of passage. In one case, we are attracted by the individual fate of the Goths, Longobards, Vandals, and Franks; and, in the other, by the habits of the swallow species generally.

In the first instance, we are attracted by what is individual; in the second, by what is general; and we find the term

“history” simply to cover the whole range of phenomena, — the events in the existence of the human race as well as those in the domain of nature.

Every individual change, whether recognized in all its parts as the result of fixed natural laws or not, lies within the domain of history. Natural science begins by the recognition of equal conditions, based on analogous, and yet individually distinct, phenomena.

An historical reflection would be this: A remarkable tree in my neighborhood arouses my interest, and I relate when and by whom it was planted, how fast it grew, how luxuriantly its branches developed, what has happened to it, when it was felled, and to what uses it was finally put. If I mention facts of natural history at the same time, — for instance, why it thrived so luxuriantly, — these would only be a means of explanation; but in this case by no means the ultimate purpose. My reflection would belong to natural science, if, taking the same object, I drew the attention of the scholar to the graining of the wood, the bark, the leaves, the blossoms, and its size, for the purpose of making him familiar with the species. In this case I set the individual aside, and touch only upon what is general. Here the explanation of why the tree thrived luxuriantly would be a chief object of inquiry, pointing to the establishment of a law. Buckle, however, thinks that in nature, as a whole, we overlook the emotional interest inspired by a single tree or animal, that we have overcome the surprise caused by thunder and lightning, and that we have for the time forgotten our care in regard to the fruits of the field, having arrived at general laws. We are also to make abstractions from our interest in the human individual, and in the individual nation, and our interest must be fixed on the underlying laws in order to raise history to the level of a science.

However plausible this demand may seem, I fear the new science would fall a prey to ridicule. The results Buckle wishes to give to the world have either been long since reached, or can be reached by the present methods; they would differ in form only, and certainly not to their advantage.

A brief explanation will show this. Every change on earth must have its natural cause. Let us take an example which, according to the current use of the term, belongs to "history," and one that belongs to science. I see that my thermometer has risen one degree within the last hour. Why? Because the air has grown warmer, and the quicksilver has expanded.

In the year 1830 Belgium separated from Holland. Why? Because the Belgians considered themselves oppressed by the Dutch.

In each of these examples a law can be formulated from the cause:—

1. Increase of warmth in the surrounding atmosphere causes quicksilver to expand.
2. Oppression of one people by another rouses a desire for separation in the oppressed.

The general law appears as the cause when we regard the individual fact.

The law in natural science corresponds to the reason or cause in history. When the naturalist closely observes and experiments, lays down general laws, and raises human phenomena to a level with physical ones, the historian, on the other hand, seeks by investigation to establish the course of events, and to deduce them from his reasons. If he has succeeded in this, then he has found the law which governs all similar conditions. The difficulty with history, however, is this: that in their main points conditions never are equal.

The year 510 among the Greeks, and 510 among the Romans, however tinged by Greek influences, yet what a difference between them! Nor is there less between the tyrannies of the Cypselides in Corinth, and that of Pisistratus in Athens; between the Roman campaigns of Frederic I., and the Italian wars of Frederic II.; the struggles for liberty of the Spaniard, and those of the Germans. I should feel curious about the basis of an historic law taken from the year 510 among the Greeks, which would prove the absolute necessity of banishing the Roman kings. If we take a larger number of cases into consideration, and abstract their dissimilar characteristics, we gain a formula so meaningless as justly to cause ridicule when compared with the apparatus used to demonstrate it. For instance, excessive oppression exercised by a ruler, especially a usurper, rouses the intention to banish the despot. Here, excessive is a relative idea; oppression alone does not suffice; the intention, unless carried out, is in itself too unimportant a condition; the ability to carry it out is doubtful, as despots have powerful means, both intellectual and physical, at their command. Nor is there any force in Buckle's law, above stated; for what does it mean to "overrate the past." This idea is just as relative as the expression *too large* or *too strong*, that might occur in similar attempts; and its meaning can only be gathered from each separate case, which is to be explained by the law.

The kind and variety of historical conditions, then, make it possible to establish laws only in the most general and trivial forms; as, for instance, in a battle the numerical preponderance on one side requires an equivalent surplus of some kind on the other side, in order to determine whether the chances are equal. The labor of framing such laws will be worthless in proportion to the increasing difference

of the conditions. Continuous progression in the history of the human race exists only in so far as a new generation retains its connection with the previous one; just as a psychological law that applies to the age of boyhood cannot apply unmodified to manhood, so many a law deduced from the past must lose its force for the present. If in a former period the proposition held good, that the sterility of a country has an unfavorable influence on the prosperity of its inhabitants, this proposition is no longer tenable as soon as the art of extracting valuable ores from the earth becomes known.

The audacity of Buckle's undertaking is shown plainly in view of the material for investigation at our command, as compared to former material for investigation in the natural sciences. We are then to treat of the laws of development of the *genus humanum*, of which different species exist; for instance, the species *Aegyptica*, *Persica*, *Judaica*, *Graeca*, *Romana*, *Germana*, *Gallica*, etc., every species containing a large number of individuals. The inductive method, however, requires a great number of analogous cases from which similar phenomena must be deduced, and applied *pars pro toto* to the formulation of general laws. But where in the domain of history can we find this large number of cases? Evidently among individuals only. I am therefore enabled to establish the laws of development of the different species, and thus of the *genus humanum*. But this is the business of anthropology, and thus the parallel with inanimate nature is exhausted. Buckle does not demand the laws of development of individuals of the species *Romana*, etc., but those of the species *Romana* itself; and yet the species *Romana*, as such, existed in a single specimen only. The species *Germana*, *Gallica*, *Britannica*, as well as the life of the whole *genus humanum*, occur only in one, and not even in a

completed, course of existence. The scientist would beware of formulating laws of development for a newly discovered organism before this has at least completed its existence, and a number of specimens have been observed ; nor should the historian be censured if he does not undertake romantic flights into nebulous regions, but confines himself within the limits of fact.

The scientific work of the historian lies in quite another direction. Droysen correctly says, in his above-mentioned work on history, that the province of historical science is to comprehend while investigating. The province of natural science, on the contrary, is to reduce individual phenomena to general laws, and to explain individual phenomena by means of such laws.

The scientist must content himself by establishing the laws which explain individual phenomena, even if it is impossible for him to comprehend the process. Some one telegraphs from London to New York, for instance. The law by means of which the operation is possible is known ; but to comprehend the process by which thousands of miles are traversed in a second is impossible to the human mind. The fall of an apple is explained by the earth's attraction ; yet the process is not understood. We can comprehend external things only in so far as their impressions upon us are capable of conveyance to our consciousness. From these impressions we can derive a law ; but for following the electric current, and comprehending gravitation, analogous processes are wanting in ourselves. Bernstein rightly says : " Natural science spends all its energies on the discovery of the forces of nature, which are entirely concealed from our senses. No one has seen the force of gravitation discovered by Newton, or perceived it with any of the senses ; we recognize its effect in the material world, but the force itself is only an explanation of the phe-

nomena by the intellect." It is otherwise with regard to history. In so far as non-intellectual processes are concerned, its phenomena are treated as natural laws, and do not attract the interest of the historian at all. If the powder was wet before the battle, and useless, the sword dulled by blows, and the general killed by the ball of the enemy, these phenomena are valueless to the historian, being mere physical processes, and can only receive consideration in so far as they have influenced moral and intellectual conditions in the broadest sense. The moral and intellectual development of nations and the human race, as represented by individual aspirations, deeds, and conditions, is the true object of investigation for the historian, and to this end his desire to comprehend must be directed. In the broadest sense, such work is possible for any one, since all are endowed with moral and intellectual capacity. By means of it I am enabled to understand the process in the soul of Achilles at the death of Patroclus; of Harpagus at his repulsive meal; of the Italians during Barbarossa's Roman campaigns; of our fathers in the trying time of 1813. We can also comprehend more complex processes, like the influence of Greece and the East on native Roman customs, the causes of the catastrophe at Jena, and the enthusiasm of Arnt and Jahn for the unity and freedom of Germany, because our intellectual and moral capacity admits the reproduction of the same ideas and emotions.

The degree of comprehension, however, is dependent upon the abundance, delicacy, and energy of reciprocal action, which, in Schiller's well-known words, we have experienced in our intellectual contact with mankind.

This faculty of comprehending historical events might, if necessary, furnish us with as great a number of laws as the scientific treatment of history could demand. It has been

pointed out above, how, in establishing special processes, the law appears as cause ; how it happens that, in observing some special process, the naturalist is exposed to the error of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. Until Torricelli's time it was held that, when drinking, the liquid entered the cavity of the mouth in consequence of the *horror vacui*; a vacuum was created and filled by the liquid. Therefore, the vacuum was the active cause. It was an error for which the naturalists of those times cannot be blamed. A similar error would be impossible to a conscientious historian, for the reason that the activity of the human mind repeats itself in him, and enables him in each case to distinguish the active cause from accidental conditions. Whoever reads Fichte's addresses to the German nation, and is familiar with the state of the times, is in no doubt as to the motive which inspired them. The hand of France weighed heavily on Prussia; Fichte was lecturing at a Prussian university, and drew a salary from the state. He came in contact with the most prominent men of his time, yet his motive was not his position as lecturer, nor the influence of his friends; but it was the protest of his national pride against the degrading oppression of the nation. In other cases, the cause may be doubtful, and its comprehension can then only be reached by the closest investigation of character, and of the modes in which it displays itself. Comparison with similar characters will, perhaps, furnish a clue as to the course of investigation to be pursued; the psychological comprehension of one process facilitates that of an analogous one, but the psychological construction, as it were, of a peculiarly phenomenal character in an individual or a nation cannot be established by traits it has in common with any number of other characters, as a non-intellectual process can be physically construed by means of natural laws. But, when a single case

has been comprehended, it necessarily follows that as general and definite a law has been given as science can possibly require. Therefore, the comprehension of another mind can only be effected in us in so far as human minds are organized alike, and we really comprehend only then when we can reproduce cause and effect in our own mind as it exists in the mind of another. We can comprehend the fable of the Kyffhäuser because we can reproduce the same impressions in ourselves which Barbarossa's heroic greatness, his death in a foreign land, and the distress that followed, aroused in the hearts of the German people in the state of development they had then reached. If we all reach this comprehension, the psychological process is as convincingly manifest as the proposition that twice two is four. This general comprehension proves the correctness of the law, that, when a hero like Barbarossa dies far from his people, and distress ensues to them in consequence, such an hero becomes an object of tradition among his people in later times, provided this people has arrived at the same stage of development the Germans had reached at that time.

It is shown by this example why the formulation of such laws is not attempted. The sufficient cause can be distinguished from accessory conditions; but in what way can x and y (Barbarossa's personality and the condition of the people) be defined with precision, and how can these qualities be shown to coincide with Barbarossa's, and with the stage of development of the Germans? The result, intellectually, would be the same as if all the important points were set forth and united in order to bring about the comprehension of the whole course of events; that form, however, would be fatal to all historic interest.

If we briefly sum up the result of the foregoing investigation once more, it has first been shown that neither our

own use of language nor that of the Greeks confines the province of history to events in the life of mankind; that the principal aim of the investigation of natural science is to raise vital phenomena to physical ones, and that the finding of laws is likewise of importance to the life of mankind.

To discriminate between history and science according to the subject-matter is therefore erroneous. The difference seems rather to consist in this,—that history traces individual development, and natural science progresses to general laws.

Buckle's demand might, therefore, be modified thus: as the history of individual phenomena in the inanimate world is formulated into laws by natural science, so the history of human phenomena must be reduced to laws, thereby making it more fruitful, and raising it to the rank of a science. But it was then pointed out, that, notwithstanding this, great and comprehensive laws relating to the history of human development cannot be established on account of the difference in kind and degree of the phenomena, and that a task is demanded of history which it cannot accomplish owing to the want of material, a task which natural science has been equally unable to accomplish.

Natural science, aside from characteristics of language, species, variety, etc., defines the course of development of an individual within the species and variety; anthropology in its different branches does the same for the human race.

To establish laws of development, when we have but a single specimen which has not even completed its course of existence, is a task which natural science, in a history of the animal and vegetable kingdom, notwithstanding its Darwin, has yet to accomplish before the same demand can be made upon a history of the development of the human race.

But the method of natural science is not needed, in so far

as we treat of the vastly varied manifestations of the human mind as they appear in history, since in mental processes we are able to discriminate between the active cause and chance in every separate case by means of our own intellectual organization; and where our knowledge of facts is deficient, we recognize the cause to be wanting, and do not require comparison with analogous cases in order not to mistake a well-known accident for the active cause. As soon as cause and effect are comprehended, this act of comprehension is a guarantee that a similar case will have like results; and thus we have found the law for all similar cases.

The historian, however, avoids the formulation of such laws, as the same case is never repeated; but his mind has acquired the faculty of comprehending similar cases, and the general law of their occurrence, by first comprehending a single one.

So much may be said here of Buckle's attempt, whose alluring theory would most confuse a studious teacher. At the same time it is an advantage to have read his work; for, in spite of its defective theory, there are but few who will not read it without being carried away from time to time by the brilliancy of the author.

THE SECOND OBJECTION which, if consistent, denies the possibility of history as a science, was this, that a Protestant must necessarily take a different view of certain portions of history from a Catholic. More than any other time the present demands a definite answer to this thesis. As long as the state surrendered the spiritual control of the schools to the church, and a rationalistic spirit pervaded the Protestant as well as the Catholic church, it could be left to the scientific whim of the historian and the pedagogue to decide whether, strictly speaking, an objective treatment of

history was possible ; but when, after continued subservience of the school to the church, the toleration of the century finally ceased, and theologians of both churches by consent of the rulers availed themselves of the intellectual impulse received by the whole nation from the great writers of the eighteenth century — roused as it was by the stormy close of its last decade — to infuse new life into their dogmas and systems. When, finally, adherents of each faith taught their dogmas everywhere for the greater glory of God, ordaining that the Catholic or Protestant faith should be upheld in the schools according to the status of parishes or “ the original disposition of founders,” this God-fearing activity soon drove the objective teaching of history from the field.

This period too passed by. The self-conscious display of power and assumed supremacy of Rome, in the reconstructed empire, convinced the government that it was an error to encourage views diametrically opposed to each other in the state, with the result that one view, by virtue of the divine right with which it claimed to be invested, refused obedience to state laws. The inexorable course of history brings common law into use, and the paragraph declaring schools to be state institutions is again in force. The state rescinds the mandate, which to its great injury it had entrusted to the church, in order to infuse its own spirit into the schools. Of what nature should this spirit be, and what ideas will it represent opposed to both contending parties? Religious persecution after the manner of the seventeenth century is out of the question in our state ; so is compulsory religion by the aid of schools. Forcible means lose their effect in the course of time. Let the state proceed with all the severity of its laws against their violators, to check the first onslaught, as has been done ; let it leave off encouraging the secret dissension of the churches, as it still does : it will yet be unable to sup-

press the notion of papal power that has once seized the masses, who are not wanting in able leaders, because ideas, received like convictions by the masses, cannot be suppressed by chastisement; they only gather strength in the conflict. Thus the march of Henry IV. to the gates of Rome did not strike a blow to papal supremacy; the resolutions passed at Carlsbad involved the best men of the people in criminal suits, but their ideas of German unity now live in the heart of the sovereign as well as in that of the simple rustic. Just as the ultramontane and orthodox parties owe their influence to the intellectual labor of decades, so only will persistent and energetic intellectual work revive our civic consciousness, and save our country from the dangers with which increased religious dissension might threaten us. What should be the watchword of an activity which of course will not be agreeable to religious fanaticism, because it attempts to check its growth, though it does not intend to tamper with individual religious convictions? A watchword which ensures this, ensures equal rights to all, and may be proclaimed with the certainty which the consciousness of truth and even-handed justice gives. The maxim must be to lay the foundations of national unity in the minds of the people.

While, hitherto, religious tendencies controlled the educational institutions of the nation with sectarian rigor, henceforth the feeling must be inculcated, that the same moral principles are common to all, whether Protestants, Catholics, or Jews. Hitherto salvation was sought by forcing a series of dogmatic ideas into the childish mind as first and highest truths, allowing all non-believers to seem groping in darkness; the consciousness must now be roused that we all have the same organs for acquiring knowledge, and cherish the same desire for truth. If hitherto the treatment

of history served the purpose of crediting one's own religious party with all the approbation of the Divine Ruler of the world, and burdening the other with final condemnation on the judgment day, the educator of the present must henceforth endeavor to follow the traces of actual events with unswerving truthfulness, and thus furnish material for youthful judgment by making clear the deeds of opposing factions, leaving history itself to pronounce the final verdict, while he himself remains silent where that has not yet been rendered.

His aim must be to develop the faculty of independent judgment in his pupils, and not to defraud the rising generation of the teachings of history by anticipating them with his own opinions, because these opinions should never usurp the unbiased verdict of history. In short, the present convulsions in our national life compel the state, if it does not yield voluntarily, to carry on a war of extermination with a part of its citizens; or else to avoid making party views the basis of youthful education, but instead to fall back upon the firm natural foundation of the original faculties common to mankind. It must not plant the strife of manhood in the breast of the boy, without giving him the consecration and dignity needful for the battle — his conscious convictions. It must take the German boy as he is, not as he ought to be ten years hence. He wants first to learn and to understand; in time, grown enthusiastic for truth and right, he will learn to hate treachery and deceit; but he still lacks every qualification for judging sectarian differences.

Before any one is consciously a Catholic or a Protestant, he is a human being; and national German pedagogy has always demanded a general human education, though long pursued *in majorem dei gloriam*. The inexorable progress of history has indeed taught the state that the ideal standard

created for itself by the art and science of pedagogy is equally demanded by the vital interests of the state.

In the forty-fourth assembly of German naturalists and physicians, Virchow declared, "It is the work of the near future, now that the unity of the German empire has been established, to establish an inner unity also,—not only an inner unity that removes the political boundaries of nationality and centralizes power, but a real unity of minds, and the occupation of common intellectual ground by the many members of the nation."

If, then, the task is allotted to natural science to aid in bringing about the inner unity of the nation, it is worth while to examine whether its twin sister, the science of history, will not recognize its mission toward the same end.

To be sure, the historian is not in as advantageous a position as the scientist who has the object of investigation before him, while history can only be reproduced from an image reflected by another observer of the actual past. We can only imagine the Peloponnesian wars by allowing the accounts of Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch, as they existed in their minds, to impress our own. The Thirty Years' War can only be depicted from the peculiar reflexes it has produced in Kevenhiller, Chemnitz, Puffendorf, and other entirely diverging minds. Besides, the picture we can make for ourselves is so fragmentary that we must draw upon our imaginations to unite it, in order to see the scene of events like a familiar landscape,—mentally to grasp and comprehend all the conditions on the basis of which the historical development takes place; further, to understand the events themselves according to their inner progression, to see their results, and comprehend the changed order of things, the phases of which impel the human mind to new and different deeds. Neither should the character of men of past ages

remain a collection of scattered notices, but they must rise living before our eyes; the voice of the investigator thus makes itself distinctly heard in the concert of actual events.

Would this disqualify history as a science? is it a *fable convenue*, or, according to the momentary point of view, a *fable disconvenue* intended at the word of command to glorify the dynasty of a ruler, or to scourge the selfishness of crowned heads; to illustrate popular sovereignty, or to ridicule the mob? shall it secure abject adhesion to the doctrine of Luther, or to those of the infallible pope? in short, is history a lofty goddess who looks benignly down on those who worship her, or has Clio a wax nose which the orthodox Lutheran bends upward, the Ultramonantane downward, the conservative to the right, and the liberal to the left? Fortunately, the aims of science are sufficiently defined.

The course of the world's events, the process of national and human development, has been one and the same; the reformation took but one course, the French revolution one form only, from the *états généraux* to the execution of Louis XVI. Of two modes of writing history, one at least must be falsified or incomplete: it would be strange if two persons of equal discrimination, and furnished with equal means for investigation, did not arrive at a certain ideal coincidence upon the same phase of events, provided they fulfil the first condition of any science, which is, to tell the truth, whether it is pleasant or not, and whether or not it suits the views of one's own religious or political party.

It is not necessary to develop all the preparations and prescriptive rules that German historic investigation employs to throw light on the past; the material furnished to the inquirer by the remains of the useful and ornamental arts, of laws and customs, of literatures and historical documents; its sources of a subjective or pragmatic char-

acter, its criticism with its manifold views, its modes of interpretation by the necessary connection of events, by their conditions, by psychology, and by the form of ideas, — in view of all this it can only be said that, if history has occupied itself so long and successfully in elaborating periods the phases of which no longer concern our age, its ideal sense to desire nothing but the truth must be sufficiently strengthened to say to a satellite of Rome or Wittenberg, who dares invade its province, *noli turbare circulos meos*.

The science of history furnishes no rule for writing a history best suited to this faction or that. Whenever chronicles are imperfect, and the connection of events cannot be established, a subjective activity of course begins; but that writer is outlawed who seeks to answer the all-prevailing question in history, How did the historical fact originate? otherwise than according to general psychological and dynamic laws. The question whether or not he sanctions that fact does not concern him; to inquire whether the fact is useful or pernicious to the present, is not his affair; he need only trace its effects in the time in which it occurred. He must not attempt the analysis of an historical character with a prejudice for or against, nor with the intention to prove any particular view of it. First of all he must seek to comprehend it, and regard events from its original point of view. Good and evil tendencies, elevating and depressing thoughts, he will find in characters as well as in actions; important and inspiring traits in abundance, because platitude finds no place in the memory of posterity. He need not fear therefore that his moral sense will not be gratified, but his aim is simply to penetrate to the fact. William von Humboldt justly says: “As philosophy searches for the cause of things, art for the ideal of beauty, so history searches for the reflex of human fate in undimmed truthfulness, lifelike vigor, and untarnished

purity, comprehended by a mind so thoroughly bent upon the subject, that views, feelings, and all claims of personality are lost and resolved in it; for it is the desire for facts which he is to rouse and inspire.”¹

Let the point of view be briefly stated which most distinctly and with a certain pious emphasis appears as the opponent of objective history. It has been distinctly proclaimed by the principal advocates of the regulative party that the aim of studying history must be to find Divine revelation in history; indeed, they say that without God, history cannot be comprehended at all.

It cannot be denied that for temperaments religiously inclined there is a desire to lift the soul to God when contemplating certain portions of history, as well as when viewing the general development of the human race. How natural is a sense of gratitude to the Most High for the succor brought by the Great Elector; for the Russian winter of 1812; and most certainly the inscription, “*afflavit deus et dissipati sunt,*” was written by Elizabeth of England from the very bottom of her heart.

As the individual man in a review of his life, or the citizen in looking back upon the history of his country, so the historian, when recalling the great turning-points in the history of mankind, may be filled with awe and with gratitude to a higher power of which he feels conscious. Yet it must be borne in mind that the introduction of the idea of Providence into history will further it as little as it does natural science. For,

¹ Gervinus says: “Let him reserve his judgment, however simple and direct, and return to the modest condition of wishing to be everything, and to seem nothing; he shall be big with wisdom, as Bacon says, but not act as midwife to his own wisdom” (Grundzüge der Historik).

Herder’s remark is still more forcible: “Most pragmatic histories — and to this category belong the histories advocating special views — are defiant lies; to them the past is a rubbish heap on which they crow.”

if the intervention of Providence is shown in history,— and according to my view it can be recognized, — it is not evident in a supernatural manner by the violation of his own laws, but by means of them. The destruction of the Armada in Philip's time, the defeat of Napoleon in 1812, was not the result of a hand stretched from heaven, like the death of the Greeks before Troy by *αγανόις βελέεσσι* of Apollo, but by the familiar means of storms at sea, and the cold of winter, and, similarly, if ideas are correctly called the motive force of events by our historians, then these ideas manifest themselves in quite a human way, like that of papal supremacy or that of Roman imperialism in the German nation, and those of legitimacy, popular sovereignty, universal empire, or national unity in France. At first they appear unconsciously and scarcely perceptible in the spirit of a people, or perfected, like Pallas from the head of Zeus, and are hurled by some genius among the masses. It often remains unexplained in history why at a certain period, in defiance of human power, some great event transpires, some genius or idea appears. To take a Divine Providence for granted here, would not further our knowledge, is inconsistent, and even seems like an abuse of the Divine name. Supposing, in the future, meteorology proved the severe winter of 1812 to be the result of a law. We cannot help regarding every event in history as emanating from a Divine will, and the question arises whether the imperceptible transition from one condition to another is not the most astounding. To accept a special Providence leads us to abandon the search for a controlling law, and to forego all deeper knowledge. It is clear from the above that the idea of a Providence can be derived from the development of history by any one who feels the need to do so; but constituent or enlightening force it has none. In history, God speaks only by humanly comprehensible acts or

ideas, for his thoughts are acts and ideas ; the faithful, indeed, will comprehend God most truly, and will recognize and serve him best by fathoming the objective course of events, and by striving with this treasure of experience which has been gained, to promote and attain the highest aims of life. If then, it is the task of the historian to depict the actual facts of the past, while entirely abnegating his subjective point of view in the very midst of the struggles of his time ; if further, the introduction of the idea of a special providence in history is not demanded by the subject, a view of history seems possible which imposes no restraint upon any growing convictions, nor on those already formed. Such a treatment of history might lay claim to become an educational medium for the entire youth of Germany, of whatever religious persuasion, and bring about national unity as far as it is possible.

It may be asked whether that which is possible for science is also possible and needful for schools ; a few remarks will serve as rejoinder to certain objections that may easily be raised.

It is certain that if every public school teacher cannot find time to devote himself to the labor of investigation, he does recognize it to be his duty to follow the progress of science ; so that, as the historian sees the mind strengthened by scientific discipline to receive the actual truth, the teacher may be led in the same direction by the fact that he sees the eyes of boys of every persuasion fixed confidently upon him, and it becomes his *duty* to give to youth the divine thought revealed in history, pure and undefiled, not arbitrarily adapted and perverted to partisan uses. Lastly, in religious instruction of whatever persuasion, outside of school, doctrinal ideas may do their best to prevail, but the common public school finds its labor allotted on the common ground of national life alone. Let sectarian discord confine itself to

its own limits, the school must refuse it admittance ; its form of worship is to educate youthful generations to become capable and useful members of the confederation of nations.

It has so far been shown, first, that the spirit of history is not to be looked for in the establishment of laws ; second, that history as a science exists independently of religious or political interference. The next step is by unbiased investigation of whatever material history offers, to arrive at the positive points of its meaning.

The method of natural science, as we have seen, can only be applied in the domain of human phenomena in so far as there is a regular recurrence of similar phenomena somatologically or psychologically, or in a close union of the two. These phenomena however belong to anthropology. The development of the human mind, on the other hand, is unique of its kind, in so far as the life of individuals is concerned ; but for the vital acts which the human mind has accomplished for itself and its surroundings, from the beginning of the human race, through a series of successive generations to the present, — no proof is required.

Let us see how the development of mankind proceeded. Man enters life as the most helpless of beings. What the first human beings brought with them were needs and faculties ; but faculties so manifold and capable of such development, that even now, after the lapse of thousands of years, their final perfection seems to the human understanding to lie in the distant future. The desire to satisfy wants seems the prime motive in man for the development of his faculties. At first they were those wants upon which his physical existence depended ; but his daily endeavors in this respect, to pluck fruit from the trees, and to draw water, are not sufficient to make him an object of historical investigation. That is the life of the Negritos and Moskos, and history

leaves these to themselves. A higher plane is reached when a number of families under one chief or elder rove over the steppes with horses and cattle, settling first here, then there, according to the season or the abundance of pasturage, to secure their existence. But even the Nomad has no peculiar development; one tribe lives like another; to-morrow is like to-day.

This period too is prehistoric; but since the Nomad only attains that point of development which is peculiar to the whole race, he is a subject for anthropology.

We can only speak of history where individual development is in question; for a people does not become historic until it emerges beyond the general course of development into special phases. The first external condition is to settle in fixed habitations, no longer making its stay depend upon the gifts of the soil; nor without labor, but by labor compelling the chosen spot of ground to yield, and making nature subservient to man's wants. By fixed habitations mankind has gained the point from which it can progress to those conditions of order which concern his well-being.

The desire for uncontested possession gradually begins to develop from the unregulated struggle for pasture land, sustained by common law. Its violation gives rise to a wish for superior power to subdue lawlessness,—the power of the state. Boundary feuds with neighbors, invasion of foreign hordes beget the endeavor to maintain the homestead undiminished and undisputed.

In the warring elements man recognizes higher powers, and wishes to propitiate them by gifts, so that they may be always favorable to him. He offers them the fruits of the field, and listens to the venerable men who admonish him, and seeks to attract the deity to his country by erecting the grandest temples for its abode.

In this way the ideas which mankind has in common originated and grew. The noblest part of intellectual labor was directed toward the end, so to develop the conditions of existence that the loftiest conceptions of reason seem to have their abode on earth in the most perfect form. With this step a people is lifted above the vegetative existence of the species; many nations may share it; every nation thus advanced strives according to its capacity and conditions to realize its own ideas in its peculiar way. By this means it enters the precincts of history. But historical interest does not so much consist in the fact that a people has intellectual capacity, but in the special manner in which its national life has developed. The prestige of historical dignity in the present equally depends upon devotion to an idea. Where irresponsible nomad life prevails, anarchy rules; or, where robber hordes infest the mountains, there we find mere animal life. Where on the other hand a people further develops its peculiar gifts in the service of reason, it constantly adds its contribution to the divine spectacle the Lord of the heavens and the earth has created in the unfolding of the human mind. We will therefore designate as the task of history: To become the exponent of, and bring to our comprehension, the development of the human intellect up to the present time, in the prosecution of its labors and the realization of its ideas.¹

¹It follows from this what nations we have to deal with in history. A number of nations in spite of belonging to the *genus humanum* have no place in history. If we concede a preference in treatment to certain nations like the Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, English, etc., it is given, because firstly, they have most fully accomplished the inborn task allotted to man, of developing human interest; and secondly, because those nations form the links as it were in a course of development, in so far as the historical life of a people in its contact with another acts as an incentive: Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Germans; and thirdly, because they form a serial development which leads up

CHAPTER II.

On the Use of History.

It seems useless on the one hand to lose a word in regard to the use of history, as its widespread study among scholars as well as teachers is sufficiently known. On the other hand, the inquirer is met by the well-known words of the Chevalier de Panat: "Ils n'ont rien appris ni rien oublié"; and Hegel says in his *Philosophy of History*, p. 9, "What history and experience teach us is this, that nations and governments have never learned anything from history, nor have they acted according to precepts derived from it. Every age has such peculiar circumstances, is such an individual condition, that it must be judged in this condition, and by it, and can only be so judged of."

Certainly, no one will to-day commit the folly of allowing a success or an error of the past to serve as a standard of judgment for the present. But those who generalize these words to this, that the teachings of history have shown themselves as perfectly useless in regard to the conditions of the present, seem partly to commit the error of ascribing an

to our own point of view. The *preference* we give is herewith exhausted, but not the material. The science of history has representatives that extend their investigations to the nations most remote from us, to wherever the peculiar development of human intellect is recognizable; while revealing new aspects of mind, of which our inmost life consists, history completes that which in the course of events was omitted in our development; adding to that of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, also that of the Hindoos, Iranians, and Mongols, thus giving us a broader basis upon which to continue our own development.—(*Wm. von Humboldt on the Kawi language*, XVII.)

intenser influence and wider spread to the study of history than it enjoys ; their demand, too, seems partly unfair. For the teachings of history to subdue passions susceptible to *no* precept, or to overthrow dogmas that have gradually become flesh and blood, as it were, is a demand not made upon any science. But whether this handmaid of truth refuses her services to him, who, unprejudiced, seeks nothing but the truth ; whether with her aid the blind outbreaks of passion, or dogmatic religious and political fanaticism cannot be anticipated, on that point let us for a while reserve our judgment. But of this let us first take notice, that whoever undertakes to treat exhaustively of a disputed question, must, in order to be armed for the future, go back to its origin, and follow all its changes to the present.

It is not our intention to write a panegyric on the "teacher of wisdom." But when the attempt has been made on the other side, and was considered necessary, to mould all historical material for schools very effectively in favor of certain views, it may seem proper to investigate what use can be derived from history by itself, without special adaptation.

Let us suppose the recollection of the past to be extinguished with reference to the present ; what would be the consequences ? Man doubtless would be left entirely to the momentary impressions made upon him by external objects, — a slave to outward objects ; individuality would be entirely wanting in that sovereignty of consciousness which recognizes the spirit and rejects all seeming.

What confusion would be caused in the heart of human society, if evils are to be corrected, imperfections made perfect. Experimenting as thoughtless as ever occurred in a mob revolt would ensue, and quiet progress could not be reached until the sum of aims, power, and means resolved itself by the test of time into solid and evanescent elements.

Earlier unsuccessful attempts would be repeated, to meet with the same fate. The system of the middle ages might gain proselytes to-day, and on the other hand the realization of *égalité, fraternité, liberté!* be striven for as it existed in the revolutionary sense of 1789. The political economist might find the system of substitutes and the hire of mercenaries more rational than general compulsory military service; to another to be constantly under arms, and self-help might seem the proper remedy for the insecurity of the streets. Unexpectedly some one who does not intend it might find himself on the way to Canossa; and even now, some one who has the success of national government at heart might advocate religious dissension as the ultimate aim of state schools.

The man who has once simulated honesty might again deceive his fellow-citizens; the speaker who often persuaded his hearers to folly might again display his eloquence. Every historical aim is justified to a certain extent, and according to circumstances an individual may occasionally judge its causes correctly; but opinions so arrived at can only become common property in the course of time.

If this general meaning of history is made convincingly clear, then the separate elements of the practical, intellectual as well as moral education can be proved at which the study of history aims.

The mental faculty, to use a popular phrase, which is most constantly taxed and made use of is the imagination; for neither the whole of anything in question is ever sensuously perceptible in a single space of time; nor, indeed, are any of its phases of development. The entire substance of our thoughts is known to spring from our sensuous perceptions of the external world, as well as of those within ourselves. It now becomes necessary to combine into new and manifold forms the views we have so far arrived at by the guidance

of the historian; they must be different in quality, and extend in scope far beyond the horizon of sensuous perceptions; processes must be imagined of an external as well as an internal kind that the sensuous eye has never perceived. In the reconstruction of a past world, in living over its phases, the imagination has abundant material for practice. If the pictures thus created lack the freshness and definiteness of a sensuous view, they have the advantage of mobility in their combined elements over those of reproduction from our own sensuous perception; they give freedom and elasticity to the mind, and enable us by original productiveness intellectually to reconstruct the world of the future. Further: while the mind follows the history of mankind as a whole, as it appears in the history of its various representatives, the nations of the earth, it becomes familiar with the views and ideas that are important to them as a totality.

By means of history these ideas arrive at the greatest possible psychic development. I can reach them more quickly if I receive their definition from some learned man and impress them upon my memory; but ideas without individual views of them are void. They are only fruitful if I arrive at them by exertion, — work for them. Everywhere and at all times we are met by individual phenomena in history like the Egyptian state in the time of Rameses, Menephta, Psammetich, Necho, etc.; the Athenian state in 594, 480, etc.; the states of the Germans French, and English, each one distinctive in each period. In countless separate views we find the same idea underlying. Similar elements are merged into one idea; dissimilar ones separate, but memory retains them. When the fecundity of developing ideas depends upon the wealth of views gained, this demand is fulfilled. This, too, is the case with the ideas of Nature, country, climate, etc., law, society, liberty, religion, courage, manliness, justice,

patriotism, and self-sacrifice, with those of art, science, commerce, industry, enterprise, etc., as with their negatives.

Unconsciously and without exertion the boy enjoys all the results the labor of his forefathers has achieved. In so far the child itself seems endowed with higher truth, higher goodness, and higher beauty than a genius of the past. But in the realm of development, possession without toil means nothing; exertion everything. If the intellectual possessions of the present are not to melt under our hands, they must be acquired anew; first of all, ideas. "What you have inherited from your fathers, acquire it, in order to possess it."

The mind derives an equal gain from the observation of *developments*. If I have learned to comprehend one process thoroughly, then the comprehension of a similar second process becomes easier; a third one will be easier still. When I have arrived at the understanding of the historical development of the laws of Solon, as for instance, the conditions that led to them, the conflicting interests, the statesmanlike plan, the ways and means of executing them, their separate aims, and their success, then I have gained in practical preparation for other achievements in proportion as the material contents of the latter and my developed mental activity are capable of entering as integral parts into other occurrences; in this case principally into legislative activity. (Benecke.)

The comprehension of an excellent plan of battle enables me to understand a second; the comprehension of a work on any subject facilitates the mastery of another similar one, and thus it is with all historical subjects.

The nature of a country seems of far-reaching influence on the development of a people; the formation and kind of soil, the wealth of navigable streams, its coast and climate.

If this influence is clear to me in regard to one or two nations, I am in the case of a third all the more capable of understanding and establishing the facts independently, and eventually to recognize what natural direction its endeavors would take for the future. Further: in order correctly to understand and appreciate a deed, a phase of progress of general importance, the precise fundamental outlines of the conditions must be established upon which the reorganization took place. Having succeeded once in reaching a comprehensive view, and uniting all its relative phases in one picture, the mind will not a second time encounter the difficulty of having to avoid narrowness of judgment, and narrowness in attempts at original production. Finally, when the human mind has entered into the various activities for supplying primitive needs, providing food, shelter, and security; or obviating primitive evils, like failure of crops, floods, and sterility of the soil, by discoveries and inventions; then the observer gains insight into vast plans and arrangements, and the intermediate stages of achieving them, and will in future grasp all these phenomena more easily.

The intellectual labor of man takes a higher flight, and hand in hand with it the development of the observer, as soon as man strives to reach conditions beyond his immediate needs; when freed from the daily struggle for existence, man undertakes to achieve conditions far exceeding all former experience; be it in the fields of science to approach his ideal of truth; be it in the province of art to realize his idea of beauty, or in a practical direction, not only to realize the ideality of *one* individual, but to mould the condition of millions of others, in *one* respect at least according to the highest view possible to the spirit of the age: as, for instance, the freedom of a nation, and inviolability of state boundaries; security of national development against native

and foreign enemies ; the welfare of the people by giving play to all the forces of national life in lawful liberty, and as a means to the end the plans developed by the inspiring genius of a Fredric William, a Fredric, a Stein, and others.

We often complain that many a man is impractical who has arrived at a ripe moral judgment and is filled with the noblest aims. Want of skill in the business routine of conventional local forms, and trifling means, the use of which must be learned by practice, are not in question here, but the want of knowledge of successful intellectual means is meant, and the faculty of calculating their results. At every progressive step history inquires into the why and wherefor, and into the inner connection of different plans or processes in their direction toward an ideal end. Whether we go back from the event to its inception, or from the plans forward to the end to be reached, the cause or plan may be developed as follows : The mind will *practically* gain in the sense indicated ; in the first instance by a series of causes, in the second by their reverse, a series of means to ends.

When, as above suggested, an observer of the historical development of the human race becomes familiar with the thoughts, the conception and achievement of which has hitherto been the work of the human mind, and always will be in its progress to perfection, an abundance of new instruction arises to him from the observation of the representative of historical labor, man himself. To the intellectual education of man are added the fruits of observation gathered from every variety of the human mind. The soul of Achilles and Thersites, of Leonidas and Epiphalthes, Socrates and Meletos, Alexander and Herostrates, Jesus and Barchochba, Sulla and Cæsar, Augustus and Marc Aurelius, Theodoric and Belisar, Otto and Berengar, Henry IV. and Gregory, of the Fredrics, Innocent, Luther, and Loyola, Gustavus Adol-

phus and Wallenstein, of the great Elector, and Maximilian of Bavaria, Fredric and Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Stein, Fichte, Arndt, etc., all these pass before our minds in their individuality. We contemplate the thoughts and sentiments of all these men, and by virtue of the inborn instinctive apprehension of man, we can comprehend them. If we succeed with one, we shall succeed more easily with another, and we acquire the fundamental condition necessary to all judgment in regard to other individuals, — the faculty of understanding others.

But the light which has come to my mind, and illumines the minds of others for me, is still more richly reflected, because whatever has sprung from general human emotions are points of enlightenment for the forms of my own mind, giving me *self-knowledge* through knowledge of others, and knowledge of others through self-knowledge. A second advantage arises from difference in the degrees of development. If we have acquired our knowledge of various characters only by hasty contact with others, our faculty of judging mankind is not adequate to the present culture of the race. We should find ourselves largely influenced by a shallow, commonplace standard. But, if we move in a high intellectual and moral sphere, how great will be our advantage; while in either case our standard will not be above that of our surroundings.

Humanity, as it falls within the observation of a single individual, only forms a part of the complete development of the race. Even if we had in the present been able to contemplate the most perfect personality, still there was but *one* Fredric, but *one* Stein, *one* Goethe, and *one* Schiller. The great characters of *all* times can only furnish the true standard to correspond with our age, and the persons of the present; but not in the sense of *nil admirari* alone.

Imagination can create a standard of immeasurable height which we cannot reach, and in its flight may also lose the standard of its individual weakness. Together with self-knowledge, history teaches us what degree and scope of perfection the intellectual power of *one* human being can attain; so that, while on the one hand it elevates our judgment above the level of the commonplace, gives us instead of an imposing unreality, the higher aims of mankind as its aim; on the other it restrains us from weakly criticism and enervating complaint. It neutralizes our admiration for the commonplace, but wins recognition for the weaker power that toils for the good of the whole, while it ridicules boastful vain-glory. It also sows the seeds deep into the mind from which just admiration of human ideals is to spring. It will be readily perceived that to comprehend different individualities in one's nation lays the foundation for national pride, and guards against national vanity; to this we will return later. After attempting to point out the direct influence which the comprehension of the contents of historical movements and their representatives exercise upon the observer, let us also allude to the increased distinctness of the impression which may result from the form of the historical development.

The warring of One against all, that raged before permanent governments were established, breaks out anew among nations that do not recognize a higher authority that peacefully regulates their claims; in a nobler form this warfare continues in the free contest of minds within the limits of established law. It often happens that opposing forces are equally justified in their demands, as when the swords of one party maintain the integrity of their country, and those of the other their claims upon its territory. Neither is struggle wanting in the free national life of a well-ordered

state, carried on by the weapons of intellect, and elevated, at least among the noblest of the champions, from a conflict of interests to a contest for principles. What principle seems best adapted to mould the future of a people ideally, is the question. To this the honest conviction of one man answers thus; that of another, apparently equal to the first, gives a contrary reply. Contest in the battle-field as well as in council taxes our powers to the utmost; it is there that the highest manly virtue is developed, and those ideas finally prevail which are most fully adapted to the inmost wants of the time, and therefore stir the moral faculties of mankind most persistently and deeply. It will be written in flaming characters in the future, who has erred and who has not; where wrong prevailed and where enlightenment.

The great result to be gained by the observation of scenes like these is that the mind learns to view the same thing from different sides, to form purer and higher conceptions of truth, and to establish *profounder convictions*, beside freeing the powers of the future from the necessity of exhausting themselves in the removal of errors already overcome.

It seems almost superfluous to waste time on the moral culture which the study of history affords. For, if the history of mankind is not a confused mass of accidents, but a partly conscious and partly unconscious endeavor toward attaining greater completeness in the circumstances of life, progressing from the supply of a momentary want to the realization of ideas, then he who follows the course of this development, and has realized it in himself, as it were, must arrive at the high moral status of one who engaged with youthful enterprise in the work before him, in manhood saw the breadth and depth of humanity unfold itself to his view, and strove to make its lot happier; who now, on the brink of eternity, inspired with immortal thoughts, sees the commonplace reduced to its true insignificance.

Is there more required than the *contemplation* and *comprehension* of moral effort in order to appreciate and love it? Two horsemen are seen dashing across the battle-field; one toward the raging battle, the other turning his back upon the tumult; is there a proof needed even for the simple mind of a child to show who was in the right, whose example should be followed? An unspoiled normal human being will take part for the good against evil without hesitation, if his interests and passions are not involved; he will feel himself attracted by the one and repelled by the other. Providence has so created him; and it is no merit of his, that being so created, he cannot do otherwise. Far behind him lies the actual occurrence of the historical events that occupy him. Undisturbed by base inclinations, his moral sense will be strengthened by them; from an inherent necessity of nature he experiences an enlargement of his inner life by contemplating a noble act, and is depressed by a base one. The emotions caused by similar actions on one side or the other combine to produce a consciousness in him of the moral value of modes of actions, and the value of their fruits, according as their effect upon his mind is transient or lasting, is intellectual or physical. In this way a general moral standard is developed from the true gradation of values to the summit of ideas. It follows from this that moral culture will be mainly limited to the virtues demanded by public life and those which it causes to flourish: this is the object of contemplating an historical personage. It may amuse us for a while to turn from great public events, in order to follow the details of private life, and thus to approach the human side of an heroic character; still, that seems more like a digression. The impressions of life as a whole, and of an effort made for the good of the whole, flow into the heart in rich abundance. Every event is regarded in its relation to

the whole ; and, in this light, indignation at a deed that panders to selfishness must increase, even if the cunning of fate, as it were, uses it to feed the stream of general development. The moral sense revels when an individual soul dedicates itself to the service of the whole, ready for every sacrifice, even that of life itself. Patriotism, unselfish devotion, sacrifice for an idea, — when do these move the human heart more deeply than when, in the general struggle of human forces, they have found an abiding-place in beings human like ourselves, and the last breath of the heroes who died in their service was an *Io, triumphe!*

What more effectually shows the superiority of substance over shadow ; what more closely identifies truth with life, than the crucial test of history? If the tree of human progress shall grow, manly worth must assert itself in every generation. The glory that surrounded the age of Louis XIV. was revealed in its true worth in the 18th century. Just as a generation which boastfully rests its greatness on the achievements of its forefathers is exposed in all its hollowness, so it is with an individual. The favor of persons and influence may momentarily lift even a weakling to prominence, but they cannot endow him with the power which alone holds out in the labor, the combat, and storm of the life which makes history. If delusions at first artificially kindle enthusiasm, depression is sure to follow ; but the fulness of healthy emotion, which leads to the contemplation of true greatness, will beget hatred of wrong and love for the enduring power of right.

Intellectual activity is the first requirement of historical progress. If this generation were languidly to fold its hands in its lap in spite of a thousand years of ancestral labor, the nation would at once plunge into a condition that might induce the historian rather to turn a new leaf and employ his pen on the history of the Madagasses

The foresight given us by historical study will indicate national decline as the result of indolence ; progress as that of activity. In so far even the success of a moral monstrosity will exercise a moral influence, — *fas est ab hoste doceri*. Who will feel inspired by the moral worth of a Sulla, or Richard III.? At the same time the impression we get of them is not wholly revolting ; the designing wisdom and undaunted energy, upon which their part in history is founded, must be taken into account, and impresses this lesson upon the mind, — that right and a good conscience require manliness in their responsible champions.

But does not evil in history have a demoralizing influence? Ought not the good always to be rewarded and the bad to be punished according to divine justice? Whoever is met by this question might be puzzled to find a proper answer from among phases of history within his scope. History conducts us over this obstacle by other paths than those of religion, — an obstacle which doubtless frequently wrecks undeveloped moral aspiration. History accustoms man to see the life of an individual everywhere in relation to the whole ; many times it rouses those loftier emotions within him which self-sacrifice awakens when contrasted with selfishness. It prepares him to understand that higher happiness attained by those who devoted themselves to the service of an idea, and found their greatest satisfaction in that devotion, greater even than the happiness which the favor of circumstances might have lent to their material lives, and this leads to the comprehension that in such a life a good deed carries its own reward.

But history also affords the satisfaction of knowing that the ideas advanced by vigorous advocates have at last triumphed in defiance of every obstacle, and have immortalized the noble men who fought, suffered, and died in their

defence. There is finally nothing left but to point out what influence the study of history has upon the mind in developing *Justice*.

The child enters from its birth into fixed views ; as it grows in understanding, its own views are necessarily moulded by the influence of his surroundings. It acquires ready-made opinions without exertion. A general human view gives way more and more to that of party. It acquires blind prejudices of class, of faction, and of religion, and the result is injustice toward those of other modes of thinking. It is the mission of history first and foremost to help that which is generally human to assert its rights, to initiate a rejuvenation of thought, and secure for justice its place in the struggle of factions. Of course it is not that method of history which regardlessly attempts to prove a tendency in any one direction, unwilling to say "just how it has been" ; nor that which tries to show a semblance of truth by occasional words, such as, "Of course we recognize," etc. ; but that which simply puts the question, How did this or that historical phenomenon originate? How on the basis of this or that general human faculty did certain views arise? What circumstances developed it into fixed opinions? To what extent did it find faithful advocates? What historical influence did it exercise on the progress of events? When all these and similar questions are answered, it is to be hoped that the fruits of the investigation will be the foundation of full and determined party convictions. The partisan will never be stronger than the man in one who honors conviction and moral force even in an opponent.

History may be all the more active in its attempts not to allow justice to remain a mere *locus* in morals, or a sigh of the oppressed, because it affords a wide range of activity to the mind, into which prejudice cannot easily enter. Of

course, it is important to our civilization that Athens, and not Persia, — that Scipio, and not Hannibal, — conquered in the past; but it will not require much effort to estimate Darius, as well as Hannibal, according to his human worth. If, when contemplating this material, the desire and faculty have been roused unbiased to hear and understand each party, which requires a really judicial procedure, then the power will be gained, while judging nearer events, to repress blind fanaticism, and arrive at truly exalted opinions, — at knowledge of one's opponents and recognition of their weaknesses as well as of their powers; justice will be done to enemies, especially to those, who, in spite of insurmountable differences of opinion, should be our friends by virtue of a common language, common nationality, and a common government.

If we have hitherto spoken of education for an ideal activity, for justice, etc., this should be regarded merely as an example of a more extensive influence of history. As a distinct conception ordinarily becomes an example regulating the conduct of others;¹ for instance, a scientific combination of unusual perfection simultaneously develops into a model, constantly present to our minds, and into a lively impulse which will not let us rest until we have expressed other trains of thought in the same form, so likewise does this process manifest itself in practical affairs.

If we see upon the domain of legislation, of science, of literature, or of art, an image of perfection for its own era in the life, taken as a whole, of an individual or a nation (simple and restricted as the features of that era may be when compared to those of to-day), the example thus furnished us, if clearly and powerfully apprehended, will vigorously impel us to mould the present to a similar perfection.

¹ Bencke I., § 12.

To this extent the influence of the remotest past extends to the distant future, and contributes to the education of the human race through its own activity in the service of the good, true, and beautiful.

Wm. von Humboldt says, in his above-mentioned work : “ The value of history is not confined to its detached examples or warnings, which often mislead, and seldom instruct. Its true invaluable merit is to enliven and purify the mind for practical action, more through the form which is connected with events than through the events themselves ; to prevent it from wandering in the region of mere ideas, and yet to control it by ideas : but while we often follow the narrow path between the opposing errors, constantly to remind us that we can effectively take part in the course of events, only by clearly recognizing and resolutely maintaining the essential aim of the ideas prevalent at the moment.” And further on he says : “ The business of the historian, reduced to its last and simplest form, is to represent the struggles of an idea to gain a foothold in *reality*.”

If this is the essence of history, then its results may coincide with Schiller’s advice : —

“ Drum paart mit eurem schönsten Glück
Mit Schwärmers Ernst des Weltmanns Blick.”

If the preceding pages have correctly described the advantages which the essence of history spontaneously offers to its observers, it needs no editing *in usum Delphini* for our German boys (except the mere helps to understanding it, expected from the teacher), in order that the lessons it imparts to them may be such as to forward our national welfare.

The German boy will then learn to reconstruct in imagination the distant scenes of antiquity, that he may also judge the history of his own country with reference to its local

conditions. He will learn to know and to comprehend the natures of various portions of humanity, in order to understand his contemporaries.

He will learn to grasp general relations and their effects upon man, in order to comprehend the situation of his countrymen, and penetrate into the possibilities of the future.

He will learn how man can modify the conditions surrounding him, in order hereafter, by word and deed, to aid his country in weal and woe.

He will penetrate to the comprehension of historical ideas, and trace their progress to realization, in order some day vigorously to grasp the ideas of his own time; but he will also learn to sympathize with every German boy in universal indignation at evil deeds, and in rejoicing at every good and noble action. From the great thoughts and ideas of such men who have devoted themselves, regardless, to the service of ideas, even if they erred, and must be sought in a hostile camp, he will imbibe enthusiasm and confidence to do his best in life for what he recognizes as truth.

He will learn to judge and appreciate his future opponent according to the circle of ideas in which he finds him, in order hereafter nobly to carry on the strife himself.

Before all, he will learn to love and practice truth and justice, even to his enemies; and while the strife of men is raging about him, and the truth is obscured by the whirling dust, he will see it pure and undimmed, and on his future entrance to the scene of action he will raise the strife of ideas to a higher plane, or aim at a higher unity. But he will not lose the teachings of history, and learn to hate his fellow-citizen in blind fanaticism; nor will he learn to condemn differences of opinion before he learns to understand them, — not hear, as Socrates complains, *ατεχνῶς ἐρήμην κατηγορημάτων ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός* (those who deliver their accusations to empty air where there are none to defend).

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Then, perhaps, we shall approach the goal pointed out by the author of the first part.

Happy the people upon whose nature the sense of fellowship, and the feeling of nationality, are so deeply stamped, that they overcome and reduce to subordination any diversities which may yet remain, even those which lie deepest, — diversities of education, of rank, of religion itself. How fortunate for Germany if every German Catholic cared more for every German Protestant than he did for the Catholic of another country; and *vice versa*, of course. All would then combine to maintain the good possessed by their country in common, and to win what it still needs.

CHAPTER III.

Introduction.

BEFORE any definite advice in regard to the teaching of history is discussed, it seems advisable to take a view of the foundations upon which the theory of instruction must rest. The time is past when it seemed sufficient to train the public school teacher according to a given rule. He undervalues his task if he does not arrive at conscious convictions in regard to the exercise of his art,—in teaching history, perhaps, more than in other branches; for just as, thirty years ago, Loebell denied the existence of an historical method, we cannot to-day point conclusively to a “generally known and recognized method of teaching history.” Every one must carefully reflect in order not to waver from one seemingly plausible method to another, soon to forsake that also. In order not to run the risk of finding ourselves quite lost amid the confusion and rhetorical kinds of treatment to which this important part of our subject has too often been subjected, or not to refuse to treat it at all, discouraged by the vagueness and ambiguity of the expressions, which are frequently praised or blamed only according to the diversity of meaning attributed to them, a few words on the various forms of historical transmission may be here added, as well as on the limitation of the material for purposes of instruction; further, its arrangement, and finally on prescribed methods and tendencies.

I. THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF HISTORICAL WRITING.

In characterizing the various kinds of history, we will follow the expositions in Gervinus "Grundriss der Historik." The first form in which history is transmitted is that of genealogies, such as those recorded by Manetho of the Egyptian Pharaohs, or those of the Jews, or of the German States, as they have from time to time been impressed on our minds to quicken our religious and patriotic sense. The second form is that of the *chronicle* or *annals*, a mechanical recital of contemporary facts in chronological order; only outward acts, without reference to motives are observed, and divine interference replaces natural causes. In ages of national progress this develops into popular history. National consciousness when aroused requires the recollection of the past, like a self-made man who follows up his hitherto remote family history.

One might take various chronicles as a basis, and give a series of stories from the life of a nation in chronological order, and under favorable circumstances with an external connection. The founding of the Roman republic is represented by the story of the *portentum*, the mission to Delphi, the besieging of Ardea, the outrage to Lucretia, and the revolt. These previous events, however, do not in themselves sufficiently explain why such consequences must almost inevitably follow; for have not similar horrors been perpetrated without similar consequences? More modern events can be similarly represented; Napoleon I., Jena, Auerstätt; the reforms of Stein and Sharnhorst; the winter in Russia; the "Appeal to my people"; battles, etc. All these events are connected; but even if the events and deeds of these men are inspiring, they furnish no insight into the reasons of this internal progress as it resulted from the combined and

opposing action of existing forces. As these stories derive their interest from their national character, it is of no consequence whether they are important or not. They will all be magnified by national feeling instead of being dwarfed by a general view of humanity. Livy and Johann von Müller offer examples of this method of writing history. The third form is that of the *memoir*. Stein in his well-known memorial of April, 1806, in which he undertook to point out the evils of cabinet government to the king, presupposed a knowledge of the circumstances as they had previously existed, and as they were still in practice between the king and his ministers, and merely mentioned them. His immediate object was to explain the causes of the former and present procedure, and point out their advantages and disadvantages.

Accordingly, a memorial does not narrate but presupposes the relation of facts: it simply reasons on historical events, strives to derive all these circumstances from their sources, to refer the actions of persons to their motives, to explain their decisions, and throw light on the results; consequently it has the form of moral and political instruction. The Stein memorial, however, represents a certain ideal of its kind. Most men are wanting in largeness of historical view. A memoir is confined to a narrow circle of the present, and mostly seeks the reasons for its phenomena in the present, and searches for the most hidden details within this limit; "it hears the grass grow," as the saying is, and is quite capable of explaining the policy of Pericles from motives of ambition and the love of power.

As national history is connected with chronicles, so is the memoir with the pragmatic form of written history. The definition of pragmatic history is generally taken from Polybius. Brought with thousands of his countrymen to

Rome, he saw how the history of all nations, the *οἰκουμένη*, converged toward one point; that the fate of Carthage and all countries west of Italy centred, and that of the eastern countries began to centre, in the Roman empire.

(Pol. I. 3.) “In early times all events were detached,—since those times history begins to unite as into one body,—and all events move, as it were, toward one point.”

(I. 4.) “History therefore should permit us to survey at one glance the course which Fate has taken to bring all events to completion.”

(I. 2.) “But the Romans, after subjugating, not merely single districts, but nearly the whole world, have erected an empire of such power that their fellow-men must be astounded at it, and posterity will never be able to exceed it.” In detail this will be more plainly shown by our work, which will at the same time prove of what great and manifold use *πραγματική ιστορία* can be to those eager to learn. The pragmatic form of historical writing accordingly has for its object to exhibit the relation of events in their tendency to an end which has been ordained for history by Providence. It endeavors to show by what means hitherto this end has been gained, and by so doing at the same time to instruct the learner on the proper modes of procedure for the future.

It is easily seen that this method of Polybius can be applied to other ages, and will be preferred when the historian individually regards an event, either as controlling all others, or even specially important. A contemporary of Innocent III. might have related events since the birth of Christ as converging only toward the supremacy of Roman theocracy, and have pointed out to the initiated the ways and means of extending it still farther.

As the form of the memoir can be employed to impart instruction on the separate questions and aims of the pres-

ent, so pragmatic history regards all preceding historical development as a background of action for the attainment of a *single* aim.

However many advantages attach to the pragmatic form of treating history, there is an objection to which it may easily be exposed, — a twofold error to which it *must* be subject. The danger consists in this, that it represents all development as simply the result of the conscious intentions and actions of men, while other forces are not considered. (See below, fourth form.) For example, “the Romans have erected an empire of such power,” etc.

The error is, firstly, this, that the pragmatic writer undertakes to make an aim which lies entirely in the present appear as the converging point to which all preceding development has tended; as Polybius, for instance, at the time of the ancient supremacy of Rome, which in a distant future will appear only as a single phase in a series of developments, parallel with many other series which at the moment were less predominant. Secondly, the entire series of events is considered only in one of its relations, — that is, with reference to the assumed end, — and not in its natural complexity; thus many phenomena tending to this end cannot be suitably connected with the remainder. Polybius hardly mentions social phenomena at all.¹

That form of writing history which exhausts its subject and is satisfactory not only at a special period, one in fact that does not impress a transitory character upon historical science, is not therefore adapted to the pragmatic form of writing history.

¹ A treatment of history is equally subject to this error, which uses history as a background for the “Kingdom of God” on earth according to the Protestant or Catholic dogma. “Profane” painting and sculpture, political activity, etc., will receive no consideration in a narrative based upon the principle of church history.

The writing of pragmatic history may also be understood in another sense, which explains the censure or praise it has received from different quarters. Gervinus thinks that a purely fictitious narrative cannot fail of a didactic result, — still less so historical writing which deals with actual man; and that, if the didactic mode of expression be regarded as in fiction compared with an objectional kind of historical writing, therefore, the true sense of the pragmatic method is not to be looked for in Polybius, but in the great Italians, Paolo Sarpi, Guicciardini, and Davila, and is characterized by its derivation from the memoirs of a time abounding in such writings, and its nature is, “to explain psychologically, and with reference to human motives, the occasions and defects of historical occurrences.” He does not heed how small a measure he is applying to the great march of historical events in attempting to explain human affairs by the petty motives of individuals.¹

Others, again, understand by pragmatic history that which, avoiding the mere recital of disconnected facts, or a series of loosely arranged narrations, and likewise avoiding abstract reasoning, seeks to explain historical phenomena from their ultimate natural causes, whether human or superhuman.

This last approaches the fourth form of treating history.

The pragmatic conception of history, in the sense applied to the epithet by Gervinus, suggests the notion of rowing entertained by a child whose first view of an oarsman is obtained over a dike which intercepts his view of the water, and who

¹ The writer of popular history is concerned with the early period of national development, which exhibits the whole mass of the people in action, and concerns itself with the nature, gifts, the character and the exploits of individuals. On the other hand, the pragmatic writer originates in a later period when national power is weakened, and when the course of events is controlled by individuals of superior ingenuity, who conduct affairs by ingenious means; by intrigue, calculation, and diplomacy.

consequently imagines that similar movements would enable him to glide over his native meadows.

The pragmatic writer, in the wider sense, resembles the observer who stands at the point for which a boat is making, knowing the power of the stream, and all the reefs and shallows of the channel, and now watches the crew battling its way among them. What if we entered the boat ourselves, and shared the struggle, the fear, and the hope that inspires the seamen to reach their destination.

To follow the stream of history consciously, it does not suffice to comprehend human endeavor alone, nor do we reap the right harvest if we coolly watch the work from a distance.

All active and creative forces of history are to be kept in view, and their study forms the special province of the historian (W. von Humboldt). "Human efforts, even those of the mightiest, are often defied by other forces. The form and structure of the soil most effectually influenced the history of the valley of the Nile; the peculiarity of climate, the history of the Balkan peninsula, the occupations of the Peloponnesians, their laws, the mental constitution of the Italians, defied the genius of a Hannibal; the intellectual activity and peculiarity of the Germans defies foreign or spiritual oppression. The influence of art and science bore its part in reviving the progress of our people. The constitution of Old England rejected the government of the Stuarts as a heterogeneous element. But why, above all, did the heroism of Coriolanus find no abiding place in Rome; why did the honorable Brutus stain himself in vain with the blood of his friend, or the high tribunal with that of the Nazarene? Was it an accident in human fate that Barbarossa's brilliant grandson saw his life's happiness wrecked at Firenzuola. Was it an accident that Luther escaped the stake at which Huss was sacrificed? Did Prussia owe it to the favor of nature alone which pro-

duced a Fredric, that it did not succumb to a world in arms? Was it only the Russian winter, or the valor of the Prussians of 1806, that overthrew the universal empire of Napoleon? Was the success of 1870 due alone to Moltke's genius? and where does a young nobleman and diplomat learn to write a style which our first authors may justly envy? Simple as well as reflecting faith says: God has given it; God has ordained it! Historical science, while honoring God in all, searches for agents which Providence has used, and above all points to one creative force, — the historical idea!

The term is no longer as vague as it might seem to many, even if Gervinus writes in 1837: "The significance and effectiveness, even the mere existence, of such ideas has mostly escaped the insight of historians and critics."

W. von Humboldt, in his excellent essay on the work of the historian, says: "If the historian has analyzed, singly and in connection with each other, the sum of creative forces directly presented by events, there remains a powerfully active principle which, though not directly manifest, yet lends impulse and direction to those forces and ideas, those namely, which according to their nature lie beyond the finite, but still permeate and rule the world's history in all its parts. This idea finds expression in a twofold manner: first, as a tendency, which, though unimportant in the beginning, becomes gradually visible, and finally irresistible, and seizes many men in different places and under different circumstances; secondly, as an expression of force, which in its extent and dignity is not to be inferred from its accompanying circumstances."

A few examples may be mentioned: In Sparta, the idea of Peloponnesian, and, subsequently, Hellenic leadership; in Athens, the idea of civic equality, to which first royalty, and then aristocracy, falls a victim; the idea of Tyranny, which

became paramount in Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and in Athens, as well as in other places. Likewise, the idea of national leadership on the part of Athens awakened by the Persian war; the ideas of artistic production, especially in the age of Pericles; and later, Greek unity under Macedonian leadership, for the conquest of Asia.

In Rome, the same idea of civic equality in its struggle during two centuries; the idea of the universal Roman empire; the idea of autocracy over the citizens of Rome in the last century of the republic; the religious ideas of Mohammedanism, like those of Christianity, for the extension of the faith; the idea of the Roman empire among the Germans; the idea of papal sway as the representative of God on earth; that of German citizenship; of the Reformation; princely power; that of *liberté, fraternité, égalité*; that of German unity and liberty; that of freedom of conscience; equality before the law, etc. In the struggle of such similar ideas as these against opposing and often declining tendencies the history of the world was shaped.

It would be a misconception of the truth to attribute a predominant character of selfishness to such tendencies. It is in the nature of the thing that the representatives of similar ideas were at first individuals or classes who expected an improvement of their condition from the advancement of their idea. Even a Fredric, who was weary of ruling slaves, and perhaps looked with discouragement to the future, did not alone take the initiative of inaugurating an era of freer development.

The Genesis of the above and kindred ideas, on the whole, is probably this, that existing circumstances produce a sense of discomfort and dissatisfaction; gradually the thought of how to remove it, in what direction to steer, takes hold of those most nearly concerned; to this question the common

conscience finds the response of a moral justification which points to a common goal, and converts and elevates selfishness into public spirit. This, and the consciousness of acting with and for a great idea, creates an impulse, and the enthusiasm and the readiness to sacrifice individual existence for the idea.

Certain it is that undisguised selfishness largely clings to the idea, and only noble natures feel nobly in this way, and are its true supporters; ¹ without them the selfishness of the masses would be physically crushed like a Catalinian conspiracy, by the egotism of the strongest; or, when the parties are equally matched, afford a spectacle like that of the time of the thirty Tyrants in Athens.

While the pragmatic writer makes a final historical result the aim of his investigations, and retrospectively gathers facts from the range of phenomena which have influenced that final result, the historian of ideas begins his work at the source of development, with the appearance of the historical idea, and follows it through its struggles and victories to old age, after the accomplishment of its work in order then to trace the new forces that enter the lists against the effete forms and prepare themselves for dominion.

While the pragmatic writer looks more to the outward result of the active forces, from this point of view choosing and discarding from among his material, the historian of ideas follows the force, the activity of which actually constitutes history, and therewith has a safe standard by which

¹ Lazarus, on "Ideas in History," page 73. It is certainly possible for a statesman, even without ideal sentiments, to aid in introducing ideal institutions; but then he should not be regarded as their originator; those are in fact to be so regarded who demand such institutions, and whom his selfish interest requires him to gain over or pacify. But the creation of moral or practical institutions of ideal worth, by mere chance, is as probable as the production of statues and pictures by chance would be in art.

to distinguish the important from the unimportant. Further, while the pragmatic historian follows out an external result he is apt to ascribe an undue influence to human actions, while the historian of ideas takes the true propulsive power as the groundwork of his delineation, and on this basis alone human aspirations, thoughts, and labors receive just appreciation.

An idea not alone directs the volition of an age; it likewise begets the power for its own realization. What gave its creative character to the age of Pericles? what their unflinching fidelity to the first Christians, and their ardent zeal to the priesthood of Gregory? whence did the Hussites draw their distinctive force? whence Luther and Loyola their power? what again inaugurated a literary epoch in Germany, and strengthened the arms of our forefathers in 1813, and of our brothers in 1870? Did the mothers of *those* periods happen to ripen the germ so rich in talent, receptivity, and power? Did exactly those generations enjoy exceptionally good training? As young Themistocles was transformed when the fame of Miltiades revealed the ruling idea of his age to him, and Falstaff's comrade was changed when he encountered the rebel Percy, so each one has experienced within himself what manner of man he was when vegetating in the commonplace routine of daily life, and what when realization of an idea quickened his endeavors. It was in this way that the fugitives of Jena became the heroes of Leipsic, — solely by the force of an idea.

We have thus far become acquainted with four modes of writing history: (1) Genealogy. (2) The Chronicle, which records events only in the order of their appearance; and, springing from this, popular history, which, based on chronicles, furnishes a more outwardly connected history of a people. (3) The Memoir which discusses the causes and

results of a single historical fact, and the pragmatic form of history hence derived which regards an objectively or subjectively important phase of the present as the point toward which all previous activity of man has been directed, and generally making only a didactic use of this activity for human affairs. (4) The form of history which directs its attention to the ideas which successively originate, regarding them as the forces which control epochs, quicken them, and in their sequence represent the principal revelations of the human soul.¹

It would far exceed our allotted space to treat at all exhaustively of the historical idea, — of the causes which promote its origin, of the union in it; of necessity and freedom, and the conditions of a powerful development of ideas in a people. This must be left to the study of works upon the subject (W. von Humboldt, Gervinus, Lazarus²), and individual reflection.

It will be well to point in the beginning to an error the historian or student may fall into who views universal history according to ideas, — it is that of allowing ideas to *overshadow* historical life. We conceive ideas to be a power that directs and stimulates the will, but it only becomes effective and attains a brilliant development when individuals profoundly and energetically accept them. Far, therefore, from ignoring the spontaneous activity of the individual in history, the historian of ideas must insist upon it; he is only required not to regard human power as all-sufficient. But, if

¹ See Droysen's *Historik*, on the "Development of Ideas in the Origin and Growth of History."

² Lazarus on "Ideas in History." The extent and energy with which ideas are comprehended furnishes the standard of education; the fervency and strength of will in devotion to ideas furnishes sentiments; and both constitute the individual character of man. The standard of ideality is likewise that of individuality.

it were his intention to neglect no force, — least of all, that which is most important for the comprehension of events, — he is at the same time so far from looking upon human actions as a puppet-show, that it is his immediate object to bring to light the true effects of human activity, and rescue it from the illusions of the commonplace.

As a further guide, we will mention the classification of historical forms which Hegel gives in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, published by his adherents. He dwells upon one point of distinction, which is also well worth notice in teaching history; but for the rest, his ideal — the much talked of philosophical view of history — may be entertaining as a brilliant exposition, but it should be kept out of the school-room.

Hegel first points out the difference between an original and a reflective treatment of history. In the former, the mind of the author becomes identified with the spirit of the subject and the age which he describes; of this kind are Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's and Cæsar's Commentaries, — all simple chronicles and memoirs, and all contemporary history, in fact. In the latter form the mind of the author is far in advance of the spirit of the age which he describes. As a poet invests the characters of an historical drama with the spirit of his own time, so Livy makes the Romans of the sixth and seventh centuries speak like the lawyers of his day.

This suggests the remark, that in order to become familiar with the spirit of any age we must read its contemporary authors.

After Hegel has characterized the subdivisions of reflective history, compilations, pragmatic and critical forms, and special histories (those of art, law, etc.), he turns to the philosophical treatment of history, that is, to the treatment which a thinker should give it.

As an explanation of the difference between the above-mentioned fourth class of history and the philosophical view of it, the following may be added:—

Hegel designates the ultimate aim of the world to be the mind's consciousness of its freedom, and by this the actual existence of freedom itself. The difference between Oriental, Roman, Greek, and Christian history he maintains to consist in this, that the Orientals only know that one is free (despotism); the Greeks and Romans only knew that some were free (hence slavery); the Germanic nations alone arrived at the consciousness, through Christianity, that man as man is free; that universal history should have for its substance the development of the self-conscious mind. The Hindoos were an example of the *dreaming* mind, the spirit being resolved into the highest source. The world of inner consciousness was first revealed to the Persians in material antithesis to the universe in light.

Among the Jews, the antithesis to the universal is *spiritually* conceived, — in the one spirit, Jehovah.

In Egypt, the mind begins to emerge from the life of nature.

In Greece, the mind was introspective, — it overcomes that which is special, and by so doing frees itself.

Among the Romans, the mind, he says, was resolved into generality, which makes mind itself universal.

In Christianity, the mind first withdraws into pure introspection in communion with the universal; then follows the reconciliation, which is the introspective mind transforming the world.

However freely the mind may soar above matter in this attempt, a view of this kind will hardly be an advantage to historical culture. It is certainly correct that development of mind forms the substance of history, and yet W. von

Humboldt's remarks in regard to that view: "Philosophy dictates an *aim* to events; this search for final causes, however they may be deduced from the being of man and nature itself, disturbs and falsifies all independent opinion on the peculiar working of forces. Teleological history (τέλος, an end) will therefore never reach the living truth of the destiny of the world's events, because the individual is always made to culminate within the space of its brief existence, and therefore cannot vivify the final aim of events, but seeks it in rigid conditions and the notion of an ideal whole, be it in the gradual cultivation and peopling of the earth, the increasing civilization of nations, the close uniting of all in the final attainment of a perfect condition of society, or in any such idea."

There is, therefore, a wide distinction to be made between this philosophic view of history and the above one of taking historical ideas as a basis. The latter traces the ideas which at first unconsciously, then consciously, have given epochs their direction, worth, and power; the former discusses the relation of successive phenomena according to a standard of present development.

CHAPTER IV.

Limit of Subjects.

AFTER discussing the various kinds of history above, we must now consider more or less thoroughly those parts of history by means of which pedagogues have thought to arrive at a practical solution of their problems. From the whole which is to be simplified by selections, let us proceed to the groups by which we are to simplify. — *Universal history* furnishes the complete organism of history: “Through what phases did man pass before he advanced from an un-social dweller of caves to the brilliant thinker and polished man of the world?” Universal history answers this question. — No less conspicuous is the contrast offered by the same generation in different countries. Here two distant nations divided by an ocean are made neighbors by their wants, industries, and political ties; there the inhabitants of opposite shores of a stream are insurmountably separated by different liturgies. Universal history explains these facts.¹

The task of universal history therefore is to portray the development of mankind in all its historical elements, as far as possible, from its earliest beginnings to the present.

The writer of universal history as such takes no interest in a people or in an age, except in so far as this people and this age have played some distinct part in the growth of conditions directly or indirectly affecting humanity as a whole.

¹ What is the meaning of universal history and for what purpose do we study it? — SCHILLER.

The ethnographic form of history occupies itself with the development of *one* people, whose history it traces with reference to the ideas peculiar to that people; considering foreign incidents and ideas only in so far as their influence upon the history of the people in question is a decided one. But it is evident that the pedagogue in making his plans must take into account the character of his subject. We see at a glance that the ethnographic treatment appropriate to antiquity — the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans — must be modified as we approach the middle ages, and still more when we arrive at modern events, until it begins to resemble the style of universal history. This is required by the gradual increase of the reciprocal relations between different countries due to the universal character of Christianity and to the consequent influence of nation upon nation.

Universal history was further divided into political history and the history of civilization,¹ and comprised under the first that series of developments which resulted from the actions of the representatives of the national will, whether in regard to its inner conditions, — in which the question by what factors popular will is to be represented often plays a special part, — and in regard to the relations of a state to its neighbors. By the history of civilization has been understood that series of developments which, though standing in reciprocal relation to public events, resulted from private activity among the people, whether for perfecting the material foundations of life, — agriculture, trade, and commerce, — or in regard to the intellectual ones, — religion, art, and science. But there can be no doubt that the terms thus chosen are not adequate to the spirit of the subject, nor even in the main to the actual intention of their authors.

¹ In this sense the often quoted contrast between church history and profane history seems to be obviated.

Were we to accept the antithesis literally, the terms seem to originate in a prejudice, the philanthropy of which, to be sure, cannot be denied. But what shall we say to statements like these (compare *History of Civilization of Modern Times*, by O. Henne-am-Rhyn) : “The history of civilization regards political events only as struggles for the possession of power, as mere expressions of a human passion, the thirst for power, which, according to circumstances, is united with ambition or avarice. All these struggles do not advance mankind, add nothing to their improvement, and not only do not further ideas of the good, true, and beautiful, but do their utmost to obstruct them in their beneficial effect on mankind.” With the above let us contrast the words of Gervinus : “Active life is the centre of all history ; therefore history was always understood to be political history, and rightly, because man’s whole power is concentrated upon active life.”

These views may be explained as a wholesome reaction against the exclusive and equally narrow consideration of political history so long in vogue. We are as much as any one for educating the mind, for ennobling it, and nourishing it by the contemplation of civilizing activity in the shadow of peace ; an activity which is the true fibre in the national tree of life.

In our time the slaughter of battle certainly excites more horror than admiration, and increases the desire for the peaceful emulation of nations ; but we should be blind to reality if we altogether denied the importance of battles and political agitation to the history of civilization. They are important, and not only in the limited sense, that every misfortune nerves our strength.

When a civilized people is able and willing to protect its independence against barbarians, — if Germany rises in de-

fence of its national possessions, independence, dignity, and honor, against foreign power; if the Geomori prepared to wrest their rights from the Eupatrides, the citizen from the noble, the prince from the feudal baron of his time, the people against absolutism, — such efforts cannot be set aside by such phrases as, “struggle for possession,” “luxury and power combined with either ambition or with avarice”; the causes, motives, and consequences belong to the province of civilization, and teach lessons enough. Inertness at such times is a crime that at once results in ruin to civilization; its opposite is manliness, which is the principal element of civilization. The antithesis implied by political history and history of civilization is therefore false. The essence of all history is history of civilization, and it is equally one-sided to attempt the separation of private or of public activity from the organism.¹

If the endeavor to limit the material of universal history resulted in the history of one nation and its ethnographic treatment, a further limitation takes place by the monographic treatment common to all sciences. It selects a phase of history and sets it before us as a complete whole according to its origin, its course, its consequences. According to Droysen’s “Grundriss der Historik,” it shows how a historic phase in its inception and growth has accomplished itself, and, as it were, has intensified till it works its way out, producing its own genius.

This method derives its origin and value from the consideration that it is more instructive and attractive to treat *one* phenomenon thoroughly than a series superficially, although it sacrifices a number of important facts which lie outside of its domain, in favor of less important circumstances which

¹ Compare Zeiss, “Text-book of General History from the Standpoint of Civilization.”

are required for its comprehension. Still, one important practical advantage is thus gained, — the faculty for a clear and distinct view of the whole, — and its application is all the more important owing to the limited amount of time allotted to instruction in history. It is well to treat epochs embracing the most important historical ideas in the height of their development monographically, and to drop those which include the decline of one, and the yet undeveloped vigor of another.

If historic monography give the development of conditions dependent on a single train of thought, historical biography in the same way gives the development of a historic personality. According to Droysen, the biographical form shows how the genius of historic development pre-determines the existence, deeds, and suffering of a person from the beginning, how it manifests itself and bears testimony to it. To us, however, it seems as if this definition appertained only to personalities whose genius originated the idea that ruled their age.

The use of biographies for teaching history has found many advocates. A biography, it is claimed, can be more easily comprehended than a complicated monograph describing relations in spite of the prevailing unity of thought. Of course, popular monographs and ethnographic history can only be contrasted with *popular* biography (for example, the works of Herodotus, and Pertz's "Life of Stein"), for this reason, that the comprehension of what is new can only be based on previously-acquired notions; a child brings little judgment for the comprehension of general conditions, but, on the other hand, the inner life, feelings, and circumstances of other individuals find much better illustration in the child's own mind, and thus awakens its interest and its capacity of comprehension.

But the value of biography must not be overrated in view of the total aim to be reached, and various objections to its extensive employment can be and have been raised. The principal aim, after all, is interest in and comprehension and judgment of facts; although for historical culture the comprehension of others, especially distinguished characters, is not to be undervalued, being besides one of the objects to be attained, if the standpoint of the valet for whom no master is a hero is to be overcome.

Now, to exhibit the state of affairs in a certain completeness or definiteness of form would be beyond a biographical plan, and a sketch of it is only necessary, in so far as it concerns the subject of the biography, with his actions and feelings. It also has the defect of frequently exhibiting the facts in an incorrect historical light. Sympathy for the person often conflicts with historical judgment, and often occasions a want of the completeness afforded by the development of the whole. Themistocles, Cimon, Alcibiades, the later position of Camillus, and the attitude of Scipio minor, Cicero's life, may awaken sympathies which we must historically condemn. The history of Coriolanus taken by itself would lead to the condemnation of the unwashed plebeians, but the course of events condemns him. Besides, a history consisting of biographies offers too much material from private life, to the detriment of more important things.

Further, A. Petsch has pointed out that neither the advantage of distinctness nor that of unity of action belongs to a "History in Biographies," as has been asserted; that neither the person nor the character is the concrete, but the *fact* and the action; an historical character cannot be directly viewed, but only deduced from the separate actions of the persons by means of abstraction; as far as unity of action is concerned, he holds the acting person to be an unfitting link to combine

the separate actions, as one person may be active in many directions, and greatly change his activity at different periods of life, — a unity of historical facts is arrived at when these have a causative connection ; cause and effect, principal and dependent circumstances, plan, hindrance and help. But whatever is remarkable in history, he says, is done by individuals, or by the many under individual leaders. A principal person will always appear, as a matter of course, leading or urging the remainder, if not personally active. Finally, he says, a history in biographies is nonsense, because it compels us, instead of a drama, to read each part by itself ; so that to comprehend the parts of Xerxes, Themistocles, and Aristides, the unlucky king of the Persians must take the trouble of three journeys to Greece.

A history in biographies, therefore, in its strictest sense, he thinks, is to be rejected. The demand that history must be biographically treated is correct, he admits, but does not clearly define the older formula that “ For the first instruction in history, only *stories* from history are adequate.”

But do not let us forget that the purely biographical form, within certain limits, has its claims to attention, in so far as it is an important object to comprehend the principal personages of history.

In other respects, “ History in Biographies ” is an impossible idea. It is a mistaken undertaking to abstract *in usum delphini* from the once recognized nature of a thing. The form of biographies corresponds to the nature of states and traditions ; now, a historical personage can, may, and shall have its biographer ; but, to combine another purpose with it, the teaching of history *itself* is an incongruity.

Let us have one or the other. Either pure biography, adding from history whatever is suitable to the plan of the biography, without wanting or attempting more ; or history, and then

with all possible distinctness, clearness, and vividness, and all the aids which pedagogic art affords, which includes extensive considerations of the personal element; develop events according to the spirit of history, the *status quo*, with its imperfections; the developing idea, its chief representatives; its dramatic progress, with the cause of action of the principal persons, the issues evolved from its causes; the new state of affairs.

The general phases will gain much in clearness, interest, and freshness if they are shown variously reflected in the mind of the principal advocate of an idea, as he perceives it a thought growing more distinct and urgent in his mind; progress and obstacles of the action, viewed from the standpoint of the hero, and reflected in the changing emotions which he undergoes; likewise, the issue and its consequences must not be given in the weakened reflection that results to the narrator after centuries, but in that which must have existed for those directly concerned (comp. above, *original* and *reflected* history).

A still more decided instance of the personification of generalities is given us by Livy (II. 23), in his story of the Centurion, to illustrate the condition of the people before the first secession. Imitation would not be difficult if a supposed case were taken to represent the mass.

It has further been considered necessary, in view of the contrast between *conditions* and *actions*, as it appears in history, to make some choice. Director Schubart, in the first edition of his "Guide," recommends for the beginning a study of national conditions and circumstances, together with general views as the object of instruction.

It cannot be doubted that in this case there is an attempt to substitute the earlier and still customary recital of princes and wars, but that its value has now become purely historical;

for, with respect to the progress of comprehension, the end has been put in the beginning. It is the most difficult task to make the national state and conditions of things clear and interesting to a beginner. It can best be done by showing them in their growth founded on historical action, — thus it was earlier, thus later, — because it is growth, and not being, which constitutes the essence of history. But, by no means, general sketches in the style of our “guides”; — is a boy to learn osteology before he has seen the body in the fulness of vigorous action?

The insistence on “deeds and words” from another quarter seems far better adapted to the elementary stage. This mode is certainly more correct, in contrast to the one-sided description of conditions, and of the silent, half-unconscious influence of circumstances which gradually asserts itself onward to a display of reasoning and opinions, and the employment of statistic material and general sketches.

It would, again, be an error to employ and delineate deeds and words detached from concrete conditions, particularly because the modes of action of the most widely differing times and circumstances appear in the light of *one* standard only, — either in that of reason alone, in regard to the success of an intention, or in a purely moral aspect in reference to the general moral law.

The first standard is vicious, and leads to the worship of the idol “Success”; the second is narrow. Surely every action is subject to general moral law, and a wholesome moral sense must be allowed to assert itself in the face of the most desirable and brilliant success. The maxim, that “the end justifies the means,” would require the annihilation of the Germanic mind to establish itself. And yet history does not pass the same judgment upon the Stuarts when they resisted the rights of Parliament as upon the Great

Electors when he opposed the East Prussian Diet. To condemn or to justify the one or the other according to the laws of morals would be as impossible as it would be sophistical. To judge everything by a single standard would be entirely unhistorical. The right inferences can only be drawn from the special circumstances, the relative necessities, and the idea.

Even here the nature of history cannot be ignored without detriment; the same considerations hold good as above; a characterization of the *status quo*, with its motives, must necessarily precede the principal actions as clearly as possible, and often some act or experience may serve as an example. Comprehension of the new order of things can be obtained by the terse and vivid description of preceding actions.

If the principle of instructing by words and deeds is correct, they must not be isolated, but in the connection demanded by the inner sequence of ideas. For example, the deeds of Marius, considered by themselves, create a thoroughly false historic opinion; to correct it, we must add the sufferings of one of the *populares* before 133, the endeavors of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, the proceedings of the *optimates*, and the first years of the Jugurthine War, etc.

Finally, it was thought advisable to select prominent traits of character from general history, and first to delight the youthful mind by these; but if used by themselves they will serve as anecdotes merely, and spoil the taste of the little ones. If they are used according to their purport to illustrate peculiar phases or persons, one must resolutely enter into the full significance of the age to be explained, which in its simplest outline will convey an impression of the iron sternness which stamps the course of human events.

If the foregoing discussion is briefly summarized, we find

chronicles to have the advantage of originality and simplicity; their defect consists in that they are only able to give the external connection of events. The same defect is peculiar to the national mode of writing history (Livy), and originally answers only for the author's own age.

Pragmatic history seems comprehensive in regard to the influence of human activity, but restricted in regard to the deeper causes of development, — which we might designate as those of national psychology, — but likewise restricted in so far that it considers the fulness of the past as a mere step to the concrete phenomenon of the present (Polybius); this, too, is originally adapted only to the age of the author.

The treatment of history according to ideas, penetrating even the relatively ultimate natural causes of historic phenomena, seeks to obviate the one-sidedness of pragmatic treatment, and, far from undervaluing the wealth of real life, it strives to win just appreciation for the endeavor of man in the development of his personality, his ideal labors and institutions. But that too is originally only for the author's own time.

As regards the limitation of historical material, we find that its peculiar nature admits of ethnographic treatment only for the nations of antiquity; that an approach to universal history is demanded by the middle ages, and still more by modern times. The monographic form will be useful in the study of epochs which are filled with important ideas, and the biographical form must not attempt more than it is able to do. Finally, neither political history nor the history of civilization, neither *conditions* nor *deeds*, form antitheses from which any advantage can be obtained for pedagogic use.

CHAPTER V.

Arrangement of the Material.

As far as the arrangement of material is concerned, the endeavor to proceed from the easy to the more difficult, from the near to the remote, has called forth several suggestions (among others, see Prange's essay on History in the fourth edition of the "Wegweiser"). One says the course of instruction must simply conform to the given order of the material. Since history represents existence from primeval beginnings to the present, so in teaching the material must be arranged in progressive chronological order.

A second suggestion affords more freedom. It starts from the pupil's point of view, and begins with the present, ascending step by step to the past; for instance: (1) from 1815 to 1875; (2) from 1789 to 1815; (3) from 1648 to 1789; (4) from 1517 to 1648, etc. This is the regressive method, after completing which we are again to descend from the creation of the world to our own time.

A third proposal is to separate the confused mass of phenomena into distinct groups, arranging them partly around national commemorative days, partly according to intellectual notions, such as growth of the state, succession of wars, the growth of constitutions, the development of domestic, civic, and ecclesiastical life, industries, commerce, and art; biographies which at the same time become a centre of descriptions of circumstances, and for explanations of relations, or of the nearer and remoter group of historical phenomena, are to be classified with reference to the interest and comprehension of the child.

1. Pictures from domestic life.)
2. Pictures from social life.) Biographical.
3. Pictures from political life.)
4. Pictures from state and national life.
5. Pictures from religious life.
6. Pictures from the domain of art, science, inventions,
and discoveries.

Finally, in a chronological survey of the history of mankind, everything is combined, historical ideas forming the basis of division. This is called the grouping method.

Owing to limited space, the following remarks need only be added. Prange's essay, mentioned above, treats the subject more fully.

First, we will touch upon the grouping, then upon the regressive method.

It may be remarked, in regard to groupings around the memorial days of the nation : (1) That we, as Germans, have scarcely any memorial days, except the 18th of October and the 2d of September, and perhaps a few more days of battle which we could stamp as such. But, since it is undoubtedly our duty to occupy a general German point of view, we must ask : (2) Is any one date so important, — does it contain such elements of inspiration, — that because we are annually to commemorate a few important days of national glory, we must present a heterogeneous mass of historical events to suit the almanac? Is history, then, only a series of disconnected stories? In view of the above plan, one is inclined to wish that important events were unimportant, in order not to be grouped with our memorial days, but to be followed in their proper order, to be better understood in the end.

The above proposal was made by F. Stiehl, the well-known author of our school regulations. The same author proposes to divide the remaining historical matter into certain distinct

groups, — constitution of states, wars, etc. It cannot be denied that it is a great source of knowledge, and a constant incentive to study, to follow even a single series of historical developments ; and we are inclined to wonder that not more than one person has suggested a treatment of history according to comprehensible groups. Instead of continually shifting from one subject to another, as is demanded by the strict chronology of chronicles offered to us in some modern histories, let the mind be concentrated upon a single series of developments : it will grasp the changes produced in the course of time, and is necessarily led to recognize their active causes. This is an impression every one must have had who has worked out even one special question in history.

But this method cannot form the foundation of historical composition, for the reason that it can only be advantageously carried out on the basis of a general treatment of history ; hence, for example, the alternation of forms of government may easily be recognized ; but this succession of phenomena, apart from a recognition of its causes, is no more instructive than the mere enumeration and explanation of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy. The reasons of the change in this case, as in others, extend from individual human action far into the development of the whole ; and, therefore, the knowledge of this development of the organic whole must precede the knowledge of any single member, if possible, by gathering what is scattered under one head, yet observing a distinct grouping as far as is consistent with a proper degree of attention to cause and effect.

Dr. Fr. Haupt tried another method of grouping, by marking the above classification of the literature adapted to the youthful understanding. The distinctions between the first three classes may be of service if history is to be taught from early childhood ; but should instruction in his-

tory not begin before the ninth or tenth year, these limits would long have been overstepped by individual experience, tales, and familiarity with legends, — to exact so precise a graduation of instruction would be pedantry.

With regard to the others, it may be doubted whether ideas relating to religion, to art, or even to science, are more foreign to the comprehension of a child, so far as it can be reached at all, than those of foreign and domestic politics. But even admitting this, the difference is not so great that it is necessary to treat of foreign politics *ab ovo usque ad mala*, — from Kodrus to Ducrot, — before taking up religion, science, and art; the same objections that can be made to the first method of classification can also be made to this.

To the regressive method we object, on the ground that it would be normal if history were nothing but a collection of generally comprehensible stories. In that case, those should be told first, which, according to time and place, seem least remote to the child. Now, it happens that an historical idea engenders manifold impressions, as we may observe daily, and each of these branches puts forth twigs. It is not to be supposed that any one who wishes to understand the characteristics of a tree, and watch its growth, will seat himself in its leafy top. Even though we are no longer doubtful concerning the idea which has inspired our century more and more since 1809, still the various phases of it that must be realized are so complicated that endless explanations become necessary in order to make it at all clear, supposing the pupil's head to be a *tabula rasa* as far as previous history is concerned. Moreover, at the outset of each period the *status a quo* requires such an abstract account of the circumstances that the undeveloped intellect of the pupil cannot comprehend it.

Dr. F. Jacobi defends the regressive method by the addi-

tional argument that even pupils of fourteen in the classes of the higher public or polytechnic schools are not capable of comprehending the depths of history.

Certainly not! but, on that account, to abandon a safe position, to favor methods that do not encourage profound work, is especially to be regretted at the present, where certain evidences reveal a great want of independent historical opinion, and raise the demand for higher schools.

Lastly, we cannot agree with the ingenious combination of Fr. Kapp of the grouping and regressive methods, so that the faults of the regressive proceeding seem largely obviated. We are to begin with the present, at the same time observing the principle of progression from the simple to the compound. We are to begin with some account of persons who live, or who have lived, in the native town of the pupil, deriving this account from tradition as well as from family or parish records. Biographies from the history of races and nations follow in the second year. The second step is to treat the history of European states ethnographically. The third step is to include universal history chronologically; and in order to make the inner connection of cause and effect more apparent, all that has hitherto appeared detached is to be combined, etc.

The most difficult part, however, is to make the inner connection; to begin with the most important part in the last stage would be to presuppose the knowledge of everything pertaining to fact in order thoroughly to discuss the inner connection. We fear that this last course would turn out a very abstract one; and the inner connection, instead of being based on a concrete individual view of the subject, would amount to little more than vague imaginings, or a mere repetition *ad verba magistri*.

It seems important to the comprehension of the inner

connection earlier to employ a certain preparatory course. When a personal deed is graphically described, — an event, a series of homogeneous phenomena, an aspiration, a situation or circumstance, or geographical conditions, etc., — so that the listener receives an impression corresponding to the individuality of the subject, he becomes capable of understanding the same impression made on others, and eventually of comprehending an opposite or modified one on differently constituted minds. Still, if the above-mentioned condition has been fulfilled, the events as they appear in the order of their origination will be combined by the mental activity of the hearer, and often even their consequences will be divined. The successful repetition of individual combination which can be awakened in the earliest stage by gentle hints, must prove such a healthy stimulus to the historic sense, that it would be a pity to apply it last, and thus imperfectly to accomplish the task in view. We will refer once more to the above example. To facilitate the comprehension of the inner connection of Roman History, from the middle of the last century but one to the last century of the republic based on the previous wars, I picture the social condition of Rome as individually, personally, and as graphically as possible. I tell about Sempronius Gracchus, his rogations, the fights and his death; about Caius Gracchus and the reaction of the *optimates*; the Jugurthine war with its corruption; the wars with the Cimbri and Teutons, and the attitude of the people; likewise about Marius, Saturninus, Glancia, etc. Does it require more than the impression produced upon the hearer by this graphic description to comprehend the Gracchii? more than a vivid picture of the events that accompanied the fall of Tiberius, in order to read the soul of Caius? does it require more than a few examples of the lawless proceedings of

the optimates to comprehend their fury, or more than a description of the misery, the hopes, and the abuse of the common people, to comprehend their attitude in the war with the Cimbri, and the growing tendency to autocracy, etc.?

As soon as the narrator has himself arrived at relative clearness concerning the inner connection, and concentrates his narrative upon the chief points in the march of events, the arena is opened to his youthful hearer upon which he can attempt historical comprehension, and can practise, strengthen, and develop it.

This arena, however, is not afforded by either the grouping or the regressive method of teaching, nor by a combination of the two. These methods either presuppose a general connection, or postpone it altogether. The first is unnatural; and to the second Lessing's remark can be aptly applied: "An elementary book must on no account contain anything that hinders or belates the child's access to the important parts in reserve; but, on the contrary, all access to these must be carefully kept open."

Nothing therefore remains but to make the progressive course of history, in its essential features, the *modus procedendi* of instruction; but in such a way that the aims and advantages of the regressive method are kept in view.

Of course the mechanical chronology of history is not to be taken as a standard, in order not to leap from foreign politics to scientific activity, then to art and domestic policy, in the order of the almanac. The grouping method proposed to give each series of developments as a whole. This was not admissible, because what it gained in compactness it lost in making clear its progress in reciprocal action with the whole. It would be interesting, in the course of the progressive method, to keep the separate phases of development in view, and to follow each phase as long as the course and character

of its phenomena is not changed by the general development. It would be erroneous to pursue the religious development from 1400 to 1532 uninterruptedly, and to ignore the discoveries; it would be equally wrong to digress from the death of Albrecht Dürer to the Diet at Speyer, and from that to the achievements of Pizarro. The discoveries must be so graphically described *before* the Reformation, that when this is reached some idea of their importance in regard to it has already been given. Nothing but fragments for memorizing would be obtained if in the grouping method the discoveries were aphoristically introduced as one of the causes of the Reformation.

The regressive and grouping-regressive method failed because its starting-points were complicated, and obstructed thorough comprehension too long; but it had this advantage, that it awakened the pupil's interest in his surroundings, and was calculated to strengthen direct individual views, which are the primary foundations of youthful comprehension. The more vivid and abundant the views are which the boy forms from the life and actions of the men about him, the more easily he will be able to realize remoter events. For no one can conceive the exploits of Pelides and the adventures of Odysseus without combining and applying elements of his own conceptions of the present to the past.

It would be advisable, while teaching the geography of his home and surroundings, to draw the child's attention to the people as well, and to complete the purely geographical element by that of practical life, in order to create a new ground of comprehension for the work of Phidias and Apelles, by familiarity with the productions of native architects and painters. It is, of course, impossible to give a lifelike impression of certain kinds of historical events; modern arrangements and modes of proceeding seem so complicated,

that, to make them clear, even by the most vivid description, would be more difficult than a fanciful account of an analogous, but simpler event, of the earliest ages.

Still, it is well to encourage personal inspection of comprehensible objects out of school in every possible way. In school, instruction in history can count upon object-lessons, reading, and geography, etc., as important preparation; and, in turn, the endeavor of history-teaching must be to bring the events of the past into animated contact with the impressions of the present. If, finally, the regressive method proceeded from the present, the progressive method must endeavor to reach the present in order not to erect a barrier, just before reaching its goal, that checks the spontaneous flow of thought that turns to the past in order to understand the present, and to the present in order to comprehend the past.

CHAPTER VI.

Manner of Treatment and Tendencies.

ON the whole, the progressive method has been a field for the most varied endeavors to adapt history to youthful capacity, or mould it to conform to the spirit of the times.

The attempts can be divided into two classes :

The first class can be called purely pedagogic. Pursuing it scientifically, it looks upon history as that which it is, and seeks the ways in which it can gradually be made more and more clear to the child ; it is confident of producing more satisfactory results in the child's mind the more profoundly and clearly it has grasped the spirit of history, and has developed it from elementary conditions, not attempting to reap any other fruits than those of an intellectual, æsthetic, and moral nature, which result spontaneously from the spirit of history ; no others, in fact, than simply those that have always sounded the praises of history as the teacher of mankind, and to which the Germany of to-day returns with growing zeal.

The second class pursues special aims of religion or politics. Upon this view it is a vague and unsatisfactory object to make the educated boy clear-sighted and intelligent, and zealous to follow the course which he considers the right one, to the best of his ability. His inclination and endeavors must necessarily move in the direction of those principles which happened to be approved as requisite to salvation.

Perhaps there has been no difficulty in putting these tendencies into operation in the history-teaching of our public schools. A choice must be made from an infinite mass of

material which at first appears chaotic. More extensive compilations than needful are in possession of the educated laity. The contrast between the elementary and scientific method was easily employed to remodel the material quite independently of the scientific standard; "the moral obligation of the public school" offered a convenient pretext to introduce the dogmatic element. The province of the public school is of no more actual importance than appears comprehensible to any one who had attended it and made strictures on the teachers. Finally, the desire of each faction to win supporters for the future gives the movement an active impulse, — with the best possible intention, of course! For the Orthodox, Protestant, or Catholic certainly sees salvation in the binding force of his dogma, as does the Free-thinker in freedom of thought, the royalist in absolute monarchy, and the democrat in parliamentary government.

We cannot give the contents of various works for the first class, but hope to aid the reader by a summary of the suggestions they contain. In the fourth edition of the "Wegweiser" Prange enters more fully upon the subject.

Notwithstanding this, it is to be regretted that the public school did not possess independence enough to reject all sectarianism, and to give every just claim its due within its limits.

The entire domain of history lies before us, from its primeval beginnings to our time, with its infinite depths and complexity of the developing phenomena of life; and on the other side stands a little fellow of eight or nine to whom a comprehension of history is gradually to be communicated. It was generally believed, according to the increasing difficulty of forming this comprehension, to point to its progression in three different directions:

1. In regard to the heroes of history.

2. In regard to the different kinds of historical phases of development.

3. In regard to the connection of the different phases with each other, by means of which the organism of an historical development as a whole is first created.

In the first division the progression is to be made from the history of the individual to the history of a nation, and from that to the history of the human race,—biography, ethnography, and universal history.

In the second, progress is from the “public occurrences resulting from political life and reacting upon it,”—changes attracting great temporary attention,—and from internal conflicts, to the entire series of internal political relations, the noiseless development of constitutions and of legislation, and subsequently the various social phenomena lying without the political field properly so called (Löbell, p. 6), and from the natural connection of things with their inner often hidden connection, in order to comprehend events as a chain of cause and effect. As far as biographical instruction is concerned, its defects have already been pointed out; not much is to be gained by it for the comprehension of history itself, if attention is concentrated on separate individuals, and if general events, with which the hero is not directly concerned, are jumbled in regardlessly, a false light is thrown on the whole.

Besides, O. Wilmann, another authority, has recently opposed biography. Carl Peter says (“A Proposition to Reform our Gymnasia,” Jena, 1874, p. 35), “We are of opinion that the biographical view should be made prominent, especially in the lower classes. But mere biography? How many historical personages are there, we ask, of whom we possess sufficient details to furnish a biography adapted to boys? But if they are to be historical personages, biographies of men who have really had a decided influence

on events, and especially on the development of their people in regard to politics, how is a boy to understand such biographies, if he is not familiar with the ground these men occupy, etc.?"

Still instruction in biographies has many¹ good results to show. But we must ask, Why?

No general ideas have, as yet, been of any interest to the boy; even *esprit de corps*, in the class, is hardly to be expected at this age. The natural selfishness with which the child refers everything to itself is only qualified by an interest in his family and his playmates. His sympathies are all individual ones.

Now, it would be altogether inappropriate suddenly to make interest in a community the chief feature of a course of instruction, and we could only console ourselves with the same reflections which we are apt to make at too early a promotion to a higher class, — he will make it up when the class reviews.

It seems essential to pay particular regard to this interest, for the genius of history does not consist in a succession of changes here and there, but in the modes and causes of the changes, especially of the development of a single thing, or a single form, or a single organism greater or smaller, as the case may be, to which all events must be referred; but the organism of the individual is more nearly the one which the child can understand, and in which it can take an interest. Without this central figure, we should have nothing but stories of the anecdotal kind to rouse the interest, unless a special part is assigned to this discipline out of school.

Concerning the objections of C. Peter, it is easily understood that a man's life in all its bearings cannot be comprehended by a boy, and the object consequently should be to

¹ Compare the above-mentioned treatise.

make certain portions of it comprehensible ; and it will be important in picturing the groundwork of the historic act to make full use of the personal element. This seems less difficult, since, in the general whole, only one side is to be considered, namely, that of the total development in so far only as it concerns an historic act, and not the total development itself in all its relations ; the groundwork can therefore be pictured more vividly and in detail, and the personal interest in the hero will promote comprehension of the merely circumstantial.

In regard to the question, How many historical personages there are of whom we know details sufficient to furnish biographies adapted to boys? we think that, first, the use of too many biographies alone will keep us too long from the principal task ; perhaps, too, it will be well at this stage not to lay too much stress on details from private life, although characteristic traits, especially from the youthful days of the person described, will be in place. The principal aim must be to follow the hero to the very centre of his historical importance, to sacrifice much that is unimportant, and to employ the time and power of the scholar in making him follow up the hero in his great activity by every means of detailed description. Among the other events only those should be chosen that are easy to comprehend and actually serve to characterize the hero.

The first question, then, for the teacher who undertakes a biography would be this : In what deed or deeds was the historical importance of the hero shown? The second : Is it of a nature to be explained to a boy? Thirdly : Can it be tolerably well explained? what are the circumstances that preceded the deed? Fourthly : What the idea that inspired the hero? Fifthly : What were the dramatic details of his personal activity at its climax? Sixthly : What the conse-

quences? Seventhly: What was his origin, and what the circumstances of his youth? Eighthly: What were the prominent individual traits of his character? in what deeds and words were they expressed?

It would be erroneous to attempt to give a kind of chronicle of his life: this would be giving quotations and not an individual sketch. From the answers to the foregoing questions, the picture of a life could be drawn with due regard, of course, to chronological order, which would make the pupil familiar with the character, bringing all the circumstances to bear upon the characterization of the hero, and giving an insight into historic activity.

We will finally point out that this personal narrative of a historic character contains the elements for a poetic coloring of the sketch. Accordingly, such biographies would so much the more naturally approach the style of those generally recognized introductions to history, tales, and legends. The form and coloring of such biographies would be identical with that of the legends, but the manifold domains of the actual world would furnish the substance.

With this limitation, historical biography seems admissible at a very early age, — different characters, different ideas of development, different kinds of historical activity, but on no account only those of the soldier and statesman, are brought into notice. From this stage, the comprehension of history as an organic whole is still a long way off.

Ethnography and universal history in themselves define their limits for pedagogic use. It is, of course, understood that a complete course of universal history is out of the question in public schools, and instruction in history would have to be dispensed with altogether, if universal history were required at the outset. To his fourteenth year the boy requires concreter ideas than those of all mankind by which to follow the thread of development.

Dreary and abstract tabular arrangements would, perhaps, be the only means of reaching the goal in appearance ; while, on the other hand, a certain regard to the elements of universal history cannot be dispensed with, for the simple reason that we have stated above, that for centuries no state, and especially not Germany, has had an isolated development that would make an ethnographic treatment of its history possible.

The political life of the Israelites, Greeks, and even that of the Romans, which are those among the ancients we chiefly study, had a prevailing character of exclusiveness ; but doubtless, even here, the condition of foreign nations must be mentioned that came in contact with them, in so far as dramatic interest and historical influence demand it.

The element of universal history enters far more into the history of each separate nation since the spread of Christianity. The ethnographic view is to be kept in sight in so far as Germany was the centre of interest and the representative of development ; in so far, too, as foreign events must be taken into account when they begin to exercise their influence upon Germany, even if we must go far back, chronologically ; but the tribal migrations, Mohammedanism, Papacy, and Italian affairs, the conquest of Constantinople, discoveries, foreign art and science, the monarchical absolutism of France, the Russian colossus, the parliamentary system in England, the French revolutions and subsequent Napoleonism, the commerce and inventions of England and America and the North American Union, and finally the foreign influences of our age, which acted upon Germany, — to ignore all these would be in direct contradiction of the organic course of events, and in contradiction to the universality of the German character, which was ever ready to appreciate foreign merit, to learn from foreigners, and which, in its modesty has attained

a height of civilization, and, though late, a political influence, which warrants every one who calls himself a German in smiling at the national arrogance of others. If the national pride of Germany is to be strengthened in schools, — and it seems almost necessary to do so, — then spend more time in teaching to comprehend our national advantages, which lie deeper than battle cries and the roll of drums; let the manifestations of German mind, German science and art be taught, and leave others to their stupid national narrow-mindedness.¹

If we object in this respect to national narrowmindedness, we cannot, on the other hand, agree with Löbell's standpoint in his "Sketch of a Method of Historical Instruction in Gymnasia," p. 13. The preference which should doubtless be given to one's own nation must consist in greater explicitness of detail, but not in any special prominence given to the plan of the history.

We consider that the interests of pedagogy and of the nation make this prominence desirable: first, because humanity, as such, is too vague an idea for a boy to take an interest in as the exponent of development; and secondly, the concentration of interest upon national history is the preparation for patriotic sentiment in the present.

A second plan, as we saw above, was to proceed from the events resulting from political life and influencing it, — the changes that attract *great public attention*, — to the domestic affairs of state as a whole, to the peaceful development of constitutions and legislation, and from those to the different social phenomena beyond the actual political sphere.

¹ Ten years ago Duruy approved a French reader, for the elementary schools of France, which began: "La nation française est la plus grande la plus genereuse, la plus polie de tout l'univers;" and continued throughout in this strain.

Löbell here, with his usual terseness, expresses what others designate as political history and history of civilization.

The inaccuracy of expression, which has been discussed before, we set aside. What is understood by it is first battles, wars, treaties of peace, inner political struggles, the histories of princes, and then industry, agriculture, commerce, religion, science, and art.

But it seems that this view is far more the slave of historical tradition than the offspring of pedagogy and science. That chroniclers have almost exclusively considered the most prominent events, and those which are most significant in their immediate consequences, is owing to the natural limitation of their task.

An act, the most far-reaching in its influence on civilization, done by one man, and very gradually asserting itself, must escape their observation. Must we follow his example, when science has long since taught us that the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles are equal in their imperishable glory to the battles of Marathon and Salamis; that the image of enterprising Alcibiades pales before that of Socrates; that the *codex Justinianus* was far more important in its results than the campaigns of Belisarius, not needlessly to mention the birth of Christ; that the migrations of Byzantine scholars to hospitable Italy far exceed the deeds of Mohammed II. and of Solyman in importance; that with Fredric the Great, the names of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe are mentioned when the causes of our national greatness are discussed; that the heroes of our time, without envy, call Fichte and Arnt, German science and public education, the powers without whose help they could not so successfully have wielded the Prussian sword in the council of European powers? Besides, what is it that makes the battles of Marathon and Salamis, and even the Peloponnesian war, the war of Bœotia

and Corinthia, and the Theban wars, with all their unpleasant details, objects of such deep interest? Is it only the victorious struggle against overwhelming numbers in the one case, or stratagem in war or politics in the other? It was because in the others the combatants were Greeks, the representatives of ennobled culture, manly freedom, and the ever-youthful representatives of ideal civilization. Of what importance to us are the combats of barbarians on the Asiatic or African plateaus. If Russia attacks Kiva, we are mainly interested in Russian territorial aggrandizement; among the Greeks, we take a psychological interest, even in a Thersites and a Cleon.

If, then, silently developing civilization plays so large a part in history that the forces which shape the world cannot be compared with it, that the most famous deeds without it do not have half its significance, the utmost necessity alone could lead us to ignore it completely in a course of history. But this utmost necessity does not seem to exist. We consider sketchy abstract and condensed descriptions of manners and customs useless; neither does any one believe that a boy has any deep insight into matters belonging to science and art; but in the same limited measure in which he is to gain an insight into foreign and domestic politics, he will likewise gain it for the silent processes of civilization,—even more readily perhaps, because, in the first instance he views the movement of a complicated whole, in the other the activity of one individual only. A boy may not be able to grasp the idea of the beautiful, but he is not equally far from comprehending the mind of a statesman. This obstacle only is made apparent because the material for domestic and foreign politics, simply viewed by means of the chronicler's labor, and that of contemporary and popular writers, is ready for school use almost like a *doctrina parata*; the silent mark of

civilization, as it has been brought to light by science, requires to be simplified by pedagogy itself.

Because this simplification is still largely wanting, there is all the more room for the hope that "the importance of the history of civilization" will no longer be an empty phrase, nor a mere interrogation mark, as soon as it is fully recognized, and capable men undertake the labor of popularizing.¹

In certain respects this will not be difficult. The progress from nomad life to agriculture, the irrigation and draining of the soil, improvement in industries and commerce (barter and sale), and of inventions, can be more advantageously made use of than by a mere indication or summary statement, if special attention is directed to the *actions* concerned in the result. Religious sentiments and views cannot furnish further occasion for doubt if an explanation of their origin is attempted. Even scientific and artistic activities are not such absolutely incomprehensible spheres for the youthful mind. The contrast of seeming and being occurs in the elements of mathematical geography, and is exhibited in an infinite variety of other examples wherever the heuristic form of teaching is in vogue. Search for the truth will no longer be so incomprehensible an idea, and the difference between the old error and the new truth often be grasped; and if the words he discovered must often take the place of a scientific deduction, yet as complete a view of scientific as of political activity may be attained. That object-teaching must prevail in art is a matter of course.

The distinctions relating to long periods of time are certainly comprehensible, — Egyptian and Greek temples; Egyptian and Greek sculpture; Egyptian and modern painting; between Giotto and Raphael, etc. Technical activity can

¹ Compare the excellent descriptions of Egyptian civilization, for instance, by Fredr. Schmidt, in his "Universal History."

be described much more easily than political activity. Characteristics of the artists will be found in abundance; and if the development of the sense of beauty is considered in the whole plan of instruction, — in gymnastics, drawing, writing, and singing, — an approach to artistic perception will have been made, as soon as the boy turns from the conventional statues of Egyptian temples to the form of Pallas and Olympian Zeus; from the massive Theban column to the grace of the Ionic pillar. That much of the poetry of antiquity can be made familiar follows from the general human contents of true poesy, and a glance into the public school-readers confirms it. Besides the epic, lyric poetry will furnish many contributions; and if the story of the drama has been previously told, a feeling can be awakened for the art of Æschylus from the report of the Messenger from Salamis.

Finally, the demand for the due consideration of History of Civilization meets the views regarding the difference between original and reflected history, which Hegel and more modern thinkers have emphasized. In the former, the spirit of subject and object are identical; in the latter, they differ. If our art of narrating to young people must be derived from Herodotus, and Xenophon and Livy must always be attractive to the young, why not interweave selected portions of these authors into the history lessons, in order to blend some parts of the progress of civilization with politics, especially as it is difficult to change from our style of speaking to that of a time long past?

We cannot, therefore, agree to any plan that proposes to exclude the “silent work of civilization” from an elementary course, in spite of undeniable difficulties, owing to the want of practical preparation; but it is in reality as comprehensible as it is necessary. In former times, the histories of wars and princes were more to the purpose, when subjects were to be

trained to self-sacrificing obedience. To-day, when the people no longer exist as *misera contribuens plebs*, but, with all due deference to their sovereign, are called upon to take part in the public administration, to recognize its united force, and comprehend the fundamental conditions of its own welfare, it must no longer be contented with half its due, and allow the other half to play the part of Cinderella.

Thirdly, it was desired that external facts should first be taken just as they present themselves to the observer; connectedly only in so far as an obvious connection results as a matter of course from the simplest view of these facts; and that not till then is thought to be brought to bear upon them, which, in seeking their hidden connection, aims at combining distant occurrences, and at comprehending events as a chain of course and effect. Neither does this contrast seem to be admissible.

In regard to the first point, we must observe that it rather commends the principle of superficiality in regard to the connection of things. Of what use is the teacher if he does not try to direct the mind of the pupil to that "which is *not* directly comprehended, and resulting as a matter of course from the simplest view of facts"? Must that which is immediately evident or what is concealed be regarded as wholly incomprehensible? Is the teacher to do nothing to impart a better comprehension? Is continued dwelling on that which is a matter of course a preparation for future comprehension of the less obvious? At once to comprehend events in their totality as a continuous chain of cause and effect will, of course, be impossible for beginners; but, perhaps, even here it will be possible to adhere to the historical principle in various phenomena, and by this means to advance gradually to general comprehension.

Attention, solely directed to the connection which results

as a matter of course, leads the teacher, with an almost psychological necessity, upon very dubious paths, and has resulted, if we are not mistaken, in a treatment of history for boys from eleven to fourteen years old, for which the poor boys are to be pitied. In traditions and biographies the little fellows are given something for their hearts and imaginations; those more advanced are taught actual history, and are gradually made familiar with its deeper meanings, till they obtain a rich store for mind and memory.

But the intermediate stage! That is considered the period when memory is strongest and most receptive. This must be made use of; this can be exercised! And now memorizing is the order of the day; committing the whole outline of history, with all external events and their natural connection, to memory, in order later to make use of all these details to get a total impression of historical development.

It is certainly true that at this period the most important facts must be permanently impressed upon a boy's mind; but the question is, whether, going farther in this direction, justice is done to the subject or to the boy. It must not be forgotten that every impression a boy of twelve receives has a peculiar tenacity; and the question must be decided whether disconnected details suffice for the boy at that stage of his development, and whether they are of such decided importance when compared with a higher aim.

The answer must be in the negative. The time of tales and legends and disconnected narratives is past. The boy's immediate surroundings are no longer objects of lively curiosity to him.¹ "Impressions made upon the senses are now gradually taking the subordinate part of a means of transition,—a mere medium for inward activity. Whatever the child sees causes him to remember similar things he has

¹ Bencke, Erziehungslehre, I., p. 15.

seen or heard of before, and easily to forget the momentary impression ; sometimes it excites him to form plans for future action, or it is a preparation for future circumstances and events in his life. At the same time, the impressions offered by his usual life are nearly exhausted, and the impulse is naturally created artificially to extend them. This impulse the teacher must meet and gratify to the best of his ability, so that the foundation of wider views and applications from these impressions may be reached. In this way the child is constantly gaining an individual and connected life."

The author further says : " During the same period, from the eighth to the fourteenth year, the power of understanding, comprehending, thinking, — the faculty of developing general truths from special ones, — begins to awaken and assert itself."

From these words, which have been taken from a general description of periods of development, with no special reference to historical instruction, it follows in connection with what was previously said : (1) that without vivid impressions no inner progress of a boy of this age can be expected ; (2) that as a result of the exhaustion of impressions of the senses, the sensitiveness for other views of the external world is especially strong ; (3) that the faculty of presenting distant events to the imagination like present ones has been extensively developed by the narration of tales and legends ; (4) that impressions become more and more an instrument for inner activity in combining details.

What form must instruction take that only admits the connection that naturally results ? and what form has it taken in many cases ?

Its characteristics are — and I hope I am not overstating : —

1. A series of external events, without inner connection, only combined by the unity of person, place, time, and manner.

The same person, at the same place, at the same time ; or, then, likewise, etc.

2. The inclination arises to supplement, by material for study, what has been neglected in the way of inner comprehension. As for the want of a higher standard, there is nothing to define the important and unimportant: much of the latter is preserved in an endeavor to attain relative completeness. That which is important will be hampered in detail and clearness in favor of a statement like this: In this year there was also war with the Volsci.

In a word, instead of an abundance of vivid impressions, which it is the inner impulse of the boy to combine, he is given nothing but a mere catalogue presenting only limited views, and many bare facts with no inner connection.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the boy has an aversion to history lessons, in spite of his desire to learn ; if, likewise, memorizing becomes the rule, even for the young man in the higher classes, and if in the most favorable case he takes with him into life many scraps of knowledge, but few ideas on which to found opinions of his own, if private reading and other branches of instruction have not in a measure made up for it.

It seems erroneous, therefore, in the stage of instruction which succeeds that of biographies, to consider only the connection that naturally results. As soon as instruction in history begins, the object must be, even with boys of ten years old, to keep the subject in view according to its scientific character, and to lead to this view in the most elementary manner by means of simple conceptions ; and by this means to bring to the comprehension not only the silent labor of civilization, but its deeper connection. In what manner this is to be done will be discussed later.

Next to the three above-mentioned methods for the use of

history in schools, by which teachers at present are largely guided, a suggestion of a purely pedagogic character deserves especial notice. It was introduced long ago, when, however, it found little application, but seems to be gaining ground at present.

The contrast between original and reflected history has been frequently alluded to above. The proposal referred to was made in the Society for Pedagogy, conducted by Herbart, 1802-9, at Gottingen.¹ "Instruction in history must, if possible, be combined with the reading of classical works, to derive life and clearness from them." Carl Peter had already demanded a return to original sources in his work, "Der Geschichts Unterricht auf Gymnasien"; so, likewise, in his latest work, "Reform der Gymnasien," often allotting to the lowest classes the methodical memorizing of the elementary parts, — names, dates, and detached facts, — besides the detached treatment of selected parts; goes on to say in regard to the upper classes, p. 69: "If in our gymnasia² a further step is to be taken, this can only be done by neglecting the unattainable end of complete historical knowledge, and our chief endeavor to introduce the scholars to a thorough knowledge of one subject or another, based upon their own investigation and reflection, and at the same time to attain the chief end of all, — an historical sense, and that of developing their historical judgment. This again is only possible if the teacher reads original authors with them, and treats of them with a view to this purpose."

Professor Ziller, and after him O. Willmann, enlarge upon this suggestion for ancient history. The former has the plan

¹ Dr. Otto Willmann, in his "Elementary Instruction in History."

² We hope it will be justifiable in this, as well as in other places, if we occasionally refer to suggestions made for gymnasia. We wish to present a new idea, even if it can only be used with modifications in a public school.

for gymnasia of reading tales and Robinson Crusoe in the preparatory schools with boys of from six to seven years old; the book of Moses in the eighth and ninth years; selections from the Odyssey (Nostas, according to Kirchhoff) in Greek; likewise, in the original, Herodotus in the eleventh year; in the twelfth, Anabasis; and Livy at thirteen. For Real (not classical schools) and public schools, a translation of the Odyssey, and other legends; then Herodotus; later, Anabasis, and Livy in translations. For the public schools biblical history is the main topic with which profane history is to be connected. Willmann edited a "Reader from Homer"; P. Goldschmitt, one from Herodotus; in Berlin, "Stories from Livy." But an essential part of Willmann's plan is the treatment of the extracts in the first place, — a general view of each section is appended to the narrative. If, in the narrative from Herodotus, Cræsus has been spoken of, Solon, the Medes and Cyrus, the Jews, Cambyses and the Egyptians, or Darius, the Scythians and Ionians, of Marathon and Salamis, etc., the other part furnishes a systematic combination of the conception. In regard to occupations and manner of living, attention is paid to pastoral life and agricultural life, industry, trade and commerce, and the army; in regard to the state, the forms of autocracy, aristocracy, and democracy; further, the different empires, the various alliances among states, the various arts and sciences, etc. Antique remains of every kind are pointed out, and parallels given with facts within the knowledge of the pupils.

Secondly, three divisions are to be observed in teaching: —

1. Every reading lesson must be prepared before it is read in the class, — *analytical discussions* must precede, in order to husband the pupil's knowledge, and to make him understand what follows, and comprehend it with advantage to himself, etc.

2. Every reading lesson, after sufficient preparation, is connectedly read by the teacher in the tone of a narrative; for, like the whole book, each part of it is to make an effective total impression.

3. Then the substance of the lesson is treated like a natural object, which, after having been looked at as a whole, is separately examined, in order to mature the impression of it. What is new will be recognized as such (synthetic results) and subjoined to what has preceded.

Who can deny that these suggestions offer great advantages? To return to the freshness of original sources, — the direct entrance into another world, which in its peculiarity seems more comprehensible than that which surrounds us, though its forms are separated from us by thousands of years. Further, the rational treatment, which attempts to bring partially obscure impressions to conscious clearness.

This seems open to the following objections: —

1. Reading takes the place of speaking. The former may be given the preference by him who wishes to pursue some special study, particularly an adult. If the interest is to be held, and vivid impressions produced; if the inner life is yet to be awakened, *ex tempore* speaking will *ceteris paribus* be best; *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*.

2. The use of original sources, with a certain exclusiveness, ignores the work of science, which is superior to the statements of a single source, because it correctly establishes facts, and gives a deeper insight into the whole.

3. The silent work of civilization is naturally too little considered in original sources.

4. The proposed method of discussion aims more at a systematic combination of that which is or was, than at the idea and comprehension of its growth; it has a statistical more than an historical character.



But, aside from that, the use of original sources, as well as catechizing generally, is by all means to be commended.

Finally, we will mention the proposal of closely combining history and geography.

On the whole, we can confirm to-day what Prange says in the fourth edition of the "Wegweiser." "At present this attempt has not yet been successfully carried out, and the public-school teacher has no text-books at all to help him that can be recommended." Besides, political conditions within the last ten years were not very favorable to the establishment of purely didactic principles, especially in the province of instruction in history.

Prange expresses himself concerning the necessary requirements for combining geography and history, the further aim to be accomplished, as follows: "While Alexander von Humboldt spent a lifetime in seeking to penetrate the influence which the forces of nature exercise upon organic and inorganic bodies generally, under the most varied conditions, especially upon man and the history of his race, it was reserved for C. Ritter to prove a law of necessity which identifies human life with the nature which supports it, and to designate the earth as the important foundation, as an integral condition, for the development of national relations." "It requires a philosophical mind for a thorough and many-sided pursuit of this great idea of the connection between history and geography, which has originated in recent times." It does not suffice for the present advanced demand that every historical fact shall be referred to its geographical basis: no sensible teacher of history is likely to omit all reference to the scene of action. He, at least, briefly characterizes the country or district in which the historical events to be discussed transpire, and to make the most of those principal geographical points which have had a part in de-

ciding them. But this does not fully suffice to carry out Ritter's idea, which proposes to blend all geography, in its present perfected form, with the whole province of history, without curtailing the didactic principles recognized for each.¹

E. Kapp, in his "Guide to Elementary Instruction in History and Geography," has the end in view of closely uniting these two branches of instruction. In his preface to the seventh edition he says, that the right method consisted in steadily following the peculiar inward movement of the subject. To do this it is necessary to get at the idea of it: we should be perfectly clear as to what course of scientific development history and geography have taken until they became what they now are. In Herodotus, history and geography were united; he was the father of geography as well as of history. These two branches are to be separated in a subsequent period, and developed in their details. In the third period, they again approach and supplement each other. For this reason history and geography were taught combined in the lower classes of the gymnasia; separated in the middle classes; while instruction in the upper classes was to prepare, by the method of comparison, for the unity of a rational treatment, which was to extend beyond the province of school. This sequence, he says, corresponds to the comprehension of the different periods of human development, impressions, ideas, and thoughts. The impressions of the original chronicler; ideas arising in the reproduction of the impressions of others; thoughts, in so far as the comprehension of the inner nature of the subject, or its consideration of it, is concerned.

This may suffice to suggest the nature of the method. It does not directly concern our work to treat of both branches

¹ Compare E. Kapp's "Comparative Universal Geography," and W. Assmann's "Handbook of Universal History."

of instruction in connection, and in their influence upon one another: in our present province geography is an auxiliary science. It now remains briefly to touch upon the above-mentioned tendencies of a religious and political nature.

In regard to the first, we can refer in part to the discussion of the question: Is an objective science of history possible? For the present we will merely meet some objections that were made in regard to public schools. The good faith of partisan views may be freely recognized; the objectionable means, and all the misfortune which was occasioned by the outward development of partisan principles, with their attacks upon the dignity and freedom of conscience of men who were exposed to them by their connection with the schools, shall not deter us from our purpose.

In the House of Representatives, on the 10th of December, 1868, Minister Von Mühler expressed himself to this effect: that, if a teacher could not testify with all his heart, "I am a disciple of this master who has entered the world," that universal history cannot be taught beyond the time of the Emperor Augustus. Further, the expedient would be necessary in mixed schools to give only names and dates in regard to the Reformation, — withholding all criticism so long as the history of the Reformation was not to be taught separately to children of different religions, — and its inner history must be left to religious instruction.

A number of teachers from Berlin sent a petition to the House of Representatives at that time, with the following objections: In the non-sectarian school the material for instruction in history must be shorn of its noblest impulses. That acquirements were not so much an object, but the personal will of the pupil must be influenced in order that he may be educated. On that account the heroes of history must not be considered by themselves, but in their relation

to a definite ideal, — that is, to Jesus Christ. Further, the non-sectarian school must exclude all material the treatment of which would offend the adherent of either church. The history of the Reformation would be out of the question unless history were falsified; for neither the shortcomings of the Catholic Church in Tetzels sale of indulgences could be mentioned, nor Luther's heroic greatness be truly described, nor could the Protestant principle which inspired rulers and people be explained, much less inculcated, etc.

For particulars of the transaction, we refer to the article of the late A. Petsch, in "Lüben's Jahresbericht," Vol. XXI., p. 479.

We have only the following reply to make: —

Since the establishment of a universal system of law, the public school has become a national school, as the church proved incapable of properly providing for public education. The impartial state, unmoved by sectarian prejudice, — may we soon say empire, — has not only the right, but the duty, to encourage national unity, and to allow free play to discordant opinions only after laying the foundation of union. It must be left to religious societies themselves to make propaganda and to give moral effect to their peculiar ideas.

The teacher of history, accordingly, whose business it is to serve his nation, and not to represent himself or any particular sect or party, must not choose the result of his religious and political experiences, expressed in his sectarian or partisan position, as the guiding principle of his explanations. He is rather to leave every religious or political dogma in possession of the rights which it has gained by honest conviction, and to render diverging opinions comprehensible; to recognize the influence on the work of the nation, and thus to give a truthful view of the fundamental principles required for the formation of a well-grounded faith.

Above all, he can and must point out the idea, the form, and activity of Christianity in the past wherever and however it was prominent; but his personal view in the present, whether or not he sanctions the faith of the past, is irrelevant. He must further point out and explain the different forms of Christianity as they arose, — of Roman Catholicism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and other manifestations of it; further, of Protestantism, showing its spread and activity. The teacher himself is to abstain from every opinion, be it according to his personal views or according to the tenets of his church, as to whether the idea is correct or not: it wholly escapes his moral judgment, since every idea is moral in its nature. But he can freely deliver his general *moral* opinion wherever a departure from the general moral standard is apparent in the conduct of the representatives of an idea. The Protestant idea remains intact in spite of Luther's coarseness, Philipp's bigamy, and Swedish intemperance, as does the Hussite and Catholic idea in spite of the Hussite atrocities and the vice of the clergy in the fifteenth century.

The state is not interested in any dogma; it only concerns itself with developing the moral and intellectual powers of its citizens in *this* life. The public-school teacher must apply the *general moral* standard, May an action develop on a Catholic or Protestant, a pantheistic or atheistic, basis of faith, or from any other form of ideas? That story of Lessing's about the three rings, which he has put into the mouth of Nathan the Wise, must serve as a guide to teachers. The conscious conviction of what religious views are to be adopted must be developed in the family and by religious instruction. It is the duty of the public school to lay a common moral and intellectual foundation, which attacks the blind hatred of sects and parties at the very root, and deepens and ennobles religious convictions, leading to the

realization of the words, "This commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another." Love is only possible when founded on respect; and this is only obtained on the basis of comprehension.

In regard to the objections contained in the petition, we will briefly remark: —

It is the mission of every historical ideal to aid in elevating the moral understanding, — thus it is also that of the historical Christ; and a constant allusion to the dogmatic creed of the narrator is not necessary to this end, because the historical importance of this ideal is conspicuously shown in the historical facts.

A. Petsch has pointed out that every historical hero must first be contemplated by himself before he is regarded in his relations to another ideal; but then this parallel persistently carried out would meet with pedagogic objections.

The parallel would in most cases need a great deal of explanation, — for example, Christ, Charlemagne, Torquemada, Luther, Loyola, Fredric the Great, Goethe, Blücher, — and, according to the view of the petitioners, it would always follow that, compared with Christ, all these heroes of history were unprofitable servants. A moral influence of the historical personage would of course be out of the question. Instead of this belittling criticism, and in view of the moral development of the pupil, it is best to take the average of human greatness in the age in which it existed as the standard, in order to reproduce in the pupil the ethical impression made upon the hero's contemporaries.

It is hardly deserving of remark, that the view of eliminating everything that might offend sectarian opinions is erroneous. Catholic as well as Protestant authors testify to the evils of the Catholic Church in Tetzels time (Bellarmine and others). They must be mentioned in order to explain

the advent of Luther; but it is a different thing whether I explain Luther's position psychologically, thus: the evils of the church, and the appearance of Tetzels, led him to take the following steps; or, according to the opinion of the petitioners, state that Luther's procedure was *necessary* and *right*. The first is historical fact; the second, dogmatic opinion. The former way would be simply historical; the latter might be defined as Protestant dogma, proved by history adapted to the creed.

To make the Protestant principle clear and comprehensible is just as much a duty as it is to explain the Catholic principle, and make its reality clear. Not concealment, but actual truth, is the mission of history.

If the chairman of a commission is able, impartially and truthfully, to report on the views of a minority, or a judge to sum up the evidence of the prosecution and defence, then the instructor in history who is conscious of the dignity of his task will do no less than give historical views to his pupils, even if he does not sanction them,—all the more as the historical issue largely makes it unnecessary for him to give any opinion at all. Should the judgment of history still be suspended, then let the teacher also pause there, where only the narration of the actual known reality is expected of him, however decided his opinions as a citizen may be, and which, as a citizen, it is his duty to entertain.

The year 1870 has helped us over a second tendency which proposed a special adaptation of history. It had its origin in the political reaction after 1848, which would not hear of German unity and freedom. It gave rise, if not to the idea, at least to the expression, of "Prussian nationality," and Professor Pierson demanded for the higher schools what the "Regulations" attempted to inculcate in the public schools; that is, Prussian citizenship in exclusive contrast to Germanism.

Since the year 1870 has reconciled Prussian discipline to the Germanic idea, this exclusive tendency may have retired to the uttermost corner of the upper house, and elsewhere into the narrow conservative circles of Prussian, Bavarian, and Würtemberg nationalities. The charm of United Germany moves the inmost fibres of our hearts ; and the idea of German unity will probably only perish with the present and coming generations. Still we cannot depend upon its influence as upon a physiological process that naturally completes itself ; but we must see that it enters the head and heart, and finds intellectually vigorous and manful representatives. The effectiveness of any idea depends upon this.

Accordingly, more than ever before, we must regard Germany as a whole in the study of history, as well as in the present. But there is nothing incompatible in the attentive sympathy with those events of the past to which we are led by the natural love for our immediate home, and likewise by the consciousness of advantages peculiar to the race and to the section to which each individual belongs, — of course not in its separate existence, but in relation to the derided “great German fatherland.”

The characteristics of our people point in two different directions : both must be considered, and both need training. The common trait of our nation is the comprehension, unenvious recognition, and even overrating of foreign advantages ; it will resist every attempt to instil an obtuse national conceit, like that of our Gallic neighbors, as foreign to its nature. That which is generally human in our methods of thought and feeling will keep us from the error of being blind to our national faults. On the other hand, the trait of individual independence in thought and feeling prevents us from attempting unification and centralization in our existence as a state, like that of our western neighbors. Self-

government is, therefore, the watchword of our home policy, — even that of Prussia, — and every race and every part of the empire should become conscious of its special powers.

But the waiting, and the wars of the past, and the storm and victory of the present, have taught us, even with this dual national trait, not to forget the uniting link which closes the chain of wall within which our national strength can develop undisturbed, — the combining of the whole nation to a confederation of states. If the warning, which history has recorded with a thousand years of bloodshed in Germany's book of fate, should be again unheeded, and the idea for which our heroes of the sword and the pen have labored, consciously and unconsciously, — the idea for which our fathers and brothers suffered imprisonment, exile, and death, — should find only a weak race of Epigoni, then this age would do well to hide its existence from the historian of the future.

Instruction in history must do its share to keep the idea of nationality alive, to follow the history of the whole of Germany to the present time, to picture the miseries of the past and the successes of our time; the minds of rising generations must be steeped in the genius of German modes of thought, and make them conscious by thorough comprehension of the works, the deeds, and the dignity of the national spirit, and to found their national pride on these, and not by boasting of what is native and detracting from what is foreign; they must take the attitude of a man who is conscious of his useful endeavor, and who unhesitatingly appreciates the merit of others.

CHAPTER VII.

Outlines of Instruction in History.

AFTER first attempting to establish the purely scientific character of history; and after having found the principal feature of historical life to be the formation of circumstances from ideas in contrast with a vegetating existence; and after having undertaken to investigate its educational value morally as well as intellectually; after having viewed the different ways of writing history, and the limitations for pedagogic purposes of what seems chaotic material, and giving the pedagogic arrangement of historical matter; and, finally, after making suggestions for the most effectual and natural progress, based simply on the progressive method, it now remains to draw positive conclusions and establish principles.

There are two questions specially to be answered:—

1. What parts of history shall be taught in the public schools?
2. How shall it be taught?

In regard to the first question, and in accordance with the diversity of the actual conditions, we begin with the most important.

1. *Teach German history.*

The aim of all instruction can only be the knowledge and comprehension of German history. This needs no explanation. For, as each human being can only give a complete form to his existence by reason of the development of his faculties, so a nation can only reach it by keeping and cherishing its fundamental characteristics as they are developed in its national history, either flourishing vigorously or as

bringing severe punishment for their neglect. Neither need we harp upon "love of country," "the constant readiness and intention to further the happiness, honor, and freedom of one's country from inherent and irresistible impulse ; and, if necessary, to make every sacrifice for it."

2. *Teach those parts of the history of foreign nations, the ideas of which have had special influence on German history.*

German history seems vague and incomprehensible, or appears falsified, without the knowledge and understanding of the various ideas which, originating with other nations, have influenced German life. Mere abstract allusions to Greek art, Roman law, and the French or English conception of the state, would not aid in its comprehension ; they would be wanting in the essential demands of historical representation. To explain these ideas, and even closely to trace the reproduction of their originals on German soil, would yield a very imperfect result. We must go back to their source ; and those parts of foreign history are, therefore, to be traced that contain the ideas whose influence was active in the destiny of Germany, either promoting or hindering it. Among well-known examples, we will mention the religious ideas of the Israelites ; Christianity. Moreover, from Greek history the manifestations of the free occidental as contrasted with the oriental mind, as it displays itself in the legislation of Solon, and gloriously asserts itself in the Persian wars. The form of ideas among the Greeks in the province of government, art, and science (Scolasticism, the events leading to the Reformation, the literature and archæology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) ; parts of Roman history, on account of its influence upon state and civic law ; from oriental history, on account of Mohammedanism (the Crusades, etc.) ; from the history of the Latin races, on account of their influence on religious, artistic, and political ideas ; Romish

papacy ; Italian art ; Spanish asceticism ; French absolutism and ideas of liberty ; constitutional ideas from English history (German parliaments), etc. Every idea, of course, given objectively, without unfavorable criticism.

3. *In non-German history give the preference to that of the Greeks and Romans.*¹

What justifies this preference, even for our public schools? It cannot be the imitation of the spirit of our gymnasia, because the public schools must dispense with all formal discipline derived from the classical languages. The reasons for and against must be considered without prejudice, and may be these : —

1. The history of those nations is simpler and more transparent than that of modern times, — simpler, for this reason, that it principally represents the history of one city ; the currents flow from the market-places of Athens and Rome and return to them ; what was a defect in political development is an advantage to our pedagogy, because interest in the other parts of Greece does not divide our attention, which remains concentrated upon the attitude of the leading city. It is easy to see that a general view is impeded by the view of the growing series of political problems which present themselves, recurring in the progress of development (contests between rulers and ruled, church and state), by the growing organization of various departments of public life, and by the consequent division of labor. What a contrast in antiquity to the complexity of German affairs !

Ancient history is more transparent for this reason, that affairs of state were transacted in the market-place, and not in the cabinet and at the green table.

¹ We do not here or elsewhere consider the history of the Jews, notwithstanding its great importance for the religious phases of German history, because it will always remain an object of religious instruction, sectarian or unsectarian.

2. Those times had the advantage of classical historians, who were aided by the circumstances above mentioned. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæsar, Livy, and Tacitus,—even if our historical writing may be considered superior,—these writers will, in their peculiarity, not merely pass for chroniclers of ancient times.

Accordingly, the history of Greece and Rome may be considered as preparatory to German history, so much the more as it describes the principal features of every national life, consequently of our own,—such as, for instance, the attitude of the state to its neighbors, perfecting of its inner constitution, the field of art and science in the occidental spirit,—all simply and transparently set forth in the light of classical history. The preparatory problem that might be proposed in parts of German history, namely, that of passing from special races or states to the history of the empire, however unsuccessful the attempt may have been, is solved by ancient history, which has a historical right to regard the history of the whole from the point of view of the separate leading states. Greek history is, therefore, to give the preparatory foundation to history, because ideal personality of a purely human character predominates in that free state.

3. The Greeks were yet free from the one-sidedness produced in progress by the necessary division of labor; free from the artificial character with which personality was necessarily invested by the later development of formalism; free from the antithesis between the divine and human, energetically urged by the church which produced a St. Simeon Stylites; free from a constant humiliation and the depreciation of human virtue; their gods were only a higher kind of men; and, finally, they were free from that servility which flourished at the court of Louis XIV.

If it is the mission of Germany in universal history to

forbid judgment of the individual, according to the standard of Germanic events; if the Germans must reduce their own estimate of their customs, institutions, and deeds to the standard of humanity at large, in order that they may not merely imagine themselves great between Memel and Ill, but be great in the domain of humanity, then Grecian ideality should form the contemplation, the entrance to the history of their national life. In this way we arrive from the history of a people at the history of mankind.

4. *Teach historical life in its totality. Do not neglect the history of the "silent work of civilization," nor give historical life detached from its natural foundations.*

The first is necessary in order that the future citizen may not only at times, — when military service or his vote is in question, — but always, consider himself as a part of the whole, and be satisfied to do so. For the greater part of the time the citizen shares the silent work of civilization. He must learn to comprehend it historically, in order to develop the incentive toward perfection in his own province, by following progress step by step to its culmination in the present, and thus to become familiar with the fundamental conditions of progress. Secondly, he must comprehend the importance of his work for the whole, and the importance of the whole for his work, equally with the whole organism of national life, as it lives by the combined activity of the most various callings. One of the fruits of so tracing the genius of history would be to spare the future some unpleasant phenomena of to-day, such as the unjustified conspicuousness of certain classes of callings, educated as well as illiterate.

But not only the silent work of civilization must be considered, but the whole field of natural conditions.

Every one not only understands that the intellectual life of man, as of nations, depends upon the influences of his own

nature as well as of that which surrounds him; but all those attempts at civilization are justly despised and abhorred that are in opposition to nature. We despise the narrowness that misunderstands or ignores the laws of nature, and despise the waste of noble strength on ignoble aims; and we hate the obtuseness that attempted, and still attempts, to instil unsound views into its own nation.

In order to make the desire for the attainment of a natural development common property, it is necessary to understand historical phenomena from their natural foundations. Without this foundation historical deeds would seem like expressions of arbitrariness of human or divine origin, or like an unmodified expression of force, which would lead our energetic imitative faculty to useless aping under irreconcilable circumstances, and yet serve as an excuse to languid indifference for rejecting every precept on historical ground of dissimilarity of circumstances. The method of historical narration is identical with that of practical life, — it demands the establishment of actual conditions as its starting point, on which intellectual labor is based, according to the energy of special faculties, the most important of these conditions being those of external nature. If the historical work is to be recognized among its natural conditions, this presupposes a knowledge of the natural conditions to a certain extent. Before I can comprehend the effect of a thing I must know the thing itself. Physical and astronomical geography, anthropology, natural history (of minerals, plants, and animals), must furnish the elements for comprehending even the history of ancient Egypt. When these elements have brought to our comprehension the beginnings of agriculture, the formation of the monarchy of the valley of the Nile, the despotism of the Pharaohs, the origin of their structures, the peculiarity of their hieroglyphics, and their

religious conceptions, elements will still be wanting from domains that form the transition, as it were, from negative to historical life; and their importance is to be seen by the forethought which Fredric William and Fredric II. devoted to them when it was necessary to revive an exhausted state,—the elements of technical knowledge, of commerce and industry.

In what way are these elements to be acquired? If we should reply, “The ideas of all these things are partly acquired in daily life, and partly they are to be gained in the study of history itself,” we should say either too much or too little.

Too little, if we suppose that an approximate idea of all these things sufficed for the fruitful comprehension of the growth of civilization. Of what use is it to a child, even if it has repeatedly seen a canal, to be told that the valley of El Fayum was intersected with canals by the Egyptians, provided with a lake and pyramids? It would be a statement in the outline style, and in itself, without any of that intellectual interest which is peculiar to historical individualization. It is therefore not adapted to the childish point of view, to attempt to give a comprehensible idea of the inner growth of the state in connection with such statements.

It would be necessary to trace the work of civilization with more interest, and proceed from the idea of level areas to the physical conditions of building canals, and their specialty in this locality. The same must be done with the numberless ways of tilling the soil, of industry, of skilled trades and commerce. The reason why mere statements from the history of civilization were deemed sufficient, was probably hitherto owing to the want of interest and the consequent uselessness of the present methods of treating the history of civilization. The boy is abnormal who would not fling

all this rubbish of detail into a corner for the deeds of Themistocles.

Too much would be said, if we left the absorbing pursuit of natural and material conditions to instruction in history alone.

By this demand, historical material will be so extended as far to exceed the time allotted to a history lesson. The creditable endeavor for the successful teaching of history begets the danger of absolving the whole of universal history in chronological statements, which oppress the boy like a physical burden, instead of inspiring him.

The means to avoid this lie in the practical organization of all instruction as an aid to history, either in a close combination of the above-mentioned branches with history, as recommended by O. Willmann, in his excellent essay on "Elementary Instruction in History," p. 73, or in a well-arranged order of tasks that sufficiently prepare for the history lessons, so that the pupil can attack the peculiarities of the history to be taken in hand, well fortified by his knowledge of the elements from his other branches of study.

A second means of avoiding the danger of crowding the material, and so destroying all the educating influence of history, lies in the proper selection of individual nations in history.

In order to establish this, the question must be answered, *How shall history be taught?*

The first answer is simply this:—

1. *Teach history according to historically active ideas.* .

The genius of historical ideas has already been referred to in connection with William von Humboldt's "Problem of the Historian." This theme has been more fully treated by M. Lazarus in his excellent treatise on "Ideas in History," p. 47. He says: "In the realm of ideas we distinguish two

kinds, — ideas of comprehension and active ideas. The first are thoughts reflected from that which is and acts; the second are formative conceptions, by which one form of being and action is converted into another. In the first case, reality is the antecedent which is to be comprehended in thought; in the second, the thought is the antecedent which is to be realized in an object." On p. 48: "Active ideas distinguished as ideas of obligation and ability: the former are the moral ones, the latter the æsthetic ones; to these religious ideas are joined in a peculiar way."

Those may be specially designated as historical ideas, whose appearance, prominent development, or characteristic dissemination, form distinct epochs in the history of mankind, having materially changed its modes of life.

But if, as we have explained above, it is by means of these ideas that human life becomes *historical* in contrast to the purely natural needs and impulses of man which are repeated with unrecorded sameness, we *must*, of course, keep them closely in view, if we wish to penetrate the genius of history in learning and teaching; that we must take them as guides if we wish to separate the vast material afforded even by the history of a single nation, according to its important and unimportant matter.

It must not be believed that an *Idea* is so abstract a product of thought, that its introduction into the public school will prove a vain attempt. There have been many nations to whom the word *Idea* was unknown, who nevertheless were devoted to ideas, either in their leaders, or as a mass.

"In reality, ideas seem much more like feelings, impressions, notions." Even if a nation did not possess the scientific consciousness of the genius of an idea, yet they possessed ideal aspirations as the power whence they derived direction and force. These alone constitute their historical

life; these should also be developed in the young as the power which gives force and direction; by means of them the comprehension is to be revealed of personalities, of works of art and science, of social, legislative, political, moral, and religious institutions, as they arose under the influence or ideas. Marriage and the family; administration of the laws for the protection of property, of honor, health, and life; communities, states, and alliances of states; churches, societies for charities and social purposes of every description,—these are expressions of ideas or means for their realization.”

Ideas are the elements which elevate historical events into the lofty sphere of morals. All mundane things are imperfect; all historic developments bear the germ of decay within them. Were we to confine ourselves to those developments which *have been reached*, our ethical sense would be disappointed in almost every way. But neither would reality be fully expressed. Though the march of the Medes was over the bodies of the Spartans at Thermopylæ; though the Nazarene was crucified, and his teachings made an object of hatred by priestly ambition, the historical deed still remains to humanity on account of its inherent idea. Although the Athenian constitution opened an arena to Hyperbolos, the struggles of the patricians and plebeians finally surrendered the state to the *optimates* for plunder; although the Roman invasions exhaust Germany, and the peace of Hubertsburg left Prussia its original boundaries, but covered with ruins, yet the ideas of civil liberty, the universal aims of the empire, the integrity of the state, surround even the imperfect developments of reality with a sublimer glory. They *lived* in the makers of history, they created devotion to their cause in its representatives, and gave birth to historical deeds; therefore, they must guide us in the study of history. Two points appear combined in the active idea. Man creates

subjective images of perfection from the depths of his intellectual life, which vary according to the degree of his capacity and development, and his peculiar circumstances, — but subjectively images of the most perfect reality for each individual. The thought does not remain abstract, because it contains the desire for its realization, by transforming the existing condition of things. The consciousness of being active for the highest ideals sharpens our understanding and gives us courage. To observe how our fellow-men, in their onward progress, undertake to mould human affairs according to the notions that seem to them most exalted, is that which transfigures commonplace reality and creates enthusiasm in man, which Goethe considers the best part of history.

It is, therefore, important in two directions that a pedagogic treatment of history should make use of ideas: first, in order to sift historical material; and secondly, to define the ethical point of view.

Concerning the choice of material, some have considered themselves justified in their suggestions by Luther's words,¹ to take "what was necessary for an honest life," and chose pretty stories to make morals clear and impressive. This, evidently, would not be history, but morals in historical examples.

Others have recommended our own history in uninterrupted chronological order, after the manner of Livy and Johann von Müller, whether history of our own country in a narrower or extended sense. But in this way unimportant matter, that does not cultivate the mind nor lift up the heart, must be mingled with the important, weakening its impression and

¹ "For, whatever philosophy, wise men, and all reason can teach or invent as useful to lead an honest life, that history gives us mightily in examples and stories, placing it before our eyes, as it were, as if we were present seeing everything happen that teachings have first conveyed to our ears by words."

hampering the vivacious clearness of the manner in which it is told, or else the personal opinion and incidental knowledge of the teacher decide between the important and unimportant, unless some principle derived from the genius of history is taken as a guide.

Others, again, were biased by the one idea which they happened to serve at the time; and according to this idea they wanted, and still want, to determine the choice of subjects from the past. One put forward a religious idea, either Protestant or Catholic, to the detriment of all other ideas, and everything was to conform to church history according to the prevailing sectarian view. Another was addicted to monarchical absolutism; and the history of princes and wars, according to him, was to furnish most of the material; as if the Hohenzollern and many other princely German families had not also played famous parts in the general arena of mankind. Neither the imperial German dynasty nor the Christian idea requires a mutilation of history to give it importance.

Some, finally, have allowed the classic standard of historical works to determine their choice of historical selections. But if the close of the middle ages and modern times have not yet crystallized into a classic form of historical literature, it is still impossible for the present to do without the prevailing ideas of those periods.

We must, therefore, in our choice, first keep the active historical ideas in view,—no little task if the above-mentioned words of Gervinus are true (*Grundzüge der Historik*,¹

¹ “The significance . . . of these ideas has mostly escaped the insight of historians and critics; but not the right tact of mankind. Where such ideas suddenly revealed the ways of Providence with special emphasis, by suddenly prescribing new departures to mankind; where, according to Lessing’s view, the education of mankind entered upon great and new epochs, all men make use of the ideal modes of explanation,—as, for example, the appearance of Christ, calling him the embodied word of the Deity,” etc.

66). And yet it is a necessary task, since "historians as well as artists produce caricatures if they only draw separate details of events in their apparent order" (Wm. von Humboldt). German history, the intellectual substance of which is principally under consideration for our public schools, is, above all, to be viewed with regard to these ideas. Each one will have to work them out anew for himself. Ideas least of all admit of communication. The following ones may be mentioned as well-known examples:—

In the manners and customs of the Germans, according to Tacitus, we find a product of the ideas which were active in early times. The freedom of man, the dignity of woman (compare Oriental customs with this); in their spontaneous union in commonwealths and farming communities, in the development of their courts of justice, the free choice of leaders, etc. Their oppression by the Romans leads to the manifestation of the idea of national freedom (the battle of Arminius); the thought of securing it produces national alliances. The same idea combined with ideal notions of better dwellings gives the chief impulse to the Germanic migrations.¹ Later, the organization of the new states according to martial merit (the feudal constitution); the Christian idea in Romish formulation makes headway, especially in France; its penetration to the heathen districts of Germany; defence of the Christian idea and Frankish government against the Germans and Mohammedans; the further advance of Romish ideas into the empire of the Franks (clergy and laity,

¹ To avoid possible misunderstandings, let us point out that an idea can only assert itself in connection with nature, wherefor a number of exciting causes can be shown or presumed in regard to these phenomena. Overpopulation, unfavorable natural phenomena, etc., may have coöperated in these cases,—the intensity of the universal character of the impulse was due to the idea.

retirement from the "world"); Romish hierarchy; Romish scholasticism in establishing the Christian dogma with the help of ancient science; appearance of the idea of the Roman empire under Charlemagne; autonomy of Germanic tribes under dukes, — on this basis the idea of imperial unity for national security under King Henry I.; universality of the Roman empire of German nationality by Otto I.; idea of representation of Christ on earth by the Romish bishop, with authority in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs (Gregory VII. and Innocent III.); idea of liberating the Holy Sepulchre; victory of the papal idea over that of Roman imperialism; strengthening of the territorial unity, of the independent principality, of free citizenship; artistic form of popular traditions, — the service of princes, chivalry, and of God in the domain of literature, and religious ideas in architecture and painting; increased national consciousness as opposed to the universality of papacy, in consequence of the transfer of the papal residence to Avignon; (meeting of the electors at Rome;) idea of pure science, by the revival of classic studies, — impulse given to invention and discovery; idea of reforming the Church on a purely scriptural basis; regeneration of the affairs of the Romish Church; struggle and compromise of the two ideas; perfecting of territorial supremacy in Germany; the idea of the state embodied in the person of the prince (*l'état c'est moi*); the idea of the Prussian state, — the prince is the first servant of the state, almost exclusive representation of the national idea (the Great Elector, and Frederic II.); pietism opposing rational orthodoxy; revival of literature, like that of science, under the influence of Greek and English ideas; rationalism in religion; ideas of popular freedom opposed to feudalism influenced by the American Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution; re-awakening of German national feeling under

Napoleonic oppression, — idea of general school and military duty ; the effect of ideas in the war of liberation against Napoleon ; the Holy Alliance under the influence of Metternich ; alliance of the absolute patriarchal state with church orthodoxy ; the people take part in the conduct of state affairs in the smaller states after the English model ; in Germany the idea of civic and religious liberty asserts itself forcibly, together with that of national consciousness in 1848 ; opposition from the alliance of throne, feudalism, and the church ; reconciliation of monarchical principles and those of popular liberty, in the service of the national idea ; emancipation of the fourth estate from the pressure of capital ; the idea of autonomy of the church as opposed to the idea of loyalty to the state, and state supremacy in so far as the development of civilization is concerned.

Secondly, the treatment of history according to ideas makes clear our ethical standpoint.

It is generally acknowledged that historical phenomena are not to be judged merely by the rules of ethics. By that means the greatest minds would be subjected to a most ridiculous and pedantic standard. When Brutus kills Cæsar, it is doubtless an unpardonable murder ; still it must be differently judged from the bloody deed of a bandit.

If Sulla sacrifices thousands of the Marian faction, and Charlemagne four thousand Saxons, even the latter action, like the first, excites our moral indignation ; and it would be poisoning sound moral feeling if we condoned the slaughter of masses, as it has been condoned, by such phrases as “ instruments of Providence,” etc. Still, both actions must be judged of from a different moral aspect, — here, an impelling idea, which is certainly criminal in its choice of means ; and in the other case, a cruel act of cool, calculating, factional selfishness. But, if history of a sectarian or political

kind proposes to let the idea which it defends serve to palliate crimes, or even to excuse them, and takes pains to condemn the misdeeds of the opposing party with evident relish, then history is not made the teacher of justice, but a corrupter of national morals. The historic idea was subjectively the most ideal end of the endeavors of its supporters. Accordingly, whoever wishes to depict reality must depict its strengthening and inspiring impulse in all its purity and force. The writer's own ideal is of no account whatever, because it is for him to say: "They were filled with this idea, and such or such circumstances led them to it."

If the writer has satisfied historical justice, and his endeavor is to measure every deed by the same moral standard, then nothing will prevent him from pointing out every deviation from the categorical imperative, and emphasizing it as such, whether in his own or the opposite party. An idea will never suffer by severe moral criticism of the unjust actions of its adherent; or at least, it will not suffer more than it deserves; but, on the whole, a special moral criticism of historical events is not to be commended. The logic of facts, the alternation of noble and mean actions, and the relations of separate actions to the welfare of the whole, are the elements by which the pupil will be educated to form independent opinions. The moral impression will be best produced by the teacher whose own character represents moral dignity, whose tone and words indicate the relation of what he teaches to his own moral conviction thus exciting the moral judgment of his hearers.

2. *Try to make historical ideas understood by showing their effect, and thus develop ideal impulses in the pupils.*

The time is not long past, when even our most scholarly institutions had no special instruction in history, but were satisfied with whatever historical knowledge the scholars

derived from other branches.¹ Comenius, in his plan of instruction for the Latin school, finds no room for history. Loke recommends teaching chronology together with geography, — without which history would be confusing, — and history might at first be taught by means of the Latin classics. Even with a further advance in the non-classical studies, only natural sciences, geography, and mathematics, were considered; in boarding-schools, there was occasionally a reading-room for journals. This was changed when the consequences of the French Revolution challenged the thought of every patriot. Under this influence, a special place was made in schools for instruction in history. Soon the danger threatened — as we are warned by a well-known circular of Minister von Altenstein — of burdening the pupils with a load of facts, from mistaken thoroughness.

It is clear that the same impulse and the same danger threatens the public school of to-day. Since the whole nation is called to take part in the work of government and has a decisive voice, and especially since the cry has been heard above party din, that independent judgment must be more cultivated in the masses, the extent to which history is taught in schools no longer suffices for the masses that have lived along under the patriarchal care of the state and ecclesiastical authority. The remedy is to separate the important from the unimportant, according to a fixed principle, by ideas, as we have seen above, — the most important subjects must be given with sufficient detail to make them interesting. Lazarus, in his above-mentioned treatise, p. 18 (compare also “*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*,” vol. II.), has pointed out the changes which the detached facts of history do or can be made to undergo in narration. From

¹ Compare Wiese's “*German Letters on English Education*,” p. 97.

the mass of records, scattered notices, and single observations, the historian constructs a whole which, indeed, wholly changes and dignifies the mass of separate impressions, but retains their meaning (condensations). But a greater number of impressions that have been produced can be repeated in such abridgment that the few notions separately given, without offering the concentrated substance of the mass, are calculated again to remind of the whole memoranda. An example of a "condensation" would be a compact review of some literary publication; a memorandum, the summing up of a judge in a case.

Both kinds of abbreviations occur in the province of history; but the use of both kinds would be out of place in the public school. The condensations would contain the development of history in a brief outline, with a faithful recital of its deeper contents and its realization. The memorandum has essentially the character of tables and outlines: these separate statements more in chronological order than in one of ideas, are merely a *reminder* of the information furnished by the teacher. Neither mere condensations nor mere memoranda can be of any use to the pupil. The "condensations" are too abstract for the pupil, therefore vague; and the memoranda are mere fragments. Both forms of abridgment presuppose a certain amount of knowledge of the actual reality.¹

If the investigator progresses from vivid details to a condensation of the contents of ideas, the public-school teacher must return from the idea to the separate phenomena, in order to make them clear and impressive, by a proper selection of

¹ Good use can be made of condensations in the upper classes of gymnasias. I have myself experienced how much even there their success depends upon preparation and a historical view in those classes. The material offered us, in excellent condensations, that still retain their place in my library, delighted the majority; still, many were absolutely indifferent to it.

separate facts. In attempting to secure the advantages of the scientific view possible in his own age, he must not neglect the advantage which the contemporaries of the events described enjoyed in the vigor of the impressions received by eye-witnesses.

Every means must therefore be employed in narrating to bring stirring events vividly before our own eyes. The local peculiarities must be depicted geographically and topographically, and the exceptional conditions that gave the impulse; the characteristics of the active persons; the peculiar form of the leading idea, and the immediate plan for its realization; the actual course of events; the reasons for the decision; the contrast between the earlier and the later condition. In like manner, whether by ancient remains, or in the facts of nature which influence the actual result (configuration of the land, etc.), we are always to avail ourselves of modern information, especially in the realm of the silent work of civilization. Where these are insufficient, and this will often be the case, a clear view must be obtained by pictures, or, drawings by the teacher: in literature, parts of the original may be used to make the understanding clear. Necessarily, we are also referred to records of eye-witnesses or contemporaries, — that is, to original sources.

Two points particularly should be regarded in delineating history: a certain epic breadth, and that of individual expression from which the general idea receives vitality and interest.

Thomas Arnold, the famous master of Rugby, recommended the reading of a small portion of history each time, but to study this exhaustively by means of original sources. It is certain that if we had to choose between an endless knowledge of dates and facts or formulas of ideas on the one hand, and on the other of only a single idea gained by comprehension, the latter is decidedly to be preferred.

3. *Do not fail to make use of appropriate passages from historical sources.*

After what has been said above, no special modification of this maxim is required. Originals reproduce the fresh impression of events almost at first hand; they are stamped with the views of their time, and unconsciously reproduce its characteristics. A reader, compiled from original sources, is therefore to be recommended.

But it should not attempt to offer all the material to be used; for the principal authority, especially for beginners, must be the teacher himself. Historical science should not be lost to the school; the development of nations should be represented according to the scale of historic knowledge science has elaborated. A single original is only *one*, although an important, element of this knowledge. Originals may serve largely as means of explanation, and characteristics of their times, and it is to be regretted that they have been neglected too long in instruction as such; but too much must not be demanded of them now. (Compare V., "Means of Instruction," Preface.)

Added to this, the most interesting reading of a serious event cannot replace verbal narration to a child; and the vividness which springs from the intellectual attainments of the teacher would be too much restricted if the reading-book is to be made the centre of gravity, in spite of all the discussions that can be brought to bear on it.

4. *Do not arrange the material chronologically, but allow each development series to stand by itself. Do not attempt to make only each separate development series clear by itself, but also their effect on each other; and finally put separate events in connection with the whole.*

The chronicler adheres slavishly to the order of time, what annually happens in state affairs, foreign or domestic; he

records, passing from one domain to another, dividing attention, and without heeding the internal connection of events in each domain, nor the reciprocal action of different domains.

It has been shown above that historical development can only be observed in one representative, — the business of history is to treat “change in similarity.” But what the man can grasp as a living unit is a fragmentary shadow to a child. The child regards a single personality as a unit; after that, the family; for a profounder intelligence, the separate features of social activity form their means of transition to the state and people; then comes the state; then humanity.

The changes that may take place in a single department of state affairs must be considered first and kept in view, — outward security; public administration of justice; the field of industrial labor, of art, science, etc. But even these branches prove to be collective activities, — architecture, painting, poetry, etc. The consideration of historical development, however, demands that the same comprehensible notion should appear in the same relation during the account of earlier and later events.

In so far the grouping method is right. What seems wrong in it, is its adherence to one development series through long periods of time. When knowledge of the inner connection is to be considered, and comprehension of forces, we should rather break off there where another domain begins to exercise a leading influence. To relate the wars of the Great Elector, for instance, without having explained his efforts for the revival and improvement of the industrial condition of the land would be useless. The pupil cannot understand the strength of the Brandenburgers against the French and the Swedes, until he has received a vivid impression of the increase of their prosperity conferred upon them by their prince.

As far as an arrangement is concerned in regard to the silent work of civilization and of political activity, it is shown in the above example how wrong it would be always to assign to the former the place of an appendix. That which has always exercised a leading influence on other domains should take precedence.

All the advantages of the grouping method, however, can be reached by preparatory "discussion" (see above O. Willmann): the charm of newness is not alone to absorb the child's interest; the way must be opened in which its interest in historical development can find scope. If, therefore, I turn to a new development series, — perhaps from war to agriculture and commerce, — then the "preparatory discussion" must resume the thread of the same development series, however briefly, which was interrupted before; for example, the learner must be reminded of the condition of agriculture and commercial activity at the time when the subject was previously dropped, before the new activity for the improvement of the same branch of industry is discussed.

By thus taking up the thread of the subject again, we gain two things. In the first place, the "inner" connection (see Löbell above) can be earlier shown; and secondly, the way is opened for specific historical interest.

When the character of a war has been clearly described, its locality, the enmity of the nations, and the tax upon the national strength, then the impression the pupil has received will give him the inner connection that exists between the two development series, — the external circumstances and the internal culture of the state.

The impression which we ourselves have received from the struggles of the Hohenstaufen makes it easy to connect with this the bloom of the poetic life which produced a Walter von der Vogelweide; the disgrace of 1806, the reciprocal action

which forever unites the names of Arndt, Körner, and Schenkendorf, with our War of Liberation.

The second advantage consists in comprehending the different culminating points of a development series, the circumstances that have checked or furthered it, and by drawing attention to the course of procedure of human labor by which development progresses. The preparatory discussion, however, will not suffice for the attainment of the end which we have designated above as the principal outcome of the study of history for the foundation of "life as a whole."

Circumscribed conditions, only single series of developments in narrative form, can first be given to a boy. Different development series can be connected in the manner we have mentioned, — a reference to the whole must never be omitted. By this means, however, the boy's mind is not yet fully opened to the whole as a unit of manifold forms of ideas. The way to the heart here, too, is through the head. National sentiments that are deeply rooted in the heart, and outlive momentary paroxysms of patriotism, can only be established by learning to comprehend German life in its historical development as a whole.

To this end an examination is necessary at the close of every period, which must not consist in aimless questioning about scattered facts, but in a way that makes the highest demands on the teacher. If he has hitherto been obliged to attain the utmost clearness in regard to the separate developments by means of study and thought, and subsequently to work out their inner connection of neighboring series in an elementary form, it is now his task, after arranging his plan, to make it comprehensible in so far as it is now necessary to combine the elements into a single picture, — to create German history (and one reaching the present time) out of German stories. The conditions prevailing in the different

domains of history at the beginning of each period are to be placed side by side, each one characterized clearly and decidedly, all contained in the notion: The condition of Germany; the most influential idea in its effort at realization takes the lead; other ideas appear, either approving or opposing; each seeks its justification by claiming to promote the welfare of the country. Low characters also appear; but, in spite of the craft of their cunning, they produce nothing lasting. The action proceeds in the conflict of ideas, the intellectual aim being ever the country's welfare, and the decision of the conflict—whether comedy or tragedy—strengthens and purifies the national impulse. The intellectual and moral result of such examination will be especially dependent on two conditions of preparatory work: first, upon the power and vivacity of the mental pictures that have been produced in the child's soul, in delineating the separate phenomena, so that their reproduction takes place easily and gladly; and secondly, upon the firmness of the chronological structure which alone makes a well-planned connection and combination of events possible to the scholar.

5. Of whatever part of Germany you treat, begin first with the history of all Germany; carefully consider within this limit what the home, in a narrower sense, has to show in active ideas for the common country and all mankind.

Since 1870, no lengthy defence of this proposition is required.

We have likewise pointed out above that the pedagogic maxim of "proceeding from that which is near to that which is distant," should not be interpreted to mean a beginning with one of our many German fatherlands. When a description of the neighborhood has made the pupils familiar with the nearest surroundings, when among the traditions and biographies of crowned and uncrowned heads noteworthy

phenomena of the native province have found their place, the interest in the immediate home has been sufficiently gratified.

If the context of the traditions and biographies does not point to the destinies of all Germany, they may precede all stories of that kind. But where properly so-called history is in question, this, of course, precludes a beginning with special history.

In the preparatory course of ancient history, the child's horizon has been sufficiently enlarged in accordance with the historical organism. To teach a special history in German history — even that of Prussia — before treating the whole, would be like examining one member of an organism before looking at the organism itself as a whole. Every individual German state has received more from the whole country of German intellectual work than it has been able to give; and the knowledge of all the reigning princes, the time of their reign, their government and court-festivals, their spouses and mistresses, could not indemnify the German boy for the loss he would sustain in the knowledge of such men and deeds as are famous in all Germany.

Yet a specially careful consideration of important phenomena nearer home are not only not excluded, but are to be recommended.

The German is peculiar in his way. Uniformity of life and labor is distasteful to him. Let the Prussian, Saxon, Bavarian, and Suabian be conscious of his own special achievements. The German, even since the reconstruction of the empire, must not lose the advantage over other and more homogeneous nations, which lies in the variety and complexity of mental and practical development; still the school must take care that the German's comprehension and sentiment for the whole will, in future, guard all Germany

against the disgrace that mars too many pages of its history. Therefore let it be German history, and never a special history that is to represent a whole.

6. *Create a desire for historical reading.*

The general demand, that instruction must be interesting, should hardly be mentioned here. It would be an anachronism in so far as a method of teaching is privileged if it only gives a stimulus. It follows, therefore, that this should be a quality of the above suggestions, in which the demand was met by combining reflective with pictorial characteristics.

It is easy to see how the success of instruction in history can be aided by private reading, if the teacher devotes proper attention to it. Good stories attract a boy. It would only be necessary to procure books, to mention them in the lessons, and read from them; finally, to give them to the boy, and remind him of his reading by pointing out of what use it will be to him in his lessons.

Each one should be provided with an historical reader, which would have a threefold purpose: first, it will make the boy familiar with finished historical representations by original authorities which often unconsciously become a model for his own style; in the second place, it is to afford him constant opportunity for private reading; and thirdly, later it is to give a constant stimulus to historical reading.

It must contain examples from the best original writers, and the best popular works derived from them. They must be examples that will be no more likely to become obsolete than Schiller's poems, and the source should be given where more such good things can be found. The school library should be provided with good translations and popular accounts of original works, which must be kept before the school, and the reading matter made use of. The historical reader should, by no means, contain all the material, even

approximately, which the teacher is about to make use of, and he is therefore not bound by it in his narration. The plan for carrying out the lesson he will be obliged to make himself by the help of a guide to history, and form the narrative himself, based upon his own research, and adapted to the capacity of his hearers. Thorough work is demanded of him, but he will enjoy free intellectual labor, since he is not a slave to the guide which he employs. Whatever he has chosen and worked out he will be able to use most advantageously.

7. Practise the scholars in free repetition of the teacher's narrative. Let the most important dates be mentioned in connection with the lesson, and fix them indelibly on the memory by constant repetition.

It would be superfluous to insist on the advantage of impromptu speaking for readiness and clearness of thought in practical life. What better material for practice next to German than that of history! After the teacher has told a story, volunteers are called for to repeat it; the timid should be encouraged; the forward or inattentive should be brought to order by not helping them out. At the end of the lesson they must be questioned on the chief points of what has been related, and required to write them out, and one or two dates must be kept in view for repetition as the foundation for a number of slowly but constantly accumulating facts. In spite of Gutenberg's invention, there seems no better way of aiding the memory and leaving the teacher at liberty. The boy's memory must have some support; the general plan is that of recalling the principal points during every free discourse, and every one knows by experience that writing them down is of greater use than mere reading over. As there are but a few words to write, it will not be encroaching on the allotted time, and the reproach of the dictating method

cannot be made to the proceeding. By the aid of these principal points the boy will become more and more capable of recalling his history at home, in so far as it was made clear and interesting to him, and he will give evidence of it in his next lesson.¹

The few facts for constant repetition must be underlined and entered by themselves on the last pages of the book.²

8. *Choose your material with a view to the person, — the scholar; and equally with a view to the object, — history; finally, with respect to external circumstances.*

The difference in the latter hardly admits of a precise grading of the lessons. The intermediate schools of one, three, four, and six classes, of course, aim at very different results. It certainly required a good deal of national indifference, want of judgment, and sectarian narrowness, to divide a school of two classes into two schools of one class each according to religious beliefs; to put children of twelve and children of eight years old — who have hitherto been instructed by two separate teachers — together in such a manner that now each teacher has children of eight and twelve to instruct, and hastens from one to the other, not to

¹ Compare Fleckeisen and Masius's new Yearbook, etc., 1875, II., p. 100.

² We will refer to Löbell's architectural schedule here, which proposes, instead of the imperfect "mechanical chronological table," to substitute a schedule which comprehensively groups the principal features of a development. The arrangement in Peter's table for Roman and Greek history is already an improvement:—

EXTERNAL HISTORY.		INTERNAL HISTORY.
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It would be necessary to give a survey of the whole development in tabular form.

Whatever stands in columns contains the principal features of a single series of developments formed by the struggle of an idea. The various series of developments, as they exhibit themselves in a nation, are placed side by side, according to the synchronistic principle, as shown in the well-known synchronistic tables for political history.

mention the subdivisions at all. Perhaps the knowledge that more than formerly is now required of general public education, will also restore the division of labor in schools. We can, at least, discuss the order of the lessons, first reminding the reader that this limitation, caused by unfavorable circumstances, is concerned with only the quantity, not with the quality of the instruction in history. If, according to William von Humboldt, history "is of no use by its separate examples of what should be followed and what avoided," but "its true and infinite utility is to excite and purify the mind, more by the form connected with events than by the events themselves"; if, according to Gervinus, "a work on history is not intended to furnish separate precepts, but to teach mankind to comprehend the real world as a whole." If the most valuable material in history is the influence of the moral, intellectual, and practical element;¹ if, according to the words of the first author,² "to plunge into the subject and lose one's self, is to gain one's self," it is plain that neither disadvantageous circumstances, nor consideration for the mass of material, should induce us to slight ideas, nor to resolve universal history into detached stories and anecdotes, nor to bury the plenitude of real life in abstract condensations; and finally, to renounce all practical advantages arising from it for a dreary collection of facts. The difference between the profundity of the subject and the immaturity of the scholar demands a clearness and an epic breadth that should not be curtailed in the least. For everything depends upon the completeness and interest of the historical pictures, because later they constitute the elements of all historic thought, — they are the historical multiplication table.

¹ Compare above on the use of history.

² Wegweiser, I., "Rules for the Instruction of the Teacher."

Therefore, only limitation of the quantity, never of the quality. The idea which strives to shape actual life, the personality and the procedure of its champions, must always be presented in lifelike clearness to the mental view, or else we must give up the educating influence of history.

From these previous discussions it follows what order of lessons we consider the right one. The first step would offer tales and legends; then tales of adventure, which is the first introduction into practical life and a help in comprehending the most elementary civilization, which is not yet included in the records of history, and is nevertheless demanded for the comprehension of historical work. This first step is concluded by biographies— which pretend to be only biographies— with a certain poetical coloring. They find their elementary limitation and importance in that they, aside from single features, clearly and minutely depict the summit of ideal activity, thereby early making the pupil familiar with ancient as well as modern heroes, and, at the same time, affording a cursory view into the centres of the manifold labor of civilization, public as well as private.

Actual history is begun at ten years of age, after a study of the neighborhood and surroundings have not only familiarized the child with the country, but also with the people of the neighborhood, according to their position and occupation, as far as possible. While, until now, the purely biographical treatment prevailed, and tales, legends, travels, historical biographies served the preliminary purpose of arousing a sense for general relations by means of interest in persons. These relations now appear as the units in which developments take place. The most prominent work of the ideas of the ancients, whether only of generally human or specially national significance for our time, must be given; and Roman or Greek state and national history should, by no means, be

attempted. The unpleasant parts, characterized by weakness and vagueness of ideas, may be left untouched. Only the final deterioration of Greek and Roman affairs must be shown, as an introduction to the dawn of German history.

In German history, likewise, single series of developments must be followed first, and those, of course, which represent the principal ideas in the depth and variety of which our national greatness consists. At the end of important periods, these must be combined to form a chapter of German history.

Foreign ideas that influenced the shaping of our circumstances must be traced to their sources. In the luminous picture that reflects our national advantages, the dark shadows must not be omitted that are now gradually yielding to the vigor of the national idea of unity.

Not to carry history up to our times would, to-day, be a national crime; we owe it to our heroes, whether they live or sleep in French earth. Not to progress to the present would make all study of the past almost useless. History is to give an ideally practical education for the present and for the future. The weapons of Achilles might be borrowed by any one from the past; but, without knowledge of the developments to the present, he would be fighting in the dark with them. Shall it be left to accident or to the care of one individual to make up what is wanting? Experience has taught us how many are able to do so. Why shall the rising generation learn everything, except the foundation on which it stands? Perhaps, because recent history cannot be taught objectively enough. But will it be taught more objectively in the light of faction and a party press? If the teacher has disciplined his mind, as in duty bound, objectively to represent the reality of past times, he, foremost among his fellow-citizens, will be qualified for the objective comprehension and representation of modern ideas. It had some meaning, when

a reactionary government, in attempting to restore the patriarchal conditions of old, gave history the Holy Alliance for a keystone. Since the passage of the indemnity law, it would be absurd, even for a conservative, to think of such a limitation. Neither does the complexity of recent history any longer offer insurmountable difficulties.

The treatment of former periods will have afforded sufficient preparation to make the more and more universally historical character of recent times understood, without loss of unity to the picture.

Many analogous events which serve to complete the picture have already been clearly represented, so that but a brief characterization is required to give an impression of them and make their effect understood. If, in the public school, the chief picture *must always* appear vividly and in detail, the less important parts can now certainly be managed by means of condensations. Accordingly, the external course of instruction would be this :

The nearest source of material for historical instruction for the scholar is the teacher. He narrates, producing the picture of the past in the mind of the boy, the ideas and its representations, and the procedure which gave it form. The scene of the event is eventually to be drawn on the black-board, and the scholar made to copy it on the slate or with a lead-pencil. The teacher's judgment and the scholar's expression of countenance will show where new ideas and impressions must be explained before they can be utilized. They will be comprehended by the heuristic method, by the help of modern illustrations, and by recalling what has been taught before, etc.

After the narration is finished, questions are briefly put about the principal points. Volunteers are first called upon to repeat the stories. Toward the end of the lesson the prin-

cipal points are aphoristically written down, to serve for recapitulation at home ; the principal facts emphasized. The next lesson begins with a repetition of the principal points. A detailed repetition of the story follows two or three times ; meanwhile another scholar draws the scene of action on the blackboard. Corrections of both follow, and general catechizing allows the class to participate. The teacher asks if any one has read something special in regard to the event ; if it has been done, the pupil is asked to relate it, or to give details. The transition to new matter is introduced by referring back to similar events, and resuming the thread of a former series of developments, exciting interest for the new.

The principal parts of what has gone before must always be repeated unaided by the pupil, forward and backward, until they have become his inalienable property.

At the end of every period of history, the stories are united into a whole.

In view of the demands made upon the public-school teacher by a single branch of instruction, who does not feel the truth of Gervinus's words : " Whoever has weighed the demands of history and yet attempts it, must have the courage of the moth and not fear to burn his wings for love of light " ? Still, it seemed right fully to make those demands, following the example of that Theban who flung the standard into the enemy's midst, in order to leave no doubt of the direction. But if the thought still remains, that it will be impossible sufficiently to imbue the child's soul with the depth of historical life, — the comprehension of which, according to a well-known authority, is the business of men, — the cry that is heard everywhere for higher schools must also be raised on this side.

CHAPTER VIII.

Means of Instruction.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BEFORE we recommend works upon this subject, we will briefly state our views in regard to the use of these auxiliaries in the public school. Much detailed criticism will thus be spared the author, who does not wish to withhold his full appreciation of the learning and pedagogic skill of the writers of text-books, etc., when he says that something must be left out here or added there in order to reach desired results.

This procedure, certainly, according to his view, is largely to be recommended.

That position is now abandoned which only regarded the record of wars and kings as the sole material for teaching history. The demand was justly made that special attention should be given to that which was of importance to the entire political and national life.

A history of the royal house becomes the history of the Prussian, Bavarian, and Saxon states and people, and finally German history. This has greatly increased the material, and, at the same time, given it a higher aim. Formerly, this material consisted of the knowledge of single individuals and their deeds, and the aim was the inculcation of the maxims: Fear God and honor the king; The subject must trust God and His government. It now comprises the whole domain of national history, and its aim is the development of historical opinion; for each one, to a certain extent, must bear a part in the work of the nation, and find a support in his own judgment against the influence of the demagogy that has

ruined many a state. But pedagogic authors, in attempting to write a German school history, undertook a hopeless task in so far as they strove for completeness in regard to matter and uniformity of detail. History is called a concentrated experience, and rightly. Still, it seems impossible to reproduce the experience of at least a thousand years in some five hundred history lessons.

The fruits of individual experience ripen slowly : therefore has the historian so far outstripped the experienced teacher, that he can comprehend the accumulated experience of an active lifetime in a few hours ?

The historian's skill certainly reproduces the development of one year in so condensed a form, that we can become familiar in a comparatively short time with its most striking events. But, as soon as the matter has been so closely condensed that we can no longer follow the inner movement of forces, and no longer understand the course of development from causes, then all experience ceases. We then see only a series of events worth knowing, but we remain unprepared in face of the problems and demands of the present.¹

The demand has, therefore, long since been made to drop the less important for the important ; but the sum of important events is so great, and the bloody struggle of two ideas alone, in the space of three decades, brings forth so many important phenomena, that among these again a selection must be made if *historical comprehension*, which is the school for historical opinion, is to be reached.

The proper title for most compendiums of history, containing what we have suggested as the proper material, should

¹ It is evident how much the compendious writing of history promotes subjectivity. Since it is not made possible for the pupil to gather his own experience, the temptation arises to force individual experience and an individual point of view upon him.

be, "Stories of the Most Remarkable Events in German History."

Its indisputable advantage will consist, firstly, in this, that the boy will become familiar with the most notable persons and events in history; and secondly, if the work is enlivened by specially interesting traits, it will also enliven the youthful mind.

If this solves the problem of the public school, then these books fulfil their purpose, and the teacher has nothing to do but keep alive the memory of bygone events, and do away with an unseemly ignorance, especially in regard to the history of his own people. This, too, can be accomplished by reading history.

If more than this is to be accomplished, if a growing comprehension of historical developments and mental products is to be attained, — which only thrives on the basis of a deeper comprehension, — and, with them, create an enthusiasm for ideas that are struggling to assert themselves, as well as for their champions, and likewise a sense for the forces that are active in history, it will be necessary to follow in the footsteps of Thomas Arnold by taking out the most important points and working to the depth of things; showing the past like the life of the present, as a picture of living, striving, scheming, and acting human beings, but not by attempting to distil the labor of historical minds during fifty years into the concentrated experience of five hours. The reading of history must be stative before we pass over to cursory reading; not only the results of historical work must be given, but historical work itself must be traced: it should not suffice to cite a summary statement, first, as a reason for, and then as a reason against; not make the general simply retreat this time owing to the weakness of his forces, and another time make him victorious in spite of it.

That would be teaching history dogmatically and not rationally.

A mere succession of facts is soulless, mechanical work. More dignity is given to the memories of the past, if, in the smoothly-elaborated detail of the "how" of events, attractive and inspiring personal traits are interwoven. But does an author produce any other effect than that of a mere collection of facts, if, retaining the form, he despatches the "wherefore" with such general reasons that, psychologically, there are no reasons at all for the pupil, — that is, no key to the comprehension of that which is to follow.

If the statement occurs in an otherwise excellent collection of historical stories, "The English did not offer much resistance; they lacked unity and force," or, "the unaccustomed climate had very much thinned the ranks of the Crusaders," then want of unity and force, and the unaccustomed climate, have the form of reasons, but are comprehended only as abstract notions by the boy. It requires a vivid picture; he must see isolated detachments fighting here and there, and observe how discouraged and paralyzed the prominent figures are in their isolation; he must be given a climatic idea of Syria, if those reasons are really to be reasons for him.¹

If this is really so, then the uniformity of detail must be

¹ O. Yäger, in the Preface to his "Punic Wars," remarks: "Down to our day, we are accustomed to see historical matter thrown into the form of universal history; and the force of this habit is so strong, that we guilelessly accept universal history in countless text-books and readers for intermediate and elementary classes, for girls' schools, for boys of fourteen, and even for boys of nine years old. Annually, we see those strange books appear in abundant new editions, that, with enviable ingenuousness, are called "Guides," "Sketches," and "Abridgments of Universal History for Lower Gymnasial Classes," etc. Gradually we are giving up this folly, and making a more modest, and certainly a more fruitful, departure on the principle that the way to that which is general is through that which is special, etc.

given up, even in regard to important events, and the monographic element must prevail; the choice must be made, guided by historical ideas: that event, or rather that period, must be kept in view in which the idea most actively appears. This material must be treated thoroughly with a certain epic breadth; and those events which cannot be thoroughly treated, should not be dwelt on.

As their comprehension cannot be given in a few words, they are only to be reduced to mere indications of the situation in which the events to be fully described take place.

If the choice of material follows in this way, it is clear why we scarcely consider the use of a printed "Guide" desirable. Aside from the assistance which the memory receives from writing down what is given, and with regard to the freedom of the teacher in the treatment of the matter, but few notes need be taken when following this method. For the greater completeness of comprehension is the most effective aid to memory. Of course, if, in that uniform treatment of history, the deeds of the past are specially to be recalled, then such an accumulation of disconnected details naturally ensues that a printed "Guide" advantageously replaces a tedious dictation. If less stress is laid on a series of disconnected facts than on the comprehension of the principal phases, next to those facts which must be mentioned as the foundation for the principal action, the few principal points of the detailed explanation will suffice.¹

Let the reading of the pupils be an aid to their memory in history. It is the teacher's duty to rouse and stimulate a love for it. The reader which is used in school must facili-

¹ It is scarcely necessary to point out that a monographic treatment is advantageous to the teacher; that a sense of scientific freedom overcomes the pedantic view, and removes the well-merited reproach: "He knows a little of everything, and nothing thoroughly."

tate this. It should contain a series of detached stories of remarkable events; they must be easy to comprehend and attractive. The more laborious intellectual work of showing their connection is not the object of the book. It must be the chief aim of the teacher, on the other hand, to let the pupil arrive at the true comprehension of history at those points where ideas culminate. As he must treat certain portions thoroughly; and a small portion lightly, we must consider authorities on history, scientific works, and monographs as our principal pedagogic aids; these will give insight and afford comprehension. The teacher's most individual task will be, in every case, to find the form of presenting his subject best adapted to his pupils based upon his pedagogic experience and insight, aided by popularized works. Such reading-books would be best for the scholar which contain stories, either detached or connected, not hard to understand, and told with a certain epic breadth that boys like: —

I. We will mention tales, stories of the Robinson-Crusoe type, and legends (compare p. 111).

II. Selections from historical literature, partly from original sources and partly from modern works, given in connection with the sequence of events.

III. We will subjoin a list of such works as are to serve our purpose of instruction.

SPECIAL METHODS OF HISTORICAL STUDY¹

AS PURSUED AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
AND AT SMITH COLLEGE.

THE main principle of historical training at the Johns Hopkins University is to encourage independent thought and research. Little heed is given to text-books, or the mere phraseology of history, but all stress is laid upon clear and original statements of fact and opinion, whether the student's own or the opinion of a consulted author. The comparative method of reading and study is followed by means of assigning to individual members of the class separate topics, with references to various standard works. These topics are duly reported upon by the appointees, either *ex tempore*, with the aid of a few notes, or in formal papers, which are discussed at length by the class. The oral method has been found to afford a better opportunity than essays for question and discussion, and it is in itself a good means of individual training, for the student thereby learns to think more of substance than of form. Where essays are written, more time

¹ This article contains extracts from a paper on "History: Its Place in American Colleges," originally contributed in October, 1879, to *The Alumnus*, a literary and educational quarterly then published in Philadelphia, but now suspended and entirely out of print. A few extracts have also been made from an article on "Co-operation in University Work," in the second number of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. But the body of the article is new, and was written by request, for the purpose of suggesting to teachers how the study of History might be made more interesting and vital by beginning upon home ground, with the investigation of local life and its widening relations.

is usually expended on style than on the acquisition of facts. If the student has a well-arranged brief, like a lawyer's, and a head full of ideas, he will express himself at least intelligibly, and clearness and elegance will come with sufficient practice. The *ex tempore* method, with a good brief or abstract (which may be dictated to the class) is one of the best methods for the teacher as well as for the student. The idea should be, in both cases, to personify historical science in the individual who is speaking upon a given topic. A book or an essay, however symmetrical it may be, is often only a fossil, a lifeless thing; but a student or teacher talking from a clear head is a fountain of living science. A class of bright minds quickly discern the difference between a phrase-maker and a man of ideas.

As an illustration of the kind of subjects in mediæval history studied in 1878, independently of any text-book, by a class of undergraduates, from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, the following list of essay-topics is appended:—

1. Influence of Roman law during the middle ages. (Savigny, Sir Henry Maine, Guizot, Hadley.)
2. The kingdom of Theodoric, the East Goth. (Milman, Gibbon, Freeman.)
3. The conversion of Germany. (Merivale, Milman, Trench.)
4. The conversion of England. (Bede, Milman, Freeman, Montalembert, Trench.)
5. The civilizing influence of the Benedictine Monks. (Montalembert, Gibbon, Milman.)
6. Cloister and cathedral schools. (Einhard, Guizot, Mullinger.)
7. The origin and character of mediæval universities. (Green, History of England; Lacroix; various university histories.)
8. Modes of legal procedure among the early Teutons. (Waitz, J. L. Laughlin, Lea.)
9. Report of studies in "Anglo-Saxon Law." (Henry Adams *et al.*)

10. Origin of Feudalism. Feudal rights, aids, and incidents. (Guizot, Hallam, Stubbs, Digby, Maine, Waitz, Roth.)
11. Evils of Feudalism. (Authorities as above.)
12. Benefits of Feudalism. (As above.)
13. The Saxon Witenagemot and its historical relation to the House of Lords. (Freeman, Stubbs, Hallam, Guizot.)
14. Origin of the House of Commons. (Pauli, Creighton, and authorities above stated.)
15. Origin of communal liberty. (Hegel, Städteverfassung von Italien; Testa, Communes of Lombardy; Wauters, Les libertés communales; Stubbs, Freeman, Guizot, *et al.*)

At Smith College, an institution founded at Northampton, Massachusetts, by a generous woman, in the interest of the higher education of her sex, the study of history is pursued by four classes in regular gradation, somewhat after the college model. The First, corresponding to the "Freshman" class, study oriental or ante-classic history, embracing the Stone Age, Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, the empires of Mesopotamia and ancient India. This course was pursued in 1879 by dictations and *ex tempore* lectures on the part of the teacher, and by independent reading on the part of the pupils. The first thing done by the teacher in the introduction to the history of any of the above-mentioned countries, was to explain the sources from which the history of that country was derived, and then to characterize briefly the principal literary works relating to it, not omitting historical novels, like Ebers' "Egyptian Princess," or "Uarda." Afterwards, the salient features, in Egyptian history, for example, were presented by the instructor, under distinct heads, such as geography, religion, art, literature, and chronology. Map-drawing by and before the class was insisted upon; and, in connection with the foregoing subjects, books or portions of books were recommended for private reading. For instance, on the "Geography

of Egypt," fifty pages of Herodotus were assigned in Rawlinson's translation. This, and other reading, was done in the so-called "Reference Library," which was provided with all the books that were recommended. An oral account of such reading was sooner or later demanded from each pupil by the instructor, and fresh points of information were thus continually brought out. The amount of positive fact acquired by a class of seventy-five bright young women bringing together into one focus so many individual rays of knowledge, collected from the best authorities, is likely to burn to ashes the dry bones of any text-book, and to keep the instructor at a white heat.

As an illustration of the amount of reading done *in one term* of ten weeks by this class of beginners in history, the following fair specimen of the lists handed in at the end of the academic year of 1879 is appended. The reading was of course by topics:—

EGYPT.

Unity of History (Freeman).
 Geography (Herodotus).
 Gods of Egypt (J. Freeman Clarke).
 Manners and Customs (Wilkinson).
 Upper Egypt (Klunzinger).
 Art of Egypt (Lübke).
 Hypatia (Kingsley).
 Egyptian Princess (Ebers).

PALESTINE.

Sinai and Palestine, 40 pages (Stanley).
 History of the Jews (extracts from Josephus).
 The Beginnings of Christianity, Chap. VII. (Fisher).
 Religion of the Hebrews (J. Freeman Clarke).

PHENICIA, ASSYRIA, ETC.

- Phœnicia, 50 pages (Kenrick).
- Assyrian Discoveries (George Smith).
- Chaldean Account of Genesis (George Smith).
- Assyrian Architecture (Fergusson).
- Art of Central Asia (Lübke).

In the Second, or "Sophomore" class, classic history was pursued by means of the History Primers of Greece and Rome, supplemented by lectures and dictations, as the time would allow. The Junior class studied mediæval history in much the same way, by text-books (the Epoch Series) and by lectures. Both classes did excellent work of its kind, but it was not the best kind; for little or no stimulus was given to original research. And yet, perhaps, to an outsider, fond of old-fashioned methods of recitation, these classes would have appeared better than the First class. They did harder work, but it was less spontaneous and less scientific. The fault was a fault of method.

With the Senior class the method described as in use at the Johns Hopkins University was tried with marked success. With text-books on modern history as a guide for the whole class, the plan was followed out of assigning to individuals subjects with references for private reading and for an oral report of about fifteen minutes' length. The class took notes on these reports or informal student-lectures as faithfully as on the extended remarks and more formal lectures of the instructor. This system of making a class lecture to itself is, of course, very unequal in its immediate results, and sometimes unsatisfactory; but, as a system of individual training for advanced pupils, it is valuable as a means both of culture and of discipline. Contrast the good to the individual student of any amount of mere text-book

memorizing or idle note-taking with the positive culture and wide acquaintance with books, derived *in ten weeks* from such a range of reading as is indicated in the following *bond fide* report by one member of the Senior class (1879), who afterwards was a special student of history for two years in the "Annex" at Harvard College, and who in 1881 returned to Smith College for her degree of Ph.D. First are given the subjects assigned to this young woman for research, and the reading done by her in preparation for report to the class; and then is given the list of her general reading in connection with the class work of the term. Other members of the class had other subjects and similar reports:—

I. — SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH.

1. *Anselm and Roscellinus.*
Milman's Latin Christianity, Vol. IV., pp. 190-225.
Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, Vol. I., pp. 271-385.
2. *Platonic Academy at Florence.*
Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo di Medici, Vol. I., p. 30 *et seq.*
Burckhardt's Renaissance, Vol. I.
Villari's Machiavelli, Vol. I., p. 205 *et seq.*
3. *Colet.*
Seebohm's Oxford Reformers.
4. *Calvin.*
Fisher's History of the Reformation (Calvin).
Spalding's History of the Reformation (Calvin).
D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, Vol. I., book 2, chap. 7.
5. *Frederick the Great.*
Macaulay's Essay on Frederick the Great.
Lowell's Essay on Frederick the Great.
Ency. Brit. Article on Frederick the Great.
Menzel's History of Germany (Frederick the Great).
Carlyle's Frederick the Great (parts of Vols. I., II., III.).
6. *Results of the French Revolution.*
French Revolution (Epoch Series).

II. — GENERAL READING.

- Roscoe's Life of Leo X. (one-half of Vol. I.).
 Mrs. Oliphant's Makers of Florence (on cathedral builders, Savonarola, a Private Citizen, Michel Angelo).
 Symond's Renaissance (Savonarola).
 Walter Pater's Renaissance (Leonardo da Vinci).
 Hallam's Middle Ages (on Italian Republics).
 Benvenuto Cellini's Autobiography (about one-half).
 Burckhardt's Renaissance (nearly all).
 Vasari's Lives of the Painters (da Vinci, Alberti).
 Lowell's Essay on Dante.
 Carlyle's Essay on Dante.
 Trench's Mediæval Church History (Great Councils of the West, Huss and Bohemia, Eve of the Reformation).
 Fisher's History of the Reformation (Luther).
 White's Eighteen Christian Centuries (16th).
 Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.
 Lecky's European Morals (last chapter).
 Seebohm's Era of the Protestant Revolution.
 Froude's Short Studies on Great Subjects (studies on the times of Erasmus and Luther, the Dissolution of the Monasteries).
 Spalding's History of the Reformation (chapter on Luther).
 Carlyle's Essay on Luther and Knox.
 Hosmer's German Literature (chapters on Luther, Thirty Years' War, Minnesingers and Mastersingers).
 Gardiner's Thirty Years' War.
 Morris's Age of Anne.
 George Eliot's Romola (about one-half).
 Hawthorne's Marble Faun (parts).

It is but fair to say in reference to this vast amount of reading, that it represents the chief work done by the above-mentioned young lady during the summer term, for her class exercises were mainly lectures requiring little outside study. The list will serve not merely as an illustration of Senior work in history at Smith College, but also as an excellent

guide for a course of private reading on the *Renaissance and Reformation*. No more interesting or profitable course can be followed than a study of the Beginnings of Modern History. With Symond's works on the "Renaissance in Italy," Burekhardt's "Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance" (English translation), and Seeborn's "Era of the Protestant Revolution" (Epoch series) for guide-books, a college instructor can indicate to his pupils lines of special investigation more grateful than text-book "cramming," more inspiring than lectures or dictations. The latter, though good to a certain extent, become deadening to a class when its members are no longer stimulated to original research, but sink back in passive reliance upon the authority of the lecturer. That method of teaching history which converts bright young pupils into note-taking machines is a bad method. It is the construction of a poor text-book at the expense of much valuable time and youthful energy. Goethe satirized this, the fault of German academic instruction, in Mephistopheles' counsel to the student, who is advised to study well his notes, in order to see that the professor says nothing which he hasn't said already: —

Damit ihr nachher besser seht,
Dass er nichts sagt, als was im Buche steht;
Doch euch des Schreibens ja befeisst,
Als dictirt' euch der Heilig' Geist!

The simple-minded student assents to this counsel, and says it is a great comfort to have everything in black and white, so that he can carry it all home. But no scrap-book of facts can give wisdom, any more than a tank of water can form a running spring. It is, perhaps, of as much consequence to teach a young person *how* to study history as to teach him history itself.

The above notes were written in the summer of 1879, and

were published in October of that year, after the author's return to Baltimore. Subsequent experience at Smith College, in the spring terms of 1880 and 1881, when the lecturer's four years' partial connection with Smith College terminated, showed the necessity of a reference library for each class, the resources of the main collection in the reading-room having proved inadequate to the growing historical needs of the college. Instead of buying text-books, the members of each class, with the money which text-books would have cost, formed a library fund, from which a book committee purchased such standard works (often with duplicate copies) as the lecturer recommended. The class libraries were kept in places generally accessible; for example, in the front halls of the "cottage" dormitories. Each class had its own system of rules for library administration. Books that were in greatest demand could be kept out only one or two days. The amount of reading by special topics accomplished in this way in a single term was really most remarkable. Note-books with abstracts of daily work were kept, and finally handed in as a part of the term's examination. Oral examinations upon reading, pursued in connection with the lectures, were maintained throughout the term, and, at the close, a written examination upon the lectures and other required topics, together with a certain range of optional subjects, fairly tested the results of this voluntary method of historical study. The amount of knowledge acquired in this way would as much surpass the substance of any system of lectures or any mere text-book acquisitions as a class library of standard historians surpasses an individual teacher or any historical manual. This method of study is practicable in any high-school class of moderate size. If classes are generous, they will leave their libraries to successors, who can thus build up a collection for historical reference

within the school itself, which will thus become a seminary of living science.

A development of the above idea of special libraries for class use was the foundation in Baltimore, at the Johns Hopkins University, in 1881-2, of a special library for the study of American Institutional History by college graduates. There was nothing really new about the idea except its application. German universities have their *seminarium* libraries distinct from the main university library, although often in the same building. In Baltimore the special library was established in the lecture-room where the class meets. The design of the collection was to gather within easy reach the chief authorities used in class work and in such original investigations as were then in progress. The special aim, however, was to bring together the statutory law and colonial archives of the older States of the Union, together with the journals of Congress, American State papers, and the writings and lives of American statesmen. The statutes of England and parliamentary reports on subjects of particular interest were next secured. Then followed, in December, 1882, the acquisition of the Bluntschli Library of three thousand volumes, with many rare pamphlets and Bluntschli's manuscripts, including his notes taken under Niebuhr the historian, and under Savigny the jurist. This library of the lamented Dr. Bluntschli, professor of constitutional and international law in Heidelberg, was presented to the Johns Hopkins University by German citizens of Baltimore; and it represents, not only in its transfer to America, but in its very constitution, the internationality of modern science. Here is a library, which, under the care of a great master, developed from the narrow chronicles of a Swiss town and canton into a library of cosmopolitan character, embracing many nations in its scope. Into this inheritance the Seminary Library of Ameri-

can Institutional History has now entered. Although the special work of the Seminary will still be directed toward American themes, yet it will be from the vantage-ground of the Bluntschli Library, and with the knowledge that this great collection was the outgrowth of communal studies similar to those now in progress in Baltimore.

A word may be added in this connection touching the nature of graduate-work in history at the Johns Hopkins University. What was said in the early part of this article applied only to undergraduates, who develop into the very best class of graduate students now present at the University. The idea of a co-operative study of American local institutions, by graduate students representing different sections of country, evolved very naturally from the Baltimore environment. Germinant interest in the subject originated in a study of New England towns, in a spring sojourn for four years at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., and in summer tours along the New England coast; but the development of this interest was made possible by associations in Baltimore with men from the South and the West, who were able and willing to describe the institutions of their own States for purposes of comparison with the institutions of other States. Thus it has come about that the parishes, districts, and counties of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas are placed historically side by side with the townships of the West and the towns and parishes of New England; so that, by and by, all men will see how much these different sections have in common.

There is a great variety of subjects pertaining to American local life in its rural and municipal manifestations. Not only the history of local government, but the history of schools, churches, charities, manufactures, industries, prices, economics, municipal protection, municipal reforms, local taxation, representation, administration, poor laws, liquor laws,

labor laws, and a thousand and one chapters of legal and social history are yet to be written in every State. Johns Hopkins students have selected only a few topics like towns, parishes, manors, certain state systems of free schools, a few phases of city government, a few French and Indian villages in the North-west, certain territorial institutions, Canadian feudalism, the town institutions of New England (to a limited extent) ; but there is left historical territory enough for student immigration throughout the next hundred years. The beauty of science is that there are always new worlds to discover. And at the present moment there await the student pioneer vast tracts of American institutional and economic history almost as untouched as were once the forests of America, her coal measures and prairies, her mines of iron, silver, and gold. Individual and local effort will almost everywhere meet with quick recognition and grateful returns. But scientific and cosmopolitan relations with college and university centres, together with the generous co-operation of all explorers in the same field, will certainly yield the most satisfactory results both to the individual and to the community which he represents.

It is highly important that isolated students who desire to co-operate in this kind of work should avail themselves of the existing machinery of local libraries, the local press, local societies, and local clubs. If such things do not exist, the most needful should be created. No community is too small for a book club and for an association of some sort. Local studies should always be connected in some way with the life of the community, and should always be used to quicken that life to higher consciousness. A student, a teacher, who prepares a paper on local history or some social question, should read it before the village lyceum or some literary club or an association of teachers. If encouraged to believe his work

of any general interest or permanent value, he should print it in the local paper or in a local magazine, perhaps an educational journal, without aspiring to the highest popular monthlies, which will certainly reject all purely local contributions by unknown contributors. It is far more practicable to publish by local aid in pamphlet form or in the proceedings of associations and learned societies, before which such papers may sometimes be read.

From a variety of considerations, the writer is persuaded that one of the best introductions to history that can be given in American high schools, and even in those of lower grade, is through a study of the community in which the school is placed. History, like charity, begins at home. The best American citizens are those who mind home affairs and local interests. "That man's the best cosmopolite who loves his native country best." The best students of universal history are those who know some one country or some one subject well. The family, the hamlet, the neighborhood, the community, the parish, the village, town, city, county, and state are historically the ways by which men have approached national and international life. It was a preliminary study of the geography of Frankfort-on-the-Main that led Carl Ritter to study the physical structure of Europe and Asia, and thus to establish the new science of comparative geography. He says: "Whoever has wandered through the valleys and woods, and over the hills and mountains of his own state, will be the one capable of following a Herodotus in his wanderings over the globe." And we may say, as Ritter said of the science of geography, the first step in history is to know thoroughly the district where we live. In America, Guyot has represented for many years this method of teaching geography. Huxley, in his *Physiography*, has introduced pupils to a study of Nature as a whole, by calling attention

to the physical features of the Thames valley and the wide range of natural phenomena that may be observed in any English parish. Humboldt long ago said in his *Cosmos*: "Every little nook and shaded corner is but a reflection of the whole of Nature." There is something very suggestive and very quickening in such a philosophy of Nature and history as regards every spot of the earth's surface, every pebble, every form of organic life, from the lowest mollusk to the highest phase of human society, as a perfect microcosm, perhaps an undiscovered world of suggestive truth. But it is important to remember that all these things should be studied in their widest relations. Natural history is of no significance if viewed apart from Man. Human history is without foundation if separated from Nature. The deeds of men, the genealogy of families, the annals of quiet neighborhoods, the records of towns, states, and nations are *per se* of little consequence to history unless in some way these isolated things are brought into vital connection with the progress and science of the world. To establish such connections is sometimes like the discovery of unknown lands, the exploration of new countries, and the widening of the world's horizon.

American local history should first be studied as a contribution to national history. This country will yet be viewed and reviewed as an organism of historic growth, developing from minute germs, from the very protoplasm of state life. And some day this country will be studied in its international relations, as an organic part of a larger organism now vaguely called the World State, but as surely developing through the operation of economic, legal, social, and scientific forces as the American Union, the German and British Empires are evolving into higher forms. American history in its widest relations is not to be written by any one

man nor by any one generation of men. Our history will grow with the nation and with its developing consciousness of internationality. The present possibilities for the real progress of historic and economic science lie, first and foremost, in the development of a generation of economists and practical historians, who realize that history is past politics and politics present history; secondly, in the expansion of the local consciousness into a fuller sense of its historic worth and dignity, of the cosmopolitan relations of modern local life, and of its own wholesome conservative power in these days of growing centralization. National and international life can best develop upon the constitutional basis of local self-government in church and state.

The work of developing a generation of specialists has already begun in the college and the university. The development of local consciousness can perhaps be best stimulated through the common school. It may be a suggestive fact that the school committee of Great Barrington, Mass., lately voted (*Berkshire Courier*, Sept. 6, 1882) to introduce into their village high school,¹ in the hands of an Amherst graduate, in connection with Nordhoff's "Politics for Young Americans" and Jevons' "Primer of Political Economy," the article upon "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," which was once read in part before the Village Improvement Society of Stockbridge, Mass., Aug. 24, 1881, and published in the *Pittsfield Evening Journal* of that day. Local demand really occasioned a university supply of the article² in question. The possible connection between the

¹ The catalogue of the Great Barrington High School (1882) shows that the study of history and politics is there founded, as it should be, upon a geographical basis.

² *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, II. "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns."

college and the common school is still better illustrated by the case of Professor Macy, of Iowa College, Grinnell, who is one of the most active pioneers in teaching "the real homely facts of government," and who in 1881 published a little tract on Civil Government in Iowa, which is now used by teachers throughout that entire State in preparing their oral instructions for young pupils, beginning with the township and the county, the institutions that are "nearest and most easily learned." A special pupil of Professor Macy's — Albert Shaw, A.B., Iowa College, 1879 — is now writing a similar treatise on Civil Government in Illinois, for school use in that State. There should be such a manual for every State in the Union.

But the writer would like to see a text-book which not only explains, as does Principal Macy, "the real homely facts of government," but which also suggests how those facts came to be. A study of the practical workings of local government and of the American Constitution is the study of politics which every young American ought to pursue. But a study of the origin and development of American institutions is a study of history in one of its most important branches. It is not necessary that young Americans should grapple with "the Constitution" at the very outset. Their forefathers put their energies into the founding of villages, towns, and plantations before they thought of American independence. Their first country this side of the Atlantic was the colony; in some instances, the county. It is not unworthy of sons to study the historic work of fathers who constructed a nation upon the solid rock of local self-government in church and state.

If young Americans are to appreciate their religious and political inheritance, they must learn its intrinsic worth. They must be taught to appreciate the common and lowly

things around them. They should grow up with as profound respect for town and parish meetings as for the State legislature, not to speak of the Houses of Congress. They should recognize the majesty of the law, even in the parish constable as well as in the high sheriff of the county. They should look on selectmen as the head men of the town, the survival of the old English reeve and four best men of the parish. They should be taught to see in the town common or village green a survival of that primitive institution of land-community upon which town and state are based. They should be taught the meaning of town and family names; how the word "town" means, primarily, a place *hedged in* for purposes of defence; how the picket-fences around home and house-lot are but a survival of the primitive *town* idea; how *home*, *hamlet*, and *town* live on together in a name like *Hampton*, or *Home-town*. They should investigate the most ordinary things, for these are often the most archaic. For example, there is the village pound, which Sir Henry Maine says is one of the most ancient institutions, "older than the king's bench, and probably older than the kingdom." There, too, are the field-drivers (still known in New England), the ancient town herdsmen, village shepherds, and village swineherds (once common in this country), who serve to connect our historic life with the earliest pastoral beginnings of mankind.

It would certainly be an excellent thing for the development of historical science in America if teachers in our public schools would cultivate the historical spirit in their pupils with special reference to the local environment. Something more than local history can be drawn from such sources. Take the Indian relics, the arrow-heads which a boy has found in his father's field or which may have been given him by some antiquary: here are texts for familiar talks by the

teacher upon the "Stone Age" and the progress of the world from savage beginnings. Indian names still linger upon our landscapes, upon our mountains, rivers, fields, and meadows, affording a suggestive parallel between the "exterminated" natives of England and New England. What a quickening impulse could be given to a class of bright pupils by a visit to some scene of ancient conflict with the Indians, like that at Bloody Brook in South Deerfield, Mass., or to such an interesting local museum as that in Old Deerfield, where is exhibited, in a good state of preservation, the door of an early settler's house, — a door cut through by Indian tomahawks. A multitude of historical associations gather around every old town and hamlet in the land.

There are local legends and traditions, household tales, stories told by grandfathers and grandmothers, incidents remembered by "the oldest inhabitants." But above all in importance are the old documents and manuscript records of the first settlers, the early pioneers, the founders of our towns. Here are sources of information more authentic than tradition, and yet often entirely neglected. If teachers would simply make a few extracts from these unpublished records, they would soon have sufficient materials in their hands for elucidating local history to their pupils and fellow-townsmen. The publication of such extracts in the local paper is one of the best ways to quicken local interest in matters of history. Biographies of "the first families," of the various ministers, doctors, lawyers, "Squires," "Generals," "Colonels," college graduates, school-teachers, and leading citizens, — these are all legitimate and pleasant means of kindling historical interest in the community and in the schools. The town fathers, the fathers of families, and all their sons and daughters will quickly catch the bearings of this kind of historical study, for it takes hold upon the life of the community

and quickens not only pride in the past but hope for the future.

In order to study history it is not necessary to begin with dead men's bones, with Theban dynasties, the kings of Assyria, the royal families of Europe, or even with the presidents of the United States. These subjects have their importance in certain connections, but for beginners in history there are perhaps other subjects of greater interest and vitality. The most natural entrance to a knowledge of the history of the world is from a local environment through widening circles of interest, until, from the rising ground of the present, the broad horizon of the past comes clearly into view. There is hardly a subject of contemporary interest which, if properly studied, will not carry the mind back to a remote antiquity, to historic relations as wide as the world itself. A study of the community in which the student dwells will serve to connect that community not only with the origin and growth of the State and Nation, but with the mother-country, with the German fatherland, with village communities throughout the Aryan world, — from Germany and Russia to old Greece and Rome; from these classic lands to Persia and India. Such modern connections with the distant Orient are more refreshing than the genealogy of Darius the son of Hystaspes.

I would not be understood as disparaging ancient or old-world history, for, if rightly taught, this is the most interesting of all history; but I would be understood as emphasizing the importance of studying the antiquity which survives in the present and in this country. America is not such a new world as it seems to many foreigners. Geologists tell us that our continent is the oldest of all. Historians like Mr. Freeman declare that if we want to see Old England we must go to New England. Old France survives in French Canada.

In Virginia, peculiarities of the West Saxon dialect are still preserved. Professor James A. Harrison, of Lexington, Virginia, writes me that in Louisiana and Mississippi, where upon old French and Spanish settlements the English finally planted, there are "sometimes three traditions superimposed one on the other." Men like George W. Cable and Charles Gayarré have been mining to good advantage in such historic strata. If American students and teachers are equally wise, they will look about their own homes before visiting the land of Chaldæa.

The main difficulty with existing methods of teaching history seems to be that the subject is treated as a record of dead facts, and not as a living science. Pupils fail to realize the vital connection between the past and the present; they do not understand that ancient history was the dawn of a light which is still shining on; they do not grasp the essential idea of history, which is the growing self-knowledge of a living, progressive age. Etymologically and practically, the study of history is simply a learning by inquiry. According to Professor Droysen, who is one of the most eminent historians in Berlin, the historical method is merely *to understand by means of research*. Now it seems entirely practicable for every teacher and student of history to promote, in a limited way, the "know thyself" of the nineteenth century by original investigation of things not yet fully known, and by communicating to others the results of his individual study. The pursuit of history may thus become an active instead of a passive process, — an increasing joy instead of a depressing burden. Students will thus learn that history is not entirely bound up in text-books; that it does not consist altogether in what this or that learned authority has to say about the world. What the world believes concerning itself, after all that men have written, and what the student thinks of the world,

after viewing it with the aid of guide-books and with his own eyes,—these are matters of some moment in the developmental process of that active self-knowledge and philosophic reflection which make history a living science instead of a museum of facts and of books “as dry as dust.” Works of history, the so-called standard authorities, are likely to become dead specimens of humanity unless they continue in some way to quicken the living age. But written history seldom fails to accomplish this end, and even antiquated works often continue their influence if viewed as progressive phases of human self-knowledge. Monuments and inscriptions can never grow old so long as the race is young. New meaning is put into ancient records ; fresh garlands are hung upon broken statues ; new temples are built from classic materials ; and the world rejoices at its constant self-renewal.

ON METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY.

THE teaching of history, in common with instruction in all other systems of organized knowledge, should be carried on with three more or less distinct objects in view: the nature of the facts involved, the relations of those facts, and the proper methods of investigation. Though it is not possible in practice to separate these three objects completely one from another, yet each should receive its due proportion of attention, and should receive that attention in its appropriate place. First of all, therefore, the teacher of history is called upon to decide which of these three objects he ought with any given class to keep most prominently in view. The answer of this question involves nothing less than a determination of the proper succession of historical studies.

This order of succession would seem to be fixed by nature. It is certain that we must know something of the existence, if not, indeed, of the nature, of any given order of events before we can apprehend very clearly the relations of those events to one another. Indeed, it may be said that the beginning of all organized knowledge is the acquisition of a certain number of facts and truths. These facts, moreover, must not be limited in range to a single portion of the subject we are to study. They must be comprehensive in their scope. We must know something of the heavens as a whole before we can well understand the double stars or even the moon. We cannot appreciate the significance of a missing link until we have learned something of the chain of which that link is

supposed to form a part. We shall be unable to explain the jubilant prosperity of a great and growing city unless we have acquired considerable knowledge of the region of which that city is the political and commercial centre. Thus we see that there is a certain necessary order of succession, an order which seems to be founded in the law, so well formulated by Herbert Spencer, "there can be no correct idea of a part without a correct idea of the correlative whole."

It is of course true that we learn something of individual facts before we can advance to a comprehension of a series. In a certain sense, therefore, we must proceed from the individual to the general. But it is also true that before our knowledge of the individual can be complete, we must have acquired some knowledge of the series of which the individual forms a part. The proper order of study, therefore, would seem to be definitely fixed at our hand. We should begin with such individual facts as form the strategic points of historical progress, and should dwell upon them only so far as to fix their general character and importance in the attention of the pupil. We should then proceed to a study of the relations of those facts in the development of society. This done, we are ready to advance to the third stage of our study, — a more careful investigation of the individual elements of social and political life, with a view to revealing the sources of their influence and power.

Having determined so much in regard to the proper order of studies, we are ready to address ourselves to the question of methods. But at the very outset we are confronted with a somewhat formidable difficulty. In the present condition of schools in the United States, there is actually, and perhaps necessarily, a broad distinction between what is desirable and what is practicable. It is probably not too much to say that the introduction of methods of ideal excellence

in the teaching of history would involve a revolution in our schools which the public at present is scarcely ready even to consider. But however much we may be obliged to fall short of what we could desire, we shall always find it profitable to keep our eyes fixed upon the highest ideals. First of all, then, let us provide a standard of measurement by inquiring what is desirable.

In a school where all branches of instruction are properly distributed and organized, the pupil may profitably receive his first lessons in history when he is nine or ten years of age. But a careful distinction must be made between receiving the first instruction in history and beginning the study of it. At this age the pupil acquires information, not through his own unaided effort, but almost exclusively through the effort of the teacher. A mother has no difficulty in teaching her child the story of Joseph or Samuel, and a teacher properly qualified for his vocation ought to have no more difficulty in teaching the story of Pyrrhus or Martin Luther. Indeed, it may be said that there are only two requisites of success. The teacher must know the story, and he must understand the art of telling it in such a way as to make an impression by it. That such methods, under favorable circumstances, are entirely practicable has been clearly demonstrated in the German gymnasias. In these schools, where history has been taught with greater success than anywhere else in the world, a teacher who has been especially trained for his work takes the lowest grade of pupils over the whole range of general history in this way. The course is almost exclusively biographical. Indeed, it is little more than a succession of stories told with the especial aim of making a deep impression upon the mind of the child concerning some of the most important of the great characters of history. Such a course, continuing for two years at the rate of two

lessons a week, will be found to have given the pupil considerable knowledge of a vast number of valuable facts. And, best of all, the method by which this information has been acquired, so far from taxing the strength or wearying the attention of the scholar, has been to him a positive source of recreation and pleasure.

At the age of about twelve the pupil is ready for a more substantial diet. The teacher now takes him once more over the same ground, but with a somewhat different object in view. The scholar can now put facts together, and can understand something of the relations of cause and effect. In the former course he listened to the story of Hannibal: now he is ready for the story of the Second Punic War. A little pamphlet, usually prepared by the teacher and made up almost exclusively of names and dates, is put into the hand of the pupil merely to assist him in recalling what the teacher has said. Here, as in the former course, the knowledge acquired comes chiefly from the teacher. The system keeps clearly in view the fact that the pupil is not yet ready for that development which results from hard study. It never ceases to remember that at least three-fourths of all the time spent by a boy of twelve in trying to learn a hard lesson out of a book is time thrown away. Perhaps one-fourth of the time is devoted to more or less desperate and conscientious effort; but the large remaining portion is dawdled away in thinking of the last game of ball and longing for the next game of tag. A true system must make a constant endeavor to turn these demoralizing moments to profitable account. In this effort the German system is the most successful for the reason that instead of leaving the pupil to the meagre resources of his own thoughts, it occupies his attention with direct instruction in the form of attractive and profitable narration. The result is that, through a judicious exercise of this

kind of economy, the German pupil at the age of fifteen or sixteen has been able to complete two distinct surveys of universal history. In the two or three years following, he is able to supplement the knowledge already obtained in a variety of ways. He may be directed in a careful study of the history of his own country, an outline of which he has already obtained; or may make an elaborate examination of some important period like that of the Reformation or the French Revolution.

Such, stated in general terms, is the preparation in history which the German student receives before going to the university. It is founded in a philosophical appreciation of the needs and the capabilities of the pupil, and is undoubtedly the best that has ever been devised. It is equally adapted to the wants of those two classes of pupils into which every secondary school is divided. It is the best preparation for those whose scholastic studies are to terminate with the preparatory school; and the best for those who are to carry forward their studies in a university course.

The student who has received this preparation goes to the university at about the age of nineteen. He is now ready for the more careful and philosophical study of individual nations and of individual periods. In his future studies he will devote himself chiefly to the relations and significance of facts rather than to the mere existence of facts themselves. Two ways are open to him: he can attend courses of lectures, and he can become a member of an historical seminary. But, wherever he goes, he will usually find that the object is to make a very careful study of some limited period, or of some limited phase of historical development. In the lecture-room he will find that the work done by the professor has for its highest object the opening of avenues of research and the guiding of the student in certain methods of thought

and investigation. In the seminary, the student will be directed here and there by the professor, with a view to avoiding gross errors, but the investigator will be left to work out his results mainly in his own way. Before he has advanced very far in carrying on his investigations, he will almost inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the historical seminary is to the study of history, what the laboratory is to the study of the natural sciences.

But as soon as we attempt to compare this ideal with the methods that now generally prevail in the United States, we find more points of difference than points of similarity. In the preparatory schools of Germany, every teacher of history is required to have received especial training by thorough courses of historical study, such as those given in the gymnasium and in the university. In the best of the preparatory schools in America, on the other hand, history is often taught by persons that have received no especial training for the work whatever. Not only have the teachers, as a rule, received inadequate outfit, but they are generally so burdened with other work, and so wearied by it, that they are quite incapable of repairing any defects that under more favorable circumstances might be removed. In Germany, moreover, history is made a constituent part of the regular intellectual nourishment of the pupil during the whole of the time of his preparatory work. In America, on the contrary, it is generally crowded into one or two terms, or, at most, into a single year. There is a strong analogy between the proper methods of feeding the body and the proper methods of feeding the mind. The arrangement of the studies in many of our schools suggests the propriety of eating roast beef and plum pudding five days in a week for six months, and then abstaining from it altogether for five or six years. The effect of such a system upon the appetite and the digestion would

doubtless be very much like the effects of a similar policy in matters of education. Moreover, the teacher in America is often expected to teach not less than twenty-five or thirty hours a week, while, of the teachers in Germany, scarcely more than half of that number is required. But, if we demand twice as many hours of the teacher, we strike the balance by requiring only half as many hours of the pupil. In America, the number of lessons per week for each pupil is about fifteen; while in Germany the number regularly required is from thirty to thirty-five. Thus, in the fashion of Charles Lamb, we preserve the equation by multiplying the lessons of the teacher and dividing the lessons of the scholar by two.

These comparisons are enough to show that nothing less than a revolution will make our teaching of history equal to that which we find in Germany. Such a revolution we may not look for at present. But we can at least inquire what improvements are practicable without interference with the general organization of our schools.

In the first place, some amelioration is possible in the use of the ordinary text-book. In many schools the so-called teaching of history is literally a mere hearing of recitations. I have heard of a person, by courtesy called a teacher, who habitually kept his finger upon the line in the text-book before him, and limited his instruction to the work of correcting the trifling variations of the pupil from the phraseology of the text. Here, the function of the teacher was merely that of a watchman; though this method prevailed in a school that called itself a university. I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the total result of such an exercise on the mind of the pupil is more injurious than beneficial. The mere memorizing of dry facts and assertions affords no intellectual nourishment, while it is almost sure to create a dis-

taste for historical study, and, perhaps, will even alienate the taste of the scholar forever. The first of all endeavors, therefore, should be to put life and action into what, as it stands, is a mere bundle of dry bones.

This can be done in two ways. The information of the teacher may be used to illustrate what is set before the class as a lesson. Questions hinted at in the lesson may also be assigned the class for personal investigation. The first method will always be used to some extent by every efficient teacher; but it will not ordinarily be found sufficient. A far more helpful reliance is the method of personal research. The nature of the questions assigned must, of course, depend on the intelligence and advancement of the class. But even with a class of beginners, more is likely to be accomplished by assigning certain topics than by assigning certain lessons. Questions selected with due reference to the resources of the school library are likely to prove a far more profitable means of real advancement than any slavish dependence on even the best of text-books. The most successful instruction I have ever known in any preparatory school was carried on without any text-book whatever.

But if these methods are the most efficient in the preparatory schools, they are even more emphatically to be recommended in our colleges and universities. Perhaps in neither grade of instruction would it ordinarily be quite safe to abandon the text-book altogether. But the text-book should be looked upon as an assistance, rather than as a means of support. The student ought not to be encouraged to rely on any one book as an unquestionable authority. The habit of consulting different authors on every question of importance should be early acquired and should be constantly stimulated. For the accomplishment of these ends it will ordinarily be found, I think, that the most successful instruction is made

up of a judicious combination of the text-book, the lecture, and the method of personal research.

When the college student is ready to begin his studies in history, he is not yet prepared for the most advanced work. He is deficient in two very important qualifications. In the first place, he is not in possession of a sufficient number of important historical facts; and, in the second, he is not yet sufficiently familiar with what may be called the methods and laws of historical development. To supply these deficiencies should be the object of the earlier historical studies during the undergraduate course.

At the outset the student may be presumed to have some knowledge of general history, and of the history of his own country. This may be a somewhat violent presumption: but it is probably not wise to occupy the time of the undergraduate with such elementary studies as are taught in all the best of our high schools and academies. Better results are likely to follow from devoting our energies to an examination of such selected periods and nationalities as hold out the most credible assurances of profit.

But what periods shall be selected, and how shall the instruction be given?

Studies in the history of our own country and in the history of England should doubtless occupy the foremost place; but they should not crowd out studies of a more general nature. I cannot better point out what I think these studies should be than by indicating what is done at the present time in the University of Michigan. Some years ago a course was provided for, by means of which two lessons a week for one year are devoted to a study of the Political and Social History of England before the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Another course of two lessons a week, for half a year, is devoted to a study of the Reforms in the English Government during the

present century. This is supplemented by a course of two lectures a week, for half a year, on The Theories and Methods of the English Government. In American History, a course on The Political and Social Development of the Colonies is followed by two courses on The Constitutional History of the United States since the close of the Revolutionary War. These courses in American History occupy the student once a week during half a year, and twice a week during a whole year. Of a more general nature, and for the purpose of giving broader views of the laws of historic development, one course is given on The History of Political and Social Institutions, one on The General History of Europe from the Reformation to the French Revolution, one on The History of Civilization in the Middle Ages, and one on The Rise and Development of Prussia. Not all of these courses are absolutely prerequisite for admission to the more advanced work of the historical and political seminaries, but they may all be regarded as preliminary to it. Crowning the work of the whole are three seminaries, one being devoted to a study of the Political Institutions of England, one to those of America, and one to Comparative Methods of Local Administration.

What has already been said will afford sufficient answer, perhaps, to the question of method. But a single illustration will probably give a more definite idea. The lecture of to-day, in the course on the History of Institutions, happens to be devoted to a study of Roman Provincial Administration. The following topics were assigned to the several groups of the class for the lessons of next week: "What light is thrown on Roman Provincial methods by Plutarch's Life of Lucullus?" "What by Cicero's oration against Verres?" "What by Guizot's essay on the *Regime Municipal*?" "What by Arnold's chapter on 'The System of

Taxation?’” In this manner a class may easily be led through their own researches to see how completely the systematic practice of injustice finally dissolved all the bonds that bound the Roman provinces to the general government. This accomplished, the downfall of the Empire is no longer a question that will give any difficulty to the student.

The work of the historical seminary is of a higher order. Each class consists of not more than about ten members, and each meeting is not less than about two hours in length. Each of the questions given out for investigation is such as to occupy the attention of the student during at least half a year; and all of the questions are designed to be of such cognate significance as to be of interest to all the members of the class. At the weekly meetings each member gives an account of his own investigations, and listens to such inquiries and suggestions as may be made by the teacher and the other members of the class. The titles of two or three papers prepared during the present semester will be enough to indicate the nature of the work done. Among others, essays founded on original research have been written on “A History of the Appointing Power of the President”; “A History of the Land Grants for Education in the North-west”; and “Criminal Legislation in New England during the Colonial Period.”

It need not be added that this is true university work of a high order. Of course such studies are impracticable, except in an institution where large liberties in the way of elective courses are given, and where preliminary historical studies are begun early in the student's collegiate career. But my own experience leads to the belief that if the student enters upon the proper antecedent studies in the second year of his course, he may be brought in the fourth year to a grade of work which need not shrink from comparison with that carried on in the universities of the old world.

THE METHODS OF HISTORICAL STUDY AND RESEARCH IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

IN order to a clear presentation of this subject, one which shall escape the possibilities of a misunderstanding, it will be necessary to describe briefly the general peculiarities of the educational system of that complex of institutions to which the name Columbia College is now attached. The most general principle of that system distinguishes the College into two parts; viz. : the Gymnasium, the College according to the old signification of that name in the United States, — as we term it here, the School of Arts, and the graduate and professional courses, the University. This distinction, however, is, without further explanation, liable to a misconception; for the last year of the School of Arts, what is generally known as the College senior year, is counted to the University in the non-professional courses of the University, — those courses which, in a German University, would be placed under the Faculty of Philosophy. It is at this point, viz., the beginning of the senior year in the School of Arts, that the courses of study become purely and wholly elective, and the methods of instruction purely and distinctively those of the University. This year, with two graduate years, forms the University period for the students who pass from the School of Arts into the University, or who come from other Colleges at the end of their junior year. If, however, they be *graduates* of other Colleges, in which the courses of the senior year correspond to, or are an equivalent for,

the courses in the School of Arts, they are admitted to the second year of the University.

If, now, the reader will keep this distinction and these explanations clearly in mind, a full comprehension of the methods of historic study and research at present followed in Columbia College will be easily and rapidly attained.

In the Gymnasium, — the first three years of the School of Arts, — the method is, of course, the gymnastic method, and the purpose sought the gymnastic purpose: that is, the daily drill upon text-books and hand-books of history by recitation, question and answer, as required studies, for the purpose of fixing and classifying in the mind of the student the elements of historical geography, the chronology and outward frame of historic events, the biographies of historic characters, and the definitions of historical terms and expressions. This is, of course, the indispensably necessary preparation for every student who would come with a properly disciplined historical memory, stored with a sufficient amount of elementary historical data, to the work of the University in this branch. If this be not properly accomplished, the foundation for everything further is wanting, and the instruction received in the University will be to a large degree unappreciated, to say the least. I would venture to assert that to all persons who have taken any part in the attempt to develop a University in the United States the want of a true gymnastic training in the elements of knowledge has appeared a most crying one. And if, while so many of our Colleges, both great and small, are affecting to despise their gymnastic calling, and seeking to become Universities through the fallacious process of simply making their gymnastic studies elective and optional, some Apostle of the Gymnasium would arise and found Academies which would stand true to the gymnastic method and pur-

pose, such an one would do for the development of the true University a far greater work than the College which ceases to be the one thing without becoming the other.

On the other hand, the methods pursued and the purposes aimed at in the *University* courses of history are more complex, as well as different, and therefore require a more minute presentation. In the first place, attendance upon these courses is purely optional with the student. There would be a great loss both in the quantity and quality of the instruction were the professor obliged to accommodate himself to the level of hearers whose tastes and talents were not in the line pursued; and, on the other hand, it would be an unnatural limitation upon, if not a total destruction of, individual genius, were the student of the University not permitted to construct the combination of his studies for himself. The discipline and general elementary instruction of the Gymnasium ought to have developed in his own consciousness a better knowledge of his own intellectual peculiarities than any other person or body of persons can have. If it has not, then it will not matter much, as a general rule, where he may fall. Consideration for him who has no genius at all must never lead us to abandon the method in the University for the cultivation of a true intellectual peculiarity; for without such a development there can be no advance in the discovery of new truth or in a fuller comprehension of old truth. It is this consideration which has led the authorities in Columbia College to permit the University students of history not only to select what courses they may choose in history, but also to combine therewith such courses in philology, literature, philosophy, natural science and law as they may desire. Our experience in the working of the method has hardly yet been long enough to pronounce with confidence upon results. So far as my own observation reaches,

however, I feel entirely satisfied that the comprehension of history has been greatly broadened and deepened by the variety of combinations into which it has thus been brought, and I cannot but believe that the other elements of the combinations have experienced a like advantage.

In the second place. The method of instruction in the University branches of history is chiefly by original lecture. And this for two reasons: the one relating to the professor, the other to the student. The University professor must be a worker among original material. He must present to his student *his own view* derived from the most original sources attainable. He must *construct* history out of the chaos of original historic atoms. If he does not do this, but contents himself with simply repeating the views of others, it is probably because he is not capable of it; in which case he is no University professor at all, but at best only a drill master for the Gymnasium. While the University student must learn among his first lessons that truth, as man knows it, is no ready-made article of certain and objective character, that it is a human interpretation, and subject therefore to the fallibility of human insight and reasoning, — one-sided, colored, incomplete. Unless this thought be continually impressed upon him by the method of the instruction which he receives, he will, to a greater or less degree, make dogma of his learning, and this is the negation of progress in the wider and more perfect comprehension of truth. Now instruction by means of the text-book in the University has always the tendency to the production of this result, — unless, perchance, the professor uses the text more for the purpose of confuting than teaching, in which case he is really lecturing and not hearing recitations. What is contained in a book which has been studied by classes gone before has, in the mind of a student not yet accustomed to sharp criticism, too

large a presumption in its favor. He is too ready to acquiesce in its propositions, and let memory act where the more difficult processes of criticism and judgment should be called into play. On the other hand, when he has the person of his author always before his eyes, observes his weaknesses as well as his strength, then the true scholastic skepticism and belligerency will be aroused, and criticism, judgment, reasoning, insight, be developed.

Third. But this is only what might be termed the outward form of method generally. As to the internal principles or purposes of our method of historical instruction in particular, we seek to teach the student, first, how to get hold of a historic fact, how to distinguish fact from fiction, how to divest it as far as possible of coloring or exaggeration. We send him, therefore, to the most original sources attainable for his primary information. If there be more than one original source upon the same fact, we teach him to set these in comparison or contrast, to observe their agreements and discrepancies, and to attain a point of view from which all, or if this is not possible, the most of the evidence may appear reconcilable. And we warn him not to accept a statement not well authenticated for a fact, upon the principle that it is far better for the historical investigator to think that he does not know what he may know than to think he knows what he may not know. We undertake, in the second place, to teach the student to set the facts which he has thus attained in their chronological order, to the further end of setting them in their order as cause and effect. And we seek to make him clearly comprehend and continually feel that the latter process is the one most delicate and critical which the historical student is called upon to undertake, in that he is continually tempted to account that which is mere antecedent and consequent as being cause and effect. It is just in this process,

of course, that the true historical *genius* most clearly reveals itself. It is just in this process that genius is most necessary to accomplish anything valuable. It is therefore most difficult to formulate rules upon the point for the direction of the historical student who may have no genius for his work. What we most insist upon, however, is a critical comparison of the sequence of facts in the history of different states or peoples at a like period in the development of their civilizations. If this be done with patience, care, and judgment, the student who possesses a moderate degree of true logic will soon learn to distinguish, to some extent at least, antecedent and consequent merely from cause and effect.

Fourth. After the facts have been determined and the causal *nexus* established we endeavor to teach the student to look for the *institutions and ideas* which have been developed through the sequence of events in the civilization of an age or people. This I might term the ultimate object of our entire method of historical instruction. With us history is the chief preparation for the study of the legal and political sciences. Through it we seek to find the origin, follow the growth and learn the meaning of our legal, political, and economic principles and institutions. We class it therefore no longer with fiction or rhetoric or belles-lettres, but with logic, philosophy, ethics. We value it, therefore, not by its brilliancy, but by its productiveness.

Lastly. We would not consider the circle of our method as complete, did it make no provision for the public practice of the students. To this end we have established an Academy of the historic, jural, and political sciences, composed of the graduates of the University in these branches. Before this body, in its regular weekly meetings, each member has the opportunity and assumes the duty of presenting one original work each year. The work is then the property of the Acad-

emy to publish or preserve in its archives as it will. The best production of the year in the Academy, as adjudged by the University Faculty in these departments, is rewarded by a prize lectureship in the University. In this manner we seek to make our students not simply pupils but co-workers, not simply recipients but givers with interest upon what they have received and to open the way for genius, talent, and industry in these branches to positions from which they may be employed in the further development and expansion of these departments.

As I indicated above, we have hardly yet had sufficient experience with our method and system to pronounce definitely and finally upon results. They have not yet made their cycle. But we are satisfied with the progress, and encouraged by the prospects.

JOHN W. BURGESS.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, .

April 27, 1883.

THE HISTORICAL SEMINARY IN AMERICAN TEACHING.

THE American student of history matriculated at a German university is almost certain to suffer for a time under a sense of disappointment. He finds a place in the lecture-room ; he admits, from the outset, the power of the men to whom he listens ; he devotes himself faithfully to his note-book ; but he begins very soon to wonder if this is all. For him, individually, nobody seems to care. No one knows whether he is present or absent at lectures ; he is called to no account for what he may be learning. His professor quotes a multitude of books, but he feels weighed down, crushed under the burden of this mass of knowledge, which seems to roll itself up before him ever increasing as time goes on. He almost wishes he had stayed at home and read books a few years longer. And yet it is just because he had come to feel vaguely, but powerfully, that book-reading was not what he needed, that he has come over here to Germany to find some better way of working.

At length, as he makes acquaintance with his fellow-students, he begins to hear the strange word "Seminar," and remembers seeing on the programme of studies something about "Gesellschaften," or "Uebungen." Putting this and that together, he inquires further, and learns that he is at last close upon the goal towards which he has long been unconsciously tending. It dawns upon him that, here at last, a wheel within wheels, is the true motive power of the historical department. Here is that element of personal guid-

ance he has thus far so painfully missed. Here he may become something more than a mere listener, a fellow-worker in a worthy undertaking.

The German "Seminarium" (training-school), "Gesellschaft" (society), or "Uebung" (exercise), is an institution of recent growth. It began about fifty years ago with an effort made by Leopold von Ranke, then instructor at the University of Berlin, to gather about him a few of his more earnest pupils, for the purpose of study and practice in the methods of historical investigation. These pupils, such well-known men as Waitz, Giesebrecht, Wattenbach, and Sybel, becoming the historical professors of the next generation, carried with them to various universities the Seminarium as their most effectual means of spreading that gospel of absolute historical accuracy and honesty received from their master. Now, in the third generation, their pupils all over Germany are widening and strengthening it, so that it is not too much to say that at present the main life and vigor of all German historical work is to be sought in these comparatively obscure groups of students.

The method followed in their exercises varies with the instructor, but in general it consists of the preparation of careful studies upon minute points of historical inquiry and criticism. Topics occurring in the instructor's own work, or suggested by current criticism within the given field, are assigned to each student at the beginning of the year. His duty is then to collect all available material on his topic, to weigh its value, to subject it to thorough criticism according to accepted canons of judgment, to compare conflicting statements, in short, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact truth, or the closest probability. Then he is to embody the results of this comparison and criticism in a narrative, properly and clearly written, which is to be read before the

class, criticised by some member especially detailed beforehand, and also by other members of the class, and by the instructor. The standard held before the class is absolute correctness. The criticism is severe and without consideration.

It is my purpose to inquire how far and with what hopes of usefulness this institution may be introduced into our American teaching. Its chief value is one which it shares with all other forms of practical instruction from the object-lesson of the kindergarten, up to the laboratory-work of the advanced student in natural science.* It frees the student from the depressing influence of mere acquisition from books. If we recognize a two-fold purpose in education, to give power of work as well as quantity of information, we must adapt our methods of instruction to this double end. We must plan our teaching so that the student shall come out from its influence stronger to attempt any new piece of work, wiser in selecting his topics for study, more capable of commanding all his resources. If he has made this gain, the quantity of actual facts he may have absorbed is comparatively unimportant. Thus far this principle of education has only been fully recognized by us in America, in so far as natural science is concerned. We have now laboratories for teaching chemistry, physics, zoölogy, botany, and geology. It would seem ridiculous in these days to suggest the possibility of any really valuable teaching in any one of these departments, without putting into the hands of the student the tools of the profession he is studying. Yet it is but a few years since this state of mind began to prevail. Formerly it sufficed for the student in chemistry to learn that putting this and that together in given quantities produced this result. Now this would seem as useless a process as to tell a carpenter's apprentice that a saw applied in such a way to a

board would convert it from one piece into two. He must take the saw in his own awkward hands and make many a ragged cut, and perhaps spoil many a saw-blade, before he reaches perfection in his art. The student in chemistry must handle and break test-tubes for himself, must burn his own fingers, produce his own abominable smells, before he grasps the spirit of his science. The student in botany must go out himself into the fields, must hold the flower and the microscope in his own hand, if his learning is to be anything more than a dreary enumeration of facts which the observation of other men has put together for him. Thus far we have gone in science. Every one recognizes the truth of these propositions.

But now are not these illustrations of a great general law of education? Do they not declare that in moral science, as well as in physical, the practical method of instruction is the only effectual source? I believe that underneath all schemes and devices and systems and theories of education, there lies one single great principle, — that one learns, in any true sense of the word, only that to which he puts the whole force of his own mind. We might throw away all our machinery, and still the man who should put the force of his mind upon the similarities of structure in flowers, could produce a system of botany. Without a laboratory or a book, the human mind would be capable of results, great because original, if it should turn itself with single devotion to dissecting animals, breaking and comparing stones, watching the developments of foetal life, or following out any other of those processes by which our present knowledge of the material world has been gained. And, conversely, given all our magnificent machinery of instruction, and the mind which does not apply *itself* to the problems before it, which is content to simply absorb what is offered to it without vigorous action of its

own, may pass through the mill from hopper to bin, without any change, excepting that like the grain it has grown smaller in the process. I take it that one very strong reason for the popularity of physical science in these latter years is found in its method of study. The senses are reached more easily than the reflecting powers. Minds to which history, philosophy, law, seem mere accumulations of learning in books, — learning which is to be got at only by years of reading and remembering, — are attracted instantly by the manual processes which introduce them into the study of natural law. And, until lately, they have been justified in supposing that all those branches of study which they somewhat sneeringly perhaps designate as culture studies, were nothing but masses of fictitious learning, founded upon nothing and leading to nothing.

If we think for a moment of the slough into which the study of language had fallen twenty-five years ago, and out of which it has not yet wholly freed itself, we can understand why the phrase "classical study" had come to be almost a reproach. What has redeemed linguistic study from its downfall has been the use of new methods, practical methods in acquiring language, and the application of this acquired knowledge to the discovery of new truth in archæology, ethnology, and in every other branch of human learning. Now, instead of aimlessly cramming a Greek grammar into their pupils, enlightened teachers are teaching them to read and write Greek, then to use Greek, and thus to love and appreciate Greek. Or if we glance at political science, we find that where twenty-five years ago there was one teacher, now there are a dozen, and we see again that men are learning no longer by studying so many pages a day out of a book, but by putting their own powers of mind upon questions whose solution can be reached by no other process.

Wise teachers of philosophy are forcing their students to grapple with problems of the mind, and so giving them power to follow and appreciate the work of those who have gone before.

Thus, everywhere we see the conviction gaining ground that the method of practice is the only effectual method. Laboratories in natural science, the "natural method" of learning language, instruction by topics instead of by text-books, — all these are parts of one movement towards a higher and more effectual standard of instruction. How does it stand now with history? Perhaps more than any other study, history has suffered, and is suffering, from that misconception I have alluded to, that it means only a dreary mass of facts, dates, and events, strung along like so many beads on a chain, and with no more distinction in value or meaning. It is the rarest thing to find a man who has any idea whatever about the materials of historical writing, or of the methods used in dealing with these materials. Even educated men are inclined to regard history as a collection of stories merely, more or less entertaining to read, but not having any really serious bearing upon the present active life of men. That there is a science of history, with its apparatus, its schools, its devotees, and its great results, already reached, is an extremely unfamiliar fact.

And here again I apprehend that the error is to a considerable degree justified by experience. History has been taught very badly in America, or rather, to be honest, it has rarely been taught at all. In the great development of educational methods since the war, it has been one of the departments most slowly and imperfectly recognized as worthy a place of its own. Even now independent chairs of history exist in but very few American colleges, and the proportion of time given to its study is absurdly inadequate. No serious

knowledge of history is required for entrance into our colleges, so that a considerable part of whatever teaching they may offer must needs be elementary. Our subject stands, therefore, in need of fair representation. It must be placed before the country in such a light as shall clearly show it to be worth all the care that can be bestowed upon it. It must be made clear that the claim of history to rank among sciences is founded in fact—the fact that it has a scientific *method*. To illustrate and enforce this truth is the mission of the historical “Seminar” in America. Let us consider some of the conditions of its success. 1. It must consist of picked men. This is not a method adapted to every student. The recitation in elementary, and the lecture in advanced, teaching must still remain as the chief means of reaching great masses of students. The members of the *practice-course*, as I prefer to call it, must be men of exceptionally good preparation for this work, usually equipped with some considerable general knowledge of history, but especially strong in foreign languages, in order that all possible tools may be available for their use. 2. Its numbers must be small, no more at least than can be comfortably seated about a table, so that the relation of pupil and teacher shall be as informal as may be. The students must be in every way encouraged to feel that they are alone responsible for the success of their work, that they are investigators whose results may find a place in the world’s record of learning, as well as those of any other men. The teacher must here cease to lay down for their acceptance the products of his own labor; he must become their guide only, enforcing always the lesson that their work alone can bring them substantial rewards. Thus, teacher and students become a working body together, with a definite purpose, with well-understood ways of work, and with a common enthusiasm.

3. The subject selected for treatment must be one which lends itself readily to the purpose of the practice-course, one in which, above all else, the material is accessible in a shape convenient for handling. The history of Europe since the Reformation, for instance, would be an extremely difficult field from which to select a period or a group of topics suitable for such study as this, by an American class. The invention of printing caused such an enormous increase in the mass of historical material that it would be next to impossible for any one here in America to make any thorough study of any period since that event, without consulting material in European archives and libraries. On the other hand, antiquity, the middle age, and the life of our own country, offer material of the most inviting sort. Practically, all that has been preserved of ancient and mediæval records now lies before us in printed volumes, easily accessible, while the records of our own history, not as yet collected into any one publication, are more tempting than any others to the love of discovery which marks the true historic spirit. Observing these conditions as to material both in student and topic, there seems no valid reason why any American teacher of history, who is convinced of the value of such work, should not establish a practice-course as an adjunct to his lectures and recitations. Let me repeat that these latter have their place, and cannot wisely be done away. The unfavorable criticism upon the German method of the *Seminar* has been that it tended to emphasize so strongly minute details in investigation as to narrow and obscure the vision of the future historian. Doubtless here is a danger, but we may well ask, upon what are the broad and brilliant generalizations of the dramatic historian to rest, if not upon the most patient and minute labor in collecting, comparing, and weighing the material out of which, in the last resort, all

historical knowledge must be drawn. If these are feeble and uncertain, the fabric reared upon them must be unstable, and must some day fall. The temptation, especially of the young American, is to accept what is written. Nothing can so well correct this tendency as to put into his hands the means of controlling what other men have written by comparing it with the very sources from which they have drawn their conclusions. Only in this way can he rise out of the state of blind receptivity into that of vigorous and independent action. No study can ever again be quite the same to him when he has once seen for himself something of the processes by which books are made.

Quite apart from all considerations of gain to the student is the relief and advantage which a class of this kind brings to the instructor. This is manly work. He feels himself here no longer the pedagogue laying down the law, but an overseer guiding the action of intelligent workers. It is not for him to inform them, but for them to inform him, while it is his part to see to it that they apply their powers in such a way as to insure the value of their results. There is a tendency among some educators to depreciate the value of original work by young scholars. They say it must needs be crude, and therefore useless. A wiser view is, that only through these first attempts at original effort can a man hope to make the most effective use of his powers when they shall have become mature. The evil with us is not that our boys begin to create too early, but too late. If every student, from the first moment that he learns anything, were compelled to reproduce it in proper shape, he would find himself in college vastly better equipped for the actual grappling with new truth than he now is.

The principle of study I am here advocating is no longer on trial as an experiment in America. It has come to stay.

I am not going too far, I think, in calling it the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University system, and the main source of the wonderful creative vigor already developed by that young institution. Other colleges are following. In all, perhaps, a half dozen can show some form of this practical instruction in moral science. And the development must go on. Libraries must become the laboratories in these sciences in which the head plays the most important part. The library must cease to be the store-house for books and become the working-place where the historian, the philosopher, and the philologist of the future are to get their most effectual training.

Not until men come to see that history has a true scientific method of its own will it take its stand as one among the all-essential studies in any scheme of collegiate instruction. The name "Seminarium," which I have rendered training-school, suggests the future of our study. Trained men cannot fail to secure respect for their profession, and trained men will be the first and most convincing result of the practice-course.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

A KNOWLEDGE of the structure of the earth on which we dwell should underlie and precede all our studies of history and political science. We have been accustomed to study mind psychologically, without studying the body in which the mind dwells. So we have considered the historical movements of man without considering the theatre on which he moves. Edition after edition of the historical atlases of the learned German, Von Spruner, was published, with most elaborate and exact maps of Greece, of the Roman Empire, of mediæval Europe, Germany, Italy, etc., but not a single map showing geological formations. A clearer understanding of the importance of the physical structure of the earth would have made his maps much better than they are.

It is needless to say that in any exposition of these relations, constant use must be made of maps; in fact, the work cannot be carried on without them. The difficulties in the way of preparing such representations are great, for we need to exhibit each portion of the earth's surface as something cut out by the hands of a sculptor, which has a distinct physiognomy, to be recognized and known as definitely as our own physiognomies are known. The most direct method is by the relief map or atlas. But the difficulty of representing a solid upon a plane surface has been to some extent overcome, different elevations being represented by different colors.

Observe some of the things which a good physical map of the United States tells us. You see a long extent of seaboard, with mountains receding from the coast. When the first settlers landed, they found a wall, from 3500 to 7000 feet high, hemming them in. We see here the door through which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad goes west; also the path of the Erie Canal. We see where the Pennsylvania people found a path over the mountains, and others after them. Without a physical map of North America, the unity of the French dominions, Canada and Louisiana, would hardly be discerned; with such a map, this unity is made strikingly evident, and the process of acquisition becomes clear. A glance at the broad basin of the Mississippi, as represented upon such a map, will show that it was predestined to become one of the greatest granaries of the world. The history of the peculiar attitude of California during the civil war can be studied only in the light of its physical relations to the rest of the Union. Thus, the history of this country was largely written before man came here. It is written on the map, and every citizen ought to have it written on his mind. Every student of political history or political economy should understand these great physical features of his country, not only in broad outline, but in detail.

As examples of exposition of our physical geography, one may mention Professor Shaler's chapter in Winsor's forthcoming *Narrative and Critical History of America*, the prefatory chapter in Palfrey's *New England*, and Professor Whitney's chapter in the *Guide-Book to the Yosemite*, and in Walker's *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, whose maps also are highly useful.

If we turn to Europe, the connection between physical geography and history is presented in the same striking way, and in even greater variety. Observe on any relief map how

manifestly the plain of Lombardy and Venetia, carved out at the base of the enormous wall of the Alps, seems formed to be the garden of Europe and the theatre of wars. As for Greece, it is no exaggeration to say that he who does not understand its physical conformation can have no proper conception of its political history. The connection between the two is admirably displayed in the opening pages of Curtius' *History of Greece*, and in a delightful chapter in Taine's *Lectures on Art*, in which book a similar service is also done for Flanders. Also of note is Professor Conrad Bursian's essay, *Ueber den Einfluss der Natur des Griechischen Landes auf den Charakter seiner Bewohner*, in the *Jahresberichte* of the *Geographische Gesellschaft in München*, 1877. Further west, notice the remarkable cut from the Mediterranean to the North Sea (the valleys of the Rhone and Rhine), which made a Lotharingia possible. A relief map of France makes clear the reasons for the directions taken by the several invading tribes in 406 A.D. The position of Belfort, commanding the upper Rhine valley, explains the vigor with which it was defended in 1870; we see, too, why Germany fixed her boundary where she did. Again, in England, who does not know, to mention one illustration only, how decisive was the influence of such geographical features as the great forests upon the course of the English conquest of Britain? (See Guest's *Origines Celticae*, 1882, Green's *Making of England*, and Professor Pearson's valuable Historical Maps.) For similar illustrations, one may consult with profit Professor Archibald Geikie's paper on *The Geological Influences which have affected English History*, in Macmillan, March, 1882. If we turn to Asia, the connection between its great plains and the careers of its great conquerors could scarcely be more evident than it is.

All these are isolated and random illustrations. Indefinitely multiplied, as they might easily be, they would irresistibly force the conviction that the influence of physical geography upon history is a matter which no one can afford to neglect, and that a teacher of history who does not make frequent use of physical maps commits a grave error.

It may not be amiss to mention that prominent among the standard works of general scope which may be used in such studies are, beside the books of Ritter and Peschel, Professor Guyot's *Earth and Man*, G. P. Marsh's *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*, and Frederick von Hellwald's *Die Erde und ihre Völker*. Into the minor literature it is impossible here to enter (an important specimen is Wilhelm Roscher's *Betrachtungen über die geographische Lage der grossen Städte*, in his *Ansichten*, I., pp. 317-363), but it can be found, clearly arranged, in the bibliographical lists in successive volumes of Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, the best of geographical journals. An index to the maps in Petermann is now appearing in the Harvard University *Bulletin*. As to wall-maps, the most useful are perhaps the new Kiepert series and Professor Guyot's.

WHY DO CHILDREN DISLIKE HISTORY?

IT has always seemed to me creditable to the brains of children that they dislike what we call the study of history. It is surely unfair to blame them, when they certainly like it quite as well as do their parents. The father brings home to his little son, from the public library, the first volume of Hildreth's United States, and says to him, "There, my son, is a book for you, and there are five more volumes just like it." Then he goes back to his *Sunday Herald*, and his wife reverts to *But Yet a Woman*, or *Mr. Isaacs*; both feeling that they have done their duty to the child's mind. Would they ever read through the six volumes of Hildreth consecutively for themselves?

Yet it needs but little reflection to see that no study is in itself — apart from the treatment — so interesting as history. For what is it that most interests every child? Human beings. What is history? The record of human beings, that is all.

We are accustomed to say, and truly, that every child is a born naturalist. But where is the child who would not at any time leave the society of animals for that of human beings? Even the bear and the raccoon are not personally more interesting to the country boy than to hear the endless tales of the men who have trapped the one and shot the other. The boy by the seaside would rather listen to the sailors' yarns than go fishing. Even stories about animals must have the human

element thrown in, to make them fully fascinating; children must hear, not only about the wolf and his den, but about General Putnam, who went into it; and they would rather hear about Indian wars than either, because there all the participants are men. The gentlest girl likes to read the *Swiss Family Robinson*, or to dress up for a "centennial tea-party." But early Puritan history is all *Swiss Family Robinson* with many added excitements thrown in; and the colonial and revolutionary periods are all a centennial tea-party. If we could only make the characters live and move, with their own costume and their own looks, in our instruction, they would absorb the attention of every child.

It is idle to say, "But children prefer fiction to fact." Not at all; they prefer fact to fiction, if it is only made equally interesting. The test is this. Tell a boy a story, which he supposes to be true, and then disclose that it is all an invention. If the boy preferred fiction to fact, he would be pleased. Not at all; he is disappointed. On the other hand, if, after telling some absorbing and marvellous tale, you can honestly add, "My dear child, all this really happened to your father when he was little, or to your respected great-grandmother," the child is delighted.

In truth, the whole situation, in respect to history, is described in that well-known conversation between the English clergyman and the play-actor. "Why is it," asked the clergyman, "that you, who represent what everybody knows to be false, obtain more attention than we who deal in the most momentous realities!" "It is," said the actor, "because you represent the truth so that it seems like fiction, while we depict fiction in such a manner that it has the effect of truth."

The moral of it all is, that the fault is not in the child, but in us who write the books and teach the lessons. History

is but a series of tales of human beings. Human beings form the theme which is of all things most congenial to the child's mind. If the subject loses all its charms by our handling, the fault is ours, and we should not blame the child.

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

GRADATION AND THE TOPICAL METHOD OF HISTORICAL STUDY.

FOR instruction in history, as in other branches, there are three distinct periods to be considered: childhood, school-life, and college-life. For the first of these I have nothing to offer beyond the excellent remarks made by our author on page 139. What the child needs is to have the imagination quickened, and the memory stored with incidents and associations. It is not so necessary that there should be any definite plan or order in the acquisition of these interesting stories, great names, and important events. The mind merely needs to have associations and memories of these; their arrangement will come later.

Formal instruction in history, he goes on to say, may begin at about the age of ten; but the length of time that it is to be kept up differs very greatly with different pupils, and it is obvious that we cannot advantageously lay out the same course for those who are to go to college, those who are to pass through the high school merely, and those who have to be satisfied with a grammar-school education. The beginning, however, must be nearly the same with all, and it will be found that the longest course will, in the main, coincide with the shorter ones, so far as they go.

All alike must begin with the history of their own country, and with this a considerable proportion of the pupils must be content. So far there is no difference of opinion. When, however, we pass to the next stage, and ask what branch of history should follow that of the United States, the answers

would be various. The usual practice is to take up General History at this point; but I think the practice is not a wise one. Very few pupils at this age have a sufficiently developed historical sense to follow intelligently the fortunes of several nations side by side, now studying the separate history of each country independently, then passing to the complicated international relations, which make up the current of modern history. In antiquity there was but one empire at a time. General history is, therefore, the separate histories of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, etc., taken up *successively*. In modern times these separate histories have to be taken up *contemporaneously*. There is no one thread to be followed, but a multitude of threads to be woven into a connected whole; and my experience is, that an attempt to do this, with only the preparation that the study of United States history gives, results, for most scholars, in a bewildering confusion.

Our author lays down the correct principle on page 146: "The way to that which is general is through that which is special." General history cannot be profitably studied until, first, the historical imagination has been trained and the historical sense developed by abundance of stories, and by instruction in national history; and, secondly, at least one of the separate threads has been traced by itself, and a certain degree of familiarity thus gained with the leading events which are to come under consideration. The separate annals of at least one country should be studied before general history is begun. Which country should be selected for this purpose for American schools can, of course, be no question. American citizens need to know the history of England next to that of their own country. I should even desire that a second thread should be taken up by itself — in the history of France or Germany — before general history is studied; but this is not essential.

Further details must depend upon the extent of the course and its object. If there can be but one term's work, besides United States history, I would have the history of England. If there is plenty of time, I would have ancient history, English history, and French history all precede general history, or, if need be, take its place.

But I can conceive of something better even than this. To go back to our first question: What does the American boy really need, who is to have only one term of history before he goes out into the world, and becomes an American citizen? Would not everybody admit that, while the Plantagenets are of more importance for him than the Hohenstaufen, and Oliver Cromwell than Gustavus Adolphus, the events and personages of the last hundred years are of more importance than either?

Let us pass now to the college course. Only a very small proportion of our people go through a college course, and of these only a small proportion — under our present system of elective studies — take any extended course in history. Here, too, I have tried a good many experiments, and have arrived at a scheme which appears to answer my requirements very well.

The field of history is so vast and varied that it is impossible, in any college course, to treat all the subjects that deserve to be taken up. All that we can do is to lay out a course, or a number of courses, which appear to meet, as a whole, the needs of the largest number, and which will allow selection, in accordance with tastes, to those who do not care to take it as a whole.

We require for admission, in the classical courses of this University, ancient history, the history of the United States, and the history of England. We are able, therefore, to take for granted something of an acquaintance with the leading

events and characters of ancient and modern times. The only history which is required in our curriculum is a term of United States history for the juniors of the classical department. Besides this, there are three elective courses, each carried through the year: one as a full course, the others as half courses.

In laying out this work, we are not limited, as in the common schools, by the necessity of considering what is most essential for those who are soon to leave school. We are not to lay out a single course which all must follow, but a series of courses, which may be taken either in whole or in part, according to individual tastes. Even here, however, there is a natural order which should be insisted on, so far as possible, for those who take the whole course. We must begin with what is most indispensable. It is all very well to say that dates and dynasties are of only secondary importance, and that it is the history of ideas and of social progress that we want. There can be no history without dates and dynasties. They are to the nobler parts of history what the skeleton is to the body. All the beauty of the body and all its seeming energy are in the external parts; but what would they be without the framework of bones? So, in history, we can have no sure and adequate comprehension of the movement of the great forces of society, without the skeleton of the history of events. Now, all events take place in two relations, — time and place. The indispensable foundation of history is, therefore, a knowledge of chronology, — of historical distances, — and of historical geography, in connection with the changes of empire. Territorial and dynastic history — the study of the successive empires and dynastic powers of the world — forms the first course, which should precede the others.

Next to the knowledge of empires, the most necessary,



if the least important branch of history, comes the study of the organized action of mankind. The study of institutions, of their organic relation to one another in constitutions of government, and of the political conflicts that have grown out of these, forms naturally the second course. After this, and not till then, the history of thought, of society, of ideas, can be profitably taken up. We have thus three independent courses, affording an approximately complete survey of the field of history, or at least preparation for further independent study. But although this is the natural order of study, it is not necessary to adhere to it over-scrupulously. The student has already, in a general way, studied the dynastic history of Greece, Rome, and England; has thus acquired a consecutive, if partial, view of ancient and modern times. He is, therefore, prepared to take up the special study of the institutions of Greece and Rome, with which, moreover, he is already somewhat familiar from his classical studies, without waiting for the extended course in dynastic history. He may even, without great disadvantage, pass at once to the study of mediæval and modern institutions.

As to method, I have also experimented a great deal. For college classes—elective classes especially—nothing seems to me a greater waste of force than to spend the hour with a text-book in my hand, hearing the students repeat what is in the book. Lecturing, however satisfactory in the German universities, I do not find suited to the wants of my students as a regular mode of *instruction*. For suggestion and for review it may be employed with great advantage; and for regular instruction in fields in which there is no suitable text-book, I am often obliged to have recourse to it. But it requires, to be efficacious, constant questioning, thorough examinations, and occasional inspection of note-books.

In the method which I have at last settled upon, my aim has been to get some of the benefits which students in the natural sciences acquire from work in laboratories. Students of the age and maturity of juniors and seniors can get the greatest advantage from historical study by doing some independent work akin to laboratory work. I would not be understood as claiming that this is original investigation, in any true sense of the term. Laboratory work in chemistry or physics is not original investigation, neither is the study of topics in history. The object, it must be remembered, is *education*, not historical investigation; and the object of the educational process is not merely to ascertain facts, but even more: to learn how to ascertain facts. For the student, as a piece of training, historians like Prescott and Bancroft may stand in the place of original authorities. To gather facts from them, really at second hand, has for the student much of the educational value of first-hand work. Of course, there is a difference in students, and the work done by some is of a much higher grade than that of others. For the best students it easily and frequently passes into the actual study of authorities at first hand.

In studying by topics I always desire that the class should have a text-book—a brief compendium—upon which they are liable to be questioned and examined, and which will serve at any rate as a basis and guide of work. My method is then to assign for every day—as long beforehand as possible—special topics to two or three students, which they are to study with as great thoroughness as possible in all the works to which they have access, and present *orally* in the class, writing out a syllabus beforehand upon the blackboard. If they write out the topic, and depend upon a written paper, they are much less likely to be certain of their ground and independent in their treatment.

The topical method here described is successful in proportion to the abundance and accessibility of books of reference. In American history it works best, and here I employ no other. In the dynastic history of ancient and modern times, it is satisfactory in most cases. I combine with it constant map-drawing, and the preparation of a synchronistic chart. In the more advanced courses, owing to the deficiency of good books of reference, it is necessary to abandon the method, or combine it with lectures, recitations, and written essays. It is, of course, impossible to assign topics which cover the whole ground. It is possible, however, to select for this purpose all the names and events of first importance, and it is one of the advantages of the topical method that it thus affords an opportunity to emphasize those facts of history which most need emphasis. It is the special function of the teacher to supplement the topics, to point out their relative importance and their connection with one another, and to help the students in acquiring a complete and accurate general view.

PART I.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND AUTHORITIES.

1. PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

C. F. Keary. The Dawn of History: An Introduction to Pre-historic Study. L.* Mozley & Smith. \$1.50.

†*E. G. Tylor.* Early History of Mankind. N.Y. Holt. \$3.50.

†*Id.* Primitive Culture. 2 v. N.Y. Holt. \$7.00.

†*Id.* Anthropology. N.Y. App. \$2.00.

Mr. Tylor's books present the best picture of primitive society, and summary of the present condition of the inquiry.

†*Sir John Lubbock.* Pre-historic Times. N.Y. App. \$5.00.

Chiefly devoted to archæology.

Id. Origin of Civilization. N.Y. App. \$2.00.

• †*H. Spencer.* Ceremonial Institutions. App. \$1.25.

• †*Id.* Political Institutions. App. \$1.50.

These works describe the evolution of governmental institutions.

* In this list only books in the English language are given, with the exception of a few of prime importance. Works written in a foreign language, whether in the original or translated, are indicated by a dagger (†). Books of especial importance are indicated by the double dagger (‡). Abbreviated titles are given, except where the full title contains a description of the book. In the abbreviations, App. stands for Appleton; B., for Boston; Ber., for Berlin; C., for Cassell; C. & H., for Chapman & Hall; Ch., for Chicago; E. & L., for Estes & Lauriat; Ed., for Edinburgh; H., for Harper; L., for London; Lip., for Lippincott; Longm., for Longmans; Lp., for Leipsic; L. & B., for Little, Brown, & Co.; L. & S., for Lee & Shepard; M., for Murray; Macm., for Macmillan; O., for Osgood; P., for Paris; Ph., for Philadelphia; Put., for Putnams; R., for Roberts; Scr., for Scribner; S. & E., for Smith, Elder, & Co.; W. & N., for Williams & Norgate. E.S. stands for Epochs Series (Scribner); and Soc., for Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge (Young).

10 HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND AUTHORITIES.

‡*L. H. Morgan*. Ancient Society. N.Y. Holt. \$4.00.

The best analysis of the structure of primitive society, based upon an intimate knowledge of the institutions of the North American Indians. The later portions less reliable.

J. F. McLennan. Studies in Ancient History. L. Quaritch.

Controverts Mr. Morgan's theories, and finds the origin of the family in marriage by capture.

W. E. Hearn. The Aryan Household. L. Longm. \$6.40.

The most complete treatise upon the structure and development of primitive society.

• ‡*Fustel de Coulanges*. The Ancient City.† B. L. & S. \$2.00.

A remarkable book, affording the best key to the origin and much of the history of the Greek and Roman institutions.

‡*Sir H. S. Maine*. Ancient Law: its Connection with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas. N.Y. Holt. \$3.50.

Invaluable as an introduction to the history of institutions.

Id. Village Communities. N.Y. Holt. \$3.50.

This work introduced the theory of village communities to the English public.

‡*Id.* Early History of Institutions. N.Y. Holt. \$3.50.

Devoted especially to the early institutions of Ireland.

Id. Dissertations upon Early Custom and Law. N.Y. Holt.

A collection of essays and lectures.

‡*E. de Laveleye*. Primitive Property.† L. Macm. \$3.50.

The most complete elaboration of the theory of primitive community of property.

Sir A. C. Lyall. Asiatic Studies. M.

Papers full of valuable observation and study.

E. Nasse. Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages.† W. & N.

The theory of village communities applied to England.

D. W. Ross. Early History of Land-holding among the Germans. B. Soule & Bugbee.

Controverts the theory of village communities.

John Fenton. Early Hebrew Life. L. Triübner.

A. F. Bandelier. On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare among the Ancient Mexicans.—On the Distribution and Tenure of Land, etc.—On the Social Organization and Mode of Government, etc.

Three papers of great value, reprinted from the reports of the Peabody Museum of Ethnology for 1877-8-9.

J. J. Bachofen. Das Mutterrecht.† Stuttgart. 1861.

A pioneer work ; treats of inheritance in the female line, as an institution of primitive society.

See also the following articles : by *E. Nasse*, in *Cont. Rev.*, May, 1872, upon Village Communities ; by *J. F. McLennan*, in *Fortn. Rev.*, 1866, upon Kinship in Ancient Greece, and in 1869-70, upon Worship of Animals and Plants [theory of totems] ; by *F. H. Cushing*, in the *Atl. Monthly*, Sept. and Oct., 1882, upon the Nation of the Willows [the Zuñis of New Mexico] ; by *W. F. Allen*, in *Penn Monthly*, June, 1880, upon the points at issue between Mr. Morgan and Mr. McLennan.

Authorities.

Books of travel, etc., containing graphic and accurate accounts of savage and barbarous society.

Herbert Spencer. Descriptive Sociology.—Div. 1 : Uncivilized Societies ; Div. 2 : Ancient Mexicans, etc. 8 parts, each \$4.00.

A classified collection of facts.

L. H. Morgan. Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family. Vol. XVII. (1870) of the Smithsonian Contributions.

A very extensive and remarkable collection of facts.

Id. League of the Iroquois. Rochester. 1851.

†*F. Parkman.* The Oregon Trail. B. L. & B. \$2.50.

Perhaps the most vivid picture of Indian life.

†*David Livingstone.* Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. H. \$4.50.

12 HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND AUTHORITIES.

H. M. Stanley. Through the Dark Continent. 2 v. H. \$10.00.

G. Schweinfurth. The Heart of Africa. 2 v. H. \$8.00.

‡*W. G. Palgrave.* A Year's Travel in Arabia. Macm. \$2.00.

J. A. McGahan. Campaigning on the Oxus. H. \$3.50.

Contains an excellent account of nomadic life.

‡*Lord Pembroke.* Old New Zealand. L. Bentley.

Contains a forcible picture of the evils worked by contact with civilization.

H. Rink. Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo. Ed. Blackwood.

‡*G. W. Dasent.* Story of Burnt Njal. Ed. Edmonston. \$7.50.

Presents a vivid picture of early German society.

‡*Homer's Iliad*, translated in prose by Lang, etc.; and *Odyssey*, by Butcher and Lang. Each, \$1.50.

A portrayal of early Greek society and institutions.

D. M. Wallace. Russia. Holt. \$2.00.

Contains the best account of the *Mir*, or Russian village community.

A. J. Evans. Through Bosnia and Herzegovina. Longm.

Contains a description of the Slavonian family communities.

J. W. Probyn. Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries. C. \$1.75.

The essays upon India, Germany, and Russia, describe systems of land community.

Sir J. B. Phear. The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon. Macm. \$2.25.

See also the publications of the American Bureau of Ethnology, the Peabody Museum, the American Archæological Institute, and kindred institutions; and the list of books upon the Indians of America.

2. MYTHOLOGY.

‡*Max Müller*. Chips from a German Workshop. 5 v. N.Y. Scr. \$10.00.

These essays laid the foundation for the study of comparative mythology and folk-lore.

‡*C. F. Keary*. Outlines of Primitive Belief. N.Y. Scr. \$2.50.
Especially of the Greeks, Hindoos, and Scandinavians.

J. A. Hartung. Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen.† 4 v. Lp. Engelmann.
The first volume contains perhaps the best introduction to the study of mythology.

Sir G. W. Cox. Introduction to Science of Comparative Mythology and Folk-lore. Holt. \$2.50.

‡*Id.* Mythology of the Aryan Nations. Longm. \$4.50.
A comparative view of the Indian, Greek, and German systems of mythology.

John Fiske. Myths and Myth-Makers. Houghton. \$2.00.
A popular account of the way in which myths are formed.

A. S. Murray. Manual of Mythology. N.Y. Scr. \$2.25.
Chiefly devoted to that of Greece: with illustrations.

‡*L. Preller*. Griechische Mythologie.† Ber. Weidmann.

‡*Id.* Römische Mythologie.† Ber. Weidmann.
Preller's are the best and most compendious treatises.

‡*J. Grimm*. Teutonic Mythology.† 2 v. L. Bell.
An exhaustive and invaluable treatise.

R. B. Anderson. Norse Mythology. Ch. Griggs. \$2.50.

D. G. Brinton. Myths of the New World. Ph. Watts. \$2.00.

Ethnic Religions.

C. P. Tiele. History of Religion. Houghton. \$3.00.
The best work of a general character.

J. F. Clarke. Ten Great Religions. Houghton. \$3.00.
A popular comparative view of the principal ethnic religions.

14 HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND AUTHORITIES.

‡Hibbert Lectures :—

1878. *Max Müller*. The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India. Scr.
1879. *P. Le Page Renouf*. Id., Ancient Egypt. Scr.
1881. *T. W. Rhys-Davids*. Id., Buddhism. Put.
1882. *A. Kuenen*. National Religions and Universal Religions.

‡Non-Christian Religious Systems. Soc.

- Monier Williams*. Hinduism.
T. W. Rhys-Davids. Buddhism.
R. K. Douglas. Confucianism and Taoism.
J. H. W. Stobart. Islam and its Founders.
Sir William Muir. The Coran.

‡*S. Johnson*. Oriental Religions : I. India ; II. China. Houghton. \$5.00.

A. Barth. Religions of India. Houghton.

O. Keitner. Buddha and his Doctrines. L. Trübner.

J. Edkins. Chinese Buddhism. Houghton.

J. Legge. Life and Teaching of Confucius.

M. Haug. The Religion of the Parsis. Houghton. \$4.50.

‡*C. P. Tiele*. Comparative History of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions. Part I. : Egypt. L.

See also articles by *Monier Williams*, on Indian Religious Thought, *Cont. Rev.*, 1878, and on Religion of Zoroaster, 19th Cent., Jan., 1881 ; by *W. F. Allen*, on the Religion of the Ancient Greeks, *N. Am. Rev.*, July, 1869 ; and the Ancient Romans, July, 1871 ; by *Jas. Darmesteter*, in *Cont. Rev.*, Oct., 1879, on Supreme God in Indo-European Mythology ; by *J. N. Hoare*, in 19th Cent., Dec., 1878, on Religion of Ancient Egyptians ; in *Edin. Rev.*, Oct., 1881, on the Koran ; by *K. Blind*, in *N. Am. Rev.*, Oct., 1872, on the German World of Gods ; by *F. Lenormant*, in *Cont. Rev.*, 1880, on the Eleusinian Mysteries ; by *C. T. Newton*, in

19th Cent., June, 1878, on the Religion of the Greeks as Illustrated by Inscriptions. For the truest conception of Greek mythology: *Ruskin's Modern Painters*, Part IV., Chap. 13.

Authorities.

- Sacred Books of the East. 11 vols. Macm.
 The Elder Edda. L. Trübner.
 The Younger Edda. Ch. Griggs.



3. HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

- ‡*H. Spencer*. The Study of Sociology. App. \$1.50.
W. Bagehot. Physics and Politics. \$1.50.
 Analyzes the causes of progress.
 ‡*A. Comte*. The Positive Philosophy. † 2 v. App.
 The second volume contains an application of the positive philosophy to historical phenomena.
F. Schlegel. The Philosophy of History. †
Id. Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. †
 These old works are still unsurpassed in their field.
R. Flint. The Philosophy of History in France and Germany.
Baron de Montesquieu. The Spirit of Laws. † Cincinnati.
 A work of great insight, first published in 1748.
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 W. H. Seward. By *F. W. Seward*. App. \$4.25.
 Charles Sumner. By *E. L. Pierce*. 2 v. R. \$6.00.
 James Buchanan. By *G. T. Curtis*. 2 v. H.
 Abraham Lincoln. By *H. J. Raymond*. N.Y. Derby. \$1.50.
 Id. By *C. G. Leland*. [New Plutarch.] Put. \$1.00.
 Library of American Biography. Edited by *Jared Sparks*. 10 v. H. \$12.50.
Theodore Parker. Historic Americans. [Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams.] B. Fuller. \$1.50.
 †American Statesmen. Houghton. Per vol., \$1.25. Contains:—
 Alexander Hamilton. By *H. C. Lodge*.
 J. Q. Adams. By *J. T. Morse*.
 J. C. Calhoun. By *H. von Holst*.
 Andrew Jackson. By *W. G. Sumner*.
 John Randolph. By *H. Adams*.
 James Monroe. By *D. C. Gilman*.
 Thomas Jefferson. By *J. T. Morse*.
 Daniel Webster. By *H. C. Lodge*.

See also the next list.

Authorities.

- W. Bradford*. History of the Plymouth Plantation. \$2.25.
Alex. Young. Chronicles of Plymouth.
Id. Chronicles of Massachusetts. 2 v. \$5.00.
 Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.
 Edited by *J. W. Thornton*.

62 HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND AUTHORITIES.

John Winthrop. History of New England. 1630-49. 2 v. \$5.00.

By the first governor of Massachusetts.

Thos. Hutchinson. History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. \$4.00.

The author was lieutenant-governor of the colony, and a strong Tory.

Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. 11 v. Albany. Published by the State.

American Archives. Edited by *Peter Force.*

American State Papers.

Congressional Documents, etc.

Elliot's Debates [of the Constitution]. 5 v. Lip. \$12.50.

Annals of Congress.

Archæologia Americana.

T. H. Benton. Abridgment of Debates of Congress. 1789-1856. 16 v. App.

The Federal and State Constitutions, etc. Compiled by *B. P. Poore.* Washington. 1878.

Treaties and Conventions, etc. Washington. 1871.

Life and Writings of George Washington. 12 v. H. \$18.00.

Life and Works of John Adams. 10 v. L. & B. \$30.00.

Works of Alexander Hamilton. 7 v. N.Y. Trow. \$21.00.

Letters and Other Writings of James Madison. 4 v. Lip. \$16.00.

Writings of Thomas Jefferson. 9 v. Lip. \$23.50.

Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin. 10 v. Ch. \$20.00.

Papers of James Madison. 4 v. Ph. \$16.00.

Works of Daniel Webster. 6 v. L. & B. \$18.00.

Life and Works of John C. Calhoun. 6 v. App. \$15.00.

Works of Henry Clay. 6 v. \$18.00.

16. SELECTED LIST OF HISTORICAL NOVELS, POEMS, AND PLAYS,
ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

A. Lang. Helen of Troy. (Poem.)

W. Morris. Jason. (Poem.)

Id. The Earthly Paradise.

A collection of poems narrating Greek and German legends.

C. Kingsley. Andromeda. (Poem.)

A. C. Swinburne. Atalanta in Calydon. (Poem.)

B.C.

15th century.—*Ebers.* Uarda [Rameses II.].

6th century.—*Id.* Daughter of an Egyptian King.

5th century.—*Landor.* Pericles and Aspasia.

2d century.—*Ebers.* The Sisters.

1st century.—*Shakespeare.* Julius Cæsar (Drama).

A.D.

1st century.—*J. F. Clarke.* Thomas Didymus.

Philochristus. Onesimus.

Bulwer. The Last Days of Pompeii.

2d century.—*Ebers.* The Emperor [Hadrian].

Cardinal Newman. Callista.

Cardinal Wiseman. Fabiola [The Catacombs].

3d century.—*Mrs. Hunt.* The Wards of Plotinus.

W. Ware. Zenobia. Aurelian.

4th century.—*Ebers.* Homo Sum [330, Sinai].

V. Rydberg. The Last Athenian [361].

5th century.—*C. Kingsley.* Hypatia [Alexandria].

Wilkie Collins. Antonina, or the Fall of Rome.

8th century.—*G. Freytag.* Our Forefathers: Ingraban.

10th century.—*Scheffel.* Ekkehart [The Monks of St. Gallen].

Taylor. Edwin the Fair (Drama).

11th century.—*Bulwer.* Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings.

Kingsley. Hereward, the Last of the English.

12th century.—*Scott.* The Betrothed. The Talisman. Ivanhoe.

Lessing. Nathan the Wise (Drama).

- 12th century.— The Luck of Ladysmede.
E. E. Hale. In his Name [Waldenses].
- 13th century.— *Shakespeare.* King John (Drama).
C. Kingsley. The Saints' Tragedy.
G. P. R. James. Forest Days [Simon de Montfort].
Mrs. Hemans. The Vespers of Palermo (Drama).
- 14th century.— *Schiller.* Wilhelm Tell (Drama).
Bulwer. Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes.
Taylor. Philip van Artevelde (Drama).
Shakespeare. Richard II. (Drama).
- 15th century.— *Id.* Henry IV., V., VI. Richard III. (Dramas).
Schiller. Die Jungfrau von Orleans (Drama).
Scott. Fair Maid of Perth. Quentin Durward.
 Anne of Geierstein.
Bulwer. The Last of the Barons [Warwick].
C. Reade. The Cloister and the Hearth.
Geo. Eliot. Romola [Savonarola].
- 16th century.— *Shakespeare.* Henry VIII. (Drama).
Scott. Marmion. Lady of the Lake. Lay of the Last
 Minstrel (Poems). — The Monastery. The Ab-
 bot. Kenilworth.
Kingsley. Amyas Leigh, or Westward Ho!
Schiller. Maria Stuart (Drama).
Goethe. Egmont (Drama).
- 17th century.— *Scott.* Fortunes of Nigel. Legend of Montrose.
 Woodstock. Peveril of the Peak. Old Mortality.
 — Rokeby (Poem).
Manzoni. The Betrothed [Milan, 1628].
Schiller. Wallenstein (Drama).
Shorthouse. John Inglesant.
Browning. Strafford (Drama). The Ring and the
 Book (Poem).
Ainsworth. Old Saint Paul's.
Auerbach. Spinoza.
Blackmore. Lorna Doone.
- 18th century.— *Thackeray.* Henry Esmond. The Virginians.
Scott. Rob Roy. The Heart of Midlothian. Waverly.
 Redgauntlet.

18th century.—*Browning*. King Victor and King Charles (Drama).
Dickens. Barnaby Rudge (1780).
Miss Burney (*Mad. D'Arblay*). Evelina.

Revolutionary epoch :—

Victor Hugo. Ninety-three. Les Misérables.
Mrs. Gaskell. Sylvia's Lovers.
Geo. Eliot. Adam Bede.
Blackmore. The Maid of Sker. Alice Lorraine.
Dickens. Tale of Two Cities.
Erckmann-Chatrian. The States General. The
 Country in Danger. Madame Therèse. Year
 One. Citizen Bonaparte.
Miss Roberts. On the Edge of the Storm. Noblesse
 Oblige.
Fritz Reuter. In the Year Thirteen.
Erckmann-Chatrian. The Conscript. The Invasion
 of France. The Siege of Phalsburg. Waterloo.

American History.

17th century.—*Longfellow*. The Courtship of Miles Standish.
Hawthorne. The Scarlet Letter.
Paulding. The Dutchman's Fireside.
Miss Sedgwick. Hope Leslie.
Whittier. Mogg Megone.

18th century.—*Simms*. The Yemassee (S.C., 1715).
Longfellow. Evangeline (Poem).
Mrs. Stowe. The Minister's Wooing.
J. E. Cooke. The Virginia Comedians.
Cooper. Leather-Stocking Tales.

Revolution.—*Cooper*. The Spy. The Pilot.
Kennedy. Horseshoe Robinson.
Winthrop. Edwin Brothertoft.
Simms. The Partisan, etc.

PART II.

BOOKS FOR COLLATERAL READING IN CONNECTION WITH CLASS WORK.*

1. GENERAL HISTORY.

- *E. Clodd.* The Childhood of the World. App. 75 cents.
- Id.* The Childhood of Religions. App. \$1.25.
Designed to give children correct notions of primeval times.
- J. Bonner.* Child's History of Greece. 2 v. H. \$2.50.
- Id.* Child's History of Rome. 2 v. H. \$2.50.
- Mrs. C. H. B. Laing.* The Seven Kings of the Seven Hills. Ph. Porter & Coates. \$1.00.
- *Id.* The Heroes of the Seven Hills. Ph. Porter & Coates. \$1.25.
These two books contain the legends of early Roman history.
- Chas. Dickens.* Child's History of England. \$1.00.
- *J. Bonner.* Child's History of England. II.
- *S. R. Gardiner.* English History for Young Folks. Holt. \$1.00.
A work of the greatest soundness and accuracy.
- *L. Creighton.* Stories from English History. L. Whittaker.
- J. R. Green.* Readings in English History. Macm. \$1.50.
- Sir W. Scott.* Tales of a Grandfather.
Stories from Scotch and French history.
- Sarah Brook.* French History for English Children. Macm. \$2.00.
An admirable book with good maps.
- Miss C. S. Kirkland.* Short History of France. Ch. Jansen. \$1.50.
- S. Lanier.* The Boys' Froissart. Scr. \$3.00.
A selection of the best stories from the prince of chroniclers.
- Belt and Spur. Scr. \$2.00.
Stories from the mediæval chronicles; excellently illustrated.

* In this list I have derived much assistance from "Books for the Young," by Miss C. M. Hewins of the Hartford Library.

- G. M. Towle.* Heroes of History. [Marco Polo, Vasco da Gama, Magellan, Pizarro, Drake, Raleigh.] L. & S.
An excellent series of biographies. Each, \$1.25.
- Historical Biographies. Rivington. Each, \$1.00:—
Simon de Montfort. By *M. Creighton*.
The Black Prince. By *L. Creighton*.
Sir Walter Raleigh. By *L. Creighton*.
Marlborough. By *L. Creighton*.
- M. J. Guest.* Lectures on English History. Macm. \$1.50.
Good for young people above the age of children.
- Mrs. M. E. Green.* The Princesses of England. 6 v. Each, 10s. 6d.
- The Young Folks' History. E. & L. Each, \$1.50. Includes:—
America. By *H. Butterworth*.
Russia. By *N. H. Dole*.
Queens of England. By *Rosalie Kaufman*.
Mexico. By *F. A. Ober*.
England, Germany, France, Greece, Rome, and Bible History.
By *Miss Yonge*.
- A. J. Church.* The Last Days of Jerusalem. L. Seeley. \$2.00.
- J. Abbott.* Biographies of Famous Persons (about thirty in all). H.
Each, \$1.00.
- Brooke Herford.* The Story of Religion in England. Ch. Jansen.
\$1.50.
- Thos. Archer.* Decisive Events in History. C. \$1.75.
Handsomely illustrated.
- Mrs. H. R. Haweis.* Chaucer for Children. L. Chatto & Windus.
\$2.25.
- Id.* Spenser for Children. \$3.75.
Beautifully illustrated; instructive for manners, costumes, etc.

2. AMERICAN HISTORY.

N. Hawthorne. True Stories. [Grandfather's Chair, etc.] Houghton. \$1.00.

The early history of New England.

C. C. Coffin. Old Times in the Colonies. H. \$3.00.

Id. The Boys of '76. H. \$3.00.

Id. The Building of the Nation. H. \$3.00.

Id. The Boys of '61. H. \$3.00.

A handsomely illustrated series of works.

E. Eggleston. Famous American Indians. [Montezuma, Pocahontas, etc.] N.Y. Dodd, Mead, & Co. Each, \$1.25.

M. Schele de Vere. Romance of American History. Put. \$1.25.

J. D. Champlin. Young Folks' History of the War for the Union. Holt. \$2.75.

An excellent book, well illustrated.

• *J. Bonner.* Child's History of the United States. 3 v. H. \$3.75.

Mrs. A. S. Richardson. History of Our Country. Houghton. \$4.50.

T. W. Higginson. Young Folks' History of America. L. & S. \$1.50.

Bonner's is designed for younger children than the others; Mrs. Richardson is superior in narration; Higginson in completeness of view.

Id. Young Folks' History of Explorers. L. & S. \$1.50.

• *C. H. Woodman.* Boys and Girls of the Revolution. Lip. \$1.25.

J. K. Hosmer. The Color Guard. B. Fuller. \$1.50.

Id. The Thinking Bayonet. B. Fuller. \$1.75.

Belong to the war of the rebellion.

C. K. True. Life of Captain John Smith. N.Y. Phillips & Hunt. \$1.00.

Centenary History of the United States. N.Y. Barnes. \$5.00.

An excellent family history.

3. MYTHS AND LEGENDS.

- N. Hawthorne.* Wonder-book. Houghton. \$1.00.
- Id.* Tanglewood Tales. Houghton. \$1.00.
Tell the story of several Greek myths in a charming manner.
- Chas. Kingsley.* The Heroes. Macm. \$1.50.
The Greek heroic legends.
- Thos. Bulfinch.* The Age of Fable. L. & S. \$2.50.
A new edition, well illustrated, edited by Rev. E. E. Hale.
- C. Witt.* Classical Mythology. Holt. \$1.25.
Not a complete mythology, but a collection of legends, with their explanation.
- A. J. Church.* Stories from Homer. L. Seeley. \$2.00.
- Id.* Stories from Virgil. \$2.00.
- Id.* Stories from the Greek Tragedies. \$2.00.
- Id.* Stories [of the East] from Herodotus. \$2.00.
- Id.* Stories from Livy. \$2.00.
- Id.* Stories of the Persian War. \$2.00.
- Id.* Travellers' True Tales from Lucian. \$2.00.
- Id.* Heroes and Kings. \$2.00.
- M. Frere.* Eastern Fairy Legends. (Old Deccan Days.) Lip. \$1.25.
- A. B. Mitford.* Tales of Old Japan. Macm. \$2.00.
- W. E. Griffis.* Japanese Fairy World. \$1.50. •
- P. W. Joyce.* Old Celtic Romances. \$3.00.
- J. F. Campbell.* Popular Tales of the West Highlands. 4 v. Ed. Edmonston. 32s.
- W. R. S. Ralston.* Russian Folk-tales. N.Y. Worthington. \$1.50.
- W. H. J. Bleek.* Hottentot Fables. L. Trübner. 3s. 6d.
- J. C. Harris.* Uncle Remus. [Negro stories.] App. \$1.50.
- H. W. Longfellow.* Hiawatha. (Poem.) \$1.00.

Thos. Bulfinch. Legends of Charlemagne. L. & S. \$3.00.

Id. The Age of Chivalry. [King Arthur.] \$2.50.

\ *C. H. Hanson.* Stories of the Days of King Arthur. L. Nelson.
\$1.50.

S. Lanier. The Boys' King Arthur. Scr. \$3.00.

Id. The Boys' Mabinogion. Scr. \$3.00.

Admirable collections of old legends.

J. & W. Grimm. German Popular Tales. Macm. \$2.00.

G. W. Dasent. Popular Tales from the Norse. Ed. Edmonston.
\$2.50.

A. & E. Keary. Heroes of Asgard. Macm. \$1.00.

W. Wägner. Asgard and the Gods. Lip. \$2.50.

Id. Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages. Lip. \$2.50.

Interesting and handsomely illustrated works.

H. W. Mabie. Norse Stories retold from the Edda. R. \$1.00.

R. B. Anderson. Viking Tales of the North. Ch. Griggs. \$2.00.

Miss A. A. Woodward [*Auber Forestier*]. Echoes from Mist-land.
Ch. Griggs. \$1.50.

A pleasing presentation of the story of the Nibelungs.

Jas. Baldwin. The Story of Siegfried. Scr. \$2.00.

Id. The Story of Roland. Scr. \$2.00.

F. Mallet. Northern Antiquities. Bell. \$2.00.

An old but valuable work.

Sir G. W. Cox and E. H. Jones. Popular Romances of the Middle
Ages. Holt. \$2.25.

A valuable collection of legends.

S. Baring Gould. Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. Lip. \$2.50.

4. TALES ILLUSTRATING HISTORY.

- Miss Yonge.* Historical Dramas [at several epochs].
1s.
- Mrs. Charles.* Early Dawn. [A series, covering
several centuries.] \$1.00.
- 10th century.—*Miss Yonge.* The Little Duke [Richard the Fearless].
\$1.25.
- Crake.* Edwy the Fair. Soc. \$1.00.
- 11th century.—*Id.* Alfgar the Dane. Soc. \$1.00.
- Id.* The Rival Heirs. Soc. \$1.00.
- Id.* The Andreds-weald. [Norman conquest.] \$1.00.
- Edgar.* Danes, Saxons, and Normans. \$3.00.
- 12th century.—*Ballantyne.* Erling the Bold. [Iceland.] \$1.25.
- 13th century.—*Edgar.* How I Won my Spurs. \$3.00.
- Miss Yonge.* Prince and Page. [Edward I.] \$1.25.
- 14th century.—*Miss Aguilar.* Days of Bruce. \$1.00.
- Miss Yonge.* Lances of Linwood. [Edward III.]
75 cents.
- 15th century.—*Miss Yonge.* Caged Lion. [James I. of Scotland.]
\$1.25.
- Howitt.* Jack of the Mill. [Henry V.] \$1.75.
- Edgar.* War of the Roses. \$1.20.
- Miss Yonge.* Dove in the Eagle's Nest. [Maximilian.]
\$1.00.
- Miss Aguilar.* Vale of Cedars. \$1.00.
- 16th century.—*Mrs. Charles.* Schönberg-Cotta Family. [Luther.]
\$1.00.
- Miss Manning.* Household of Sir Thomas Moore.
\$1.00.
- Id.* The Faire Gospeller. \$1.00.
- Id.* Colloquies of Edward Osborne. [Edward VI.]
75 cents.

- 16th century.—*Miss Manning*. Good Old Times. [Auvergne, 1549.] 7s. 6d.
Mrs. Charles. The Martyrs of Spain. [1561.] } \$1.25.
Id. The Liberators of Holland. }
Miss Yonge. Chaplet of Pearls. [Charles IX.] \$1.50.
Id. Unknown to History. [Mary Queen of Scots.] \$1.50.
- 17th century.—*Marryat*. Children of the New Forest. \$1.25.
Mrs. Davis. Diary of Lady Willoughby. \$3.00.
Miss Manning. Married and Maiden Life of Mary Powell [wife of John Milton]. \$1.00.
Macdonald. St. George and St. Michael. \$1.50.
Mrs. Charles. The Draytons and Davénants. \$1.00.
Id. On Both Sides of the Sea [continuation]. \$1.00.
Miss Manning. Cherry and Violet. \$1.00.
Id. Deborah's Diary. 1s.
Id. Jacques Bonneval. [The Dragoonades.] 75 cts.
Henty. The Cornet of Horse. \$1.50.
- 18th century.—*Mrs. Charles*. Diary of Mrs. Kitty Trevlyan. \$1.00.
Miss Manning. Old Chelsea Bun-house. 1s.
Miss Martineau. Peasant and Prince. [Louis XVII.] 50 cents.
Miss Tytler. Citoyenne Jacqueline. \$2.00.
Mrs. Charles. Against the Stream. [Wilberforce.] \$1.00.
- 19th century.—*Miss Yonge*. Kenneth. \$1.00.
Henty. The Young Buglers. [Peninsular war.] \$2.25.
Miss Manning. The Year Nine. [Andreas Hofer.] 7s. 6d.

PART III.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

1. GENERAL HISTORY.

- W. Swinton.* Outlines of History. \$1.66.
- J. J. Anderson.* New General History: 1. Ancient; 2. Modern. N.Y. Clark & Maynard. \$1.92.
- Marcus Willson.* Outlines of History. N.Y. Ivison. \$1.66 and \$2.49.
- Miss Emma Willard.* Universal History. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.87.
- S. G. Goodrich* [*Peter Parley*]. Pictorial History of the World. Ph. Butler. \$1.46.
- Miss M. E. Thalheimer.* Outline of General History. Cincinnati. Van Antwerp. \$1.40.
- M. J. Kerney.* Compendium of Ancient and Modern History. Baltimore. Murphy. \$1.25.
- Swinton's is the most successful general history for schools; Anderson and Thalheimer are compendious but bare; Willson and Miss Willard are larger works; Kerney is Catholic.
- R. H. Lobberton.* Outlines of History, \$2.00. — Questions on History, \$1.75. — Historical Atlas. Ph. Claxton. \$3.50.
- An original and admirable method of instruction, but too extensive for most schools.
- W. F. Collier.* Great Events of History. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.40.
- An excellent outline, but in too fine type.
- A. Gilman.* First Steps in General History. Barnes. \$1.25.
- A short and agreeable outline.
- E. A. Freeman.* History Primer of Europe. App. 45 cents.

2. ANCIENT HISTORY.

Miss M. E. Thalheimer. Ancient History. Cincinnati. Van Antwerp & Co. \$1.87.

· An excellent work, but too large for most schools.

Brief History of Ancient Peoples. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.17.

Accurate and interesting; well suited to the school-room.

R. F. Pennell. Ancient Greece. B. Allyn. 60 cents.

Id. Rome. B. Allyn. 60 cents.

· Good and accurate compendiums.

History Primers. Edited by *J. R. Green.* App. Each, 45 cents.

Greece. By *C. A. Fyffe.*

Rome. By *M. Creighton.*

Classical Geography. By *H. F. Tozer.*

Old Greek Life. By *J. P. Mahaffy.*

Roman Antiquities. By *A. S. Wilkins.*

O. Seeman. Mythology of Greece and Rome. H. 60 cents.

E. M. Berens. Myths and Legends of Ancient Greece. N.Y. Clark & Maynard. \$1.08.

Seeman's is best in connection with the history of art; Berens', for interest of narrative.

Classical Atlas. B. Ginn & Heath. \$2.30.

Students' Atlas of Classical Geography. Put. \$1.50.

Johnston's Wall-maps of Classical and Scriptural Geography. B. Ginn, Heath, & Co. 10 maps, \$5.00 each.

Guyot's Classical Wall-maps. Scr. 3 maps, \$35.00.



3. MODERN HISTORY.

Brief History of Modern Peoples. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.17.

Miss M. E. Thalheimer. Mediæval and Modern History. \$1.87.

Id. History of England. \$1.17.

The best history of England for common schools.

David Morris. Class-book History of England. App. \$1.25.

A larger work, also excellent; well illustrated.

Miss Annie Wall. History of England. St. Louis. Jones. \$1.00.

A good short work.

E. M. Lancaster. Manual of English History. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.17.

Well written, and provided with good apparatus.

W. M. Lupton. Concise English History. R. \$1.50.

Crowded with names and dates; very useful for reference.

Mrs. Markham. History of England. App. \$1.30.

A well-known English school-book.

Brief History of France. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.17.

A book of great merit.

J. Michelet. Modern History. Macm. \$1.10.

Excellent, but too crowded with names and dates.

Students' Atlas of Historical Geography. Put. \$1.50.

C. S. Halsey. Chronological and Genealogical Chart of the Rulers of England, Scotland, France, and Germany. B. Ginn, Heath, & Co. 55 cents and \$1.10.

There are no wall-maps of Modern History, except the German ones of *Bretschneider*.

4. AMERICAN HISTORY.

D. B. Scott. School History of the United States. H. 80 cents.

Excellent, especially for arrangement.

J. C. Ridpath. History of the United States. Cincinnati. Jones. \$1.00, \$1.50, \$3.00.

Illustrated with serviceable diagrams.

J. J. Anderson. Pictorial School History of the United States.

N.Y. Clark & Maynard. \$1.44.

Well arranged and illustrated, but dry.

Marcus Willson. History of the United States. N.Y. Ivison. \$1.25.

A work of solid merit, but rather heavy.

Emma Willard. History of the United States. N.Y. Barnes. 88 cts.

An interesting work, rather too detailed.

C. A. Goodrich. History of the United States of America. B. Ware.
\$1.30.

Well adapted to *memoriter* recitation.

B. J. Lossing. Outline History of the United States. N.Y. Sheldon.
\$1.11.

Entertaining and well illustrated ; too crowded with detail.

G. P. Quackenbos. Illustrated School History of the United States.
App. \$1.25.

Very well written, but poorly arranged.

Miss M. E. Thalheimer. Eclectic History of the United States.
Cincinnati. Van Antwerp. \$1.17.

With very good maps and illustrations.

Excelsior Studies in the History of the United States. N.Y. Sadlier.
\$1.25.

A Catholic work; also has excellent maps.

A. H. Stephens. Compendium of the History of the United States.
N.Y. Hale. \$1.50.

From a Southern point of view.

J. W. Leeds. History of the United States of America. Lip. \$1.54.

Especially full in the history of civilization.

Several of these authors have more than one work, adapted to schools of different grades. Besides these, there are smaller works:—

Brief History of the United States. N.Y. Barnes. \$1.17.

Well arranged and written.

W. H. Venable. History of the United States. Cincinnati. Van
Antwerp & Co. \$1.00.

A good book, with excellent maps.

A. B. Berard. School History of the United States. Ph. Cow-
perthwait. \$1.10.

A book of great merit, written in an interesting style.

S. G. Goodrich. Pictorial History of the United States. Ph. Butler.
\$1.46.

Entertaining, but badly arranged.

L. J. Campbell. Concise School History of the United States. B. Ware. 87 cents.

Based upon the work of C. A. Goodrich.

W. Swinton. Condensed School History of the United States. N.Y. Ivison & Co. \$1.04.

A brief skeleton of events.

J. C. Martindale. History of the United States. Ph. Eldredge. \$1.17.

Of the same general character.

Primer of United States History. N.Y. Armstrong. 50 cents.

With very good historical maps.

E. Abbott. Paragraph History of the United States. 50 cents.

Id. Paragraph History of the American Revolution. 50 cents.

J. J. Anderson. United States Reader. N.Y. Clark & Maynard.
\$1.30.

Well-selected extracts from historians, poets, and orators, illustrating the history of the United States.

L. H. Porter. Outlines of the Constitutional History of the United States. Holt. \$1.50.

Contains many valuable and interesting documents.

HISTORY TOPICS.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

I. ORIENTAL PERIOD, TO B.C. 500.

1. **Egypt and Palestine.**—*a.* The Mediterranean system of lands. *b.* The valley of the Nile (with map). *c.* The early empire; the 4th and 12th dynasties. *d.* The Hyksos. *e.* The 18th and 19th dynasties. *f.* The 26th dynasty. *g.* The Hebrew monarchy. *Solomon*, B.C. 1000. *h.* The kingdoms of Israel and Judah.—*i.* The exodus of the Israelites. *k.* Æthiopia.—*Map:* The Mediterranean sea; the Orient; B.C. 1500.

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39. **Van Buren's Administration, 1837-41.**—*a.* The sub-treasury. *b.* The crisis of 1837. *c.* The repudiation movement. *d.* The affair of the *Caroline*.

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III. THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY, TO 1876.

41. **Polk's Administration, 1845-49.**—*a.* The campaigns of the Mexican war. *b.* The occupation of the Pacific coast. *c.* The

treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 1848. *d.* The north-western boundary. *e.* The tariff of 1846. *f.* The Wilmot proviso.

42. **Taylor and Fillmore's Administrations, 1849-53.**—*a.* The omnibus bill, 1850. *b.* The free-soil party. *c.* The fugitive-slave law. *d.* The Japan expedition. *e.* The correspondence of Webster and Hülsemann. *f.* Henry Clay, d. 1852. *g.* The Cuban filibusters.

43. **Pierce's Administration, 1853-57.**—*a.* The Nebraska bill, 1854. *b.* The know-nothing party. *c.* The Gadsden purchase. *d.* Diplomatic relations with Great Britain. *e.* The Ostend manifesto.

44. **Buchanan's Administration, 1857-61.**—*a.* The Kansas question. *b.* The Dred Scott decision, 1857. *c.* The personal-liberty bills. *d.* The Mormons in Utah. *e.* The acts of secession. *f.* John Brown, d. 1859.

45. **Lincoln's Administration; to July, 1862.**—*a.* The peninsular campaign. *b.* Operations in the West until Shiloh. *c.* The capture of New Orleans. *d.* The *Merrimac* and *Monitor*. *e.* The arrest of Mason and Slidell. *f.* The national bank system. *g.* The policy towards slavery. *h.* The constitution of the Confederacy. *i.* Operations on the seaboard.

46. **Lincoln's Administration; July 1862, to Jan. 1864.**—*a.* Pope's campaign. *b.* McClellan's Antietam campaign. *c.* Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. *d.* Murfreesboro'. *e.* Gettysburg. *f.* The opening of the Mississippi. *g.* Chickamauga and Chattanooga. *h.* The emancipation proclamation.

47. **Lincoln's Administration, 1864-65.**—*a.* Grant's campaign in Virginia. *b.* Sherman's campaign in the South. *c.* Hood's advance into Tennessee. *d.* The Shenandoah campaign. *e.* The Confederate cruisers. *f.* The policy towards the seceded states. *g.* The sanitary commission. *h.* The Freedmen's Bureau.

48. **Johnson's Administration, 1865-69.**—*a.* Reconstruction. *b.* The impeachment of the president, 1868. *c.* The purchase of Alaska, 1867. *d.* The constitutional amendments.

49. **Grant's Administration, 1869-77.**—*a.* The Santo Domingo treaty, 1870. *b.* The resumption of specie payments. *c.* The Geneva congress, 1872. *d.* The *Crédit Mobilier*.

50. **Review of the Period.**— *a.* The tariff question. *b.* The slavery controversy. *c.* The public lands. *d.* The Indian policy. *e.* The civil service. *f.* The Pacific railroad. *g.* The fisheries.— *Maps:* 1688, 1763, 1783, 1803, 1820, 1850, 1876. List of the states admitted to the union, with dates. List of the vice-presidents, with state, full name, and date. List of the secretaries of state, with same.

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