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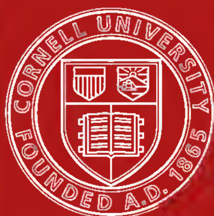

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OF EMINENT

TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

WITH

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

IN

GERMANY

REPUBLISHED FROM

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

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PREFACE.

The following volume is a reproduction of the Treatise printed in 1863, under the title of German Educational Reformers, with omissions and additions to make the treatment more special and comprehensive of the great teachers, educators, and organizers of school systems in Germany, from the sixth to the nineteenth century.

The omissions are the chapters on Bacon, Locke, Montaigne, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi, and their influence on German education, which will now be found in the separate treatises on English, French, and Swiss Pedagogy.

The additions include memoirs of the early Christian Teachers and Founders of Schools, prior to the fourteenth century, and the Organizers of Public Elementary Schools, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a summary view of the present Systems and Statistics of Public Instruction in the German States.

HENRY BARNARD.

Hartford, March 1, 1878.

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EARLY CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

WILIBRORD—WINFRED.

About the year 664, an English priest named Egbert, who had been taught at Lindisfarne by Bishop Colman, was studying in the monastery of Rathmelsigi, in Connaught, Ireland, formed the purpose of planting christian institutions in Friesland, and after seven ineffectual attempts, inspired Wilibrord, who, with twelve companions, proceeded there, and as bishop of Utrecht, founded a school about 696, to which he afterwards sent thirty young Danes. He was joined for a time by Winfred, 'the philosopher of Christ,' but who subsequently extended his labors into Hesse and Thuringia. Winfred was born in Devonshire, near the border lands of English Saxony, about the year 766. He studied at Exeter, and subsequently in the school of Nutscell in Hampshire, under the direction of Abbot Winbert. Of this school he became scholasticus, and his teaching of grammar, poetry, and the sacred sciences, drew students from all the southern provinces. But his zeal to preach the Gospel among the races of Germany, from whom he was descended, took him even to Utrecht. In one of his journeys he stopped at Treves, and attached to him a grandson of the daughter of King Dagobert, Gregory by name, a boy of fifteen years, who afterwards became bishop of Utrecht, on the death of Wilibrord, and founded the Episcopal seminary of that place. Of this school Luidger, the son of a Friesland noble, was an alumnus. He afterwards studied in the English school of York, then under Alcuin. When the latter became fixed at the court of Charlemagne, he recommended Luidger for the first bishop of Mimigardford, which he caused to be changed to Minster, or Munster, and where he founded a monastery and episcopal school, in which he deposited the books he had brought with him from England.

WINFRID AS ST. BONIFACE.

Winfred, after pursuing his apostolic career along the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, was summoned to Rome, and there consecrated bishop of the German nation, and took the name of Boniface. He applied to the bishops and abbots of England for

assistance, and was joined by a band of missioners, among whom was Burchard, Lullus, Wilibald, and Winibald, who formed a community, wherever they labored. In addition to the church and episcopal schools at Utrecht, Treves, Ordorp, Munster, &c., Boniface established schools at Fritislar and Fulda (in 744), and just before his violent death, he wrote to King Pepin, asking protection for such of his disciples as were engaged in the work of educating (*magistic infanticum*), as they were principally foreigners. In 748 Boniface established several congregations of ladies under the auspices of English women, who devoted themselves to the education of girls—Lioba at Bischoffsheim, and Walburga at Hildesheim.

In 747, the Council of Cloveshoe was held, at the instigation of Boniface, who had then received the pallium from the hands of Pope Gregory III., together with the authority of Papal Legate and Vicar over the bishops of France and Germany—his own seat being at Mentz, and his jurisdiction as archbishop extending from Utrecht to the Rhetian Alps. In this council, whose proceedings were inspired by the archbishop of Mentz, there was much action touching on schools and instruction. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses, must diligently see that all their people learn to read, and that boys are brought up so as to be useful to the church of God, and are not overworked in bodily labors. Sunday was to be strictly observed as a day of freedom (*freolsung*), even for the serfs, lasting from noontide on Saturday to the dawn of light on Monday morning. In church schools every one must learn the psalter by heart, and the chant must conform exactly to the custom of the Roman church. Mass priests must always have a school of learners, for which they shall make no demand of any thing from their parents, beyond what they may give of their own will. This decree was first issued in the Council of Vaison in 529, and was re-enacted in the same words at Orleans and at Vercilli. Boniface was cruelly slaughtered at Dokkum, in East Friesland, but his body was rescued, and borne to Mentz, and afterwards to Fulda, where, in a crypt still preserved in the chapel of the monastery founded by him, his ashes have reposed undisturbed in the revolutions of a thousand years.

PEPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

Pepin extended his protection to the schools and teachers which Boniface had established in Germany. After his death in 768, and his son Carleman in 771, Charlemagne became master of all the Frankish territories, and extended the boundaries of his empire from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Elsa, and from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean.

CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

High up in the North, above the continent of Europe, lay two sister islands, ample in size, happy in soil and climate, and beautiful in the face of the country. Alas! that the passions of man should alienate from one another, those whom nature and religion had bound together! So far away were they from foreign foes, that one of them the barbarians had never reached, and though a solitary wave of their invasion has passed over the other, it was not destined to be followed by a second for some centuries. In those days the larger of the two was called Britannia, the lesser Hiberuia. The latter was early the seat of a flourishing church, abounding in the fruits of sanctity, learning, and zeal; the former, at least its southern half, had formed part of the Empire, had partaken both of its civilization and its Christianity, but had lately been occupied, with the extermination of its population, by the right wing of the great barbaric host which was overrunning Europe.

"During the sixth and seventh centuries," says Dr. Döllinger, "the Church of Ireland stood in the full beauty of its bloom. The spirit of the gospel operated amongst the people with a vigorous and vivifying power; troops of holy men, from the highest to the lowest ranks of society, obeyed the counsel of Christ, and forsook all things, that they might follow Him. There was not a country of the world, during this period, which could boast of pious foundations or of religious communities equal to those that adorned this far distant island. Among the Irish, the doctrines of the Christian Religion were preserved pure and entire; the names of heresy or of schism were not known to them; and in the Bishop of Rome they acknowledged and venerated the Supreme Head of the Church on earth, and continued with him, and through him with the whole Church, in a never interrupted communion. The schools in the Irish cloisters were at this time the most celebrated in all the West; and in addition to those which have been already mentioned, there flourished the Schools of St. Finian of Clonard, founded in 530, and those of Cataldus, founded in 640. Whilst almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to the lovers of learning and piety a welcome asylum. The strangers, who visited the island, not only from the neighboring shores of Britain, but also from the most remote nations of the Continent, received from the Irish people the most hospitable reception, a gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even the books that were necessary for their studies. Thus in the year 536, in the time of St. Senanus, there arrived at Cork, from the Continent, fifteen monks, who were led thither by their desire to perfect themselves in the practices of an ascetic life under Irish directors, and to study the Sacred Scriptures in the school established near that city. At a later period, after the year 650, the Anglo-Saxons in particular passed over to Ireland in great numbers for the same laudable purposes. On the other hand, many holy and learned Irishmen left their own country to proclaim the faith, to establish or to reform monasteries in distant lands, and thus to become the benefactors of almost every nation in Europe."

Such was St. Columba, who is the Apostle of the Northern Picts in the sixth century; such St. Fridolin in the beginning of the same century, who, after long labors in France, established himself on the Rhine; such the far-famed Columbanus, who, at its end, was sent with twelve of his brethren to preach in France, Burgundy, Switzerland, and Lombardy, where he died. All these

great acts and encouraging events had taken place, ere yet the Anglo-Saxon race was converted to the faith, or at least while it was still under education for its own part in extending it; and thus in the contemporary or previous labors of the Irish, the Pope found an encouragement, as time went on, boldly to prosecute that conversion and education of the English, which was beginning with such good promise, in the labors of the Irish missionaries.

"The foundation of many English sees," says Döllinger, "is due to Irish men; the Northumbrian diocese was for many years governed by them, and the abbey of Lindisfarne, which was peopled by Irish monks and their Saxon disciples, spread far around it its all-blessing influence. These holy men served God and not the world; they possessed neither gold nor silver, and all that they received from the rich, passed through their hands into the hands of the poor. Kings and nobles visited them from time to time, only to pray in their churches, or to listen to their sermons; and as long as they remained in the cloisters, they were content with the humble food of the brethren. Wherever one of these ecclesiastics or monks came, he was received by all with joy; and whenever he was seen journeying across the country, the people streamed around him to implore his benediction and to hearken to his words. The priests entered the villages only to preach or to administer the sacraments; and so free were they from avarice, that it was only when compelled by the rich and noble, that they would accept lands for the erection of monasteries. Thus has Bede described the Irish bishops, priests, and monks of Northumbria, although so displeased with their custom of celebrating Easter. Many Anglo-Saxons passed over to Ireland, where they received a most hospitable reception in the monasteries and schools. In crowds, numerous as bees, as Aldhelm writes, the English went to Ireland, or the Irish visited England, where the Archbishop Theodore was surrounded by Irish scholars. Of the most celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholars and saints, many had studied in Ireland; among these were St. Egbert, the author of the first Anglo-Saxon mission to the pagan continent, and the blessed Willebrod, the Apostle of the Frieslanders, who had resided twelve years in Ireland. From the same abode of virtue and of learning, came forth two English priests, both named Ewald, who in 690, went as messengers of the gospel to the German Saxons, and received from them the crown of martyrdom. An Irishman, Maildufe, founded, in the year 670, a school, which afterwards grew into the famed Abbey of Malmesbury; among his scholars was St. Aldhelm, afterwards Abbot of Malmesbury, and first bishop of Sherburne or Salisbury, and whom, after two centuries, Alfred pronounced to be the best of the Anglo-Saxon poets."

The seventh and eighth centuries are the glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as are the sixth and seventh of the Irish. As the Irish missionaries traveled down through England, France, and Switzerland, to lower Italy, and attempted Germany at the peril of their lives, converting the barbarian, restoring the lapsed, encouraging the desolate, collecting the scattered, and founding churches, schools, and monasteries, as they went along; so, amid the deep pagan woods of Germany and round about, the English Benedictine plied his axe and drove his plough, planted his rude dwelling, and raised his rustic altar upon the ruins of idolatry, and then settling down as a colonist upon the soil, began to sing his chants and to copy his old volumes, and thus to lay the slow but sure foundations of the new civilization.

SCHOOLS OF CHARLEMAGNE.*

When Charlemagne arose upon the Continent, the special mission of the two islands was at an end; and accordingly Ragnor Lodbrog with his Danes then began his descents upon their coasts. Yet they were not superseded, till they had formally handed over the tradition of learning to the schools of France, and had written their immortal names on one and the same page of history. The Anglo-Saxon Alcuin was the first Rector, and the Irish Clement the second, of the Studium of Paris. In the same age the Irish John was sent to found the school of Pavia; and, when the heretical Claudius of Turin exulted over the ignorance of the devastated Churches of the Continent, and called the Synod of Bishops, who summoned him, "a congregation of asses," it was no other than the Irish Dungall, who met and overthrew the presumptuous railer. * * *

Under Charlemagne, secular teaching was united to sacred, and the Church, which had before hardly recognized the education of the laity, but confined itself mainly to the clergy and their ecclesiastical education, took supervision of both, of lay students and of profane learning. Charlemagne indeed betook himself to the two Islands of the North for a tradition; Alcuin, an Englishman, was at the head of his educational establishments; he came to France, not with sacred learning only, but with profane; he set up schools for laity as well as clergy; but whence was it that he in turn got the tradition which he brought? His history takes us back to that earlier age, when Theodore of Tarsus, Primate of England, brought with him thither from Rome the classics, and made Greek and Latin as familiar to the Anglo-Saxons as their native tongue. Alcuin was the scholar of Bede and Egbert; Egbert was educated in the York school of Theodore, and Bede in that of Benedict Biscop and of John precentor of the Vatican Basilica. Here was the germ of the new civilization of Europe, which was to join together what man had divided, to adjust the claims of Reason and of Revelation, and to fit men for this world while it trained them for another. Charlemagne has the glory of commencing this noble work; and, whether his school at Paris be called a University or not, he laid down principles of which a University is the result, in that he aimed at educating all classes, and undertook all subjects of teaching.

In the first place, however, he turned his attention to the Episcopal Seminaries, which seem to have been institutions of the earliest times of Christianity, though they had been in great measure interrupted amid the dissolution of society consequent upon the barbarian inroads, as various passages in these Essays have already suggested. His restoration lasted for four centuries, till Universities rose in their turn, and indirectly interfered with the efficiency of the Seminaries, by absorbing them into the larger institution. This inconvenience was set right at a later period by the Council of Trent, whose wise regulations were in turn the objects of the jealousy of the Josephism of the last century, which used or rather abused the University system to their prejudice. The present policy of the Church in most places has been to return to the model both of the first ages and of Charlemagne.

To these Seminaries he added, what I have spoken of as his characteristic institution, grammar and public schools, as preparatory both to the Seminaries

* NEWMAN's *Rise and Progress of Universities. Schools of Charlemagne.*

and to secular professions. Not that they were confined to grammar, for they recognized the *trivium* and *quadrivium;* but grammar, in the sense of literature, seems to have been the principle subject of their teaching. These schools were established in connection with the Cathedral or the Cloister; and they received ecclesiastics and the sons of the nobility, though not to the exclusion of the poorer class.

Charlemagne probably did not do much more than this; though it was once the custom to represent him as the actual founder of the University of Paris. But great creations are not perfected in a day; without doing every thing which had to be done, he did many things, and opened the way for more. It will throw light upon his position in the history of Christian education, to quote a passage from the elaborate work of Bulæus, on the University of Paris, though he not unnaturally claims the great Emperor as its founder, maintaining that he established, not only the grammar or public schools already mentioned, but the higher *Studia Generalia.*

It is observable that Charles, in seeking out masters, had in view, not merely the education of his own family, but of his subjects generally, and of all lovers of the Christian Religion; and wished to be of service to all students and cultivators of the liberal arts. It is indeed certain that he sought out learned men and celebrated teachers from all parts of the world, and induced them to accept his invitation by rewards and honors, on which Alcuin lays great stress. 'I was well aware, my Lord David,' he says, 'that it has been your praiseworthy solicitude ever to love and to extol wisdom; and to exhort all men to cultivate it, nay, to incite them by means of prizes and honors; and out of divers parts of the world to bring together its lovers as the helpers of your good purpose; among whom you have taken pains to secure even me, the meanest slave of that holy wisdom, from the extremest boundaries of Britain.'

It is evident hence, that Charles's intention was not to found any common sort of schools, such, that is, as would have required only a few instructors, but public schools, open to all, and possessing all kinds of learning. Hence the necessity of a multiplicity of Professors, who from their number and the remoteness of their homes might seem a formidable charge, not only to the court, or to one city, but even to his whole kingdom. Such is the testimony of Eginhart, who says: 'Charles loved foreigners, and took great pains to support them; so that their number was a real charge, not to the Palace alone, but even to the realm. Such, however, was his greatness of soul, that the burden of them was no trouble to him, because even of great inconveniences the praise of munificence is a compensation.'

Charles had in mind to found two kinds of schools, less and greater. The less he placed in Bishops' palaces, canons' cloisters, monasteries, and elsewhere; the greater, however, he established in places which were public, and suitable for public teaching; and he intended them, not only for ecclesiastics, but for the nobility and their children, and on the other hand for poor scholars too; in short, for every rank, class, and race.

He seems to have had two institutions before his mind, when he contemplated this object; the first of them was the ancient schools. Certainly, a man of so active and inquiring a mind as Charles, with his intercourse with learned persons and his knowledge of mankind, must have been well aware that in former ages these two kinds of schools were to be found everywhere; the one kind few in number, public, and of great reputation, possessed moreover of privileges, and planted in certain conspicuous and central sites. Such was the Alexandrian in Egypt, the Athenian in Greece; such under the Roman emperors, the schools of Rome, of Constantinople, of Berytus, which are known to have been attended by multitudes, and amply privileged by Theodosius, Justinian, and other princes; whereas the other kind of schools, which were far more numerous, were to be found up and down the country, in cities, towns, villages, and were remarkable neither in number of students nor in name.

The other pattern which was open to Charles was to be found in the prac-

tice of monasteries, if it really existed there. The Benedictines, from the very beginning of their institution, had applied themselves to the profession of literature, and it has been their purpose to have in their houses two kinds of school, a greater or a less, according to the size of the house; and the greater they wished to throw open to all students, at a time when there were but few laymen at all who could teach, so that externs, seculars, laymen, as well as clerics, might be free to attend to them. However, true as it was that boys, who were there from childhood intrusted to the monks, bound themselves by no vow, but could leave when they pleased, marry, go to court, or enter the army, still a great many of the cleverest of them were led, either by the habits which they acquired from their intercourse with their teachers, or by their persuasion, to embrace the monastic life. And thus, while the Church in consequence gained her most powerful supports, the State, on the other hand, was wanting in men of judgment, learning, and experience, to conduct its affairs. This led very frequently to kings choosing monks for civil administration, because no others were to be found capable of undertaking it.

Charles then, consulting for the common good, made literature in a certain sense secular, and transplanted it from the convents to the royal palace; in a word, he established in Paris a Universal School like that at Rome.

Not that he deprived monks of the license to teach and profess, though he certainly limited it, from a clear view that that variety of sciences, human and profane, which secular academies require, is inconsistent with the profession and devotion of ascetics; and accordingly, in conformity to the spirit of their institute, it was his wish that the lesser schools should be set up or retained in the Bishops' palaces and monasteries, while he prescribed the subjects which they were to teach. The case was different with the schools which are higher and public, which, instead of multiplying, he confined to certain central and celebrated spots, not more than to three in his whole empire—Paris, and in Italy, Pavia and Bologna.

But, after all, it was not in an Emperor's power, though he were Charlemagne, to carry into effect in any case, by the resources peculiar to himself, so great an idea as a University. Benefactors and patrons may supply the framework of a Studium Generale; but there must be a popular interest and sympathy, a spontaneous coöperation of the many, the concurrence of genius, and a spreading thirst for knowlelge, if it is to live. Centuries passed before these conditions were supplied, and then at length about the year 1200 a remarkable intellectual movement took place in Christendom; and to it must be ascribed the development of Universities, out of the public or grammar schools, which I have already described. No such movement could happen, without the rise of some deep and comprehensive philosophy; and, when it rose, then the existing Trivium and Quadrivium became the subjects, and the existing seats of learning the scene, of its victories; and next the curiosity and enthusiasm, which it excited, attracted larger and larger numbers to places which were hitherto but local centers of education. Such a gathering of students, such a systematizing of knowledge, are the notes of a University.

The increase of members and the multiplication of sciences both involved changes in the organization of the schools of Charlemagne; and of these the increase of members came first. Hitherto there had been but one governor over the students, who were but few at the most, and came from the neighborhood; but now the academic body was divided into Nations, according to the part of Europe from which they joined it, and each Nation had a head of its own, under the title of Procurator or Proctor. There were traces of this division, as we have seen in a former chapter, in Athens; where the students were arranged under the names of Attic, Oriental, Arab, and Pontic, with a protector for each class. In like manner, in the University of Paris, there

were four nations, first, the French, which included the middle and south of France, Spain, Italy, and Greece; secondly, the English, which, besides the two British Islands, comprehended Germany and Scandinavia; thirdly, the Norman; and fourthly, the Picards, who carried with them the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant. Again, in the University of Vienna, there were also four nations,—Austria, the Rhine, Hungary, and Bohemia. Oxford recognized only two Nations; the north English, which comprehended the Scotch; and the south English, which comprehended the Irish and Welsh. The Proctors of the Nations both governed and represented them; the double office is still traceable, unless the recent Act of Parliament has destroyed it, in the modern constitution of Oxford, in which the two Proctors on the one hand represent the Masters of Arts in the Hebdomadal Board, and on the other have in their hands the discipline of the University.

And as Nations and their Proctors arose out of the metropolitan character of a University, to which students congregated from the farthest and most various places, so are Faculties and Deans of Faculties the consequence of its encyclopædic profession. According to the idea of the institutions of Charlemagne, each school had its own teacher, who was called Rector, or Master. In Paris, however, where the school was founded in St. Geneviève's, the Chancellor of that Church became the Rector, and he kept his old title of Chancellor in his new office. Elsewhere the head of the University was called Provost. However, it was not every one who would be qualified to profess even the Seven Sciences, of which the old course of instruction consisted, though the teaching was only elementary, and to become the Rector, Chancellor, or Provost, of the University; but, when these sciences became only parts of a whole system of instruction, which demanded in addition a knowledge of philosophy, scholastic theology, civil and canon law, medicine, natural history, and the Semitic languages, no one person was equal to the undertaking. The Rector fell back from the position of a teacher to that of a governor; and the instruction was divided among a board of Doctors, each of whom represented a special province in Science. This is the origin of Deans of Faculties; and, inasmuch as they undertook among themselves one of those departments of academical duty, which the Chancellor or Rector had hitherto fulfilled, they naturally became his Council. In some places the Proctors of the Nations were added. Thus, in Vienna the Council consisted of the Four Deans of Faculties, and the Four Proctors.

As Nations preceded Faculties, we may suppose that Degrees, which are naturally connected with the latter, either did not enter into the original provisions of a University, or had not the same meaning as afterwards. And this seems to have been the case. At first they were only testimonials that a resident was fit to take part in the public teaching of the place; and hence, in the Oxford forms still observed, the Vice-Chancellor admits the person taking a degree to the "lectio" of certain books. Degrees would not at that time be considered mere honors or testimonials, to be enjoyed by persons who at once left the University and mixed in the world. The University would only confer them for its own purposes; and to its own subjects, for the sake of its own subjects. It would claim nothing for them external to its own limits; and, if so, only used a power obviously connate with its own existence. But of course the recognition of a University by the State, not to say by other Uni-

versities, would change the import of degree, and, since such recognition has commonly been granted from the first, degrees have seldom been only what they were in their original idea; but the formal words by which they are denoted, still preserve its memory. As students on taking degrees are admitted "legere et disputare," so are they called "Magistri," that is, of the *schools;* and "Doctors," that is, teachers, or in some places "Professors," as the letters S.T.P. show, used instead of D.D.

I conclude by enumerating the characteristic distinctions, laid down by Bulæus, between the public or grammar schools founded by Charlemagne, and the Universities into which eventually some of them grew, or, as he would say, which Charlemagne also founded.

First, he says, they differ from each other *ratione disciplinæ.* The Scholæ Minores only taught the Trivium (*viz.*, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric,) and the Quadrivium (*viz.*, Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetic, and Music,) the seven liberal Arts; whereas the Scholæ Majores added Medicine, Law, and Theology.

Next, *ratione loci;* for the Minores were many and everywhere, but the Majores only in great cities, and few in number. I have already remarked on the physical and social qualifications necessary for a place which is to become the seat of a great school of learning: Bulæus observes, that the Muses were said to inhabit mountains, Parnassus or Helicon, spots high and healthy and secured against the perils of war, and that the Academy was a grove; though of course he does not forget that the place must be accessible too, and in the highway of the world. "That the city of Paris," he says, "is ample in size, largely frequented, healthy and pleasant in site, there can be no doubt." Frederic the Second spoke the general sentiment, when he gave as a reason for establishing a University at Naples, the convenience of the sea-coast and the fertility of the soil. We are informed by Matamorus, in his account of the Spanish Universities,* that Salamanca was but the second site of its University, which was transferred thither from Palencia on account of the fertility of the neighborhood, and the mildness of its climate. And Mr. Prescott speaks of Alcala being chosen by Cardinal Ximenes as the site for his celebrated foundations, because "the salubrity of the air, and the sober, tranquil complexion of the scenery, on the beautiful borders of the Henares, seemed well suited to academic study and meditation."

The third difference between the greater and lesser schools lies *ratione fundatorum.* Popes, Emperors, and Kings, are the founders of Universities; lesser authorities in Church and State are the founders of Colleges and Schools.

Fourthly, *ratione privilegiorum.* The very notion of a University, I believe, is, that it is an institution of privilege. I think it is Bulæus who says, "Studia Generalia can not exist without privileges, any more than the body without the soul. And in this all writers on Universities agree." He reduces those privileges to two heads, "Patrocinium" and "Præmium;" and these, it is obvious, may be either of a civil or an ecclesiastical nature. There were formerly five Universities endowed with singular privileges: those of Rome, of Paris, of Bologna, of Oxford, and of Salamanca; but Antony à Wood quotes an author who seems to substitute Padua for Rome in this list.

Lastly, the greater and lesser schools differ *ratione regiminis.* The head of a College is one; but a University is a "respublica litteraria."

* Hispan. Illustr. t. p. 2, 801.

DUNGAL AND CLEMENT.

Two Irish scholars, Dungal and Clement, arrived in France soon after the retirement of Alcuin from court—who on landing excited curiosity by crying aloud, *Wisdom to sell! Who'll buy?* Charlemagne attached them both to his service—Clement at Paris, where he soon was put in charge of the Palatine School, and Dungal at Pavia, where he opened a school in the monastery of St. Augustine, and in 811 addressed a letter to the emperor on the solar eclipse, which was predicted for the next year. Clement seems to have been deeply imbued with the learned mysticism of the school of Toulouse, and in a treatise on the eight parts of speech, which is still preserved, quotes the rules of the grammarian Virgil, and the writings of the noble doctors Glengus, Galbungus, Eneas, and the rest. Alcuin complained much of the disorder introduced into the studies of the court school after his departure. 'I left them Latins,' he exclaimed, 'and now I find them Egyptians.' This was a double hit at the gibberish of the twelve Latinites, which Alcuin could not abide, and at the hankering which the Irish professors always displayed, both in science and theology, for the teaching of the school of Alexandria, many of them having embraced the peculiar views of the Neo-Platonists. The Egyptians, however, found a welcome at the court of Charlemagne in spite of their eccentricities; for there no one was ever coldly received who could calculate eclipses, or charm the ears of the learned monarch with Latin hexameters. And it is perhaps to one of these Irish professors that we must attribute those verses preserved by Martene, and professing to be written by an 'Irish exile,' which contain such agreeable flattery of the Frankish sovereign and of his people, and which were presented to the emperor as he held one of those solemn New-year courts, at which his subjects vied one with another in offering him jewels, tissues, horses, and bags of money.

The School of the Palace declined under the management of Clement, and of his successor Claud, bishop of Turin, and during the reign of Louis le Debonnaire. It revived under Charles the Bald, when it was much resorted to by Irish and English scholars.

JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA.

John Scotus Erigena, born in Ireland in 796, and educated at York and Lindisfarne, resorted to Paris in 826, where he was placed by Charles the Bald over the Palatine school. He had early applied himself to the study of Greek, and embraced the doctrines of the Neo-Platonic school. His translation of the works of St. Denys the Areopagite, astonished the scholars at Rome, who looked upon all beyond the Alps as barbarians. In his philosophical treatise, *De Natura Rerum*, he sets forth the doctrines of the Greek Platonists, and flings defiance at his adversaries at Rome. "They are all deceived, owing to their ignorance of liberal studies. They have none of them studied Greek, and with a knowledge of the Latin language alone, it is impossible for them to understand the distinctions of science." In 855, certain propositions drawn from his writings were condemned as heretical by the Council of Valence. He withdrew from the school in 865, on the remonstrance of Pope Nicholas I., on the ground of the perversion of his authority by the enemies of the church. He retired to England, where, according to some historians, he taught mathematics and astronomy at Oxford, and, to others, opened a school at Malmsbury.

FULDA.—HATTO AND RABANUS.

The Abbey of Fulda, where the monks were organized into a community under the rule of St. Benedict, was one of the earliest to carry out the educational work begun by Alcuin at Aix and Tours. Two of the younger brothers were selected to study with the great master at Tours—Hatto and Rabanus, who resorted to him in 802. The name of Maurus was bestowed by Alcuin on his favorite disciple, and was afterwards retained by Rabanus in addition to his own. He studied both sacred and profane sciences, as appears from the letter he addressed many years later to his old schoolfellow, Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt, in which he reminds him of the pleasant days they had spent together in studious exercises, reading, not only the Sacred books, and the expositions of the Fathers, but also investigating all the seven liberal arts. In 813, being then twenty-five years of age, Rabanus was recalled to Fulda, by the abbot Ratgar, and placed at the head of the school, with the strict injunction that he was to follow in all things the method of his master Alcuin. The latter was still alive, and addressed a letter to the young preceptor, which is printed among his other works, and is addressed to 'the boy Maurus,' in which he wishes him good luck with his scholars. His success was so extraordinary that the abbots of other monasteries sent their monks to study under him, and were eager to obtain his pupils as professors in their own schools. The German nobles also gladly confided their sons to his care, and he taught them with wonderful gentleness and patience. He carried out the system which had been adopted by Alcuin of thoroughly exercising his scholars in grammar before entering on the study of the other liberal arts. 'All the generations of Germany,' says Trithemius, 'are bound to celebrate the praise of Rabanus, who first taught them to articulate the sound of Greek and Latin.' At his lectures every one was trained to write equally well in prose or verse on any subject placed before him, and was afterwards taken through a course of rhetoric, logic, and natural philosophy, according to the capacities of each.

Every variety of useful occupation was embraced by the monks; while some were at work hewing down the old forest which a few years before had given shelter to the mysteries of Pagan worship, or tilling the soil on those numerous farms which to this day perpetuate the memory of the great abbey in the names of the towns and villages which have sprung up on their site, other kinds of industry were kept up within doors, where the visitor might have beheld a huge range of workshops in which cunning hands were kept constantly busy on every description of useful and ornamental work in wood, stone, and metal. It was a scene, not of artistic *dilettanteism*, but of earnest, honest labor, and the treasurer of the abbey was charged to take care that the sculptors, engravers, and carvers in wood, were always furnished with plenty to do. Passing on to the interior of the building the stranger would have been introduced to the *scriptorium*, over the door of which was an inscription warning the copyists to abstain from idle words, to be diligent in copying good books, and to take care not to alter the text by careless mistakes. Twelve monks always sat here employed in the labor of transcription, as was also the custom at Hirsauge, a colony sent out from Fulda in 830, and the huge library which was thus gradually formed, survived till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was destroyed in the troubles of the thirty years' war. Not far

from the scriptorium was the *interior school*, where the studies were carried on with an ardor and a largeness of views, which might have been little expected from an academy of the ninth century. Our visitor, where he from the more civilized south, might well have stood in mute surprise in the midst of these fancied barbarians, whom he would have found engaged in pursuits not unworthy of the schools of Rome. The monk Probus is perhaps lecturing on Virgil and Cicero, and that with such hearty enthusiasm that his brother professors accuse him, in good-natured jesting, of ranking them with the saints. Elsewhere disputations are being carried on over the Categories of Aristotle, and an attentive ear will discover that the controversy which made such a noise in the twelfth century, and divided the philosophers of Europe into the rival sects of the Nominalists and Realists, is perfectly well understood at Fulda, though it does not seem to have disturbed the peace of the school. To your delight, if you be not altogether wedded to the dead languages, you may find some engaged on the uncouth language of their fatherland, and, looking over their shoulders, you may smile to see the barbarous words which they are cataloguing in their glossaries; words, nevertheless, destined to reappear centuries hence in the most philosophic literature of Europe. Fulda derived its scholastic traditions from Alcuin and Bede, and could not neglect the vernacular.

In the midst of this world of intellectual life and labor, Rabanus continued for some years to train the first minds of Germany, and counted among his pupils the most celebrated men of the age, such as Lupus of Ferrières, Walafrid Strabo, and Ruthard of Hirsauge, the latter of whom was the first who read profane letters to the brethren of his convent 'after the manner of Fulda.' Lupus was a monk of Ferrières, where he had been carefully educated by the abbot Aldric, who was a pupil of Sigulf, and had acted for some time as assistant to Alcuin in the school of Tours. Aldric afterwards became archbishop of Sens, and sent Lupus to complete his education at Fulda, under Rabanus. Like all the scholars of Ferrières, Lupus had a decided taste for classical literature; the love of letters had been, to use his own expression, innate in him from a child, and he was considered the best Latinist of his time. His studies at Fulda were chiefly theological, and he applied to them with great ardor, without, however, forgetting 'his dear humanities.' It would even seem that he taught them at Fulda, thus returning one benefit for another. The monastery was not far from that of Seligenstadt, where Eginhard, the secretary and biographer of Charlemagne, was their abbot. A friendship, based on similarity of tastes, sprang up between him and Lupus, and was maintained by a correspondence, much of which is still preserved. Lupus always reckoned Eginhard as one of his masters; not that he directly received any lessons from him, but on account of the assistance which the abbot rendered him by the loan of valuable books. In one of his earliest letters to this good friend he begs for a copy of Cicero's 'Rhetoric,' his own being imperfect, as well as for the 'Attic Nights' of Aulus Gellius, which were not then to be found in the Fulda library. In another letter, he consults him on the exact prosody of certain Latin words, and begs him to send the proper size of the Uncial letters used in manuscripts of that century.

Among the fellow-students of Lupus at this time was Walafrid Strabo, a man of very humble birth, whose precocious genius had early made him known in the world of letters. In spite of the unfortunate personal defect which

earned him his surname, Walafrid's Latin verses had gained him respect among learned men at the age of fifteen, and they are favorably noticed even by critics of our own time. He had received his early training in the monastery of Reichnau, the situation of which was well fitted to nurture a poetic genius. His masters had been Tetto and Wettin, the latter of whom was author of that terrible 'Vision of Purgatory' which left an indelible impress on the popular devotion of Christendom. From Reichnau he was sent by his superiors to study at Fulda, where he acquired a taste for historical pursuits, and is said to have assisted in the compilation of the annals of the monastery. It was out of the Fulda library that he collected the materials for his great work, the Gloss, or Commentary on the Text of Scripture, gathered from the writings of the Fathers. It received many additions and improvements from subsequent writers, and, for more than six hundred years, continued to be the most popular explanation of the Sacred text in use among theologians. Returning to Reichnau, Walafrid was appointed to the office of scholasticus, and filled it with such success as fairly to establish the reputation of that monastic school. Ermanric, one of his pupils, says of him, that to the end of his life he continued to exhibit the same delightful union of learning and simplicity which had endeared him to his masters and schoolfellows. Even after he was appointed abbot, he found his chief pleasure in study, teaching, and writing verses, and would steal away from the weightier cares of his office to take a class in his old school and expound to them a passage of Virgil. Neither old age nor busy practical duties dried up the fount of Abbot Walafrid's inspiration, and we find him in his declining years writing his poem entitled '*Hortulus*,' wherein he describes with charming freshness of imagery, the little garden blooming beneath the window of his cell, and the beauty and virtue of the different flowers which he loved to cultivate with his own hands.

Another of the Fulda scholars contemporary with those named above, was Otfried, a monk of Weissemburg, who entered with singular ardor into the study of the Tudesque dialect. Rabanus himself devoted much attention to this subject, and composed a Latin and German glossary on the books of Scripture, together with some other etymological works, among which is a curious treatise on the origin of languages. Otfried took up his master's favorite pursuits with great warmth, and the completion of Charlemagne's German grammar is thought to be in reality his work, though generally assigned to Rabanus. On retiring to his own monastery, where he was charged with the direction of the school, he continued to make the improvement of his native language the chief object of his study. A noble zeal prompted him to produce something in the vernacular idiom which should take the place of those profane songs, often of heathen origin, which had hitherto been the only production of the German muse.

The character of Rabanus may be gathered from that of his pupils. He was in every respect a true example of the monastic scholar, and took St. Bede for the model on which his own life was formed. All the time not taken up with religious duties he devoted to reading, teaching, writing, or 'feeding himself on the Divine Scriptures.' The best lesson he gave his scholars was the example of his own life, as Eginhard indicates in a letter written to his son, then studying as a novice at Fulda. 'I would have you apply to literary exercises,' he says, 'and try as far as you can to acquire the learning of your master,

whose lessons are so clear and solid. But specially imitate his holy life. . . . For grammar and rhetoric and all human sciences are vain and even injurious to the servants of God, unless by Divine grace they know how to follow the law of God; for science puffeth up, but charity buildeth up. I would rather see you dead than inflated with vice.'

Nevertheless, the career of Rabanus was far from being one of unruffled repose, and the history of his troubles presents us with a singular episode in monastic annals. The abbot Ratgar was one of those men whose activity of mind and body was a cross to every one about him. He could neither rest himself nor suffer anybody else to be quiet. The ordinary routine of life at Fulda, with its prodigious amount of daily labor, both mental and physical, did not satisfy the requirements of his peculiar organization. He had a fancy for rearranging the whole discipline of the monastery, and was specially desirous of providing himself with more splendid buildings than those which had been raised by the followers of the humble Sturm. Every one knows that the passion for building has in it a directly revolutionary element; it is synonymous with a passion for upsetting, destroying, and reducing every thing to chaos. Hence, the monks of Fulda had but an uncomfortable time of it, and what was worse, Ratgar was so eager to get his fine buildings completed, that he not only compelled his monks to work as masons, but shortened their prayers and masses, and obliged them to labor on festivals. Rabanus himself could claim no exemption; he had to exchange the pen for the trowel; and to take away all possibility of excuse, Ratgar deprived him of his books, and even of the private notes which he had made of Alcuin's lectures. Rabanus was too good a monk to protest against his change of employment, and carried his bricks and mortar as cheerfully as ever he had applied himself to a copy of Cicero; but he did not conceive it contrary to religious obedience humbly to protest against the confiscation of his papers, and attempted to soften the hard heart of his abbot with a copy of verses.

The building grievance at last grew to such a pitch, that the monks in despair appealed to Charlemagne, who summoned Ratgar to court to answer their charges, and appointed a commission of bishops and abbots to inquire into the whole matter. Their decision allayed the discord for a time, and so long as the emperor lived, Ratgar showed his monks some consideration. But no sooner was he dead than the persecution recommenced, and Rabanus, again deprived of his books and papers, seems to have consoled himself by making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The abbot, however, raised again such a storm that a new commission was appointed by the emperor (Louis). On its report, Ratgar was deposed, and Eigil, a disciple of Sturm, elected in his place. Under his gentle administration the peace of the community was restored, and Rabanus resumed his teaching, which he soon after gave up (except the Holy Scriptures), on becoming the successor of Eigil in 822. The notes of his oral instruction on the chief duties of ecclesiastics and the rites of the church were afterwards revised and arranged in the Treatise *De Institutione Clericorum*, an invaluable monument of the faith and practice of the Church in the ninth century. It treats in three books of the Sacraments, the Divine office, the feasts and fasts of the Church, and the learning necessary for ecclesiastics, concluding with instructions and rules for the guidance of preachers. On the last subject he observes that three things are necessary in order to become a good preacher;

first, to be a good man yourself, that you may be able to teach others to be so; secondly, to be skilled in the Holy Scriptures and the interpretations of the Fathers; thirdly, and above all, to prepare for the work of preaching by that of prayer. As to the studies proper to ecclesiastics, he distinctly requires them to be learned not only in the Scriptures, but also in the seven liberal arts, provided only that these are treated as the handmaids of theology, and he explains his views on this subject much in the same way as Bede had done before him. In 847, Rabanus was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Mentz, and died in 856, leaving his books to the abbeys of Fulda, and St. Alban's of Mentz.

LUPUS OF FERRIERES.

Lupus became abbot of the monastery in 856, but continued to teach and labor for his school—particularly in collecting a noble library. He took extraordinary pains in seeking for his treasures even in distant countries, in causing them to be transcribed, and sometimes in lovingly transcribing them himself. His interesting correspondence contains frequent allusions to these bibliographical researches. At one time he asks a friend to bring him the 'Wars of Catiline and of Jugurtha' by Sallust, and the 'Verrines of Cicero.' At another, he writes to Pope Benedict III., begging him to send by two of his monks, about to journey to Rome, certain books which he could not obtain in his own country, and which he promises to have speedily copied and faithfully returned. They are, the 'Commentaries of St. Jerome on Jeremias,' 'Cicero de Oratore,' the twelve books of Quintilian's Institutes, and the 'Commentary of Donatus on Terence.' With all his taste for the classics, however, Lupus had too much good sense not to see the importance of cultivating the barbarous dialects, and sent his nephew with two other noble youths to Prom, to learn the Tudesque idiom. In his school he made it his chief aim to train his pupils, not only in grammar and rhetoric, but also in the higher art of a holy life. The monastic seminaries were proverbially schools of good living as well as good learning, *recte faciendi et bene dicendi*, as Mabillon expresses it; and there was nothing that Lupus had more at heart than the inculcation of this principle, that the cultivation of head and heart must go together. 'We too often seek in study,' he writes in his epistle to the monk Ebradus, 'nothing but ornament of style; few are found who desire to acquire by its means purity of manners, which is of far greater value. We are very much afraid of vices of language, and use every effort to correct them, but we regard with indifference the vices of the heart.' His favorite Cicero had before his time lifted a warning voice against the capital error of disjoining mental from moral culture, and in the Christian system of the earlier centuries they were never regarded apart.

Lupus was not too great a scholar to condescend to labor for beginners, and drew up, for the benefit of his pupils, an abridgment of Roman history, in which he proposes the characters of Trajan and Theodosius for the study of Christian princes. He was wont to boast of his double descent from Alcuin, as being a pupil of Sigulf and Rabanus, both of them disciples of the great master. His own favorite scholar Heiric, or Henry of Auxerre, indulged in a similar morsel of scholastic pride. He had studied under both Lupus and Haimo of Halberstadt, the former schoolfellow of Rabanus, at St. Martin of Tours. Haimo seems to have lectured for some time at Ferrières, and Heiric tells us in some not inelegant verses that it was the custom of the two peda-

gogues to give their pupils a very pleasant sort of recreation, relating to them whatever they had found in the course of their reading that was worthy of remembrance, whether in Christian or Pagan authors. Heiric, who was somewhat of an intellectual glutton, and had a craving for learning of all sorts and on all imaginable subjects, made for himself a little book, in which he diligently noted down every scrap that fell from the lips of his masters. This book he subsequently published, and dedicated to Hildebold, bishop of Auxerre. Heiric himself afterwards became a man of letters; he was appointed scholasticus of St. Germain's of Auxerre, and was instrusted with the education of Lothaire, son of Charles the Bald, as we learn from the epistle addressed to that monarch which he prefixed to his Life of St. Germanus, in which he speaks of the young prince, recently dead, as in years a boy, but in mind a philosopher. Another of his pupils was the famous Remigius of Auxerre, who, towards the end of the ninth century, was summoned to Rheims by archbishop Fulk, to reëstablish sacred studies in that city, and worked there in concert with his former schoolfellow, Huchald of St. Amand, who attained a curious sort of reputation by his poem on bald men, each line of which began with the letter C, the whole being intended as a compliment to Charles the Bald. Fulk himself became their first pupil, and after thoroughly restoring the school of Rheims, Remigius passed on to Paris, where we shall have occasion to notice him among the teachers of the tenth century. From his time the schools of Paris continued to increase in reputation and importance till they developed into the great university which may thus be distinctly traced through a pedigree of learned men up to the great Alcuin himself. This genealogy of pedagogues is of no small interest, as showing the efforts made in the worst of times to keep alive the spark of science, and the persistence with which, in spite of civil wars and Norman invasions, the scholastic traditions of Alcuin were maintained.

PASCHASIUS RADPERT OF OLD CORBY.

The school attached to the monastery of Corby (under Adalhard, a prince of the blood royal), was chosen by Charlemagne for the training of Saxon youth to act as missionaries on their return to their own country. The master chosen for the task of rearing these future missionaries was Paschasius Radpert, one of the most remarkable men of his time. Originally of very humble birth, he owed his education to the charity of the nuns of Soissons, who first received the desolate child into their own out-quarters, and then sent him to some monks in the same city, under whose tuition he acquired a fair amount of learning, and addicted himself to the study of Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Terence. He never forgot the kindness of his early benefactresses, and in after years dedicated his Treatise on the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin to the good nuns, styling himself therein their *alumnus*, or foster-son.

After receiving the tonsure in early youth, Paschasius, whose tastes for Terence and Cicero rather predominated at that time over his relish for more sacred studies, abandoned his first inclination for the cloister, and lived for some years a secular life. Touched at last by divine grace, he entered the abbey of Old Corby, and there made his profession under the abbot Adalhard. All the ardor he had previously shown in the pursuit of profane literature he now applied to the study of the Divine Scriptures. Yet he only devoted to

study of any kind those 'furtive hours,' as he calls them, which he was able to steal from the duties of regular discipline, and was never seen so happy as when engaged in the choral office or the meaner occupations of community life. Such, then, was the master chosen by Adalhard for the responsible office of scholasticus, and a very minute account is left us of his manner of discharging its duties. Every day he delivered lectures on the sacred sciences, besides preaching to the monks on Sundays and Festivals. His thorough familiarity with the best Latin authors appears from the frequent allusions to them which occur in his writings. Quotations from the classic poets drop from his pen, as it were, half unconsciously, and we are told that he continued to keep up his acquaintance with them, so far as was necessary for teaching others. But his own study was now chiefly confined to the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers; and among the latter, his favorites were St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, Bede, and St. Gregory the Great. 'He did not approve,' says his biographer, 'of the diligence displayed by some men of the time in explaining and meditating on profane authors. In a passage which occurs in the preface to his exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, he blames those lovers of secular learning 'who seek various and divers expounders' that so they may attain to the understanding of beautiful lies concerning shameful things, and who will not pass over—I do not say a single page, but a single line or syllable, without thoroughly investigating it, with the utmost labor and vigilance, while at the same time they utterly neglect the Sacred Scriptures.

Few were more keenly alive than he to the charms of polite literature, neither did he at all condemn its use within proper limits, even among cloistered students. It would, indeed, have been a difficult matter to have eradicated the love of the beautiful from the heart of Paschasius. He possessed it in every shape, and was not merely a poet, but a musician also. In one of his writings he lets fall an observation which might be taken for a prose rendering of a verse of Shelley's, although the Christian scholar goes beyond the infidel poet, and does not merely describe the sentiment which all have felt, but traces it to its proper source. Shelley complains that—

Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught;
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.

Paschasius explains the mystery: 'There is no song to be found without a tone of sadness in it; even as here below there are no joys without a mixture of sorrow; for songs of pure joy belong only to the heavenly Sion, but lamentation is the property of our earthly pilgrimage.' His musical tastes were perfectly shared and understood by his master St. Adalhard, whose sensibility to the influence of melodious sounds is spoken of by his biographer, Gerard. Even during his residence at the court of Charlemagne, it is said of him that 'he was always so full of a sweet intention towards God, that if while assisting at the royal council he heard the sound of some chance melody, he had it not in his power to refrain from tears, for all sweet music seemed to remind him of his heavenly country.' In fact, it can not be denied that the men of the dark ages had a singular susceptibility of temperament, and that the monastic type in particular exhibited a remarkable union of strength with tenderness, of practical sense with poetic sensibility.

The importance they attached to music as an essential branch of education

is not, however, to be attributed so much to any peculiar sensitiveness of organization as to the fact that they inherited the traditions of the ancients, and with them had learned to look on music as a science intimately associated with the knowledge of divine things. They were the true descendants of those holy fathers of olden time, concerning whom the Son of Sirach tells us that 'they sought out musical tunes and published Canticles of the Scriptures, and were rich in virtue, studying beautifulness, and living at peace in their houses.'

The narrative of the early English schools which counted it their chief glory to have been instructed in sacred chant by a Roman choir master, will sufficiently have illustrated the fact that music held a very prominent place in the system of education which held sway in the early centuries; and the theory on which this high esteem was based will nowhere be found better explained than in the writings of Rabanus. 'Musical discipline,' he says, 'is so noble and useful a thing, that without it no one can properly discharge the ecclesiastical office. For whatsoever in reading is correctly pronounced, and whatsoever in chanting is sweetly modulated, is regulated by a knowledge of this discipline; and by it we not only learn how to read and sing in the church, but also rightly perform every rite in the divine service. Moreover, the discipline of music is diffused through all the acts of our life. For when we keep the commandments of God, and observe His law, it is certain that our words and acts are associated by musical rhythm with the virtues of harmony. If we observe a good conversation, we prove ourselves associated with this discipline; but when we act sinfully, we have in us no music.'

ANSCHARIUS OF NEW CORBY.

Anscharius was one of those chosen to colonize the monastery of New Corby, the mention of which requires a few words of explanation. The foundation of this daughter-house was the great work of St. Adalhard, who so soon as his young Saxons were sufficiently trained in learning and monastic discipline, consulted them on the possibilities of their obtaining a suitable site for a foundation in their native land. After many difficulties had been raised and overcome, ground was procured, and the building of the abbey was begun. Adalhard repaired thither to superintend operations in company with Paschasius and his own brother Wala, who, brought up like himself as a soldier and courtier, had in former years held military command in Saxony, and won the affections of the people by his wise and gentle rule. When the Saxons saw their old governor among them again in the monastic habit, nothing could exceed their wonder and delight; they ran after him in crowds, looking at him, and feeling him with their hands to satisfy themselves that it was really he, paying no attention whatever to the presence of the abbot of any other of his companions. The first stone of the new abbey was laid on September 26, 822; Old Corby made over to the new colony all the lands held by the community in Saxony; the Emperor Louis gave them a charter, and some precious relics from his private chapel, and in a few years that great seminary was completed which was destined to carry the light of faith and science to the pagan natives of the farther north. It would be hard to say which of the two Corbies held the highest place in monastic history; a noble emulation existed between them, each trying to outstrip the other in the perfection of monastic discipline. New Corby, in her turn, became the mother-house of a vast number of German colonies.

ST. BRUNO AT COLOGNE. *

ST. BRUNO was the younger brother of the Emperor, Otho the Great, and like him a pupil of Heraclius of Liege. His education began at Utrecht, where he was sent at the mature age of four to commence his studies under the good abbot Baldric. Utrecht had never entirely lost its scholastic reputation since the days of St. Gregory. Only a few years before the birth of Bruno, the see had been filled by St. Radbod, a great-grandson of that other Radbod, duke of Orieeland, who had so fiercely opposed the preaching of St. Boniface. Radbod the bishop, however, was a very different man from his savage ancestor; he was not only a pious ecclesiastic, but an excellent scholar, for he had been educated in the Palatine school of Charles the Bald, under the learned Mannon, whose heart he won by his facility in writing verses, and the cares of the episcopate never induced him altogether to neglect the Muses. Besides a great number of poems which he wrote during his residence at Utrecht, we have a Latin epigram, which he improvised at the moment of receiving the Holy Viaticum, and which is perhaps as worthy of being preserved as the dying epigram of the Emperor Hadrian.*

Esuries Te, Christe Deus, sitis atque videndi
Jam modo carnales me vetat esse dapes.
Da mihi Te vesci, Te potum haurire salutis,
Unicus ignotæ Tu cibus esto viæ;
Et quem longa fames errantem ambedit in orbe
Hunc satia vultu, Patris Imago, Tuo.

In consequence of the encouragement given to learning by so many of its bishops, Utrecht became the fashionable place of education, and it had grown a sort of custom with the German sovereigns to send their sons thither at an early age. Little Bruno made rapid progress both in Greek and Latin literature; he particularly relished the works of Prudentius, which he learnt by heart; never let himself be disturbed by his noisy companions, and took great care of his books. Indeed, the only thing that ever moved him to anger was the sight of any one negligently handling a book. His reading included something of all sorts; historians, orators, poets, and philosophers—nothing came amiss. He had native Greeks to instruct him in their language, and became so proficient in it as afterwards to act as interpreter for his brother to the Greek ambassador who frequented the German court. With all this he did not neglect the sacred sciences, and a certain Isaac, a Scotch, or rather Irish professor, who taught at Utrecht, spoke of him as not merely a scholar, but a saint. The monk Ditmar, one of his school-fellows, himself afterwards celebrated in the literary world by his chronicle of the royal house of Saxony, bears witness to the habits of piety which adorned the very childhood of the young prince. 'Every morning,' he says, 'before he left his room to go to the school, he would be at his prayers, while the rest of us were at play.' A certain tone of exaggeration is not unfrequently indulged in by early writers when extolling the subjects of their biographies as prodigies of every literary excellence, but the description left us of Bruno's intellectual achievements does not admit of being understood as mere figures of speech. His love of reading was almost a passion. He read every thing, 'even comedies,' says his biographer, who seems a little scandalized at the fact, but explains that he attended only to the style, and neglected the matter. To complete the picture

* Christian Schools and Scholars, Vol. I., p. 346.

of Bruno's school-days, it must be added that he was an excellent manager of his time, and always made the most of his morning hours, a good habit he retained through life. I will say nothing of his early career as the reformer of Lauresheim Abbey; he was still young when his brother Otho succeeded to the throne, and at once summoned Bruno to Court, charging him with the task of erecting there a Palatine academy, after the model of that of Charlemagne. Nothing was better suited to Bruno's wishes and capacity, and he began at once to teach the entire curriculum of the liberal arts to a crowd of noble pupils. Whatever was most beautiful in the historians and poets of Greece or Rome, he made known to his disciples, and not content with the labor entailed on him by his own lectures, he did not allow the professors whom he chose to assist him, to commence theirs till he had previously conferred with them on the subjects they were about to explain.

In 953, Bruno, in spite of his youth, was demanded by the clergy and people of Cologne for their archbishop, and being consecrated, he at once entered on a career of gigantic labors, everywhere re-establishing ecclesiastical discipline and social order throughout a province long wasted by war and barbaric invasions. His political position, moreover, imposed on him yet more extensive cares; for Otho, who called him his second soul, when summoned into Italy, created his brother duke of Lorraine, and imperial lieutenant in Germany. The dukedom of Lorraine at that time included all the country from the Alps to the Moselle, which now, therefore, acknowledged Bruno as its actual sovereign. But these multiplied dignities and the accumulation of business which they entailed, did not quench Bruno's love of study. Whenever he traveled, whether in the visitation of his diocese, or when accompanying his brother's court, he always carried his library with him, 'as if it had been the ark of the Lord,' says the monk Rotger, who, moreover, remarks that this library was stored both with sacred and profane authors, for, like a good householder, he knew how to bring out of his treasury things new and old. Nothing ever prevented his finding time for reading, and he excited every one about him to cultivate similar tastes, specially his nephew Otho, who was for some time his pupil. Indeed, Rotger goes so far as to say that the archbishop felt a certain want of confidence in those who had no attraction to study; meaning probably to those unlettered clerks, who cared not to acquire the learning proper to their sacred calling. Of these there was no lack in Lorraine; but Bruno effected a great change in the condition of that afflicted province, by appointing good bishops, healing feuds, reforming monasteries, and making men love one another in spite of themselves. In all these good works he was assisted by the learning and martial valor of Ansfrid, count of Lorraine, who was well read both in law and Scripture, and who used his sword exclusively to repress pillage, and defend the helpless. This feudal noble of the Iron Age spent all his leisure hours in study, and when at last he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and at the entreaties of the emperor accepted a bishopric, he was able to lay his sword on the altar, and render witness that it had never been drawn in an unjust cause.

BOPPO OF WURTZBURG.—WOLFGANG.

Bruno's example made a great stir in Germany, and moved many bishops to exert themselves in the work of reform. Boppo, bishop of Wurtzburg, sent to Rome for a celebrated master named Stephen, and with his help the episcopal

seminary was restored, and soon boasted of a 'crowd of students, and a great store of books.' Among other pupils educated under Master Stephen were two friends, named Wolfgang and Henry. Wolfgang was a student of Bruno's type, possessing an avidity for all sorts of learning; and though he began his school life at seven, he is said in a few years not only to have acquired an extensive acquaintance with the letter of the Scriptures, but to have penetrated into the pith and marrow of their mystical sense. His father had thought it sufficient to place him under a certain priest, to receive a very scanty elementary education, but Wolfgang entreated that he might be sent to Reichenau, which then enjoyed a high reputation; and here he first met with his friend Henry. Henry was the younger brother of Bishop Boppo, and easily persuaded Wolfgang to migrate with him to Wurtzberg, for the sake of studying under the famous Master Stephen. It soon appeared, however, that the disciple was more learned than the master, and when the Wurtzburg students found Master Stephen's lectures very dull, or very obscure, they were in the habit of applying to Wolfgang, who possessed that peculiar gift of perspicacity which marked him from his boyhood as called to the functions of teaching. Moreover, he was so kind, and so willing to impart his knowledge, that his companions declared he made daylight out of the darkest matters; when Stephen's prosy abstruseness had fairly mystified them, five words from Wolfgang seemed like the *Fiat lux*, and these observations reaching the ears of Stephen, had the proverbial fate of all comparisons. At last, one day, when Wolfgang was surrounded by a knot of his school-fellows, who entreated him to expound a passage in Marcian Capella, Master Stephen, moved to jealous anger, forbade Wolfgang any longer to attend the lectures. This ungenerous command obliged him to continue his studies alone, but he seems to have lost little by being deprived of the benefit of an instructor, whom he had already far outstripped in learning.

Henry and Boppo were both of them relatives of Otho, who, in 956, caused the former to be raised to the archbishopric of Treves. Henry insisted on carrying his friend with him into his new diocese, and wished to load him with benefices and honors, all of which, however, Wolfgang refused. He would accept of no other employment than that of teaching youth, for which he knew his aptitude, and which he heartily loved; and, in the true spirit of a Christian teacher, he chose to discharge this office gratuitously, not as a means of private gain, but as a work for souls, even supporting many of his scholars out of his own purse. He cared as much for their spiritual as their intellectual progress, and set them the example of a holy and mortified life. The archbishop, is despair at not being able to promote him as he desired, at last got him to accept the office of dean to a certain college of canons. Wolfgang did not allow the dignity to be a nominal one, but obliged his canons to embrace community life, and to commence a course of sacred studies, assuring them that the sustenance of the inner man is as necessary as that of the body. Archbishop Henry dying in 964, Wolfgang, who had only remained at Treves out of affection to him, prepared to return into Swabia, which was his native country. But Bruno had his eye on him, and inviting him to Cologne, offered him every dignity, even the episcopate itself, if he would only remain in his duchy. Wolfgang, though he persisted in refusing to accept any promotion, felt himself obliged to pass some time at the prince-bishop's court, and testified afterwards

to the fact of his great sanctity. Finding that he could not move the resolution of his friend, Bruno at last reluctantly allowed him to return to Swabia, where he remained only just long enough formally to renounce his hereditary possessions, after which he withdrew to Einsidlen, and took the monastic habit under the English abbot Gregory.

ST. UDALRIC OF AUGSBURGH.

Udalric was a scholar of St. Gall's, and had given marks of sanctity even during his school days. A minute account of his manner of life when archbishop, is given in the beautiful life written by his friend Gerard. Let it suffice to say, that besides singing the Divine Office in the cathedral with his canons, and daily celebrating two or three masses (a privilege then permitted to priests, as we learn from Walafrid Strabo), he every day recited the entire Psalter, the Office of our lady, together with that of the Holy Cross, and of All Saints; that he entertained a number of poor persons at his table, exercised hospitality on a right loyal scale, administered strict justice to his people, and courageously defended them against the oppression of their feudal lords; finally, that he took particular care of the education of his clergy, and directed the studies of his cathedral school in person, none being better fitted to do so than himself. When he made the visitation of his diocese, he traveled in a wagon drawn by oxen, which he preferred to riding on horseback, as it enabled him to recite the Psalms with his chaplains with less interruption. In this arrangement he certainly displayed a sound discretion, for in the ancient chronicles of these times, more than one story is preserved of the disasters which befell traveling monks and bishops, owing to their habit of reading on horseback. His cathedral city of Augsburgh was repeatedly attacked by the Huns; and during one of their sieges, the holy bishop, sending the able-bodied men to the walls, collected all the infants in arms whom he could find, and laying them on the floor of the cathedral, before the altar, prostrated himself in prayer, hoping that their tender cries might ascend as prayer before the Throne of God. His prayers were heard, and Augsburgh was delivered. Such was the prelate who at last succeeded in drawing Wolfgang out of his retirement, and compelling him to receive priestly ordination. And in 972 the Emperor Otho II., at the united entreaties of his bishops, appointed him Bishop of Ratisbon, which he governed for twenty-two years, never, however, laying aside his monastic habit. Henry, duke of Bavaria, thoroughly understood his merits, and knowing his love of the office of teaching, entreated him to take charge of his four children, St. Henry, afterwards emperor of Germany, St. Bruno, who succeeded Udalric in the diocese of Augsburgh, and the two princesses, Gisela and Brigit, who both died in the odor of sanctity. The singular blessing which attended his labor with these and other noble children committed to his care, gave rise to a proverb which deserves remembrance: 'Find saints for masters, and we shall have saints for emperors.'

ST. BERNWARD OF HILDESHEIM.

Emperor Otho II. was brought up among the canons of Hildesheim, and acquired there a taste for letters, which was still further increased by his marriage with the Greek princess Theophania, who was brought up at Constantinople, then the center of all that remained of the old imperial civilization. She

infused into the court circle a rage for Greek literature, and Gerbert speaks in one of his letters of the "Socratic conversation" which he found among the learned men who thronged the company of the empress. As guardian of the young Emperor Otho III., she secured the services, as tutor, of a noble Saxon named Bernward. He was nephew to Folcmar, bishop of Utrecht, who sent him when a child of seven years old to be educated in the episcopal school of Hildesheim, by the grave and holy master Tangmar. This good old man, who afterwards wrote his life, received him kindly, and to test his capacities, set him to learn by heart some of the select passages from Holy Scripture which were usually given to beginners. Little Bernward set himself to learn and meditate on them with wonderful ardor, and associating himself to the most studious of his companions, tried with their help thoroughly to master, not only the words, but the hidden sense of his lessons. As he was not yet judged old enough to join any of the classes, he sat apart by himself, but listened attentively to the lecture of the master, and the explanations which he gave, and was afterwards found reproducing the same in a grave and sententious manner for the edification of his younger school-fellows. Surprised and delighted at these marks of precocious genius, Tangmar spared no pains in the cultivation of so promising a scholar, and had him constantly by his side. 'Whenever I went abroad on the business of the monastery,' he says, 'I used to take him with me, and I was always more and more struck by his excellent qualities. We often studied the whole day as we rode along on horseback, only more briefly than we were used to do in school; at one time exercising ourselves in poetry, and amusing ourselves by making verses, at another, arguing on philosophic questions. He excelled no less in the mechanical than in the liberal arts. He wrote a beautiful hand, was a good painter, and an equally good sculptor and worker in metals, and had a peculiar aptitude for all things appertaining to household and domestic affairs.' Under the care of so devoted a master, the boy Bernward, as the old man always called him, grew up to be a wise and learned man. He had that singular ardour for acquiring knowledge which seems one of the gifts poured out over ages in which its pursuit is hedged about with difficulties that must necessarily discourage a more ordinary amount of zeal. Bernward always read during meal times, and when unable to read himself, he got some one to read to him. His reputation determined Theophania to choose him as tutor to her son, who made great progress under his care, and was then sent to finish his education in the school of the famous Gerbert. Bernward meanwhile was appointed bishop of Hildesheim, and in the midst of his episcopal functions, continued to cultivate literature and the fine arts. He made time by employing the day in business and the night in prayer. He founded scriptoria in many monasteries, and collected a valuable library of sacred and profane authors. He tried to bring to greater perfection the arts of painting, mosaic work, and metal work, and made a valuable collection of all those curiosities of fine art which were brought to Otho's court as presents from foreign princes. This collection Bernward used as a studio, for the benefit of a number of youths whom he brought up and instructed in these pursuits. It is not to be said what he did for his own cathedral, supplying it with jeweled missals, thuribles, and chalices, a huge golden corona which hung from the center of the roof, and other like ornaments. The walls he painted with his own hands. The visitor to Hildesheim may still admire the rich

bronze gates, sixteen feet in height, placed in the cathedral by its artist-bishop, the crucifix adorned with filagree-work and jewels, made by his own hands, and the old rose-tree growing on the cloister, which tradition affirms him to have planted.

His manner of life is minutely described by his old tutor Tangmar. After high mass every morning he gave audience to any who desired to speak to him, heard causes, and administered justice with great readiness and promptitude. Then his almoner waited on him, and accompanied him to the distribution of his daily alms, for every day a hundred poor persons were fed and relieved at his palace. After this he went the round of his workshops, overlooking each one's work and directing its progress. At the hour of nine he dined with his clerks. There was no worldly pomp observable at his table, but a religious silence, all being required to listen to the reading, which was made aloud.

BENNON, BISHOP OF MISNIA—ST. MEINWERC OF PADERBORN.

Bishop Bennon of Misnia belonged to the family of the counts of Saxony, and was placed under the care of St. Bernward at five years of age. The restored monastery of Hildesheim, dedicated to St. Michael, of course possessed its school, which was presided over by Wigger, a very skillful master, under whose careful tuition Bennon thrived apace. 'Now as the age was learned,' writes the good canon Jerome Enser—who little thought in what light that same age would come to be regarded—'as the age was learned, and cultivated humane letters, as may be seen by the lives and writings of so many eminent men, Wigger would not allow the child committed to his care to neglect polite letters;' so he set him to work at once to learn to write, being careful to transcribe his copies himself. And how well Bennon profited from these early lessons might yet be seen by any who chose to examine the fine specimens which were preserved in the Church of Misnia when Jerome Enser wrote his biography. After this Wigger exercised his pupil in the art of reading, and that of composing verses, taking care to remove from his way every thing offensive to piety or modesty. Bennon had a natural gift of versification, and soon learnt to write little hymns and poems by way of amusement. His progress and his boyish verses endeared him to his masters, and indeed, adds Jerome, 'he was beloved by God and man.' None showed him more affection than St. Bernward, who was now overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age, though his mind was as bright and active as ever. During the last five years of his life he was entirely confined to his bed, and all this time little Bennon proved his chief solace. Sometimes he read aloud to his beloved father. Sometimes he made verses, or held disputations to entertain him; never would he leave his side, discharging for him all the offices of which his youth was capable. When at last death drew near, Bernward called the child to him together with his master Wigger, and addressed to him a touching exhortation. 'If by reason of thy tender age,' he said, 'thou canst not thyself be wise, promise me never to depart from the side of thy preceptor that he may be wise for thee, and that so thou mayest be preserved from the corruptions of the world whilst thy heart is yet soft and tender. Yea, if thou lovest me, love and obey him in all things, as holding the place of thy father.' Then he kissed the child's little hand, and placed it in that of Wigger, and soon after departed this life, rich in good works, and secure of a heavenly reward.

St. Meinwerc, who like Bennon was a pupil of Hildesheim, where he studied along with his cousin St. Henry of Bavaria, and the prince, even after be became emperor, remembered their school-boy days together, and was fond of putting him in mind of them by sundry tricks that savored of the grown-up school-boy. Meinwerc was not much of a scholar himself, but when he became bishop of Paderborn, he showed a laudable zeal in promoting good scholarship among his clergy. In fact, he was the founder of those famous schools of Paderborn which are described as flourishing in divine and human science, and which were perfected by his nephew and successor, Imadeus. The boys were all under strict cloisteral discipline; there were professors of grammar, logic, rhetoric, and music; both the trivium and quadrivium were there taught, together with mathematics, physics, and astronomy.

ST. ADALBERT OF PRAGUE.

St. Adalbert of Prague was sent to Magdeburg by his parents for education. They were of the Bohemian nation, and had vowed to offer their son to God, should he recover of a dangerous sickness. Before he left his father's house he had learnt the Psalter, and under Otheric, the famous master then presiding over the school of Magdeburg, he made as much progress in sanctity as in learning. He had a habit of stealing away from the school-room in the midst of his studies to refresh his soul with a brief prayer in the church, after which he hastened back and was safe in his place again before the coming of his master. To conceal his acts of charity from the eyes of others, he chose the night hours for visiting the poor, and dispensing his abundant alms. It often happened that when Otheric was out of the school, the boys would divert themselves with games more or less mischievous, to relieve the weary hours of study. Adalbert seldom took part in these pastimes, neither would he share in those stealthy little feasts, which they sometimes held in obscure corners, where they contrived to hide from Otheric's quick eye the sweets and other dainties furnished them, as we must suppose, by some medieval tart-woman. However, if Adalbert was proof against this last-named temptation, it appears he was not altogether superior to the love of play, and that when his master's back was turned, he did occasionally throw aside his books and indulge in a game of ball. When such delinquencies came to the ears of Otheric, he did not spare the rod, and on these occasions, observes his biographer, with cruel pleasantry, Adalbert was often known to speak in three languages. For it was a strict rule that the boys were always to talk Latin in the school-room, and never allow the ears of their master to catch the sound of a more barbarous dialect. When the rod was produced, therefore, Adalbert would begin by entreating indulgence in classic phraseology, but so soon as it was applied, he would call out for mercy in German, and finally in Sclavonic. After nine years' study at Magdeburg, Adalbert returned to Bohemia, with the reputation of being specially well read in philosophy, and taking with him a useful library of books, which he had collected during his college career. After his consecration as bishop of Prague, at the early age of twenty-seven, he is said never again to have been seen to smile. Twice the hard-heartedness of his people compelled him to abandon his diocese, and after his departure the second time, he traveled as missioner into the then heathen and barbarous provinces of Prussia, where he met with his martyrdom in the year 997. A Sclavonic hymn formerly sung by the Poles when going into battle, is attributed to this saint.

OTHLONUS OF ST. EMMERAN.

Othlonus was a Bavarian by birth, and his first school was that of Tegernsee, in Bavaria, a monastery which had been founded in 994, and was famous for its teachers *in utrâque linguâ* and even for its Hebrew scholars. Here, in the twefth century, lived the good monk Metellus, whose eclogues, written in imitation of those of Virgil, describe the monastic pastures and cattle, and the labors of the monks in the fields. The library of Tegernsee was rich in classic works, and possessed a fair illuminated copy of Pliny's 'Natural History,' adorned with pictures of the different animals, from the cunning hand of brother Ellinger. Medicine was likewise studied here, to facilitate which, the monks had a good botanical garden. In such a school Othlonus had every opportunity of cultivating his natural taste for study, which grew by degrees to be a perfect passion. As a child he had intended to embrace the monastic state, but the persuasions of his father, and his own desire to give himself up exclusively to learned pursuits, induced him to abandon this design, and after leaving school he devoted himself for several years to classical studies, with an ardor which his biographer finds no words strong enough to express.

His only earthly desire at this time, as he himself tells us in one of his later spiritual treatises, was to have time to study, and abundance of books. It would seem, however, that this excessive devotion to human learning had its usual results in the decay of devotion. It is thus he describes himself at this period of his life, in his versified treatise 'De doctrina Spirituali.' 'Desiring to search into certain subtle matters, in the knowledge of which I saw that many delighted, to the end that I might be held in greater esteem by the world, I made all my profit to consist in keeping company with the Gentiles. In those days what were not to me Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and Tully the rhetorician? . . . that threefold work of Maro, and Lucan, whom then I loved best of all, and on whom I was so intent, that I hardly did any thing else but read him. . . Yet what profit did they give me, when I could not even sign my forehead with the cross?'

However, two severe illnesses wrought a great change in his way of looking at life, and in 1032, remembering his early dedication of himself to God, he resolved to forsake the world and take the habit of religion in the monastery of St. Emmeran's, at Ratisbon, where he gave up all thoughts of secular ambition, in order to devote himself heart and soul to the duties of his state. St. Emmeran's was, like Tegernsee, possessed of an excellent school and library. In the former, many good scholars were reared, such as abbot William of Hirschau, who became as learned in the liberal arts as in the study of the Scriptures, and who afterwards made his own school at Hirschau one of the most celebrated in Germany. Othlonus tells us that in this monastery he found 'several men in different classes, some reading pagan authors, others the Holy Scriptures,' and that he began to imitate the latter, and soon learnt to relish the Sacred Books, which he had hitherto neglected, far above the writings of Aristotle, Plato, or even Boëthius.

It will be seen from this little sketch that Othlonus was not a mere transcriber, and indeed he afterwards produced several treatises on mystic theology besides his 'Life of St. Wolfgang,' and was regarded by his brother monks as

'a pious and austere man, possessed of an immense love of books.' This love he showed not only by reading them, but by multiplying them; and his achievements in this kind are related by himself with a certain prolix eloquence which, in mercy to the reader, I will somewhat abridge.

'I think it right,' he says, 'to add some account of the great capacity of writing which was given me by the Lord from my childhood. When as yet a little child I was sent to school, and quickly learned my letters; and began long before the usual time of learning, and without any order from the master, to learn the art of writing; but in a furtive and unusual way, and without any teacher, so that I got a bad habit of holding my pen in a wrong manner, nor were any of my teachers afterwards able to correct me in that point. Many who saw this, decided that I should never write well, but by the grace of God it turned out otherwise. For, even in my childhood, when, together with the other boys, the tablet was put into my hands, it appeared that I had some notion of writing. Then after a time I began to write so well and was so fond of it that in the monastery of Tegernsee, where I learned, I wrote many books, and being sent into Franconia, I worked so hard as nearly to lose my sight. . . . Then, after I became a monk of St. Emmeran's, I was induced again to occupy myself so much in writing, that I seldom got an interval of rest except on festivals. Meantime there came more work on me, for as they saw I was generally reading, writing, or composing, they made me schoolmaster; by all which things I was, through God's grace, so fully occupied that I frequently could not allow my body the necessary rest. When I had a mind to compose any thing I could not find time for it, except on holidays or at night, being tied down to the business of teaching the boys, and transcribing what I had undertaken. Besides the books which I composed myself I wrote nineteen missals, three books of the Gospels, and two lectionaries; besides which I wrote four service books for matins. Afterwards, old age and infirmity hindered me, and the grief caused by the destruction of our monastery; but to Him who is author of all good, and Who has vouchsafed to give many things to me unworthy, be praise eternal.' He then adds an account of a vast number of other books written out by him and sent as presents to the monasteries of Fulda, Hirschfeld, Lorsch, Tegernsee, and others, amounting in all to thirty volumes. His labors, so cheerfully undertaken for the improvement of his convent, were perhaps surpassed by those of the monk Jerome, who wrote out so great a number of volumes, that it is said a wagon with six horses would not have sufficed to draw them. But neither one nor the other are to be compared to Diemudis, a devout nun of the monastery of Wessobrun, who, besides writing out in clear and beautiful characters five missals, with graduals and sequences attached, and four other office books, for the use of the church, adorned the library of her convent with two entire Bibles, eight volumes of St. Gregory, seven of St. Augustine, the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius and Cassiodorus, and a vast number of sermons, homilies, and other treatises, a list of which she left, as having all been written by her own hand, to the praise of God, and of the holy apostles SS. Peter and Paul. This Diemudis was a contempory of Othlonus, and found time in the midst of her gigantic labors to carry on a correspondence with Herluca, a nun of Eppach, to whom she is said to have indited 'many very sweet letters,' which were long preserved.

WILLIAM OF HIRSCHAU.

William of Herschau, a scholar of St. Emmeran, was chosen abbot of his monastery in 1070, and applied himself to make his monks as learned and as indefatigable in all useful labors as he was himself. He had about 250 monks at Hirschau, and founded no fewer than fifteen other religious houses, for the government of which he drew up a body of excellent statutes. These new foundations he carefully supplied with books, which necessitated constant work in the scriptorium. And a most stately and noble place was the scriptorium of Hirschau, wherein each one was employed according to his talent, binding, painting, gilding, writing, or correcting. The twelve best writers were reserved for transcribing the Scriptures and the Holy Fathers, and one of the twelve, most learned in the sciences, presided over the tasks of the others, chose the books to be copied, and corrected the faults of the younger scribes. The art of painting was studied in a separate school, and here, among others, was trained the good monk Thiemon, who, after decorating half the monasteries of Germany with the productions of his pencil, became archbishop of Saltzburg, and died in odor of sanctity. The statutes with which abbot William provided his monasteries, were chiefly drawn up from those in use at St. Emmeran's, but he was desirous of yet further improving them, and in particular of assimilating them to those of Cluny, which was then at the height of its renown. It was at his request that St. Ulric of Cluny wrote out his 'Customary,' in which, among other things, he gives a description of the manner in which the Holy Scriptures were read through in the refectory in the course of the year. This 'Customary' is one of the most valuable monuments of monastic times which remains to us; it shows us the interior of the monastery painted by the hand of one of its inmates, taking us through each office, the library, the infirmary, the sacristy, the bakehouse, the kitchen, and the school. How beautiful is the order which it displays, as observed in choir, where, on solemn days, all the singers stood vested in copes, the very seats being covered with embroidered tapestry! Three days in the week the right side of the choir communicated, and the other three the left; during Holy Week they washed the feet of as many poor as there were brethren in the house, and the abbot added others also to represent absent friends. When the Passion was sung, they had a custom of tearing a piece of stuff at the words 'they parted my garments;' and the new fire of Holy Saturday was struck, not from a flint, but a precious beryl. There were numberless beautiful rites of benediction observed, as that of the ripe grapes, which were blessed on the altar during mass, on the 6th of August, and afterwards distributed in the refectory, of new beans, and of the freshly-pressed juice of the grape. The ceremonies observed in making the altar breads were also most worthy of note. The grains of wheat were chosen one by one, were carefully washed and put aside in a sack, which was carried by one known to be pure in life and conversation to the mill. There they were ground and sifted, he who performed this duty being clothed in alb and amice. Two priests and two deacons clothed in like manner prepared the breads, and a lay brother, having gloves on his hands, held the irons in which they were baked. The very wood of the fire was chosen of the best and driest. And whilst these processes were being gone through, the brethren engaged ceased not to sing psalms, or sometimes recited Our Lady's office. A separate

chapter in the 'Customary' is devoted to the children and their master, and the discipline under which they were trained is minutely described. We seem to see them seated in their cloister with the vigilant eye of the master presiding over their work. An open space is left between the two rows of scholars, but there is no one in the monastery who dare pass through their ranks. They go to confession twice a week, and always to the abbot or the prior. And such is the scrupulous care bestowed on their education, and the vigilance to which they are subjected, both by day and night, that, says Ulric, 'I think it would be difficult for a king's son to be brought up in a palace with greater care than the humblest boy enjoys at Cluny.'

This 'Customary' was drawn up during the government of St. Hugh of Cluny, whose letter to William the Conqueror displays something of the independence of mind with which abbots of those days treated the great ones of the earth. William had written to him requesting him to send some of his monks to England, and offering him a hundred pounds for every monk he would send. This method of buying up his monks at so much a head, offended the good abbot, who wrote back to the king declining to part with any of his community at such a price, and adding that he would himself give an equal sum for every good monk whom he could draw to Cluny. During the sixty-two years that he governed his abbey, he is said to have professed more than 10,000 subjects. Enough has been said to show that the monastic institute was still strong and vigorous in the 11th century. Cluny, indeed, represented monasticism rather in its magnificence than in the more evangelic aspect of poverty and abasement, yet in the midst of all her lordly splendor, she continued fruitful in saints. Even the austere St. Peter Damian, whilst he disapproved of the wealth of the monks, was edified at their sanctity, and left them, marveling how men so rich could live so holily. Their revenues were not spent on luxury; they went to feed 17,000 poor people, and to collect a library of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew authors, such as had not its equal in Europe. It contained among other treasures a certain Bible, called in the chronicle, 'great, wonderful, and precious for its writing, correctness, and rich binding, adorned with beryl stones,' written by the single hand of the monk Andrew.

MARIANUS SCOTUS.

Marianus Scotus, for whose nativity may localities contend (he was called an Irishman,* a Scot, and a Northumbrian), died in the eleventh century, having been successively monk in the abbeys of Cologne, Fulda, and Mayence, and professor of theology some years in that of Ratisbon. He was a poet, and the author of a Chronicle frequently quoted as one of the best mediæval histories, and continued by later writers. His biographers say of him that his countenance was so beautiful, and his manners so simple, that no one doubted he was inspired in all he said and did by the Holy Ghost. A most indefatigable writer, he transcribed the whole Bible with sundry commentaries, and that not

* It may be taken as tolerably well proved, however, that he was really an Irishman, and he is supposed to have been a monk of Clonard. Contemporary with him was another famous Irish historian, Tigernach, abbot of Clonmacnoise, who wrote his chronicle partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and is held to have been well acquainted with Greek. The Irish scholars highly distinguished themselves in this century. There was an Irish monastery at Erford, and another at Cologne, into which Helias, a monk of Moneghan, on returning from a visit to Rome, introduced the Roman chant. (Lanigan, Ecc. Hist. c. xxiv.)

once but repeatedly. Moreover he drew out of the deep sea of the holy fathers, certain sweet waters for the profit of his soul, which he collected in prolix volumes. With all this he found spare moments which he devoted to charitable labors on behalf of poor widows, clerks, and scholars, for whose benefit he multiplied psalters, manuals, and other pious little books, which he distributed to them free of cost for the remedy of his soul. Who will refuse to believe that such loving toils as these were found worthy to receive the miraculous token of favor related in the old legend? 'One night,' says the annalist, 'the brother whose duty it was, having forgotten to give him candles, Marianus, nevertheless continued his work without them; and when the brother, recollecting his omission, came late at night to his cell, he beheld a brilliant light streaming through the chinks of the door, and going in softly found that it proceeded from the fingers of the monk's left hand, and he saw and believed.'

ALBERT THE GREAT OF COLOGNE.

The convent of Cologne had already been founded by Henry of Utrecht; and a namesake of his, Henry the German, who had begun life as a student, then assumed the cross, and finally taken the religious habit, became its first theological professor. And there, in 1230, arrived the young Swabian, Albert of Lauingen, who had been drawn to the Dominican order, whilst pursuing his studies at Padua. Albert during his student-life had been remarkable for his love of the old classic literature, and his enthusiastic admiration for Aristotle; and had already displayed a singular attraction to those physical sciences which he afterwards so profoundly studied. He had examined various natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, the mephitic vapors issuing from a long closed well, and some curious marks in a block of marble, which he explained in a manner which betrays an acquaintance with some of the chemical theories of modern geology. After going through his theological course at Bologna, he was appointed to fill the vacant post of professor at Cologne, where he taught sacred and human science for some years, and lectured moreover at Hildesheim, Strasburg, Friburg, and Ratisbonn, in which last city an old hall is shown which still bears the title of 'Albert's School.' Converted into a chapel by one of his successors and ardent admirers, it may be supposed to exhibit the same form and arrangement as that which it bore five centuries ago. Round the walls are disposed ancient wooden seats, for the accommodation of the hearers, and fixed against the middle of the wall is an oak chair, or rather pulpit, covered with carvings of a later date, representing St. Vincent Ferrer delivering a lecture, and a novice in the attitude of attention. The chair is of double construction, containing two seats, in one of which sat the master, and in the other the bachelor, who explained under him the Book of the Sentences. All around are texts from the Holy Scriptures, fitly chosen to remind the student in what spirit he should apply himself to the pursuit of sacred letters. 'Ama scientiam Scripturarum, et vitia carnis non amabis.' 'Qui addit scientiam addit et laborem.' 'Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me.' 'Qui fecerit et docuerit, hic magnus vocabitur in regno cœlorum.' 'Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum.'

In such a hall as this we may picture to ourselves the Blessed Albert the Great lecturing at Cologne in 1245, where he first received among his pupils that illustrious disciple whose renown, if it eclipsed his own, at the same time constitutes his greatest glory. There are few readers who are not familiar with the student life of St. Thomas of Aquin, the silent habits which exposed him to the witticisms of his companions, who thought the young Sicilian a dull sort of importation, and nicknamed him 'the dumb ox;' the obliging compassion which moved a fellow-student to offer him his assistance in explaining the lessons of the master, and the modesty and humility with which this greatest of Christian scholars veiled his mighty intellect, and with the instinct of the saints, rejoiced to be counted the least among his brethren. But the day came which was to make him known in his true character. His notes and replies to a difficult question proposed by Albert from the writings of St. Denys, fell into the hands of his master, who reading them with wonder and delight, commanded him on the following day to take part in the scholastic disputation. St. Thomas obeyed, and the audience knew not whether most to admire his eloquence or his erudition. At last Albert, unable to restrain his astonishment, broke out into the memorable words, 'You call this the dumb ox, but I tell you his roaring will be heard throughout the whole world.' From that day St. Thomas became the object of his most solicitous care; he assigned him a cell adjoining his own, and when in the course of the same year he removed to Paris, to govern the school of St. James for three years, in order afterwards to graduate as doctor, he took his favorite scholar with him.

His doctor's triennium had scarcely expired when he was recalled to Cologne to take the Regency of the *Studium Generale*, newly erected in that city; and St. Thomas accompanied him to teach, as licentiate or bachelor, in the school which proved the germ of a future university. This epoch of Albert's life appears to have been that in which most of his philosophic writings were produced. They consist chiefly of his 'Commentary on Aristotle,' in which, after collating the different translations of that author with extraordinary care, he aims at presenting the entire body of his philosophy in a popular as well as a Christian form; a commentary on the Book of the Sentences; other commentaries on the Gospels, and on the works of St. Denys, all of which are preserved; and a devout paraphrase of the Book of the Sentences cast into the form of prayers, which has been lost. His published works alone fill twenty-one folio volumes, and it is said that a great number of other treatises exist in manuscript. The course of the stars; the structure of the universe; the nature of plants, animals, and minerals, appear to him unsuitable subjects for the investigation of a religious man; and he hints that the seculars who paid for the support of such students by their liberal alms expected them to spend their time on more profitable studies. The reader need not be reminded that Albert was not singular in directing his attention to these subjects, and that the scientific labors of our own Venerable Bede have ever been considered as among his best titles to admiration as a scholar. But more than this, it is surely a narrow and illiberal view to regard the cultivation of science as foreign to the purposes of religion. At the time of which we are now speaking, as in our own, physical science was unhappily too often made an instrument for doing good service to the cause of infidelity. It was chiefly, if not exclusively, in the hands of the Arabian philosophers, who had drawn great

part of their errors from the physics of Aristotle. Schlegel, indeed, considers that the extraordinary popularity of Aristotle in the middle ages did not so much arise from the love of the mediæval schoolmen for his rationalistic philosophy, as from the attraction they felt to some great and mysterious knowledge of nature. His works seemed to give promise of unlocking to them those vast intellectual treasures reserved for the scrutiny of our own age, but of the existence of which they possessed a kind of dim half-consciousness. Hence the teachers of the thirteenth century could hardly do more effective service to the cause of truth than by handling these subjects according to a Christian method, and proving that faith and science were in no sense opposed to one another. Hallam affects to grieve over the evil inflicted on Europe by the credit which Albert's influence gave to the study of astrology, alchemy, and magic. The author of Cosmos, however, passes a very different verdict on the nature of his scientific writings, and one which our readers will be disposed to receive as more worthy of attention. 'Albertus Magnus,' says Humboldt,* 'was equally active and influential in promoting the study of natural science, and of the Aristotelian philosophy. . . . . His works contain some exceedingly acute remarks on the organic structure and physiology of plants. One of his works, bearing the title of *Liber Cosmographicus de Natura Locorum*, is a species of physical geography. I have found in it considerations on the dependence of temperature concurrently on latitude and elevation, and on the effect of different angles of incidence of the sun's rays in heating the ground, which have excited my surprise.'* Jourdain, another modern critic, says, 'whether we consider him as a theologian or a philosopher, Albert was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary men of his age; I might say, one of the most wonderful men of genius who has appeared in past times.'

It may be of interest to notice here a few of the scientific views of Albert, which show how much he owed to his own sagacious observation of natural phenomena, and how far he was in advance of his age. He decides that the Milky Way is nothing but a vast assemblage of stars, but supposes, naturally enough, that they occupy the orbit which receives the light of the sun. The figures visible on the moon's disk are not, he says, as has hitherto been supposed, reflections of the seas and mountains of the earth, but configurations of her own surface. He notices, in order to correct it, the assertion of Aristotle that lunar rainbows appear only twice in fifty years; 'I myself,' he says, 'have observed two in a single year.' He has something to say on the refraction of the solar ray, notices certain crystals which have a power of refraction, and remarks that none of the ancients, and few moderns, were acquainted with the properties of mirrors. In his tenth book, wherein he catalogues and describes all the trees, plants, and herbs known in his time, he observes, 'all that is here set down is the result of our own experience, or has been borrowed from authors, whom we know to have written what their personal experience has confirmed: for in these matters experience alone can give certainty.' (*Experimentum solum certificat talibus*). Such an expression, which might have proceeded from the pen of Bacon, argues in itself a prodigious scientific progress, and shows that the mediæval friar was on the track so successfully pursued by modern natural philosophy. He had fairly shaken off the shackles

* The very remarkable passage here referred to by Humboldt is to be found in the Treatise 'De cœlo et mundo.' It is translated at length in Sighart's *Life of B. Albert* (ch. xxxix.), from which work has been chiefly extracted the summary of his scientific views given in the text.

which had hitherto tied up discovery, and was the slave neither of Pliny nor of Aristotle.

He treats as fabulous the commonly received idea, in which Bede had acquiesced, that the region of the earth south of the equator was uninhabitable, and considers that, from the equator to the south pole, the earth was not only habitable, but, in all probability, actually inhabited, except directly at the poles, where he imagines the cold to be excessive. If there are any animals there, he says, they must have very thick skins to defend them from the rigor of the climate, and are probably of a *white color.* The intensity of cold is, however, tempered by the action of the sea. He describes the antipodes and the countries they comprise, and divides the climate of the earth into seven zones. He smiles with a scholar's freedom at the simplicity of those who suppose that persons living at the opposite region of the earth must fall off—an opinion which can only arise out of the grossest ignorance, 'for, when we speak of the *lower* hemisphere, this must be understood merely as relatively to ourselves.' It is as a geographer that Albert's superiority to the writers of his own time chiefly appears. Bearing in mind the astonishing ignorance which then prevailed on this subject, it is truly admirable to find him correctly tracing the chief mountain chains of Europe, with the rivers which take their source in each, remarking on portions of coast which have in later times been submerged by the ocean, and islands which have been raised, by volcanic action, above the level of the sea, noticing the modification of climate caused by mountains, seas, and forests; and the divisions of the human race, whose differences he ascribes to the effect of the countries they inhabit. In speaking of the British Isles, he alludes to the commonly received idea that another distant island, called Tile or Thule, existed far in the Western Ocean, uninhabitable by reason of its frightful climate, but which, he says, has perhaps not yet been visited by man. He was acquainted with the sleep of plants, with the periodical opening and closing of blossoms, with the diminution of sap during evaporation from the cuticle of the leaves, and with the influence of the distribution of the bundles of vessels on the folial indentations. His minute observations on the forms and variety of plants intimate an exquisite sense of floral beauty. He distinguishes the star from the bell-flower, tells us that a red rose will turn white when submitted to the vapor of sulphur, and makes some very sagacious observations on the subject of germination. Having, in his tenth book, given a catalogue and description of the most commonly known trees, shrubs, and herbs, he tells us that all he here relates is either the fruit of his own observation, or borrowed from writers whose accuracy he can attest. The extraordinary erudition and originality of this treatise has drawn from M. Meyer the following comment: 'No botanist who lived before Albert can be compared to him, unless it be Theophrastus, with whom he was not acquainted; and after him none has painted nature in such living colors, or studied it so profoundly, until the time of Conrad, Gesner, and Cesalpini. All honor, then, to the man who made such astonishing progress in the science of nature as to find no one, I will not say to surpass, but even to equal him for the space of three centuries.'

In the Treatise on Animals which Jourdain particularly praises, nineteen books are a paraphrase of Michael Scott's translation of Aristotle, but the remaining seven books are Albert's own, and form a precious link between

ancient and modern science. It was not extraordinary that one who had so deeply studied nature, and had mastered so many of her secrets, should by his wondering contemporaries have been judged to have owed his marvelous knowledge to a supernatural source, or that his mechanical contrivances, his knowledge of the power of mirrors, and his production of a winter-garden, or hothouse, where on the feast of the Epiphany 1249, he exhibited to William of Holland, king of the Romans, plants and fruit-trees in full blossom, should have subjected him in the mind of the vulgar to the suspicion of sorcery. But it is certainly surprising that such charges should be reproduced by modern critics, who, it might have been thought, would have condemned the very belief in witchcraft as a mediæval superstition. The more so as Albert devotes no inconsiderable portion of his pages to the exposure and refutation of those forbidden arts, which he will not allow to be reckoned among the sciences, such as geomancy, chiromancy, and a formidable list of other branches of magic.

During the time that Albert was engaged in these labors, his daily life was one which might rather have seemed that of a contemplative than of a student of physical science. 'I have seen, and know of a truth,' says his disciple Thomas, of Cantimpré, 'that the venerable Albert, whilst for many years he daily lectured on theology, yet watched day and night in prayer, daily recited the entire Psalter, and at the conclusion of every lesson and disputation gave himself up to Divine contemplation.' His skill as a master drew an incredible number of students to Cologne, whom he not only inspired with his own love of science, but directed in the spiritual life. Among these were the blessed Ambrose of Siena, and Ulrich of Engelbrecht, who afterwards became provincial of Germany, and made use of the mechanical and scientific lore he had acquired from his master in the construction of the great organ in Strasburg cathedral.

After lecturing for four years in Cologne, he was recalled to Paris in order to take his degrees, and though under the accustomed age, for he was then but twenty-five, no opposition was offered on the part of the university to his being received as Bachelor, and lecturing as such in the public schools. But at the end of the year, when he should, by right, have proceeded to the degree of Doctor, the quarrel which had already broken out between the seculars and regulars was fanned into a flame by the calumnies of William de St. Amour, and the secular Regents persisted in refusing to admit the friars to any of the theological chairs. The dispute being at last referred to Rome, St. Thomas was summoned thither, and by his eloquent defense procured the condemnation of St. Amour's book on 'The Perils of the Latter Times,' in which the religious orders were attacked in scandalous terms. Not only were the deputies of the university obliged to subscribe this condemnation, but also to promise on oath, in presence of the cardinals, to receive members of the two mendicant orders to their academic degrees, and especially St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas, who had hitherto been unable to obtain their Doctor's caps. The publication of the Pope's bull, and the authority of St. Louis, finally brought this vexatious dispute to a close, but the university authorities, though forced to yield, contrived to give expression to their ill-will by an act which provided that the Dominicans should always hold the last place, not only after the secular regents, but after those of every other religious body.

THE ABBEY OF ST. GALL.*

The Abbey of St. Gall owed its origin to an Irish disciple, of that name, of St. Columbanus, who, in the seventh century, penetrated into the recesses of the Helvetian mountains, and there fixed his abode in the midst of a pagan population. Under the famous abbot St. Othmar, who flourished in the time of Pepin, the monks received the Benedictine rule, and from that time the monastery rapidly grew in fame and prosperity, so that in the ninth century it was regarded as the first religious house north of the Alps. It is with a sigh of that irrepressible regret called forth by the remembrance of a form of beauty that is dead and gone for ever, that the monastic historian hangs over the early chronicles of St. Gall. It lay in the midst of the savage Helvetian wilderness, an oasis of piety and civilization. Looking down from the craggy mountains, the passes of which open upon the southern extremity of the lake of Constance, the traveler would have stood amazed at the sudden apparition of that vast range of stately buildings which almost filled up the valley at his feet. Churches and cloisters, the offices of a great abbey, buildings set apart for students and guests, workshops of every description, the forge, the bakehouse, and the mill, or rather mills, for there were ten of them, all in such active operation, that they every year required ten new millstones; and then the houses occupied by the vast numbers of artisans and workmen attached to the monastery; gardens, too, and vineyard creeping up the mountain slopes, and beyond them fields of waving corn, and sheep speckling the green meadows, and far away boats busily plying on the lake and carrying goods and passengers—what a world it was of life and activity; yet how unlike the activity of a town! It was, in fact, not a town, but a house,—a family presided over by a father, whose members were all knit together in the bonds of common fraternity. I know not whether the spiritual or the social side of such a religious colony were most fitted to rivet the attention. Descend into the valley, and visit all these nurseries of useful toil, see the crowds of rude peasants transformed into intelligent artisans, and you will carry away the impression that the monks of St. Gall had found out the secret of creating a world of happy Christian factories. Enter their church and listen to the exquisite modulations of those chants and sequences peculiar to the abbey which boasted of possessing the most scientific school of music in all Europe, visit their scriptorium, their library, and their school, or the workshop where the monk Tutilo is putting the finishing touch to his wonderful copper images, and his fine altar frontals of gold and jewels, and you will think yourself in some intellectual and artistic academy. But look into the choir, and behold the hundred monks who form the community at their midnight office, and you will forget every thing, save the saintly aspect of those servants of God who shed abroad over the desert around them the good odor of Christ, and are the apostles of the provinces which own their gentle sway. You may quit the circuit of the abbey and plunge once more into the mountain region which rises beyond, but you will have to wander far before you find yourself beyond the reach of its softening humanizing influence. Here are distant cells and hermitages with their chapels, where the shepherds come for early mass; or it may be that there meets you, winding over the mountain paths of which they sing so sweet-

* *Christian Schools and Scholars. Longmon:* 1867.

ly,* going up and down among the hills into the thick forests and the rocky hollows, a procession of the monks carrying their relics, and followed by a peasant crowd. In the schools you may have been listening to lectures in the learned, and even in the Eastern tongues; but in the churches, and here among the mountains, you will hear these fine classical scholars preaching plain truths, in barbarous idioms, to a rude race, who, before the monks came among them, sacrificed to the Evil One, and worshiped stocks and stones.

Yet, hidden away as it was among its crags and deserts, the abbey of St. Gall was almost as much a place of resort as Rome or Athens—at least to the learned world of the ninth century. Her schools were a kind of university, frequented by men of all nations, who came hither to fit themselves for all professions. You would have found here not monks alone and future scholastics, but courtiers, soldiers, and the sons of kings. The education given was very far from being exclusively intended for those aspiring to the ecclesiastical state; it had a large admixture of the secular element, at any rate in the exterior school. Not only were the Sacred sciences taught with the utmost care, but the classic authors were likewise explained; Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, and Terence were read by the scholars, and none but the very little boys presumed to speak in any thing but Latin. The subjects for their original compositions were mostly taken from Scripture and Church history, and having written their exercises they were expected to recite them, the proper tones being indicated by musical notes. Many of the monks excelled as poets, others cultivated painting and sculpture, and other exquisite cloistral arts; all diligently applied to the grammatical formation of the Tudesque dialect, and rendered it capable of producing a literature of its own. Their library in the eighth century was only in its infancy, but gradually became one of the richest in the world. They were in correspondence with all the learned monastic houses of France and Italy, from whom they received the precious codex, now of a Virgil or a Livy, now of the Sacred Books, and sometimes of some rare treatise on medicine or astronomy. They were Greek students, moreover, and those most addicted to the cultivation of the 'Cecropian Muse' were denominated the 'fratres Ellenici.' The beauty of their early manuscripts is praised by all authors, and the names of their best transcribers find honorable mention in their annals. They manufactured their own parchment out of the hides of the wild beasts that roamed through the mountains and forests around them, and prepared it with such skill that it acquired a peculiar delicacy. Many hands were employed on a single manuscript. Some made the parchment, others drew the fair red lines, others wrote on the pages thus prepared; more skillful hands put in the gold and the initial letters, and more learned heads compared the copy with the original text, this duty being generally discharged during the interval between matins and lauds, the daylight hours being reserved for actual transcription. Erasure, when necessary, was rarely made with the knife, but an erroneous word was delicately drawn through by the pen, so as not to spoil the beauty of the codex. Lastly came the binders, who inclosed the whole in boards of wood, cramped with ivory or iron, the Sacred Volumes being covered with plates of gold, and adorned with jewels.

* Scandens et descendens inter montium confinia
Silvarum scrutando loca, valliumque concava.

(*Hymn for the Procession of Relics. ap. Leibnitz.*)

Among the masters and scholars, whose reputation shed a lustre on the annals of St. Gall, was Iso, styled by Ekkehard, 'a doctor magnificus,' whose pupils were in great demand by all the monasteries of Gall and Burgundy, and Moengall (or Marcellus, a nephew of the Irish bishop Marx, both of whom entered the cloister in 840, on their return from Rome), who extended, if he did not introduce the study of Greek into the interior school. Of the pupils of the latter, Notker, Ratpert, and Tutilo, were distinguished for rare scholarship, and in music, sculpture, and painting. Tutilo could preach both in Latin and Greek; and statuary of his workmanship adorned most of the finest churches in Germany. Ratpert succeeded master Iso in the external school, and was famous as a poet. But Notker was the best type of the culture of St. Gall—at once scholar, poet and musician.

It was the reputation of learning enjoyed by St. Gall which had first attracted him thither, for indeed, says Ekkehard, 'he was devoured with a love of grammar.' Like a true poet, he was keenly susceptible to the sights and sounds of nature, and loved to 'study her beautifulness' in that enchanted region of lakes and mountains. The gentle melancholy inseparable from exalted genius, which in him was increased by his exceeding delicacy of organization, found its expression in the wild and mystic melodies which he composed. The monotonous sound of a mill-wheel near the abbey suggested to him the music of the 'Media Vita,' the words being written whilst looking into a deep gulf over which some laborers were constructing a bridge. This antiphon became very popular in Germany, and was every year sung at St. Gall during the Rogation Processions. But it was not as a poet or man of science that the 'Blessed Notker' was best known to posterity; profoundly learned in human literature, he yet, says Ekkehard, applied more to the Psalter than to any other book. Even in his own lifetime he was revered as a saint. He was master of the inferior and claustral school at the same time as Ratpert governed the exterior school, and kept up the same strict discipline, 'stripes only excepted.' The gentleness of his disposition peeps out in the fact that one of the faults he was hardest on in his pupils was the habit of bird's-nesting. He was always accessible; no hour of day or night was ever deemed unseasonable for a visit from any one who brought a book in their hands. For the sake of maintaining regular observance, he once forbade his disciples to whisper to him in time of silence, but the abbot enjoined him under obedience to let them speak to him whenever they would. Ratpert relates a story of him, which shows the opinion of learning and sanctity in which he was held. The emperor Charles, having on one occasion come to the monastery on a visit, he brought in his suite a certain chaplain, whose pride appears to have taken offense at the consideration with which his master treated the Blessed Notker. When they were about to depart, therefore, seeing the man of God sitting, as was his custom, with the Psalter in his hand, and recognizing him to be the same man who, on the previous day, had solved many hard questions proposed to him by Charles, he said to his companions, 'There is he who is said to be the most learned man in the whole empire. But if you like, I will make this most excellent wiseacre a laughing-stock for you, for I will ask him a question, which, with all his learning he will not be able to answer.' Curious to see what he would do, and how Notker would deal with him, they agreed to his proposal, and all went together to salute the master who courteously rose, and asked them what they

desired. Then said the unhappy man of whom we spoke, 'O most learned master, we are very well aware that there is nothing you do not know. We therefore desire you to tell us, if you can, what God is now doing in heaven?' 'Yes,' replied Notker, 'I can answer that question very well. He is doing what he always has done, and what He is shortly about to do to thee, He is exalting the humble, and humbling the proud.' The scoffer moved away, while the laugh was turned against him. Nevertheless, he made light of Notker's words, and the prediction of evil which they seemed to contain regarding himself. Presently the bell rang for the king's departure, and the chaplain, mounting his horse, rode off with a great air in front of his master. But before he came to the gate of the city the steed fell, and the rider being thrown on his face, broke his leg. Abbot Hartmot hearing of this accident, desired Notker to visit the sick man, and pardon him, giving him his blessing. But the foolish chaplain protested that the misfortune had nothing to do with Notker's prediction, and continued to speak of him with the greatest contempt. His leg, however, remained in a miserable state, until one night his friends besought Notker to come to him and aid him with his prayers. He complied willingly enough, and touching the leg, it was immediately restored; and by this lesson the chaplain learnt to be more humble for the future.

Notker was the author of various works, amongst others of a German translation of the Psalter, which Vadianus speaks of in his treatise on the 'Ancient Colleges of Germany,' and which he says is scarcely intelligible by reason of the excessive harshness of the old Tudesque dialect. He gives a translation of the 'Creed,' and the 'Our Father,' from Notker's version, in which it is not difficult to trace the German idiom. Notker's German studies were yet more extensively carried on by his namesake, Notker Labeo, or the Thick-Lipped, who wrote many learned works in the vernacular, and was also a great classical scholar. He translated into German the works of Aristotle, Boëthius, and Martian Capella, and some musical treatises, all which are still preserved. His translation of St. Gregory's 'Morals' is lost. He is commemmorated in the chronicles of his House as 'the kind and learned master,' and whilst he presided over the claustral school, he educated a great many profound scholars, among whom was Ekkehard junior, the author of the chronicle 'De Casibus S. Galli,' and of the celebrated 'Liber Benedictionum.' This Ekkehard, at the request of the empress, transcribed Notker's 'Paraphrase of the Psalms' for her use with his own hand, and corrected a certain poem which his predecessor Ekkehard I. had written when a school-boy, and which was full of Tudesque barbarisms, such as the delicate ear of Ekkehard junior might not abide. He held that the barbarous idioms could not be translated into Latin without a great deal of painstaking. '*Think* in German,' he would say to his scholars, 'and then be careful to render your thought into correct Latin.' There was yet a third Ekkehard whose memory is preserved in the annals of St. Gall under the surname of *Palatinus*. He was nephew to Ekkehard I., and presided over both the exterior and interior schools, and that with great success. He made no distinction between noble and plebeian scholars, but employed those who had less talent for learning, in writing, painting, and other like arts. He was able to take down in short-hand the substance of any thing he heard, and two discourses are still preserved thus noted by his hand. He was afterwards most unwillingly summoned to the Court of Otho I., who appointed him his

chaplain and secretary, and tutor to his son Otho II. So venerated was this great man throughout Germany, that when he attended the council of Mentz in 976, six bishops rose up to salute their old master, all of them having been educated in the school of St. Gall. To this list of masters I must add the name of another Notker, who, from his strict observance of discipline, received the surname of 'Piperis-granum,' or the Peppercorn, though his pungency of temper did not prevent his brethren from commemmorating him in their obituary as the 'Doctor benignissimus.' He was renowned as a physician, a painter, and a poet, and was also well skilled in music.

ABBEY OF REICHENAU. MEINRAD.*

At the western extremity of the lake of Constance, just where it narrows towards the outlet of the Rhine, lies a green island sparkling like an emerald gem on the unruffled surface of the waters. There, half hidden amid the luxuriant foliage, you may still see the minster of that famous abbey called Augia by its Latin historians, but better known by its German name of Reichenau.

Reichenau had its own line of great masters, among whom Ermenric, who could do such generous justice to the excellence of others, was himself worthy to be reckoned. The most illustrious was, perhaps, the cripple Hermann Contractus, originally a pupil of St. Gall's, who is said to have prayed that he might not regain the use of his limbs, but that he might receive instead a knowledge of the Scriptures. He was master of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; he wrote treatises on history, poetry, ethics, astronomy, and mathematics; he calculated eclipses, and explained Aristotle, and, in spite of an impediment in his speech, his lectures were so learned that he had pupils from the most distant provinces of Italy. He set his own poems to music, made clocks and organs, and was as much revered for his sanctity as his universal genius. Many hymns and antiphons used by the Church are attributed to his pen, among others the *Alma Redemptoris.* But if Hermann was the most famous scholar of Reichenau, a yet greater celebrity, though of a different kind, attaches to the name of Meinrad. The story of his vocation to the eremitical life affords an apt illustration of the contemplative character already noticed as so frequently belonging to the early pedagogues; and as it presents us with an agreeable picture of a 'whole play-day' in the Dark Ages, we will give it as it stands in the pages of the monk Berno. Meinrad was the son of a Swabian nobleman of the house of Hollenzollern, and had studied in the monastic school under abbot Hatto and his own uncle Erlebald. When the latter became abbot he appointed Meinrad to the care of the school which was attached to a smaller house dependent on Reichenau, and situated at a spot called Bollingen, on the lake of Zurich. He accordingly removed thither, and had singular success with his scholars, whom he inspired with great affection by reason of his gentle discipline. He used to take them out for walking parties and fishing parties, into what Berno, his biographer, calls 'the wilderness,' a wilderness, however, which was adorned with a majestic beauty to which Meinrad was not insensible. One day he and his boys crossed the lake in a small boat, and landing on the opposite shore, sought for some quiet spot where they might cast their fishing-lines. Finding a little stream which flowed into the lake and gave

* Christian Schools and Scholars. Vol. I., p. 240.

good promise of trout, Meinrad left them to pursue their sport, and strolled about, meditating on the joys of that solitary life after which he secretly pined. After a while, returning to his scholars, he found that their fishing had been unusually successful, and taking up their baskets, they retraced their steps to the village of Altendorf, where they entered the house of a certain matron to rest and refresh themselves with food. Whilst the boys ate and drank, and enjoyed themselves in their own way, Meinrad and their hostess engaged in conversation, and Meinrad, who was full of the thoughts to which his mountain walk had given rise, opened his whole heart to her. 'Beyond all riches,' he said, 'I desire to dwell alone in this solitude, that so I might wholly give myself to prayer, could I but find some one who would minister to me in temporal things.' The good lady immediately offered to provide him with whatever he wanted, in order to carry out his design; and the result of that day's fishing-party was the establishment of the former scholasticus of Bollingen in a little hermitage which he constructed for himself out of the wattled boughs of trees. But he found himself in one way disappointed; he had sought the desert to fly from the world, and the world followed him thither in greater throngs than he had ever encountered at Reichenau. The saints possess a strange power of attraction, and neither mountains nor forests are able to hide them. In his own day men compared St. Meinrad to the Baptist, because the multitudes went out into the wilderness to hear him preach penance and remission of sins. For seven years he continued to dispense the Word of Life to the pilgrims who gathered about him from all parts of Europe. But one day unable to resist his longing for retreat, he took his image of Our Lady, a missal, a copy of St. Benedict's rule, and the works of Cassian, and laden with these, his only treasures, he plunged into the forest, and choosing a remote and secluded spot, erected a rude chapel which he dedicated to Our Lady, and a yet ruder dwelling for himself. There he lived for thirty years, and at the end of that time he was assassinated in his hermitage by some ruffians who hoped to find some hidden treasure in his cell. His body was carried back to Reichenau, and in after years (about 988) the great sanctuary of Einsiedeln rose over the site of his hermitage, where is still venerated the image of Our Lady which he had formerly carried thither with his own hands.

EINSIEDELN.

The Abby of Einsiedeln, after encountering many disasters by fire and spoliation, has outlived the sanctity and present usefulness of both St. Gall and Reichenau, and is still the resort annually of thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Europe. In 1861, on the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of its foundation, an almost incredible concourse of people assembled to make their offerings to 'Our Lady of the Hermits.' On this occasion, the King of Prussia and Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen presented the Abby with two valuable historical paintings by Mücke, of Dusseldorf, one representing St. Meinrad preaching on the Etzel, and the other the presentation of the Sacred Image by Hildegarde, first Abbess of the convent of Zürich. The Abbey now numbers sixty priests, and twenty brothers of the Benedictine order, with a number of lay brethren for the management of the property.

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS AND CIVILIZATION.

To appreciate the services rendered by the institutions which grew up under the rule of St. Benedict, we must look closely into the state of society which existed at the advent of Christianity, and which succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire, and the processes by which the new civilization was planted in regions before utterly barbarous. Dr. Newman has described, in a short chapter, the Downfall and Refuge of Ancient Civilization, portions of which we introduce here.

There never was, perhaps, in the history of this tumultuous world, prosperity so great, so far-spreading, so lasting, as that which began throughout the vast Empire of Rome, at the time when the Prince of Peace was born into it. Preternatural as was the tyranny of certain of the Cæsars, it did not reach the mass of the population; and the reigns of the five good emperors, who succeeded them, are proverbs of wise and gentle government. The sole great exception to this universal happiness was the cruel persecution of the Christians; the sufferings of a whole world fell and were concentrated on them, and the children of heaven were tormented, that the sons of men might enjoy their revel. Their Lord, while His shadow brought peace upon earth, foretold that in the event He came to send 'not peace but a sword;' and that sword was first let loose upon His own people. 'Judgment commenced with the House of God;' and though, as time went on, it left Jerusalem behind, and began to career round the world and sweep the nations as it traveled on, nevertheless, as if by some paradox of Providence, it seemed at first, that truth and wretchedness had 'met together,' and sin and prosperity had 'kissed one another.' The more the heathens enjoyed themselves, the more they scorned, hated, and persecuted their true light and true peace. They persecuted Him, for the very reason that they had little else to do; happy and haughty, they saw in Him the sole drawback, the sole exception, the sole hindrance, to a universal, a continual sunshine; they called Him 'the enemy of the human race;' and they felt themselves bound, by their loyalty to the glorious and immortal memory of their forefathers, by their traditions of state, and their duties towards their children, to trample upon, and, if they could, to stifle that teaching, which was destined to be the life and mold of a new world.

But our immediate subject here is, not Christianity, but the world that passed away; and before it passed, it had, I say, a tranquillity great in proportion to its former commotions. Ages of trouble terminated in two centuries of peace. The present crust of the earth is said to be the result of a long war of elements, and to have been made so beautiful, so various, so rich, and so useful, by the disciple of revolutions, by earthquake and lightning, by mountains of water and seas of fire; and so in like manner, it required the events of two thousand years, the multiform fortunes of tribes and populations, the rise and fall of kings, the mutual collision of states, the spread of colonies, the vicissitudes and the succession of conquests, and the gradual adjustment and settlement of innumerous discordant ideas and interests, to carry on the human race to unity, and to shape and consolidate the great Roman Power.

And when once those unwieldy materials were welded together into one mass, what human force could split them up again? what 'hammer of the earth' could shiver at a stroke a solidity which had taken ages to form? Who can estimate the strength of a political establishment, which has been the slow birth of time? and what establishment ever equaled pagan Rome? Hence has come the proverb, 'Rome was not built in a day;' it was the portentous solidity of its power that forced the gazer back upon an exclamation, which was the relief of his astonishment, as being his solution of the prodigy. And, when at length it was built, Rome, so long in building, was 'Eternal Rome;' it had been done once for all; its being was inconceivable beforehand, and its not being was inconceivable afterwards. It had been a miracle that it was

brought to be; it would take a second miracle that it should cease to be. To remove it from its place was to cast a mountain into the sea. Look at the Palatine Hill, penetrated, traversed, cased with brickwork, till it appears a work of man, not of nature; run your eye along the cliffs from Ostia to Terracina, covered with the debris of masonry; gaze around the bay of Baiæ, whose rocks have been made to serve as the foundations and the walls of palaces; and in those mere remains, lasting to this day, you will have a type of the moral and political strength of the establishments of Rome. Think of the aqueducts making for the imperial city, for miles across the plain; think of the straight roads stretching off again from that one centre to the ends of the earth: consider the vast territory round about it strewn to this day with countless ruins; follow in your imagination its suburbs, extending along its roads, for as much, at least in some directions, as forty miles; and number up its continuous mass of population, amounting, as grave authors say, to almost six millions; and answer the question, how was Rome ever to be got rid of? why was it not to progress? why was it not to progress for ever? where was that ancient civilization to end? Such were the questionings and anticipations of thoughtful minds, not specially proud or fond of Rome. 'The world,' says Tertullian, 'has more of cultivation every day, and is better furnished than in times of old. All places are opened up now; all are familiarly known; all are scenes of business. Smiling farms have obliterated the notorious wilderness; tillage has tamed the forest land; flocks have put to flight the beasts of prey. Sandy tracts are sown; rocks are put into shape; marshes are drained. There are more cities now, than there were cottages at one time. Islands are no longer wild; the crag is no longer frightful; everywhere there is a home, a population, a state, and a livelihood.' Such was the prosperity, such the promise of progress and permanence, in which the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, the Macedonian conquests had terminated.

Education had gone through a similar course of difficulties, and had a place in the prosperous result. First, carried forth upon the wings of genius, and disseminated by the energy of individual minds, or by the colonizing missions of single cities, knowledge was irregularly extended to and fro over the spacious regions, of which the Mediterranean is the common basin. Introduced, in course of time, to a more intimate alliance with political power, it received the means, at the date of Alexander and his successors, both of its cultivation and its propagation. It was formally recognized and endowed under the Ptolemies, and at length became a direct object of the solicitude of the government under the Cæsars. It was honored and dispensed in every considerable city of the Empire; it tempered the political administration of the conquering people; it civilized the manners of a hundred barbarian conquests; it gradually reconciled uncongenial, and associated distant countries, with each other; while it had ever ministered to the fine arts, it now proceeded to subserve the useful. It took in hand the reformation of the world's religion; it began to harmonize the legends of discordant worships; it purified the mythology by making it symbolical; it interpreted it, and gave it a moral, and explained away its idolatry. It began to develope a system of ethics, it framed a code of laws; what might not be expected of it, as time went on, were it not for that illiberal, unintelligible, fanatical, abominable sect of Galileans? If they were allowed to make play, and get power, what might not happen? There again Christians were in the way, as hateful to the philosopher, as to the statesman. Yet in truth it was not in this quarter that the peril of civilization lay; it lay in a very different direction, over against the Empire to the North and North-east, in a black cloud of inexhaustible barbarian populations; and when the storm mounted overhead and broke upon the earth, it was those scorned and detested Galileans, and none but they, the men-haters and God-despisers, who, returning good for evil, housed and lodged the scattered remnants of that old world's wisdom, which had so persecuted them, went forth valiantly to meet the savage destroyer, tamed him without arms, and became the founders of a new and higher civilization. Not a man in Europe now, who talks bravely against the Church, but owes it to the Church, that he can talk at all.

But what was to be the process, what the method, what the instruments, what the place, for sheltering the treasures of ancient intellect during the convulsion, of bridging over the abyss, and of linking the old world to the new? In spite of the consolidation of its power, Rome was to go, as all things human go, and vanish for ever. In the words of inspiration, 'Great Babylon came in remembrance before God, and every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.' All the fury of the elements was directed against it; and, as a continual dropping wears away the stone, so blow after blow, and revolution after revolution, sufficed at last to heave up, and hurl down, and smash into fragments, the noblest earthly power that ever was. First came the Goth, then the Hun, and then the Lombard. The Goth took possession, but he was of noble nature, and soon lost his barbarism. The Hun came came next; he was irreclaimable, but did not stay. The Lombard kept both his savageness and his ground; he appropriated to himself the territory, not the civilization of Italy, fierce as the Hun, and powerful as the Goth, the most tremendous scourge of Heaven. In his dark presence the poor remains of Greek and Roman splendor died away, and the world went more rapidly to ruin, material and moral, than it was advancing from triumph to triumph in the Tertullian. Alas! the change between Rome in the hey-day of her pride, and in the agony of her judgment! Tertullian writes while she is exalted; Pope Gregory when she is in humiliation. He was delivering homilies upon the Prophet Ezekiel, when the news came to Rome of the advance of the Lombards upon the city, and in the course of them he several times burst out into lamentations at the news of miseries, which eventually obliged him to cut short his exposition.

'Sights and sounds of war,' he says, 'meet us on every side. The cities are destroyed; the military stations broken up; the land devastated; the earth depopulated. No one remains in the country; scarcely any inhabitants in the towns; yet even the poor remains of human kind are still smitten daily and without intermission. Before our eyes some are carried away captive, some mutilated, some murdered. She herself, who once was mistress of the world, we behold how Rome fares; worn down by manifold and incalculable distresses, the bereavement of citizens, the attack of foes, the reiteration of overthrows, where is her senate? where are her people? We, the few survivors, are still the daily prey of the sword and of other innumerable tribulations. Where are they who in a former day reveled in her glory? where is their pomp, their pride, their frequent and immoderate joy?—youngsters, young men of the world, congregated here from every quarter, where they aimed at a secular advancement. Now no one hastens up to her for preferment; and so it is with other cities also; some places are laid waste by pestilence, others are depopulated by the sword, others are tormented by famine; and others are swallowed up by earthquakes.'

These words, far from being a rhetorical lament, are but a meagre statement of some of the circumstances of a desolation, in which the elements themselves, as St. Gregory intimates, as well as the barbarians, took a principal part. In the dreadful age of that great Pope, a plague spread from the lowlands of Egypt to the Indies on the one hand, along Africa across to Spain on the other, till, reversing its course, it reached the eastern extremity of Europe, For fifty-two years did it retain possession of the infected atmosphere, and, in Constantinople, during three months, five thousand, and at length ten thousand persons, are said to have died, daily. Many cities of the East were left without inhabitants; and in several districts of Italy there were no laborers to gather either harvest or vintage. A succession of earthquakes accompanied for years this heavy calamity. Constantinople was shaken for above forty days. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, crowded, as the city was, with strangers for the festival of the Ascension. Berytus, the eastern school of Roman jurisprudence, called, from its literary and scientific importance, the eye of Phœnicia, shared a similar fate. These, however, were but local visitations. Cities are indeed the homes of civilization, but the wide earth, with her hill and dale, open plain and winding valley, is its refuge.

THE HIERONYMIANS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

[Translated by L. W. Fitch.]

Before Italy had begun to exert any influence upon German culture, there existed in the Netherlands an order called the brotherhood of the Hieronymians. Its founder was Gerard Groote, better known as Gerard the Great, who was born in the year 1340, at Deventer. From 1355 to 1358, he pursued his studies at Paris, where, in addition to the ordinary branches, he gave his attention to the unhallowed arts of magic, astrology, and necromancy. But, during a dangerous illness, he sent for a priest and gave him all his books, pertaining to these arts, to burn. On his return from Paris he was chosen a canon, both in Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne; and, in the latter place, he taught scholastic philosophy and theology, and lived respectably but not in extravagance. Once, while diverting himself with looking at certain games, a person accosted him thus: "Do not waste your time upon these vanities; but change your course and become a different man." Soon after he entered Monikhausen, a Carthusian monastery at Arnheim, the prior of which had been his father-confessor at Paris. Here for three years, he led a life of penitence and self-mortification, studying the Holy Scriptures before all other books. He then began his career as a preacher, and, as Thomas-à-Kempis relates, he preached in the spirit and the power of John the Baptist. No church was large enough to hold the throngs that flocked to hear him; and he often held his audience spell-bound for three hours together. The impression that he made was the greater, inasmuch as he did not speak in unintelligible Latin, but in his native Belgian. But these sermons of his drew upon him the wrath of the begging friars, whose profligate life he had exposed; and the Bishop of Utrecht, at their instance, interdicted him from preaching.

In the year 1367 he, with John Cole, Rector of Zwoll, paid a visit to the venerable octogenarian mystic, Ruysbrœck, prior of the monastery of Grunthal, near Brussels. Ruysbrœck made a profound impression upon him, as he had done upon Tauler before him, and he was specially edified by the pious and benignant demeanor which the old man observed toward the brethren under his charge.

Returning to Deventer, he gathered around him a circle, chiefly

composed of students from the seat of learning at that place, with whom he read good books. These all, while with him, earned their livelihood principally by copying; for he forbade them to beg.

About this time Florentius Radewin filled the office of canon at Utrecht. He was born in 1350, at Leerdam, in South Holland, and had studied at Prague. When he heard of Gerard's influential career at Deventer, he gave up his canonicate, became vicar of the church of St. Lebuin in Deventer, and an intimate friend of Gerard. One day he addressed Gerard as follows: "Dear master, where would be the harm, should I and those clerkly priests of yours, those brethren of a good will, (*bonæ voluntatis,*) form a common fund of the moneys that we have hitherto weekly expended, and live in common, (*in communi?*") Gerard replied: "The begging friars would set themselves against us with every resource in their power." But, when Florentius urged the point, saying, "It can do no harm to begin; perhaps God will crown the undertaking with success," Gerard yielded, adding the promise that he would take immediate measures to carry out the plan.

Such was the origin of that fraternity, which, taking its name from the words of Florentius, was known as the "brotherhood of good will," or the "brotherhood of a common life." They were also called, from Hieronymus and Gregory the Great, both of whom they regarded as patrons, Hieronymians and Gregorians.

Their first house, *fratrum domus* so-called, was erected about the year 1384, at Deventer. There these brethren lived together; and, by the end of the fifteenth century, a chain of such houses had extended from Cambray in the Netherlands, through the whole of Northern Germany, to Culm in West Prussia; from the Scheldt to the Vistula. And all this was the blessed fruit of Radewin's inspired suggestion.

Gerard only survived to witness the first beginnings of the institution: he died in 1384 of the plague. Dying, he appointed Florentius his successor, for he could choose none worthier. His last words were these: "Behold, the Lord is calling me; the hour of my redemption is close at hand: Augustine and Bernard are waiting at the door."

Thomas-à-Kempis depicts Gerard as a man, who worked out the salvation of his soul with the same severe asceticism that had characterized Augustine and Bernard. He denied himself every worldly pleasure, even the most innocent, wore coarse garments, ate his food burnt and unsalted, and avoided all female society.

His views of knowledge, I give in his own words. "Make the gospels, first of all, the root of all your studies and the mirror of your life, for in them is portrayed the character of Christ; then the lives and

opinions of the fathers, the acts and deeds of the apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, to which you may add the devotional works of Bernard, Anselm, Augustine," &c.

His *curriculum* of study was accordingly contracted within very narrow limits. "Spend no time," he continues, "either on geometry, arithmetic, rhetoric, logic, grammar, poetry or judicial astrology. All these branches Seneca rejects: how much more, then, should a spiritually-minded Christian pass them by, since they subserve in no respect the life of faith! Of the sciences of the pagans, their ethics may not be so scrupulously shunned, since these were the special field of the wiser among them, as Socrates and Plato. That which does not better a man, or at least does not reclaim him from evil, is positively hurtful. Neither ought we to read pagan books, nor the Holy Scriptures, to penetrate into the mysteries of nature by the means." All literary fame, and the gloss and show of learning alike, Gerard utterly despised.

He evidently prized those things alone, which promoted holiness; and all that did not work for this result, even were it speculative theology, (dogmatics,) to say nothing of other sciences and the arts, he thrust into the back-ground. With such sentiments, the higher studies of course found no favor in his eyes; but, on the other hand, he devoted himself with zeal to the cause of popular education.

Let us now return to Florentius and his brotherly unions. In the ascetic severity of his character, he resembled Gerard, though constitutionally he was more cheerful, and endowed with more practical abilities. By the power of the purest and the most unselfish love, he exerted a wonderful influence over those with whom he had to do, and especially over his disciples, who revered and loved him. Says Thomas-à-Kempis, "he was filled with all spiritual wisdom, and a knowledge of God in Christ. And though he survived Gerard but fifteen years, yet in this brief time he founded many brotherly unions." The establishment at Deventer, over which he himself presided, was, according to Thomas, modeled upon the humility of the apostles, and formed a mirror of piety, all the brethren being of one heart and one mind, self-denying, devout and full of mercy. With regard to the internal economy of these houses or unions, the number of the brethren thus living together was about twenty, and they had a common table and purse. Each house usually had four officiating priests, while the rest of the inmates were either students of divinity or laymen. The students were similar to monks, yet with this difference, that they dispensed with all strict rules and inexorable vows. The brethren were industrious, maintaining themselves by handicrafts, especially by

copying. And, on the invention of printing, it was the Hieronymians at Gouda who set the first types in Holland.

Pursuant to the injunctions of Gerard, Florentius founded, in the year 1386, at Windesheim, near Gouda, a monastery of regular canons, "which, both for counsel and for action, should be a rallying point for the entire 'Union of the Common Life.'" This was soon followed by the establishment of another on Mount St. Agnes, at Zwoll; and, by the year 1430, there were forty-five such monasteries in existence. Their inmates became most industrious copyists, and they would appear at times to have carried their occupation to excess. And because many of them, through too great abstinence, became crazed, the question was put to new applicants at the monastery of Windesheim, "Do you eat and sleep well, and do you obey with alacrity?" for on these three points their perseverance in piety was thought to depend.*

After a blissful life, such as falls to the lot of few, Florentius died in the year 1400, at the age of fifty years.

After him and Gerard the Great, a third person exerted a vast influence among the Hieronymians. This was Gerard Zerbolt, commonly styled, from the place of his birth, Gerard of Zutphen. He was born in the year 1367. His unremitting efforts were given to the cause of the "diffusion and the use of the Bible in the vernacular, as well as the employment of this, (i. e., the vernacular,) on all religious and ecclesiastical occasions." He wrote a book called "De libris Teutonicalibus," in which he expressly insists that the laity should read the Bible in their native tongue. "The books of the Holy Scriptures," he says, "were originally composed in the native tongue of those for whom they were immediately designed; and for all others they should be translated. And the Vulgate version was in Latin for this reason alone, namely, that, when it was made, the Latin tongue was spoken over the whole of the great Roman empire. And the Holy Spirit conferred the gift of tongues upon the apostles, in order that they might be enabled to preach to all the different nations in their different languages." And he closes by quoting, from the most distinguished fathers of the church, expressions confirmatory of his own views. Prayer likewise, he contended, should be offered in the native tongue of the petitioner. So ceaseless and unresting were his labors, that his early death, in the year 1398, when he was but thirty-one years of age, is to be traced directly to over-much study.

We should also speak in this connection of a man, whose name has penetrated into all the world; and that man is Thomas-à-Kempis.

* Delprat and Ulman both quote this question, but without the motive annexed, and base upon it the charge of epicureanism. But the "Lives" of Thomas-à-Kempis leave no room to doubt of the excessive abstinence of the monks.

Born in 1380, at thirteen he entered the school of Deventer, and there became known to Florentius, who aided him in many ways and that right heartily. Seven years after, or in 1400, he joined the Mount St. Agnes monastery, above mentioned, and there for the long period of seventy-one years he passed a serene and contemplative life, dying, in 1472, at the age of ninety-two years. Thomas has sketched for us the lives of both the Gerards, of Florentius, and of many other distinguished Hieronymians likewise, besides composing many devotional books. One of these latter, the "Imitation of Christ," has been read more than any other book of devotion in the world. It has been translated into very many different languages; the Latin original has passed through more than 2000 editions,—the French translation, more than 1000.*

The hostile machinations of the begging friars, which Gerard the Great experienced, followed the Hieronymians after his death. Grabow, a Saxon Dominican, brought a most insidious accusation against them before Pope Martin V., and was thereby instrumental in placing them under ban. But Chancellor John Gerson pronounced a decision at the Council of Constance against this accusation, as follows, namely: "that the accusatory document, since it was heretical, should be committed to the flames." And accordingly Grabow was compelled to retract his charge. Thus the Hieronymians obtained a formal recognition both from Pope and Council; for a Bull of Pope Eugene IV., in 1437, and a second of Sixtus IV., in 1474, invested them with full privileges, and Pius II. likewise shewed himself favorable to them.

In the year 1505 the last union, that at Cambray, was established. The greatest efficiency of the brotherhood dates in the 16th century. As the Reformation was inaugurated, many of their number gave in their adhesion to it; and, on the other hand, the Jesuits gradually absorbed many of their establishments.

After this cursory glance at the brotherhood and its founders, let us examine its educational efficiency. For, because of their activity in promoting education, the brethren were also called the "scholarly fraternity," "*fratres scholares.*"

And yet it is not an easy task to characterize this activity, for it bore a very different impress according to times and circumstances.

* There has been much controversy as to whether Thomas-à-Kempis were really its author Delprat mentions one hundred and twenty-seven different treatises adverse to his claim. But Ulman decides in his favor on sufficiently weighty grounds. The "Imitatio Christi" was translated into Latin by Castellio, the same who translated the Vulgate into Latin. "This little book," says Castellio, "I have deemed worthy to be turned from Latin into Latin, that is from a rustic dialect into more elegant and polished language."

The view which Gerard the Great took of knowledge we have already seen. It was the view of a man, who, satiated with scholastic studies, burned his books of magic also, thus bidding a final adieu to all unprofitable sciences, to strive alone after the one thing needful. If he had before toilsomely pursued shadowy theories, he now so much the more applied his whole soul to the substantial and the practical, resolutely refraining from all knowledge except that which had a direct bearing upon a holy life.

With him, the pious, contemplative Thomas-à-Kempis fully coincided. Such expressions as the following abound in the writings of the latter: "Cease from an inordinate desire for knowledge, for this brings great perplexity and delusion with it. Learned men crave the notice of the world, and wish to be accounted wise. But there is much knowledge which adds little or nothing to the welfare of the soul. And that man is surely most foolish, who strives after any thing which does not advance his own supreme good."

With these sentiments, he applied himself, as we might naturally expect, principally to the study of the Bible. So also did the two Gerards. And these men were all prompted by their love for souls to use every energy to make the book of salvation accessible to the unlearned. Gerard of Zutphen, especially, was untiring in his endeavors to give the people a Bible that they could read.

And this is the beginning and the foundation of a *christian popular education.* If you give the Bible to the people, they must learn to *read* it, and *writing* is linked to *reading*, following close upon its footsteps. The germ that began to sprout here, sprang up, in the Reformation, into a broad and vigorous growth.

The Hieronymians devoted themselves, however, not merely to popular instruction, but to the higher branches of learning. This we may gather with certainty from the fact that distinguished scholars were formed in their schools.

It is nevertheless hard to decide what schools we are to regard as theirs. For in some places the brethren themselves were principals, superintending every department of instruction; in others again, they gave assistance in schools already existing, teaching in a subordinate capacity, but yet taking much interest in the scholars. In the houses of the brethren, reading, writing, singing, and Latin conversation and declamation were taught; and there would appear to have been boarding-scholars at all of them. In the house at Deventer, Latin speaking was carried to such an extent, that a penalty was laid upon the scholar who should utter, even through a slip of the tongue, a word of Dutch. Yet the style of Latin which they aimed

to impart was mediæval and barbarous, such as the clergy were then accustomed to employ.

The Latinity of the early Hieronymians, and even that of Thomas-à-Kempis, was very far from classical. But a new era dawned upon these schools, when the Italians exerted a direct influence upon them through such of the Netherlanders and Germans as had in part been molded in them, and had afterward visited Italy. How wide a difference there was between the Hieronymians in their earlier years and the Italians of the 14th and 15th centuries, we need but a hasty comparison to determine. Those as truly as these rejected the divinity of the schools; but how diverse their motives! For the Italians, fascinated by the beauties, the poetry and the eloquence of the pagan classics, conceived an aversion for the hideous jargon of the school-dialecticians, even when these were Christian. The Hieronymians, on the other hand, turned away from scholasticism, because it did not profit them; nay more, because it stood directly in the way of all earnest self-consecration, and the salvation of souls. And hence it was, that they pursued with so much eagerness the study of the Bible, while the Italians scarce gave so much as a thought to it. And still less did these latter think of circulating the Bible, or of promoting popular education, which cause was so dear to the brethren; but when, like Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre, they turned their thoughts to education, they devoted themselves chiefly to the instruction of princes or nobles.

But when a love for the classics was awakened among the Germans and Netherlanders, they still preserved the Christian element, as the ground of all mental culture and instruction, and despite their admiration of pagan authors, that pagan bias, (*paganitas*,) which Erasmus reproves in the Italians, was ever an abomination to them.

"Thomas-à-Kempis is to be regarded as the flower of the ascetic piety which the institution of the 'Common Life' fostered; Agricola, Alexander Hegius, and, if you will, Erasmus also, of its philosophic learning; and Wessel, of its theological science."

In process of time the Brethren of Common Life spread over Flanders, France, and Germany, and the schools they founded multiplied and flourished. They were introduced into the University of Paris by John Standonch, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who gave into their direction the college de Montaigu, of which he was their principal, and established them in Cambray, Valenciennes, Mechlin, and Louvain. He drew up statutes for their use, which are supposed by Du Boulay to have furnished St. Ignatius with the first notions of his rule, an idea which receives some corroboration from the fact that the saint studied at the college de Montaigu during his residence at the University of Paris. Standonch himself received the habit of the Poor Clerks, as they were now often called, and had the satisfaction of seeing more than 300 good scholars issue from his schools, many of whom undertook the direction or reform of other academies. In 1430 the Institute numbered forty-five houses, and thirty years later the numbers were increased threefold. The Deventer brethren were far from being mere mystics and transcribers of books. The aim of their foundation was doubtless to supply a system of education which should revive something of the old monastic discipline, but they cultivated all the higher branches of learning, and their schools were among the first of those north of the Alps, which introduced the revived study of classical literature. One of their most illustrious scholars was Nicholas of Cusa, or Cusanus, the son of a poor fisherman, who won his doctor's cap at Padua, and became renowned for his Greek, Hebrew, and mathematical learning. Eugenius IV. appointed him his legate, and Nicholas V. created him cardinal, and bishop of Brixen, in the Tyrol. His personal character won him the veneration of his people, but, according to Tennemann, his love of mathematics led him into many theological extravagances. He was strongly inclined to the views of the Neo-Platonists; he considered, moreover, that all human knowledge was contained in the ideas of numbers, and attempted to explain the mystery of the Holy Trinity on mathematical principles. He was undoubtedly a distinguished man of science, and was the first among moderns to revive the Pythagorean hypothesis of the motion of the earth round the sun. Cusanus had studied at most of the great universities, but held none of them in great esteem, for he professed a sovereign contempt for the scholastic philosophy which still held its ground in those academies. At his death he left his wealth to a hospital which he had founded in his native village, and to which he attached a magnificent library. Deventer could boast indeed of being the fruitful mother of great scholars, such as Hegius, Langius, and Dringeberg, all of whom afterwards took part in the restoration of letters.

The Brethren, moreover, displayed extraordinary zeal in promoting the new art of printing, and one of the earliest Flemish presses was set up in their college. And in 1475, when Alexander Hegius became rector of the schools, he made the first bold experiment of printing Greek. It is not to be supposed that such a revolution as that which was brought about in the world of letters by the new invention could fail of producing events of a mixed character of good and evil. Whatever was fermenting in the minds of the people now found expression through the press, and Hallam notices 'the incredible host of popular religious tracts poured forth' before the close of the fifteenth century, most of them of a character hostile to the faith. The first censorship of printed books appears to have been established in 1480, by Berthold, archbishop of Mentz, who explained his reasons for taking this step in a mandate, wherein he complains of the abuse of the 'divine art' of printing, whereby perverse men have turned

that to the injury of mankind which was designed for their instruction. Specially he alludes to those unauthorized and faulty translations into the vulgar tongue of the Scriptures, and even the canons of the Church, wherein men of no learning or experience have taken on them to invent new words or use old ones in erroneous senses, in order to express the meaning of the original, 'a thing most dangerous in the sacred Scriptures.' He therefore forbids any such translations to be thenceforward published without being approved by four doctors, under pain of excommunication, desiring that the art which was first of all discovered in this city, 'not without divine aid,' should be maintained in all its honour.

This mandate was only directed against the faulty translations of the Holy Scriptures. No opposition was offered to the multiplication of correct versions, both of the Latin Vulgate, and its various translations. The Cologne Bible, printed in 1479, had before this appeared, with the formal approbation of the university. The very first book printed by Gutenburg and Faust in 1453, was the Latin Bible, and among the twenty-four books printed in Germany before the year 1470 we find five Latin and two German editions of the Bible. Translations of the Holy Scriptures into various tongues were among the very first books issued from the press; as the Bohemian version in 1475, the Italian in 1471—which ran through eleven editions before the close of the century, the Dutch in 1477, and the French in the same year. The admirers of Luther have therefore fallen into a strange error, when they represent him as the first to unlock the Scriptures to the people, for twenty-four editions of the German Bible alone had been printed and published before his time.

It was in the year 1476 that a little choir-boy of Utrecht entered the college of Deventer, and gave such signs of genius and industry as to draw from his masters the prediction that he would one day be the light of his age. He was a namesake of the founder, but, after the fashion of the day, adopted a Latin and Greek version of his Flemish name of Gerard, and was to be known to posterity as Desiderius Erasmus. Like Thomas à Kempis, he passed from the schools of Deventer to the cloisters of the canons regular, a step which, he assures us, was forced on him by his guardians, and never had his own assent. A happy accident enabled him to visit Rome in the suite of the Bishop of Cambray; and, once released from the wearisome discipline of convent life, he never returned to it, but spent the rest of his life wandering from one to another of the capitals of France, Italy, and England, teaching for a livelihood, courted by all the literary and religious parties of the day, and satirising them all by turns; indisputably the literary Coryphæus of his age, but penetrated through and through with its scoffing and presumptuous spirit. It was an age fruitful in pedants and humanists, whose destiny it was to help on the revolution in Faith by a revolution in letters. Schools and professors multiplied throughout Germany. At the very time when Hegius was teaching the elements of Greek to Erasmus, his old comrades Langius and Dringeberg were presiding over the schools of Munster and Schelstadt. Rodolph Langius exerted himself strenuously in the cause of polite letters, and whilst superintending his classes occupied spare moments in correcting the text of almost every Latin work which at that time issued from the press, and in making deadly war on the scholastic philosophy. His rejection of the old-fashioned school-books and his innovations on time-honoured abuses raised against him the friars of Cologne, and a controversy ensued in which Langius won so much success as enabled him to fix the stigma of barbarism on

his opponents. His friend and namesake Rodolph Agricola, who had studied at Ferrara under Theodore of Gaza, and was held by his admirers superior in erudition to Politian himself, at this time presided over the school of Groningen. Besides his skill in the learned tongues he was a poet, a painter, a musician, an orator, and a philosopher. Such a multitude of accomplishments won him an invitation to the court of the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg, where a certain learned academy had been founded, called the Rhenish Society, for the encouragement of Greek and Hebrew literature, the members of which, says Hallam, 'did not scorn to relax their minds with feasting and dancing, not forgetting the ancient German attachment to the flowing cup.' This is a polite way of rendering a very ugly passage, which in the original tells us plainly that the Rhenish academicians were addicted to excessive inebriety and other disgraceful vices. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that Agricola, who died three years after his removal to Heidelberg, received on his death-bed the habit of those very friars whom, during life, he and his friend Langius had done their best to hold up to popular contempt.

About the same time Reuchlin was studying at Paris, where, in 1458, Gregory of Tiferno had been appointed Greek professor. Reuchlin visited Rome, and translated a passage from Thucydides, in the presence of Argyrophilus, with such success that the Greek exclaimed, in a transport of delight (and possibly of surprise, at such an achievement on the part of a Northern barbarian), 'our banished Greece has flown beyond the Alps!' Reuchlin was a Hebrew scholar, a circumstance which, in the end, proved his ruin; for, embracing the Cabalistic philosophy, he abandonded classics and good sense in the pursuit of that absurd mysticism. In this strange infatuation he had many companions. Not a few of those who had shown themselves foremost in deriding the scholastic philosophy, ended by substituting in its place either open scepticism or the philosophy of magic. A few years later, the wild theories of Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, and Jerome Cardan, found eager adherents among those who conceived it a proof of good scholarship to despise St. Thomas as a Goth. Reuchlin, whilst pouring forth his bitter satires against the old theologians, was printing his treatise on the Cabala, entitled '*De Verbo Mirifico*,' wherein magic is declared to be the perfection of philosophy, which work was formally condemned at Rome. However, all the French savants of the Renaissance were not Cabalists, nor did all, when they introduced the study of Greek, forget that it was the language of the Gospels. The real restoration of Greek studies in France must be ascribed to Budæus, who made up, by the piety and indefatigable studies of his later years, for a youth of wild irregularity. He had studied under Lascaris, and though he had reached a very mature age before he devoted himself to letters, he soon became as familiar with the learned tongues as with his native idiom. His treatise on the *Ancient Money* first rendered his name famous, and secured him the friendship of Francis I. He profited from the favor shown him by that monarch, to solicit from him the foundation of the Royal College of France, for the cultivation of the three learned tongues, and thus fairly introduced the 'Cecropian Muse' into the University of Paris. If we may credit the authority of a grave rector of that university, this momentous change was advantageous, not merely to the minds, but also to the morals of her students. St. Jerome, as we know, imposed upon himself the study of Hebrew as an efficacious means of taming the passions; and Rollin affirms that many who, in former years, had been nothing but idle men of pleasure, when

once they began to read the Greek authors flung their vices and follies to the winds, and led the simple and austere manner of life that becomes a scholar. He quotes a passage from the manuscript Memoirs of Henry de Mesmes, which gives a pleasant picture of the college life of those days, and may be taken as an example of the sort of labour imposed on a hard-working law student of the sixteenth century :—

'My father gave me for a tutor John Maludan of Limoges, a pupil of the learned Durat, who was chosen for the innocence of his life and his suitable age to preside over my early years, till I should be old enough to govern myself. With him and my brother, John James de Mesmes, I was sent to the college of Burgundy, and was put into the third class, and I afterwards spent almost a year in the first. My father said he had two motives for thus sending me to the college: the one was the cheerful and innocent conversation of the boys, and the other was the school discipline, by which he trusted that we should be weaned from the over-fondness that had been shown us at home, and purified, as it were, in fresh water. Those eighteen months I passed at college were of great service to me. I learnt to recite, to dispute, and to speak in public; and I became acquainted with several excellent men, many of whom are still living. I learned, moreover, the frugality of the scholar's life, and how to portion out my day to advantage; so that, by the time I left, I had repeated in public abundance of Latin, and two thousand Greek verses, which I had written after the fashion of boys of my age, and I could repeat Homer from one end to the other. I was thus well received by the chief men of my time, to some of whom my tutor introduced me. In 1545, I was sent to Toulouse with my tutor and brother, to study law under an old grey-haired professor, who had travelled half over the world. There we remained for three years, studying severely, and under such strict rules as I fancy few persons now-a-days would care to comply with. We rose at four, and, having said our prayers, went to lectures at five, with our great books under our arms, and our inkhorns and candlesticks in our hands. We attended all the lectures until ten o'clock, without intermission; then we went to dinner, after having hastily collated during half an hour what our master had written down. After dinner, by way of diversion, we read Sophocles, or Aristophanes, or Euripides, and sometimes Demosthenes, Tully, Virgil, and Horace. At one, we were at our studies again, returning home at five to repeat and turn to the places quoted in our books, till past six. Then came supper, after which we read some Greek or Latin author. On feast days we heard mass and vespers, and the rest of the day we were allowed a little music and walking. Sometimes we went to see our friends, who invited us much oftener than we were permitted to go. The rest of the day we spent in reading, and we generally had with us some learned men of that time.'

We have the satisfaction of knowing that the frugal and laborious training of Henry's early life was the means of forming a manly and Christian character. Nor is the portrait less pleasing which the biographer of Budæus has left us of the domestic life of that great man, who, though he had visited the court of Leo X., in quality of ambassador of France, and was the chief lion of the French world of letters, retained to his dying day those simple tastes and habits, which we are assured resulted from no affectation of laconic manners, but a certain genuine sentiment of humility. His secretary and constant fellow-labourer was his wife, who sat in his study, found out passages in his books of reference, copied his papers, and withal did not forget his domestic comfort. Budæus needed some such good angel by his side, for he belonged to that class of scholars who are more familiar with the Latin *As* than with the value of louis d'ors. His mind was in his books, and whilst busy with the doings of the Greeks and Romans he could not always call home his absent thoughts. It is to be regretted, that with a character in many respects so amiable, Budæus should have permitted his love of Greek to lead him to take part with the Humanists in the ferocious onslaughts which they directed against the adherents of the mediæval learning.

EMINENT TEACHERS IN THE NETHERLANDS,

PRIOR TO 1500.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

[Translated by L. W. Fitch]

JOHN WESSEL.

JOHN WESSEL was a baker's son, and was born in 1420, at Groningen. Here he received his early education, after which he went to Zwoll, to the school of the Hieronymians, where Thomas-à-Kempis exerted a powerful influence upon him. He then studied in Cologne,—and about the year 1452 went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Bessarion and Francis de Novera, afterward Pope Sixtus IV. In 1470 he made a journey to Italy. Already won over to Platonism by Bessarion, his stay in Florence wedded him more closely to it. When in Rome, Pope Sixtus IV. bade him ask a favor of him, and Wessel accordingly besought him for a Greek and a Hebrew Bible from the Vatican Library. Returning to Paris in 1473, Reuchlin, then 18 years old, made his acquaintance, and he appears to have given a great impetus to the philosophical and humanistic studies of Reuchlin. His fellow-countryman, Agricola, was likewise with him at Paris; and was persuaded by Wessel to the study of the Hebrew.

In his later years he returned to his native country, and lived at times in the Mount St. Agnes Monastery, at Zwoll, where Thomas-à-Kempis also passed his long and peaceful life. He spent likewise much time in the monastery Edward, or Edouard, two hours distance from Groningen, and in a convent at Groningen. He died a peaceful death on the 4th of October, 1489, in his 69th year, and was buried in that Groningen convent.

His contemporaries called him "*Lux mundi*," also "*Magister controversiarum*;" the last epithet he owed to his many philosophical and theological discussions. His philosophy was originally realism, but later he became a nominalist, as were all the reformers with the exception of Huss.

His theological abilities were recognized by Luther. "Had I known Wessel or read his books earlier," says Luther, "my adversaries would have fancied that I had obtained this thing or that from Wessel; so much do our sentiments harmonize. It gives me peculiar joy and strength, and removes every doubt that I might have had of the soundness of my doctrine, to find that he agrees everywhere with me,

both in thought and opinion, expressing himself frequently even in the same words, though at a different era, when another air was over us, and another wind blew, and he too was accustomed to another fashion and to other junctures." In another place Luther says: "Wessel manages matters with great moderation and truth." On this account it was that Erasmus, who so dearly loved and prized peace, thus writes: "Wessel has much in common with Luther; but in how much more modest and christian a manner he conducts himself than do they, or most of them!"

Besides Latin, Wessel understood both Greek and Hebrew. The narrow limits of learning, as we find them laid down by the earlier Hieronymians, Wessel far exceeded. His long residence at Paris, and the journey to Italy, had widened his intellectual horizon; for it was only after a busy, active life in foreign lands, that a longing was created in his breast for his own land, and for the contemplative quiet that could be alone secured by a return among his kindred.

Greek he learned from Bessarion and other Greek scholars in Italy; but who taught him Hebrew we are nowhere informed.

His clearness of thought especially qualified him to teach. "The scholar," he says, "is known by his ability to teach."

His instructive intercourse appears to have had a very marked influence on many, as we have seen that it did on Reuchlin and Agricola. Especially must the frequent converse of many distinguished men with the aged Wessel, as in the monastery of Edward, have been very edifying, both in a literary and in a religious aspect.

Goswin of Halen, earlier, Wessel's scholar, and, at the close of the 15th and the commencement of the 16th century, head of the brotherly union at Groningen, writes of this converse to a friend as follows: "I have known Edward for more than forty years; but then it was less a monastery than a college. Of this, could Rudolph Agricola and Wessel bear me witness, if they were now living, as also Rudolph Lange, of Munster, Alexander Hegius, and others, who all have passed whole weeks, yea, whole months at Edward, to hear and to learn, and to become daily more learned and better." "To become better," says Goswin, for the earnestness of a christian morality animated all the studies of Wessel, a depth of thought which was radically opposed to the æsthetic pleasurableness of so many Italians. And this was why he studied, as well as he was able to do, the Old Testament in the original.

We can not better present to our view the love and the well-directed labors of Wessel, than in these words of his own: "Knowledge is not our highest aim, for he who only knows how to know, is a fool;

for he has no taste of the fruit of knowledge, nor does he understand how to order his knowledge with wisdom. The knowledge of truth is its own glorious fruit, when it meets with a wise husbandman; for by this truth he may, out of his clear knowledge, come to God, and become God's friend; since through knowledge he unites himself to God, and progresses step by step in this union, until he tastes how gracious the Lord is, and through this taste becomes more desirous, yea, burns with desire, and amid this glow God loves him and lives in him, until he becomes wholly one with God. This is the true, pure, earnest fruit of an earnest knowledge, which in very truth all men by nature do rather desire to possess than mere memory, that is to say, than knowledge, in and for itself. For, as unsettled and wavering opinions are empty without knowledge, so knowledge is unfruitful without love."

To this brief sketch of Wessel I add a passage from Goswin. It gives us a view of the nature of the studies that men and youth in Wessel's vicinity were accustomed to pursue at Zwoll, Edward, and other famous schools of that period, and likewise what writings people, molded by such influences, would chiefly read and prize. "You may read Ovid," Goswin remarks, "and writers of that stamp through, once; but Virgil, Horace, and Terence are to be studied with more attention, and oftener, because in our profession we need to bestow especial study upon the poets. But, above all, I will that you read the Bible constantly. And, since one ought not to remain in ignorance of history, I counsel you to take up Josephus, and for church history to read the *Tripartita.** Of the profane writers, Plutarch, Sallust, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Justin, will especially profit you. Then it will do you no harm to go through with the writings of Plato and Aristotle. But with Cicero we must remain longer, in order that we may acquire a truly Roman style. Next to our Bible it is well to give thorough and earnest study to Augustine. Him you may follow up by Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bernard, and Hugo St. Victor, a man full of rich instruction."

This passage shows how much the circle of study of the Hieronymians had become enlarged during the 15th century. This we owe to the influence which the Italians had over Wessel, Agricola, Rudolph Lange, and others, who again in their turn shaped with such power both German and Netherland culture. But the Bible remained to these thoughtful men the Book of books; neither were the Fathers thrust aside.

* This was a sketch of the history of the church taken from Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozemenes, translated into Latin by Cassiodors.

RUDOLF AGRICOLA.

RUDOLF AGRICOLA was born at Baflo, near Groningen, in West Friesland, in 1443. His proper name was Husmann. It is not known, where he received his earliest instruction. He studied at the University of Louvain, where he read Cicero and Quintilian chiefly, and after an honorable career, became a *Magister artium.* His intercourse with Frenchmen while at Louvain, was the means of teaching him the French language.

From Louvain, he proceeded to Paris, where he had John Wessel, among others, for a teacher. In 1576, he went to Ferrara. There he studied the ancients under Theodore Gaza and Guarini, copied with great diligence manuscripts, Quintilian among the rest, and won the applause of the Italians by his Latin speeches and poems, as well as by his accomplished singing to the guitar. He delivered an oration there in the praise of philosophy, before Hercules de'Este. There too commenced his friendship for Dalberg, afterward Bishop of Worms, and Diedrich Plenningen, whom he was wont to call his Pliny.

Returning to Germany, he tarried six months of the year 1481 in Brussels, at the court of the then arch-duke, afterward emperor, Maximilian I., on the behalf of the city Groningen. But it was in vain that he was urged to remain at Maximilian's court; for his repugnance to all manner of constraint was too great to admit of his accepting the proposal. In the following year, 1482, his friend Barbirianus, invited him to Antwerp, to superintend a school, and likewise to give lectures to amateurs. Agricola replied; "that his friend Plenningen, had, in Dalberg's name, urged him in a most polite letter to go to Heidelberg, and he had accordingly made the long journey from Holland thither. Dalberg, who was soon after chosen bishop of Worms, and other friends, had pressed him to *stay* at Heidelberg, saying, that he would exercise an advantageous influence upon the studies there, and would have many hearers. Philip, the count Palatine, had also overloaded him with kindness. And Dalberg had offered him his house, to regard as his own, to come and go at his pleasure. In view of all this, he had as good as pledged himself, but had taken a journey home first to make the needful arrangements. And now on his return he had received this invitation (of Barbarianus) at Bacharach; and it had caused him much perplexity, to relieve which, he had consulted with friends at Cologne. The result of their joint deliberations was, that he could not go to Antwerp,

because he was already as good as pledged to Heidelberg." In reference to the nature of the Antwerp offer, he expresses himself thus:—

A school to be given to him? That would be a hard and an irksome office. A school was like a prison, where scourging, weeping and howling alternated with each other forever. If there is any thing in the world, whose name is directly opposite to its nature, it is a school. The Greeks called it *schola*, leisure; the Latins, *ludus literarius*, the game of letters;—when nothing is further from leisure, nothing harsher and more antagonistic to all playfulness. A far more appropriate name was given to it by Aristophanes; viz., "φροντιστήριον," the place of cares. *I* conduct a school? What time would be left me for study; what repose, for invention and production? Where should I find one or two hours daily for the interpretation of an author? The boys would claim the larger portion of my time, besides wearing my patience to that degree, that whatever leisure time I could secure would be required, not for study, but rather to catch my breath and to compose my thoughts. You say "that with a less rigid discharge of my duties, I might lead a more agreeable life." I might indeed; but, were I neglectful, which of my colleagues would be assiduous, which of them would not rather, after my example, take his ease? I think, that a wise man should first carefully consider, whether he should undertake a thing or no; but when once he does undertake it, then he ought to exert every effort to perform it conscientiously. You say, that I can devote one or two hours a day to lecturing on some classical author before the nobility; but I would have no leisure for this, since the freshest and best part of every day must be given to the boys, even to weariness. And such lectures meet with discouragements and drawbacks, as I know from experience. In the first glow of zeal many take hold of them; later, when the zeal is cold, some plead off on the pretext of business, others from the re-action of enthusiasm become disgusted, and others again are led to stay away, if for no other reason, because their neighbors do. One finds it too much trouble, another, too great an expense. So it comes about, that of a large audience, scarce four or five shall remain with you through the course.

It might *appear*, that a man who had not the smallest inclination to teach either old or young, would not deserve mention in a history of education. But it would be appearance merely. For if Agricola took no pleasure in teaching, himself, yet the prosperity of schools was a matter of deep interest to him. This is evident from parts of this very letter to Barbirianus. He begs him, to persuade the Antwerpers to subject the man, with whom they purposed to intrust the schools, to a conscientious examination beforehand.

They should not select a theologian, neither any one of those hair splitting doctors, who imagine that they are competent to speak upon any subject whatever, while they know nothing, in the first place, of the very art of speaking itself. Such people are as much out of their element in schools, as, according to the Greek proverb, a dog would be in a bath. Much rather ought they to choose a man after the style of Phœnix, the preceptor of Achilles, who should be able both to teach, to speak and to act; if they could find such an one, they should make sure of him at any price. For their decision was no unimportant matter, since the destiny of their children depended on it. It was no small thing that they were about to do; for it pertained to their children, for whose future welfare they themselvee in other respects were now toiling and struggling. Their utmost care should be bestowed on that tender age, which, even with the best talents, takes the stamp of good or evil indifferently, according to the influence brought to bear upon it.

In a subsequent letter to Barbirianus, Agricola praises the friendly reception that Dalberg had given him. But on the other hand he

writes to his brother of his complete unhappiness in the midst of all the prosperity that he enjoyed at Heidelberg.

It is hard for me, in advancing age, to learn to serve. And though no service is required of me, yet I know not whether I am not more greatly burdened, in feeling constrained to impose those duties on myself, which others have released me from. Thus freedom itself exacts a heavy service of me.

His love of freedom dissuaded him from wedlock ; or, as he wrote to Reuchlin, it was a shrinking from care, and a dislike to be tied down to an establishment.

Of great importance to us are Agricola's letters to his friend, Alexander Hegius, the famous Rector of Deventer, of whom also we are soon to speak.

One of these letters dates from Worms, whither Agricola had gone in the retinue of the Bishop Dalberg. He commences by commending Hegius; for, as he perceives by his writing, he has improved in his Latinity, (*politiorem te, limatioremque fieri.*) He showed his letter to Dalberg, who joined with himself in wishing Germany joy of such a teacher, exclaiming, "*Macte virtute, sic itur ad astra.*" Farther on, he laments that studying with the bishop, and public lectures, consume too much of his time. His pupils, with the best inclination, shewed scarce any capacity for study : they were mostly masters, or "*Scholastici artium*" so called, who squandered all their time upon the sophistical nonsense of the schools, (*cavillationes,*) and hence found no room for attention to classical studies. "For this reason,"* he adds, "I have undertaken the Hebrew, which is a new and a very difficult labor to me, and which (I could scarce have believed it) gives me much more trouble than did Greek, earlier in life. Yet I am determined to persevere. I have assigned the study of the Holy Scriptures to my later years, provided that my life is spared."

In a previous letter to Hegius, in 1480, he accuses himself for intermitting his studies, and mentions, as the chief cause of his neglect, the fact, that he has no one in Groningen, with whom he can labor in common. Among other matters, he answers some philological questions, which Hegius had submitted to him. He defines the words, *mimus, histrio, persona, scurra, parasitus, nebulo, nepos, vesper, aurora, tignum, trabs, asser, contignatio.* He expresses a doubt whether *bonum sero* is as good Latin as *bonum mane.* "As it regards the derivation and formation of new words after the analogies of the language," he says, "I should hardly venture to form a word for which I could not shew classical authority ; yet I might haply have said, '*Socratitas,*' '*Platonitas,*' and '*entitas,*' although our Laurentius Valla disapproves of such words." Farther on Agricola explains

* For lack of encouragement.

διοίκησις, marks the precise difference between ἡ διαλεκτικὴ and τὰ διαλεκτικά, and suggests a correction in what Hegius has written, viz., that he should use '*intra*' or '*post quantum temporis*' instead of '*quanto tempore.* The above will serve to characterize the condition of philological science at that time, and to indicate its gradual advance. In the same letter he writes to Hegius; that he will send his brother to him to school, provided private instruction in the elements can be given to him out of school hours. "I am very desirous," he writes, "that my brother should learn the elements as speedily as possible. For I think that boys only lose time when they remain too long at these; and that, in the way that these are ordinarily taught, the scholar is filled with disgust for learning, and with '*barbarism*' at the same time, so that later in his career he learns what is better and more important not only more slowly, but with greater trouble."

In the year 1484, Agricola wrote a long letter to Barbirianus on the method of studying (*de formando studio.*)

The question arises, what we shall study, and then, in what method? Determined either by taste or inclination, or by circumstances, some choose civil law, others canon law, others again medicine. But the most direct their attention to the verbose but unfruitful 'arts,' so called, and waste away their time in frivolous and out of the way discussions,—in riddles, which, in all these many centuries have found no Œdipus to solve them; nor will they ever. Still he advises Barbirianus to apply himself to philosophy, though to a philosophy widely different from the scholastic; that, namely, which inculcates just modes of thought, and teaches how to express with propriety that which has been first rightly apprehended.

Philosophy is divided into moral and natural. The first is, to be drawn, not merely from Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, but likewise from the facts and examples of history. Thence, we come to the Holy Scriptures, after whose divine, unerring precepts we are to pattern our lives. For all other writers have not clearly perceived the true aim of life, and hence their doctrines are not free from error.

Researches into the natural world are not of such importance as ethical inquiries, and are to be viewed only as a means of culture."

Agricola recommends the study of geography, of the botany of Theophrastus, the zoölogy of Aristotle, and likewise advises attention to medicine, architecture and painting.

Both moral and natural science are to be drawn from the classics, with the view of acquiring at the same time the art of rhetoric and expression. He should also translate the classics with as much exactness as may be, into the vernacular; for through such exercise in translating, the Latin words will soon spontaneously occur at the same time with the thought. Whatever he designed to write in Latin, he must first think out with thoroughness and care in the vernacular; for any errors of expression are less liable to pass unobserved, if in the mother tongue. Before he proceeds to the ornaments of rhetoric, he should learn to write with purity and correctness. "Who-

ever would study to advantage, must observe three things: first, to apprehend aright; then, to hold the matters so apprehended fast in the memory; and lastly, to cultivate the faculty of producing something ones' self.

As regards apprehending aright the sense of what is read, he advises to apply the understanding closely to the subject in hand with reference both to the scope of the whole and the meaning of the parts; yet not with such rigor as to puzzle ourselves over an obscure passage, not passing on until we have mastered that. But we ought rather to read farther, trusting that afterwards, through the explanations of a friend or otherwise, the difficulty will be cleared up. One day teaches another.

He then gives directions for strengthening the memory.

'We must, with unpreoccupied, attentive spirit, grasp the object, and again from time to time call it up before the mind.' Then follow rules for composition. "If we create nothing," says Agricola, "all our learning remains dead within us, and will not be like the living seed, which, when cast into the ground, springs up and bears rich fruit. But there are two things indispensable to us: one, that we should not merely store up that which we have learned, in our memory, but should rather always have it at hand, and be able to bring it forth; then, in addition to what we have derived from others, we should invent something ourselves. It will materially aid us in invention, if we arrange a set of general notions, *capita*, under which we may sketch what we already know; some such heads for instance, as *virtue*, *vice*, *life*, *death*, etc. Then it will prove a great help, should we analyze every thought thoroughly and contemplate it under many different lights." This point he had discused more at length in his six books, "*de inventione dialectica.*" "Whoever conforms to both the above precepts, will at last attain to the readiness of the Greek sophists, who could speak at will, and without preparation, upon any theme that should be given to them."

After this methodology, Agricola comes in the same letter to his Hebrew studies.

"Think of my presumption, or rather of my folly; I have decided to learn Hebrew, as if I had not already wasted time and trouble enough hitherto on my Greek. I have hunted up a teacher, a Jew, who was some years since converted, and who, previously, on account of his learning and knowledge of the doctrines of the Jews, had been chosen as their champion, when they contended for their faith with Christians. The bishop has, for my sake, taken this man into his house, and is providing for his maintenance. I will try what I can do; I hope to bring something to pass; and perhaps I shall succeed, because I hope."*

He translated the Psalms.

Melancthon, in his preface to Agricola's 'dialectics,' relates what Pallas, professor of theology at Heidelberg, and Reuchlin, related to him from their personal acquaintance with Agricola. Said Pallas; "at Heidelberg, as earlier at Louvain, he led an exemplary life. From his extensive learning, Agricola has often thrown a definite light

* Erhard has given a short extract from this work, in his history of the revival of Classical Learning. Melancthon in his preface to Agricola's dialectics, says: "There are no modern works on the Topics and on the use of Logic, so good and so rich as these books of Rudolf." Agricola himself is very pointed in his condemnation of the scholastic logic.

upon subjects under dispute, not alone in the department of philosophy, but in law and theology; and has displayed herein no contentious and dogmatical spirit, but friendliness and a spirit of peace. For the elector Philip, who always took delight in listening to him, Agricola wrote a compend of history."

In the year 1485, Dalberg was sent by the Elector just named, to Rome to present his congratulations to Pope Innocent VIII, on his coronation, and Agricola accompanied him on this journey.* Returning to Heidelberg, he was attacked by a fever. But before the physician arrived, he had tranquilly breathed his last. He died on the 28th Oct. 1485, aged only forty-two years.

Erasmus testifies of him as follows:

Agricola has surpassed in culture every one on this side the Alps. There was no scientific attainment in which he did not compete with the greatest masters. Among the Grecians, he was a pattern Greek, (*graecissimus,*) among the Latins, a pattern Latinist; as a poet, he was a second Maro, as an orator, he recalled Politian's grace, but he excelled him in majesty. Also when he spoke *extempore*, his speech was so pure and unadulterated, that you would have deemed yourself listening, not to a Frieslander, but to a Roman. To his perfect eloquence he united an equal degree of learning; all the mysteries of philosophy he had fully investigated. Nor was there any part of music, which he did not fully understand. In the last years of his life he applied himself with his whole soul to the study of Hebrew and the Holy Scriptures. He thought little of fame.†

Agricola broke a path for classical philology in Germany. Saxo, in his eulogy on Agricola, says:

At an epoch when the most corrupt Latin prevailed in Germany, together with that uncertainty that no one knew what good Latin was, and when admiration was lavished on insipidity, it was Agricola, and he alone, who first with ear and mind detected our blunders, and reached out after better forms of speech. Yet he did not undervalue the mother tongue, but regarded it as natural to every one, as the native vehicle of thought. Thence, as we have seen, he gave his counsel that whatever we would write in Latin, we should first compose in the vernacular, transferring it into Latin afterwards. He himself wrote songs in the mother tongue, and sang them to the guitar. He understood both French and Italian. Wessel appears to have had much influence upon Agricola. It was Wessel, as we have seen, who directed his attention when at Paris to the study of Hebrew; and they both subsequently enjoyed much mutual intercourse in the monastery of Edouard. "There," Goswin von Halen tells us, "he listened, when a boy, to the conversations of Agricola and

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* Dalberg's speech is given in Agricola's works, as the production of the latter. It was delivered on the 6th of July, 1485. 'I think,' so the speech reads, 'that grace of oratory and excellence and splendor of diction are not much to be expected from a German, nor indeed ought they to be.'

† That this panegyric might not be accounted partial, Cis-Alpine, or patriotic merely, Erasmus quotes the well-known epitaph, which Hermolaus Barbarus wrote. "The envious fates have enclosed within this marble tomb, Rudolf Agricola, the hope and the glory of Friesland. While he lived, Germany, without doubt, deserved all the renown that either Latium or Greece ever obtained."

Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rudolphum
Agricolam, Frisii spemque decusque soli,
Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis,
Quidquid habet Latium, Græcia quidquid habet.

Wessel, when they bewailed the obscuration of the church, the desecration of the mass, and the abuses of celibacy; also when they spoke of the apostle Paul's doctrine of "justification by faith without the deeds of the law."

Such conversations,—the earnestness with which Agricola, in his 41st year, applied himself to the study of the Hebrew,—his expressed determination to devote his old age to the study of the Holy Scriptures;* all this indicates that he was not merely, through his classical learning, a forerunner of the dawn of classical culture in Germany, but that he also, in this holy earnestness in the study of the sacred writings, heralded the coming Reformation. At his death Luther was two years old.†

ALEXANDER HEGIUS.

Alexander Hegius, so beloved and honored by his contemporaries, was born in 1420, or, according to some, in 1433, at Heek, in Westphalia. He was frequently, as we have seen, in the society of Wessel, Agricola, and others in the monastery of Edouard; and from letters of the latter, we may perceive how the modest Hegius suffered himself to learn from Agricola, his junior.

Boitzbach, one of his later scholars, informs us, that he died in advanced age at Deventer in 1498, and was buried on the day of St. John the Evangelist, (Dec. 27,) in the Church of St. Lebuin. There too sleeps Florentius Radewin. At first Hegius was gymnasiarch‡ in Wessel, then in Emmerich, but later and for a much longer period at Deventer. Agricola writes to him at the opening of the school at Deventer, wishing him all manner of success, and the more cordially as the place had been recently decimated by a frightful pestilence. Since he remained at the head of this school for thirty years, and until his death, as we gather from three several authorities, he must have entered upon his office in the year 1468. Erasmus entered the school in 1476, in his ninth year.

The character, attainments, and educational significance of Hegius, we are compelled to derive in part from a few of his posthumous writings, and in part from cursory expressions of others, chiefly his contemporaries and scholars. Those writings,§ consisting almost entirely of dialogues, were not given to the public until 1503, five years after his death. These dialogues are in the form of short and clear

* "*Statui enim senectutis requiem (si modo ea me manet,) in sacrarum literarum perquisitione collocare.*"—Agricola to Reuchlin.

† The fullest edition of Agricola's works is, "*Rudolphi Agricolae Lucubrationes aliquot lectu dignissimae in hunc usque diem nusquam prius editae, caeteraque ejusdem viri plane divini omnia quae extare creduntur opuscula—per Alardum Amstelredamum. Coloniae apud Gymnicum*, 1539. 2 vols. 4 to."

‡ Principal, head-master—of a gymnasium.

§ "*Alexandri Hegii artium magistri, Gymnasiarchae quondam Daventriensis, philosophi, presbyteri, utriusque linquae docti, Dialogi.*" At the end of the book the printer's name is

question and answer.* He treats abundantly of geometry and astronomy; refers to Euclid, gives geometrical definitions and formulas for obtaining the contents of figures. He gives frequent definitions of Greek words. In the 'Farrago,' we find numerous philological remarks. The Greek language he can not commend too highly. 'Whoever desires to understand grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, history, the Holy Scriptures, etc.,' so he told his scholars, 'must learn Greek. For to the Greeks we are indebted for every thing.' In a letter to John Wessel, he tells him that he has paid a visit to the library founded by Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus, in Cuss on the Moselle, the native place of the latter, and likewise what books he brought away with him. He sent Wessel the homilies of Chrysostom. "I found," he writes, "many Hebrew books, which were *entirely new* to me. I have brought away St. Basil on the Creation and his homilies on the Psalms; the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles; the Lives of some of the Greeks and Romans by Plutarch, as likewise his Symposium; some treatises upon grammar and mathematics; some poems of deep significance upon the Christian religion, which, if I mistake not, were composed by Gregory Nazianzen; and also a few speeches and prayers. If you can now spare, without inconvenience to yourself your copy of the Greek gospels, I beg you to lend them to me for a while." At the conclusion he writes; "you wish to have a more particular description of my method of instruction. I have followed your counsel. *All learning is futile which is acquired at the expense of piety.* Dated at Deventer."

In the light of all that we have now cited, and of the letters of Agricola to Hegius also,—Hegius appears to have been a man, who was animated by an enthusiastic love for classical studies, and who yet, with the humility of the true scholar, suffered himself to learn, even in his age, from Agricola. In his dialogues we detect the practiced and clear headed logician. He gives much attention therein to mathematics and natural philosophy. And with a far higher degree of learning than was common in the times in which he lived, he nevertheless ranked all knowledge, without exception, below godliness

His estimable character, by which he was especially fitted for the

given as follows: "*Impressum Daventriae per me Richardum Pafret*, 1503." The subjects of the Dialogues are: (1.) *de scientia et eo quod scitur.* (2.) *De tribus animae generibus.* (3.) *De incarnationis mysterio.* (4.) *Dialogus physicus.* (5.) *De sensu et sensili.* (6.) *De arte et inertia.* (7.) *De Rhetorica.* (8.) *De moribus.* (9.) *Farrago cui addita Invectiva in modos significandi.* Two letters are given after the Dialogues, thus completing the work.

* We give an example. *Q.* What is the difference between knowledge and opinion? *A* Knowledge is assent unalloyed by fear. For he who knows does not fear that he may be deceived. Opinion, on the contrary, is assent mingled with fear. He who opines or thinks fears that he may be in the wrong. *Q.* What is error? *A.* Deflection of the intellect from the truth, or of the will from righteousness.

post of *rector*, elicited a deserved tribute of praise from many quarters. "Westphalia," says Erasmus, "has given us Alexander Hegius, a learned, saintly, and eloquent man; though, from his contempt for fame, he has produced nothing great." "Hegius," he says elsewhere, "was quite similar in character to Agricola; he was a man of guileless life and singular learning, one in whom even Momus could have discovered but a single fault; namely, that he undervalued fame beyond what was reasonable, and troubled himself but very little for the opinions of posterity. If he wrote any thing, he did it more in sport, as it were, than with a sober purpose; yet his writings are of that sort, that in the judgment of scholars, they are deserving of immortality." Murmellius tells us that Hegius was as learned in Greek as in Latin. But Hegius' name has come down to the present day, not so much through his works, which are scarcely known to us, as through his distinguished pupils. I will mention a few of the more famous of these.

Erasmus. In his ninth year, in 1476, he entered the school of Hegius.

Hermann Busch, who was born in 1468, was placed under Hegius when quite young, since he learned the first rudiments of grammar in the Deventer school. Of him and Erasmus likewise we shall say more, farther on.

John Murmellius, of Roermond; first a soldier, then a scholar of Hegius. Driven from Cologne in 1498, because he made war upon the barbarous Latin of the Colognese, he betook himself for aid and counsel to his teacher, who sent him to Rudolf Lange, at Munster, where he taught for fourteen years: in 1514 he was appointed over a school in Alcmaar. Impoverished by a fire, he returned to Deventer, where he died in 1517. He wrote much; both for the promotion of classical learning, and the overthrow of "barbarism."

John Caesarius, of Juliers. Driven away by the Colognese in 1504, because he attacked their old school books, then sent by Hegius to Lange at Munster, where he became teacher of Greek. He was induced later by the solicitations of Count Nuenaar, to return to Cologne. There he died in 1551, at the age of ninety years. He edited, among other works, Pliny's natural history.

Conrad Coclenius, born in 1485, at Paderborn, became a Professor at Louvain, and was the teacher of John Sturm. Erasmus commends him as a distinguished philologist.

Joseph Horlenius, rector of a school in Herford, was the teacher of Peter Mosellanus.

Timann Camener, rector in Munster, from 1500 to 1530.

The characteristic, which was common to all the above-named scholars of Hegius, as well as to the most renowned pupils of these scholars, was a passionate love of classical culture, which did not shrink even from martyrdom. Only two of those, who came forth from the school at Deventer, bore no traces of the general stamp. These were Pope Adrian VI., who was there when a boy; and Ortuin Gratius, whom the "*Epistolae obscurorum virorum*" erected into a very unenviable notoriety.

RUDOLF LANGE AND HERMANN BUSCH.

AGRICOLA and Hegius had many friends, who labored with zeal for the spread of classical study. Among these RUDOLF LANGE has been already mentioned. He was born about the year 1439 at Munster. Sent by his uncle to the school at Deventer, he afterward went to the university of Erfurt, where he was made master of philosophy; then he journeyed to Italy, where he enjoyed the teachings of Philelphus, Theodore Gaza and others. Returning to Munster, he devoted his life to the cause of school education. Sent by the college in that place, in the year 1480, to Pope Sixtus IV., he delivered in his presence an admirable Latin speech, and was heartily recommended by him and Lorenzo de Medici to the bishop of Munster. Thereby he acquired so much consequence that he was emboldened to oppose the Colognese Academy, when it maintained an adherence to the old school-books, the Doctrinal of Alexander* and the like. Lange appealed to the arbitration of the Italian scholars. After these had decided in his favor, the school at Munster was completely re-arranged after his directions; and at his instance, Camener and Murmellius, scholars of Hegius, were appointed teachers therein. The teachers took counsel with Lange upon the authors to be read in the school, and they made a diligent use of Lange's library, which was very rich in both Greek and Latin classics. Lange was a poet likewise. There is an epic from his pen, upon the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; a second, upon the siege of Nyon on the Rhine; and a third, in honor of the Apostle Paul. Hegius sung of Lange's poetical talents;†

* ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, a Minorite of Dole, a grammarian and a poet, who lived at the beginning of the 13th century, composed a doctrinal for boys, (*doctrinale puerorum*,) or a Latin grammar in verse. He was the author, likewise, of a poetical summary of the subjects of all the chapters of both the Old and New Testament.

† The epigram of Hegius upon Lange reads as follows:

"*Nil est quod fieri nequeat, jam ferre poetas*
Barbarie in media, Westphalis ora potest.
Langius hanc decorat, majorum sanguine clarus
Monasteriaci, lausque decusque soli
Primus Melpomenen qui rura in Westphala duxit
Cum caneret laudes maxime Paule tuas."

and Agricola reposed the highest confidence in his philological researches.

Luther's Theses appeared when Lange was well advanced in years, and as he read them, he said, "the time is at hand, when the darkness shall be removed from church and from school, when purity shall return to the churches, and a pure Latinity to the schools." This latter expression is significant of the ideal of the more earnest German scholars of that day.

After an extremely active and devoted life, Lange died in 1519, two years subsequent to the dawn of the Reformation, in his eightieth year. He was provost of Munster at his death. His nephew, whose troubled life extended far into the epoch of the Reformation, was the before-mentioned

HERMANN BUSCH, who was born in 1468, of a noble family of Westphalia. Sent by Lange to the school of Hegius at Deventer, he was there noticed by Agricola, who said to him, "you have a poetical head; you are destined to be a poet." From Deventer, Busch went to Heidelberg, there attended the lectures of Agricola, and, on his advice, studied Cicero with great diligence. Then he visited Tubingen, where he formed a friendship with Simler, who was afterward Melancthon's teacher. In the year 1480 he accompanied Lange to Italy; in 1486 he took a second journey thither, when he made the acquaintance of Picus, Politian and other Italian scholars. On his return to Germany, he fell into a strife at Cologne with the notorious Hochstraten, and was compelled to leave the city. And from this time he traveled during many years through Germany, England and France, giving his time principally to the universities, and delivering longer or shorter courses of lectures upon the classics at various places; among others, at Hamm, Munster, Osnabruck, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck and Wismar.

His lectures at Gripswald, (about 1505,) the reformer Bugenhagen attended, while a student there. At Rostock he attacked a certain Heverling, who read lectures *in German*, upon Juvenal. This one took his revenge by putting in train a series of machinations, which resulted in Busch's expulsion from the place; Busch in his turn retorted by a collection of epigrams, in which among other things he reproached Heverling with reading lectures in the vulgar tongue,*

* Here is a specimen:

> "*Quidquid Heverlingus legit auditoribus, illud*
> *Vulgari lingua, Teutonicaque docet.*
> *Ergo ad Heverlingum perget, meliore relicto,*
> *Discere qui sordes, barbariemque velit.*"

namely the German; a censure, by the way, which was but too characteristic.

At Erfurt, Busch effected a formal banishment of the mediæval school books; in Leipzic in 1506 Helt and Spalatin were among his auditors. Magdeburg denied him admittance; and on his second establishment in Leipzic, in 1510, he was expelled by Duke George.

After much journeying to and fro, he came a second time to Cologne, and was a second time driven from thence, at the instigation chiefly of Ortuin Gratius, because he wrote against that old grammatical text-book, the *Doctrinal.* Hereupon he became rector of a school in Wesel, where he gave to the world a defense of the recently revived classical studies against the boorish attacks of the monks.*

When the Reformation began, Busch read with avidity the writings of Luther and Melancthon, and in 1522 resigned his office at Wesel, and went to Wittenberg, and there applied himself with ardor to the study of the Bible and the Fathers. At the recommendation of the reformers, he was invited by Philip of Hesse to Marburg, to take the historical professorship. Here he read lectures on Livy and Augustine; in 1529 he wrote upon the authority of the Bible. At the Marburg Eucharist controversy, which he attended, he declared for Luther and against Zwingle.

About the time when the Anabaptist disturbances began at Munster, Busch retired from Marburg to Dulmen, where he had a small estate, left him by his mother. Invited to Munster by the magistracy, he went thither on the 7th of August, 1533, to hold a disputation in German with the Anabaptists,—the notorious Rothman especially. Busch endeavored to prove the validity of infant baptism by an appeal to the Scriptures; but Rothman only retorted with insolent scorn. After a long dispute Busch was seized with a sudden indisposition, which compelled him to leave the hall, and on the way the fanatical populace jeered at him, as one whom God was punishing for his blasphemy. Troubled in mind, he returned to Dulmen, and soon after died of grief, in 1534, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Busch was a man of eminent talents. Erasmus thus describes him: "He would have been a successful poet; in his prose he shewed himself a man of strong intellect, extensive reading, keen judgment, and no little energy; his style was more after the pattern of Quintilian, than that of Cicero."

A traveling teacher and apostle of classical culture, he endured much persecution for the cause.

* The treatise was entitled *Vallum humanitatis*. The Dominicans of Cologne in their sermons called poets "knaves," orators "swine," and their works "the husks of the devil."

ERASMUS AND HIS EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

Desiderius Erasmus, a Latinized Greek rendering of his Dutch name, Gerardus Gerardi, was born at Rottendam, on the 28th of October, 1467. At the age of four years he was put to school at Terqau or Utrecht, where by his own account, he made little progress. In his ninth year he joined the school of the Hieronymians, at Daventer, where the better teaching of Alexander Hegius and John Swinthein, rapidly developed his genius, so that Rudolph Agricola, during an examination of the themes of the boys, was surprised and delighted with the originality and style of that of Erasmus, and encouraged him by his timely praise and exhortation to continued diligence. The great scholar in his letters often speaks of the value of this timely recognition of his school-boy proficiency. On the other hand, his spirits were much broken by a severe and undeserved chastisement, against which, in teachers, he often inveighs as the cause of more dullness than it cured.

While on a visit to the monastery of Steyne, in his seventeenth year, he encountered an old schoolmate, a certain Cornelius, who persuaded him to take the dress of a novice and make the religious profession of the Augustinian friars. Here he became intimate with William Hermann, of Gouda, a young man of like disposition, studious habits and classical attainments. They read together the best Roman authors, and devoted much time to Latin composition, in which Erasmus acquired great facility and felicity of expression.

In 1495, Hermann de Bergis, with whom Erasmus resided two years, Bishop of Cambray, and by whom he was ordained priest on the 25th of February, 1493, sent him to Paris to continue his theological studies. Here he resided in the college of Montague, and eked out the irregular and slender remittances of his patron Bishop, by teaching. Among his pupils was an English nobleman, Lord Mountjoy, who made him an annual allowance, and was ever after a steady friend and benefactor. At Paris, he entered on the mastery of the Greek language with a true scholarly enthusiasm.

A portion of 1497, was spent as private tutor in the family of the Marchioness of Vere, in Burgundy, and in 1498, he visited England on the invitation of his pupil, Lord Mountjoy. Here he made the acquaintance of Grocyn, Pace, Lenacre, Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Lily. With the two last, on a subsequent visit, he helped to establish St. Paul's School in London, and organize its course of instruction. He was also at Oxford, and taught Greek in the University. On his return to France, he published his treatise "*De Copia Verborum et Rerum*," and "*de Conscribendis Epistolis*." But his "*Adagia*," or explanation of Greek and Latin proverbs, published in 1500, gave him an European reputation. In 1503, his "*Manual of a Christian Soldier*," and translations into Latin of parts of Euripides, Plutarch, and other Greek authors appeared.

In 1506, Erasmus visited Italy, and was complimented at Bologna, with the doctorate of divinity. At Venice, he superintended the printing of his "*Adages*," at the celebrated press of Aldo, in whose house he lodged. At Rome, he was received in the most flattering manner by scholars and clergy, and great inducements were held out to him to take up his residence there. But the solicitations of Mountjoy, and the new friends he had made on his former visit, induced him to leave Italy for England, where he spent several years. During this visit he printed his "*Encomium Moriæ*," or "*Praise of Folly*," which was composed in the house of Sir Thomas More.

In 1514, he was made by Charles, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor Charles V, one of his counselors, with a good stipend, and for several years led an itinerating life, residing for brief periods at Louvain, Antwerp, and Basil. While at Basil he printed (1516,) the works of St. Jerome, at the press of Froben, and editions of Terence, Suetonius, Plautus, Cicero, Seneca, with a translation of the Greek Grammar of Gaza, and various smaller works, which were great helps to the study of the literature of Greece and Rome.

In 1517, first appeared his edition of the Greek Testament with a Latin translation, and notes grammatical and explanatory, and was received with great favor. This publication places him among the greatest benefactors to biblical literature. From Pope Leo X., to whom the work was dedicated, he received a flattering letter. He was offered a professorship at Louvain, and Ingoldstadt, was flooded with letters from cardinals, bishops, and scholars; and crowned heads solicited the honor of his residence at their courts. But he prized his liberty, even with poverty, to a residence in college, or at court with constantly recurring duties even with wealth. "Courts are splendid misery, and as for wealth and honors, I want them not.'

About this period he became involved in the religious reformatory discussions of the day—but without gaining special favor with either party. In 1522, the first edition of his "*Familiar Colloquies*" was issued, by which he has become more widely known to succeeding generations than by all his other publications. He printed his "*Irenæus*" in 1526, his "*Chrysostom*" in 1526, and his "*Augustin*" in 1528. His "*Ciceronians*," and treatise "*On the right Pronunciation of the Latin and Greek Languages*," appeared about the same time. Erasmus died on the 12th of July, 1536, at Basle.

EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

"The Ciceronian" of Erasmus merits special attention in a history of education, since it advocates in a clear and pointed manner that ideal of culture which began to prevail in the time of Erasmus. This ideal, it is true, concerned itself rather with *methods* of culture than with culture itself, and rather with *forms* of instruction than with the knowledge to be imparted. But any regular and distinct path to knowledge will finally bring us to our goal, although through by-places it may be, and by long and needless windings. In the dedication of the "Ciceronian," Erasmus briefly unfolds to Blattenius his design. "A school has arisen," says he, "self-styled 'Ciceronian,' that in its insufferable arrogance rejects all writings which do not wear the features of Cicero; that deters youth from the perusal of other authors, and inculcates upon them a superstitious imitation of Cicero alone, while, at the same time, it does not itself display one particle of Cicero's spirit." He then intimates his belief that a sinister design lurks behind these teachings of the Ciceronians, viz.: to convert Christians into Pagans. In this connection, he alludes to certain German youths, who, on returning from Italy, and from Rome in particular, had proved to have become strongly tinctured with Paganism; and he closes by indicating his purpose to show the true way in which Cicero should be imitated, so that his surpassing eloquence may be engrafted on the spirit of Christian piety.

The speakers in the dialogue are *Bulephorus*, (in whom we recognize Erasmus himself,) and *Hypologus*, his fellow-partizan. Both unite in the endeavor to reclaim *Nosoponus*, an ultra-Ciceronian, from his misdirected studies, and they are at last successful.

Nosoponus begins with the emphatic declaration, that he abominates whatever is un-Ciceronian, and that he indulges no higher wish than to be himself called a Ciceronian by the Italians; but he laments that as yet of all the Cis-Alpines, *Longolius* alone enjoys that honor. Then he goes on to narrate the manner in which he is prosecuting his purpose.

For seven years he has read Cicero alone,—not a single other author,—with the view to purge himself thoroughly of every un-Ciceronian phrase. And he has stored nearly the whole of Cicero in his memory. Now he intends to spend another seven years upon the imitation of his model. All the words used by Cicero he has arranged alphabetically in a huge lexicon; all his phrases, in another; and, in a third, all the feet which commence and terminate his periods. In addition to these labors, he has prepared comparative tables of all those words which Cicero has used in two or more different senses in different passages. He is not content with a reference to the paradigms of the grammars, but perplexes himself over Cicero's use of *amo*, *amas*, *amat*, instead of *amamus*, *amatis*, *amant*, of *amabam*, instead of *amabamus;* or, in compound words, with his use of one form instead of another, as *perspicio* instead of *dispicio*. *Nosoponus* overrides all grammatical rules, ignores every other author received as classical, and attaches no weight even to analogy. He thinks that a genuine Ciceronian should never employ even the most insignificant particle, unless he can show his master's authority for it. He then goes on to describe, without appearing to realize its absurdity in the least, the plan which he himself pursues in writing Latin. If, for instance, he wishes to pen a note to Titius, on the occasion of returning a borrowed book, perhaps, he first rummages all the letters of Cicero, together with each of those special lexicons, that he himself has compiled with so much labor, and selects appropriate words, phrases, etc. Six whole nights he is thus accustomed to spend in composing an epistle of only as many sentences; then he revises it ten times; then lays it aside for a future perusal. And, after all these repeated revisions, possibly not a single word of the original draft will remain. *Bulephorus* thereupon suggests, that haply thus the letter might be delayed so long that it would be of no use. "No matter for that!" says *Nosoponus*, "provided that it is only Ciceronian at last." "But," rejoins *Bulephorus*, "how is it in speaking Latin, where such delay is impracticable?" "In such case," *Nosoponus* replies, "I avoid speaking, if possible; or, for ordinary purposes, I make use of Dutch or French; when, however, I must use Latin, I resort to my memory, in which I have carefully stored up for such emergencies a full stock of Ciceronian phrases upon various subjects."

After *Nosoponus* has thus unfolded the full extent of his folly, *Bulephorus* begins the attack; gently at first, but soon he exerts more vigorous efforts, and steadily progresses to the overpowering completeness of the argument. "Quintilian," says he, "recommends the

perusal, not of one author alone, but of many. Only he singles out Cicero, as the most worthy of attention." "For this very reason," rejoins *Nosoponus*, "Quintilian could not have been a Ciceronian." "But," *Bulephorus* asks, "when subjects are to be treated which do not occur in Cicero, what are we to do? To seek the Elysian fields, and consult with the orator himself in person?"

To this *Nosoponus* responds: "I would discard all subjects that do not admit of being discussed in Cicero's recorded words."

Bulephorus now proceeds to criticise the aim of the Ciceronians; which is, to assimilate themselves as far as possible to Cicero. "Apart from the fact," says he, "that many of the writings of this exemplar have perished, those which are extant, through the carelessness of copyists, abound in errors and interpolations. Here then, to what perils do the Ciceronians expose themselves! Time would fail us to reckon up the number of pseudo Ciceronianisms, which they have thus received and lauded as the genuine words of their master. But, again, in Cicero himself, some grammatical blunders have been detected; and also, verses, which he has translated from the Greek, are not always faithful to the original. Yet all these defects likewise have been praised and copied by these worshipers of his. But their imitation is mainly of the most superficial nature. Particles, special phrases, modes of ending sentences, and the like,—to such things they pay exclusive attention, applying them in a quite arbitrary manner, and often inappropriately. Because their master has so frequently commenced his periods with *etsi*, quanquam, quum, etc., they conclude that they themselves will be perfect Ciceros, if they only commence their sentences in like manner. Such men would accredit the 'Books to Herennius' to Cicero, for the sole reason that they commence with *etsi*. And again, since Cicero did not date his letters, they likewise must needs omit the year of our Lord in their correspondence; nor do they affix titles to their works, for they find none in Cicero. Those Christian greetings, with which we commence our letters, such as 'Gratia, pax, et misericordia a Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo,' the Ciceronian holds in derision, as similar phrases at their close; and yet they are far more appropriate to the Christian character than 'Salutem dicit,' or 'Bene vale.' Cicero, it is true, made no use of them; but this is not to be wondered at, for he knew nothing of the things signified by them. And in fact, how many thousand subjects are there, upon which we have frequent occasion to speak, that Cicero possibly never even dreamed of!

"And he himself, I doubt not, were he now living, would implore these narrow-minded imitators to spare his good name. A lifeless

imitation is cold and passionless; and by no mere affectation can we ever hope to appropriate the higher excellencies of the orator whom we have taken for our pattern. We look in vain among these Ciceronians for Cicero's happy invention, his clear arrangement, the skill with which he treats his subject, his power over the passions, and his large experience; for, instead of a just and appreciative reproduction of his spirit, they present us only with a ghastly and hollow mask of his form."

"Every age," continues *Bulephorus*, "has its special characteristics, and on this account demands its particular style of eloquence. Cicero's speeches would not have suited the sterner times of Ennius, and Cato the censor, to say nothing of the present day. Since the age of Cicero every thing has changed,—religion, government, authority, manners and laws. Should it be required of [illegible]t the present day to speak and write as Cicero spoke and wrot[illegible] ever[illegible]ust have consuls, tribunes, prætors and ediles again; in sho[illegible] even [illegible]sti-tutions of ancient Rome must all be restored. Who[illegible]ver emplo[illegible]re, desires to conform to the present age, and to adapt [illegible] his master the circumstances in which he is placed, (and withou[illegible] appearing [illegible]and aim it is impossible for any one ever to becor[illegible] pursu[illegible]) must differ widely from Cicero. Of what ser[illegible]ce [illegible] T[illegible] style of eloquence prove to the Christian orator, add[illegible]ng Christian men and women upon repentance, prayer, or alms-gi[illegible]ng,—subjects in regard to which Cicero was entirely uninformed?" [illegible]o illustrate this point, *Bulephorus*, (speaking for Erasmus,) br[illegible]p the case of a Ciceronian, whom, on a certain Easter-Eve, he had heard preach before Pope Julius II. "The sermon," said he, "consisted mainly of a panegyric upon the Pope, whom the orator called 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus,' in the plenitude of his power wielding the forked thunderbolt, and guiding the universe by his nod. Then he spoke of the Decii, and of Q. Curtius, who, for their country's sake, had sacrificed themselves to the *Dii Manes*, and of Iphigenia, Cecrops and others, to whom their country was dearer even than life. To such persons the ancients erected statues in commemoration of their deeds; but Christ, in return for all the good which he accomplished among the Jews, was crucified. In short," said *Bulephorus*, "the Roman spoke so like a Roman, that the speech contained no mention of Christ's death at all. And yet the Ciceronians at Rome pronounced his sermon a marvelous effort, worthy of a Roman, and worthy even of Cicero himself. Had a school-boy addressed his mates in such a speech, it might have passed muster as a tolerably good thesis; but what had it to do with such a day, with such an audience, and with

such an occasion? Surely these men, who have Cicero ever in their mouths, only slander his fair fame. And," he continues, "it is astonishing with what arrogance they look down upon what they style the barbarism of Thomas Aquinus, Scotus, Durandus and others; and yet, if we scan the merits of these authors critically, although they laid no claim either to eloquence, or yet to Ciceronianism, we shall perceive that in both these respects they far outstrip their detractors, this blustering crew, who all the while deem themselves not merely Ciceronians, but veritable Ciceros."

As *Nosoponus* appears astonished at this emphatic declaration, *Bulephorus* proceeds to explain more minutely, in what an orator should resemble Cicero. "He should speak upon every subject in that clear and perfect manner that only a thorough knowledge of the subject can give, and he ought moreover always to speak from the heart. Hence, it follows that the Christian orator must understand the mysteries of the Christian religion, and must study the sacred writings with no less diligence than did Cicero the works of philosophers, poets, jurists and historians. Through his intimacy with these it was," continues *Bulephorus*, "that Cicero became so great. But if we, who claim to be called spiritual teachers, are familiar neither with the law nor the prophets, neither with sacred history nor exegesis, and what is more, if we despise and abominate them all, what title have we or can we have to the name of genuine Ciceronians? Must not every one of our addresses bear the Christian stamp, if we would pass not only for good orators, but even for good men? And, how is this possible, if we use only those words and phrases which we can find in Cicero? Are we to substitute the language of Cicero for that of the church? Instead of God the Father, are we to say 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus?' instead of Jesus Christ, Apollo? and, instead of Mary, Diana? Are we to say sacred republic instead of church, and Christian persuasion instead of Christian faith? Shall we style the Pope, Flamen Dialis, the priest of Jupiter, and call the prophecies oracles of the gods? Be it so then, and let us see whither it will lead us. Take, for instance, the following brief summation of our faith:—'Jesus Christ, the Word and the Son of the Eternal Father, according to prophecy, came into the world, and, having become a man, voluntarily surrendered himself to death, and so redeemed his church, and delivered us from the penalty of the law, and reconciled us to God, in order that, justified by grace through faith, and freed from the bondage of sin, we might be received into his church, and persevering in its communion, might, after this life, be admitted into the kingdom of heaven.' And how would a Ciceronian

express it? Somewhat in this manner, viz.: 'The interpreter and son of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, our saviour and our sovereign, according to the responses of the oracles, came down to the earth from Olympus, and, having assumed the human shape, of his own free will sacrificed himself for the safety of the republic to the Dii Manes, and so restored to it its lost liberty, and, having turned aside from us the angry thunder-bolts of Jupiter, won for us his favor, in order that, through our acknowledgement of his bounty, having recovered our innocence, and having been released from the servitude of flattery, we might be made citizens of his republic, and having sustained our parts with honor, might, when the fates should summon us away from this life, enjoy supreme felicity in the friendship of the immortal gods.'"

Nosoponus now asks *Bulephorus* whether he would commend the style of Thomas Aquinus and Scotus; to which he replies: "If you will admit that he who conforms his language to his subject is to be admired, then I prefer the manner in which Thomas and Scotus handle sacred things far before that of the Ciceronians. Yet there is a medium between Scotus and these apes of Cicero. Latin words not to be found in Cicero are not on that account to be rejected; words relating to agriculture we can adopt from Cato and Varro; words relating to the church, from Tertullian and Augustine. Every art, science, or institution has, too, its peculiar technical terms; grammarians, for instance, use *gerund* and *supine;* mathematicians, *fraction* and *equation;* the church, *amen* and *apostle*, etc. Were Cicero now living, and were he a Christian, he certainly would not affect indifference to the language of the church; he would say 'faith in Christ,' 'the Comforter,' etc. And why then should we not cite the authority of Holy Writ, as Cicero quotes from Ennius and others? Is Solomon inferior to Plato? are the psalms of less account than Pindar? or does Holy Writ any where rank below the writings of uninspired men? Certainly not. How comes it then, that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, sounds more agreeable to our ears than Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles?" *Hypologus* imputes this state of things to the extensive use which is made of the classics in education, through which the language in which they are written, becoming familiar to us, captivates our imaginations in a degree disproportionate to its true merits; while, on the other hand, the language of the Bible, receiving but little attention, appears not only unattractive in our eyes, but even barbarous. To this *Bulephorus* adds: Our heathenish proclivities, (*nostra paganitas,*) pervert both our taste and our understanding. We are Christians only in name; we confess Jesus with

our mouths, but Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Romulus are in our hearts. Were it not so, what name could sound sweeter in our ears than the name of Jesus? Should we extirpate these pagan notions of ours, as we ought to do, then a far different style of oratory would prevail. Yet even now, no one will acknowledge himself to be a pagan, although so many glory in being called Ciceronians.

At this point, the conversation is directed to the inquiry, "How far is Cicero to be imitated?" "It is foolish," says *Bulephorus*, "to endeavor to write another man's sentiments, to labor that our works should be the echo, for instance, of Cicero's thoughts. Thou must properly digest all thy manifold reading, not merely storing it in thy memory or in an index, but by reflection assimilating it to thy soul. So thy spirit, nourished by all kinds of spiritual food, shall pour forth an eloquence all its own, and there shall be no savor therein of this or that flower, leaf, or herb, but it shall partake throughout of the very essence and bent of thine own spirit; and thus the reader will not find thy writings to be fragments from Cicero, cunningly joined together, but the reflection of a mind filled with all knowledge. The bees," he added, "gather their honey, not from a single flower alone, but with marvellous diligence they visit every flower and shrub; and even then they have not gathered pure honey, but they so prepare and refine it afterward in their stomachs, that we can perceive neither the taste nor the odor of any of the various flowers from which it comes."

Bulephorus now asks further: "On what occasion can we make use of this Ciceronian eloquence? Is it in the court-room? There, causes are handled by attorneys and advocates, people who are any thing but Ciceronians. As little can we use it in the senate-chamber, where French is employed, or else German. Can we then use it in preaching? But the hearers do not understand Latin; hence it is not adapted to the pulpit. Where then *shall* we use this species of eloquence? At best, in embassies to Rome, to deliver, according to custom, an elaborate but useless harangue, which often has need to be interpreted for the benefit of those to whom it is addressed. All important business is there, as well as elsewhere, transacted either by writing, or orally, through the medium of the French language. What purpose, then, can this accomplishment of the Ciceronian subserve? That of writing letters to the learned? But no one of these insists that Latin should be altogether Ciceronian, with the exception of four Italians, who boast themselves, of late, to have become perfect copyists of Cicero."

And now *Bulephorus* calls over, one by one, the names of a number

of Latin authors, both ancient and modern, and asks *Nosoponus*, at the mention of the successive names, whether he considers this or that man a Ciceronian; but none of them all is acknowledged by him. "Pliny, the younger," says he, "is so little of a Ciceronian, that we have forbidden our youths to peruse any of his letters, lest they should become Plinians, instead of Ciceronians. Among the moderns likewise, we reckon none as Ciceronians, neither Valla, nor Politian, nor Budæus; Peter Mosellanus, however, would undoubtedly have gained this distinction, had he not died too soon." "How is it with Erasmus?" asks *Bulephorus*. "Him," replies *Nosoponus*, "I do not even style a writer, much less a Ciceronian. A polygraphist truly he is, who blots much paper with his ink. He hurries through with every thing; he will write you a whole volume, *stans pede in uno;* he can never prevail upon himself even to look over what he has once written; and, besides being no Ciceronian, he employs theological and even vulgar expressions." In like manner he disposes of Agricola, Hegius, Busch, Wimpheling, Reuchlin, Melancthon, Hutten, Pirkheimer, and others. At last *Bulephorus* exclaims; "So many lands have you diligently searched through, and there is no Ciceronian anywhere to be found!" "*Longolius* alone," rejoins *Nosoponus*, "forms an exception: although he is a Brabanter, and was educated at Paris, yet he has been recommended by the Italians as a pure Ciceronian." "*Longolius*," says *Bulephorus*, "paid for his renown with his life; and the speeches, which he made in Rome, had, it is true, an air of elaborate refinement about them, but they were based upon an artificial reproduction of a long vanished age, and not upon the living relations of the present time. Such speeches are forced and unnatural, and weary the listener; they are in no wise fitted for any thing but the declamations of school-boys."

Thereupon, *Bulephorus* again defines a genuine imitation, as opposed to servile copying. "The one," says he, "consists in a living, spiritual assimilation of the classics, while the other calls out merely the external adornments of words and phrases. The writer, or the orator, who would not deceive us by acting out of character, must not attempt to personate another individual's mind. The language of the Christian, at least, should not be perverted, nor his character disgraced by such a preposterous imitation of Cicero." In such an independent manner, unmoved and unbiased by the false notions of his contemporaries, did Erasmus render his verdict against their misuse of Cicero; a verdict which applies with equal propriety in the case of all the classics. How justly, too, does he express himself upon the only true method of studying authors, that method which exerts so immediate

and so marked an influence upon our own productive faculties. "While thus the reader grows spiritually, his own creative powers are strengthened and matured."

In the like fearless and perspicuous manner, did Erasmus give his opinion upon the necessity of practical knowledge in order to a correct interpretation of the classical authors. We will single out a passage on this point from his "Dialogue on Pronunciation." The speakers are the Lion and the Bear.

"*Bear.*—Do you style that man a grammarian, who, when he is addressed in Latin, is able to reply without making any blunder?

Lion.—In our day, such a person is commonly esteemed a grammarian.

Bear.—But Quintilian requires of the grammarian, facility in explaining the poets, acquaintance with history, knowledge of antiquity, etc. Should he possess no thorough knowledge of these things, yet he must not be entirely unfamiliar with them, if he wishes to be deemed capable of instructing youth. Because the grammarian is expected to comment on the "Arma virumque," we must not on that account expect him to be a Pyrrhus, or a Hannibal; nor, because he is to interpret Virgil's Georgics, should we require him to be an experienced agriculturist. If again he is to expatiate upon the voyage of Æneas, we ought not to demand that he be a thorough-bred sea-captain; nor that he be an Apicius, when he is about to treat of a passage upon cookery. But, on the other hand, what dependence is to be placed upon the grammarian, who is entirely ignorant both of the construction and the use of fire-arms and tools, or who knows nothing even of the disposition and organization of an army? Could he learn these things by experience, it would profit him not a little, but, where this is out of the question, he should inform himself from books, or from conversation with men, who have been personally connected with such matters, or, so far as may be necessary, from accurate drawings. And the same method is applicable to every other art to which he may have occasion to refer.

Lion.—Such grammarians, as you have described, there may have been formerly, but they are now out of fashion.

Bear.—That is very true; and hence our children, after they have grown old almost, under the present race of teachers, return to their homes, without being able to call a single tree, fish, or plant, by its right name."

Similar demands, likewise, Erasmus urged in his essay, "On the correct method of pursuing study." In this, he inculcates upon teachers the necessity of attending to many branches of science, such

as geography, natural history, etc. "It is incredible," says he, "how profoundly ignorant in respect to such matters the generality of teachers are at the present day." Yet Erasmus himself regarded the natural sciences merely as indispensable means to a correct interpretation of the classics, nor did he appear to have had the remotest idea of their importance in themselves. How far in advance of him, in this respect, was Luther, whose keen-sighted intellect, in spite of the benumbing influence of school and cloister, remained ever vigorous and active! "We are now," said Luther on a certain occasion, "in the morning-dawn of a better life; for we are beginning again to recover that knowledge of the creation, which we lost through Adam's fall. By God's grace, we are beginning to recognize, even in the structure of the humblest floweret, his wondrous glory, his goodness, and his omnipotence. In the creation we can appreciate in some measure the power of Him, who spake and it was done, who commanded and it stood fast. Consider the peach-stone: although it is very hard, yet, in its due season, it is burst asunder by the force of the very tender germ, which is inclosed within the shell. But all this, Erasmus passes by, not regarding it for a moment; and views this new knowledge of the creature, only as cows look upon a new gate."

His treatise upon "Study," by reason of its succinctness, gives us no exhaustive methodology, but only single rules for the direction of teachers. Some of these rules are worthy of careful attention; especially those relating to the improvement of the scholar's style. For this end, Erasmus commends, above all other means, frequent exercise in translating from Greek into Latin; as this not only assists in the understanding Greek authors, but also gives an insight into the peculiarities of both languages. This counsel applies with equal force in our day to translating from foreign languages into our mother-tongue. Then too, while any particular author is being read, the teacher should comment and explain only so far as may be necessary to a thorough understanding of the sense; but he must scrupulously refrain from an ostentatious and inappropriate display of his own erudition at every passage.

Erasmus was moreover directly instrumental in promoting a knowledge of the Greek language, through his translation of the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza.

But no one of all his works has played so important a part in the school-world, as the Dialogues, (Colloquia.) The first edition of these, Erasmus himself was dissatisfied with: the second, published in the year 1522, he dedicated to the son of Frobenius, then but six years of age, as also the third, published in 1524. In the dedication to the

last, he says, "the book was so much liked, met with such a rapid sale, and was so generally used by youth, that he was induced at once to prepare another and an enlarged edition. Many have become such superior Latinists, and likewise so much better, (Latiniores et meliores,) by the use of this book, that he, (the boy,) would not be put to the blush in their society."

But this book, designed to make boys both better and better Latinists, was condemned by the Sorbonne, prohibited in France, burned in Spain, and at Rome interdicted to all Christendom.

And whoever peruses these dialogues, will not be at all astonished at this. For they abound in most insidious attacks and sharp satires upon monks, cloister-life, fasts, pilgrimages, and other matters pertaining to the church. And this fact is enough of itself to have occasioned the condemnation of the book, without any reference to the many frivolous and improper expressions which it contains.

We are astonished that such a book should ever have been introduced into so great a number of schools as it was. What have boys to do with those satires? Reformation is the work of mature men alone. What have boys to do with conversations upon so many subjects, of which they know absolutely nothing? with conversations where teachers are made sport of, where two women discuss the respective merits of their husbands, where a lover is urging his suit with a maiden, or, above all, with a conversation like the "Colloquium adolescentis et scorti?" This latter reminds us of Schiller's distich, entitled "Artifice:"

> Would you at once delight both the men of the world and the godly,
> Paint for us pleasure, but paint ye the devil therewith.

Erasmus here depicts the vilest of pleasures, but adds his censure for edification. And such a book this learned theologian gravely recommends to a boy of eight years of age, as one whose perusal will make him better, though at the same time as one which will perfect him in Latin; and to this end it is admirably adapted. For the various personages of Erasmus here express themselves with astonishing facility upon subjects, which we would scarcely have believed capable of being handled in the Latin tongue, such as horse-dealing, the chase, taverns, and the like.

Teachers, who were wont to give the plays of Terence to their scholars to commit to memory and to act, took no offense at the nature of these Dialogues, so long as they secured what they considered the highest aim of all culture, viz.: a readiness in speaking and in writing Latin.

Terence is not responsible for the misuse that was made of him

after the lapse of fifteen hundred years: but Erasmus, the theologian, *is* responsible for his frivolous book, nay doubly so, inasmuch as he designed it for youth, even though they should become thereby Latinists of the first eminence.

In Luther's Table-talk, there are some expressions in regard to these Dialogues, which teachers would do well to lay to heart. "Erasmus," says he, "lurks behinds the fence, does nothing openly, and never comes boldly into our presence,—and for this reason are his books very pernicious. When I die, I will forbid my children to read his Dialogues; for in them he utters and teaches many a wicked sentiment by the mouths of his fictitious characters, with the deliberate design to injure the church and the Christian faith. Erasmus is a crafty knave; that, one sees in all his books, but especially in his Dialogues, in which he is particular to say; 'I myself speak not here, but my personages.' To Lucian I give some praise, for he comes out boldly, and indulges in open mockery; but Erasmus sophisticates every thing which is from God, and every thing holy, and does it all in the name of holiness; for this reason he is much more mischievous and corrupting than Lucian."

The Dialogues at least, can not but have an injurious effect upon the moral sentiments of youth. Cold, unloving satire, frivolity and shuffling, act as poison upon the simplicity and artlessness of the young. Erasmus is wonderfully clear and eloquent, when he treats of any thing purely scientific; but he was not the man to write books of instruction, to address children from a fatherly heart, and to care for the good of their souls.

The unhappy man had no father's house, no country, and no church; in short, he had no object to which he could devote his powers in self-sacrifice; therefore did he become selfish, timid, and double-minded, for love was a stranger to his breast. We do not wonder then that he dissolved all connection with the upright, outspoken Luther, that true-hearted and affectionate pastor of his beloved Germans.

THE SCHLETTSTADT SCHOOL, AND JOHN REUCHLIN.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Louis Dringenberg. Wimpheling. Crato. Sapidus. Platter.

We have confined ourselves thus far to the labors of North Germans and Netherlanders for the restoration of classical learning, and for the cause of popular education.

Some of the men above-noticed led, as we have seen, a migratory life as it were: Wessel, Agricola and Erasmus, all lived a longer or a shorter time in South-Germany and Switzerland, and exerted an influence upon learning there. Three places in the south became by this means centers of intellectual light, namely, Schlettstadt, Heidelberg and Tubingen. We will now consider what took place at Schlettstadt; Heidelberg and Tubingen shall receive due attention when we come to Melancthon.

Schlettstadt, a small imperial town of Lower Alsace, grown wealthy on its lucrative wine traffic, determined, about the middle of the 15th century, to found a school, and for that purpose invited the Westphalian, Louis Dringenberg, to become its first rector. He took his name from Dringenberg, his native place, a small town six miles to the east of Paderborn: he was educated at the school of the Hieronymians at Deventer. Of his method of instruction we only know this, namely, that he gave his pupils a religious training, and that, with regard to the mediæval school books, the Doctrinal, especially, though he did not venture to throw them aside, he nevertheless aimed to make them as harmless as possible. But if the tree may be known by its fruits, then the many distinguished men, who were sent forth from Dringenberg's school, are our best witnesses that his method was a good one.—He died in 1490, after having been at the head of the school for forty years.

Among his pupils the name of Jacob Wimpheling has become the most familiar to us. He was born at Schlettstadt in 1450, and died there in 1528. At the close of his school-education, he studied at Freyburg, Basle and Erfurt. He took his master's degree at Heidelberg in 1479, was created dean of the philosophical faculty there, and during the years 1481 and 1482 he was Rector of the university. Afterward he became a preacher at Spires, where he

lived somewhat longer than at Heidelberg; then he went again to Heidelberg, where he read lectures upon St. Jerome, and also directed the studies of many young men, Count Wolfgang Lowenstein among the rest. To the latter he dedicated his educational treatise, entitled "*Adolescentia*," in which he gave prominence to moral precepts, illustrating and enforcing them by quotations both from the Bible and the classics. A second work, the Isidoneus, (εἴσοδος, introduction,) is devoted on the other hand mainly to his method of conducting the study of the liberal arts in general, but with a special application to the classics: his "*Elegantiae majores*" and "*Elegantiarum medulla*" are school books. His epitome of German history was likewise designed for a manual of instruction.

One of Wimpheling's pupils, the distinguished James Sturm, we shall meet with again. For him it was that Wimpheling composed the essay "*De integritate*," containing rules for study and for the conduct of life, and enjoining upon him, above all things, a diligent perusal of the Bible. Some expressions in this essay, reflecting upon the monks, drew from the Augustinians demonstrations of hostility toward the author, to which, however, Pope Julius II. put an end.

Of Wimpheling's efficiency at Strasburg we shall speak in another place.* Strongly as he inveighed against the corruptions of the church, yet he did not go over to the side of the Reformation. This violent movement and schism in the church, coming as it did in his old age, accordingly occasioned him much anxiety and care.† He retired to Schlettstadt to the house of his sister, Magdalena, where he died in his seventy-eighth year.

A *second* scholar of Dringenberg's was George Simler, afterward Melancthon's teacher, both at Pforzheim and Tubingen; a *third*, Eitelwolf Stein, is known to us by his active friendship for Hutten.

Dringenberg's successor in the rectorate was Crato, (or Craft Hofmann,) who may lay claim to Beatus Rhenanus as one of his scholars. The real name of Rhenanus was Bild. He was born at Schlettstadt in 1485, and died at Strasburg in 1547. He labored much in the field of German history, wrote annotations on Tacitus, edited Vellius Paterculus, Procopius, etc.

Rhenanus continued at the Schettstadt gymnasium under the rectorate of Crato's successor Gebwiler, and with him John Sapidus,

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* Under "John Sturm."

† "In addition to other calamities, which put Wimpheling's virtue sorely to the test, this fatal division, which has extended throughout the whole church, came in, and with its superinduced weight, well nigh crushed him; he had no sympathy with this corrupt age."—*Erasmus.*

(Witz,) a nephew of Wimpheling's. This latter, born at Schlettstadt in 1490, about the year 1514, after traveling and studying at Paris, himself became Rector of the gymnasium in question.

And under his rectorate the school grew so rapidly that in 1517 it numbered no less than 900 scholars. Among these was Thomas Platter of Switzerland, whose autobiography* calls up before us a vivid picture of life and manners, as he found them at the school.

But the school did not long continue to be so full. As early as 1520 Sapidus joined himself to the reformatory movement, and in consequence became alienated from Wimpheling. And, because Schlettstadt declared decisively *against* the Reformation, Sapidus left the place and settled in Strasburg, where he was employed as a teacher in the new gymnasium, and where he died in 1561.

After a while the Schlettstadt school lost its reputation, and the Jesuits obtained control over it. The original school house is standing to this day.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

[*Born at Pforzheim, Dec.* 28*th*, 1455. *Died at Stuttgart, June* 30*th*, 1522.]

Reuchlin's parents were worthy and honorable people. The young John early made a marked progress in the languages and in music. Because of his good voice he was taken to the court at Baden; in 1473, when eighteen years of age, he accompanied the Margrave, Frederick of Baden, to Paris. Here he formed the acquaintance of Wessel; and here Hermonymus of Sparta gave him lessons in Greek, whereupon he studied Aristotle before all other authors, bestowing diligent study the while upon Latin.

In his twentieth year he went to Basle, there continued his Greek under the tuition of Andronicus Contoblacus, a native of Greece, at the same time reading Latin and Greek authors. At that period he also compiled a Latin dictionary, under the title "Vocabularius breviloquus."

He now revisited France, studied law in 1479 at Orleans, and in 1480 at Poictiers, teaching at the same time; then returned to Tubingen, married, and entered upon the active duties of the legal profession.

In the year 1482 Reuchlin accompanied Eberhard, the elder, on a journey from Wittenberg to Rome; he was selected, principally for the facility with which he spoke Latin, and for his correct pronunciation.† He delivered a most admirable speech in the presence of Sixtus

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* We give extracts from Platter's Autobiography, on pages 79-90.

† When the ambasssdors of the Pope met Eberhard, his chancellor replied in Eberhard's name to their greeting as follows: (mark the pronunciation!) *Ceil*sissimus et *Eill*ustrissimus *na*oster Pr*ai*nceipa e*in*tellexit, etc. This the Italians did not understood, and accordingly Reuchlin was called on to reply to them.—When a certain French ambassador had addressed the Emperor Maximilian in a Latin speech, the Count of Zollern replied in the emperor's behalf, but in a broad and barbarous Swabian accent. To the question of Philip, Maximilian's

IV.; and soon after, together with Eberhard, waited upon Lorenzo di Medici.

In the year 1486, Reuchlin was sent, with two other ambassadors, by Eberhard to Frankfort, to attend the coronation of Maximilian I.; and in 1489 he took charge of an embassy to Rome. During this latter journey he became acquainted with Picus Mirandola, at Florence.

In 1492, he attended Eberhard to Linz, to the court of the Emperor Frederick III., who raised Reuchlin to the rank of nobility, and created him Count Palatine. He there made a valuable acquisition, in the acquaintance of James Jehiel Loans, the emperor's physician, a learned Jew, who gave him a most careful and accurate course of instruction in Hebrew. Frederick presented Reuchlin with a Hebrew Old Testament, valued at 300 *gold* florins.

The excellent duke, Eberhard, the elder, died in the year 1496, and was succeeded by a profligate ruler, Eberhard, the younger. He appointed for his chancellor, Holzinger, an unprincipled Augustinian monk, who had once been arrested through Reuchlin's means. Under the government of such persons, Reuchlin had nothing but evil to look for; and hence in the beginning of the year 1497 he returned to Heidelberg, where he received a most friendly welcome at the hands of Dalberg. There he wrote *Sergius*, a satirical comedy in ridicule of Holzinger; a second comedy, which he transferred from the French, Dalberg gave to the students to act.

In the year 1498 Reuchlin was sent by the Elector-Palatine Philip on an embassy to Pope Alexander VI., before whom he delivered a Latin address. He remained a year at Rome, and took lessons in Hebrew daily of Abdias, the Jew, to whom, for every hour of instruction, he gave a gold florin: while there, he also attended the lectures of Argyropulus on Thucydides. The first time that he heard Argyropulus, this one asked him to what country he belonged, and then, whether he had paid any attention to Greek before? when Reuchlin replied, that he was from Germany, and was not wholly unacquainted with Greek, Argyropulus put a copy of Thucydides into his hands, with the request that he would read him some of it. Hereupon Reuchlin translated the Greek text very correctly and into pure Latin, so that Argyropulus cried out in admiration, "Our bereaved and exiled Greece has at last found a home beyond the Alps."

Eberhard, the younger, was formally deposed in 1498, and

son, "what sort of Latin is that?" the Wirtemberg chancellor, Lampart, replied, "that, princes, is Hechingen Latin." "Where did the count learn it?" continued Philip. "At Hechingen," said the chancellor, "a small Swabian town on the count's domains, where very coarse sackcloth is made. There the count's Latin was woven too." This incident afterward caused all such Latin to be designated by the name, Hechingen Latin.

Reuchlin returned soon after, in 1499, to Wirtemberg. From 1502 to 1513 he was one of the three judges of the Swabian league formed in 1488.

In the year 1506 he issued his "Rudimenta Hebraicae linguae," the fruit of his vigorously prosecuted and expensive Hebrew studies, and the means through which the Hebrew tongue was first introduced into the sphere of ordinary study. He said, that he had composed his Hebrew grammar without any assistance from others, "that so the Holy Scriptures might shed their light and healing upon the world, and our students might have wherewith to delight and to build themselves up: before me, there has been no one who has troubled himself with the attempt to set forth the whole Hebrew tongue in order in a book." In another passage he speaks of the toil and the money which the Hebrew grammar and lexicon have cost him. "To this," he says, "the invaluable worth of the Holy Scriptures was a sufficient inducement." "All the sacred writings," he says in his commentary on the seven Penitential Psalms, "both of the Old Testament and the New, I was ignorant of, as they were in their original languages; wherefore I applied myself with diligence to these, that by their help I might the better and with the more insight, discern the prophecy and its fulfillment." He wrote to Cardinal Hadrian as follows: "I gave my attention to Hebrew, because I foresaw the great service which it would bring to religion and to a true knowledge of God. All my literary labors hitherto I have shaped with reference to this end, as I shall continue to do in the future, and that with increased zeal. As a faithful follower of our Saviour, I have done what lay in my power toward the reëstablishment and the exaltation of the true church of Christ."

Reuchlin fully appreciated the importance of his "*Rudimenta*," for he closed it with these words, "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius.*" And he wrote on the subject to Amerbach thus: "For if I live, then by God's help the Hebrew tongue shall be built up. And if I die, the foundation that I have laid can not be easily destroyed."

Reuchlin was brought by his Hebrew studies into very unpleasant relations both with Jews, proselytes from Judaism, and Dominicans; but the lawsuits and controversies in which he was entangled by the means were productive of at least one good result,—they hastened the coming Reformation.

In the year 1505 he published the German letter to a nobleman, on the reason why the Jews have so long been under God's displeasure. He says, "It is because they slew the true Messiah, have never ceased to defame him, and are full of hatred to Christians. Their

punishment shall endure, until they acknowledge Christ as the Messiah." "If," he says, "any among them will shew himself willing to be taught concerning the Messiah and our true faith, I will joyfully take his part and render him such aid that he need have no care for his daily bread, but may serve God in peace, and live untroubled by anxious thoughts for the future."

Thus Reuchlin pronounces a clear and correct opinion respecting the Jews, and at the same time displays a genuine Christian love, in looking to the only possible emancipation of the Jews, namely, their being grafted again into the true olive tree.

In the year 1510 commenced those memorable controversies respecting Jewish literature, which for nine years so completely engrossed Reuchlin's attention. They originated in the following manner: A converted Jew, John Pfefferkorn by name, wrote appeals to magistrates and people, urging them to a general persecution of the Jews, and also called upon the emperor in particular to suppress all their books, with the exception of the Old Testament. Reuchlin received an order from the Elector of Mentz to render a verdict in the matter. He decided to the effect, that none of the writings of the Jews should be seized and burned, save those alone which were directly aimed at Christianity;—as it had been done formerly.* This verdict drew down upon him, not merely the hatred of Pfefferkorn, but the enmity of that powerful body, the Dominicans, especially those of Cologne, with the notorious Hochstratten at their head. Sharp polemical treatises flew back and forth. It was to no purpose that the bishop of Spires, who was appointed by the Pope to adjudge the case, decided in Reuchlin's favor. The Dominicans carried the suit to Rome. But there, too, Reuchlin was about to win his cause, when Leo X. issued a "*Mandatum de supersedendo*," the effect of which was to defer the termination of the suit so long as it might please the Pope, who stood in awe of the monks.

From this time forward the monks continued to shew their hostility to Reuchlin in every conceivable manner, acting as though they had already gained their cause. But help soon came to him from many quarters. The league of the Reuchlinists, so called, was formed, which declared for Reuchlin, for classical learning and a pure church, against the perverse, corrupt monks, and their decadent, hideous scholasticism, now in its dotage. Nearly all the distinguished men

* Many singular remarks are to be found in Reuchlin's verdict; for instance, "when Christ says, 'Search the Scriptures,' (writings,) he did not mean the Old Testament, but those Rabbinical writings, from which, later, the Talmud" (this, by the way, Reuchlin had not read) "was compiled." Reuchlin's love for the Cabbala and for Jewish literature probably had some influence in determining the mildness of his verdict.

of Germany of that age joined this league; men, who afterward, almost without exception, formed a mighty intellectual power on the side of the Reformation. Ulrich Hutten and Bilibald Pirkheimer were especially active in keeping the league together, and strengthening it against the pugnacious attacks of the Dominicans.

The severest blow which the Dominican brotherhood thus received in the persons of some of its members was the publication, in the year 1517, of the famous "*Epistolae obscurorum virorum.*" The probable authors of these burlesque letters are Hermann Busch, Crotus Rubianus and Wolfgang Angst; Ulrich Hutten and others may have made some subsequent additions. The letters are directed to Ortuin Gratius, to whom we have previously alluded as a scholar of Hegius, and a professor at Cologne: the purported writers are partly historical, and partly fictitious characters. The Latin is wretched, and, together with the subject-matters treated of, gives a vivid impression of the thoroughly repulsive, ignorant, profligate and villainous lives and acts of the Dominicans. And through the agency of this book the very name of Dominican became a scorn and a reproach.

At last in the year 1519 Francis von Sickingen put an end to the strife, by definitely assigning to Hochstratten and the brothers of his order one month in which to decide "whether they would for the future wholly discontinue their insolence toward his teacher, Dr. Reuchlin, 'that aged, discreet, pious and accomplished man,' and make good all the costs of court which had been put upon him; and furthermore, whether they would give him security at once and forever against all further persecutions? If not, then he, Francis von Sickengen, would carry out to the letter the original decree of Spires, pronounced in Reuchlin's favor, that so this 'good old man might spend the remainder of his honorable life in peace.'" The monks paid Reuchlin in full, and he had no more trouble from them. So ended this long strife, and the rather also, because a far more violent warfare had commenced at Wittenberg. Thither, since 1517, had all eyes been directed.

"Praised be God," said Reuchlin, when Luther appeared on the stage; "now they have found an opponent who will give them so much to do, that for very weariness they will be forced to leave the old man to his repose." On the other hand, Luther wrote to Reuchlin, in the year 1518: "Thou wast an instrument of the divine purpose. I was one of that number, who desired to aid thee; but there was no opportunity. Yet that which was denied to me as thy comrade, will most richly come to my share as thy successor. The teeth of that Behemoth are fastening upon me, that they may, if possible,

wipe out the disgrace which they have received at thy hands. I go to encounter them with less strength of intellect and less learning than thou hast shown, but with an equally cheerful heart."

But, nevertheless, in the closing years of his life, Reuchlin did not find that settled repose, to which he had looked. For in the year 1519, a war broke out between Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg, and the Swabian League. Ulrich was sent into exile. Sickingen, who was one of the leaders of the League, protected Reuchlin in Stuttgart. He afterwards went to Ingoldstadt, where, in 1520, he received from William, Duke of Bavaria, a salary of 200 gold-crowns, and read lectures on Hebrew Grammar, and on the Plutus of Aristophanes, to more than three hundred hearers. But he soon returned to Wurtemberg, where, however, he did not remain, but, went by invitation, to Tubingen, to teach Hebrew and Greek grammar in the university there. In the summer of 1522, he was taken sick, and died on the 30th of June, aged 67.

Reuchlin was a man of an imposing and dignified aspect; says one of his contemporaries, "of senatorial majesty." He was mild in his manners, and in the midst of trouble, anxious and timid.

He and Erasmus were the forerunners of the Reformation, of the schools as well of the church. But each, how different! How worthy appear Reuchlin's life, his labors in his country's behoof, and his holy, earnest love for the church, compared with the unloving, undevout, altogether trifling disposition of Erasmus! Reuchlin's perseverance in learning Hebrew, and the repugnance which Erasmus exhibited toward the very first rudiments of the language, are both characteristic. And to the different traits thus indicated, we may asscribe the aversions of Erasmus to mysticism, and Reuchlin's tendency toward it. This tendency is abundantly manifest in two works of Reuchlin's, namely, the "*De verbo mirifico*," and the "*De arte Cabalistica*;" in both of which he evinces a strong, spiritual affinity with Picus di Mirandola. In the dedication of the latter work,—it is addressed to Leo X.,—Reuchlin says: "Marsilius has edited Plato for Italy, John Faber Stapulensis restored Aristotle for France, and I will now make the number complete, and will give to the Germans Pythagoras, whom my labors have re-animated." If Reuchlin erred, it was the error of a mind of great depth and forecast, an error of which Erasmus was wholly incapable. And was not the spirit which stirred in Picus and Reuchlin, when as yet the world was unprepared to receive it,—was not this spirit destined sooner or later to crown the faithful and manifold labors of their many successors, in a glad and copious harvest?

Toward the conclusion of the work, "*De arte Cabalistica*," Reuchlin says: "I was the first to restore Greek to Germany, and I too was the first of all to introduce, and to deliver to the church the art and the study of Hebrew.*

As Erasmus prepared the way for the Reformers, by his version of the New Testament, so did Reuchlin by means of his Hebrew labors.

Erasmus, too, undermined the influence of the monks by ridicule. Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists did the same; but, in addition to this, they formed a positive intellectual power, a phalanx of strength, which at Luther's appearance in full spiritual armor, ranged itself under his banner, eager for the contest.†

And while the double minded Erasmus employed all the arts of a subtle sophistry to justify himself toward the Pope, Reuchlin, on the contrary, in the above mentioned dedication, came boldly before Leo X., appealing to the emperor, and to many princes, bishops and cities, to bear witness to his integrity.

RETROSPECT.

The period which we have thus far contemplated, the fifteenth century especially, may be termed a transitional period, looking back to the middle ages, and forward to the present day. For here the elements of ancient and modern times enter upon a conflict, which, increasing in intensity, at last, in the first half of the 16th century, bursts out into full flame.

First in order comes the attack upon the wide-spread corruptions of the church, corruptions which had infected the whole body to the very core. This begins in Italy as early as the fourteenth century, undertaken by Dante, Petrach, and Boccaccio, and extending down to the sixteenth century. But in Italy, alas! no Reformation results therefrom; Savonarola, to be sure, takes a step in that direction, but his aim is defeated.

Germans and Netherlanders too, from the fourteenth century on, are in various modes preparing the way for the Reformation. The Hieronymians lay bare the dissolute lives and deeds of the monks, the mendicant order chiefly, urge reform, and diffuse as far as possible, a knowledge of the Bible among the common people. Wessel observes many deficiencies in the teachings of the church, (being herein a predecessor of Luther);—Erasmus, as we have seen, undermines the

*Reuchlin's lectures upon Greek authors, delivered in 1475, at Basle, were probably the first of the kind. Rudolf Agricola, and Erasmus, together with Reuchlin, were the earliest teachers and disseminators of Greek.

† To Reuchlin's influence alone may we attribute it, that Melancthon went from Tubingen to Wittenberg; and what he did thereby directly toward the Reformation is incalculable.

prestige of the monks by means of ridicule; and the skirmish of Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists with the Dominicans, raises up a Reformatory host, well drilled for the battle.

Side by side with this conflict in the church, we have a conflict in the schools likewise, commencing with the restoration of the ancient classics. Petrach and Boccaccio here too, take the lead in this battle of classical learning, with mediæval scholasticism. But we find in Dante both styles of culture harmoniously united. In exact proportion to an advancing sense of the beauty of classical forms, there arises an antipathy to the deformity of scholastic expressions. Many of the Italians become so enamored of the ancients, as to go over to paganism; and but very few of them bring their linguistic attainments to the interpretation of the Bible. But not so with the Germans. For these press all the knowledge that they have gained from profane writers into the service of the church. Erasmus, by his edition of the New Testament, and Reuchlin by his Hebrew labors, prepare the way for a sounder exegesis.

Thus, through the study of the original languages of the Bible, scholastic theology, previously tottering, is shivered to its foundation. The monks, however, who have grown up amid its barbarous jargon, struggle in its defense; nor can they follow the leadings of the new era, even though disposed to do it. They contend likewise for the Mediæval school books, the "*Doctrinal*," the "Mammotrectus," etc. And Busch, Cæsarius, and others, who are desirous to teach better things in a better way, they drive from city to city. The Dominicans, whose head quarters are at Cologne, are the chief actors in this warfare, against the men of the new school.

Those who do battle for the old order of things, are called, "theologians," and "artists;" the champions of the new culture are styled by their adversaries, "poets," and "jurists." And it is only after the victory of the Reformation in the church that classical learning obtains a complete ascendency. Then scholasticism, which after the lapse of centuries has become a caricature, succumbs.

For the time had at length arrived, when the learned classes were to be freed from the bondage of ungainly, unmeaning, and intangible forms of thought and speech. And how enchanting must the clearness and freedom of Greek and Roman thought and imagination, and the splendor of the Greek and Roman languages, have appeared to them after their dark and gloomy imprisonment. Is it to be wondered at, that in their rapture, they neither knew nor desired any thing higher or nobler than to imitate the classics? And that it seemed to them as if now for the first time their spiritual eye were opened, their soul awakened to life, and their tongue set free?

And is it any the more to be wondered at, that in the excess of their enthusiasm for the new, they should be unjustly biased against the generations gone by, and should even go so far as to welcome every thing new, if for no other reason, simply because it *was* new?

In fact Picus di Mirandola and Erasmus were themselves, as we have seen, not slow to acknowledge that the moderns often rejected the good with the bad, and thrust aside the profoundest speculations, if they did not appear in a Ciceronian dress.

These exaggerated estimates of the "poets," are the less to be disregarded, inasmuch as they left their stamp upon the character of the next succeeding generations. It was of a piece with their exaltation of the ancients, that these men should so generally exchange their honorable German names, for those of Latin or Greek extraction; in fact, this practice is more significant than at first sight it would appear. Capnio, Melancthon, Sapidus, Brassicanus, Oecolampadius, and the like, are such names. A correspondent of Reuchlin's, who in sooth could not boast of a very euphonious name,—it was John Krachenberger,—thus writes in one of his letters: "You will recollect the request that I made you, to invent me a Greek name, which would have a more respectable look at the end of my Latin epistles, than my own, that has the look of barbarism; if you have not yet done it, I beg leave in this place to repeat my request."*

The name "poets," was probably applied to all who were so in love with mere beauty of form, as for its sake to overlook the subject and substance. And really, quite a multitude of the speeches and poems of that day consist solely of choice scraps stitched together, and are pure, unalloyed imitations. Every one who imitated the style of a classical writer with some degree of skill, was compared to such writer. Hence it was that that period was so prolific of epithets, "a second Cicero, a second Flaccus," and the like; and all faith in the possibility of becoming something better, of being one's self a first, an original, gradually died out.†

The following citation may be adduced as an extreme instance of this mania for epithets: said Trithemius, of Dalberg; "Among philosophers, he was a Plato,—among musicians, a Timotheus,—among astronomers, a Firmicus,—among mathematicians, an Archimedes,—

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* From the "Clarorum virorum epistolse ad Reuchlinum:" "Thers are many barbarous names among you," said Sspidus to hia scholars. "Theae I must Latinize somewhat."

† Erasmus styled Agricola "a second Maro" Murmellius said of Lange, "*Aequiparas Flaccum lyrici modulamine cantus*;" Lange, of Busch,

"*Hinc tua dulcifluo manans elegia lepore*
A Sulmonensi nec procul ipsa Chely est;"

Ulsanius, of Busch, "*Buschius antiquis non cedit jure poetis*;" Busch, of Murmellius "Carmina Murmelli priscis aequanda poetis;" etc., etc.

among poets, a Virgil,—among geographers, a Strabo,—among priests, an Augustine,—and among the devout, (*cultores pietatis,*) a Numa Pompilius."

When the whole force of a generation is thrown into any new style of culture whatsoever, such abnormal outgrowths and excrescences are always most frequently to be observed.

In accordance with the demands of the new culture, the schools were metamorphosed. Lange, Hegius, Dringenburg, Busch, Wimpheling, and others, did every thing to expel the scholastic method of instruction, and to bring in the classical. But these were only the beginnings, and these teachers themselves, grown up under the old methods, were themselves merely beginners. Even the able Rector, Hegius, was compelled to learn from Agricola, the meanings of some of the Greek and Latin words, and to avail himself of Agricola's greater familiarity with syntax. It was only at a later date, and through the instrumentality chiefly of Melancthon, that the grammar schools received a thorough organization, and were provided with competent teachers and sensible text-books. The first steps toward popular education, were early taken, as we have remarked, by the Hieronymians; and there were likewise many labors in this field undertaken by benevolent individuals; such for instance, as those of Gerard Zutphen; but permanent, well-organized popular schools had no existence. These are chiefly the work of Luther; the German Bible, the shorter German Catechism, those most important school books for the people, as well as spiritual songs in German, both for the church and the school,—all these are his work.

MARTIN LUTHER—EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

Abridged from Life of Luther, by BARNAS SEARS, D. D.

MARTIN LUTHER was born in the Electorate of Saxony, at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, November 10, 1483; but his father, when Martin was six months old, removed to Mansfeld, which became henceforward the home of his childhood. He always spoke of himself and of his ancestors as belonging to the peasantry. 'I am a peasant's son. My father, my grandfather, and my forefathers were all true peasants. Afterwards my father went to Mansfeld, and became an ore-digger.' Luther's father, after he became a miner, rose by industry and effort from the condition of a peasant to that of a burgher or free citizen. He commenced his career at Mansfeld in penury, but with a force of character that could not leave him in that state. 'My parents,' says Luther, 'were, in the beginning, right poor. My father was a poor mine-digger, and my mother did carry her wood on her shoulders; and after this sort did they support us, their children. They had a sharp, bitter experience of it; no one would do likewise now.'

It was not till about seventeen years afterwards, when Luther was a member of the university, that his father had the means of paying the expenses of his education. His honesty, good sense, energy and decision of character won for him the respect of his fellow-citizens. He was open-hearted and frank, and was wont to follow the convictions of his understanding, fearless of consequences. His firmness was characterized by severity, sometimes approaching to obstinacy.

The maiden name of Luther's mother was Margaret Lindemann. She was born at Neustadt, a small town directly south of Eisenach, and west of Gotha. Her father, who had been a burgher there, had removed from that place to Eisenach. It was, no doubt, here that Luther's father formed an acquaintance with her. The circumstance that three of her brothers were liberally educated would seem to indicate that she belonged to an intelligent family. Melancthon says, 'She had many virtues agreeing to her sex; and was

especially notable for her chaste conversation, godly fear, and diligent prayer, insomuch that other honorable women looked upon her as a model of virtue and honesty.'

Luther's parents bestowed great care upon his early training. In the strictest sense, he was brought up in the fear of God, and with reverence for the then existing institutions of religion. The intentions of his parents were of the most laudable character; the faults of their discipline were those of the age in which they lived. They were highly conscientious, earnest and zealous in the discharge of their parental duties. But the age was one of rudeness and severity, and they themselves had more talent than culture, more force and sternness of character than skill in awakening and fostering the generous impulses of childhood. Their discipline was, almost exclusively, one of law and authority. The consequence was, that Martin, instead of feeling at ease and gamboling joyfully in their presence, became timid and shy, and was kept in a state of alarm, which closed up the avenues of his warm and naturally confiding heart. 'Once,' says he, 'did my father beat me so sharply, that I fled away from him, and was angry against him, till, by diligent endeavor, he gained me back.' 'Once did my mother, for a small nut, beat me till the blood came forth.' 'Their intent and purpose were of the best sort; but they knew not how to put a difference between dispositions, and to order their discipline accordingly; for that it should be exercised in a way that the apple might be put with the rod.'

To this rigid domestic discipline is to be traced, in a measure, his being long subject to sudden alarms, or being harsh and violent when he rose above them. Though in later life he was fully aware that many errors had been committed in his domestic training; and though, as he himself says, he tried in vain to remove all the effects of it upon his feelings and habits, still he found in it much more to approve than to condemn. Alluding to his own case, and that of others of his age, he says: 'Children should not be entreated too tenderly of their parents, but should be forced to order and to submission, *as were their parents before them.*'

The fact that, from three or four brothers, Martin alone was designated for a liberal education, is sufficient proof that he gave some early indications of talent. It is also evident that the father took a religious view of this subject and desired for his son something higher and better than mere worldly distinction. An early writer states, that he had heard from the relations of Luther at Mansfeld, that the father was often known to pray earnestly at the bedside of

his son, that God would bless him and make him useful. Mathesius says that Luther's father, not only for his own gratification, but especially for the benefit of his son, frequently invited the clergymen and school-teachers of the place to his house. Thus were domestic influences brought in aid, in every suitable way, to form a taste for moral and intellectual culture.

Mansfeld was situated in a narrow valley along the brook Thalbach, skirted by hills on both sides. From that part of the town where Luther's father resided, it was some distance to the schoolhouse, which was situated on a hill. The house is still standing, and the first story of it remains unaltered. One writer says (on what authority we do not know), that Luther commenced going to school at the age of seven. Certainly he was so young that he was carried thither by older persons. When forty-four years old, two years before his death, he wrote on the blank leaf in the Bible of Nicholas Oemler, who had married one of his sisters, the twenty-fourth verse of the 14th chapter of John, and under it: 'To my good old friend, Nicholas Oemler, who more than once did carry me in his arms to school and back again, when I was a small lad, neither of us then knowing that one brother-in-law was carrying another in his arms.' In this school, though its teachers were frequently guests at his father's house, he was brought under a much harsher discipline than he had been subject to at home. It was not without allusion to his own experience, that he afterwards speaks of a class of teachers, 'who hurt noble minds by their vehement storming, beating and pounding, wherein they treat children as a jailor doth convicts.' He somewhere says, that he was once flogged fifteen times in a single forenoon at school. Again, he says, 'I have seen, when I was a boy, divers teachers who found their pleasure in beating their pupils.' 'The schools were purgatories, and the teachers were tyrants and task-masters.'

The injurious manner in which such treatment acted upon his fears is illustrated by an anecdote related by Luther in his Commentary on Genesis. 'When I was a lad, I was wont to go out with my companions begging food for our sustentation while we were at the school.* At Christmas, during divine service, we went around among the small villages, singing from house to house, in four parts, as we were wont, the hymn on the child Jesus born at Bethlehem. We came by chance before the hut of a peasant who lived apart at the end of the village; and when he heard us singing, he came out, and after the coarse and harsh manner of the peasants, said, 'Where are you, boys?' at the same time bringing us a few saus-

ages in his hand. But we were so terrified at these words, that we all scampered off, though we knew no good reason why, save that from the daily threats and tyranny practiced by the teachers toward their pupils at that time, we had learned to be timid.' This incident, which has commonly been referred to the time when Luther was at Magdeburg, probably belongs to the period of his earlier childhood at Mansfeld. For it was when he was 'a small boy,' and was under severe teachers, which seems not to have been the case except at Mansfeld. The circumstance that Luther was then living at his father's house, will be no objection, if we consider the customs of the times and the poverty of the family at that early period. We are elsewhere informed that Luther was then accustomed to attend funeral processions as a singer, for which he received a groschen (about three cents), each time.

The school at Mansfeld, at that time, was taught by one master, assisted by two members of the church choir, that is, two theological students, who, for a small stipend, attended on the daily services of the church. Here it becomes necessary to describe the character of the lower schools of Germany at the close of the fifteenth century. They were called 'trivial schools,' because originally the first three of the seven liberal arts, namely, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, were taught in them.

At this time, however, and particularly at Mansfeld, a little monkish Latin, the pieces of music commonly sung at church, and the elements of arithmetic, constituted the studies of the lower schools. These schools were all taught by a master, assisted by theological students and candidates for some of the lower clerical offices. But as nearly all the offices of state at that time were in the hands of the clergy, there was a general rush to the schools on the part of all who were seeking to rise above the common walks of life. The great mass of the youth were wholly destitute of education. All the others, except a few from the sons of the rich, went through a clerical or ecclesiastical course of instruction. No matter to what offices they were aspiring, they must study under the direction of the church and under the tuition of monks and priests, or candidates for the priestly office.

The arrangements of the schools were these: The teachers, and the pupils who were from abroad, occupied large buildings with gloomy cells. A sombre monastic dress distinguished them both from other persons. A large portion of the forenoon of each day was devoted to the church. At high mass all must be present. The boys were educated to perform church ceremonies, while but

little attention was given to what is now commonly taught in schools. The assistant teacher, candidates for the clerical office, generally taught a few hours in the day, and performed, at the same time, some daily inferior church service, for both of which they received but a trifling reward.

Thus the schools were but a part and parcel of the church. The assistants were commonly taken from those strolling young men who infested the country, going from place to place either as advanced students, and changing their place at pleasure, or seeking some subordinate employment in the schools or in the church. When they failed to find employ, they resorted to begging, and even to theft, to provide for their subsistence. The older students would generally seek out each a young boy as his ward, and initiate him into the mysteries of this vagrant mode of life, receiving in turn his services in begging articles of food, and in performing other menial offices.

We have a living picture of the manners and habits which prevailed in these schools, in the autobiography of Thomas Platter,* a contemporary of Luther and a native of Switzerland.

'At that time,' that is, in his tenth year, he says in his biography, 'came a cousin of mine, who had been at the schools [to become a priest] in Ulm and Munich in Bavaria. My friends spake to him of me, and he promised to take me with him to the schools in Germany; for I had learned of the village priest to sing a few of the church hymns. When Paul (for that was my cousin's name) was ready to go on his way, my uncle gave me a gulden [sixty-three cents], which I put into the hands of Paul. I must promise that I would do the begging, and give what I got to him, my bacchant (protector), for his disposal. We journeyed to Zurich, where Paul would wait till he should be joined by some companions. Then we determined to set out for Misnia [in the present kingdom of Saxony]. Meanwhile I went a-begging, and thus furnished the sustentation of Paul. After tarrying eight or nine weeks, we left Zurich and went on our way to Misnia, in a company of eight, whereof three of us were young schütze [wards]; the rest were large bacchantes, as they are called. Of all the wards I was the youngest. When I was so weary that I could hardly go, my cousin Paul would go behind me and scourge me on my bare legs, for I had no hose and only poor shoes. While on the way, I heard the bacchantes tell how that in Misnia and Silesia the scholars were wont to steal geese and ducks and other things for food, and that no other notice was taken thereof, if one could but only escape from the owners. Then said I to my companions, 'When shall we come to Misnia, where I may go out stealing geese?' They replied, 'We are already there.' . . . . We went to Halle, in Saxony, and there we joined ourselves to the school of St. Ulrich. But as our bacchantes entreated us roughly, some of us communed on the matter with my cousin Paul, and we agreed together that we would run away from them, and depart to Dresden. Here we found no good school, and the houses, moreover, were infested with vermin. Wherefore we went from that place to Breslau. We suffered much in the way from hunger, having on certain days nothing to eat but raw onions with salt. We slept oftentimes in the open air, because we could not get an entrance into the houses, but were driven off. and sometimes the dogs were set upon us. When we came to Breslau we found abundant stores, and food was so cheap that some of our company surfeited

* Barnard's American Journal of Education, V., p. 79.

themselves and fell sick. We went at the first into the school at the dome [cathedral] of the Holy Cross; but learning that there were some Switzer youth in the parish of St. Elizabeth, we removed thither. The city of Breslau hath seven parishes, with a school in each. No scholar is suffered to go around singing in another parish; and if any one taketh upon him to do so, he getteth a round beating. Sometimes, it is said, sundry thousands of scholars are found in Breslau, who get their living by begging. Some bacchantes abide in the schools twenty and even thirty years, having their sustentation from what their wards beg. I have oftentimes borne five or six loads home to the school the selfsame evening for my bacchantes; for being small, and a Switzer besides, I was kindly received by the people, . . . In the winter, the small boys were wont to sleep on the floor of the school-house, the bacchantes in the mean season sleeping in the cells, whereof there are not a few hundreds at the school of St. Elizabeth. In the warm parts of the year, we were wont to lie on the ground in the churchyard; and when it rained, to run into the school-house, and if it stormed vehemently to sing responses and other pieces the whole night long with the sub-chanter. Ofttimes after supper, in the summer evenings, did we go into the beer-houses to buy beer, and sometimes would drink so much that we could not find our way back. To be short, there was plenty of food, but not much studying here. At St. Elizabeth's, nine bachelors did teach every day, one hour each in the selfsame room. The Greek tongue was not studied at all. No printed books did the students have of their own. The preceptor alone had an imprinted Terence. What should be read was at the first dictated and copied, and then construed and explicated, so that the bacchantes bore away great heaps of manuscripts.'

It was from such strolling *bacchantes*, as are portrayed to the life by Platter, that the assistant teachers were taken, who assumed the name of *locati* (located or settled), when they obtained a place. Their education consisted of a knowledge of the church service, of church music, of a little Latin, and of writing and arithmetic. Their character corresponded to that of the church at large in that rude and licentious age. They were, for the most part, mere adventurers and vagabonds, neither loving nor understanding the art of teaching any better than they did the nature of true religion, whose servants they professed to be. They remained but a short time in a place, never pretended to study the character and disposition of their pupils, taught mechanically, and ruled not by affection but by brute and brutal force. The greater part of what they taught was nearly useless. Study was a mere exercise of the memory.

The school at Mansfeld was no exception to the general character of the schools in the smaller towns at that time. We are not left to conjecture whether Luther was familiar with such scenes as have been alluded to. Speaking, at a later period of life, on the duty of maintaining good public schools, he says, somewhat indignantly: 'Such towns as will not have good teachers, now that they can be gotten, ought, as formerly, to have *locati* and *bacchantes*, stupid asses, who cost money enough, and yet teach their pupils nothing save to become asses like themselves.' 'Not a single branch of study,' says he, in another place, 'was at that time taught as it should be.' Referring to their brutality, he says, 'When they could

not vent their spleen against the higher teachers, they would pour it out upon the poor boys.'

In respect to the studies of Luther at Mansfeld, which continued up to his fourteenth year, Mathesius, his intimate friend, says he learned there 'his Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Donatus, the Child's Grammar, Cisio Janus, and church music.' Donatus was to Latin grammar of the middle ages what Murray has been to English grammar. Cisio Janus are the first words of a church calendar in monkish Latin verse, made up of mutilated words, *cisio*, standing for *circumcisio* (circumcision). Next to monastic works, Terence and Plautus, the two Roman comedians, were most studied, as they furnished the readiest means of learning the colloquial Latin, so important to the clergy at that time.

Luther laments that he had not, in those schools which he attended in his boyhood, 'read the poets and historians, *which no one taught him*,' instead of which he 'learned with great labor what with equal labor he now had to unlearn.' 'Is it not plain,' he somewhere says, 'that one can now teach a boy in three years, by the time he is fifteen or eighteen years old, more than was aforetime learned in all the universities and cloisters? Twenty, yea forty years have men studied, and yet known neither Latin nor German, not to mention the scandalous lives which the youth there learned to lead.' 'It was pitiful enough for a boy to spend many years only to learn bad Latin sufficient for becoming a priest and for saying mass, and then be pronounced happy, and happy, too, the mother who bore him.' 'And he is still a poor ignorant creature—can neither cluck nor lay eggs; and yet such are the teachers which we have everywhere had.'

Luther was educated under that peculiar type of religion which prevailed in Thuringia. Here it was that Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, in the eighth century, with other missionaries from the British Islands, carried on their most important operations for evangelizing Germany, founding there the Papal church, and thus corrupting Christianity at its very introduction. Here was the great cloister of Fulda, the chief seminary of sacred learning, and the centre of religious influence for the surrounding country. It was in Thuringia that St. Elizabeth, the Thuringian landgravine, whose memory lived in popular legends till Luther's times, and who was a favorite saint with him, was the embodiment of the religious spirit of the people, a spirit of deep sincerity united with childish simplicity and superstition. The Thuringians are proverbially an hon-

est and simple-hearted people. Luther's mother appears to have been of this character; possessing, perhaps, more earnestness in matters of religion, than others. His father was also a genuine Thuringian of the better sort.

Either because Luther sympathized more readily with the warm and credulous piety of the mother than with the more sober and discriminating piety of the father, or because he was, in early life, more under the influence of the former and of priests and monks who strengthened her influence, he eagerly imbibed the popular religious sentiments of his neighborhood. At Mansfeld, in particular, the religious views here described prevailed. As late as 1507, one of the counts of Mansfeld made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Two countesses of the same family were in the nunnery at Eisleben during nearly all the period that Luther remained at home with his parents. The cloister of Mansfeld, about two miles east of the town, was supposed to be the scene of several miracles wrought by St. Elizabeth, with all of which Luther was necessarily very familiar in his boyhood.

The account of the Papal church in Thuringia, given by Myconius, who was preacher at Gotha, perfectly agrees with what has here been said on other authorities, as do also the many incidental notices of it by Luther in his writings. There can be no doubt, therefore, that we have before us a true description of the religious influence under which Luther spent his childhood. We also know that his susceptible mind yielded itself like wax to receive the impressions which his mother and his religious teachers attempted to make. The unsuspecting and confiding simplicity of his character must be constantly borne in mind, if we would rightly interpret his actions and understand his history.

Of a part of his religious education, he afterwards speaks with approbation; but of the rest, far otherwise. These are his words: 'In the house or church of the pope was I baptized; and there did I learn the catechism and the Bible. . . . I will hold my father's house in great honor, and fall prostrate before it, if it will but leave me my Christ and my conscience without a burden.' 'I can not set forth in a better or simpler way what one should believe, do, leave undone, or know in religion, than hath been done from the beginning in these three pieces, to wit, the ten commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer. . . . But these ought not to be taught *as they were in time past*, by making them stick only in the memory.'

When Luther was a boy, the common belief in witches was at

its height. Of the very celebrated work entitled 'The Maul for Witches' (*Malleus Maleficarum*), teaching priests and magistrates what rules to observe in their proceedings against witches, and circulated with both the papal and imperial sanction, three editions were printed while Luther was a boy, and was in his father's house at Mansfeld. He tells a story of a witch that lived near by, and used to trouble his mother very much; another, of an attempt of the devil, in human form, to separate husband and wife; and another still, of an instance where the devil actually entered the pulpit and preached for a minister. Some of these stories he seems to believe, others he ridicules. 'I myself,' he observes, 'have seen monks, shameless and wicked fellows, who feigned to cast out the devil, and then to sport with him as with a child. Who can recount all their crafty tricks done in the name of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of the holy cross, of St. Cyriac?'

Though Luther afterwards became much more enlightened on these subjects, still the superstitions in which he was educated in his childhood clung to him to the last. No one is ignorant of the story of his inkstand thrown at the devil in his cell in Erfurt. Though it may be an apocryphal story, it still is a true illustration of the character of Luther. We find him afterward holding such language as the following: 'The devil is all about us, though he often putteth on a mask. I myself have seen that he sometimes appeareth as if he were a swine, and sometimes as a burning wisp of straw.' 'The devil often beguileth the outward senses, so that men think something taketh place before them which doth not, . . . as was the case in Hesse with the child that, when it was not dead, the devil so blinded the eyes of the people that they thought it to be dead. The devil held the child's breath, as he hath power to do.'

That Luther in his boyhood, was thoroughly initiated into the tastes, manners and habits of the miners, is certain. This might be inferred from the fact of his being a miner's son and living at Mansfeld; but we have statements in respect to his maturer life which can be explained on no other supposition. He always treated miners with particular attention. He was familiar with all their habits and even their amusements; he knew their songs and their plays, and could, through life, entertain them as few others could. Mathesius, in one of his discourses on Luther's life, says:

'To-day let us hear about Luther's love and affection for mining and to miners.' The council of Wittenberg had a festival which lasted several days. Luther was invited to attend. But as he had been the means of doing away several Catholic festivals on account of the excesses committed at them, he thought it imprudent to attend, and therefore declined the invitation. The young people, according to ancient custom, went about the streets in masks,

and sought admittance to the houses of the citizens. 'At one time,' continues Mathesius, 'some of them came to Luther's house or cloister. But, to avoid offense and scandal, he did not admit them into his house. Albeit, at length, a company, disguised as miners, came along, with their mining hammers, and a chess-board for their amusement. 'Let them come in,' said Luther, 'they are my countrymen, and the fellow-workmen of my father. Since they pass whole weeks under ground in a damp atmosphere and amid impure exhalations, we must allow them proper recreation.' They came, placed their chess-board upon his table, and he joined them. 'Now, miners,' said he, 'whosoever will go into this or other deep shafts and come out unharmed, or not close up the passage with refuse, must, as the saying is, not have his eyes in his pocket.' Luther easily won the game; and they all remained, and, under due restraint, indulged in merriment, singing and frolicking, as our doctor was inclined to be sportive at proper times, and was not displeased when he saw the young playful and merry, if it was but with propriety and moderation.'

Luther was the son of a peasant, that is, of a poor miner who sprung from the peasantry. How did this circumstance affect his character? It had more effect upon his language, habits and associations than upon his sentiments and subsequent standing in society. For as his father became a burgher and magistrate, and as he himself was a man of education, he came to regard society from a higher point of view. But born and bred as he was, he was never adapted to court-life. He always appeared uneasy when speaking or writing to princes or nobles, not out of fear, but from a consciousness that he was not familiar with the modes of intercourse and of address customary among them. His language, though uncommonly rich and varied, and sparkling with sense aud wit, was often homely. His illustrations were often drawn from common and low life. A vein of slight vulgarity, as well as drollery, pervades all his writings. His pungent wit, his creative genius, and his sterling sense follow him everywhere. He was the man of the people, knowing all their thoughts and feelings, and employing all their words and expressions in his magnificent, but still rude eloquence.

But from the flower of his youth, through life, Luther was associated with burghers and attached to them, the middling class, between the nobles and the peasants, the mercantile, enterprising, patriotic inhabitants of the larger towns and cities. To this class he was introduced, partly by his father's later connections and partly by his own cultivated practical sense and his hearty devotedness to the good of all the people. He was never fond of princes and nobles; nor, on the other hand, of the sottish, blind, and disorderly peasantry. In all his writings, he treats both classes, a few individuals excepted, somewhat roughly. He did not depend on either for carrying forward the Reformation, but addressed himself more immediately to the magistrates and free denizens. He wished neither the authority of kings nor the violence of peasants to be

brought to his aid, but preferred that these, no less than the middling classes, should be controlled by intelligence and virtue. He uniformly checked the two former, while he directed, stimulated and supported the latter.

His position as a man of education, always practical, led to the same result. Learning with him was not, as with so many others, a matter of profession, but a source of practical wisdom. He encouraged and sympathized with men of classical learning only so far as they aided in explaining the Scriptures and in enlightening the people. He wrote more and better in the language of the people than in the language of the learned. This circumstance strengthened his alliance with intelligent, active and patriotic men. Thus, when he came to act the part of a reformer, he occupied the central ground of society, the point where extremes meet and opposite influences neutralize each other.

With this agreed his geographical position. Thuringia is the most German of all the German districts. It belonged to no section, but was the middle portion, often holding the balance of power. In the Middle Ages, it was neither the scholastic south, nor the barbarous north, but the enlightened, sober, practical district of Erfurt, and yet the chivalrous vicinity of the Wartburg, renowned in arms and in song. In language, too, it was near the northern verge of the high German, and consequently not far south of the line beyond which the low German was spoken. Had Luther lived either north or south of Thuringia and Saxony, he could not have molded the national language as he has done; nor have found the wide-spread sympathy which he did find; nor have acted from the heart of the nation out to all its extremities.

Luther had now reached his fourteenth year, when the ordinary or *trivial* school of Mansfeld no longer met his wants. Hard as his life had thus far been, a harder lot awaited him. He was to leave the paternal roof, and go forth, young and inexperienced, to try his fortune among strangers. Without money and without friends, he was to commit himself to the charities of mendicant monks and of the people of a great ecclesiastical metropolis. He did not, however, take his departure entirely alone. He was sent in company, or, as Mathesius intimates, under the care of John Reineck, a fellow-student of more experience, the son of a respectable citizen of Mansfeld. This friendship, formed at the school, lasted through life; and it was this same person who accompanied Luther in his journey to the diet of Worms. Luther in his correspondence calls him 'one of his best friends,' and the letter of Me-

lancthon to him and to his distinguished son, educated at Wittenberg, breathe the warmest friendship. Virtuous and choice friendships formed in early life are often of far greater importance than the young are apt to suppose.

Melancthon says, the 'Latin schools of Saxony were then in good repute,' and Mathesius says, 'the school at Magdeburg was more celebrated than many others.' Not far from the south gate of the city was the school of the Brethren of the Life in Common. Near this was the celebrated cathedral school, and in the north-west part of the town, the school of the Franciscan monks. It was to the Franciscan school that Luther and his friend are said to have resorted. As this is the only monastic school which he attended in his boyhood, we must suppose that he had this particularly in mind when he afterward wrote on the subject. In 1497, then, two boys, the one quite young and indigent, the other older and in better circumstances, left their home in a romantic town on the border of the Hartz Mountains, and journeyed on foot, north, about fifty miles, through a rich and level country to the large and fortified city of Magdeburg, then under the civil rule of the archbishop and the place of his residence. The direct road would lead them to the west of Hettstedt (the last considerable town in the county of Mansfeld), to Aschersleben, at which point the mountains and forests begin to disappear, to Egeln, beyond the territory of Halberstadt, and within that of Magdeburg, and thence to the place of their destination. The mode of travel was probably not very different from that described by Platter above.

The Franciscans wore a gray robe with black scapularies, and were especially employed in attending on the sick, and in the burial of the dead. The boy, in whose heart was a sealed fountain of fervent and joyous passion, found nothing under his new masters and in his new mode of life to satisfy his internal wants. The few incidents which he records, from his recollections of this period, are strikingly characteristic of the order, and indeed of the church at large. 'I have seen,' says he, 'with these eyes, in my fourteenth year, when I was at school in Magdeburg, a Prince of Anhalt, brother of Adolphus, Bishop of Merseburg, going about the streets in a cowl, begging bread with a sack upon his shoulders, like a beast of burden, insomuch that he stooped to the ground. . .. He had fasted and watched and mortified his flesh till he appeared like to an image of death, with only skin and bones, and died soon after.'

He speaks of a painting, symbolical of the sentiments entertained by the church, seen by him about this time, and leaving a deep

impression upon his mind. 'A great ship was painted, likening the church, wherein there was no layman, not even a king or prince. There was none but the pope with his cardinals and bishops in the prow, with the Holy Ghost hovering over them; the priests and monks with their oars at the side; and thus they were sailing on heavenward. The laymen were swimming along in the water around the ship. Some of them were drowning; some were drawing themselves up to the ship by means of ropes, which the monks, moved by pity, and making over their own good works, did cast out to them, to keep them from drowning, and to enable them to cleave to the vessel, and go with the others to heaven. There was no pope, nor cardinal, nor bishop, nor priest, nor monk in the water, but laymen only. This painting was an index and summary of their doctrine. . . . I was once one of them, and helped teach such things, believing them and knowing no better.'

We know but little of this Franciscan school, and of Luther's residence there, except that in the mode of instruction there was no material improvement upon that which he had received at Mansfeld. So great were the privations and sufferings of young Luther at Magdeburg, that it was decided by his father that he should remove to Eisenach, where his maternal grandparents and other relatives resided, and where also there was a good Latin school. It was hoped that he would here be so far provided for as to be relieved from pressing want. But parents, who themselves were familiar with hardships, would expect that their son should be exposed to them also.

We can easily imagine with what different feelings the boy performed the journey home, from those with which he passed over the same ground when he first went abroad into the wide world. After indulging in the exquisite pleasures of home as they are felt by a boy on returning from his first absence—for Mansfeld was directly on the way to Eisenach—he must have gone forth with moderated and yet pleasing expectations. Moderated, because he had taken one sad lesson in the knowledge of the world; and pleasing, because he was about to go, not among utter strangers, but among the kindred of his mother. What strange emotions would have filled the breast of the boy, had he then had a prophetic vision of the tragic events that should take place a quarter of a century after, in the places through which he was now to pass! About twenty miles on his way from Mansfeld, he might see Allstedt, where Muncer was to become the leader in the bloody Peasants' War. To the west is seen the river Helme, on whose beautiful

banks is situated the Golden Meadow (Goldene Aue), extending more than thirty miles to the neighborhood of Nordhausen.*

At a distance of about sixteen miles from Allstedt is Frankenhausen, where the decisive battle was fought, May 5, 1525, and Muncer and his party completely routed. Still farther on, toward Eisenach, lies Mühlhausen, which was the headquarters of Muncer's army. Eisenach lies about twenty miles south of Mühlhausen. Between these two places is one of the largest of the five ranges of hills, which it is necessary to cross in taking this route. Just before reaching Eisenach we cross the most southerly range. As one enters the town from the north, he looks down upon it, and sees it lying before him in a valley, under the castle of Wartburg towering on the right.

Next to Wittenberg and Erfurt, this is the place richest in historical recollections in respect to Luther. Here he found the end of his sorrows arising from poverty. Here he first found sympathizing and skillful teachers, under whose influence he acquired a love of learning. Here his musical talent, his taste and imagination were first developed, throwing their cheerful serenity over his sorrowful and beclouded mind. Here, too, he subsequently lived in his Patmos, or desert, as he playfully termed the Castle of Wartburg, in the character of Squire George, and passed his time sometimes in the chase on the mountains, but mostly in translating the New Testament.

There were in Eisenach at this time three churches, to which were attached as many parochial schools. Only one of these, however, was a Latin school; and that was at the church of St. George, a little east of the center of the town. The name of the head master was Trebonius, the first skillful teacher under whose care Luther came, and to whom he felt a personal attachment. Though

* This tract of enchanted land extends nearly the whole distance from Naumburg to Nordhausen. Memleben, on the Unstrut, about ten miles south of Allstedt, was the favorite residence of the German emperors of the Saxon line. Here Matilda, royal consort of Henry the First, founded a nunnery. Here, probably, Henry the Fowler was busying himself with his falcons when it was announced to him that he was chosen emperor; and here, too, he breathed his last. Here his son Otto, the First, on his way to the diet of Merseburg, passed the season of Lent, and died immediately after the services. A little farther up the river, and on the opposite side is Rossleben. Here was an ancient nunnery, afterward converted into an excellent cloister-school or gymnasium, in which Ernesti, Von Thümmel and other eminent men received their elementary education. Passing another cloister-school, we come to the junction of the Helme and Unstrut. South is to be seen the Palace of Heldrungen, and on the summit the ruins of Sachsenburg. Ascending the Helme, west of Allstedt, we come to Wallhausen, where Otto the Great built a palace and often resided, as did his son after him. In this vicinity the German emperors loved to pass their time. A little further on, beyond Tilleda, another royal residence, to the left of the Golden Meadow, rises Kyffhausen with Frederic's tower. There are many legends respecting Frederic Barbarossa and this castle. It was here that Henry the Sixth and Henry the Lion became reconciled to each other, and checked for a time the feuds between Guelf and Ghibiline. West of this is the peak of Rothenberg, with another tower, whose history runs back to pagan times.

he did not belong to the new school of classical scholars trained in Italy, his Latin was much purer than that of the monks and priests generally. His personal character, too, though perhaps a little eccentric, was such as to win the love of his pupils. In coming before them, he used to take off his hat and bow to them, and complained that his assistants were disinclined to do likewise. He said, with truth, and with a sense of responsibility which showed that he understood the true dignity of his office, 'among these boys are burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and magistrates.' Though he is called a poet, that is a writer of Latin verses, we must remember that this was a *trivial* school, and that but little more than Latin hymns and prayers were read; and that it excelled other schools only by having a better method, by employing in conversation a purer Latin, and by having exercises in Latin verse. It is a mistake to suppose that Luther studied Greek here, or even such Latin authors as Cicero, Virgil and Livy. He commenced the study of the latter in Erfurt, and the former at a much later period in Wittenberg, as professor. The following is Melancthon's account of Luther's studies at Eisenach: 'After leaving Magdeburg, he attended in the school at Eisenach four years on the instructions of a teacher who taught him grammar (Latin) better than it was elsewhere taught. For I remember how Luther commended his talents. He was sent thither because his mother was descended from an honorable and ancient family of that town. Here he became master of grammar; and because of his superior understanding and natural aptitude for eloquence, he made more proficiency, and easily excelled his fellow-pupils, both in his powers of speech and in writing prose and verse.' Here is the first intimation we have of the manifestation of those remarkable powers which distinguished him in after life. His teacher undoubtedly knew how to draw out of him what had hitherto been suffered to lie dormant.

Luther, who had been driven from Magdeburg by poverty, removed to Eisenach in hopes of sympathy and support from his relatives in that place. In this his hopes were disappointed. He was still compelled to beg his bread, singing in a choir from door to door. His sufferings appear to have been even greater here than in Magdeburg. No doubt, the early indigence of Luther, and the fact of his feeling that he was thrown back upon his own resources, contributed to the strength of his character. He probably had his own case in view when he said, 'The young should learn especially to endure suffering and want; for such suffering doth them no harm. It doth more harm for one to prosper without toil than it doth to

endure suffering.' 'It is God's way, of beggars to make men of power, just as he made the world out of nothing. Look upon the courts of kings and princes, upon cities and parishes. You will there find jurists, doctors, counsellors, secretaries and preachers, who were commonly poor, and always such as have been students, and have risen and flown so high through the quill, that they are become lords.' 'I have been a beggar of crumbs, and have taken my bread at the door, especially at Eisenach, my favorite town, although afterwards my dear father with all love and fidelity sustained me at school in Erfurt, and by his sweat and hard labor helped me to that whereunto I have attained. Nevertheless I have been a beggar of bread, and have prospered so far forth with the pen, that I would not exchange my art for all the wealth of the Turkish empire. Nay, I would not exchange it for all the wealth of the world many times over. And yet I should not have attained thereunto, had I not gone to school, and given myself to the business of writing. Therefore doubt not to put your boy to study; and if he must needs beg his bread, you nevertheless give unto God a noble piece of timber whereof he will carve a great man. So it must always be; your son and mine, that is, the children of the common people, must govern the world both in the church and in the commonwealth.'

One day, as he and his companions were passing through St. George street, not far from the school, their carols were unheeded, and, at three successive houses, the customary charity was withheld. With heavy hearts they passed on to Conrad Cotta's house, where they often received tokens of friendly regard. Madam Cotta had conceived an affection for young Luther, from the musical talents which he had displayed, and from the earnestness of his devotions at church. She invited him in, gave to him liberally, and afterwards received him into her house. Though probably not a relative of his, as some writers would have us believe,—he constantly called her his hostess,—she treated him as a son, and gave him support till he went to the university. It is pleasant to know that though Madam Ursula Cotto herself died in 1511, Luther, after arriving at an eminence hardly second to that of any man of the age, remembered the debt of gratitude, and in the years 1541 and 1542, only a few years before his death, received Henry Cotta, Ursula's son, into his house in turn, and this act of kindness towards him as a student at Wittenberg is mentioned in Cotta's epitaph at Eisenach, where he died as burgomaster.

The influence of this connection upon Luther's mind could hardly

be otherwise than favorable. Both his heart and his intellect were rendered dark and gloomy by the exclusively monastic character of his training. The path of his life thus far had been cheerless. Even the music which he loved, and in which he indulged, was mostly pensive. Domestic life he had been taught to regard as impure and sinful; and to the pleasures of a cheerful home of his own he was forbidden, by his monastic superstition, to look. 'When I was a boy,' he afterwards said, 'I imagined I could not think of the married state without sin.' In the family of Cotta, he acquired other and more correct views of life. Here he became sensible to the charms of refined society. Not only were the generous affections strengthened by exercise, but the taste was cultivated in that family circle. The perversions of the monastic morality were somewhat checked, though not fully exposed and corrected. Madam Cotta vindicated the dignity and sancity of married life, and taught Luther that his preconceived notions on this subject were false. 'My hostess at Eisenach,' he remarked, 'said truly, when I was there at school, 'There is not on earth any thing more lovely than an affection for females (conjugal affection) when it is in the fear of God.'

It was here that Luther learned to play on the flute. Some affirm that he at this time also learned to compose music and to touch the lute. Though he speaks of his voice as 'slender and indistinct,' he had in reality a fine alto voice, and Melancthon says, 'it could be heard at a great distance.'

Beneficial as were these gentle and bland influences, and winning and inspiring as were the instructions of the head-master of the school, Eisenach itself was a priestly town, or, as the writers of that age call it, 'a nest of priests,' and all the religious associations of the place were adapted to nourish and strengthen the convictions with which Luther had grown up. There were nine monasteries and nunneries in and about the town, and an abundance of churches, priests and chaplains. There, too, lay the remains of the landgrave, Henry Raspe, at whose tomb the visitors on St. Julian's day could obtain two years' indulgence. Here St. Elizabeth, that most benevolent and religious of the Thuringian landgravines, had lived and labored for the good of the poor, and monuments of her zealous but superstitious piety were everywhere to be seen.

Early on the 17th of July, in 1501, at the opening of a new and great century, our student left the place 'where,' in his own language, 'he had learned and enjoyed so much,' and directed his steps toward the celebrated city and university of Erfurt, which

towered high above all the rest in influence in that part of Germany. Fifteen miles distant was Gotha, then, as it is now, the beautiful capital of the duchy of the same name. Here lived Mutianus, the center of the poetical club to which many of Luther's subsequent Erfurt friends (as Lange, Spalatin, Crotus, and others) belonged. Here Luther preached in 1521, on his way to the diet of Worms, and his doctrines were received; and here Myconius, the historian of the Lutheran Reformation, was afterward the principal Lutheran ecclesiastic. Proceeding as much farther, through a country appearing, as one advances, more and more like the Saxon plains, he came to Erfurt, formerly the great mart of interior Germany. This city, though in the very heart of Thuringia, was never subject to the landgrave. It was once the place of an episcopal see, and when this was transferred to Mainz, the archbishop of which was made primate of Germany, Erfurt was retained under his jurisdiction, and regarded as the second capital of his electoral territory. The university of Erfurt had more than a thousand students, and Luther said that 'it was so celebrated a seat of learning that others were but as grammar-schools compared with it.' At the time Luther entered there, it had thirteen regular professors, besides the younger licentiates, or tutors, and there were several richly endowed *colleges*, or religious foundations, where the professors and students lived together as distinct corporations. Theology and the canonical or ecclesiastical law took the highest rank among the studies pursued there. In the two other learned professions, law and medicine, the old Roman civilians and the Greek medical writers were chiefly studied. In the wide department of philosophy, a sort of encyclopædia of the sciences, as contained in the writings of Aristotle, constituted the course of instruction. The Bible was not studied, and none of the Greek authors above named were read in the original. Neither languages, except the Latin, nor history were taught after the manner which afterward prevailed in the universities. Every thing still wore the garb of the Middle Ages. There were no experiments or observations in natural philosophy, no accurate criticism in language or history. Learning was either a matter of memory, or it was a sort of gladiatorial exercise in the art of disputation. In one of the foundations at Erfurt, the beneficiaries were obligated to observe daily the seven canonical hours, as they are termed, or appointed seasons of saying prayers, to read the *miserere*, or supplication for the dead, and to hear a eulogy on the character of the Virgin Mary. The laws were very oppressive, from the minuteness of their details and the solemn oaths by which men

bound themselves to obey them. This is what Luther called 'an accursed method.' 'Every thing,' said he, 'is secured by oaths and vows, and the wretched youth are cruelly and without necessity entangled as in a net.'

The university life of Luther at Erfurt forms a striking contrast with his abject and suffering condition while begging his bread at the doors of the charitable, and also with his monastic life immediately after leaving the university. He now cherished, though with great moderation, that more cheering view of human life with which he had been made familiar in the house of Madam Cotta. He was furthermore stimulated by a natural love of acquisition in useful knowledge, now for the first time awakened into full activity. The study of classical literature, which had been revived in Italy and France, was beginning to be cultivated with enthusiasm in Germany. Of the young men who prosecuted these studies with zeal, there was a brilliant circle then at Erfurt. Without formally uniting himself with this classical and poetical club, he took up the study of the best Latin writers in prose and verse, with an earnestness that fully equaled theirs, and imprinted indelibly upon his memory those passages which were most striking, whether for the sentiment or the expression.

During the first two years which he spent at Erfurt, (from 1501 to 1503), he was chiefly engaged in the study of Roman literature and of philosophy, at the end of which period he took his first degree. The year in which he received this honor is supposed also to be the one in which the following occurrence took place. Early in the spring, he set out in company with a friend, equipped as usual with a sword, to visit his parents. Within an hour after leaving Erfurt, he, by some accident, ran his sword into his foot and opened a main artery. A physician was called from the city, who succeeded, not without difficulty, in closing up the wound. An unusual swelling arising from the forced stoppage of the blood, and a rupture taking place during the following night, Luther feared the accident would prove fatal, and, in immediate prospect of death, commended himself to the Virgin Mary. 'Had I then died,' he afterward said, 'I should have died in the faith of the Virgin.'

It was during the same year that Luther had his second severe illness. His first was while he was at Magdeburg. In his extremity, and while despairing of life, he was visited by an aged priest, who spoke those memorable words which were afterward regarded by some as prophetic: 'Be of good comfort, my brother; you will not die at this time. God will yet make a great man of you who

shall comfort many others. Whom God loveth and purposeth to make a blessing, upon him he early layeth the cross, and in that school those who patiently endure, learn much.'

Of two of Luther's principal teachers, Usingen and Jodocus of Eisenach, and of the subject matter and manner of their teaching, we have the means of knowing more than is common in such cases. The works which they published between 1501 and 1514, containing undoubtedly the substance of the very lectures which Luther heard, suggest to the curious reader interesting trains of thought. A comparison of their teachings in the physical sciences with what Luther, long after, interwove in his commentary on the beginning of Genesis, proves not only that these books are but little more than the printed lectures of their authors, but also that Luther faithfully stored those instructions away in his capacious and retentive memory for future use.

It was in 1505, two years after taking his first degree, that he was made master of arts, which entitled him to teach in the university. He actually entered upon the duties of this office, and taught the physics and logic of Aristotle.

We learn from Mathesius, what we might, indeed, infer from Luther's subsequent character, that he was a young man of buoyant and cheerful feelings; and, at the same time, that he began every day with prayer, and went daily to church service. Furthermore, 'he neglected no university exercise, was wont to propound questions to his teachers, did often review his studies with his fellow students, and whenever there were no appointed exercises, he was in the library.'

In 1505, Alexius, a friend of Luther in the university, was assassinated.* Soon after, about the first of July, as Luther was walking in a retired road between Erfurt and Stotterheim, probably on his way home to escape the epidemic then prevailing at Erfurt, he was overtaken by a violent thunder storm, and the lightning struck with terrific force near his feet. He was stunned, and exclaimed in his terror, 'Help, beloved St. Anne, and I will straightway become a monk.'

Besides the above-mentioned occurrences, there was an epidemic raging in the university, many of the teachers and pupils had fled, and it was very natural that Luther's mind should be in a very gloomy state. St. Anne was the reigning saint in Saxony at this

* Such is the view in which the testimony of Luther, Melancthon, Mathesius, and other early witnesses is best united. The representation of later writers that Alexius was killed by lightning is now abandoned by most historians.

time, having recently become an object of religious regard, to whose honor the Saxon town Anneberg was built, and who, for a time, was the successful rival even of the Virgin Mary. Hence, the invocation of this saint by Luther.

When in 1502, the Elector Frederic of Saxony founded the university of Wittenberg, he employed Staupitz,* first as a counselor and negotiator, and then as a dean or superintendent of the theological faculty. In the next year, the chapter of the order chose him general vicar; and it was in this capacity that he was brought into connection with Luther. His influence upon the cloisters under his charge was of the happiest kind; and his efforts to promote biblical studies, and to revive the spirituality of his brethren, no doubt prepared, in part, the way for multitudes of them to embrace the doctrines of Luther. The testimony of the latter to his worth may properly have place here: 'He was an estimable man; not only worthy to be listened to with reverence, as a scholar in seats of learning and in the church, but also at the court of princes and in the society of the great, he was held in much estimation for his knowledge of the world.'

During a residence of a little more than seven years in Erfurt, from July 17, 1501, to the autumn of 1508, in which he had passed from youth to the state of manhood, both his intellectual and religious character underwent a great transformation. Four years of time, devoted with signal success to secular learning in the university; and nearly three and a half to experimental religion and to theology in the monastery, changed the boy, who knew nothing of learning beyond the catechism and Latin grammar, and nothing of religion beyond a gloomy apprehension of it, and a crude mass of superstitions, into a mature scholar and theologian, to whom the young university of Wittenberg looked as to one likely to increase its usefulness and its fame. The appointment was very peculiar. Such was his modesty and his reluctance to appearing abroad in any public capacity, that Staupitz, as provincial of the order, peremptorily required him to repair to the monastery at Wittenberg, and to lecture there on philosophy.

Probably Luther never saw Wittenberg till he went to take his

* John Von Staupitz was descended from an ancient noble family of Meissen, or Misnia, in the kingdom of Saxony. In order to gratify his love of study and pious meditation, he became an Augustinian monk, and in various universities went through an extended course of scholastic philosophy and theology. In 1497, he was made master of arts, lector or public reader of his order, and connected himself with the university of Tübingen, in the south of Germany. He rose rapidly to distinction; for in the following year he was appointed prior of the convent of Tübingen; in the next, he took the degree of biblical bachelor, or the first degree in theology, that of sententiary, or the second degree, and in 1500, that of doctor of divinity.

station there for life. And what a station was that! and how did he fill it! Passing beyond Weimar, Naumburg and Leipsic, and directing his course toward Düben, which is about midway between Leipsic and Wittenberg, he would see spread out before him a rich arable tract of country, dotted with countless small villages. Only Eilenburg on the right, and Delitsch on the left, several miles distant, rise to the dignity of towns. Near Düben, pleasant woodlands and fine meadows begin to appear, and extend far in both directions along the banks of the Mulde. A mile beyond that town, Luther, of course, entered the Düben heath, a desolate, sandy region, seven or eight miles in extent, covered with stunted trees, where an equally stunted race of wood-cutters, colliers and manufacturers of wooden-ware, led a boorish life. Near the entrance of the heath is a rock, called Dr. Luther's Rock, with the letters D. M. L. inscribed upon it, because he is said to have made a pause here once when on a journey, and to have taken a repast upon it. To the right of the heath, near the Elbe, is Schmiedeberg, whither the university was sometimes temporarily removed in seasons of peril. Beyond the river is the castle of Lichtenburg, where Luther held an anxious interview with Spalatin, in 1518, to determine whether he should retire from Wittenberg or not. North of this are Annaburg, the occasional residence of the electors, and the Cloister Lochau, so often mentioned by Luther. Directly on his route, lay Kemberg, which was also connected variously with the university. The last place he passed through was Prata, whose distance from Wittenberg, he once said, would give an idea of the width of the Po. To the left lay Segrena, Carlstadt's resort, when he retired from the university, and lived as a peasant. Beyond this were seen the Elbe and the white sand-hills, which gave to Wittenberg its name. The town itself, containing then three hundred and fifty-six houses, and about two thousand inhabitants, lay before him on the north side of the Elbe, and two hundred rods distant from it, in a long oval form, with the electoral church and palace at the western extremity, the city church in the center, and the Augusteum or university toward the Elster gate, at the eastern extremity. Though Wittenberg was the capital of the old electorate, its appearance was far from being splendid. On the north side are seen plains broken by sand-hills and copses of wood; on the south, a low flat heath, behind which flowed the broad Elbe, fringed here and there with willow and oak shrubs. Many wretched hamlets were seen in the distance, and the city itself, if we except the public buildings, was but little more than a cluster of mean dwellings.

The people were warlike, but so sensual that it was thought necessary to limit their convivialities by law. At betrothals, for example, nothing was allowed to be given to the guests, except cakes, bread, cheese, fruit, and beer. The last article so abounded at Wittenberg, that it was said, 'The cuckoo could be heard there in winter evenings;' speaking, of course, through the throats of the bottles. There were one hundred and seventy-two breweries in the city in 1513.

Wittenberg University had been in existence six years when Luther was appointed professor. Until 1507, it was supported chiefly from the funds of the Elector Frederic, who now incorporated with it the collegiate church, with all its sources of income, and the provostships of Kemberg and Clöden, the parish of Orlamünde, &c., the canons of the former becoming lecturers without cost or trouble, and the incumbents of the latter providing vicars in their churches, and removing to the university, where they lived upon their incomes. The university was organized after the model of Tübingen, and bore resemblance to the university of Erfurt. The rector,—who must be unmarried, and maintain his dignity by studied seclusion, and appear in public only in great pomp,—assisted by three *reformers*, whose duty it was to superintend the instruction, and the deans of the four faculties, constituted the academic Senate. The university, contrary to the usual custom, was under the protection of the elector, and not of the pope, or a cardinal, or an archbishop, a circumstance which greatly favored the Reformation. None, therefore, but the elector could control the university from without, and none but the rector and his assistants, the *reformers*, could do it from within. These, however, had enough to do. In the very year that Luther came there, the students had so insulted some of the court of the Bishop of Brandenberg, that he put the whole city under the interdict, which was removed only on the payment of two thousand gulden. The year before, when Scheurl, a very energetic man, was rector, he checked the prevailing vice of intoxication among the students, and prohibited the practice of going armed with gun, sword and knife. Still, in 1512, another rector was assassinated by an expelled student; and Melancthon once barely escaped with his life.

Paul and Augustine were the patron saints of the theological faculty. The whole university was to observe the festivals of the saints of each faculty. The faculties were the theological, in which there were four professors: the law, in which there were five: the

medical, in which there were three: and the philosophical, including science and literature, in which there were ten.

Luther passed rapidly through all the degrees conferred in theology. The first was that of *biblicus*, though the candidate ordinarily knew little of the Bible beyond a few papal glosses on favorite proof-texts: the second was that of *sententiarius*, who could lecture on the first two books of the Sentences of Peter Lombardus: the third was that of *formatus*, who could lecture on the last two books of the same author: the fourth was that of *licentiatus*, one licensed to teach theology in general: the fifth was that of doctor of divinity.

The reigning Saxon family was divided into two branches, the Albertine and the Ernestine. From Albert (whose ordinary residence was Dresden), descended Duke George, Luther's bitter enemy, and to him succeeded first Henry and then Maurice. To Ernest, who resided sometimes at Torgau and sometimes at Wittenberg, were born four distinguished sons, the Elector Frederic the Wise, who in his birth preceded Luther twenty years, and in his death twenty-one; Albert, who at the age of eighteen was Archbishop of Mainz, in 1482, but died in the same year; Ernest, who, after being Administrator of Magdeburg for several years, was archbishop from 1489 to 1513; and John the Constant, now associated with Frederic in the government, and in 1525 his successor.

Luther commenced his labors in Wittenberg by lecturing on the dialectics and physics of Aristotle, without salary or tuition fees. It is remarkable that he never received any thing from students for his labors, nor from booksellers for his writings.* After he laid aside the cowl, the elector gave him an allowance of two hundred gulden a year.

Luther visited Rome as a pilgrim. Twice while in Erfurt had he vowed to make a pilgrimage to Rome; and he himself affirms that he made the journey in consequence of his vows. This statement does not, however, stand in the way of his having other objects to accomplish at the same time. Rome was then regarded as second only to Jerusalem in sacredness. The soil was supposed to be hallowed, not only by the graves of thousands of martyrs, and many Roman bishops, but of the apostles Peter and Paul. Pilgrims came in multitudes, sometimes two hundred thousand at a time, to visit this sacred city.

Staupitz, who had interested himself so deeply in Luther's wel-

* The publishers of his works offered him four hundred florins a year, if he would give them his manuscripts; but he refused 'to make merchandise of the gifts with which God had endowed him.'

fare ever since his first acquaintance with him, and who, for the benefit of the church, had undertaken to guide his steps, was not disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of his young friend. He had already made him reader at table in the monastery, substituting the Scriptures in the place of Augustine's writings, which had hitherto been read to the monks during meal times. He was raised to the rank of licentiate in theology (the next degree above sententiarius), the 4th of October, 1512, and finally to the degree of doctor of divinity, on the 19th of the same month. His reluctance to receive this honor (or rather office as it then was), appears to have been not less than that which he felt when it was proposed to make him preacher. It was manifested in a similar way, and overcome by similar arguments. In his letter of invitation to the Erfurt convent to attend the ceremony, he says, he is to receive the degree 'out of obedience to the fathers and the vicar.' In a dedicatory epistle to the Elector Frederic, written several years after, he says: 'At your expense was the doctor's hat placed upon my witless head, an honor at which I blush, but which I am constrained to bear because those whom it is my duty to obey would have it so.' Among the letters of Luther is found the receipt which he signed for the fifty florins furnished him by the elector for paying the costs of the degree. A doctor's ring of massive gold was presented to him by the elector at the same time, which is still to be seen in the library of Wolfenbüttel. On the 19th of October the ceremony was performed with great pomp, with solemn procession and the ringing of the great bell. This appointment—for it was not a mere honor—given him by the united voice of his religious superiors, his sovereign, and the university, he construed, and ever after regarded, as a Divine call to teach religion in the most public manner. 'I was called,' says he, 'and forced to the office, and was obliged, from the duty of obedience, to be doctor contrary to my will, . . . and to promise with an oath to teach purely and sincerely according to the Scriptures.' Tübingen and Wittenberg were the only universities where such an oath was required. Under this oath, administered to him by Carlstadt, Luther claimed the right to appeal to the Bible as the only ultimate authority, and thus formally did he plant himself upon the fundamental principle of Protestantism.

The period of about two years immediately following the date above-mentioned, appears to have been chiefly taken up in preparing for his lectures, and in acquiring the original languages of the Bible. The only events mentioned in connection with him during

that time, are a disputation, in 1512, by a candidate for the first degree in theology, and another in 1513, for the second degree, at both of which he was the presiding officer. Such things were of frequent occurrence with him at a later period. Inasmuch as it is evident that Luther knew little of Greek or Hebrew before the year 1513, whereas we find him making use of both with some facility the next year, the inference is plain, that he must have studied them zealously about this time. Mathesius represents Luther as 'spelling out the words of the Bible' after he commenced lecturing upon it. The first books on which he lectured were the Epistle to the Romans and the Psalms, which the same biographer informs us took place immediately after he was made doctor.

In the Wolfenbüttel library is preserved Luther's copy of the Psalms in Hebrew, printed on a quarto page, in the centre of which stands the Hebrew text, with wide spaces between the lines. On the broad margin and between the lines are to be seen the notes, in Latin, of his first lecture on this book, delivered probably in 1513. It is believed that he caused copies to be printed in this form for the greater convenience of the students in taking notes and connecting them with the words of the text. The great value of this singular book consists in the record it contains of Luther's religious and theological views at that period. Jürgens, who has carefully examined this earliest of Luther's Scripture expositions which have been preserved—it exists only in manuscript, and in Luther's hand-writing—remarks: 'It contains the clearest indications how little Luther had advanced in biblical interpretation; and yet it occasionally points to the way in which he afterwards became so eminent as an expositor of Scripture. We refer particularly to his disposition to go back to the original sources. But he appears still to be without a competent knowledge of the Hebrew. He makes use of a defective Latin translation, agreeing with the Vulgate, and adheres closely to it, though he knows the Hebrew text, and constantly refers to it as well as to the Greek version.'

The little information we have respecting Luther from the beginning of 1515, to the beginning of 1516, may be regarded as indirect evidence that he was going steadily and prosperously on in the course he had begun, constantly accumulating that power and influence which was so soon to be put in requisition. The interest he felt in the controversy which was then raging between Reuchlin and the stupid Dominicans at Cologne, in respect to the utility of the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and the advancement which he himself made in the knowledge of these languages about

this time, put it beyond doubt that the lectures which he delivered on the various books of the Bible were founded, more and more, on the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. He also continued earnestly engaged in academic disputations, for, from some of the older professors, he still met with opposition. During this year, he was made dean of the theological faculty, and under him, according to the university records, a large number of Augustinian eremites received their degrees in theology. Odelkop, who heard his lectures, particularly those on the Epistle to the Romans, at this time, says Luther diligently prosecuted his studies and preached, and delivered lectures and held debates. In this year were preached the first three discourses of his which have been preserved. In these he manifests decided progress in the clearness and solidity of his religious views. In the first of those discourses, he strongly urges the doctrine, that piety consists not in outward works, but in an inward principle; that an act, in itself good, becomes even sinful if the motive be sinful.

February 2, 1516, he writes to his intimate friend, John Lange, prior of the cloister at Erfurt, a letter which strikingly illustrates the state of his mind in respect to the Aristotelian philosophy, and the scholastic theology founded upon it; and also the relations of his old teachers, Truttvetter, or Jodocus of Eisenach, as he generally calls him, and Usingen, both to scholasticism and to himself. He writes:

> I send the accompanying letter, reverend father, to the excellent Jodocus of Eisenach, full of positions against [the Aristotelian] logic, philosophy and theology, that is, full of blasphemies and maledictions against Aristotle, Porphyry, and the sententiarists, the pernicious study of this our age. . . . . See that these be put into his hands, and take pains to find out what he and all the rest think of me in this matter, and let me know. I have no other more eager desire than to make known to many, and, if I have time, to show to all, how ignominiously that old actor, under his Greek mask, playeth and maketh pastime with the church. . . . . My greatest sorrow is, that I am constrained to see brethren of good parts and of gifts qualifying them for study, spend their time and waste their lives in such vain pursuits, while the universities cease not to burn and to condemn good books, and then make, or rather dream out new ones in their room. I wish Usingen as well as Truttvetter would leave off these studies, or at least be more moderate therein. My shelves are stored with weapons against their writing, which I find to be utterly useless; and all others would see the same, were they not bound to a more than Pythagorean silence.

In April 1516 to November 1517, Luther was made Vicar of his Order in Saxony and Thuringia. Immediately after his appointment he set out upon a journey of visitation, and passed the last of April, all of May and the beginning of June in going from cloister to cloister in his province, regulating discipline, encouraging education and the study of the Bible in particular, dismissing unskillful priors and appointing others in their place.

The first monastery he visited was that of Grimma, near Leipsic, and still nearer the nunnery of Nimptschen, where Catharine von Bora, Luther's future wife, then a girl of sixteen, was nun. As Staupitz and Link accompanied Luther to this place, and as the former performed in this instance the duties of visitation, it would seem that Luther was here practically initiated into his new calling. While they were thus engaged at Grimma, Tetzel made his appearance in the adjacent town of Wurtzen, and practiced his arts in selling indulgences so shamelessly as to arouse the indignation of both Luther and Staupitz. This is the time when the former resolved to expose the traffic, and threatened 'to make a hole in Tetzel's drum.'

We next find him in Dresden, examining the state of the monastery of the Augustinians in that place. Here he writes a letter, May 1, to the prior in Mainz, requesting him to send back to Dresden a runaway monk.

'For,' says he, 'that lost sheep belongeth to me. It is my duty to find him and bring him back from his wanderings, if so it please the Lord Jesus. I entreat you, therefore, reverend father, by our common faith in Christ, and by our profession, to send him unto me, if in your kindness you can, either at Dresden or Wittenberg, or rather persuade him, and affectionately and kindly move him to come of his own accord. I will meet him with open arms, if he will but return. He need not fear that he has offended me. I know full well that offenses must come; nor is it strange that a man should fall. It is rather strange that he should rise again and stand. Peter fell, that he might know he was but a man. At the present day, also, the cedars of Lebanon, whose summits reach the skies, fall. The angels fell in heaven, and Adam in paradise. Is it then strange that a reed should quiver in the breeze, and the smoking lamp be put out?'

Luther thus writes to Mutianus, a great classical and belles-letters scholar in Gotha, whom he had known when a student at Erfurt:

I must now go where my duty calleth me, but not without first saluting you, though from a sense of my ignorance and uncouth style, I shrink from it. But my affection for you overcometh my modesty; and that rustic Corydon, Martin, barbarous and accustomed only to cackle among the geese, saluteth you, the scholar, the man of the most polished erudition. Yet I am sure, or certainly presume that Mutianus valueth the heart above the tongue or pen; and my heart is sufficiently erudite, for it is sufficiently devoted to you. Farewell, most excellent father in the Lord Jesus, and be not forgetful of me.

Postscript. One thing I wish you to know: Father John Lange, whom you have known as a Greek and Latin scholar, and what is more, as a man of a pure heart, hath now lately been made prior of the Erfurt convent by me. Unto man commend him by a friendly word, and unto God by your prayers.

The following extracts from a letter to Lange, written in August, from Kemburg, when professors and students had fled from the epidemic in Wittenberg, shows the multiplicity of his engagements:

I am the preacher of the cloister; I am reader at the table; I am required every day to be parish-preacher; I am director of the studies of the brethren; I am vicar, that is, eleven times prior; I am inspector of the fish-ponds in Litzkau; I am advocate for the Hertzebergers in Torgau; I am lecturer on Paul; I am commentator on the Psalms; and, as I have said, the greater part

of my time is occupied in writing letters. I seldom have time for the canonical hours and for the mass, to say nothing of the temptations of the flesh, the world, and the devil. You see what a man of leisure I am. Concerning brother John Metzel, I think my opinion and reply have already reached you. Nevertheless, I will see what I can do. How do you suppose I can find a place for all your Sardanapaluses and sybarites [easy monks]? If you have trained them up wrong, you must support them after thus training them. I have useless brethren enough everywhere, if any can be useless to a patient mind. There are now twenty-two priests and twelve youths, forty-one persons in all, who live upon our more than most scanty stores. But the Lord will provide. You say you began yesterday [to lecture] upon the second part of Lombard's Sentences. To-morrow, I shall begin on the Epistle to the Galatians. Albeit, I fear the plague will not suffer me to go on. It taketh away two or three each several day. A son of our neighbor, Faber, opposite, who was well yesterday, is carried to his burial to-day. Another son lieth infected. What shall I say? It is already here, and hath begun to rage suddenly and vehemently—especially with the young. You ask me and Barthelomew [Feldkirk] to flee with you. Whither shall I flee? I hope the world will not fall to pieces if brother Martin do fall. The brethren I shall disperse throughout all the country, if the pestilence should prevail. But I am placed here, and my duty of obedience will not allow me to flee, until the authority which commanded me hither shall command me away.

In a letter to Lange, dated March 1, after mentioning that he sends Didymus, 'who is still ignorant of the usages of the order,' to Erfurt, and that he is about to publish his translation and exposition of the Penitential Psalms, he proceeds to say:

I am reading our Erasmus, and my esteem for him groweth less every day. . . . . . With him, what is of man prevaileth over what is of God. Though I am loth to judge him, I must admonish you not to read his works; or rather, not to receive all he saith without examination. These are dangerous times, and I perceive that a man is not to be esteemed truly wise because he understandeth Greek and Hebrew; seeing that St. Jerome, with his five languages, did not match Augustine with one—though to Erasmus it may seem otherwise. . . . . . This opinion of him I keep hid, lest I should strengthen the opposition of his enemies [the monks and priests]. Perhaps the Lord, in due time, will give him understanding.

We omit his collision with Tetzel, the Pope and Emperor, as belonging to the theological side of his career and character, although of amazing importance in the history of modern society, and pass to his introduction to Melancthon, in 1518, who from that date became his intimate and influential friend. When the negotiations which had been entered into with Mosellanus, of Leipsic, in respect to the Greek professorship, were broken off, in July, 1518, the elector applied to Reuchlin, then residing at Stuttgard, to recommend two professors, one for the Greek and one for the Hebrew language. Reuchlin recommended Melancthon for the former, and Œcolampadius for the latter. Melancthon was at that time twenty-one years of age, and was temporarily occupying the chair of rhetoric at the University of Tübingen, but a few miles from Reuchlin's house. Being the grandson of Reuchlin's sister, the young Melancthon had been carefully educated under his direction. He distinguished himself by his rapid acquisitions in the Latin school of Simler at

Pforzheim. At Heidelberg, where he entered the university at the age of twelve, he acquired the reputation of being the best Greek scholar. At Tübingen, to which, at the end of two years after having taken his first degree, he resorted, and where he spent six years in laborious study, he made such extensive and various acquisitions in learning as to stand prominent above all the youths of the university. Destined, as he was, to be the 'preceptor of Germany,' it was well that his range of study at Tübingen was very wide. Proceeding from the Latin and Greek, as from a common center, he extended his studies to history, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, philosophy, theology, law, and even to the leading medical writers, and attended lectures on all these subjects. He not only warmly espoused the cause of Reuchlin, as the representative of Greek and Hebrew literature, and its persecuted but victorious defender against the ignorant Dominican monks of Cologne, but he made himself familiar, even from boyhood, with the New Testament, in the original—a copy of which, received as a present from Reuchlin, he always carried about his person. Reuchlin, in his reply to the elector, said he knew of no German who was Melancthon's superior, except it be Erasmus of Rotterdam. July 24, 1518, Reuchlin wrote to his young kinsman: "I have received a letter from the elector, offering you a place and a salary; and I will apply to you the promise of God made to Abraham: 'Get thee out of thy country, &c.; and I will make thee a great nation, and thou shalt be blessed.' So I prophesy of thee, my dear Philip, who art my care and my comfort."

He went by way of Augsburg, in order to see the elector there before he should leave the diet, then in session. On leaving Augsburg, Melancthon proceeded to Nüremberg, where he made the acquaintance of Pirkheimer and Scheurl, and then pursued his way to Leipsic, where he saw the young Greek professor Mosellanus, and on the 25th of August, 1518, reached Wittenberg. Luther's joy, on learning what an acquisition was made to Wittenberg in this remarkable young man, was great; and never had he occasion to abate his admiration. In the very next letter after the one last quoted from him, under date of August 31, he writes to Spalatin, still in Augsburg with the elector: 'As touching our Philip Melancthon, be assured all is done, or shall be, which you desire in your letter. He pronounced an [inaugural] oration on the fourth day after his arrival here [in which he set forth the new method of study in contrast with the old scholastic method], full of learning and force, meeting with such favor and admiration in all, that you

may now leave off all anxiety in commending him unto us. We soon lost the feeling produced by his [small] stature and [his weak bodily] frame; and now we do wonder and rejoice at that which we find in him, and thank the illustrious prince and yourself for what you have done. You have need rather to inquire in what study he may render himself most acceptable to our prince. With his consent and approval, I would choose that Philip be made Greek professor. I only have fears that his feeble health will not abide the severity of our climate. I hear, furthermore, that he receiveth too small a stipend, so that the men at Leipsic are hoping to get him away from us. He was beset by them on his way to this place.'

September 2, he writes to the same, informing him that the students, now eagerly pursuing the new studies and hearing, by way of preference, lectures on the Bible and the ancient languages, complain that, before receiving their degrees, they are required to attend useless courses of lectures on scholastic theology. Luther and his friends desired that those studies be made optional, and that persons be admitted to the degrees in theology on passing a regular examination on the new branches of study introduced by him, Melancthon and others. He closes by saying, 'I commend unto you heartily the most Attic, the most erudite, the most elegant Melancthon. His lecture-room is full, and more than full. He inflameth all our theologians, highest, lowest and midst, with a love of Greek.'

On the 9th of the same month, he writes to Lange: 'The very learned and most Grecian Philip Melancthon is professor of Greek here, a mere boy or stripling, if you regard his age, but one of us if you consider the abundance of his learning and his knowledge of almost all books. He is not only skilled in both languages, [Latin and Greek, then a rare thing], but is learned in each. Nor is he wholly ignorant of Hebrew.'

The following passages from an account by Kepler, of St. Gall, of his interview with Luther at the Black Bear at Jena, is characteristic of the man and the times:

Though it may seem trifling and childish, I can not omit mentioning how Martin met me and my companion, when he was riding from the place of his captivity toward Wittenberg. As we were journeying toward Wittenberg, for the sake of studying the Holy Scriptures—and the Lord knows what a furious tempest there was—we came to Jena, in Thuringia, where we could not, with all our inquiry in the town, find or hear of any place to lodge for the night, but wereeverywhere refused, for it was carnival, during which little heed is given to pilgrims or strangers. We, therefore, left the town again, to proceed farther on our way, thinking we might perhaps find a hamlet where we could pass the night. At the gate of the city we met a respectable man, who

accosted us in a friendly manner, and asked us where we were going so late. . . . . He then asked us whether we had inquired at the Black Bear hotel. . . He pointed it out to us a little distance without the city. . . . . The innkeeper met us at the door and received us, and led us into the room. Here we found a man at the table, sitting alone, with a small book lying before him, who greeted us kindly, and invited us to take a seat with him at the table; for our shoes were so muddy that we were ashamed to enter the room, and therefore slunk away upon a bench behind the door. . . . . We took him to be no other than a knight, as he had on, according to the custom of the country, a red cap, small-clothes and a doublet, and a sword at his side, on which he leaned, with one hand on the pommel and the other on the hilt. He asked us whence we were, but immediately answered himself, 'You are Swiss; from what part of Switzerland are you?' We replied, 'St. Gall.' He then said, 'If, as I suppose, you are on your way to Wittenberg, you will find good countrymen of yours there, namely, Jerome Schurf and his brother Augustine;' whereupon we said, 'We have letters to them.' We now asked him in turn, if he could give us any information about Martin Luther—whether he is now at Wittenberg or elsewhere. He said, 'I have certain knowledge that he is not now at Wittenberg, but will soon be there. But Philip Melancthon is there, as teacher of Greek, and others teach Hebrew.' He recommended to us to study both languages, as necessary above all things to understand the Scriptures. We said, 'Thank God, we shall then see and hear the man [Luther] on whose account we have undertaken this journey.' . . . . He then asked us where we had formerly studied; and, as we replied at Basle, he inquired how things were going on there, and what Erasmus was doing. 'Erasmus is still there, but what he is about no one knoweth, for he keepeth himself very quiet and secluded.' We were much surprised at the knight, that he should know the Schurfs, Melancthon and Erasmus, and that he should speak of the necessity of studying Greek and Hebrew. At times, too, he made use of Latin words, so that we began to think he was something more than a common knight.

'Sir,' said he, 'what do men in Switzerland think of Luther?' We replied, 'Variously, as everywhere else. Some can not sufficiently bless and praise God that he hath, through this man, made known his truth and exposed error; others condemn him as an intolerable heretic.' 'Especially the clergy,' interrupted he,—'I doubt not these are the priests.' By this conversation we were made to feel ourselves quite at home, and my companion [Reutiner] took the book that lay before him, and looked into it, and found it was a Hebrew psalter. He soon laid it down again, and the knight took it. This increased our curiosity to know who he was. When the day declined and it grew dark, our host, knowing our desire and longing after Luther, came to the table and said, 'Friends, had you been here two days ago, you could have had your desire, for he sat here at this table,' pointing to the seat. We were provoked with ourselves that we were too late, and poured out our displeasure against the bad roads which had hindered us. After a little while, the host called me to the door, and said, 'Since you manifest so earnest a desire to see Luther, you must know that it is he who is seated by you. I took these words as spoken in jest, and said, 'You, to please me, give me a false joy at seeing Luther.' 'It is indeed he,' replied my host, 'but make as if you did not know it.' I went back into the room and to the table, and desired to tell my companion what I had heard, and turned to him, and said in a whisper, 'Our host hath told me that this is Luther.' He, like myself, was incredulous. 'Perhaps he said Hutten, and you misunderstood him.' As now the knight's dress comported better with the character of Hutten than with that of a monk, I was persuaded that he said it was Hutten. [Two merchants now came in, and they all supped together]. Our host came, meanwhile, to us, and said in a whisper, 'Don't be concerned about the cost, for Martin hath paid the bill.' We rejoiced, not so much for the gift of the supper, as for the honor of being entertained by such a man. After supper the merchants went to the stable to see to their horses, and Martin remained with us in the room. We thanked him for the honor shown us, and gave him to understand that we took him for Ulrich von Hutten. But he said, 'I am not he.' Just then came in our host, and Martin said to him, 'I have become a nobleman to-night, for these Swiss hold me to be Ulrich

von Hutten.' The host replied, 'You are not he, but Martin Luther.' He laughed, and said jocosely, 'They hold me to be Hutten, and you say I am Luther; I shall next be Marcolfus,' [a notorious character in the monkish legends]. Afterward he took up a large beer glass, and said, 'Swiss, now drink me a health;' and then arose, threw around him his mantle, and, giving us his hand, took leave of us, saying, 'When you come to Wittenberg, greet Dr. Jerome Schurf for me.' 'Very gladly,' said we; 'but whom shall we call you, that he may understand us?' He replied, 'Say only this, he who is to come, sendeth you greeting,' and he will understand it. . . On Saturday, we went to the house of Schurf to present our letters; and when we were conducted into the room, behold we found Martin there as at Jena, and with him Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Nicholas Amsdorf, and Dr. Augustine Schurf, rehearsing to him what had taken place at Wittenberg during his absence. He greeted us, and smiling said, 'This is Philip Melancthon, of whom we spoke.' Melancthon turned to us and asked us many questions, to which we replied as well as we could. So we spent the day with them with great delight and gratification on our part.

In 1525 (June 13), Luther was married to Catharine von Bora—he at the age of 42, and she of 26. The marriage was highly offensive to the generally received opinions of the age—both having taken the vows of celibacy, but was a natural sequence of the views which they now held of Christian and social duty. His sympathizing friends were invited to dinner, and the city presented Luther several casks of beer, and the university gave a large silver tankard, plated with gold, weighing five pounds and a quarter, which is now in possession of the University of Griefswald. His correspondence shows that his domestic feelings were tender, and his love considerate. He somewhere says, 'I expect more from my Katy and from Melancthon than I do from Christ my Lord, and yet I well know that neither they nor any one on earth hath suffered, or can suffer, what he hath suffered for me.' Molsdorf, a former member of Luther's household, says, 'I remember that Dr. Luther used to say, that he congratulated himself with all his soul that God had given him a modest and prudent wife, who took such excellent care of his health.' 'How I longed after my family,' says Luther, 'when I lay at the point of death in Smalcald! I thought I should never again see my wife and child. How painful would such a separation have been!'

When Luther was at Coburg, in 1530, he heard of the illness of his father, and yet his own life was in such peril that he could not safely make the journey to see him. At this, both he and Catharine were much distressed. Soon afterwards, the news of his father's death reached him. 'I have heard,' he says to Link, 'of the death of my father, who was so dear and precious to me.' Catharine, to comfort him, sent him a likeness of his favorite daughter Magdalene, then one year old. 'You have done a good deed,' says Veit Dietrich, Luther's amanuensis, 'in sending the likeness to the

doctor; for by it many of his gloomy thoughts are dissipated. He hath placed it on the wall over against the dining-table.'

There is a vein of drollery and playfulness in all his letters relating to his domestic life. In one of his letters to his wife he addresses her as 'my Lord Katy' (meus Dominus, &c.) which furnished pleasant amusement to his university friends and the students, some of whom were generally members of his family. He once gave out a similar phrase in German to a student in his examination to translate into Latin, and the answer contained such a ridiculous blunder that it long continued a by-word. Luther closes one of his letters to an old friend by saying, 'My lord and Moses [the lawgiver] Katy most humbly greeteth you.' He also in a letter to his wife, addressed her as 'My kind and dear lord and master Katy Lutheress [Lutherinn], doctress and priestess at Wittenberg.'

If we wish to see his creed in respect to a wife's place in a household, we have it undoubtedly in these words, addressed once to his Katy, as he was fond of calling her: 'You may persuade me to any thing you wish; you have perfect control;' to which was added, by way of explanation, '*in household affairs* I give you the entire control, my authority being unabated.'

The following letter was addressed to his son Johnny (4 years old):

Grace and peace in Christ, my darling little son. I am glad to see that you pray and study diligently. Go on doing so, my Jonny, and when I come home I will bring with me some fine things for you. I know of a beautiful, pleasant garden, where many children go, and have little golden coats, and gather from the trees fine apples and pears, and cherries and plums; they sing and play, and are happy; they have beautiful little horses with golden bits and silver saddles. I asked the owner of the garden, whose children these were. He replied, 'They are children which love to pray and learn, and are good.' I then said, 'Dear sir, I, too, have a son, whose name is Jonny Luther. May he not also come into the garden, that he too may eat these beautiful apples and pears, and ride on these fine horses, and play with the boys?' The man said, 'If he loves to pray and learn, and is good, he shall come into the garden, and Philly and Jussy [Philip and Justus] too, and when they are all together, they shall have fifes and drums and lutes, and all kinds of music, and dance and shoot with their cross-bows.' And he showed me a fine grass plat in the garden for dancing, and there were hanging nothing but golden fifes and drums and fine silver cross-bows. But it was early, and the children had not yet dined; and as I could not wait for their dancing, I said to the man, 'O, my dear sir, I will hasten away, and write all about this to my dear little Jonny, that he may pray and learn diligently, and be good, and then come into this garden. He has an aunt Lene [Magdalene], and she must come too.' The man said, 'That is right, go and write to him so.' Therefore, my dear little Jonny, learn and pray well, and tell Philip [Melancthon's son], and Jussy [Justus Jonas's son], to learn and pray too, and then you may all come together into the garden. And now I commend you to God. Greet aunt Lene and give her a kiss for me.

Luther died at Eisleben, Feb. 18, 1546, at the age of 62 years, 3 months and 8 days, and his body was deposited in the church in Wittenberg, after funeral addresses by Bugenhagen and Melancthon.

LUTHER'S VIEWS OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

If Melancthon obtained the name "Præceptor Germaniæ," inasmuch as he was a most consummate scholar, and, at the same time, the intellectual leader, especially of the literary class of his countrymen, then Luther should be called the pastor of his people, who, with a strong faith and an active love, watched, labored, and prayed that all his beloved Germans, small and great, might be led, by means of pious discipline and sound learning, to walk humbly before God.

In Luther's writings, we find much on the subject of education, both in sermons, expositions of scripture, letters, and the table-talk; and some of his works treat of this theme exclusively. He appeals, now to parents, now to magistrates, and now to teachers,—urges them, each and all, in the most pressing manner, to interest themselves in children, while, at the same time, he lays before them blessings and curses,—blessings on right training, and curses on neglect. And withal, he presents the most admirable doctrines, on the nature of discipline, the knowledge suitable for children, the best manner of imparting it, etc.

The following extracts from Luther's works, express his views, both upon the training and the instruction of the young.

I. HOME GOVERNMENT. TRAINING OF CHILDREN.

Luther saw that good family government was the sole foundation of good civil government and of continued national prosperity. In his exposition of Exodus 20: 12., he says:

We have now explained, at sufficient length, *how* father and mother are to be honored, and what this commandment includes and teaches, and have shown of what vast consequence it is in the sight of God, that this obedience toward father and mother should become universal. Where this is not the case, you will find neither good manners nor a good government. For, where obedience is not maintained at the fire-side, no power on earth can insure to the city, territory, principality, or kingdom the blessings of a good government; and it is there that all governments and dominions originate. If now the root is corrupt, it is in vain that you look for a sound tree, or for good fruit.

For what is a city, but an assemblage of households? How then is a whole city to be wisely governed, when there is no subordination in its several households, yea, when neither child, maid-servant, nor man-servant submit to authority? Again, a territory: what is it, other than an assemblage of cities, market-towns and villages? Where, now, the households are lawless or mis-governed, how can the whole territory be well-governed? yea, nothing else will appear, from one end of it to the other, but tyranny, witchcraft, murders, robberies and disobedience to every law. Now, a principality is a group of territories, or counties; a kingdom, a group of principalities; and an empire, a group of

kingdoms. Thus, the whole wide organization of an empire is all woven out of single households. Wherever, then, fathers and mothers slacken the reins of family government, and leave children to follow their own headstrong courses, there it is impossible for either city, market-town or village, either territory, principality, kingdom or empire, to enjoy the fruits of a wise and peaceful government. For the son, when grown up, becomes a father, a judge, a mayor, a prince, a king, an emperor, a preacher, a schoolmaster, etc. And, if he has been brought up without restraint, then will the subjects become like their ruler, the members like their head.

For this cause, God has established it as a matter of irrevocable necessity, that men should by all means rule over their own households. For where family government is well-ordered and judicious, all other forms of government go on prosperously. And the reason is, as we have seen, that the whole human race proceeds from the family. For it has pleased God so to ordain, from the beginning, that from father and mother, all mankind should forever derive their being.

The duties of parents to their children Luther dwells upon, in his exposition of the fifth commandment.

Now let us see what parents owe to their children, if they would be parents in the truest sense. St. Paul in Eph. 6: 1,—when commanding children to honor their parents, and setting forth the excellence of this commandment, and its reasonableness, says, "children, obey your parents in the Lord." Here he intimates that parents should not be such after the flesh merely, as it is with the heathen, but *in the Lord.* And, that children *may* be obedient to their parents in the Lord, he adds this caution to parents, directly afterward in the fourth verse: "And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath," lest they be discouraged; "but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The first and foremost care that he here enjoins upon parents with reference to their children, in what pertains to the mind and heart, (for of the nurture of the body he does not speak here at all,) is, that they provoke them not to wrath and discouragement. This is a rebuke to such as display a violent and impetuous temper in the management of their children. For, under such an evil discipline, their disposition, while yet tender and impressible, becomes permanently clouded with fear and diffidence; and so there grows up in their breasts a hatred toward their parents, in so far that they run away from them, and pursue a course that otherwise they never would have entered upon. And, in truth, what hope is there of a child, who exercises hatred and mistrust toward his parents, and is ever downcast in their presence? Nevertheless St. Paul in this passage does not intend to forbid parents altogether from being angry with their children and chastening them; but rather, that they punish them in love, when punishment is necessary; not, as some do, in a passionate spirit, and without bestowing a thought upon their improvement.

A child, who has once become timid, sullen and dejected in spirit, loses all his self-reliance, and becomes utterly unfitted for the duties of life; and fears rise up in his path, so oft.n as any thing comes up for him to do, or to undertake. But this is not all;—for, where such a spirit of fear obtains the mastery over a man in his childhood, he will hardly be able to rid himself of it to the end of his days. For, if children are accustomed to tremble at every word spoken by their father or mother, they will start and quake forever after, even at the rustling of a leaf. Neither should those women, who are employed to attend upon children, ever be allowed to frighten them with their tricks and mummeries, and, above all, never in the night-time. But parents ought much rather to aim at that sort of education for their children, that would inspire them with a wholesome fear; a fear of those things that they ought to fear, and not of those which only make them cowardly, and so inflict a lasting injury upon them. Thus parents go too far to the *left.* Now let us consider how they are led too far to the *right.*

St. Paul teaches, further, that children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; that is, that they should be instructed respecting that which they ought to know, and should be chastised when they do not hold to the doctrine. For instance, they need both that you teach them that which they do not know of God, and also that you punish them when they will not

retain this knowledge. Wherefore, see to it, that you cause your children first to be instructed in spiritual things,—that you point them first to God, and, after that, to the world. But in these days, this order, sad to say, is inverted. And it is not to be wondered at; for parents themselves have not learned by their own experience what is this admonition of the Lord, nor do they know much about it from hearsay. Still we had hoped that schoolmasters would remedy this evil,—that in school, at least, children would learn something good, and there have the fear of God implanted in their hearts. But this hope, too, has come to nought. All nations, the Jews especially, keep their children at school more faithfully than Christians. And this is one reason why Christianity is so fallen. For all its hopes of strength and potency are ever committed to the generation that is coming on to the stage; and, if this is neglected in its youth, it fares with Christianity as with a garden that is neglected in the spring time.

For this reason children must be taught the doctrine of God. But this is the doctrine of God, which you must teach your children,—namely, to know our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep ever fresh in their remembrance how he has suffered for our sakes, what he has done, and what commanded. So the children of Israel were commanded of God to show to their children, and to the generation to come, the marvelous things which he did in the sight of their fathers in the land of Egypt.—Psalm 78: 4, 12. And when they have learned all this, but nevertheless do not love God, nor acknowledge their obligations to him in grateful prayer, nor imitate Christ,—then you should lay before them the admonition of the Lord; that is, present to their view the terrible judgments of God, and his anger at the wicked. If a child, from his youth up, learns these things, namely, God's mercies and promises, which will lead him to love God, and his judgments and warnings, which will lead him to fear God,—then, hereafter, when he shall be old, this knowledge will not depart from him.

For God calls upon men to honor him in two ways; namely, to love him as a father, for the benefits which he has rendered, is now rendering, and ever will render toward us; and to fear him as a judge, for the punishments which he has inflicted, and which he will inflict upon the wicked. Hear what he speaks by the mouth of the prophet Malachi, 1: 6, "If then I be a father, where is mine honor? And if I be a master, where is my fear?" Therefore, the children of God should learn to sing of mercy and judgment.—Ps. 101: 1. And St. Paul intends to convey this two-fold meaning, when he says that children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. It belongs to nurture, to tell your children how God has created all things, and how he has given them their senses, their life, and their soul, and is daily providing them with the good things of his creation. Again, how he has suffered for us all, worked miracles, preached to us, and how he has promised yet greater things. And with all this you should exhort them to be grateful to God, to acknowledge his providence, and to love him as a father. It belongs to admonition, that you tell them how God, aforetime, smote with great plagues the Egyptians, the heathen, the inhabitants of Sodom, the children of Israel, yea, all men in Adam; again, how he is now daily smiting many with pestilence, the sword, the gallows, water, fire, wild beasts, and all manner of diseases, and how he menaces the wicked with future punishment.

This admonition God requires us to make much more prominent to our children than that of men, or human penalties. And this, not without reason; for thus they will be taught always to look out of themselves, and up to God, and to fear not men, but God. For, should they be accustomed to fear their parents alone, it will finally come to pass that, even in respect to things which are pleasing to God, that they will fear the opinions of men, and so will become vacillating and cowardly. On this account children should be educated not only to fear their parents, but to feel that God will be angry with them if they do *not* fear their parents. So will they not be faint-hearted, but courageous, and, should they be deprived of their parents, they will not depart from God, either while good betides them, or when evil days come upon them; for they have learned with the fear of God to fear their parents, and not through their fear of their parents to stand in awe of God.

But what an acceptable sacrifice it is to God, to bring up children thus, we perceive in Genesis, 18: 19, where it is said that God could not hide from Abraham what he was about to do, and that, for this reason; "for I know him," God

said, "that he will command his children, and they shall keep the way of the Lord." Do you not see that God herein indicates that the knowledge of the doom, which was to come upon Sodom, would prove to the pious Abraham a strong motive to lead him to bring up his children in the fear of the Lord? So Jonadab, a father among the Rechabites, was gloriously extolled and blessed in his children; and that, because he had brought them up in a pious and godly manner, in the fear of the Lord. In such a manner were Tobias, Joachim and Susanna brought up. On the other hand, the judgment pronounced against Eli, because he restrained not his sons, stands forever to warn us in 1 Sam., 3: 13.

II. BAD TRAINING.

Luther points out the consequences of the bad training of children in the following paragraphs:

Are we not fools? See, we have the power to place heaven or hell within reach of our children, and yet we give ourselves no concern about the matter! For what does it profit you, if you are ever so pious for yourself, and yet neglect the education of your children? Some there are, who serve God with an extreme intensity of devotion,—they fast, they wear coarse garments, and are assiduous in such like exercises for themselves; but the true service of God in their families, namely, the training up their children aright,—this they pass blindly by, even as the Jews of old forsook God's temple, and offered sacrifice upon the high places. Whence, it becomes you first to ponder upon what God requires of you, and upon the office that he has laid upon you; as St. Paul spake in 1 Cor., 7: 20.—"Let every man abide in the same calling, wherein he was called." Believe me, it is much more necesssry for you to take diligent heed how you may train up your children well, than to purchase indulgences, to make long prayers, to go on pilgrimages to distant shrines, or to impose numerous vows upon yourselves.

Thus, fathers and mothers, ye see, what course it is your duty to adopt toward your children, so that you may be parents indeed, and worthy of the name; wherefore, be circumspect, lest you destroy yourselves, and your children with you. But those destroy their children, who knowingly neglect them, and suffer them to grow up without the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and though they do not themselves set them a bad example, yet they indulge them overmuch, out of an excess of natural affection, and so destroy them. "But" they say, "these are mere children; they neither know nor understand!" That may be; but look at the dog, the horse, or the ass; they have neither reason nor judgment, and yet we train them to follow our bidding, to come or go, to do or to leave undone, at our pleasure. Neither does a block of wood or of stone know whether it will or will not fit into the building, but the master-workman brings it to shape; how much more then a man! Or will you have it that other people's children may be able to learn what is right, but that yours are not? They who are so exceedingly scrupulous and tender, will have their children's sins to bear, precisely as if these sins were their own.

There are others who destroy their children by using foul language and oaths in their presence, or by a corrupt demeanor and example. I have even known some, and, would God there were no more of them, who have sold their daughters or their wives for hire, and made their living thus out of the wages of unchastity. And truly, murderers, beyond all question, do better for their daughters than such parents. There are some who are exceedingly well pleased if their sons betray a fierce and warlike spirit, and are ever ready to give blows, as though it were a great merit in them to show no fear of any one. Such parents are quite likely in the end to pay dear for their folly, and to experience sorrow and anguish, when their sons, as often happens in such cases, are suddenly cut off; nor, in this event, can they justly complain. Again, children are sufficiently inclined to give way to anger and evil passions, and hence it behooves parents to remove temptation from them, as far as possible, by a well-guarded example in themselves, both in words and in actions. For what can the child of a man, whose language is habitually vile and profane, be expected to learn, unless it be the like vileness and profanity?

Others again destroy their children by inducing them to set their affections on the world, by taking no thought for them further than to see that they

cultivate graceful manners, dress finely, dance and sing, and all this, to be admired, and to make conquests; for this is the way of the world. In our day, there are but few who are chiefly solicitous to procure their children an abundant supply of those things that pertain to God, and to the interests of the soul; for, the most strive to insure them wealth and splendor, honor and pleasure.

Thus Luther censures a rough, passionate severity in parents, as well as a spirit of indulgence; and wisely commends to them to inspire their children with a dread, rather of God's displeasure than of human penalties, to chasten them betimes, etc.

Of the like import are his reflections when commenting on 1 John, 2: 14.

There is that in the nature of young children, which exults, when the reins of discipline are slackened. Nor is the case otherwise with youth, and if they are held in, even with so firm a hand that they can not break away, nevertheless they will murmur. The right of fathers over their children is derived from God; he is, in truth, the Father of all, "of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named."—Eph. 3: 15. Wherefore, the authority of earthly fathers over their children should not be exercised in a hard and unfriendly manner. He who governs in anger only adds fuel to the fire. And, if fathers and masters on earth do not acknowledge God, he so orders it that both children and servants shall disappoint their hopes. Experience, too, shows us abundantly, that far more can be accomplished by love, than by slavish fear and constraint. But it is the duty of children to learn the fear of God first of all; then, to love those who labor for their improvement. The fear of God should never depart from them; for, if they put it away, they become totally unfit to serve God or man. Correction, too, which includes both reproof and chastisement, saves the soul of the child from the endless punishment of hell. Let not the father spare the rod, but let him remember that the work of training up children is an honor which comes from God; yea, if they turn out well, let him give God the glory. Whoso does not know to do this, hates his children and his household, and walks in darkness. For parents, who love their children blindly, and leave them to their own courses, do no better in the end than if they had hated them. And the ruin of children almost invariably lies at the door of parents, and it commonly ensues from one of these two causes; namely, either from undue lenity and foolish fondness, or from unbending severity, and an irritable spirit. Both these extremes are attended with great hazard, and both should be shunned alike.

Against indulging children Luther likewise inveighs, in a sermon on the married state.

There is no greater obstacle in the way of Christianity than neglect in the training of the young. If we would re-instate Christianity in its former glory, we must improve and elevate the children, as it was done in the days of old. But, alas! parents are blinded by the delusiveness of natural affection, so that they have come to regard the bodies of their children more than their souls. On this point hear the words of the wise man; Prov. 13: 24.—"He that spareth the rod, hateth his son; but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes." Again, 22: 15.—"Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." Again, Prov. 23: 14.—"Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell."

"Wherefore it is the chief duty of the father of a family, to bestow more, greater, and more constant care upon the soul of his child than upon his body; for, this is his own flesh, but the soul is a precious immortal jewel, which God has intrusted to his keeping, and which he must not suffer either the world, the flesh or the devil to steal or to destroy. And a strict account of his charge will be required of him at death and the judgment. For whence, think you, shall come the

terrible wailing and anguish of those, who shall there cry out, 'Blessed are the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck ?'—Luke 23 : 29. Doubtless, from the bitter thought that they have not brought their children back to God, from whom they had only received them in trust."

III. MONKISH TRAINING OF THE YOUNG.

Luther disapproves of isolating children from the world, after the usage of the monks. "Solomon," says he, "was a right royal schoolmaster. He does not forbid children from mingling with the world, or from enjoying themselves, as the monks do their scholars; for they will thus become mere clods and blockheads, as Anselm likewise perceived. Said this one; 'a young man, thus hedged about, and cut off from society, is like a young tree, whose nature it is to grow and bear fruit, planted in a small and narrow pot.' For the monks have imprisoned the youth whom they have had in charge, as men put birds in dark cages, so that they could neither see nor converse with any one. But it is dangerous for youth to be thus alone, thus debarred from social intercourse. Wherefore, we ought to permit young people to see, and hear, and know what is taking place around them in the world, yet so that you hold them under discipline, and teach them self-respect. Your monkish strictness is never productive of any good fruit. It is an excellent thing for a young man to be frequently in the society of others; yet he must be honorably trained to adhere to the principles of integrity, and to virtue, and to shun the contamination of vice. This monkish tyranny is moreover an absolute injury to the young; for they stand in quite as much need of pleasure and recreation as of eating and drinking; their health, too, will be firmer and the more vigorous by the means."

IV. OFFENSE GIVEN TO CHILDREN.

In Luther's exposition of the sixth commandment, he pointedly condemns the offense which is given to the young by the use of foul language. "It is a great sin to use such infamous language in the presence of innocent boys and girls. Those who do it are guilty of all the sins which their inconsiderate words beget. For the tender and inexperienced minds of children are very quick to receive an impression from such words; and, what is far worse, this filthy language clings to their memory, and long abides with them, even as a stain on a fine white cloth is much harder to efface than if it came on one that is rough and course. This the pagans, too, learned from experience: Horace, for example, who says that a new vase long retains the odor of that substance that happened first to have been put into it!

'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.'

And Juvenal, 'you should pay the utmost regard to your boy; and, if you meditate any thing base, think not that his age is too tender to remain unsullied.'

> '*Maxima debeter puero reverentia, si quid*
> *Turpe paras, hujus tu ne contemseris annos.*'

"We will now inquire more particularly what these people do, who thus offend children? Since it is a good thing to pay regard to their tender years, and to keep them in the observance of propriety and decorum, (for it is an acceptable sacrifice to God, to seek the welfare of souls,) we should, therefore, with all diligence, watch over young boys and girls, and prevent them either from seeing or hearing any thing infamous; for their evil tendencies are strong enough by nature. If you seek to quench fire, not with water, but by adding fuel to it, what good do you think you will do? But, alas! how many wicked people there are, who make themselves the tools of the devil, and destroy innocent souls with their poisonous and corrupt language. The devil is truly called a destroyer of souls, but he does not do his work, unless with the help of the infamous tongues of such as are on his side, and take pattern by his example.

"Can a child root out of his soul the vile word, that has once passed in at his ear? The seed is sown, and it germinates in his heart, even against his will. And it branches out into strange and peculiar fancies, which he dares not utter, and can not rid himself of. But, woe to thee! whoever thou art, who hast conveyed into an artless mind, that had otherwise been free from the guile, such troubles, perils and poison! Thou hast not, indeed, marred the body; but, as much as in thee lay, thou hast disfigured that much nobler part, the soul. Thou hast poured, through the ear of a fellow-being, a deadly bane into his life-blood; yea, thou hast slain his soul. Such people are of the race of Herod, who slew the innocents in Bethlehem. You would not suffer your own children to be murdered before your eyes;—why then will you destroy souls that are not yours, but God's. St. Louis, king of France, said that his mother would rather have seen her children die by violence than commit a deadly sin. And what a terrible condemnation does our Lord pronounce upon such corruption of children. 'But whoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' Matt., 18: 6. See what care Christ bestows on innocent little children, in that he affixes a new and peculiar penalty upon the sin of those who offend and injure them; a penalty that is denounced upon no other sin. By this he would doubtless indicate, that such persons

shall undergo an aggravated punishment in the world of woe. And hear him further, in the 7th verse, 'Woe unto the world, because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!' And, in the 10th, 'Take heed, that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.'

"If any one should be disposed to judge these persons mildly, and say their words may raise a blush, but they themselves are clean, as Ovid falsely alledges of himself,

> My manners differ widely from my verse;
> The muse may dally,—I am none the worse.

let him hear what Christ says, and *keep silence*. 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' 'A tree is known by its fruits.'

"And hence it is, too, that the Christian faith is at so low an ebb, because the children have been led out of the way; and, if the Christian church is again to rise from the dust, we must begin with a careful instruction of the young."

V. DEGENERATE CHILDREN.

When, despite the conscientious efforts of parents and teachers, children turn out ill, Luther casts a consoling view upon the case. "What is greater and more glorious than this your labor, ye faithful taskmasters? You are, in all truthfulness, to instruct, to teach, to chasten and admonish the youth committed to your care, in the hope that some will keep in the way of wisdom, though some too may turn aside. For whoever will do any good, must bear in mind, that this effort may prove all in vain, and his benevolence be thrown away; for there are always many who scorn and reject good counsel, and but few who follow it. We should be satisfied, if our good deeds are not wholly fruitless; and if, among ten lepers, one returns and gives thanks, it is well.—Luke, 17: 17. So, if among ten scholars, there is but one who bends to discipline and learns with zeal, it is well; for our kindness is not wholly lost; and Christ himself bids us, after the example of his Heavenly Father, do good to the thankful and the unthankful alike.

"Therefore, stand in your lot, and labor with all diligence; and, if God does not crown you with success, yet ascribe to him glory and dominion in the highest, and faint not, neither be impatient. Think what an admirable example Solomon has set us; for Solomon himself, or any other king, may train up his son from infancy in the best, most pains-taking, and most godly manner, thinking and hoping,

he shall succeed, and may fail, notwithstanding all. Have you a pious son;—then say, 'thanks be to God, who has made him and given him to me;'—but, if your son has grown up to evil courses, you can but say,—'such is this poor human life; I have toiled to train up my son aright; but it was not the Lord's will he should prosper; yet blessed be the name of the Lord.'

"Nor must parents ever cease to seek their children's good, however degenerate and ungrateful they may be."

VI. ALLOWED DISOBEDIENCE.

But should parents, in the training of their children, trangress God's commandments, then, Luther thinks, they can not justly claim their obedience.

If parents act with such thoughtless folly, as to bring up their children to worldly pleasure and dissipation, then the children may cease to obey them. For we see by the first three commandments that God will be honored before earthly parents. By bringing them up to the world, I mean, pointing them to nothing higher than pleasure, honor and wordly good.

VII. SCHOOLS.

The establishment of institutions of learning by magistrates, as a means of providing a constant succession of well-educated and able men for the church, the school and the government, and a defense of study, especially the study of the languages, and the founding of libraries, are treated of in "*Dr. Martin Luther's Address to the Councilmen of all the towns of Germany*, calling upon them to establish and sustain Christian schools. A. D., 1524."

To the Mayors and Councilmen of all the towns of Germany:—

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Beloved rulers, wise and sagacious men, ye all do know that I have been under ban and outlawry for well nigh three years; and I surely would keep silence now, if I feared the commandments of men more than I fear God; for which cause also, many in this our German land, both high and low, are even now denouncing my words and deeds, and shedding much blood over them. But, for all this, I can not refrain from speaking; for God has opened my mouth, and commanded me to speak, yea, to cry aloud, and to spare not, while at the same time he has ever been giving strength and increase to my cause, and that too without any device or act of mine; for the more "they rage and set themselves, the more he laughs and has them in derision."—*2nd Psalm.* And by this one thing alone, whosoever is not hardened in unbelief may see that this cause is of God. For this is ever the way with God's word and work here on the earth; they manifest the greatest power precisely when men are the most eager to overthrow and destroy them. Therefore, I will speak, and, as Isaiah saith, "I will not hold my peace, till the righteousness of Christ go forth as brightness, and his salvation as a lamp that burneth." And I beseech you all, my beloved rulers and friends, receive this my writing and exhortation with joy, and lay it to heart. For whatever I am in myself, yet in this matter I can say of a truth, with a pure conscience in the sight of God, that I have not sought mine own good, (which I could the more easily have secured by silence;) but, out of a true heart, I speak to you and to the whole of Germany, even as God has ordained me to do, whether ye hear, or whether ye forbear. And I would have you freely, cheerfully and in a spirit of love, give me your attention; since, doubtless, if ye obey me herein, ye obey not me, but Christ, and whoever does not follow my precepts, despises Christ, and not me.

Wherefore I beseech you all, beloved rulers and friends, for the sake of God and of poor neglected youth, do not count this a small matter, as some do, who, in their blindness, overlook the wiles of the adversary. For it is a great and solemn duty that is laid upon us, a duty of immense moment to Christ and to the world, to give aid and counsel to the young. And in so doing we likewise promote our own best interests. And remember, that the silent, hidden and malicious assaults of the devil can be withstood only by manly Christian effort. Beloved rulers, if we find it necessary to expend such large sums, as we do yearly, upon artillery, roads, bridges, dykes, and a thousand other things of the sort, in order that a city may be assured of continued order, peace, and tranquillity, ought we not to expend on the poor suffering youth therein, at least enough to provide them with a schoolmaster or two? God the Almighty, has, in very deed, visited us Germans with the small rain of his grace, and vouchsafed to us a right golden harvest. For we have now among us many excellent and learned young men, richly furnished with knowledge, both of the languages and of the arts, who could do great good, if we would only set them to the task of teaching our little folks. Do we not see before our very eyes, that a boy may now be so thoroughly drilled in three years, that, at fifteen or eighteen, he shall know more than hitherto all the high schools and cloisters put together have ever been able to impart? Yea, what other thing have the high schools and cloisters ever achieved, but to make asses and blockheads? Twenty, forty years would they teach you, and after all you would know nothing of Latin, or of German either; and then, too, there is their shameful profligacy, by which how many ingenuous youths have been led astray! But, now that God has so richly favored us, in giving us such a number of persons competent to teach these young folks, and to mould their powers in the best manner, truly it behooves us not to throw his grace to the wind, and not to suffer him to knock at our door in vain. He is even now waiting for admittance; good betide us if we open to him, happy the man who responds to his greeting. If we slight him until he shall have passed by, who may prevail with him to return? Let us bethink ourselves of our former sorrow, and of the darkness wherein once we groped. I do not suppose that Germany has ever heard so much of God's word as now; certainly we may search our history in vain for the like state of things. If we let all this slip away, without gratitude and praise, it is to be feared that worse calamities and a deeper darkness will come upon us. My dear German brothers, buy, while the market is at your door; gather in, while the sun shines, and the weather is fair; apply the word and the grace of God to your hearts, while they are here. For this you should always bear in mind, that God's word and grace are a passing shower, that goes,—never to return. And do not, my German brothers, indulge in the delusive dream that it will abide with you forever. For an ungrateful and a scornful spirit will drive it away. Wherefore, lay hold of it, and keep it, ye, who may; idle hands reap never a harvest. God's command, so often communicated through Moses, to the effect that parents should teach their children, is thus taken up and enforced in the 78th Psalm, 3rd verse, *et seq.*, "which our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, showing to the generations to come the praise of the Lord." And the 5th commandment God deemed of such vast importance, that the punishment of death was decreed upon stubborn and disobedient children. And why is it, that we, the elder, are spared to the world, except to train up and instruct the young? It is impossible that the gay little folks should guide and teach themselves; and accordingly God has committed to us, who are old and experienced, the knowledge which is needful for them, and he will require of us a strict account of what we have done with it. Listen to Moses, in Deuteronomy, 32: 7.—"Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thine elders, and they will tell thee." But with us, to our sin and our shame be it spoken, it has come to this, that we must drive and be driven, before we can bring up our children aright, and seek their good; and yet, nature itself would seem to prompt us what to do, and manifold examples among pagan nations, to incite us to do it. There is not a brute animal that does not direct and instruct its young to act as befits its nature; unless we except the ostrich, of which God saith, in Job, 39: 14, 16; "which leaveth her eggs in the earth," "she is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers." And what would it profit us, if we were faithful in the discharge of every other duty, and should become well-nigh perfect, if, withal, we failed to do

precisely the thing for which our lives are lengthened out, namely, to cherish and watch over the young? I truly think that, of outward sins, there is none, for which the world is so culpable, and for which it merits such severe condemnation, as this which we are guilty of with regard to our children, in not giving them a right training. Woe to the world, ever and forever! Children are daily born, and are suffered to grow up among us, and there is, alas! no one to take the poor young people to himself, and show them the way in which they should go; but we all leave them to go whither they will. But, you say, "all this is addressed to parents; what have councilmen and magistrates to do with it?" This is very true, I grant you; but how if parents should not do it,—what then? Who, I ask, will? Shall it be left undone, and the children be neglected? Will magistrates and councilmen *then* plead that they have nothing to do in the matter? There are many reasons why parents do not deal as they should by their children.

And, first, there are some who are not so pious and well-meaning as to do this, even when they have the ability; but, like the ostrich, which leaveth her eggs in the dust, and is hardened against her young ones, so they bring children into being, and there is an end of their care. But these children are to live among us, and to be of us in one common city. And how can you reconcile it with reason, and especially with Christian love, to permit them to grow up uncared for and untaught, to poison and to blast the morals of other children, so that at last these too will become utterly corrupt; as it happened to Sodom, Gomorrah, Gaba and many other cities? And again, the majority of parents are, alas! entirely unfit to educate their children, knowing neither what to teach them, nor how to teach it. For they have learned nothing themselves, save how to provide for the body; and they must look to a special class, set apart for the purpose, to take their children and bring them up in the right way. In the third place, there are quite a number of parents who, though both willing and capable, yet, by reason of their business or the situation of their families, have neither the time nor the place, convenient; so that necessity compels them to get teachers for their children. And each would be glad to have one entirely to himself. This, however, is out of the question, for it would be too great a burden for men of ordinary means to bear; and thus, many a fine boy would be neglected, because of poverty. Add, that so many parents die, and leave orphans behind them; and what care guardians commonly give to them, if observation did not teach us, yet we could judge from what God calls himself, in Psalm 68 : 6, "a father of the fatherless,"—which is as much as to say that they are forsaken by all others. There are some, again, who have no children themselves, and who, on this account, take no interest at all in the welfare of the young.

In view of all this, it becomes councilmen and magistrates to watch over youth with unremitting care and diligence. For since their city, in all its interests, life, honor, and possessions, is committed to their faithful keeping, they do not deal justly by their trust, before God and the world, unless they strive to their utmost, night and day, to promote the city's increase and prosperity. Now, a city's increase consists not alone in heaping up great treasures, in building solid walls or stately houses, or in multiplying artillery and munitions of war; nay, where there is great store of this, and yet fools with it, it is all the worse, and all the greater loss for the city. But this is the best and the richest increase, prosperity and strength of a city, that it shall contain a great number of polished, learned, intelligent, honorable, and well-bred citizens; who, when they have become all this, may then get wealth and put it to a good use. Since, then, a city must have citizens, and on all accounts its saddest lack and destitution were a lack of citizens, we are not to wait until they are grown up. We can neither hew them out of stones, nor carve them out of wood; for God does not work miracles, so long as the ordinary gifts of his bounty are able to subserve the use of man. Hence, we must use the appointed means, and, with cost and care, rear up and mould our citizens. Whose fault is it, that now in every city there is such a dearth of intelligent and capable men, but that of the magistrates, who have left the young to grow up like the trees of the forest, and have not given a thought to their instruction and training? You see how wild the trees grow; they are only good for fences or for fire-wood, and are by no means fit for the use of the builder. Yet, we must have governments here upon the earth. And how wild and senseless

is the hope, if clods and addle-brains rule us, that somehow they will get wisdom, and all will go well with us. Rather let us elect so many swine or wolves for rulers, and place them over such as know not what it is to be ruled by men. And besides, it is brutish recklessness, to act merely for the present time, and to say, "as for us, we will rule now; but, we care not how it shall be with those who come after us." Such men as these, who use their power only for their own individual honor and profit, ought not to rule over men, but over dogs or swine. For even when we exert our utmost diligence to train shrewd, learned, and competent men for rulers, we do not find it a very easy matter to reach our aim. What then can we expect, when we do absolutely nothing?

"This may be so," you reply; "but, though we ought to have schools, and must have them, still what will it profit us to have Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and your other liberal arts taught in them? Will not German suffice to teach us all of the Bible and the Word of God that is essential to salvation?" Alas, I fear me, that we Germans must ever be and continue to be mere brutes and wild beasts, as our neighbors with such good reason style us. I wonder that you do not say, "what have we to do with silks, wine, spices, and other productions of foreign lands; inasmuch as we have wine, corn, wool, flax, wood, and stone here in Germany, not only to supply our wants, but enough and in variety enough to minister either to comfort, dignity or luxury?" And yet, these languages and these arts, which do us no harm, but are agreeable and useful alike, sources both of honor and profit, throwing light upon the Scriptures, and imparting sound wisdom to rulers, these we despise; while the productions of other lands, which do us no good whatever, we fret and worry ourselves after to that degree that even success ofttimes proves no better to us than failure. Of a truth, we are rightly called German fools and beasts! Surely, were there no other good to be got from the languages, the bare thoug[illegible] they are a noble and a glorious gift from God, wherewith he has visited and [illegible]ched us, almost beyond all other nations, this thought, I say, ought to be [illegible]werful motive, yea, an allurement to cultivate them. The cases are rare, indeed, [illegible]ss where the devil has suffered the languages to be in repute in the universities a[illegible]d the cloisters; nay, these have almost always raised a hue and cry against them in the past ages, as likewise they do now. For the prince of darkness, it [illegible] shrewd enough to know that, where the languages flourish, there h[illegible]r will soon be so rent and torn that he can not readily repair it. But now, since he can not keep them from expanding into a vigorous growth, and from bearing fruit, he is at work, devising how he may render them dwarfed and sickly, if so be that they may decay and die of themselves. If an unwelcome guest comes to his house, he sets before him so meagre an entertainment, that he is forced to shorten his visit. Few of us, my good friends, perceive this craft and snare of the devil. Wherefore, my beloved countrymen, let us open our eyes, and, thanking God for this precious jewel, let us keep fast hold of it, lest it be filched away from us, and the devil see his malicious purposes accomplished; for, though the gospel came in former times as now, day by day, it comes to us, by the Holy Spirit alone, yet we can not deny that at the first it was received through the languages, that its blessings are now spread abroad by their means, and by their means that it is to be kept in the world. For when God, by the apostles, sent the gospel to men, he sent the gift of tongues with it; and, before that time, he had used the Roman power as an instrument to diffuse the Latin and Greek languages far and wide over the whole world, in order that the gospel might spread rapidly through all the nations. And, in the same manner, he has worked at the present day. No man understood the reason why God caused the languages again to put on bloom and vigor, until now, at last, we see that it was for the sake of the gospel, which he purposed to bring to light and thereby make manifest, and overthrow the kingdom of Anti-Christ. For that cause it was that he gave Greece into the hands of the Turks, in order that the Greeks, hunted out of their own land and scattered over the face of the earth, might carry with them out amongst the nations the knowledge of the Greek language, and thereby cause a beginning to be made of learning the other languages also. Now, since the gospel is so dear to us, let us hold fast to the languages. Nor should it be in vain to us that God has caused his Scriptures to be written in two languages only,—the Old Testament in the

Hebrew, and the New Testament in the Greek. These languages God has not despised, but has chosen them for his word, to the exclusion of all others; and we too ought therefore to honor them above all others. And St. Paul glories in this, as a special honor and advantage of the Hebrew, namely, that God's word was written therein. "What advantage then hath the Jew? Much every way; chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God."—Romans, 3: 1, 2. King David, too, bestows a like praise upon it, in Psalm, 147: 19.—"He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation," "nor to any nation revealed his judgments;" as though he would say, "God hath, in this, consecrated and set apart the Hebrew tongue." And St. Paul, in Romans, 1: 2, calls the *Scriptures* holy; doubtless, because the Holy Word of God is contained therein. In like manner, also, may the Greek be called a sacred language, in that it was chosen before all other languages as that one in which the New Testament should be written, and out of which it should flow, as out of a fountain, into other languages by the means of translations, thus consecrating these too. And let us bethink ourselves, that haply we may not be able to retain the gospel without the knowledge of the languages in which it was written. For they are the scabbard, in which this sword of the spirit is sheathed; they are the casket, in which this jewel is enshrined; the vessel, in which this drink is kept; the room, where this meat is stored. And, as we are taught in the gospel itself, they are the baskets, in which were gathered this bread, these fishes, and these fragments. Yea, should we overlook all this, and (which God forbid!) let go our hold on the languages, then we would not only lose the gospel, but would finally fall away to that degree, that we should be able neither to speak nor to write either German or Latin. And in this, let us take a lesson and a warning by the sad example of the universities and cloisters, where they have not only let the gospel slip away from their grasp, but have also either lost or corrupted both Latin and German, so that the creatures have become but little better than brute beasts, knowing neither how to read nor write, and, more than this, have well-nigh lost even their native intellect too. For this reason, the apostles themselves felt constrained to enclose and bind up, as it were, the New Testament in the Greek language; without doubt, to preserve it for us safe and intact, as in a holy ark. For they saw all that, which was to come to pass, and which even now has been fulfilled; namely, if it were committed to tradition alone, that, amid many a wild, disorderly, and tumultuous clash and commingling of opinions, Christianity would become obscured; which event it would be impossible to guard against, and equally impossible to preserve the plain and simple truth, unless the New Testament were made sure and immutable by writing and by language. Hence, we may conclude that, where the languages do not abide, there, in the end, the gospel must perish. That this is true, is manifest, moreover, from history; for soon after the apostles' time, when the gift of tongues ceased, the knowledge of the gospel, faith in Christ, and the whole system of Christianity, fell away more and more; and later, since the time that the languages went into disrepute, there has very little transpired in Christendom that has been worthy of note; but a vast number of frightful enormities have, on the other hand, been engendered, in consequence of ignorance of the languages. And now, that the languages have again dawned upon us, they have brought such light with them, and they have accomplished such mighty results, that all the world is lost in amazement, and is forced to confess that we have the gospel in as great purity almost as did the apostles; nay, that it has come again in its pristine purity, and is, beyond all comparison, purer than it was in the time of St. Jerome or St. Augustine. And, in fine, the Holy Spirit understands this matter: he does not employ any light or needless means for his work; and he has deemed the languages of such importance, that he has often brought them with him from heaven. Which fact alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to us to cultivate them with diligence and to pay them due honor; and not, by any means, to despise them, now that he is again breathing into them the breath of life throughout the world. "But," you will say, "many of the Fathers have died without the languages, and they, nevertheless have been saved." Very true. But what do you say to this, that they so often missed wide of the true sense of the Scriptures? How often is St. Augustine at fault in his commentaries on the Psalter, and elsewhere; and

Hilary, too; yea, and all who, without the aid of the languages, have undertaken to expound the Scriptures? And, though they perhaps may have spoken the right thing, yet have they not betrayed an uncertainty, whether the passage in hand would bear the construction that they have put upon it? But, if we thus, with our own doubtful arguments and our stumbling references, approach to the defense of the faith, will not Christians be contemned and derided by such of their antagonists as are well-versed in the languages? And will not these become more stubborn in their unbelief, inasmuch as they will have good reason to conclude our faith a delusion? To what is it owing, that religion is now so generally scandalized? To the fact alone, that we are ignorant of the languages; and there is no help for it, but to learn them. Was not St. Jerome constrained to translate the Psalms anew from the Hebrew, solely because when there came up any controversy with the Jews, they silenced their opponents with the sneering remark, that the passage cited did not read thus and so in the Hebrew. Now, all the expositions of the ancient fathers, who treated the Scriptures without the aid of the languages, (though perhaps they advocated no unsound doctrines,) are nevertheless quite often based upon doubtful, inaccurate or inappropriate renderings. And they groped about, like a blind man at a wall, quite often failing altogether of the right text, and stupidly overlooking it in their enthusiasm, so that even St. Augustine himself was obliged to confess, in his treatise on the Christian doctrines, that a Christian teacher, who would interpret the Scriptures, must understand not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew likewise; "for otherwise, it is impossible but that he will stumble on all hands." And truly, there is need of labor enough, even when we *do* know the languages. For this reason, it is one thing with the unlettered preacher of the faith, and quite another with the interpreter of the Scriptures, or the prophet, as St. Paul calls the latter. The unlettered preacher has at his command such a number of clear and intelligible texts and paragraphs in the vernacular, that he can understand Christ and his doctrine, lead a holy life himself, and preach all this to others; but, to set forth the sense of the Scriptures, to put one's self in the van, and to do battle against heretics and errorists, this can never come about, except with the help of the languages. And, accordingly, we must ever, in the Christian church, have such prophets, who shall study and expound the Scriptures, and, besides, shall be stalwart champions of the faith; for all which, a holy life and sound precepts are not enough. Hence, the languages are of the first necessity to a pure Christianity, as they are the source of the power that resides in prophets or commentators; although, we ought not to require every Christian or preacher to be such a prophet, as also St. Paul admits, in 1st Cor., 12: 8, 9, and Eph., 4: 11.

We thus see how it is that, since the apostles' time, the Scriptures have remained so obscure; for, nowhere have any sure and reliable commentaries been written upon them. Even the holy fathers, as we said before, have often fallen into error, and, because they were ignorant of the languages, they very seldom agree, but one says one thing, and another another. St. Bernard was a man of great genius; so much so, that I would place him above all the eminent doctrinists, both ancient and modern. But yet, how often does he play upon the language of the Scriptures, (albeit in a spiritual sense,) thus turning it aside from its true meaning. Hence, the sophists averred that the Scriptures were obscure, and that the word of our God was couched in perplexing and contradictory terms. But they did not see that all that was wanted, was a knowledge of the languages in which it was recorded. For nothing is more plain-spoken than God's word, when we have become thorough masters of its language. A Turk might well seem obscure to me, because I do not understand his speech, when a Turkish child of seven shall easily discern his meaning. Hence, it is a rash undertaking, to attempt to learn the Scriptures through the expositions of the Fathers, and through reading their numerous treatises and glosses. For this purpose you ought to go direct to the language yourself. For the beloved Fathers, because they were without the languages, have at times descanted at great length upon a single verse, and yet cast such a feeble glimmer of light upon it, that their interpretation was, at last, but half right, and half wrong. And yet you will persist in painfully running after them, when, with the languages, you might be yourself in a position rather to lead than to follow. For, as the light of the sun dispels the shadows of the night, so do the languages render

useless all the glosses of the Fathers. Since now, it becomes Christians to regard the Scriptures as the one only book, which is all their own, and since it is a sin and a shame for us not to be familiar with our own book, and with the language and the word of our God;—so it is a still greater sin and shame, for us not to learn the languages, especially now that God is bringing to us and freely offering us learned men, and suitable books, and every thing which we need for this purpose, and is, so to speak, urging us to the task, so desirous is he to have his book open to us. O, how joyful would those beloved Fathers have been, if they could have come to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and have learned the languages so easily as we now may do it! How great was their labor, how constant their diligence in picking up but a few of the crumbs, while we may secure half, yea, even the whole of the loaf, with scarce any trouble at all. And how does their diligence put our inactivity to the blush? Yea, how severely will God punish this our apathy and neglect! Again, in order to follow Paul's precept, in 1 Cor., 14: 29, to the effect that we must judge of every doctrine of Christianity, we must, of necessity, first learn the languages. For it may chance that the teacher or preacher shall go through with the whole of the Bible, explaining it as seemeth to him good, whether that be right or wrong, and none of his hearers can dispute him, if none of them is competent to judge of his truth or error. But, to judge, we must know the languages, else we shall have nothing to guide us. Hence, though the faith of the gospel may be set forth in a certain measure by the unlettered preacher; yet such preaching is weak at the best, and we soon become wearied and discouraged, and we faint for lack of nutriment. But, where the languages are well understood, there all is freshness and strength, the Scriptures are thoroughly winnowed, and faith is renewed day by day. Nor should we suffer ourselves to be led astray, because some magnify the spirit, while they despise the letter. So, too, some, like the Waldensian brethren, deem the languages of no account whatever. But, my good friends, the spirit is here,—the spirit is there. I too have been in the spirit; and, I too have seen spirits, (if I may glory of myself.) And my spirit has proved some things, while your spirit has been quietly sitting in a corner, and doing little more than making a vain-glorious boast of its existence. I know, as well as another, that it is the spirit alone which does almost every thing. Had I passed my days in obscurity, and had I received no aid from the languages toward a sure and exact understanding of the Scriptures, I might yet have led a holy life, and in my retirement have preached sound doctrine; but then I should have left the pope and the sophists, together with the whole body of Anti-Christ, just where I found them. The devil does not regard my spirit of near so much account as my thoughts, and my writings upon the Scriptures. For my spirit takes nothing from him, save myself alone; but the Holy Scriptures, and the sayings therein contained, make the world too narrow for him, and strip him of his power. Therefore, I can not accord my praise at all to my Waldensian brothers, for the low esteem in which they hold the languages. For, though their precepts square with the truth, yet they can not but fail often of the right text, and they must necessarily ever be unprepared and unequipped for the defense of the faith, and the uprooting of false doctrines. And for this reason are they so obscure; and their speech is so warped from the standard of the Scriptures, that I greatly fear they *are* not or else *will* not *abide* in a pure faith. For it is very dangerous to speak of the things of God otherwise, or in other words, than God himself employs. In a word, it *may* be that they have the witness of a holy life and sound doctrine among themselves; but, while they remain without the languages, they will fail precisely where others have failed, namely, in not searching the Scriptures with thoroughness and care, in order thereby to render themselves useful to others. But, since they now have the opportunity to do this, and yet will not do it, let them consider how they will answer for themselves before God.

Thus far I have spoken of the usefulness and the necessity of the languages in their bearing on spiritual concerns and on the welfare of the soul. Now let us look to the body and ask, were there no soul, no heaven, nor hell, and were temporal affairs to be administered solely with a view to this world, whether these would not stand in need of good schools and learned teachers much more even than do our spiritual interests? Nor hitherto have the sophists interested themselves in this matter at all, but have adapted their schools to the spiritual order

alone; so that it was counted a reproach to a learned man, if he was married; and such an one was told, " you are of the world, for you have severed yourself from our order entirely;" as if the spiritual order alone were pleasing in the sight of God, while the temporal, (as they style it,) was given over to the devil and Anti-Christ. It is needless for me here to argue, that all temporal government is of Divine origin and authority; for on this point I have spoken elsewhere, and that so fully, that no one, I hope, will venture to deny it; but, the question now is, how to provide able and competent men to govern us. And in this the heathen might justly put us to shame and confusion of face; for they, the Greeks and Romans especially, gave diligent heed to the teaching and training of boys and girls, to fit them for all the various stations of temporal trust and authority, and yet they were entirely ignorant whether this was pleasing in the sight of God or not; so that I blush for our Christians, when I think of it, and for our Germans, above all, who are clowns; yea, brute beasts, one might call them. For they say, " of what use are schools, unless you intend to enter the service of the church?" But surely we know, or ought to know, how necessary, how proper, and how pleasing in the sight of God it is, for a prince, a lord, a magistrate, or any one in authority, to excel in learning and in wisdom, so that he may discharge the duties of his office in a Christian manner. If now, as for argument's sake I have supposed, there *were* no soul, and if we had no need at all of schools or of the languages for the sake of the Scriptures, or of God, yet it would be a sufficient reason for establishing in every place the very best of schools, both for boys and girls, that the world, merely to maintain its outward prosperity, has need of shrewd and accomplished men and women. Men to pilot state and people safely, and to good issues; women to train up well and to confirm in good courses both children and servants. Now, such men must first be boys, and such women, girls. Hence, it is our duty to give a right training and suitable instruction to these boys and girls. " Yes," you will say, " but every one can do this for himself, and can teach his sons and daughters, and bring them up under a good discipline." I answer, verily we see but too well, what sort of teaching and discipline this is. For where it is carried to the farthest extent, and turns out well besides, it does not go any further than this, to impart an easy air, and respectful carriage; otherwise, the children appear to no more advantage than so many machines, who do not know how to converse well upon a variety of topics, and who are the very farthest from being able to give aid and counsel to others. But, if they were taught and trained in schools or elsewhere, where the masters and mistresses were learned and discreet, and could instruct them in the languages, arts, and histories, they would thus become familiar with the great deeds and the famous sayings of all times; would see how it fared with such a city, kingdom, province, man, or woman, and would bring before their eyes, as it were in a mirror, the whole world from the beginning, with all its character and life, its plans and achievements, its successes and failures: by all this they would shape their sentiments, and to all this conform the course of their life in the fear of God. From the same histories, too, they would gain wit and wisdom, and learn what to pursue and what to avoid in life, and so, by and by, be able to counsel or to govern others. But, the instruction which is imparted at home, without such schools, will make us wise only through our own experience. And before we get wisdom thus, we shall be an hundred times dead, and shall have passed our lives in folly; for, to perfect our experienee, we need a long series of years. Since, then, young people are always full of frolic and life, and always seeking something to do, and finding their pleasure in action; and since you can not curb their spirits, nor would it be a good thing even if you could; why should we not establish such schools. and unfold before them such arts? For now, by God's grace, matters have taken such a turn, that children are enabled to learn by means of pleasure, and, in sport, as it were, every thing, whether it be languages, arts, or histories. And our schools are no longer hells and purgatories, as they once were, where a boy was forever tormented with their *cases* and their *tenses*, and where he learned nothing, absolutely nothing, by reason of ceaseless flogging, trembling, woe and anguish. If,now, we take so much time and trouble to teach children to play at cards, to sing and to dance, why shall we not also spend time enough to teach reading and the other arts, while they have youth and leisure, and while they show both an aptness and a fondness for such things?

As for myself, if I had children and were able, I would teach them not only the languages and history, but singing likewise; and with music I would combine a full course of mathematics. For what would it all require but a mere child's play, as the Greeks brought up their children of old? And what a wonderful people they were, and how well-fitted for all manner of occupations. And alas! how often do I lament my own case, in that I read so few of the poets and historians when I was young, and that there was no one to direct me to them. But, in their place, I was compelled to flounder in all manner of vain philosophies and scholastic trash, true Serbonian bogs of the devil, and with much cost and care, and vast detriment besides, so that I have had enough to do ever since, in undoing the harm they did me.

But, you say, "we can not bring all our children up to be students; we can not spare them; we need them at home to work for us." I answer, "I do not ask for the establishment of such schools, as we have had hitherto, where our young men have spent twenty or thirty years over Donatus or Alexander, and yet have not learned any thing at all. We have now another world, and things are done after a different pattern. And I ask no more than this, namely, that boys shall attend upon such schools as I have in view, an hour or two a day, and none the less; spend the rest of their time at home, or in learning some trade, or doing whatever else you will; thus both these matters will be cared for together, while they are young and opportunities are favorable. For else, they would haply spend tenfold this time in gunning and ball-playing. So, too, your little girls may easily find time enough to go to school an hour a day, and yet do all their household duties; for they now devote more than that to over-much play, dancing, and sleep.

It is very plain that all we need, is a cordial and earnest determination to train up our youth aright, and by this means furnish the world with wise and efficient men. For the devil is better pleased with coarse blockheads and with folks who are useful to nobody; because where such characters abound, then things do not go on prosperously here on the earth.

Now, as for the most promising children, those who we may hope will become fitted for the position of teachers, either male or female, or of preachers, or whom we shall look to to fill other offices in the world and in the church; these we should leave more and longer at schools, or perhaps keep them there altogether: as we read concerning the blessed martyrs, who educated St. Agnes, Agatha, Lucia, and the like. For this purpose, too, were cloisters and monasteries first founded; but now, they have been turned aside to subserve other and most unholy uses. And perhaps it must needs have been so; for the shorn flock are well-nigh fleeced altogether: they have become for the most part wholly unfit either to teach or to guide, for they know nothing except how to pamper their bodies; and this is no wonder, for no one thing besides have they ever learned. But, verily, we must have men of another sort; men who shall dispense to us God's word and his ordinances, and who shall watch for the souls of the people. Such men, however, it will be in vain for us to look for, if we suffer our present schools to decay, without establishing other and *Christian* schools in their place. And though the schools, as hitherto kept, may be still in existence, yet they can only furnish us with blind guides, perverse and corrupt in all their ways.

Hence, there is great need, not for the sake of the young alone, but also for the welfare and the stability of all our institutions, temporal and spiritual alike, that we should begin at once, and in good earnest, to attend to this matter. For, if we delay too long, we may haply find no place for effort, however much we shall desire it, and our most poignant regrets will then be unavailing forever. Consider, for example, the great diligence that King Solomon exercised in this matter, and the interest that he shewed in the young, in that, amid all his royal occupations, he found time to compose a book for their special instruction, viz: the Book of Proverbs. Consider Christ himself: how he called little children to him; with what care he commended them to us, telling us withal that angels wait upon them.—Matt. 18: 2. And in this, he shews us how great a service it is to bring them up well, and, on the other hand, that he is ever exceedingly angry when we offend or pervert them.

Wherefore, dearly beloved rulers, bend yourselves to the work which God so strictly enjoins upon you, which your office involves, which our youth stand

so much in need of, and which neither the world nor the spirit can afford to do without. We have lain, alas! too long in the darkness of corruption and death; too long have we been German beasts. Let us now act as becomes reasonable beings, so that God may mark our gratitude for the good things he has given us, and that other lands may see that we, too, are men; nay, more, that we are men who can either learn somewhat from them, or impart somewhat to them: so, through us, the world shall be made better. I have done my part; and with longing have I desired to bring aid and counsel to this German land. That some, who ought to know better, detest me for it, and throw my faithful counsel to the wind,—all this I must let pass. I well know that others might have done better than I; but, since these have remained silent, I have spoken out, as well as it lay in me to do. Poorly though it has been said, it were better thus, than had I held my peace. And I am in hopes that God will awaken some of you, so that my true admonitions shall not be spilt upon the ground; and that, taking no thought of him who speaks, you may be moved, by the things spoken of, to bestir yourselves.

Finally, it is well for all those who eagerly desire to see such schools and studies established and sustained over Germany, to bear in mind the importance of sparing neither trouble nor expense, to the end that good libraries may be founded, especially in the large cities; since in them both means and opportunities are greater than elsewhere. For if the gospel, together with all the arts and sciences, are to be perpetuated, they must be enclosed and bound up in books and writings. And the prophets and apostles themselves, as I said before, did this very thing. And this was not only that those who minister to us both in temporal and in spiritual things might have wherewithal to read and to study; but also that good books themselves should be preserved and not be lost, so that we might have that knowledge of the languages, which now, by God's grace, we possess. We see, too, the importance that St. Paul attaches to this matter, where he commands Timothy, (1st. Ep. 4: 13,) "to give attendance to reading;" and also where he bids him, (2nd Ep. 4: 13,) bring with him when he came the parchments that he left at Troas. Yea, all nations eminent in history have paid attention to this matter; the Israelites more than all. Moses, who made their first record, commanded the book of the law to be preserved in the ark of God, and committed it to the keeping of the Levites. And, whoever desired it, could there have a copy made for himself; Moses, also, laid his prophetic injunction on the king that was to come, to obtain such copy from the Levites. Thus we see clearly that God ordained the Levitical priesthood, that they might, in connection with their other duties, keep and guard the books of the law. Afterward, the collection was enriched and rendered more complete by Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and other kings and prophets. Hence, arose the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, which would never have been brought together or preserved, had not God so solemnly and repeatedly commanded it to be done. With this example in view, the monasteries and cloisters in former times founded libraries, albeit they contained but few good books. And what a pity it was, that more pains had not been taken to collect good books, and form good libraries, at the proper time, when good books and able men were in abundance; but, alas, we know too well that, in the gradual lapse of time, all the arts and the languages went to decay, and, instead of books having the ring of the true metal, the devil brought in upon us a flood of uncouth, useless, and pernicious monkish legends; the "Florista," "Græcista," "Labyrinthus," "*Dormi Secure*," and the like; by the means of which the Latin tongue has become corrupt, and there are nowhere any good schools, doctrines, or systems of study remaining. But now, in these latter times, as it has been told us, and as we ourselves may see, there have arisen men who have restored, though as yet in a very imperfect manner, the languages and arts; having picked them out of a few pieces and fragments of old books, that had long been given over to the dust and worms; nor have they yet ceased from their labors, but are renewing them daily. So we search for gold or jewels amid the ashes of some ruined city. In this matter it would be right, and God would justly punish our ingratitude, in not acknowledging his bounty, and taking means in time, and while we can, to keep good books and learned men among us, (but letting them pass by, as though they did not concern us;) it would be right, I say, if he should suffer all this to leave us, and instead of the Holy Scriptures and good books, should bring us Aristotle back again, together with other pernicious books, which

serve only to lead us ever further away from the Bible, that so we might be delivered over again to the monks, those minions of the devil, and to the vain mummeries of the scholastics. Was it not a burning shame that formerly a boy must needs study twenty years or longer, only to learn a jargon of bad Latin, and then to turn priest and say mass? And he, who finally arrived at this pinnacle of his hopes, was accounted happy; and happy was the mother who had borne such a son. But, for all this, he remained a poor illiterate man all his days, and was neither good to cluck nor to lay eggs. Such are the teachers and guides that we have had to put up with, who knew nothing themselves, and accordingly were unable to teach any thing that was either good or true. Yea! they did not even know how to learn, any more than they did how to teach. And, why was this so? It was because there were no other books accessible, save the barbarous productions of the monks and sophists. Of course, in such a state of things, we could not look for any thing else than scholars and teachers as barbarous as the books which taught them. A jackdaw hatches never a dove; neither will a fool make a wise man. Such is the reward of our ingratitude, in not using diligence in the establishment of libraries, and in leaving good books to perish, while we have cherished and preserved useless ones. But, my advice is, that you do not carry home all sorts of books, without distinction, thinking of numbers only. I would have a choice exercised in this matter, so that we should not heap together the commentaries of all the jurists, the writings of all the theologians, the researches of all the philosophers, nor the sermons of all the monks. Nay, I would banish all such muck and mire, and provide me a library that should contain sterling books,—books commended to me by learned men. In the first place, the Holy Scriptures should be there, both in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German; also in all other languages in which they might be contained. Next, I would have those books which are useful in learning the languages; as, for instance, the poets and orators, and that without inquiring whether they are Pagan or Christian, Greek or Latin. For, from all such are we to learn grammar and style. Next, there should be books pertaining to the liberal arts; and likewise treatises on all the other arts, and on the sciences. And lastly, books on jurisprudence and medicine; though here, too, a wary choice is to be exercised. But, foremost of all, should be chronicles and histories, in whatever languages we could procure them; for these are of singular usefulness, to instruct us in the course of the world, and in the art of government; and, in these, too, we may see the manifestation of God's wonderful works. Oh! how many a worthy saying, how many a noble deed, said and done here in Germany, might we now have had, if they had not, alas! passed clean out of the memory of man! And this, for the reason that there was no one to record them; or, if they were recorded, that no one has preserved the record. This, too, is the reason that they know nothing of us in other lands; and all the world must fain call us German beasts, who only know how to get substance, and then consume it in gluttony and riotous living. But the Greeks and the Romans, and, for the matter of that, the Hebrews, too, have described the events that took place in their midst so minutely and faithfully, that, if but a woman or a child said or did any thing worthy of note, forthwith it was chronicled, so that all the world should read it and know of it; and yet, we Germans remain bound up in ourselves, having neither a thought nor a wish that looks beyond our own interests.

But since, now in these days, God has so graciously come to our aid with all fullness both of art, learned men and books, it is time that we should reap and gather in of the choicest that we can find, and lay up great store of treasure, that we may have wherewith to maintain ourselves in the future out of these golden years, by reason of having improved the opportunity of this rich harvest. For there is danger that it may finally come to this, (and already things are tending that way,) that, through the agency of the devil, good books, which have been restored to us by the art of printing, shall be submerged under a flood of dissolute and pernicious works, in which there is neither sense nor reason; a flood that shall pour in again, as aforetime, and fill every nook and corner of the land. For the devil is surely plotting to bring back the former state of things, so that men shall again painfully stagger under a load of "catholicons," "floristas," "modernistas," and all the vile and abominable trash of the monks and sophists; so we shall again be ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth.

Wherefore, I beseech you, my beloved rulers and friends, let this my faithfulness and diligence bear fruit in you. And, though there be some who deem me of too little consequence to give heed to my counsel, and despise me as one under the ban of tyrants, yet, I hope that one day they will see that I did not seek my own, but only the welfare and the happiness of the entire German nation. And though I were a fool, and yet should light upon some good path, it would be no disgrace to a wise man to follow me. And though I were a Turk and a heathen, yet, should Christians perceive that what I had said was not to my own profit but to that of others, even thus, they could not justly despise my efforts to serve them. There are times, too, when a fool may give better advice than a whole army of counselors. Moses suffered himself to be taught by Jethro.—Exodus, 18 : 17.

Now, I commend you all to the grace of God, and I pray him to soften your hearts, so that you may right earnestly espouse the cause of poor, needy, forsaken youth, and through Divine help assisting you, and for the sake of a good and a Christian government here in our Germany, that you may aid and counsel them, in body and in soul, with all fullness and superfluity, to the praise and glory of God the Father, through our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

VIII. DUTY OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN.

In his sermon, "On keeping children at school," Luther says:

God has given you children and the means of their support, not that you should idolize them, or lead them into the vanities of the world. But he has laid his most solemn injunctions upon you, to train them up for his service.

He speaks in terms of praise of the learned classes, especially the clerical, and presses conviction upon consciences of parents, when, out of avarice, they withhold from study a boy who is strongly bent upon learning.

Cheerfully let thy son study, and should he the while even be compelled to earn his bread, yet remember that you are offering to our Lord God a fine little block of marble out of which he can hew for you a master-piece. And do not regard the fact that in these days the lust for gain is everywhere throwing learning into contempt; nor say, in your haste, "If my son can write and read German and keep accounts, it is enough; I will make a merchant of him;" for they will soon be brought to such a pass, that they would gladly dig ten ells deep in the ground with their fingers, if, by so doing, they could find a learned man; for a merchant, methinks, would not be a merchant long, should law and theology perish. Of this I am full sure, we theologians and jurists must remain with you, or the whole world will go to ruin together, and that without remedy. If theologians turn aside, then the word of God will come to naught, and we shall all become heathen, yes, very devils; if jurists turn aside, then law will fly away, bearing peace with it; and, amid robbery, murder, outrage, and all manner of violence, we shall sink below the beasts of the forest. But, how much the merchant will make and heap together, when peace shall have fled from the earth, his ledger will tell him better than I; and how much good his possessions will do him, when preaching shall be no more, this let his conscience declare.

Luther did not mean, however, to insist that all boys should go through a complete course of study, as we may perceive from the "Letter to the German nobles." He expresses himself in the most decided terms, on the duty of magistrates to compel the attendance of children at school.

I hold it to be incumbent on those in authority to command their subjects to keep their children at school; for it is, beyond doubt, their duty to insure the permanence of the above-named offices and positions, so that preachers, jurists, curates, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like, may not fail from among

us; for we can not do without them. If they have the right to command their subjects, the able-bodied among them, in time of war, to handle musket and pike, to mount the walls, or to do whatever else the exigency may require; with how much the more reason ought they to compel the people to keep their children at school, inasmuch as here upon earth the most terrible of contests, wherein there is never a truce, is ever going on, and that with the devil himself, who is lying in wait, by stealth and unawares, if so be that he may drain city and kingdom, and empty quite out of them all the brave and good, even until he has removed the kernel utterly, and naught shall be left but a mere shell, full of idle mischief-makers, to be mere puppets in his hands to do his pleasure. Then will your city or your country suffer a true famine, and, without the smoke of conflict, will be silently destroyed from within, and that without warning. Even the Turk manages in another way; for he takes every third child throughout his empire, and trains him to some calling perforce. How much more, then, ought our rulers to put at least some children to school; not that I would have a boy taken away from his parents, only that he should be educated, for his own good and the general welfare, to some calling that shall yield him abundant fruits of his industry. Wherefore, let magistrates lay these things to heart, and let them keep a vigilant look-out; and, wherever they see a promising lad, have him placed at school.

Those fathers, who feared that learning would be pernicious to their children, Luther pacified by using their own arguments.

But, you say, "how if it turn out ill, and my son become a heretic or a villain? For the proverb says, the scholar's skill turns oft to ill?" Well, and what of it? Venture, nevertheless. Your diligence and toil will not be thrown away. God will reward you according to your faithfulness, whether your work prosper or fail. Besides, you must act on uncertainties in respect to any pursuit whatever, that you may train him for. How was it with good Abraham, when his son Ishmael disappointed his hopes? How with Isaac and Esau? Or with Adam and Cain? Was Abraham on that account to neglect training Isaac up for the service of God? Or Isaac, Jacob? Or Adam, Abel?

IX. THE DIGNITY AND DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK OF TEACHING.

In the same sermon, Luther takes especial pains to magnify the office of the school-teacher.

Where were your supply of preachers, jurists, and physicians, if the arts of grammar and rhetoric had no existence? These are the fountain, out of which they all flow. I tell you, in a word, that a diligent, devoted school-teacher, preceptor, or any person, no matter what is his title, who faithfully trains and teaches boys, can never receive an adequate reward, and no money is sufficient to pay the debt you owe him; so, too, said the pagan, Aristotle. Yet we treat them with contempt, as if they were of no account whatever; and, all the time, we profess to be Christians. For my part, if I were, or were compelled, to leave off preaching and to enter some other vocation, I know not an office that would please me better than that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys. For I am convinced that, next to preaching, this is the most useful, and greatly the best labor in all the world, and, in fact, I am sometimes in doubt which of the positions is the more honorable. For you can not teach an old dog new tricks, and it is hard to reform old sinners, but this is what by preaching we undertake to do, and our labor is often spent in vain; but it is easy to bend and to train young trees, though haply in the process some may be broken. My friend, nowhere on earth can you find a higher virtue than is displayed by the stranger, who takes your children and gives them a faithful training,—a labor which parents very seldom perform, even for their own offspring.

To the like effect, does Luther speak of school-teachers in the Table Talk.

I would have no one enter the ministry, who has not first been a schoolmaster. Our young men, now-a-days, do not think so; they shrink from the toil of teaching,

and rush at once for the sacred office. But, after one has taught school for ten years or thereabouts, he may, with a good conscience, break off; for the labor is great, and the reputation small. Still, as much depends in a city on a schoolmaster as on the preacher. And, if I were not a preacher, I know not the position on earth which I had rather fill. You must not be swayed in this matter by the opinions or the rewards of the world, but consider how God regards the work, and how he will exalt it at the last day.

Though Luther thought so very highly of the office of the teacher, yet he remarks, in his commentary on Galatians, that this office is for the most part in ill-repute with children, and that severe teachers, particularly when their severity is habitual, are any thing but loved by their pupils.

It is impossible that a disciple, or a scholar, can love the teacher who is harsh and severe; for, how can he prevail on himself to love one who immures him, as it were, in a dungeon; that is, who constrains him to do that which he will not, and holds him back from doing that which he will; and who, when he does any thing that has been forbidden him, straightway flogs him, and, not content with this, compels him to kiss the rod too. A most gracious and excellent obedience and affection this in the scholar, that comes from an enforced compliance with the harsh orders of a hateful taskmaster! My friend, do you suppose that he obeys with joy and gladness? But, what does he do when the teacher's back is turned? Does he not snatch up the rod, break it into a thousand pieces, or else throw it into the fire? And, if he had the power, he would not suffer his teacher to whip him again; nay, he would turn the tables on him, and not simply take the rod to him, but cudgel him soundly with a club. Nevertheless, the child needs the discipline of the rod; but it must be tempered with admonition, and directed to his improvement; for, without this, he will never come to any good, but will be ruined, soul and body. A miserable teacher, indeed, would that man be, who should only know how to beat and torment his scholars, without ever being able to teach them any thing. Such schoolmasters there have been, whose schools were nothing but so many dungeons and hells, and themselves tyrants and gaolers; where the poor children were beaten beyond endurance and without cessation, and applied themselves to their task laboriously and with over-pushed diligence, but yet with very small profit. A well-informed and faithful teacher, on the other hand, mingles gentle admonition with punishment, and incites his pupils to diligence in their studies, and to a laudable emulation among themselves; and so they become rooted and grounded in all kinds of desirable knowledge, as well as in the proprieties and the virtues of life, and they now do that spontaneously and with delight, which formerly, and under the old discipline, they approached with reluctance and dread.

X. PLAN FOR SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.

Luther writes, in 1524, to Spalatin:

I send you my sketch of the school as it should be, that you may lay it before the Elector; and though I do not expect that much heed will be given to it, yet I must venture, and leave the issue with God.

Four years later, (1528,) Melancthon's "Manual of Visitation," made its appearance, in which he communicated a full and complete plan for the organization of schools, which had received the sanction of the elector, and which was, undoubtedly, based upon the sketch that Luther had sent to Spalatin.*

* Luther's plan, above referred to, I have never seen, nor is it, so far as I am aware, on record. That Melancthon's, however, essentially agrees with it we have abundant cause to conclude. Especially does this appear from a letter that Melancthon wrote to Camerarius on the subject of the Manual. He says in this, "you will see that I have written nothing more than what Luther has propounded *passim*."

XI. UNIVERSITIES.

In the letter to the Christian nobles of the German nation on the elevation of the Christian order, Luther takes occasion to express himself on German universities as follows.

Our universities need a good thorough purging; I must say it, let whoever will be offended. For, what are they, save a few recently instituted, but "places of exercise for the chief young men," as the 2nd Book of Maccabees, 4: 12, hath it; where a free life is led, after "the glory of the Grecians;" where the Holy Scriptures and faith in Christ are lightly accounted of; and where that blind pagan, Aristotle, reigns solitary and alone, even to the dethroning of Christ? Now this is my counsel, that Aristotle's books on physics, metaphysics, the soul, and ethics, which have been ever esteemed his best, should be thrown away, with all the host of those which pretend to treat of natural science, while in reality nothing can be learned from them, of things natural or things spiritual either: add, that what he does advance not a soul has hitherto understood, and yet so many noble intellects have been weighed down and paralyzed under the cost, toil, time and study that they have been forced to devote to him.

But I would, nevertheless, be willing to retain his logic, rhetoric and poetics—abridged, I would prefer them,—for they are useful to direct the young to a good style of speaking, either for the bar or the pulpit; but the commentaries and glosses are useless. Cicero's rhetoric, likewise, may be read, but only the pure and simple text, unencumbered with your unwieldy and interminable commentaries. But now, they teach neither how to plead nor how to preach, but all the result they shew is mere wrangling and stupidity. And we ought, moreover, to adopt the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the mathematics and history, all which I commend to the more intelligent. But, the claims of these studies will need no urging, as soon as there is a right earnest desire for a reformation. And truly, this is a matter of the utmost consequence. For, here our Christian youth, and our nobles, in whom rest the hopes of Christianity, are to be taught, and to be fitted for action. And, accordingly, it is my firm belief that a reformation and a renovation of our universities would be a work of greater magnitude than pope or emperor ever undertook, since there is not a more crafty, or a more devilish device on the face of the earth than a university overgrown with the thorns and the briars of godless ignorance.

XII. THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

We have given, in the preceding pages, Luther's opinion of many of the university studies. It is not desirable, he says, to read a multitude of books; among such as are read, however, the Holy Scriptures demand our chief care.

Books should be fewer, and we must choose out the best. For many books do not impart knowledge, nor much reading either; but, that which is good, if it be read often, no matter how small its compass, that it is which throws light upon the Word, and inspires piety besides. Yea, even the works of the holy Fathers are to be read only as a means by which we may the better come at the sense of the Word; but now we read them for themselves and abide in them, without ever coming to the Scriptures; in this, we are like men who look at the guide-posts, but who never follow the road. The dear Fathers would have their writings lead us into the Scriptures; let us, then, carry out their intention. For the Scriptures, and they alone, are our vineyard, in which we are to exercise ourselves, and to labor.

Above all things, let the Scriptures be the chief and the most frequently used reading-book, both in primary and in high schools; and the very young should be kept in the gospels. Is it not proper and right that every human being, by the time he has reached his tenth year, should be familiar with the holy gospels, in which the very core and marrow of his life is bound? Even the spinner and the seamstress impart the mysteries of their craft to their daughters, while these are yet in girlhood. And, again, when the high schools shall have become grounded

in the Scriptures, we then are not all of us to send our sons there, as is the practice now, when numbers alone are regarded, and each will have his boy a doctor; but we ought to admit only those who are best fitted, and who have previously been well trained in the preparatory schools; to which matter, princes or magistrates ought to pay special attention, not allowing any to be sent to the high schools but the most capable. But, where the Holy Scriptures do not bear sway, there I would counsel none to send his child. For every institution will degenerate, where God's word is not in daily exercise; in proof of this, we need but look at those who have been moulded by, or who are now in the high schools. The high schools ought to send forth men thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, to become bishops and pastors, and to stand in the van, against heretics, the devil, and, if need be, the whole world. But, what do we find them? I greatly fear they are no better than broad gates to hell, wherever they do not busily exercise and practice our youth in the Holy Scriptures.

XIII. STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES.

In what high esteem Luther held the languages, we have already had occasion to remark. To Hebrew, in particular, he frequently recurs in terms of praise.

The Hebrew tongue surpasses all others; it is the richest in words of any, and it is pure; it borrows nothing, but has its own independent hue. The Greek, the Latin, and the Germans all borrow; they have, moreover, many compound words, whereas the Hebrew has none. From a simple word the Germans make twenty compounds, which all proceed from it, and are pieced together out of it; as, from *laufen*, to run, come *entlaufen*, to run away from; *verlaufen*, to run wrong; *umlaufen*, to run about; *belaufen*, to run to see; *zulaufen*, to run toward; *ablaufen*, to run from a *place; weglaufen*, to run from one's *duty; einlaufen*, to run in; etc. On the contrary, the Hebrew has no compound, no patchwork word, but each idea is expressed by a word wholly its own. So, again, the word heart, for instance, has with us quite a generic use. For it means a part of the body, as if we should say, he has no heart; that is, he is spiritless and cowardly; or again, my heart tells me that his heart burns within him; that is, that he is angry. In each of these cases, the Hebrew employs a special and peculiar word.

In reference to the manner of learning the languages, Luther lays great stress upon continual practice, though he does not undervalue grammar, by any means.

We learn German or other languages much better by word of mouth, at home, in the street, or at the church, than out of books. Letters are dead words; the utterances of the mouth are living words, which in writing can never stand forth so distinct and so excellent, as the soul and spirit of man bodies them forth through the mouth.

Tell me, where was there ever a language, which men could learn to speak with correctness and propriety by the rules of grammar? Is it not true that even those languages, like the Latin and the Greek, which possess the most unerring rules, are much better learned by use and wont, than from these rules? Is it not then extremely absurd, for one who would learn the sacred tongue, in which divine and spiritual things are discoursed of, to neglect a straightforward and pertinent search into the subject-matter, and attempt, instead, to pick the language out of grammar alone?

He gives his view of the relation of the things signified to the words which express them, as follows, holding that an understanding of words is only possible where there is an understanding of things first.

The art of grammar teaches and shows, what words imply and signify; but we must first learn and know what the things are, and what the matters mean.

Hence, must he, who would teach and preach, first know his subject and its bearings, before he can speak of it; for grammar only teaches the names and forms of the words which we use to set forth our subject.

Our knowledge is two-fold; relating to words on the one hand, and on the other to things. And accordingly, he who does not possess a knowledge of the thing or the subject of which he is to speak, will not find a knowledge of words of any service to him. There is an old proverb, which runs thus: If you do not know what you are talking of, you may talk forever, and no man will be the wiser. Many such people there are in our day. For we have many very learned and very eloquent men, who appear exceedingly foolish and ridiculous, because they undertake to speak of that which they have never understood.

But, whoever has the matter inwrought into his being, so that he comprehends it fully, is an able teacher, and reaches the heart, whether he be eloquent, and have a ready flow of words, or not. So Cato, when he spoke in the council, had more influence than Cicero, albeit, his language was rough and devoid of all polish and elegance; and, though his speech was not skillfully framed to produce conviction, yet no one ever gave a thought to his manner.

Accordingly, the understanding of words, or grammar, is easy, when we well understand the subject; as Horace also says: that words come of their own accord, when the subject has been duly admitted to the mind, retained there, and fully considered; but, where the subject is obscurely apprehended, there the utmost knowledge of words will do no good. I have dwelt upon this point so fully for this reason, namely: that you may know, if you shall ever read the Rabbins, what sort of masters you will have; they may well understand the language, but the subjects that are conveyed in it they know nothing about, nor can they ever teach them in a true and proper manner.

But, through the goodness and the grace of God, we have the knowledge and the understanding of the matters, of which the Holy Scriptures treat, while they are left in blindness. Hence, though they know the grammar, yet they have no correct understanding of the Scriptures; but, as Isaiah, (29, 11,) saith: "And the vision is become as the words of a book that is sealed. Who then shall follow them?"

Now let no one think or conclude from all this that I would reject the grammar, for this is altogether necessary; but this much I do say: he who, with the grammar, does not study the contents of the Scriptures also, will never make a good teacher. For, as a certain one has said, "the words of the teacher or preacher should follow the subject, and grow, not in his mouth, but out of his heart."

XIV. NATURAL SCIENCE.

In commenting on Erasmus' want of appreciation of natural science, Luther remarks:

We are now in the morning-dawn of a better life; for we are beginning again to recover that knowledge of the creation which we lost through Adam's fall. By God's grace, we are beginning to recognize, even in the structure of the humblest floweret, his wondrous glory, his goodness, and his omnipotence. In the creation we can appreciate in some measure the power of Him, who spake and it was done, who commanded and it stood fast. Consider the peach-stone: although it is very hard, yet, in its due season, it is burst asunder by the force of the very tender germ which is inclosed within the shell. But all this Erasmus passes by, not regarding it for a moment; and views this new knowledge of the creature only as cows look upon a new gate.

XV. HISTORY.

The importance that Luther attached to history, we have before adverted to; he has more, to the same purport, in his preface to Galeatti Capella's history of the Duke of Milan.

Says the highly-renowned Roman, Varro, (so this preface runs,) the best instruction is that which combines illustration and example with precept. For through these we apprehend the speech or the doctrine more clearly, and also

retain it the more readily in our memories; but, where the discourse is without illustration, no matter how just and excellent it may be in itself, yet it does not move the heart with such power, neither is it so clear, nor so easily remembered. Hence, we may see what a priceless value resides in histories. For all that philosophers, sages, and the collective wisdom of humanity can devise or teach, relative to the conduct of life, this, history, with her incidents and examples, enforces, causing it all to pass before our eyes, so to speak, as if we ourselves were on the spot, beholding those things in action, whose nature we had heard before in doctrine or in precept. There we learn what things those who were pious and wise pursued, what they shunned, and how they lived, and how it fared with them, or how they were rewarded; and again, how they lived who were wicked and obstinate in their ignorance, and what punishments overtook them.

And did we but think of it, all laws, arts, good counsels, warnings, threatenings, terrors,—all solace, strength, instruction, foresight, wisdom, prudence, together with every virtue,—flow from records and histories as from a living fountain. For histories are an exhibition, memorial, and monument of the works and the judgments of God; how he upholds and rules the world, and men more than all, causing their plans to prosper or to fail, lifting them on high, or humbling them in the dust, according as their deeds are good or evil. And though there be many who neither know nor regard God, yet even such can not fail to start back before the portraitures of history, and to fear lest the same evils come upon them, too, that overtook this or that person, whose course is graven, as a warning, forever upon the page of history; whereby they will be far more deeply moved, than if you should strive to restrain and curb them with the bare letter of the law, or with mere dry doctrine. So we read, not in the Holy Scriptures alone, but in pagan books too, how the men of old instanced and held up to view the example of their forefathers, in word and in deed, when they wished to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, or when on any occasion they would teach and admonish, or warn and deter.

Hence, too, historians are the most useful of men, and the best of teachers. Nor can we ever accord too much praise, honor, or gratitude to them; and it should be the work of the great ones of the earth, as emperors, kings, and the like, to cause a faithful record to be made of the history of their own times, and to have such records sacredly preserved and set in order in libraries. And, to this end, they should spare no expense, which may be needful, to educate and maintain those persons whose talents mark them out for this task.

But he who would write history, must be a superior man,—lion-hearted and fearless in writing truth. For most manage to pass by in silence, or at least to gloss over the vices or the mischances of their times, to please great lords or their own friends; or they give too high a place to minor, or it may be, insignificant actions; or else, from an overweening love of country, and a hatred toward foreign nations, they bedizen or befoul histories, according to their own likes or dislikes. Hence it is, that a suspicious air invests histories, and God's providence is shamefully obscured; so the Greeks did in their perverseness, so the Pope's flatterers have done heretofore, and are now doing, till it has come to this, at last, that we do not know what to admit or what to reject. Thus the noble, precious, and highest use of history is overlooked, and we have only a vain babble and gossip. And this is because the worthy task of writing annals and records is open to every one without discrimination; and they write or slur over, praise or condemn, at their will.

How important, then, is it, that this office should be filled by men of eminence, or at least by those who are worthy. For, inasmuch as histories are records of God's work, that is, of his grace and his displeasure, which men should believe with as much reason as if the same stood written in the Bible, surely they ought to be penned with all diligence, truth and fidelity. This, however, will, I fear, never come to pass, unless the enactment which was in force with the Jews shall again bear sway. Meanwhile, we must rest content with our histories as they are, and reflect and judge for ourselves, as we peruse them, whether the writer has been warped through favor or prejudice, whether he praises or blames either too little or too much, according as the persons or the events that come under his notice, please or displease him; just as in such a loose government as ours, we must endure to have carriers dilute their foreign wine with water, so that we can not buy the pure growth, but must content ourselves with getting some part pure, be this more or be it less.

XVI. LOGIC—RHETORIC.

Luther has much to say, in the "Table Talk," both on logic and on rhetoric.

Logic is a lofty art; it speaks direct, whether of wrong or right, as if I should say, "give me some drink." But rhetoric adds ornament, as thus: "give me of the pleasant juice in the cellar, the curling, sparkling juice, that makes the heart merry."

Logic tells us *how* to teach every thing; still, for all this, though we have learned it so that we thoroughly understand it, it does not, of itself, give us the *ability* to teach any thing; for it is only an instrument and a tool, by means of which we may impart, in a correct and methodical manner, that which we already understand and know. For instance, I can not speak of mining or of the duties of the overseer of a mine, because I neither know how to open a mine, nor how to sink a shaft, nor can I tell where the galleries should run; but, had I searched into this matter, and become familiar with it, I should then be better able to speak on the subject than the surveyor himself. Logic does not furnish the subject of which we are to speak, or the branch that we are to teach; it only directs us how to teach such branch, or to speak of such subject, in a just and appropriate manner, with method, directness, and brevity.

Logic is a useful and a necessary art, which we ought with as much reason to study and to learn as we do arithmetic or geometry. And, though there are some heads so sharp by nature, that they can draw conclusions and form judgments, on almost any subject, from the impressions they receive from it, yet this is an uncertain and a dangerous gift, unless art come to its aid. For logic gives us a clear, correct, and methodical arrangement, showing us the grounds of our conclusions, and how we may know, to a certainty, from the nature of the subject itself, what is right or wrong, and what we should judge and decide.

Logic teaches, rhetoric moves and persuades; the latter controls the will, the former the understanding. St. Paul includes them both, in Romans, 12: 7, 8: "He that teacheth, let him wait on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation."

The most excellent fruit and use of logic is to define and describe a thing with completeness and brevity, and, in accordance with its nature, neither more nor less than it is. Hence, we should accustom ourselves to use good, pointed, and intelligible words, words that are in common use, and thereby fitted to call up and set forth the matter, so that men may understand just what it includes. And, if any man has this power, let him give God the glory, for it is a special gift and grace, since crafty writers often disguise their sentiments designedly, with astonishing, far-fetched, or obsolete words; inventing a new style and mode of speaking, so double-sided, double-tongued, and intertangled, that, when convenient, they can bend their language into whatever meaning they choose, as the heretics do.

Eloquence does not consist in a tinseled flourish of gaudy and unfamiliar words, but in that chaste and polished expression, which, like a beautiful painting, shows the subject-matter in a clear, suitable and every way admirable light. They who coin and foist in strange words, must also bring in strange and novel things, as did Scotus, with his "hiccity," "nominality," etc., or the Anabaptists, with their "immersion," "purification," "quietism," etc. Hence, you should beware, above all things, of those who make frequent use of new, unfamiliar and useless words; for such a mode of speaking is at war with all true eloquence.

XVII. MATHEMATICS.

Luther was desirous, as we have seen, to have the mathematics introduced into the universities. In astronomy, he took ground against Copernicus. Nevertheless he could not abide astrology, though Melancthon maintained its truth. Among other arguments against it, that of Augustin was his chief stronghold, namely, that Esau and Jacob were both born at the same time, consequently under the same constellation, and were, nevertheless, wholly unlike each other in all respects.

XVIII. PHYSICAL EXERCISE.

Exercise and music both, Luther commends highly; and he opposed, as we have seen, the moping and joyless tenets of the monkish teachers.

It was admirably provided and ordered by the ancients that the people should have honorable and useful modes of exercise to resort to, so that they might not fall into gluttony, lewdness, surfeiting, rioting, and gambling. Accordingly, I pronounce in favor of these two exercises and pastimes, namely, music, and the knightly sports of fencing, wrestling, etc.; of which, the one drives care and gloom from the heart, and the other gives a full development to the limbs, and maintains the body in health. And another argument for them is this, that they keep men from tippling, lewdness, cards, and dice, which, alas! are now so common every where, at court and in the town, where we hear nothing but "fair play!" "more wine!" and the like phrases. And then, in their flush, they stake you, perhaps, an hundred gulden or more, at a cast. So it goes, when those other honorable exercises and knightly sports are scorned and neglected.

XIX. MUSIC.

Music was Luther's joy and delight.

Music is one of the fairest and best gifts of God; and Satan hates it, nor can he bear it, since by its means we exorcise many temptations and wicked thoughts. Music is one of the best of the arts. The notes breathe life into the words. It chases away the spirit of melancholy, as we may see by the case of King Saul. Some of our nobility think that they have done some great thing, when they give three thousand gulden yearly toward music, and yet they will throw away, without scruple perhaps, thirty thousand on follies. Kings, princes and lords must maintain music, (for it is the duty of great potentates and monarchs to uphold excellent, liberal arts, as well as laws,) inasmuch as the common people and private individuals desire it, and would have it if their means were sufficient. Music is the best solace to a wearied man; through it, the heart is again quieted, quickened, and refreshed; as that one says, in Virgil:

"*Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus.*"

Do you play the air, and I will sing the verse.

Music is a half-discipline, and it is a teacher; it makes men gentler and milder, more mannerly and more rational. And even poor violinists or organists do us this service, they show us what a noble and excellent art music is, as we can distinguish white the better if we place black beside it.

On the 17th of December, 1538, while Dr. M. Luther was entertaining some musicians at his house, who sang many sweet tunes and lofty cantatas, he exclaimed, in his rapture: "If in this life our Lord God has scattered around and heaped upon us such noble gifts, what will it be in that immortal life, where all is perfection and fullness of delight? But here we have only the beginning, the *materia prima*. I have always loved music. He who knows this art is in the right frame, and fitted for every good pursuit. We can not do without music in our schools. A schoolmaster must know how to sing, or I would not allow him to teach. Nor ought we to ordain young theologians to the sacred office, unless they have first been well-tried and practiced in the art in the school." As they sang a cantata of Senffel's, Luther was filled with emotion and wonder, praising it highly. He then said: "Such a cantata it is not in my power to compose, even though I should try to my utmost; nor, on the other hand, could Senffel expound a psalm as well as I. For the gifts of the Holy Spirit are of divers kinds; so in one body there are different members. But no one is contented with his own gift, no one rests satisfied with what God has bestowed upon him, for all wish to be, not members merely, but the whole body.

Music is a fair, glorious gift of God; and it lies very near to theology. I would not part with my small faculty of music for vast possessions. We should practice the young continually in this art, for it will make able and polished men of them.

Singing is the best art and exercise. It has nothing in common with the

world; it is far-removed from the jar and wrangling of the court and the lawsuit. Singers, too, are never overwhelmed with care, but are joyful; and, with their singing, they drive care out and away."

And he said further: "How comes it to pass that, in carnal things, we have so many a fine poem, and so many a sweet song, while, in spiritual things, all is so cold and listless?" He then recited some German odes, The Tournament, by Bollen, etc. "I hold this to be the reason, as St. Paul has expressed it, in Romans, 7: 23; 'I see another law warring in my members,' a law that will not be overcome, and that does not yield up its power so readily as does the law in the soul. If any one despises music, as all the fanatics do, I can not confide in him. For music is a gift and bestowment of God; it does not proceed from man. And it drives away the devil, and makes men happy: in it, we forget all anger, lasciviousness, pride, and every vice. Next to theology I rank music, and hold it in almost equal honor. For look how David and all holy men have uttered their heavenly meditations in verse, rhyme and song. *Quia pacis tempore regnat musica.*"

I am convinced that my readers would feel aggrieved, were I to offer them an apology for dwelling so long upon Luther. In fact, were any apology in place, it would be for my having omitted so much; and this I have done because I feared lest I might communicate some passages that we were all perfectly well acquainted with. Among such I would place the admirable preface to *the* little book,—the book which he composed at the same time with the writings above cited,—the shorter catechism.

Who will not be delighted to recognize this great man as a reformer of German education also? His admonitions have reached the hearts of myriads of our countrymen, awakened many sleeping consciences, and strengthened many feeble hands; his utterances have been to both princes and people as the voice of God.

And he has deserved such confidence in the fullest measure, because he also received into his own heart, so abundantly, that faith which worketh by love. What could not such a divinely-governed, and untiring love accomplish, seconded as it was by such great gifts; so clear an eye, so sound an understanding, such aptness for the languages, such creative skill in speech, such a soaring imagination, and such profound speculation? Who among all of Luther's contemporaries can compare with him in genuine, comprehensive culture? Only let us not guage culture with the measuring-rod of the Latinized school pedant, neither with that of the Mephistophelian scoffer; for we have to do with large spiritual gifts, which were brought into the service of a consecrated, determined, irresistible will,—a will made free by the Son, a will that governed itself, inasmuch as it purposed to serve God, and God's will alone.

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* On this head, also compare Luther's letter to Louis Senffel, musician to the Duke of Bavaria. De Wette, 4, 18(

JOHN BUGENHAGEN.

JOHN BUGENHAGEN, the fellow laborer with Luther and Melancthon in the ecclesiastical and school reorganizations of the 16th century, was born at Wollin, Pomerania, in 1485, and died in 1558. He studied philosophy, theology, and the classics at Greifswalde, and at the age of eighteen took charge of a classical school (founded in 1170, and now called Bugenhagen Gymnasium), at Treptow, on the Riga. In 1517 he read lectures in theology at the Abbey of Belbrick, and in 1520 in response to Luther's pamphlet on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, he resorted to Wittenberg, where he was appointed to the chair of theology in 1523. From this time Bugenhagen is identified with the new organization of church affairs in all the principal cities of Northern Germany—Brunswick, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and in the dominions of the Duke of Pomerania, and the King of Denmark. In the Brunswick church order of 1528, 'the superintendent, besides preaching, was instructed to give lectures in Latin for the learned, and supervise the discipline, doctrine and funds of the church, and see to the establishment of two Latin schools (each with two classes, the first with four, and the last with three teachers), two German schools for boys, and four for girls at four places, so that the girls might not have far to go from home to their school. In all the schools, catechetical instruction and singing must be given to all the pupils, and obscure private schools must be discontinued.'

In the Hamburgh church order of 1520 a Latin school was instituted in the Convent of St. John (and designated the Johanneum); one German school for boys; and a girls' school in each parish. The Johanneum was provided with a rector and seven teachers; Virgil, Ovid, and Cicero's Officia and Letters, dialectics, rhetoric, mathematics, and in the 5th (highest) class the rudiments of Greek and Hebrew, are specified in the course of study. Wednesday was assigned for review in all the classes, and Saturday was devoted to the catechism. Singing was to be carried to the highest proficiency for the service of the church. Public lectures by the church superintendent and his adjutor (4 times a week); by the rector of the Johanneum; by two jurists, a physician, a surgeon were also established, together with the foundation of a public library—making a quasi city university. The same system in its main features was established in Lubeck in 1532, the classical school of which still exists.

In Pomerania the church and school order was issued in 1535, and for the town of Stralsund two schools, 'one for Latin and German for boys, and the other for girls.' The boys' school was to follow the book of visitation of 'Magister Philippus Melancthon.'

In the church order drawn up by him for Denmark and Norway, in 1587, extended by the Diet at Rendsburg in 1542, the system of schools provided for Hamburg was recognized, the university of Copenhagen being constituted the head of the system. In his letters he complains that 'the greedy grasp of the mighty ones' devoted to their own use the goods of the monasteries which should go to churches, schools and the poor.'

His church orders for Brunswick-Wolfenbüttal in 1528 and 1542 extend the establishment of schools for girls as well as boys to the country parishes, where the organist was to be schoolmaster, and to give special attention to singing and the memorizing of bible texts.'

LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES OF PHILIP MELANCTHON.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

I. MELANCTHON'S CHILDHOOD.

HISTORIANS called Melancthon the fellow-soldier (παραστάτης) of Luther. "God joined together these two instruments of his purpose," said Winshemius, in his Eulogy upon Melancthon, "these two great men, whose dispositions were so admirably blended, that if to Erasmus and others Luther appeared to be too harsh a physician for the disease that had infected the church, Philip, on the contrary, though pursuing the same course without deflection, seemed too tender and mild." In this we may perceive the secret counsels of Him, who calls men by name, while as yet they have not come into being.

Both these men were fully sensible that they were, so to speak, the complements one of the other, and that in the labors of their life they could not be separated. Hence the uncontrollable delight of Luther at Melancthon's first entrance into Wittenberg; hence too his agonizing and answered prayer for the recovery of his fellow-laborer, when, in 1540, the latter lay dangerously sick at Weimar.* How forlorn too was Melancthon's condition while Luther was on the Wartburg; how consolatory and cheering must Luther's letters to him from Coburg have been during the Augsburg Diet; and how unhappy was he in the closing years of his life after the death of Luther!

PHILIP MELANCTHON was born the 16th of February, 1497, fourteen years after Luther; he likewise survived him fourteen years, and they both died at the age of sixty-three. They yet show in Bretten, a small town in the Duchy of Baden, the humble mansion where he first saw the light. His father was a skillful armorer, and a devout and upright man. His maternal grandfather, John Reuther, took charge of the boy, and put him under the instruction of John Hungarus. Of the latter Melancthon wrote: "I had a teacher, who was an excellent grammarian, and who kept me constantly at the grammar.†

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* Melancthon thus writes of his convalescence: "*Ego fuissem extinctus, nisi adventu Lutheri ex media morte revocatus essem.*"

† "*Ille adegit me ad Grammaticam, et ita adegit, ut constructiones facerem: cogebar reddere regulas constructionis per versus Mantuani.*"

Whenever I made a slip, he whipped me, but with mildness and forbearance. Thus he made me a grammarian too. He was a good-hearted man; he loved me as a son, I him as a father."

His grandfather died in the year 1507, and, eleven days afterward, his father. The latter, on his death-bed, exhorted his son to the fear of God: "I have witnessed many commotions, but there are far greater to come. I pray God that he would guide you safely through them. Fear God and do right."

Melancthon was now taken, with his brother, into the family of his grandmother, who was Reuchlin's sister, and lived in Pforzheim. George Simler, of Wimpfen, whom we have met with as a pupil of Dringenberg's, instructed him there in Greek. Reuchlin, who was a frequent visitant at his sister's, in Pforzheim, was delighted with the progress of the boy, and gave him books,—among the rest a Greek grammar and a Greek dictionary. He brought him also, for sport's sake, a little red doctor's-cap. And after the fashion, then so prevalent, he translated his original name, "*Schwarzerd*," (black earth,) into the Greek, Melancthon.

II. MELANCTHON AT HEIDELBERG.

After remaining toward two years at Pforzheim, he was sent in 1509, at the age of twelve,* to the university of Heidelberg. This institution, at the close of the 15th century and the commencement of the 16th, was the rallying ground of the most eminent men of Germany, those especially who were laboring in the cause of a reformation in the church as well as in the schools. The Elector-Palatine Philip, who entered upon his government in 1476, shewed the utmost concern for the prosperity of this university. He confided the execution of his generous plans principally to John Kammerer, of Worms, the Baron of Dalberg, who invited learned men to Heidelberg, and accorded them his favor and protection. Dalberg was born in 1445, at Oppenheim. He studied at Erfurt, and then went to Italy, where in 1476 he lived in Ferrara with his friend Plenninger, and with Agricola. In 1482 he was appointed by the Elector Philip his chancellor, aud shortly afterward obtained the rank of Prince Bishop of Worms. Dalberg, as we have before seen, induced Rudolf Agricola to come to Heidelberg; he it was too who, when John Reuchlin suffered persecution in his own country, threw around him his most cordial protection; and he moreover secured the

* In view of Melancthon's extreme youth, this event would surprise us, did we not consider that at that time much was taught in the universities, which at the present day is assigned to the upper classes in the gymnasia; so that then the school-curriculum was completed at the university.

installation of Reuchlin's brother, Dionysius, as professor of the Greek language at the university. About the same time Wimpheling, that ardent scholar of Dringenberg's, taught at Heidelberg. Conrad Celtes too, the first German poet who was honored with a crown,* came thither while on his travels through Germany and Italy; and at his suggestion Dalberg founded the Rhenish literary association.† But, when Melancthon came to Heidelberg, most of these above-named excellent men had, it is true, either removed or died. Agricola died in 1485, Dalberg in 1503, Celtes in 1508, while professor of the art of poetry at Vienna: in 1498 John Reuchlin had returned to Wurtemberg, and Wimpheling too had left Heidelberg nearly at the same time.

Melancthon was received into the family of the aged theological professor, Pallas Spangel, who had taught here for thirty-three years; and he recounted to the young lad many incidents of the past, in which Agricola and others were actors.

"At the university," says Melancthon, "nothing was placed before us but their babbling dialectics and meagre physics. As I, however, had learned the art of versifying, I applied myself to the poets, and likewise to history and mythology. I read, too, all the moderns of Politian's school whom I could lay hands on; and this was not without its influence upon my style."

In his 14th year, (1511,) the university gave Melancthon the Baccalaureate degree. He then took charge of the studies of two sons of Count Lowenstein, and sketched, for their use probably, the first outlines of a grammar of the Greek language.

By reason of his extreme youth, the degree of Master was not conferred upon him; this fact, taken in connection with an attack of fever, determined him in 1512 to leave Heidelberg and go to Tubingen.

III. MELANCTHON AT TUBINGEN.

At that time the Tubingen university had been in existence for thirty-five years only, since it was founded in 1477 by the excellent Eberhard the Elder, the first Duke of Wurtemberg. The early history of this university reminds one of the Middle Ages; for nominalism and realism here renewed their old battles, and it often happened that of two students occupying the same room one was a nominalist and the other a realist. Gabriel Biel, who was the last

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* He was crowned for his Latin poems upon the Emperor Frederick III. The coronation took place in 1491, at Nuremberg.

† *Societas literaria Rhenana.* Dalberg was its president, and it numbered among its members Pirkheimer, Sebastian Brandt, and many other distinguished men.

of the distinguished scholastics, and a nominalist, was a professor here.

But it was not long before the elements of the new era began to bestir themselves. Paul Scriptoris, a Franciscan, though he read lectures upon Scotus, nevertheless deviated here and there from the teachings of the church, and Summenhart sought to base theology upon the Bible. Both of these men had learned Hebrew; Hildebrand too, full of pious zeal, taught Hebrew and Greek for the sake exclusively of the Old and New Testaments.

While these men, led by their earnest religious tendencies, were thus advancing in the right direction; there came to Tubingen in 1496 a man who was enthusiastically devoted to the classics. This man was Henry Bebel, professor of poetry and eloquence. Polite literature, (*politiores literae,*) as it was called, was first represented at the university in him; for before his coming there had not been even a place assigned to it. He opened a path for classical studies in a bold and fearless manner, doing battle with the monks, who regarded these studies as anti-Christian. Brassicanus, of Constance, co-operated with him also. Among the professors of law were George Simler, already mentioned as Melancthon's teacher, and Naucler, who was the author of a history of the world. John Stoffler, a noteworthy man, became professor of mathematics and astronomy in 1516.

When the youthful Melancthon came to Tubingen, he was involved in the struggle between the old and the new eras. Bebel, Brassicanus, and others, whose courses he attended, were decided Reuchlinists; and to these he united himself, since he was akin to Reuchlin in two senses,—as well by mental affinities as by the ties of nature.

He now strove with the energy and ardor of youth to compass all branches of knowledge, both by learning and teaching. When, in 1514, in his 17th year, he was made a Master, he lectured on Virgil and Terence. Two years later, in 1516, he published an edition of Terence, in which the verses were disposed according to the metre.* In the dedication of the same, (to Geraeander,) he commends the poet to youth particularly as a teacher both of morals and of style.

At the same time he went eagerly into Greek, read Hesiod with Oecolampadius, and translated much of Plutarch and Lucian, and the whole of Aratus. In 1518 he brought out his Greek grammar: thus early, in his 21st year, did he give indications that he was marked out to be the "*Praeceptor Germaniae,*" as he was afterward familiarly called. On the death of Bebel, which took place in 1516,

* *Comoediae P. Terentii metro numerisque restitutae.* Tub., 1516. It passed through several editions.

Melancthon, the mere stripling of nineteen, was invited to fill his chair and teach rhetoric; whereupon, he read lectures on some works of Cicero and six books of Livy. During this period the logic of Rudolf Agricola made its appearance, and Melancthon was incited by it to undertake a critical examination into the course of argument in the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero. He likewise cultivated the acquaintance of Francis Stadian, professor of logic. At the close of his Greek grammar, he announced "that he intended, in conjunction with a number of his friends, Stadian especially, to edit the works of Aristotle." "If Aristotle, even in the original, is somewhat obscure," said Melancthon in one of his orations, "in the Latin versions he has become horribly mutilated and wholly unintelligible." We have seen that the Italians likewise, Politian, for example, went back to the original text of Aristotle, and were thus enabled to lay the axe at the root of the pseudo-Aristotelism of the scholastics. Heyd, a clear-sighted author, thus justly observes in this connection: "Melancthon and Stadian, in editing and translating Aristotle, sought to bring about a reformation in the sphere of philosophy, similar to that which Luther's translation of the Bible was designed to effect in the sphere of theology. Men had become sick of turbid streams, and longed to quench their thirst at the pure fountains. The Bible truly was a perennial fountain, but a century later Francis Bacon directed inquiry from Aristotle, the teacher of physics back to nature, (φύσις,) the true original and source of physics."

Melancthon attended the mathematical lectures of Stoffler for three years, and entertained the highest respect for his character. He dedicated to him an oration, "*de artibus liberalibus*," that he delivered in 1517, in Tubingen; and it was at Stoffler's request that he translated Aratus.

He cultivated the science of law likewise, and it would appear that he gave private instruction in jurisprudence. He also heard medical lectures, and studied Galen quite as much with reference to the matter as to the style. And he was moreover led into close historical researches, by remodeling Naucler's history of the world for a new edition. In theology there was not much to be learned from the professors at Tubingen; and for that reason Melancthon soon applied his own linguistic attainments to Biblical exegesis; and he was much rejoiced at the appearance of the New Testament of Erasmus.

Thus were his studies, yet in his early youth, throughout universal,—no branch of knowledge remaining wholly unfamiliar to him; and by virtue of this universality, for which his remarkable talents fitted him, he won for himself the appellation "*Praeceptor Germaniae.*"

IV. MELANCTHON CALLED TO WITTENBERG.

Melancthon had spent six years at Tubingen, when Frederick the Wise, in the year 1518, applied to Reuchlin to provide him a teacher of Greek, and one of Hebrew also, for the university of Wittenberg. Reuchlin, in his reply to the Elector, assured him that Germany, hitherto called, and not without reason, in other countries, "barbarian" and "brutish," needed these studies. For Hebrew he named, by way of eminence, Oecolampadius; "where baptized Jews are not well-versed in Latin they are not fit persons to teach Hebrew, as their knowledge has been derived more from use than from study." For Greek, Reuchlin recommended in the most decided terms "Master Philip Schwarzerd," whom "from his youth up he himself had indoctrinated in this language."

On the 12th of July, Melancthon wrote an impatient letter to Reuchlin, signifying his longing to be delivered from his "house of bondage," where, occupied in unimportant labors with boys, he himself was fast becoming a boy again himself. He was willing to go whither Reuchlin should send him.

Reuchlin was not long in answering the letter. The Elector had written him to have Melancthon come to Wittenberg. "Not figuratively," Reuchlin continued, "but in their literal sense I address you in the words of the command of God to the faithful Abraham: 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing.' Thus my spirit prophecies to thee, and I hope that these things will be fulfilled in thee, my Philip, my pupil, and my consolation." To the Elector, Reuchlin wrote: "Melancthon will come, and he will be an honor to the university. For I know no one among the Germans who excels him, save Erasmus, of Rotterdam, and he is more properly a Hollander. He, (Erasmus,) surpasses all of us in Latin."

Melancthon now left Tubingen. Simler, his old teacher, thus spoke of his departure: "As many learned men as the university can boast of, they are nevertheless none of them learned enough to form a suitable estimate of the learning of him who is about to leave us." From Augsburg and Nuremberg, where Melancthon made friends of Pirkheimer and Scheurl, he went to Leipzic. Here he spent much time in the society of the excellent Peter Mosellanus. On the 25th of August, 1518, he entered Wittenberg, there to remain until the close of his life. There, for eight and twenty years, he labored in connection with Luther. And his labors bore fruit in an abundant

harvest of blessings; for the ecclesiastical movement set on foot by these two men in a small German university assumed an ever wider sphere, till at last it encircled the globe, and thus Reuchlin's presentiments were realized.

Luther could not find words to depict the joy that he felt at Melancthon's coming. In a letter to Spalatin, he expresses his admiration of the inaugural speech which Melancthon delivered four days after his arrival. He only fears that Melancthon's delicate constitution may not bear the North-German climate and mode of life. In another letter of this period, he styles him "profoundly learned, thoroughly grounded in Greek, (Graecanicissimus,) and not unfamiliar with Hebrew." To Reuchlin he writes: "Our Melancthon is a wonderful man; yea, in every quality of mind almost above humanity, and, withal, very confiding and friendly in his demeanor toward me."

Thus did Luther, on his first acquaintance with Melancthon, recognize him as the man who was to prove the complement of his own being, and to make possible the realization of the great purpose of his life.

V. MELANCTHON'S ACTIVITY IN WITTENBERG.

The activity of Melancthon from this time on was extraordinary.

What he did directly for the church I omit, as not coming within the scope of this work. The universality displayed in his youthful studies accompanied him throughout the whole of his life, as we see in the wide range of subjects which he taught, or on which he wrote.

a. His Lectures.

His lectures embraced the most diverse subjects. He read on the exegesis of the New Testament; a while also on that of the Old, besides dogmatics. At the same time he gave critical interpretations of many of the Greek and Latin classics. To these were added lectures on ethics, logic, and physics. From his writings we may perceive what a union of depth and clearness he displayed in the treatment of his subjects; and this accounts for the homage and the admiration of his hearers. Their number reached at times as high as two thousand. They were composed of all ranks, and not Germans alone, but also Frenchmen, Englishmen, Poles, Hungarians, Danes, yea, even Italians and Greeks flocked to hear him. And what distinguished men too were formed under his teachings! Among them we may include those highly renowned schoolmasters, Joachim Camerarius, Valentine Trotzendorf, and Michael Neander. All three loved him to their dying day with a depth of devotedness that they could not express; and his doctrines they held sacred and worthy of lasting remembrance.

b. His Personal Relations to the Students.

But that devotedness was not merely the fruit of Melancthon's lectures; it proceeded rather from the affectionate manner that he displayed toward the students individually. "It was a part," so Camerarius tells us, "of Melancthon's household arrangements, never to deny himself to any one. Many came to him for letters of recommendation; many for him to revise their essays. Some sought his counsel in their embarrassments; others told him of incidents that had befallen them, either in private or in public, provided they were such as merited his attention; others again brought this or that complaint before him." "I can assure you, of a truth," said Melancthon in an academical oration, "that I embrace all the students with the love and the interest of a father, and am deeply affected by every thing that menaces them with danger."

c. What he did for the School-System.

Another phase of Melancthon's educational activity may be seen in his relation to schools. For he was often and in various ways appealed to for counsel in school matters. Especially noteworthy in this connection is his correspondence with Hieronymus Baumgartner, of Nuremberg. The occasion was as follows: The Nurembergers had resolved to establish a gymnasium, induced thereto chiefly by the solicitations of the excellent Lazarus Spengler. And Melancthon was formally invited through Baumgartner to become its rector. In his reply to Baumgartner he declines, because in the first place he can not leave Wittenberg without being ungrateful to the Elector; and again, he is not adapted by his previous training for such a position. It requires a man who is a practiced rhetorician, and therefore able with a master's hand to mold the young to rhetorical perfection. To this he is in no wise adapted, for his style is bare and dry, with no elegance in it, in fact altogether scant and devoid of sap; whereas the diction of a teacher of a gymnasium should be rich and full of grace. Reuchlin had sent him, when on the threshold of manhood, to Saxony, where he first set about a thorough cultivation of many branches, self-impelled and self-directed thereto, for his previous school-education had been but poor.

The Nurembergers, as might have been anticipated, did not take Melancthon's estimate of himself in earnest, but, believing it to be the result of an overweening modesty, repeated their invitation through Baumgartner again. Melancthon now replied decidedly that he could not come. But, on his suggestion, Hessus and Camerarius were applied to. Sigismund Gelenius likewise, a learned Bohemian, then living at Basle, was invited by Melancthon himself to become one of

the teachers. In the letter of invitation Melancthon tells him "that the new institution was designed to furnish a full course of instruction from the elements up to rhetoric. Mathematics too was to receive attention." Subsequently Melancthon was urged by the civic authorities of Nuremberg to take part in the inauguration of the gymnasium. (His letter of acceptance was dated on the 10th of March, 1526, and he went to Nuremberg on the 6th of May.) He there delivered a speech, in which he praised the Nurembergers for the spirit they displayed in providing means of education for the young, and he compared their city to Florence. In the year 1826, on the third centennial anniversary of the opening of the gymnasium, a statue of Melancthon was erected in front of the building.

And as by the Nurembergers, so from many other quarters was Melancthon's advice solicited, in the affairs both of schools and universities. But the event of his life that was attended with the most important consequences upon the school-system was his visitation, in 1527, of churches and schools, undertaken by order of the Elector, John the Constant, and through the influence of Luther. The field assigned him was Thuringia, and, in company with Myconius and Justus Jonas, he traveled over the whole of it; and, in 1528, likewise by order of the Elector, he published his "Report," or "Book of Visitation," a work of great significance alike to church and to schools. Through its means an evangelical church-system was established for the first time independent of the Pope, and asserting its own authority both in the matter of doctrine and of government. Soon other states followed the example of Saxony.

From the "Book of Visitation" we extract the following

SCHOOL-PLAN.*

Preachers also should exhort the people of their charge to send their children to school, so that they may be trained up to teach sound doctrine in the church, and to serve the state in a wise and able manner. Some imagine that it is enough for a teacher to understand German. But this is a misguided fancy. For he, who is to teach others, must have great practice and special aptitude; to gain this, he must have studied much, and from his youth up. For St. Paul tells us, in 1 Tim., 3: 2, that a bishop must be "apt to teach." And herein he would have us infer that bishops must possess this quality in greater measure than laymen. So also he commends Timothy, (1 Tim., 4: 6,) in that he has learned from his youth up, having been "nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine." For this is no small art, namely, to teach and direct others in a clear and correct manner, and it is impossible that unlearned men should attain to it. Nor do we need able and skillful persons for the church alone, but for the government of the world too; and God requires it at our hands. Hence parents should place their children at school, in order there to arm and equip them for God's service, so that God can use them for the good of others.

But in our day there are many abuses in children's schools. And it is that these abuses may be corrected, and that the young may have good instruction, that we have prepared this plan. In the first place, the teachers must be careful

* This plan appears likewise in Luther's works.

to teach the children Latin only, not German, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, as some have heretofore done, burdening the poor children with such a multiplicity of pursuits, that are not only unproductive, but positively injurious. Such schoolmasters, we plainly see, do not think of the improvement of the children at all, but undertake so many languages, solely to increase their own reputation. In the second place, teachers should not burden the children with too many books, but should rather avoid a needless variety. Thirdly, it is indispensable that the children be classified into distinct groups.

The First Group.—The first group should consist of those children who are learning to read. With these the following method is to be adopted: They are first to be taught the child's-manual, containing the alphabet, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and other prayers: When they have learned this, Donatus and Cato may both be given them; Donatus for a reading-book, and Cato they may explain after the following manner: the schoolmaster must give them the explanation of a verse or two, and then in a few hours call upon them to repeat what he has thus said; and in this way they will learn a great number of Latin words, and lay up a full store of phrases to use in speech. In this they should be exercised until they can read well. Neither do we consider it time lost, if the feebler children, who are not especially quick-witted, should read Cato and Donatus not once only, but a second time. With this they should be taught to write, and be required to shew their writing to the schoolmaster every day. Another mode of enlarging their knowledge of Latin words is to give them every afternoon some words to commit to memory, as has been the custom in schools hitherto. These children must likewise be kept at music, and be made to sing with the others, as we shall show, God willing, further on.

The Second Group.—The second group consists of children who have learned to read, and are now ready to go into grammar. With these the following regulations should be observed: The first hour after noon every day all the children, large and small, should be practiced in music. Then the schoolmaster must interpret to the second group the fables of Æsop. After vespers, he should explain to them the Paedology of Mosellanus; and, when this is finished, he should select from the Colloquies of Erasmus some that may conduce to their improvement and discipline. This should be repeated on the next evening also. When the children are about to go home for the night, some short sentence may be given them, taken perhaps from a poet, which they are to repeat the next morning, such as "*Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.*"—A true friend becomes manifest in adversity. Or "*Fortuna, quem nimium fovet, stultum facit.*"—Fortune, if she fondles a man too much, makes him a fool. Or this from Ovid: "*Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.*"—The rabble value friendships by the profit they yield.

In the morning the children are again to explain Æsop's fables. With this the teacher should decline some nouns or verbs, many or few, easy or difficult, according to the progress of the children, and then ask them the rules and the reasons for such inflection. And at the same time when they shall have learned the rules of construction, they should be required to *construe*, (parse,) as it is called; this is a very useful exercise, and yet there are not many who employ it. After the children have thus learned Æsop, Terence is to be given to them; and this they must commit to memory, for they will now be older, and able to work harder. Still the master must be cautious, lest he overtask them. Next after Terence, the children may take hold of such of the comedies of Plautus as are harmless in their tendency, as the *Aulularia*, the *Trinummus*, the *Pseudolus*, etc.

The hour before mid-day must be invariably and exclusively devoted to instruction in grammar: first etymology, then syntax, and lastly prosody. And when the teacher has gone thus far through with the grammar, he should begin it again, and so on continually, that the children may understand it to perfection. For if there is negligence here, there is neither certainty nor stability in whatever is learned beside. And the children should learn by heart and repeat all the rules, so that they may be driven and forced, as it were, to learn the grammar well.

If such labor is irksome to the schoolmaster, as we often see, then we should dismiss him, and get another in his place,—one who will not shrink from the duty of keeping his pupils constantly in the grammar. For no greater injury can befall earning and the arts, than for youth to grow up in ignorance of grammar.

This course should be repeated daily, by the week together; nor should we by any means give children a different book to study each day. However, one day, for instance, Sunday or Wednesday, should be set apart, in which the children may receive Christian instruction. For some are suffered to learn nothing in the Holy Scriptures; and some masters there are who teach children nothing but the Scriptures; both of which extremes must be avoided. For it is essential that children be taught the rudiments of the Christian and divine life. So likewise there are many reasons why, with the Scriptures, other books too should be laid before them, out of which they may learn to read. And in this matter we propose the following method: Let the schoolmaster hear the whole group, making them, one after the other, repeat the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments. But if the group is too large, it may be divided, so that one week one part may recite, and the remaining part the next.

After one recitation, the master should explain in a simple and correct manner the Lord's prayer, after the next the creed, and at another time the ten commandments. And he should impress upon the children the essentials, such as the fear of God, faith, and good works. He must not touch upon polemics, nor must he accustom the children to scoff at monks or any other persons, as many unskillful teachers use to do.

With this the schoolmaster may give the boys some plain psalms to commit to memory, which comprehend the sum and substance of the Christian life, which inculcate the fear of the Lord, faith, and good works. As the 112th Psalm, "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord;" the 34th, "I will bless the Lord at all times;" the 128th, "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways;" the 125th, "They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which can not be removed, but abideth forever;" the 127th, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it;" the 133d, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" or other such plain and intelligible psalms, which likewise should be expounded in the briefest and most correct manner possible, so that the children may know, both the substance of what they have learned and where to find it.

On this day too the teacher should give a grammatical exposition of Matthew; and, when he has gone through with it, he should commence it anew. But, when the boys are somewhat more advanced, he may comment upon the two epistles of Paul to Timothy, or the 1st Epistle of John, or the Proverbs of Solomon. But teachers must not undertake any other books. For it is not profitable to burden the young with deep and difficult books as some do, who, to add to their own reputation, read Isaiah, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, St. John's Gospel, and others of a like nature.

THE THIRD GROUP.—Now, when these children have been well trained in grammar, those among them who have made the greatest proficiency should be taken out, and formed into the third group. The hour after mid-day they, together with the rest, are to devote to music. After this the teacher is to give an explanation of Virgil. When he has finished this, he may take up Ovid's Metamorphoses, and in the latter part of the afternoon Cicero's "Offices," or "Letters to Friends." In the morning Virgil may be reviewed, and the teacher, to keep up practice in the grammar, may call for constructions and inflections, and point out the prominent figures of speech.

The hour before mid-day, grammar should still be kept up, that the scholars may be thoroughly versed therein. And when they are perfectly familiar with etymology and syntax, then prosody (*metrica*) should be opened to them, so that they can thereby become accustomed to make verses. For this exercise is a very great help toward understanding the writings of others; and it likewise gives the boys a rich fund of words, and renders them accomplished many ways. In course of time, after they have been sufficiently practiced in the grammar, this same hour is to be given to logic and rhetoric. The boys in the second and third groups are to be required every week to write compositions, either in the form of letters or of verses. They should also be rigidly confined to Latin conversation, and to this end the teachers themselves must, as far as possible, speak nothing but Latin with the boys; thus they will acquire the practice by use, and the more rapidly for the incentives held out to them.

Thus much for schools. We have here the yet crude beginnings

of a high-school system, without any thorough organization or well-regulated activity. These, it remained for Trotzendorf and Sturm to develop.

d. Melancthon's Manuals.

His influence upon schools was very widely diffused by means of his manuals, which were universally introduced into use, and were perpetuated through many editions. He wrote a Greek and a Latin grammar, two manuals of logic, one of rhetoric, one of ethics, and one of physics.

These manuals are characterized by great clearness of expression: it was a matter of great moment with Melancthon, by means of concise and clear definitions and a well-ordered arrangement, to make himself as intelligible as possible. Confused sentiments, and obscure language, whose sense we vainly perplex ourselves to get at, these were Melancthon's abhorrence.

The Greek Grammar.—An edition of the year 1542 lies before me.* In the preface Melancthon says: "He has often wished that his little work on Greek grammar had perished, because he wrote it while yet scarcely out of boyhood, for the use of the boys whom he had under his charge. And indeed it would have perished had not the bookseller constrained him to repeat the foolish action, (*denuo ineptire,*) and to rebuild the old ruins. He has accordingly critically revised the whole, altering it and improving it." The grammar is simple and clear, but it does not include syntax; it ends with the paradigms of the verbs in μι.†

The Latin Grammar.—Melancthon wrote this originally for his pupil, Erasmus Ebner, of Nuremberg. Goldstein, afterward recorder of the town of Halle, issued it, as he tells us himself in the preface, against Melancthon's wish, in 1525. In the edition of 1542 there is a letter of Melancthon to the Frankfort bookseller, Egenolph. "In the first edition of my grammar," he writes, "there were various omissions. These may be supplied; yet there should not be too many rules, lest their number prove discouraging to the learner." He then expresses his confidence that Micyllus, whom he has prevailed upon to prepare an improved edition, will, in virtue of his learning and good judgment, adopt the right method. Next, he launches into a panegyric of grammar, especially of its usefulness to the theologian. "How important it is," he says, "to the church, that boys be thoroughly disciplined in the languages! Inasmuch as the purity of

* *Grammatica graeca Ph. Melancthonis jam novissime recognita atque multis in locis locupletata. Francofurti,* XLII.

† The commentaries on syntax he sent in manuscript to Count Nuenar, but they were not printed.

the divine teachings can not be maintained without learning, and weighty controversies can only be settled by a determination of the meaning of words, and a wide range of well-chosen expressions is indispensable to a correct construction; therefore what will a teacher in the church be, if he does not understand grammar, other than a silent mask, or a shameless bawler? He who does not understand the mode of speech of God's word can not love it either. *Ignoti nulla cupido* is a true maxim. But how can he be a good teacher in the church who neither loves the heavenly doctrine, nor yet understands it, nor is able to explain it? Neglect of grammar has recoiled upon our own heads, in that through the means the monks have palmed off upon the church and the schools spurious wares for genuine. Hence princes should have a care to maintain learning; we observe, however, that a very few do it. And cities too should strive to uphold and protect these studies, that embellish not only the church but the whole of life." In conclusion he exhorts youth to a diligent study of grammar.

This letter of Melancthon's is dated in 1540. It was also printed with the edition of the grammar which Camerarius brought out in 1550. To the second part of this grammar, or the syntax, there is prefixed a preface addressed to the son of Justus Jonas. It is written against those who think to become philologists merely through the perusal of the classics, without grammatical studies. Such persons will never be rooted and grounded. Their false view proceeds from a repugnance to the restraint of rules,—a repugnance that by and by will degenerate into a dangerous contempt of all law and order.

The following is the history of this edition of Melancthon's grammar: Camerarius requested Melancthon, on behalf of the bookseller, Papst, in Leipzic, that he would authorize the latter to bring out a new edition. Melancthon acceded to the request in the most friendly manner, and signified his approval, in advance, of all the emendations and additions which Camerarius should make. In his preface, Camerarius thus speaks of the additions: "They will not merely profit the scholar, but they will likewise assist the teacher." The opinion that Schenk, who lectured on Latin grammar at Leipzic, expressed of this work, will doubtless appear to most of us somewhat exaggerated. "This little book has now attained to that perfection that there appears to be nothing deficient in it, nor can there hereafter be any thing added to it; and accordingly it will ever continue to be, as it now is, the sum of all perfection, neither to be altered nor remodeled."

The distinguished Ilefeld rector, Michael Neander, did not assent

to this view, as far as it referred to the utility of Camerarius' book as a school-grammar. He published an edition himself, with this title, namely, "The Latin grammar of Ph. Melancthon, delivered with brevity, ease, and clearness, in the compass of a few pages, yet in such a manner as not only to give Melancthon's language, but his method in the smaller grammar and smaller syntax, that first and oldest manual, which is most admirably adapted to the learner, and which more than any other has been used in all our German schools." He moreover assures us on the title-page that boys can learn every thing that is necessary to the understanding of Latin, out of this grammar, in a few months. In the preface, Neander explains the object of his work more distinctly. He says, since he has observed that boys are burdened by a multitude of rules and examples, and since this diffuseness is moreover unsuitable to teachers, therefore he has made this abridgment of Melancthon's grammar. It is so concise that the scholar should be required to learn it all thoroughly; then he can read, compare, and exercise himself in Melancthon's own admirable grammars, both the smaller and the larger; nay, he may then read and digest the remarks and illustrations which have been incorporated into the larger grammar of Melancthon by a very learned man,* and which swell the book to twice or three times its original size. Camerarius' edition of Melancthon's grammar contains 507 pages, Neander's but 130. It is evident that both Camerarius and Micyllus before him neglected Melancthon's warning against discouraging the pupil by too great diffuseness. While they designed their grammars not for scholars alone, but also for teachers, as Camerarius claims in so many words in the title of his book, and thus aimed at completeness and perfection, it happened that their labor was lost as far as school-instruction was concerned. Neander's simplification, on the other hand, is sure to meet with the general approval of school-teachers; for they must needs feel ever more deeply that there is a heaven-wide difference between a grammar for beginners and one for learned philologists,—a difference as great as that between the catechism and a learned and profound treatise on doctrinal theology. Every intermingling of these distinct and different objects results in hybrid grammars, which are too advanced for the learner and too simple for the teacher. It is evident from Neander's preface that Melancthon's grammar held the chief place in the schools of Germany in the last half of the 16th century. Yet the precise and critical Strobel enumerates, between the years 1525 and 1727, no fewer than fifty-one editions, more or less altered from the original. But

* Camerarius.

notwithstanding, its influence can be traced even to our time. For example, that very useful book, the larger "*grammatica Marchica*," strikingly coincides with Melancthon's, both in the general arrangement and in the treatment of the parts; and the phraseology of the two is often alike, in definitions, rules of syntax and the like. Again, Otto Schulz, in the preface to his complete Latin grammar, which appeared in 1825, says: "In respect to my method, I have designed to follow as closely as possible the larger Mark grammar, whose main features all teachers concur in approving." A history of grammars, from Donatus to Zumpt and Schulz, would be a most interesting book. How characteristic even are the various definitions of the word "grammar," which have been given in different periods! Melancthon defines it thus: "Grammar is an exact method of speaking and writing." The Mark grammar of 1728, in essential agreement with this definition, says: "Grammar is the art of speaking and writing correctly." Otto Schulz, on the other hand, has it thus: "Latin grammar is a guide to the knowledge of the Latin tongue; it shows how the universal laws of language should be applied in the special instance of Latin." Lastly, Kühner thus defines it: "Grammar is the guide to a correct understanding of a language, through its words and forms of speech." In these definitions we may perceive what progress has been made since 1728, from a practical treatment of the ancient languages, according to the *art* of speaking and writing, to a theoretical, whose aim is by means of *science* to attain to a perfect *understanding* of the same.

But let us return to Melancthon and his manuals.

The Manual of Logic.—The first edition of this work appeared in 1520, an enlarged and improved edition in 1527, a third in 1529; this latter is dedicated to William Reiffenstein. The book, Melancthon says, is designed to assist in a better understanding of Aristotle. It was followed by a second treatise upon the same subject, the "*Erotemata Dialectices*," the principal portion of which he composed in the unfortunate year 1547. The dedication, addressed to John, son of Joachim Camerarius, bears date, September 1st, 1547; by the 18th of October, the same year, three thousand copies were disposed of.

This dedication touches upon the point above adverted to as having been discussed in the preface to the "Syntax," namely, "Whether logic is indispensable to every one, inasmuch as we find its absence atoned for in many instances by a strong, native common sense?" The reply is that it is a necessary art, since it teaches men of moderate capacities, and is a help to them, while on the other hand the more gifted are controlled by it, and kept within bounds, and are led

to seek after truth and to prize truth alone. Then he pronounces judgment against those who decry logic. "Even as there are many men of unbridled passions who hate the restraints of moral law, so there are those who can not abide the rules of art. Dialectics, as hitherto taught by the school-men, had, to be sure, fallen into contempt; however, this was because it was not veritable art, but only the shadow of an art, and entangled men amid endless labyrinthine mazes. But," he continues, "I present here a true, pure and unsophisticated logic, just as we have received it from Aristotle and some of his judicious commentators." He then proceeds to show the necessity of logic in order to a correct statement and determination of the doctrines of the church; its abuse by heretical teachers ought not to deter us from its right use. He urges those, who have the capacity, to read Aristotle himself, and that in the Greek; but adds, that it will be of service first to acquire a knowledge of the elements, in order to understand him the more readily.

Manual of Rhetoric.—The first edition appeared in 1519, under the title "*De Rhetorica Libri tres.*—Wittenberg, Io. Grunenberg." The dedication to Bernard Maurus was written in January, 1519; and treats, among other things, of the relation of rhetoric to logic. The later edition was dedicated in the year 1531 to the brothers Reiffenstein. Says Melancthon in this dedication, 'whereas he had been compelled to speak against corrupt logicians, the case was far different with rhetoric. Upon rhetoric no one had written but eminent men, as for instance Cicero and Quintilian. And his rhetoric was designed to be an elementary guide to the understanding of their writings. In these they (the brothers Reiffenstein) might perceive the length and breadth of the art of eloquence, and not fall into the delusion that many self-conceited blockheads indulge, namely, that those have reached the very pitch and perfection of eloquence who have learned how to indite a letter. But eloquence is rather to be ranked among the highest accomplishments, and involves extensive learning, great talents, long practice, and a keen judgment. Rhetoric is closely allied to logic, and one can not be comprehended without the other.'

Manual of Physics.—I shall speak at greater length of this book, when I come to describe the pre-Baconian realism.* Melancthon's pious and sensible manner of contemplating nature will be clearly set forth, as well from passages in this manual as from his preface to Sacrobusto's work on the Sphere.

Manual of Ethics.—As early as the year 1529, he issued his

* Knowledge of *things* as contra-distinguished from knowledge of *words*.

commentary on the ethics of Aristotle, and in the year 1538 his "*Philosophiae moralis epitome.*"

With these manuals we should rank one upon history, namely, the "*Chronicon*" of his pupil Cario, which Melancthon improved and enlarged in 1532 in the German, and in 1538 rewrote entire and published in Latin.

c. Declamationes.

Melancthon's universal learning, his eminent skill as a teacher, and his practical exercise in teaching, for well-nigh half a century, lead us to infer the existence of many excellent hints to instructors in his manuals. Nor are we disappointed. We find in these manuals an educational wisdom of enduring value for all time. Much, it is true, betokens the 16th century. In Melancthon, the preceptor of Germany, (*Praeceptor Germaniae,*) both the ideal and the modes of culture that prevailed among his contemporaries, appear as it were personified before our eyes.

Not merely in his manuals, however, but in other works of his, the orations especially, there is contained a treasure of educational wisdom. Under the title "*Declamationes,*" we have a collection of Melancthon's academical orations, delivered some by himself and some by others.*

In these orations we perceive his love of science, and are made familiar with his views upon mental culture and upon study in general, as well as its single branches. Repeatedly does he express himself on these topics,—above all on the relation of science to the church.

1. *His Love of Science.*

In the year 1535, Melancthon delivered an oration on love of truth. "It is a matter of inexpressible moment," he here says, "that a man from his youth up should cherish a burning hatred toward all sophistry, especially toward that which wears the garb of wisdom." Among the abettors of this latter species of sophistry, he includes both Stoics and Epicureans, as well as the Anabaptists, who were wholly wrapped in the mists and delusions of this false wisdom; and adds:—

There are others who have misapplied their talents, not seeking to bring the truth to light, but only to prove or to disprove in perpetual rotation whatever they have happened to conjecture possible. And this legerdemain they have taken to be the true element of genius. Such men were those universal doubters, the academics and sophists of Plato's time. These undisciplined, lawless spirits were very dangerous; whatever pleased their fancy, this they never ceased to magnify, but every thing disagreeable to them they rejected as of no account; that which looked plausible they insisted upon as true; they united things which did not belong together, and things which were manifestly related to each other they put

* Strobel, in the "Literary Miscellany," Nuremberg, 1781, in speaking of Melancthon's orations, says that the most eminent of Melancthon's colleagues, men like Major, Reinbolt, and Winshemius, were not ashamed to deliver orations prepared by him.

asunder; they employed clear and well-defined terms to express nothing, and threw around sober realities an air of irony. Against this kind of sophistry all well-meaning persons must wage an implacable warfare. Plato was very earnest to exhort men in their speech to seek not the applause of men but the approbation of God. And accordingly we ought with our whole soul to aim at this one point, namely, to find the truth, and to set it forth with as much simplicity and clearness as possible. Men who, in matters of science, sport with truth, are blind guides likewise where revelation is concerned. Sophistry has by means of its false precepts occasioned religious dissensions and religious wars. The dispositions of men are easily warped, and it needs great wisdom to keep them in the right way; and Christ calls down the severest judgments upon those by whom offenses come.

Studies. The Old time and the New. Science and the Church.

In the oration, which Melancthon delivered in 1518, at his induction into his preceptorial office, he marks the contrast between the old and barbarous studies, that had hitherto been in vogue, and those excellent and new objects of inquiry that were beginning to receive attention. "The advocates of the old method," he says, "decry the new. 'The study of the restored classical literature,' they say, 'with great labor, yields but small profit. Idle men have betaken themselves to Greek in order to make a vain boast of their knowledge; the Hebrew promises but little with the moderns; all true studies have fallen away, and philosophy is utterly neglected.'"

Against such accusers Melancthon entered the lists, first attacking with vigor the old methods of study. Those scholastics had planted themselves upon Aristotle, who was hard to understand even for the Greeks, but had become in the scholastic Latin versions absolutely unintelligible. Better things fell into disrepute, Greek was forgotten, a jargon of useless learning forced upon the mind, and the classics were thrown aside altogether. He himself had been almost ruined by being six long years under the teachings of the pseudo-Aristotelian sophists, men who bore not the least trace of resemblance to Socrates. For this one had said "that one thing only did he know, namely, that he knew nothing, while they knew every thing, save this one, namely, that they did not know any thing."

Then he goes on to indicate briefly what the students at the Wittenberg university were expected, after the new method, to take hold of, viz., Aristotle as he is in the original, Quintilian and Pliny, the mathematics, poets, orators, historians, and a sound philosophy.

These were studies which the clergy and jurists equally needed; and the former in addition to Greek should understand Hebrew. For with the downfall of these studies the church had sunk into ruins, having become marred and disfigured by ordinances of man's device.

Of a similar purport is a speech which Melancthon delivered eighteen years later, (in 1536.) In this he commends not merely the study of the languages, but also of philosophy and the other arts,

since they all serve to enrich and adorn the church. Ignorance obscures religion, and leads to frightful divisions, and to barbarism,—in short to the entire destruction of all social order. An unenlightened theology is one of the greatest of evils, confounding all doctrines, having no clear conception of vital truths, uniting things that should be divided, and tearing asunder things that are joined together. It is contradictory and inconsistent, and there is neither beginning, progress, nor result in it. Such teachings are prolific of unnumbered errors and endless disagreements, because in the general confusion one and the same thing is understood thus by one man and quite differently by another. And, since every one defends his own view, there arises strife and discord. Meanwhile consciences are racked with doubt, and doubt not resolved ends in disbelief. But an enlightened theology should not rest content with grammar and logic; it also has need of physics, moral philosophy, and history, for which latter too a knowledge of the mathematics, for their bearing on chronology, is indispensable.

And with great justice does Melancthon remark in this speech: "Learning is at this day of the utmost consequence to the church, because ignorant priests are growing ever bolder and more careless in their office. Learned men, who have accustomed themselves to thorough investigation in every thing they undertake, know but too well how liable they are to fall into error, and thus diligence itself teaches them modesty. But what great disasters ever befall the church, from the recklessness of ignorance, this, the present condition of things will teach us."

The theme, "Learning is a blessing to the church and ignorance its curse," was frequently taken up by Melancthon. So, in the already cited preface to his Latin Grammar, and again in the introduction to a treatise on the art of poetry, "*Cuidam libello de arte poetica.*" "Hand in hand with diligent study," he here says, "we ever find modesty and a prayerful spirit." A disciple of Schwenkfeld had written a book against him and Paul Eber, in which he attacked the liberal arts, and undertook to prove that the church is not built up and established by means of reading, hearing, and reflecting upon the doctrines of the Bible, but that a certain enthusiasm first overmasters the spirit, and reading the Scriptures and meditation comes afterward. "Thus," he adds, "these fanatics invert the order indicated by Paul, namely, 'how shall they believe who have not heard?'"

In the oration entitled "*Encomium eloquentiae,*" he takes a survey of the studies essential to a complete education. Here he again censures the unintelligible style of Scotus and the school-men. Picus,

he thinks, was but in jest when he took up the gauntlet for them, and maintained the proposition that it mattered not whether a man spoke with elegance or not, provided only that he expressed his thoughts clearly. The earlier theological bunglers were of a piece, as well in style as in sentiments,—barbarians in both. He then advocates the reading of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, and at the same time a diligent practice in style, both in prose and poetry. In the close he recurs again to the importance of a knowledge of the languages to the theologian to assist him in understanding the Scriptures. A godless spirit goes hand in hand with ignorance. The classical studies had again dawned upon the world in order that theology, which had become corrupt, might again be purified. The deeper meaning of the word, it is true, is imparted to us by the Holy Spirit; but we must first come to a knowledge of the language, for it is in this that the divine mysteries are embodied. He then gives an example of the mistakes which continually occur, where the knowledge of language is inadequate to convey the true meaning of the words. One of their masters of arts rendered the words "*Melchisedec rex Salem panem et vinum obtulit*," thus: Melchisedec set before (Abraham) salt, bread, and wine; and he then proceeded at great length to remark upon the nature of salt.

From his oration upon the study of Hebrew it would appear that the Wittenberg university ranked the original language of the Old Testament among the chief objects of attention. The opinion of Politian that this was an unpolished language, and that it formed a hindrance both to the study of the classics and the attainment of Latin eloquence,—this opinion was there opposed with the utmost earnestness. In this connection, Melancthon's preface to Terence, written in 1525, is worthy of note. "There is scarcely any book," he says, "which is more worthy of daily perusal than this poet. In point of fitness of expression he surpasses perhaps every other author. Chrysostom took such pleasure in Aristophanes that he laid him under his pillow at night; and without doubt he perused this poet with such assiduity, in order by the means to perfect himself in eloquence. How much more highly," he continues, "is Terence to be esteemed, whose plays are both free from obscenity, and likewise, if I mistake not, models of rhetoric. I therefore advise all teachers urgently to commend this author to the study of youth. For he appears to me to present a theory of human life that far surpasses that set forth in most philosophical works. And no other author teaches a purer diction, none other accustoms boys so well to those forms of speech in which they need to be drilled for future use."

VI. REVIEW OF MELANCTHON'S LIFE FROM 1518 TO 1560.

Agreeably to the scope of this work, I have kept in view the educational labors of Melancthon, and have accordingly dwelt but little upon the part he played in the reformation of the church. This too was the less called for, inasmuch as so many histories of the Reformation and recent biographies have rendered us familiar with his efficiency in this field. Repeated expressions in his letters prove that he was drawn into the wide arena of the Reformation almost against his will, and, amid the dust of the conflict, that he often yearned to devote himself wholly to philology and philosophy. Even his theological lectures were undertaken contrary to the dictates of his own inclination, and only in compliance with the desire of Luther. "Thou knowest," he wrote to Spalatin, "the circumstance that occasioned me to give a theological course. I first began it in order, as *Baccalaureus ad biblia*, to conform to established usage, nor had I then the most distant presentiment of the turn that matters were destined to take. My exegesis was not finished when Dr. Martin went to Worms; and, so long as he continued absent, it was not possible for me to give up these lectures. Thus it has come to pass that I have dangled from that cliff for more than two years. I yesterday finished John's gospel, and this appears to me to be an appropriate time to make a change in respect to the lectures. I can not hesitate to follow whither thou leadest, even to become a keeper of cattle. Nevertheless, I could wish in this one respect to be free." Noteworthy too is the fact that he did not take the degree of Doctor of Theology, while Luther, in virtue of *his* theological doctorate, felt constrained in his conscience to go into the lists against emperor and Pope; nor did Melancthon ever preach, notwithstanding that Luther frequently urged him to do so,—"*Nolentem trahunt fata*;" and, whether he would or not, he was forced to remain his life long in the field as a soldier of Christ, and ever to fight in the fore-front of the battle, while he yearned forever after a life of literary retirement and quiet. Luther, so long as he lived, hurried Melancthon along with him; and, when he died, it was too late for Melancthon to withdraw, for the powerful current and commotion of the reorganizing church was bearing him resistlessly on. Whatsover opinion we may any of us have formed of those doctrinal controversies, yet we can not but feel a deep sympathy for Melancthon when we read of the unhappy feuds in which the excellent man was involved in the closing years of his life, and what rudeness and indignity he suffered at the hands of his adversaries.

Let us now turn back again for a few moments to his younger

days. In 1520 he married Catherine, daughter of Herr Krapp, Mayor of Wittenberg. Camerarius said of her: "She was pious, very affectionate toward her husband, careful and diligent in matters pertaining to the household, and kind and benevolent to all." She bore her husband two sons and two daughters. Anna, the eldest of these children, who was her father's idol, was married in 1536 to George Sabinus, a man of learning indeed, but of a restless, ambitious spirit; she died in 1547. The second child was a son named Philip, whose talents were quite inferior. He was born in 1525, and died in 1603. At the time of his death he was secretary of the consistory. George, the second son, did not survive quite two years; Magdalena, the second daughter, was married in 1550 to the physician Casper Peucer, who afterward suffered many years' imprisonment on account of his clandestine adherence to Calvinism. Through her grief at this calamity she died in the year 1576.

Of Melancthon's domestic life, Camerarius, who was an intimate friend of his, tells us much that is worthy of our admiration; as that he loved his children most dearly, was unstinted in his charity toward the needy, and kindly and cheerful, true and single-minded in his intercourse with his friends. Almost too thoughtless with respect to the goods of this life, he amassed nothing to bequeath to his family. We might hence conclude that he was perpetually serene and happy in his disposition; but his life and many of his letters undeceive us in this respect. He suffered from bodily afflictions; sleeplessness in his earlier years, and later the sharp pains of the gravel. He was also weighed down by many family troubles; the death of two of his children, and of his wife, and, in addition to all, the perverse behavior of his son-in-law, Sabinus. Yet all this, as his letters evince, receded into the back-ground, compared with the overshadowing unrest which grew out of his relations to the church. A conscientious man will pass sleepless nights, if his soul is weighed down with anxiety for the welfare of a few children or pupils. Is it then to be wondered at if Melancthon,—with his so tender conscience, at the Diet of Augsburg, for instance, where his words were to decide the temporal and eternal welfare of countless souls among those who were then living, as well as of those who should come after him,—is it to be wondered at if he there was overwhelmed, like Moses and Jeremiah, by the fearful responsibilities which devolved upon him? To this too was afterward added a deeper sorrow, namely, to be forsaken by his own familiar friends, and to be most bitterly persecuted.

We may behold depicted before us, as it were, the trials which he was called to endure, if we compare the admirable likeness, engraved

upon copper by Albert Durer, of Melancthon, the young man of twenty-nine, with that portrait of Melancthon, the gray-haired old man, which Luke Cranach has bequeathed to us. The one is a fair and a very striking head, with a high forehead, and eyes out of which the liveliest expression of kindness and grace beams toward you. But, on the other hand, the countenance of the old man is deeply scored with the furrows of many sorrowful years, toiled through amid heavy trials, and the ceaseless and bitter whirl of controversy.

Melancthon was at Heidelberg in 1557, when Camerarius brought him the news of the death of his wife. Without betraying the least token of sorrow, although every one felt that his heart was sore and sad almost to bursting, he only said, "I shall soon follow her."

The depth of his grief may be estimated, however, from a letter which he wrote two years after the death of his wife, and one year before the final summons came to him also. "Passionate and sorrowful yearning for a deceased wife is not effaced in the old man as it may be with those who are younger. When day by day I gaze upon my grandchildren, I recall not without a sigh their grandmother, and thus at the sight of the bereaved little ones my sorrow is renewed. She cared for the whole family, she cherished the infants, she nursed the sick; by her consoling words she lessened my griefs; she taught the children to pray. And so it is that I miss her everywhere. I bethink me how almost daily she repeated these words of the psalm, 'Forsake me not in my old age;' and thus I also continually pray."

After the departure of his wife Melancthon repeatedly spoke of his own approaching death. The increasing violence which marked the theological controversies of the day embittered his life more and more. He himself came in danger thereby of banishment. "If they drive me out," he wrote to Hardenberg, "I have made up my mind to go to Palestine, and there in the seclusion of the cloister of Hieronymus, at the call of the Son of God, to record my unclouded testimony to the doctrine, and dying to commend my soul to God."

In a subsequent letter he wrote: "My troubles and sorrows are waxing greater, but the far journey to the church in heaven will soon liberate me from them all."

The 19th of April, 1560, was the day of his death. When he was dying he found consolation from passages in the Bible, this especially, "As many as received him, to these gave he power to become sons of God." Then he repeated in an undertone these words from the last prayer of Christ, "that they may all be one, even as we are one." Attacked and maligned in his closing years, and tired of the unholy war, the old man felt a longing desire for an assured and peaceful

rest, and for a union with his Lord and Master, whom with truest love he had served all his days. Paul Eber and other godly men kneeled around his death-bed. To Peucer's question "whether he desired any thing," he replied "nothing but heaven; let me rest and pray. My time has almost come." In the evening, before seven o'clock, he passed away to his heavenly rest, on the 21st of April. He was buried in the Wittenberg castle church, by the side of Luther.

Note.—MELANCTHON'S LATIN GRAMMAR.—The indefatigable Strobel, in his "Contributions to Literature, with reference especially to the 16th century," has furnished a chapter on "Melancthon's grammatical labors and influence." In this we find a list of the various editions of the Latin grammar.

The first, brought out under the auspices of Geldstein, is of the year 1525. The fourth, according to Strobel, is that of 1529, as follows: "Gram. lat. P. Melancthonis ab authore nuper et aucta et recognita. Norembergae apud I. Petreium, 1529."

The following edition, of which I have a copy, Strobel has not mentioned: "Gram. lat. P. Mel. ab authore nuper aucta et recognita. Secunda editio. Parisiis ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1529." On the last page it reads: "Excudebat Rob. Stephanus, Par. anno 1529, XVI. Cal. Octobris." This is a reprint of the preceding edition, save that the syntax is omitted, and all German words are translated into corresponding terms in the French. For instance, in the sentence "Substantivum cui non potest addi *Mann*, *Weib*, *Ding* ut campus," Stephanus uses the words "*homme*, *femme*, *chose*.

Next in Strobel's enumeration is "Gram. P. Mel., Latina, jam denuo recognita et plerisque in locis locupletata. Nor. ab. I. Petreium, 1542." At the end of this edition, (a copy of which lies before me,) Strobel met with Melancthon's letter to Egenolph, as he says, "for the first time."

This letter was afterward repeatedly reprinted in various editions of the grammar, and likewise of the Declamations of Melancthon, and always under the date of 1540. It is somewhat singular that the letter of 1540 should not have appeared until 1542, and moreover that it should have appeared first in the edition of Petreius, while it is addressed to the bookseller Egenolph, at Frankfort, who himself published under his own imprint many editions of Melancthon's grammar. It is altogether probable that the revision of Micyllus first appeared from the press of Egenolph as early as 1540 or 1541, and was afterward reprinted or rather pirated by Petreius.

After Micyllus, Camerarius, aided by Bechius and Schengius, undertook the work of editing Melancthon's book.

Strobel gives the edition of 1552 as the first by Camerarius; I have an earlier one, however, of the year 1550, to which I have before adverted; the preface bears date,—Lipsiae, XIII. Calendas Octobris, 1550. In an issue of 1560, which lies before me, the same preface is reprinted word for word, though with an addition having reference to the chapter on orthography, then first introduced, and the edition is designated as the second, (recens editio.) This preface dates,—Lipsiae, Id. April, 1552.

While preparing the first edition of my history, I had only a copy of Camerarius before me, but none of Micyllus. And the expressions used by Camerarius in reference to his additions and those of his coadjutors led me to infer that the increased size of the grammar was chiefly owing to their labors. For instance, he says, "though Schengius may appear of his boundless diligence to have elaborated some points, with it may be an excess of care;" and again, "the grammar in its new form will be of service not merely to scholars, but to teachers likewise; and it has now reached that degree of perfection that nothing important remains to be added to it."

But the rector Schoenborn, of Breslau, after comparing the grammar of Micyllus with that of Camerarius, remarked, as the result of his comparison, that the latter agreed word for word with the former, save that passages from the old grammarians referred to by Micyllus or Melancthon were given in full,—quoted for the use of teachers.

I have since compared Camerarius' book with the editions of 1542 and 1546 of Micyllus, and have thereby been able to confirm this remark of Schoenborn; but as regards another of his observations, I may be permitted to differ from him. It is this: "Melancthon, in the letter to Egenolph, speaks as if the revision of Micyllus were completed. He says, 'I am rejoiced, my Egenolph, that Micyllus has undertaken (*instituisse*) this task of emendation, and in view of it I solicit the thanks of the young, both for you and Micyllus.' The high praise which Melancthon in this letter to Egenolph bestows upon the enlargement of the grammar, shews conclusively that he was not dissatisfied with the editor, though he deprecates at the same time any future increase in it."

Had Melancthon really the completed grammar of Micyllus before him, and if so, would he have praised the work, but said nothing in commendation of the workman? In that letter he says that he requested Micyllus to undertake the grammar; then he continues, "though I myself had sufficient time, yet I would prefer the criticism of Micyllus to my own." And further: "I am rejoiced that Micyllus has undertaken this task." Much, he implies, had been omitted in the first edition. "Although," he says, "it is desirable to add much, still a certain limit should be observed in the selection of examples, lest the young be intimidated by their extent. But I intrust this whole matter to the judgment and the faithfulness of Micyllus, and may God accept his earnest and devout labors."

These passages appear to me rather to prove that Micyllus was yet engaged upon the grammar, when Melancthon wrote to Egenolph. Perhaps he feared lest Micyllus, carried away by his love of learning, should overstep the limits of a school-grammar, and accordingly wrote this letter to serve indirectly as a caution to him.

VALENTINE FRIEDLAND TROTZENDORF.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

VALENTINE TROTZENDORF was the son of a farmer, Bernard Friedland by name, who lived in the village of Trotzendorf, near Gorlitz. He assumed the surname Trotzendorf, in remembrance of the place of his birth.

Born in 1490, he was seven years younger than Luther, and seven older than Melancthon. The monks induced his father to send him in 1506 to the school at Gorlitz; but he soon took him away, to help him at his work in the field. His mother, who greatly desired to see him a priest or a monk, persuaded the village pastor to instruct him in writing and reading. And after two years' time he went back to the Gorlitz school. At his departure, his mother exhorted him to be true to the duties of the school; and in after life he considered himself bound by this exhortation, as if it were his mother's vow, to assume the office of teacher.

When in 1513 Trotzendorf's father died of the plague, he sold his paternal inheritance and moved to Leipzic, where, during two years he perfected himself in Latin under Peter Mosellanus, and learned Greek from Richard Crocus. In 1516 he became a teacher in the Gorlitz school; here his fellow teachers as well as the scholars learned from him, and even the Rector took lessons in Greek from him.

Luther's appearance induced him, in 1518 to surrender his post as teacher, and to go to Wittenburg, where he remained for five years. Here he took lessons in Hebrew from a converted Jew, named Adrian. And he here formed a most intimate acquaintance with Melancthon, for whom throughout his life he continued to testify the greatest respect.

In the year 1523, Helmrich, a university friend of Trotzendorf's, was chosen Rector of the Goldberg school, and through his influence Trotzendorf was invited to become his colleague. And when, in the following year, Helmrich obtained another post, Trotzendorf was made Rector in his stead. Affairs of church—the reformatory discussion of Dr. J. Hess at Breslau, in which Trotzendorf took an active part, and Schwenkfeld's evil influence in Liegnitz, against which he made a vigorous defense—would appear at that time to have stood in the way of an active prosecution of his legitimate calling

In the year 1527 he was called to Liegnitz to a Professorship in a new university, which institution was then rather an unformed project than a perfect organization; but he left the place in 1529 and returned to Wittenburg. And now in a short time the Goldberg school was completely broken up; but, at the pressing solicitation of Helmrich, who had risen to be Mayor of Goldberg, Trotzendorf, in 1531, resumed the post of Rector there, which office he filled with honor and dignity for five and twenty years. His school soon acquired an extraordinary renown. Scholars poured in upon him, not merely from Silesia, but from Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Hungary and Poland: to have had him for a teacher, was the best of recommendations.

Trotzendorf adopted quite a peculiar organization. His school was divided into six classes, and each class into tribes. The scholars too, he associated in the government with himself, by appointing some to be Oeconomi, others Ephori, and others again, Quaestors. The Oeconomi were to oversee the household arrangements, as, for example, that all should rise in the morning or retire at night at the set time, that the rooms, clothes, etc., should be kept in good order, etc. It was the duty of the Ephori to see that order was observed at the table. Finally, each tribe had its Quaestor, and all these Quaestors were made subject to one supreme Quaestor. Those were chosen weekly, this one monthly; on laying down their office they delivered Latin orations. The Quaestors were expected to secure a punctual attendance on lessons, to report the indolent, to give out subjects for the Latin debates customary during the half-hour after meal time.

Trotzendorf moreover established a school magistracy. This consisted of a consul chosen monthly by himself, twelve senators and two censors. Had a scholar committed any fault, he was obliged to justify himself before this Senate, and in order to do it the better, he was allowed eight days in which to prepare his plea. At the trial Trotzendorf presided as perpetual dictator. If the accused party cleared himself from the charge, he was acquitted, especially when he delivered a well framed plea; but if his speech was good for nothing in point of style, he was condemned even for a trivial misdemeanor. And Trotzendorf repeated the decree of the Senate in such cases with great solemnity, and insisted strongly on its fulfillment.

These singular regulations had the good effect of accustoming the boys early in life to have respect to the civil government. A similar tendency may be observed in the laws which Trotzendorf established in his school. In the introduction to these laws, he says: "Those men will rule conformably to the laws, who, when boys, learn to obey

the laws." These school-laws are characteristic of the man. He first lays down these five principles:

1. *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.* Here, where scholars are assembled from all countries, all must be governed equally and alike.

2. *Factus tribulus serva legem,* was a Lacedaemonian proverb. And here too must those favored by fortune as well as the base-born, so long as they are scholars, conform to the laws. The pupil is no longer the nobleman.

3. According to the degree of their demerit, the scholars are to be punished with the rod, the lyre,* or imprisonment. Those who, either on account of noble descent, or years, shrink from the disgrace of these punishments, must either do right and thus not come under sentence, or leave our school, and seek freedom to do as they please elsewhere. Fines are never to be imposed in any case, since they affect parents rather than children.

4. Every new comer, before being enrolled among the scholars, must first promise to obey the laws of the school.

5. The members of our school must be members likewise of our faith and our church.

The first chapter of the school-laws treats of piety. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom"—this is the opening sentence. A clear knowledge of Christian doctrine is required, together with prayer, church-going, confession, taking the communion, diligence and obedience; while swearing, cursing, foul language, the practice of magic, with every superstition, are forbidden.

In regard to instruction, Trotzendorf's school agreed in the main with other schools of that period. It was based upon the customary *trivium*, grammar, logic and rhetoric.

In Trotzendorf's German School Regulations of 1548, it is laid down as the aim of his school "to prepare boys to enter upon the study of the higher faculties, as theology, medicine, philosophy, and jurisprudence." To accomplish this aim, "in the first place, grammar, inasmuch as it is the mother and nurse of all other arts, must be pursued with the most thorough-going diligence. Therewith should be combined useful readings from good authors, such as Terence or Plautus, and Cicero, the epistles and offices chiefly. Thus boys, being guided into the Latin tongue both by rule and by example, will learn to speak Latin and to write it with equal propriety.

* The lyre, *lyra* or *fidicula*, was made of wood in the shape of a violin, and furnished with strings. Triflers were disgraced by being made to stand with this about their neck, and their hands passed through it and fastened.

Next should come reading from the poets, as Virgil, and some books of Ovid, so that the boys may comprehend metre, and learn to construct verses." "Every week there should be a common exercise in writing letters in Latin, and every week, likewise, a common theme should be versified by the whole school." The Latin school-code provides that the scholars, in these exercises, "should use no phrase before ascertaining in what author it occurs, and whether it is sufficiently elegant and appropriate;" also that "they should never use the mother tongue; but with teachers, fellow-scholars or other learned persons, speak in Latin alone." In a poetical eulogium on the Goldberg school, cited by Pinzger, we are told that "none were permitted to speak German there, so that the boys came gradually to regard their mother tongue as a foreign language." Still stronger expressions occur in a eulogium on Trotzendorf: "He had so thoroughly infused the Roman tongue into all the neighborhood, that it was deemed a disgrace to utter even a word of German; and, could you have heard the Latin accents that poured from the tongues even of plough-boys and dairy-maids, you would have thought 'surely Goldberg is within the borders of Latium.'"*

To speak and to write Latin was the universal ideal of that era, and hence, among the authors to be read, Terence and Plautus were deemed the most important. In addition to Latin, Greek grammar and readings from Greek authors were prescribed. Logic and rhetoric were likewise classed among regular studies, as we learn from the German School Plan above cited. "Trotzendorf exercised his scholars in the art of speaking, and that of thinking likewise. Logic was never intermitted by him, and he prepared his scholars for excellence in rhetoric, by a frequent study of the speeches in Livy, and those of Cicero." Music and arithmetic are likewise named in the School Plan, though without being enlarged upon. Lectures were read, on the Sphere of Sacro Bosco, by a "*Sphaerista*," and on the principles of moral and natural philosophy, by a "*Magister*." Religious instruction was given by Trotzendorf himself, with faithfulness and solemnity, and he read with his scholars the epistles of Paul, as well as portions of the Old Testament in the original.

The instruction of the upper classes he at first took entirely upon himself, nor did he employ assistant teachers until many years had elapsed; but the lower classes he committed to the charge of older scholars.

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* Atque ita Romanam linguam transfudit in omnes,
Turpe ut haberetur, Teutonico ore loqui.
Audisses famulos famulasque Latina sonare,
Goldbergam in Latio crederes esse sitam.

And here we can not fail to be struck with the quite peculiar character of Trotzendorf's educational system. Schools, in general, will be found to consist of two sharply defined and distinct bodies,—teachers on the one hand, and pupils on the other. The teachers are learned, the pupils ignorant; the former impart knowledge, the latter receive it; those dictate and these obey. This sharp division, Trotzendorf rendered impossible, both in discipline and instruction. In instruction, for while he himself taught the older scholars in the higher classes, he appointed these same scholars teachers of the lower classes, that they, too, might learn by teaching. This reminds us of the monitorial system of the present day, and perhaps Trotzendorf, like Lancaster, was first led to adopt this plan from the impossibility of giving his personal attention to a large number. He found the need of scholars to aid him, both in oversight and instruction, as the resources of the school were too slender to admit of his hiring an adequate body of sub-teachers.*

But if we look more closely into this plan, it will appear not merely to have been adopted from the necessities of the case, but, at the same time to have been the organic outgrowth of a principle. Trotzendorf's school appears to have been a republic, where all the scholars, noble and obscure, were alike and unconditionally subject to the laws: he himself was *Dictator in perpetuo* over this republic. And his authority was rendered secure and universally effective by the fact that he delegated to the scholars themselves, though ever under his supreme direction, a share in the government, and made them moreover responsible for law and order. He thus rendered impossible that absolute hostility which is so often cherished by a firmly united band of scholars toward a too often divided corps of teachers. The many scholars, who, as teachers, *ephori*, *oeconomi*, *quaestors*, senators, censors and consuls, assisted in the government, formed an intermediate body between the teachers and the scholars, and by their mutual relations to each disarmed that hostility, and paralyzed its power.

Whatever judgment we may pass upon Trotzendorf's regulations, still we are warranted, from what we know of his character, in concluding, that he would not permit those regulations to degenerate into a mere round of lifeless observances. He was a genuine dictator, and, as Melancthon says of him, born to the government of a school, as truly as was the elder Scipio Africanus to the command of an

*About the year 1547, at the death of Frederick II., Duke of Liegnitz, there were but six teachers employed, quite an inadequate number for the size of the school. Trotzendorf was wont to say:—"If he should muster all his scholars together, he could present the emperor with quite a respectable army to fight the Turks." Still, strange to say, we have no more precise information on the subject.

army. Yea, he was more than a dictator, since by the exercise of a Christian faith, and a warm and active love, he secured the *affections* of his pupils.

With his views of study we are not disposed to quarrel, for, though he aimed to make Goldberg a second Latium, he did no more than his contemporaries were continually doing around him. Neither do we censure him for his sentiments respecting physical education, although we can not entirely agree with him therein. It is stated of him that he did not *insist* upon exercise, but simply *permitted* it. And yet he would look on while the boys were wrestling or running, praising the active and skillful, and rebuking the indolent and awkward. However, one of the laws of the school forbade the boys to bathe in cold water in the summer time, and to go upon the ice, or to throw snow-balls in the winter. Surely such a law as this would have been disregarded in ancient Rome, and in ancient Germany too!

In the closing years of his life, the worthy old man experienced many misfortunes. In 1552 there was a great famine in Goldberg, and in 1553 the place was swept by a pestilence. During this period he taught the few scholars who remained with him, in the upper gallery of the church, as he thought the air purer at that elevation. Already earlier, in 1549, a crushing sorrow had cast its dark shadow across his path. Three of his pupils, Karl Promnitz, Jonas Talkwitz, and Wolfgang Keppel, were making merry over their wine in the Goldberg wine-cellar, when a drunken watchman staggered in upon them, and, without saying a word, took a full cup off from the table, and drank it down. Enraged at his impudence, Promnitz hurled an empty glass at him, and, without designing it, wounded him in the head. The watchman accused them before the court, and thereupon the three young men were imprisoned, and their case carried before Frederick III., Duke of Liegnitz. He summoned them to Liegnitz, and without listening to their defense, or entering into any examination of the case, condemned them to death. Promnitz alone, at the intercession of the Bishop of Breslau, who was his cousin, was pardoned, but the two others, who had committed no crime at all, were beheaded upon the Monday next following the feast of the Three Martyr Kings.

In 1554, the year after the pestilence, a great conflagration laid a large part of Goldberg in ashes, and Trotzendorf's school house among the rest. He then went with his scholars to Liegnitz, and while there took measures to rebuild his school upon the old site. But he was never permitted to return thither. On the 20th of April, 1556, he was expounding the 23d Psalm, and as he came to the

words, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me;" he was suddenly seized with apoplexy. He sank back, gazed up to heaven, and spake these words, the last he ever uttered;*—"My friends, now am I called away to another school." He lingered speechless for five days, but retained his consciousness to the last. He died on the 25th of April, at the age of 66, and was buried on the 29th, in the church of St. John. His remains were followed to the tomb by high and low; men of princely rank uniting with peasants in paying respect to his memory. Abraham Bock erected his monument. But it was destroyed in 1699, when, by order of the Emperor Leopold, the church of St. John was given to the Jesuits.

Trotzendorf died unmarried. With a small income, and a benevolent disposition, he always remained poor. The few writings which we have from his pen, were first issued after his decease, and by some of his grateful pupils. The following is a list of the same:

1. Catachesis scholae Goltpergensis scripta a Valentino Trocedorfio cum praefacione Phil. Melancth. Vitebergae, 1561.

The preface is dated, 1558, two years after Trotzendorf's death.

2. Precationes V. Trocedorfii recitatae in schola Goltbergensi, Lipsiae, 1581.

3. Rosarium scholae Trocedorfii. Viteb. 1568.

4. Methodi doctrinae catacheticae. Gorlic, 1570.

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*Dr. Stevens, in his "*History of the Public High School of Edinburg*," makes the following record of the last illness and death of Dr. Adam, for forty years Rector of that institution.

"On the 13th of December, 1809, Dr. Adam was seized, in the High School, with an apopleotic affection. He lingered five days under the disease. Amidst the wanderings of mind that accompanied it, he was continually reverting to the business of the class, and addressing the pupils; and in the last hour of his life, as he fancied himself examining on the lesson of the day, he stopped short, and said: "But it grows dark, boys, you may go," and almost immediately expired."—Ed.

LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF JOHN STURM.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.*

JOHN STURM, or Sturmius, as his name was latinized, one of the best classical scholars and school teachers of his time, was born at Schleiden, in the Eiffel, near Cologne, in 1507. His father was steward to Count Manderscheid, with whose sons the young John was educated until his fourteenth year, when he went to the school of the Hieronymians† at Liege, and thence, in 1524, to the University of Louvain, where he spent three years in studying, and two more in teaching. Of his parents and early teachers he ever spoke with gratitude and veneration, and his mother he characterizes as a "superior woman." Among his fellow-students was Sleidanus, the historian, and Andreas Bersalius, the anatomist.

In connection with Rudiger Rescius, the professor of Greek at Louvain, Sturm established a printing press, from which Homer and other Greek and Roman classics were issued. With copies of these books for sale, and for use by students, he removed to Paris, in 1529, where he studied medicine, read public lectures on logic, and the Greek and Roman classics, was married, and had private scholars from Germany, England, and Italy. Here he established a high reputation as a scholar and teacher, and corresponded with Erasmus, Melancthon, Bucer, and others. Such was his reputation as a classical scholar and teacher that, when the magistrates of the city of Strasburg‡ decided

Geschichte der Pädagogik. The biographical portion of Von Raumer's chapter is abridged, and that portion which treats of the theological controversies of the times, and particularly of the differences between the German, and the Swiss, and French reformers, with the former of whom Sturm sympathized, and to some extent coöperated, is altogether omitted. Sturm was avowedly a Lutheran, and the Calvinists charged him with absenting himself from the communion table and from church for twenty years.

† The Hieronymians were a regular order of canons, or clergy, employed in teaching, founded by Gerhard Grovte, in 1373. They wore a white dress, with black scapula, and were most numerous and efficient in the Netherlands, where they originated. They were also known as Hieronymites, Hermits of St. Hieronymus, Collatian Brothers, Gregorians, or Brethren of Good Will. The instruction in their schools was partly elementary and partly classical. Their scholars learned to copy MSS., to read and write, were diligently drilled in speaking Latin, and in the study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and a few of the classics, especially Cicero. See *Raumer, Hist. of Ped.*, Vol. I. p. 64: Cramer, *Hist. of Ed. in the Netherlands*, p. 260, et seq. It was at Liege, from the Hieronymians, that Sturm received the educational principle which he afterward embodied in his own school at Strasburg, "Pietas sapiens et eloquens est finis studiorum."

‡ A theological school was proposed in 1501, but not established till 1534. In 1524, a n mber

to establish a gymnasium, he was earnestly solicited to organize and conduct it as Rector. He accordingly, in 1537, removed to that city where he labored for forty-five years as a teacher, and, by his example, correspondence and publications, was greatly influential in introducing a better organization and methods of instruction into the schools of Europe. His plan of organizing a gymnasium or classical school was drawn up in 1538, and published under the title of "*The best mode of opening institutions of learning.*" The development of this plan was exhibited in Letters which he addressed to the teachers of the various classes of his Gymnasium, in 1565, and in an account of the examination of the school, published in 1578.

On the 7th of December, 1581, by a decree of the city council, Sturm was deposed from the Rectorate, "on account of his advanced age, and for other reasons," viz.: publishing a pamphlet, in which he opposed the dominant religious majority in some of the theological disputes of the day. He was soon after attacked with blindness, and, worn out by the labors of a toilsome life, and weakened by age, and pinched by poverty incurred by his generosity to those who fled to him from persecution, he died in 1589, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Gallus, in Strasburg.

Sturm was a man of medium size, dark and ruddy complexion, firm features, long beard, clear and well-modulated voice, honorable presence, and a somewhat slow gait. He was amiable and dignified, in conversation earnest and courteous, in action decided and prompt, and industrious both in his public and private relations. He was ever keeping pace with those about him, learning Hebrew, for instance, in his fifty-ninth year, and inspiring his teachers with his own enthusiasm. He enjoyed the respect of the emperors Charles V., Ferdinand I., and Maximilian II., as well as of Queen Elizabeth, of England. His fame as a teacher and educator was European, and his school was a Normal School of classical instruction. His pupils were among the "men of mark" throughout Germany. At one time there were two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes under his instruction; and, besides organizing directly many classical schools, his pupils rose to be head-masters of many more, and his principles were embodied in the School Code of Wurtemberg in 1559, and in that of Saxony in 1580, and in the educational system of the Jesuits.

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of elementary schools were instituted, which were placed under the direction of school inspectors, of whom the preacher, James Sturm, was one, and through whose influence John Sturm was induced to remove to Strasburg. The gymnasium organized in 1537 was endowed with the privileges of a College, in 1567, by Emperor Maximilian II., and John Sturm was appointed its Rector *in perpetuo.*

STURM'S SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION.

Whoever clearly conceives a distinct object of pursuit, and brings perseverance, intelligence and tact to bear upon its attainment, will be sure, at least, to do something worthy of note; and especially so, when, at the same time, he falls in with the tendency and the sentiments of the age in which he lives. This is, above all, true of school reformers. If they know not what they would have, if they have no definite aim in view, it is impossible for us to speak with any propriety of the methods which they may have taken to reach their aim. Their course is wavering and uncertain, and they inspire distrust instead of confidence. But Sturm was no wavering, undecided, purposeless man. With firm step he advanced toward the realization of a definitely conceived ideal; an ideal, too, which, in greater or less distinctness, floated before the minds of most of his contemporaries, and which was regarded by them as the highest aim of mental culture. Hence, he enjoyed a widely extended and an unquestioning confidence. This, his ideal, Sturm has defined for us in numerous passages; and it is our first duty to examine it, if we wish to judge of his method.

"The end to be accomplished by teaching," says he, "is three-fold; embracing piety, knowledge and the art of speaking." In another place, he expresses himself thus; "A wise and persuasive piety should be the aim of our studies. But, were all pious, then the student should be distinguished from him who is unlettered, by scientific culture and by eloquence, (*ratione et oratione.*) Hence, knowledge, and purity and elegance of diction, should become the aim of scholarship, and toward its attainment both teachers and pupils should sedulously bend their every effort." What description of knowledge, and what species of eloquence Sturm had in view, we shall now proceed to inquire.

The boy should be sent to school,—so he insists,—in his sixth or seventh year. His school education proper should occupy nine years, or until he is sixteen; it should then be succeeded by a more independent style of culture. Lectures should be substituted for recitation, and that for five years, or until he is in his twenty-first year.

The Gymnasium included nine classes, corresponding with the nine years that the pupil was to spend there. Seven of these years Sturm assigned to a thorough mastery of pure, idiomatic Latin; the two that remained were devoted to the acquisition of an elegant style; and to learn to speak with the utmost readiness and propriety, was the problem of the five collegiate years. During the first seven years

of the child's life, he was to be left in the care of his mother. Every year the scholars in the lower classes were to be promoted, each into the next higher class, and premiums were to be awarded to the two best scholars in each class.

Thus, Sturm expressed himself, in 1537, in the "Plan," on which he organized his school, in which he gives a full sketch of the course of study to be pursued by each class. And, the arrangement, thus previously indicated, was essentially the same after the lapse of twenty-seven years, save that the Gymnasium then embraced ten classes, instead of nine. This appears from the "Classic Letters" which, in 1565, Sturm wrote to the teachers of the various classes. Forty years after the foundation of the Gymnasium, in 1578, a general examination took place, the particulars of which were recorded with the faithful minuteness of a protocol. And this, again, as well as the "Classic Letters," harmonizes, in the main, with Sturm's original plan of instruction. And, in all this, the observation forces itself upon us that, as he proposed to himself a well-marked and distinct aim at the outset of his career, so he advanced toward that aim through all those long years with an iron will and a steady step.

I will now give Sturm's course of instruction in detail, on the authority chiefly of the report above mentioned of the examination of the school, and of the "Classic Letters." We will commence, following the order of the "Letters," with the exercises of the tenth or lowest class, and so proceed to the first.

Tenth Class.—To Frisius, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he is to lay the foundation; to teach the children the form and the correct pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, and, after that, reading; which will be better expedited by learning Latin declensions and conjugations than by the use of the catechism. The German catechism must be committed to memory, for the Latin would be a mere matter of rote. The love of the children will reward him for his pains; as he himself (Sturm) can testify from his own grateful recollections of his earliest teachers. At the examination, (in 1578,) the first scholar in the ninth class put the following questions to the first scholar in the tenth.

Q. What have you learned in the tenth class?

A. Letters, spelling, reading and writing, all the paradigms of nouns and verbs, and the German catechism likewise.

Q. Read me something from the *Neanisci* of our Rector.

A. *An tu non es Lucius socius studiorum meorum, qui modo a me e foro discesseras?*

Q. What is the meaning of *socius?*

A. A companion.

Q. Decline *socius.*

A. *Socius, socii, socio,* etc.

Q. What is the meaning of *discedo?*

A. I go away.
Q. Conjugate *discedo.*
A. *Discedo, discedere,* etc.
Q. To what conjugation does *discedo* belong?
A. That I have not learned.

NINTH CLASS.—To Schirner, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he is to ground the scholar more thoroughly in declining and conjugating, adding all the anomalous and irregular forms. Then, too, he must see that the scholars learn a great number of Latin words, particularly the appellations of common and familiar objects. Of such words, he must every day give a few to one scholar, a few to another, and so on, to commit to memory; only taking care not to select words at random, but in their natural groups, as organic systems, each formed upon a distinct and independent idea. Thus, too, each boy, by listening to the words which the others repeat, will himself the more readily fasten them in his own mind.

This method of enriching the memory with words, Sturm says, he should have introduced twenty-seven years before, had it been appreciated. How was it that Roman youths, at so early an age, learned to express themselves with ease and propriety? They prattled in Latin on their mother's breast; the nurses, in whose care they were placed, talked to them in infantile dialect in broken Latin; and this, as they grew older, was gradually corrected. And then the children were continually learning new words from the household servants, who played with them, not simply to amuse them, but likewise to exercise them in speaking Latin. To this we must add their daily intercourse with their companions, in which the older boys derived an ever increasing knowledge, both of words and things. All this the youth of the present day lack entirely, as neither parents, domestics, nor comrades speak Latin. "This evil," continues Sturm, "must be removed by the diligent efforts of the teacher, and in the way which I have indicated." In another place he repeats the same complaint. "Cicero," he says, "was but twenty years old when he delivered his speeches in behalf of P. Quintius and Sextius Roscius; but, in these latter days, where is the man, of fourscore even, who could bequeath to the world such masterpieces of eloquence? And yet, there are books enough, and there is intellect enough. What, then, do we need further? I reply, the Latin language, and a correct method of teaching. Both these we must have, before we can arrive at the summit of eloquence." In conclusion, Sturm implores Schirner not to undervalue, for a moment, his labors with the elementary class; but, to stand up as a champion against those gladiators of barbarism who from indolence have corrupted, or from envy have withstood, the purity of the Latin tongue.

At the examination, the first in the eighth class asked the first in the ninth, as follows.

Q. To what conjugation does *discedo* belong?

A. To the third, because it makes e short before re in the infinitive.

Q. To what class does *discedo* belong?

A. It is a neuter verb.

Q. What is a neuter verb?

A. A neuter verb is, &c.

Q. Decline the imperative of *discedo.*

A. *Discede, discedito,* etc.

Q. What else have you learned in the ninth class?

A. Besides the German catechism, I have committed to memory the *Second Onomasticon,* and translated the *Neanisci* of our Rector into German.

Q. Translate the dialogue that has just been rehearsed.

A. *An tu non es Lucius,* Are you not Lucius; *socius studiorum meorum,* my school-fellow; *qui,* who; *discesseras,* went; *a me,* from me; *modo,* just now; *e foro,* at the market place.

Q. To which of the parts of speech does *modo* belong?

A. I do not know; for the indeclinables are not taught in my class.

Eighth Class.—To Matthias Huebner, teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That it must be his especial care that the boys forget nothing they have learned in the lower classes. And what they have there learned he can best ascertain by consulting their prescribed school-books, which in all the classes are most faithfully conformed to.

The boys, who have been promoted from the ninth into the eighth class, must be able to inflect all the nouns and verbs. This they will have learned more by practice than in a scientific manner, just as the Roman and Greek boys were exercised in language before the grammarians gave them the reasons why they ought to speak as they did. Moreover, the boys in the next lower class had learned by heart many short sayings and sentences; but, since in these no very wide range of words occurred, they were enjoined to compile dictionaries, and to enter therein all the common and necessary words under distinct heads, such heads for instance as the following, the *whole* and its *parts, friendship* and *enmity, cause* and *effect,* etc. These dictionaries must now, in the eighth class, be increased and enlarged; if the boys have before fixed in their minds the definition of *epistola,* they will now learn what is meant by the phrase *epistolam reddere,* etc. As the boys in the lower classes have learned by practice how to decline and conjugate, so now they must be thoroughly grounded in all the eight parts of speech, and each declension and conjugation must be fully and distinctly characterized, and illustrated by examples drawn from that which they have already learned.

Besides this, they are to read the select letters of Cicero with constant reference to the grammatical construction of the language; and, in such reading, different letters are to be assigned to the different *decuriae.**

* The classes were subdivided into *decuriae,* or tens; the first in each *ten* was called the *decurion.*

During the last months of their school-year, the boys of this class are to commence a series of exercises in style, which will take the place of their previous oral practice in the formation of new, or the alteration of given Latin phrases.

At the examination, the first scholar in the seventh class put to the first scholar in the eighth class the following questions, beginning as before with the last of the preceding series.

Q. Tell me, to which of the parts of speech *modo* belongs.

A. It is an adverb of time.

Q. What is an adverb?

A. It is an indeclinable part of speech, &c.

Q. How many indeclinable parts of speech are there?

A. Four, &c., &c.

Q. What else have you learned in your class?

A. Besides a fuller etymology, we have read the first book of the select letters of Cicero, the fourth dialogue in the *Neanisci*, the last part of the *Second Onomasticon*, and the German Catechism.

Q. Read a letter from Cicero.

A. *Cicero filius Tironi* S. P. D. *Etsi justa et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis*, etc., etc.

Q. Translate what you have read.

A. *Etsi usus es*, although you have offered; *excusatione justa*, a just apology, etc.

Q. To what part of speech do you refer *idonea?*

A. It is an adjective; in the ablative case, and singular number.

Q. How do you form its comparative?

A. By prefixing *magis; magis idoneus.*

Q. By what rule do we say *uti excusatione?*

A. Syntax is not taught in my class.

Seventh Class.—Sturm writes to Lingelsheim, the teacher of this class, "It must be his care that the scholars do not lose any thing of that which they have learned in the three preceding classes; and then that they should add to what they have already learned;—in the first place, Latin syntax. This must contain but few rules, must be clear, and set forth by examples, and that chiefly from Cicero. In the daily reading of Cicero's letters, the rules of syntax, through constant use, must be more and more impressed on the memory. Pliny says that we must read much, but not many things; in this class, however, many things must be read, in order to arrive at much.

Subjects must be assigned to the scholars for their exercises in style; but, in the treatment of such subjects, conciseness must be aimed at. The teacher should render assistance in this matter, either orally or by writing, (on the blackboard,) constructing sentences beforehand, as music-teachers sing first what they wish their pupils to learn. The subjects are to be drawn from what the scholars have learned in this or the previous classes, so that the exercise in style shall involve a repetition, and thus refresh the memory. And, for such an exercise on Sundays, the German Catechism is to be translated. This translation must be made in classical Latin, such words alone excepted as

have been authorized by the church, as *Trinitas, sacramentum, baptismus*, etc. The scholars in this class should, by no means, use any other catechism than that which they have had before in the lower classes.

At the examination, the first in the sixth class, asked the first in the seventh:

Q. By what rule do we say *idonea uti excusatione?*

A. *Utor, fruor, fungor*, etc.

Q. *Excusatione idonea?*

A. Adjectives, pronouns and participles, etc.

Q. *Excusatione intermissionis?*

A. One substantive governs another, etc.

Q. What else do you learn in your class?

A. We read two dialogues in the *Neanisci* of our Rector, the second book of the select letters of Cicero, the "Precepts" of Cato, the catechism, and the "Sunday Sermons;" and, in the first book of music, we learn the scale and intervals. Also, in my class, exercises in style are commenced.

Q. Read a sentence from Cato.

A. *Disce aliquid, nam quum subito fortuna recedit.*
Ars remanet vitamque hominis non deserit unquam.

Q. Translate this distich.

A. *Disce aliquid*, learn something; *nam*, for; *cum fortuna recedit*, when fortune fails, etc,

Q. *Disce aliquid;* what is the rule for this construction?

A. A verb signifying actively, etc.

Q. For *cum subito recedit?*

A. Adverbs qualify verbs, etc.

Q. Read something in Greek.

A. I have not read any Greek in my class.

SIXTH CLASS.—To Malleolus, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That, from the examination of the scholars of the seventh class for their promotion, he has learned their progress. He is to consider that to keep what has been acquired is no less an art than the first acquisition of it. The longer letters of Cicero may now be translated into German, and in such an order that different letters shall be assigned to different *decuriae*. And, in a similar manner, he is to proceed with poetical selections. The first *decurion*, for example, may repeat the "*Veni redemptor gentium*" of Bishop Ambrose; the second, Martial's epigram, "*Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem;*" the third, the ode of Horace, commencing with "*Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum,*" for the teacher to translate and explain. Then each of the three may require a similar translation and explanation of the other scholars. In the writing exercises, pains is to be taken to arrive at a greater elegance of style.

Saturdays and Sundays are to be devoted to the translation of the catechism, and to the reading of some letters of Hieronymus.

Greek, moreover, is to be commenced in this class.

At the examination, the first in the fifth class asked the first in the sixth as follows:

Q. Read a fable from the Greek of Æsop.

A. Ἔλαφος και Λέων.
Ἔλαφος κυνηγους φευγουσα, etc.

Q. Decline ἔλαφος.

A. Ὁ και ἡ ἔλαφος, etc.

Q. What is Φευγουσα?

A. A participle, from φευγω; future, φευξω.

Q. What have you read in Latin?

A. The last two books of the select letters of Cicero, the Andria of Terence, the first book of poetry, the *Syntaxis Figurata*, the shorter Latin catechism of Luther, and the Sunday Sermons. In music, we have attended to the science of time.

Q. Read something from the fifth book of the *Tristia* of Ovid.

A. *Littora quot conchas, quot amoena rosaria flores*
Quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet, etc.

Q. *Littora*, etc. What kind of construction is this?

A. It is a zeugma; for the verb agrees in number with the nearest nominative, etc.

Q. How does zeugma differ from syllepsis?

A. In syllepsis, the adjective or verb agrees with the most important word; but, in zeugma, with the nearest.

Q. *Conchas*; what is the quantity of its first syllable?

A. The quantity of syllables is not taught in the sixth class.

Fifth Class.—Sturm writes to Bitner, the teacher of this class, that the boys come to him well versed in grammar, provided with a store of Latin words for every-day objects, the German appellations for which had become familiar to them beforehand. But now, in the fifth class, objects entirely unknown to the boys, and words, designating such objects, also equally unknown to them, are to be brought forward. Since they have as yet heard nothing relative to the art of poetry, they are now to be made acquainted with metre, with the quantity of syllables, and with the varieties of feet and of verses, and metrical examples are to be given to them. And further, they must learn mythology; and, in addition to Cicero's Cato and Laelius, must read the Eclogues of Virgil. Instruction in Greek is to be continued. The boys are to learn the Greek words for virtues and vices, for manners, practices and customs, etc., and also to complete their encyclopædias of Latin words.

Style, too, is to be more thoroughly cultivated. And, toward the close of the school-year, they must practice the art of making verses; not, however, by composing poems upon given subjects, so much as by restoring the meter to stanzas that have been disarranged for the purpose. In this there is no occasion either for invention or for a choice of words; they are simply to put the words given them in their proper places.

It will be a good exercise to give the scholars some example of eloquence to translate into German, and then to make them reproduce it, extempore, in Latin again; for, in such case, the Roman orator himself, instead of the teacher, will act the part of prompter. Saturdays and Sundays one of the shorter Pauline epistles is to be interpreted.

At the examination, the first in the fourth class repeated the

question which the first in the sixth class could not answer; but directed it, as well as the succeeding questions, to the first in the fifth.

Q. What is the quantity of the first syllable of the word *conchas?*
A. It is long, by position. Position is, etc.
Q. What is the quantity of the last syllable of *littora?*
A. It is short, by the rule, etc.
Q. What sort of a foot is *littora?*
A. A dactyle: because the first syllable is long, the last two short.
Q. How many kinds of feet are there?
A. Three; those of two, three and four syllables, respectively.
Q. What do we construct out of such feet?
A. A poem or verse.
Q. What is a verse?
A. A metrical whole constructed of separate feet
Q. What have you read besides in Latin?
A. Some of Cicero's letters to his friends, the first and second Eclogues of Virgil, the second book of poetry, and the shorter Latin catechism of Luther.
Q. What have you read in Greek?
A. The second part of the "Instruction in the Greek tongue," and the Sunday Sermons.
Q. What is the perfect tense of φεύγω?
A. πέφευχα.
Q. Why do you not say φέφευχα, as λέλεχα from λέγω?
A. Because, when the verb begins with a rough mute, the reduplication takes the corresponding smooth.
Q. What is the Second Aorist of φεύγω?
A. ἔφυγον, formed from the imperfect, ἔφευγον, by rejecting the first vowel of the diphthong.
Q. Conjugate ἵστημι.
A. ἵστημι, etc.
Q. Conjugate the anomalous verb ἵσημι.
A. The anomalous verbs and the Attic tenses, the teacher of the fifth class has not explained.

FOURTH CLASS.—To Laurence Engler, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he receives the boys from the fifth class well grounded in Latin and Greek grammar, provided with a good store of choice words, and familiar with illustrations drawn from poets, and with a greater number still from orators. With all this in view, he must now see to it that the boys exert themselves to their utmost in listening, in interpreting, and in rehearsing from memory; but he must be careful, at the same time, not to task them beyond their powers. The sixth oration against Verres, which includes nearly all kinds of narration, must be read; further, the epistles and satires of Horace; and, in Greek, together with the grammar, the "Book of Examples." That which has been learned, in the preceding classes, must be repeatedly recalled into the memory. Diligent practice must be bestowed on style; and, on Saturdays and Sundays, the shorter Pauline epistles are to be read by the boys, who are to explain them as they read, but in the plain manner of paraphrase alone.

At the examination, the first of the third class asked the first of the fourth as follows:

Q. Conjugate ἵσημι.
A. ἵσημι, ἵσης, etc.
Q. How is it in the middle voice?
A. ἵσαμαι, and by epenthesis, ἵσταμαι, from whence comes ἐπίσταμαι, I know.

Q. What have you interpreted in Greek?

A. Æsop's fables, and, on Sundays, the first epistle to Timothy.

Q. Repeat a Greek sentence to me.

A. *Τῶν νέων οἱ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι, οὐ μεμπτοί εἰσιν, ὅταν αὐτοὺς οἱ γονεῖς οὕτως ἀγάνωσιν*, which means, etc.

Q. In what mood and tense is *ἀγάγωσιν*?

A. In the second aorist, subjunctive, from *ἄγω*; whose second aorist is *ἦγον*, or, by Attic epenthesis, *ἤγαγον*.

Q. How many metaplasms occur in *ἀγάγωσιν*?

A. Two; epenthesis and paragoge.

Q. What is paragoge?

A. The addition of a letter or a syllable to the end of a word, as *τουτονι* for *τοῦτον*, or *laudarier* for *laudari*.

Q. What Latin have you studied?

A. The Eclogues of Virgil, some odes of Horace, the second book of Cicero's "Letters to Friends," and his speech in behalf of Marcus Marcellus; also, a part of the Adelphi of Terence.

Q. Repeat something out of Horace.

A. *Integer vitae scelerisque purus*
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis
Fusce pharetra.

Q. To what species of verse does this ode belong?

A. It is called *dicolon tetrastrophon*; *dicolon*, because two kinds of verse unite in its formation, namely, the Sapphic, of five feet, in the first three lines, and the Adonic, of two feet in the last line: and *tetrastrophon*, because the ode recurs, after every fourth line, to the same kind of verse with which it commenced.

Q. What figure is exemplified in *eget*?

A. A zeugma of speech.

Q. How does this differ from a zeugma of construction?

A. It is a zeugma of speech when the meaning of a verb or an adjective is applicable to every thing to which it is referred; as, in this sentence from Horace, *Linquenda tellus et domus et placens uxor*. But, if such meaning is not applicable to every thing, then a zeugma of syntax or construction is witnessed; as, for example, in the following:

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytus errans et Danai genus
Infame, damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Æolides laboris.

Q. Have you attended, also, to tropes?

A. No; our teacher has not told us any thing of them.

Third Class.—To Boschius, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he should not only give to the boys a firm hold on what they have already learned, but should extend the range of their studies; should open to them the graces of rhetoric, such as tropes, figures, etc., illustrating all by examples. The treatise of Herennius on rhetoric must be laid before them, and, with it, the speech for Cluentius must be read; and, in Greek, the best efforts of Demosthenes must be studied, besides the first book of the Iliad, or that of the Odyssey.

On Sundays, the Pauline epistles are to be read in the five upper classes, and, either entirely or in part, committed to memory. Style exercises are a matter of course; for style must be always incessantly practiced and improved. Selections from orations in Greek must be translated by the boys into Latin, or from orations in Latin into Greek. The historians and poets, too, may be turned to account in a similar manner; the odes of Pindar and Horace changed into a different

meter, many poems composed, many letters written, and other like tasks constantly undertaken.

The comedies of Terence and Plautus are, likewise, to be acted; and, in this matter, the boys are to be encouraged to rival the classes above them. All the plays of these two poets are to be acted by the four highest classes; twenty decuriae can accomplish this within six months. He, Sturm, had himself, three years before the revolt of the peasants, acted at Liege the part of Geta in the Phormio of Terence, and, although he had had no one to direct his practice, he yet derived great benefit from it.

At the examination, the first in the third class, a certain Baron von Sonneck, was catechised by the first in the second class, as follows:

Q. Since, O. noble Baron, I understand that you are acquainted with figures, allow me to ask you what a figure is?

A. A figure, (in Greek σχῆμα,) is an ornament of speech, substituted for a plainer and more direct mode of conveying thought.

Q. What else have you learned in the third class?

A. I have read the Menippus of Lucian, and the two Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.

Q. What have you read in Latin?

A. The third book of Cicero's Letters to his Friends, his speech *post reditum*, and the greater part of the sixth book of the Æneid.

Q. Repeat some prominent passage from Lucian's dialogue, the Menippus.

A. Menippus says to Philonides, concerning the punishment of the proud in Hades: *μυσάττει ὁ 'Ραδάμανθος τὴν ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἀλαζονείαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐμέμνηντο θνητοί τε ὄντες αὐτοι και θνητῶν ἀγαθῶν τετυχηκότες.*

Q. What is the rule for the construction, *τετυχηκότες τῶν ἀγαθῶν?*

A. Participles are followed by the same cases as their verbs; but, verbs signifying "to obtain or to miss" govern the genitive in Greek; wherefore, *τυχεῖν* governs the genitive.

Q. Give me a verse from Virgil.

A. Æneas thus prays to Apollo: "*Phœbe, graves Trojae semper miserate labores.*"

Q. Can you show that these verses of the poet are constructed after the rules of art?

A. The critics of poetry lay down seventeen demands, (*accidentia*,) which must be conformed to in every verse. That Virgil has conformed to all these in the above verses, I will now attempt to shew. The measure is dactylic, as befits epic verse; the feet, (the dactyle and the spondee,) which are appropriate to this measure, being employed. In the scansion, the caesura, etc., the passage harmonizes with all the rules of the art.

Q. "You observe," continues the questioner, "that the noble Lord understands all these subjects, but I wish to know one thing further; is the phrase '*Phœbe da Latio considere Teucros*' a logically accurate proposition?"

A. To this point, with reference to the rules of logic, it is your part to respond.

SECOND CLASS.—To Renard, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, that he himself is not to give a literal interpretation of the Greek poets and orators, but rather to assign that labor to the scholars; but he may, nevertheless, direct their attention to the relation which exists between oratorical and poetical usage, and may require them to copy striking passages from the classics in their commonplace-books.

And the like course is to be taken with Latin authors, and a comparison is to be instituted between these and the Greek.

Logic, the instrument of wisdom, must be laid before the scholars, the analytical or introductory part first, and afterward the synthetical or syllogistic; and rhetoric, too, must ever accompany logic, for which

study the "Institutes of Herennius" may be taken as a text-book. The teacher may read, with reference to rhetoric, the Olynthiac and Philippic orations of Demosthenes, and also some of Cicero's. What orations of Cicero shall he read? Either he may decide himself, or he may allow the boys to choose; for these should be often permitted to use their own judgment. Daily exercises in style are indispensable, and a higher point must be reached therein than in the previous classes.* The scholars may also write short dissertations, and deliver them either *memoriter* or from their notes.

On Sundays, the Epistle to the Romans is to be read, learned by heart, and recited by all. The scholars of this class must act the comedies of Terence and Plautus to greater perfection than those below them can do; and, later in their course, they may represent a play of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Sophocles, which the teacher has first expounded to them; and, if they should wish to take up any others afterward, they may do so at their pleasure, as those who are self-instructed.

At the examination, the first in the first class put to the first in the second the same question which the first in the third had left unanswered.

Q. Resolve me this question in dialectics, is "*Phoebe, da Latio considere Teucros*," a completed or logically accurate proposition?

A. It is not, and I thus prove why it is not. A completed proposition is a perfect sentence, in which the noun is united to the verb, and which enunciates either a truth or a falsity. But, this phrase embodies neither that which is true nor that which is false. Therefore, I conclude that it is not a completed proposition.

Q. From what part of logic, and for what reason, do you so conclude?

A. From the part that relates to definition; upon the rules of which part I take my stand, and thence argue again. If a sentence does not conform to some one logical definition, that which is conveyed by this definition is not applicable to such sentence. But the phrase in question does not conform to the definition of a completed proposition. Therefore, the term "completed proposition" is not applicable to this phrase.

Q. But here is another rule of dialectics: From pure negations no conclusion can follow. Your propositions are pure negations; therefore, your conclusion is a *non sequitur*.

A. I deny the *minor* of your argument; for my second proposition is an indirect affirmation. Hence, my syllogism, since it is stated in the terms of the figure called Ferio, remains impregnable.

Q. Allow me to ask you whether you would call your syllogism demonstrative, argumentative, or sophistical.

A. To judge by its purport, I would call it demonstrative. But, if you were to require more of me, as that I should answer with respect to the science of demonstration or to sophistical arguments, I could not satisfy you; for the precepts of these are not taught in the second class.

Upon this the questioner proceeds as follows:

Q. What have you read in rhetoric?

A. The first and second dialogues of Dr. Sturm upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, in which is discussed the five-fold problem of the orator; namely, invention, disposition, expression, action and memory.

Q. Does not judgment belong here, too?

A. Orators class judgment under the head of invention; for, invention supposes a selection of the best arguments, and certainly we must discriminate and judge when making such selection.

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* It is incredible, Sturm adds in this place, how much one can accomplish by effort, by imitation, by emulation, and by the belief that all obstacles yield to art and industry.

Q. What other authors have you read?

A. The second Philippic of Demosthenes, and Cicero's pleas in behalf of Roscius Amerinus and Caius Rabirius, besides the first book of the Iliad.

Q. Why the name Iliad?

A. Because it is a narration of events and exploits, of which Ilium or Troy was the theatre.

Q. What species of argument (*status*) is employed in the plea for B-birius?

A. I have heard it called the conjectural argument;* but I am no more familiar with the nature of arguments than with that of the various subdivisions of the oration.

First Class.—To Goelius, the teacher of the first class, Sturm writes, that he is to carry logic and rhetoric to a further extent, though not to their perfection, after the manner of the Aristotelians and the Greek rhetoricians; for this should be deferred until the boys have left the gymnasium, and then should be achieved by means of a shorter method composed by himself, (Sturm,) a method which, though not following Aristotle throughout, yet contains all the divisions and subdivisions (*genera et partes*) which are to be found in Aristotle, Hermogenes, and Cicero. The rules of logic and rhetoric are to be applied, by way of illustration, to Demosthenes and Cicero. And, to the same end, too, what remains of Virgil, and some portion of Homer, should be read; for, these poets, Homer especially, have conduced greatly to the perfection of oratory.†

Thucydides and Sallust are to be translated in writing by the scholars themselves, some having these passages, and others those, assigned to them; not all taking the same.

In this class, too, the dramatic representations are to be more frequent, and not a week is to elapse without its play.

Of the scholars, Sturm desires a thoroughly cultivated facility in writing and in declamation: all that they produce, whether in prose or in poetry, must be artistic.

The Epistles of St. Paul are to be expounded by the scholars, and prominent passages of the same, after the manner of the rhetoricians, are to be amplified.

At the examination, one member of the first class asked another, as follows:

Q. Tell me what you have read in the first class?

A. In the logic of Dr. Sturm, I have learned the precepts of demonstrative and sophistical syllogisms; in rhetoric, the last two dialogues upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, and his three books "De Officiis;" besides the Phoenissae of Euripides; out of Demosthenes, Philip's letter, and Demosthenes' reply to the same; the latter part of the catechism of Chytraeus; and, on Sundays, St Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

Q. What is a demonstrative syllogism?

A. It is a conclusion drawn from necessary truths, and of special use in extending the area of knowledge. For, thus says Aristotle, "Demonstration is the syllogism of science, predicated upon necessary propositions," as for instance:

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* The conjectural argument, (*status conjecturalis,*) or the "*An sit*" of Quintilian, consists wholly and solely of an attempt to establish or to set aside the *truth* of the charges alledged.

† "I am convinced that the rules of each species of oratory, as well as the ornaments of each, can be shown to exist in Homer; so that, if the art of eloquence were extinct, it could be fully restored from this rich fountain."—*Sturm.*

Every cause is antecedent to its effect;
The rising of the sun is the cause of day;
Therefore, the rising of the sun is antecedent to the day.

Q. Of what nature is this demonstration?

A. It is a perfect demonstration, and is called by Aristotle *τοῦ δι ὅτι*, (of the Why.) It consists of true propositions, primary, not secondary; the more prominent, the antecedent, and those which are the causes of the conclusion; and which furnish us with demonstrative science.

Q. Is there any other species of demonstration?

A. There is; namely, the imperfect demonstration, which is called *τοῦ ὅτι*, (of the Because;) when the conclusion does not flow from primary or direct, but from intermediate propositions, or from effects, or secondary and remote causes, as if I should say,

Wherever it is day, there the sun has arisen;
But, it is day with us;
Therefore, with us the sun has arisen.

This is the demonstration *a posteriori*. For the cause is demonstrated from its effect. The day is not the cause of the sun's appearance; but, the rising of the sun *is* the necessary and efficient cause of the day.

Q. Since, then, you assert that the rising of the sun is the cause of day, what would you say if I should prove to you that it is not yet day with us?

A. I would like to hear whether you can truly demonstrate what you thus advance.

Q. Is not the state of things at Frankfort different from that which obtains here at Strasburg?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it not day now at Frankfort?

A. So I imagine.

Q. Then it is not day with us at Strasburg.

A. I deny your consequence. For you have stated a fallacy in the form of the seventh species of the *ignoratio elenchi*. Your terms do not both refer to the same thing, (*πρὸς αὐτό*,) but each to a different point, (*πρὸς ἄλλο*.) The major of your argument possesses nothing in common with the minor; therefore, your conclusion is a *non sequitur*.

Q. Then, you have studied sophistics, if I may judge by your rejoinder.

A. Yes; I have learned the rules of that art as they have been delivered to us by our illustrious rector, Dr. Sturm, from the sophistical problems of Aristotle.

Hereupon the respondent exposed the fallacy of the two following sophisms.

(1.) He who is well versed in sophistical reasoning seeks to deceive others by his conclusions You say that you are well versed in sophistical reasoning; you, therefore, seek to deceive me.

(2.) He who has five fingers on one of his hands, also has three, and two, and has five, likewise. But, he who has three, two, and five, has ten. Whoever, therefore, has five fingers on one of his hands, has ten on the same hand.

In rhetoric there was no examination, but the questioning proceeded as follows:

Q. What have you learned in your class, of mathematics?

A. To that which we learned in the second class we have added astronomy, and some problems from the first book of Euclid.

Q. In what manner do astronomers measure the primary movement *(primum motum)* of the heavens?

Q. By means of ten circles; namely, the horizon, the meridian, the equator, the zodiac, 2 colures, 2 tropics, and 2 polar circles.

Q. Are these circles visible?

A. No; they are imaginary, and conceived to result from the movements of certain celestial points and lines.

Q. What is the name of the first circle?

A. The Greeks called it *ὁρίζων*, (horizon,) from *ὁρίζεσθαι*, to limit; and the Romans, *finitor*.

Q. How is it situated, with respect to the axis of the earth?

A. When it passes through the poles it is in a *right* position; but, when one pole is above it, while the other is below it, it is *oblique*. Whence, the one sphere is called *right*, the other *oblique*.*

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* As this definition is not sufficiently clear, I will quote the more intelligible words of John

Q. What purpose does the horizon serve?

A. To divide the celestial sphere into an upper and a lower half, and thereby mark out those periods of its primary motion which determine day and night. When the sun is in the upper hemisphere, it is day; when in the lower, night. The stars, at their rising, come up above the horizon; at their setting, they sink below it.

Q. Which is the second circle?

A. The meridian. This passes through the zenith and the poles.

Q. For what does it serve?

A. For the determination of latitude. The celestial sphere it divides into an eastern and a western half. It likewise halves the arc of day, and the arc of night, so that when the sun crosses this circle in the upper hemisphere, it is mid day; when it crosses it in the lower, it is midnight. It also divides the day into forenoon and afternoon.

Q. Which is the third circle?

A. The equator; so called from its equalizing day and night.* It runs from east to west, and is, at all points, equi-distant from the poles.

Q. For what does the equator serve?

A. From it we reckon longitude. The celestial sphere it divides into a northern and a southern half. The primary motion of the heavens it measures off into periods by twenty-four arcs, which, in the order of their *ascension*, mark the course of the twenty-four hours.

Q. Which is the fourth circle?

A. The zodiac; called by Ptolemy the oblique circle; described by the revolutions of the sun and the other planets.

Q. Whence comes the name?

A. From the *animals* which the ancients represented in its belt.

Q. What are they?

A. Aries, etc.

Q. Which of these are opposite, the one to the other?

A. Aries to Libra, Taurus to Scorpio, Gemini to Sagittarius, Cancer to Capricornus, Leo to Aquarius, and Virgo to Pisces.

Q. To what use is the zodiac applied?

A. We determine both longitude and latitude by it; and it is the pathway of the planets, whose revolutions measure times and seasons. The sun travels over its course in a year, which is not far from the space of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours; and the moon runs completely round it in a month, or twenty-seven days and eight hours, etc. In conclusion, the examiner spoke as follows: "Not to detain the audience longer, I feel satisfied that you are familiar with all other things which have been given to your class to study, and I, therefore, willingly accord to you the palm of victory."

The foregoing description will serve to denote the character of the Strasburg Gymnasium. We will now consider the College, with which it was connected.

(To be continued.)

Sacrobusto, whose treatise "on the Sphere" Sturm employed as a text-book. "There are two horizons; the right and the oblique. Those have a right horizon and a right sphere whose zenith is in the equinoctial; because their horizon is a circle passing through the poles, cutting the equinoctial at right spherical angles; whence, their horizon is called *right*, and their sphere *right*. Those have an oblique horizon with whom the pole is situated above their horizon; and, because their horizon intersects the equinoctial at oblique angles, their horizon is called *oblique*, and their sphere *oblique*.

* We find this more intelligibly expressed in Sacrobusto, as follows: "It is called the equinoctial because, when the sun crosses it, as it does twice in the year, the days and nights are equal over the whole world; whence, it is called the *equator* of the day and the night.

LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF JOHN STURM.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

(Continued from No. 10., page 182.)

As early as the year 1537 Sturm, in his treatise "*On the correct mode of opening literary institutions*," had designated courses of "Public and Free Lectures," which graduates from the first class of the gymnasium should attend upon during their five collegiate years. He also lays down therein the main branches thus to be taught, which are theology, jurisprudence, and medicine. Beside these, he enumerates five other departments of learning, (which we now associate in a distinct group, and assign to philosophical faculties,) namely, mathematics, history, logic with rhetoric, grammar, and reading of the poets. And he requires a more extended course of private study to be pursued by students at the college than had been provided for at the gymnasium.

Lecturers as well as teachers are provided for, likewise, in his plan for a school organization at Lauingen. After he has here characterized the duties of the various classes, he continues, "In these classes the boys must be kept under the discipline of the rod, nor should they learn according to their own choice, but after the good pleasure of the teacher. But, when they leave the classes, then they go as their inclination prompts them, some to theologians, for the sake of religion, some to naturalists," etc. It appears from the second book of Sturm's "Classic Letters," that even prior to the year 1565 many learned men were giving public lectures in Strasburg, while, at the same time, he was zealously engaged, by means of correspondence with many others, in efforts to increase the number of lecturers. But, it was not until 1567 that the Emperor Maximilian II. accorded permission to the Strasburgers to found a college, which, long afterward, (in 1621,) was invested by Ferdinand II. with all the rights and privileges of a university.

In the year 1569, the Strasburg magistracy empowered Sturm to organize the college, whereupon he composed his "Collegiate Letters," which were addressed to the various instructors in the new institution.

What was the actual course of instruction therein will best appear from the subjoined schedule of lectures for the summer term of the year 1578. which I quote in the original Latin.

Designatio Lectionum publicorum pro hoc aestivo semestri, in academia Argentoratensi Anno 1578.

J. Sturmius, Rector, docebit dialog. Cic. de Senectute.

Melchior Junior, Decanus, libros III., Cic. de Orat. et orationem Cic. Philippicam secundam.

THEOLOGI.—*D Marbachius* perget in explicatione Psalmorum.

D. Joh. Pappus explicabit Danielem prophetam et acta Apostolorum.

M. Nic. Florus epist. Pauli ad Galatas.

Er. Marbachius Lic. perget in lib. Judicum.

JURECONSULTI.—*D. Laur. Tuppius* perget in Pandectis.

D. Obert. Giphanius interpret. libb. IV. Institutionem Justin.

D. Georg. Obrechtus perget in lib. II. Codicis.

MEDICI ET PHYSICI.—*D. Andr. Planerus* leget parvam artem Galeni. Deinde parva naturalia Aristotelis.

E. Lud. Hawenreuterus perget in compendio Physices.

HISTORICUS.—*D. Mich. Beuterus* explic. C. Tacitum.

ETHICUS.—*M. Teoph. Golius* perget in libris Ethicis Aristotelis ad Nicomachum.

ORGANICUS.—*M. L. Hawenreuterus* perget in Analyt. prioribus Aristotelis.

MATHEMATICUS.—*M. Conr. Dasypodius* docebit sex libros priores Euclidis, item Theorias Solis et Lunae et doctrinam addet Eclipsium.

LINGUARUM PROFESSORES.—M. Henning. Oldendorpius docebit Grammaticam hebraeam Clenardi et adjunget aliquot Psalmorum Davidis explicationem.

M. J. Wilveshemius, graecanicae linguae Professor, interpretabitur Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέρας Hesiodi.

DISPUTATIONES ET DECLAMATIONES PUBLICAE.—Singulis mensibus singulae attributae sunt disputationes et declamationes, quae publice a Professoribus haberi debent suo ordine, praeter exercitationes illas, quae privatim suscipiuntur cum Studiosis et honorum Candidatis.

The Strasburg college created Baccalaureates and Masters of Philosophy, as we learn from the lists of Melchior Junius, of degrees conferred in the years 1574 and 1578. But, Doctorates in theology, law, and medicine, it did not create; for this only universities could do.

If then, as we see, the Strasburg college was neither a gymnasium nor a university, what, in reality, was it? Manifestly an unfortunate compound of both; a sort of philosophical faculty that laid claim to an isolated, independent existence, almost entirely ignoring the three other faculties. But, a philosophical faculty can not thrive unless it is a branch of a full-grown university, and unless, co-existing with the three other faculties, each sufficiently well represented in itself, it receives life from them, and, in turn, imparts it to them. Those faculties, divorced from the philosophical, but too readily degenerate into mere instrumentalities for gaining a livelihood, while the philosophical, when standing alone and paying no attention to the urgent demands of life and to the future calling of the student, is devoid both of purpose and aim. Such a dubious position exerts a pernicious influence on the character of the pupils of the college. Schoolboys they should not be, students they fain would be; but, they are neither one thing nor the other. For philosophical lectures, which tend to refresh, strengthen, and improve the student in his own special department, appear to the scholars of the college but a mere wearisome continuation of their school studies, that they had hoped were at an end. And if, moreover, the instructors in logic, philology, rhetoric, etc., are altogether of that kind, that their discourses differ

in no respect from those which their hearers have before listened to in the gymnasium, then truly is such hearing fatiguing, and painful even to the most attentive. Sturm felt a deep interest in his Strasburg college, and used every means in his power to impress upon it the stamp of a university. From many of his "Classic" and "Collegiate" letters we see how he invited jurists, physicians, etc., to Strasburg, to deliver lectures upon law, medicine, natural philosophy, and other branches of learning. But, it is impossible thus to improvise a university, by persuading men, who are already filling other and widely different offices it may be, to become professors likewise. For, the appropriate duties of the professor call for the undivided energies of the whole man.

That the lectures of theologians, jurists, and physicians in the Strasburg college were entirely unsuited to impart to the youth, within the Quinquennium from his sixteenth to his twenty-first year, an adequate preparation for his future calling, as Sturm originally designed that it should do, a single glance at the schedule of the college lectures inserted above will abundantly convince us. The theologians, for example, read only upon Old and New Testament exegesis, while one solitary physician confines his labors to the "lesser art of Galen," and "Aristotle's minor philosophy!" And Sturm himself, with all his partiality for the college, most keenly felt its deficiencies. He laments, among other things, the lack of discipline that prevailed there, as well as the neglect of the prescribed lectures, and the want of respect for the instructors. On this point, his letters to Erythraeus, teacher of rhetoric, is especially noteworthy. He has observed, he writes, that it is a difficult task to deliver lectures in their college upon poets, historians, and orators, and he has also been astonished that such lectures have often been wholly unattended. The reason which he assigns for this state of things is this, "the scholars had already, at the gymnasium, become familiar with the principal classic poets, historians, and orators, and, accordingly, if, in the college lectures, they heard nothing new, they would either go away altogether, or would else betake themselves to others, whether jurists, physicians, or mathematicians, who could teach them something that they did not know before. And these laid before the scholars subjects that possessed the freshness of novelty; but the teachers of grammar and rhetoric, on the other hand, only such as they had already learned at school; and, if these teachers could not be persuaded to undertake a better method, then the whole affair would fall through."

But, enough of the Strasburg college: it, however, did not remain in its original form; but, as has been stated, emerged from its chrysalis condition, in the year 1621, a full-fledged university.

We turn now to examine Sturm's educational method critically and to note its operation in the Strasburg gymnasium.

His ideal of culture we have already spoken of as embracing the threefold attainment of piety, knowledge, and eloquence. How clearly he knew what he wished, how clearly he recognized the means that were best adapted to procure him what he wished, and also with what decision, circumspection, and admirable perseverance he labored to achieve his aim, all this appears from what I have already communicated, both from his own lips and from the authority of others. There was no discordant element in him; he was a whole man, a man of character, in whom a strong will and a wise activity were united in perfect equipoise. And, on this account, it is no marvel that, as I have before mentioned, he was appreciated among his contemporaries, and enjoyed their utmost confidence. Even in the year 1578 the Strasburg school numbered many thousand scholars, among whom were two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes. Not alone from Germany, but also from the remotest countries, from Portugal, and Poland, Denmark, France, and England, youths were sent to Sturm. But his educational efficiency was not limited to the Strasburg gymnasium; he exerted, far and wide, by his counsel, his example, and through his pupils, a vast influence, as a second "Preceptor of Germany." He himself organized schools at Lauingen on the Danube, Trasbach on the Moselle, and at Hornbach, in the Bipontinate; his pupil, Schenk, planned the Augsburg, a second pupil, Crusius, the Meminger gymnasium.

The school-code of Duke Christopher, of Wirtemberg, of the year 1559, as well as that of the Elector, Augustus I., of Saxony, of the year 1580, would certainly seem to have felt the influence of Sturm's system. The grammar of the lower classes, the logic and the rhetoric of the upper, Cicero in the ascendant, Terence and Plautus acted by the scholars, the rudiments of astronomy in the highest class, and arithmetic here much neglected, while, in the lower classes, it receives no attention at all, music, decurions for monitors,—all these arrangements would appear to have been borrowed from Sturm, and so much the more as they are not to be found, at least, in the Saxon code of 1538. Even the school regulations of the Jesuits are, as we shall find, in many points of view, quite similar to Sturm's, and he himself was surprised at their correspondence. And, hand in hand with Sturm's method, his school-books also penetrated throughout the whole of Germany.

In his letters to the teachers of the Strasburg gymnasium, Sturm appears the experienced teacher and the accomplished rector; clearly

and in few words, marking out for all the teachers under him their own particular and appropriate duties; and, in his advice, how best to undertake and to discharge those duties, he approves himself the sage and practiced counselor. For, with the kindest expressions, he cheers and strengthens them in their path of labor, and repeatedly calls their attention to the fact that they all have one common cause, since the teachers of the upper classes can do nothing unless those of the lower classes use care in laying the foundation; and, on the other hand, that the latter will have been faithful to no purpose if the former are not as conscientious in building upon the foundation when laid. And he most earnestly insists that they must all instruct after one and the same method, and must keep the same end in view, if they would see the work prosper in their hands. Thus he shows himself to be a pattern rector, and the center and heart of the school. Yet, he is never overbearing, but is a dictator who scarce ever appears to command or to censure, content with requesting and encouraging. Moreover, by constant application, he is keeping pace with those about him; learning Hebrew, for instance, when in his fifty-ninth year.

Now, that I have given full credit to the praiseworthy efforts and achievements of Sturm, I must also pay homage to truth, and exhibit the reverse and unfavorable side of his educational activity. I have praised him, in that he clearly conceived his plan, and then, fixing his steady gaze upon the object before him, worked vigorously and skilfully to accomplish it.

But, shall I bestow unqualified praise upon Sturm's ideal? On a nearer view, I can not do it. The Christian element of his educational system alone deserves entire recognition. But, the other two elements, namely, knowledge and eloquence, or rather Sturm's conception of the kind of knowledge and of eloquence to be inculcated at school; this conception, judged not alone by our present standard, but considered in itself and under any circumstances, is, in many points, deserving of censure. Shall I be asked "How can this be? To furnish the pupil with a rich store of scientific knowledge, and, at the same time, to cultivate in him that readiness of expression which will enable him to utter, either orally or by writing, whatever thoughts or fancies he may thus have accumulated; do not these two objects, even at the present day, constitute together the highest aim of education?" They do, indeed; but, let us consider more closely what kind of knowledge and what species of eloquence Sturm had in view, and then we shall be in a better position to see whether we agree with him throughout or not. And, first, as to the knowledge. The thoroughness with which both Greek and Latin grammar were taught

in Sturm's school, our teachers now a-days will approve, although it may be that occasionally their standard of thoroughness does not precisely coincide with that of the old rector, which demanded, for instance, that the second aorist should be formed from the imperfect, or that a future form, "φεύξω" should be recognized, and the like. But, could they approve of the classics selected, and the order in which they were read at the Strasburg gymnasium? Hardly; else it would not be that, in our gymnasiums now, far different classical authors are read; or, where the same are taken up, that it is in another order and another spirit. We can overlook the fact that Cornelius Nepos, who is studied in most schools at the present day, was rejected; but, so was Livy, and so was Tacitus. And, of the most important of the classics, only a small portion was read; I need only mention Homer. Such fragments surely can never lead to a spiritual appreciation of the genius and the character of authors. But, how all this has become changed in the progress of time, we shall discuss elsewhere.

On a first glance, we might be led to believe that Sturm was devoted not merely to the knowledge of words, but to that of things also; but, if we examine the matter more closely, we shall alter our opinion. In fact, the scholars of the lower classes acquired Latin words for every possible object that was about them in life, whether in the kitchen or cellar, the garden or stable, the school-room or church. And they were thus taught almost according to the manner of Comenius in the "Orbis pictus," only that they learned the world in the original instead of in pictures. But, with what view were boys taught these Latin names? Was it that they might obtain a knowledge of things likewise? Certainly not. They were only placed thereby in a condition to express themselves in Latin upon common and familiar topics, just as a German who designs to travel in Italy will furnish himself beforehand with a stock of every-day words and phrases.

But, some one will say, "Sturm also demands that boys should project a sort of encyclopædia, in which they should enter the names of various objects under certain pre-arranged heads; as, for example, under the head of 'birds' the ostrich and the wry-neck; or, under the head of 'mammalia,' the lion and the elephant. And, is not this to be regarded as a knowledge of things?" I think not. I think that it is at best only a method of fixing names in the mind, which, however, are the shadows of things to come; for, it is very unlikely that those boys who placed the ostrich and the wry-neck under the head of "birds" had ever seen either the one or the other. Comenius,

by means of his pictorial representations, here affords a far better knowledge of the actual world.

If we now compare the course of study in a modern gymnasium with that in Sturm's school, we shall perceive at once that there are many subjects of instruction not provided for in the latter. But, many will say, "This is the advantage of the Sturmian method, that it restricts itself to a very few branches, while we, on the other hand, teach almost every thing. The greater surface the less the depth," etc.

All such persons I now ask to suspend their judgment until they have accompanied me in a critical survey of Sturm's system of teaching. Boys were received into the gymnasium in their sixth year, and yet I find not one word of any special instruction in reading and writing German correctly. I would not ask for that instruction in the German grammar, which is now so popular, but only for an elementary drilling in German, which is indispensable. When and where they receive this, it certainly does not appear; nor have we any more light on the question whether the older boys wrote German compositions, except what we derive from the fact that they made translations of the Latin classics into German.

And, as it was with elementary instruction in German, so, likewise, in his original plan, Sturm has not a syllable of any instruction in arithmetic for the first eight classes. And, when he comes to treat of the upper classes, he dismisses the subject thus briefly: "Arithmetic must be introduced, Mela examined, Proclus laid before the scholar, and the elements of astrology taught." And yet, in the letters to the teachers of the ten classes, I find not a word said of arithmetic; nor, from the two letters to Conrad Dasypodius, is any thing decisive to be gathered on this point. The second of these last mentioned letters, written in the year 1569, thirty-one years after the establishment of the gymnasium, speaks of instruction in mathematics, yet in a way from which we infer that it had not been long introduced. Later, in the course of instruction dating in 1578, as well as by the examination held during the same year, we see that arithmetic was taught in the second class, and a few problems from the first book of Euclid, together with the elements of astronomy, in the highest. Also, in the school-plan projected by Sturm for the gymnasium at Lauingen, mathematics is not placed among the school studies, but rather classed among those branches which are to be learned afterward, through attendance on college lectures.

All things now considered, there appears to have been at least a gross neglect of mathematical instruction. If the scholar has

learned in the second class but the rudiments of arithmetic, and in the highest only a few problems in Euclid, how can he comprehend even the few first elements of astronomy, taught also in the same highest class? To judge by the astronomical examination communicated herewith, the knowledge that was imparted of the science would seem to have been almost entirely limited to the exhibition and the explanation of an armillary sphere; as the teacher, in the year 1578, made no allusion to the Copernican system which had appeared in 1543, but taught the doctrine of the annual revolution of the sun around the earth. On the other hand, as we have seen, Sturm assigns to astrology a place among the subjects of study.

Never will our present teachers of elementary schools, to say nothing of gymnasiums, look with favor upon such a neglect of mathematics, even though they may advocate the very simplest methods of instruction. And, so much the less, as it is natural to suppose that very many scholars did not take the full course, but only passed through the lowest classes in this Strasburg gymnasium, and, consequently, could learn nothing at all of arithmetic. For, as we have before shown, this branch during the first years after the establishment of the gymnasium probably received no attention at all, and, when introduced later, was assigned to the second and highest classes only.

Likewise, in regard to geography, we have no reason to conclude that it was studied. For the above cited expression of Sturm, "Mela is to be examined," was scarcely called for, if Mela was really read in the gymnasium. But, even Mela, meagre as he is, received no attention there, if we may judge from the schedule and the examination of 1578. Nor among the college lectures either, was any place assigned to geography.

And history, too, was quite as much neglected; even in the college, Beuter, whose name appears on the catalogue as historical lecturer, confines himself to the interpretation of Tacitus.

Of natural history and natural philosophy there was not a single line taught in the gymnasium.

Since, then, all instruction in the German language, mathematics, geography, history, natural history, and natural philosophy, was entirely omitted, to which we may add instruction in Hebrew, in the modern languages, French especially, and perhaps also in drawing, we must conclude that nearly all the time and energies of the scholar were concentrated upon the acquisition of Greek and Latin.

Was now the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans which Sturm's scholars possessed, any the greater, on this account, than that mastered

by the scholars of our gymnasium? or, we should rather inquire, was their readiness, both in speaking and in writing Latin, greater, and did they apply the whole force that was in them principally to acquire these two facilities?

The reply to the first question should be favorable to the scholars of the present day: the reply to the second, perhaps, to Sturm's scholars.

And truly it would have been a wonder if Sturm's scholars had not learned to speak and write Latin, since he himself looked upon the art of writing and reading in classical Ciceronian Latin as the noblest aim of culture; and he deemed no sacrifice too dear so that he might reach it. The first sacrifice, (which we have already alluded to,) was an entire neglect of our mother tongue, and even an absolute alienation from it. We have seen from Sturm's letter to Schirner, the teacher of the ninth class, that he considered the Roman children highly privileged, in that, from their infancy up, they spoke Latin themselves and heard nothing but Latin spoken by others; whereas, with German children, the case was far different. This *evil*, he said, must be removed by the diligence of the teacher, and through the application of his (Sturm's) system. There was only need of a correct method, (and that because Latin was not our mother tongue,) to insure the production, at the present day, of speeches which should compare favorably with those of Cicero. Every effort must be put forth in order to restore again the long lost skill of the Greeks and Romans in teaching, haranguing, disputing, and writing. The first point, therefore, upon which Sturm, as well as most of his contemporaries, both literary men and teachers, insisted, was the completest removal possible of the German mother tongue, that so the Latin might wholly occupy its place. To teachers and to scholars alike, all conversation in German was forbidden; and games were only allowed on the condition that Latin alone should be spoken therein. Had the old Romans still ruled over Alsace in Sturm's time, they could have adopted no more effectual measures to denationalize its inhabitants, to make them forget their country, and to change them wholly into Romans.

Sturm indirectly boasts of this exclusion of the German language from his gymnasium. "He has introduced a mine of choice Latin words and of familiar Latin phrases, and has called up Plautus, Terence, and Cicero from the shades, to speak Latin with the boys."

Plautus and Terence he here mentions in preference, on account of the representations of their plays by the scholars; which representations, as we have seen, he strongly recommended to the teachers

of the three upper classes. In this connection, his letter to Golius, the teacher of the highest class, deserves our special attention. "I could wish," said he, "that the actors of comedy as well as those of tragedy in your class should all be equal to Roscius; and, therefore, far more accomplished than those in the lower classes can be. I desire you never to suffer the week to go by without a performance, so that an assiduous and habitual attendance at the theatre may be encouraged."

If we are to regard this disuse of our mother tongue as one sacrifice to the ideal,—nay, let me call it the idol rather,—of Latin eloquence, then surely these theatrical exercises should be considered as a second sacrifice to this ideal. It appears incredible to us that the committing to memory and acting such licentious plays as are those of Terence could have exerted no evil influence upon the morals of the young. And we are equally at a loss to understand, how it was that so pious a man as Sturm did not object to the pernicious sentiments inculcated by Terence. Could the enthusiastic rector have been blinded by the hope, that his scholars would be moulded, as it were, into expert Latinists by these theatrical performances, and by acting comedy? If the bare reading of an author, like Terence, is dangerous to the scholar, how much more dangerous is it, when, from the necessities of acting, he is obliged to assume the characters and imagine himself in the situations of the drama.

Sturm's endeavor to make boys adepts in Latin eloquence had, moreover, a very great, and in my judgment, a very injurious influence upon his manner of reading and of treating the classics. It is true that he aimed, first of all, as every intelligent school-teacher should do, at a correct understanding of the language of authors; for he insists that the teacher should dwell upon the grammatical construction of the text long enough to arrive at such understanding.

But why is it,—if I may ask so simple a question,—that we trouble ourselves to understand the language of a classical author as thoroughly as we do our own, so that we can read him with as great ease as if he had written in our own tongue? Doubtless it is, that, having arrived at an appropriate understanding of the language, we may penetrate through the language to the sentiment, and so at last may educe the intellectual individuality of the author from his works, and at the same time recognize in the author the characteristics of the nation, to which he belonged. But such an aim of classical studies is nowhere visible in Sturm's method; to him, to use a Kantian expression, the author himself is not an end, only a means to an end; that is, every author must be used for the cultivation of this deified Roman eloquence in boys. And how? Precisely as the peacock was

used by the jackdaw. They borrow the author's words and phrases, group them together, and learn them by heart, perhaps, in order to apply them again in speech or in writing. Borrow, is too feeble an expression ; the jackdaw designed not merely to borrow the peacock's feathers, but to represent them as his own. The doctrine of imitation as we find it set forth by Sturm and others, is, after all, a mere jackdaw theory. The scholar is taught how, by a slight alteration, to disguise phrases from Cicero and others, and then to use them in writing or in speech, exactly as if they were his own production; so adroitly smuggling them in, as it were, that the reader or hearer may not suspect whence they were taken. "Is the teacher," says Sturm, "to give out themes for composition,—he will draw attention to those points where imitation is desirable, and will show how similarity can be concealed by a superadded variation." "We must, in the first place, take care, that the similarity shall not be manifest; but its concealment may be accomplished in three ways; by adding, by taking away, or by alteration."

"The objection, perhaps, will be made," says Sturm in another place, "that, if we appropriate entire passages from Cicero, we shall be guilty of plagiarism." This would be so, if we should make extracts from Cicero and call them our own; but our memory is our own, so is the use to which we put our memory, so is our style, so is the caution and the moderation which we exercise in making use of the classics, and so likewise is our method of imitation, as well as of borrowing, provided that we do borrow. And truly, in such case, we shall borrow of one, who no longer is here to begrudge it; of one, who wrote for others, yea, for all time. Thus Sturm justifies this extremely censurable practice,—a practice which, as we have seen, Erasmus had already condemned. Thus his effort to restore Roman eloquence, had a great influence upon the choice of authors to be read in his gymnasium; for hardly any were introduced but such as were the most faultless models of this eloquence. Cicero was placed at the head. Even the boy of eight read the "select epistles" of Cicero, and there was no class from the eighth up to the highest, in which he was not read. Terence, Sturm commends most highly, next to Cicero. Every Roman author who, measured by the Ciceronian standard, did not vindicate his claim to be considered a pure classic, Sturm appears to have rejected. Livy, as we have before mentioned, was not one of the Strasburg school text-books, probably on account of his provincialism, (Patavinity;) we are less surprised at the absence of Tacitus, and in short, of every author, who hindered or at least did not further the main object of learning to write and to speak like Cicero.

In the eighth class, in the eight year of the pupil, a beginning was made in exercises in Latin style. Sturm commends them to the teachers in the most urgent manner; but they appear, when closely examined, to have been almost wholly composed of attempts at that spiritless imitation, above alluded to; the preparation for them consisted in singling out and committing to memory, phrases, which they had noted in their lessons, as suitable to be used in Latin discourse or in these exercises. Do I now need to declare emphatically, that those youth, who, in reading the classics, have been engaged merely in a hunt after phrases for future use, or rather misuse, never arrive at a true understanding of these classics, and, what is more, that this method renders such an understanding wholly impossible? Do I need to observe, that youth thus trained will not learn either to admire or to understand even, very many writers, who, like Tacitus, are essentially different from Cicero? And as little will they attain to an understanding of the poets, if it is made their chief aim in reading to compose Latin verses themselves, and if for this purpose they are instructed to gather poetical flowerets from the Æneid, as they have before culled prose gems from Cicero; or if, again, with a view to their exercises in prose, they are constantly directed to those peculiarities which the oratorical style, *mutatis mutandis*, may borrow from the poets.

I have put the question "shall I bestow unqualified praise on Sturm's ideal?" and have answered it in the negative. I have now given the reasons for my opinion. I have shown how, in the undivided pursuit of Roman eloquence in speaking and in writing, the German language was not only neglected, but crushed under foot; how, in order to gain ease and readiness in Latin expression, the most licentious of the plays of Terence were acted by the scholars; and how, further, since the requisitions of this eloquence absorbed all the energies and all the time of the young, there was no opportunity left for any thorough mathematical training; neither was any instruction given in geography, history, Hebrew, or the modern languages, and I might add, in natural philosophy and drawing, but for the little attention that was generally paid to these two branches, at that period. And finally I have indicated how it was, that this unlucky reaching out after Roman eloquence was a decided hindrance to a correct exegesis, and a full appreciation, of the classics. And now the question naturally arises in our minds, "if Sturm and so many of his contemporaries in this chase after Roman eloquence, made great sacrifices, and neglected almost every thing else,—did they see their desires realized in the end?"

But I have already answered this question to the satisfaction of the intelligent reader, where I spoke of this wretched method of reading the classics, only to cull out phrases and piece them together anew, to be used in exercises in style, in order, haply, to equal the ancients. For all their imitation of classical authors resolved itself at last into a mere paltry connoisseurship; since they attained, at the furthest, only to a philological pharisaism, which, after a repulsive, pseudo-classic fashion, composed works that disclosed not a particle of the classical spirit. When we peruse their "Examples of Roman eloquence," we imagine ourselves walking amongst the ghastly spectres of the ancients, and Cicero stalks to and fro before our eyes, an indistinct phantom.

Sturm however, as was natural, regarded the fruits of his labors in a far different light. He believed that he really had called the ancients to life again, and he fancied, that if we but laid the foundations aright, there was no reason why we should not produce Latin works as full of the fire of genius as were the originals. In one place he says: "the Romans had two advantages over us; the one consisted in learning Latin without going to school, and the other, in frequently seeing Latin comedies and tragedies acted, and hearing Latin orators speak. Could we," he continues, "recall these advantages in our schools, why could we not then, by persevering diligence, gain that, which they possessed only by accident and habit; namely, the power of speaking Latin to perfection." In another passage he uses a still stronger expression, where he says, "I hope to see the men of the present age, in their writing, commenting, haranguing and speaking, not merely followers of the old masters, but equal to those who flourished in the noblest age of Athens or of Rome." What pedantic narrow-mindedness, to indulge the delusive notion, that an ever so judiciously-managed Strasburg school could effect the production of works of genius, equal to those that bloomed amid the splendor of the age of Pericles or the grandeur of Imperial Rome!

This notion of Sturm's, as erroneous as it was presumptuous, if we might not rather call it extravagant, stands in quite a surprising contrast with the following feeble and spiritless sentiment, which we find in another place. "It is astonishing," he here says, "that while there are in our day many as good intellects as the ancients could boast of, while we possess the same philosophical sources to draw from as did they, while our advantages for the attainment of eloquence and our opportunities for displaying it are no fewer than with them, and while, moreover, all our gifted men have striven to distinguish themselves by eloquence, yet almost all have shrunk back in terror from the course

of training that it demands, and so few have accomplished any thing by means of it."

"We can not," continues Sturm, "lay the entire blame of this result upon the scholars. Year after year there have been many at the Strasburg Gymnasium, who have united to superior talents a strong desire to excel and great diligence. It has been so likewise at Louvain and at Paris. Now how is it, that among so many thousand, there have been so very few, who have applied the requisite diligence to Latin writing and declamation?" On a careful consideration, he concludes that the fault lies with the teachers, and with himself, and is partly inherent in the fact, that Latin is not the native tougue of the scholar.

If we examine this admission of Sturm carefully, we shall be at no loss to discover where the truth lies. Men of the very highest capacities, he says, were exceedingly desirous to become eloquent, but have been appalled before the *style* of eloquence taught in his school. Had Latin only been their native tongue, then they would have succeeded. But German was their native tongue, and in this, according to Sturm's own theory, they would have succeeded to perfection. And he asserts this in so many words, but a few lines further back. "Eloquence," he here remarks, "is by no means confined to the Latin tongue. Can not Italians, Spaniards, French and Germans be eloquent in their own language? The prose of Boccaccio is a model of purity and elegance to the Italians, and so is the sweet-sounding poetry of Petrarch. Comines charms the French as truly as ever Thucydides did the Greeks. And as for Luther," he continues, "has he not stood forth, a perfect master of our language, whether we look to purity of idiom or to opulence of expression? Princes, counselors, magistrates, embassadors, and jurists, all concede to him, the theologian, this praise. Luther truly vindicated a righteous cause, which in itself deserved the victory; but it was with the sinews of an orator that he wielded the weapons of controversy. Had there been no Reformation, had no sermons of Luther ever appeared, and had he written nothing at all save his translation of the Bible, this alone would have insured him an immortality of fame. For, if we compare with this German translation either the Greek, the Latin, or any other, we shall find them all far behind it, both in perspicuity, purity, choice of expression, and resemblance to the Hebrew original. I believe that, as no painter has ever been able to surpass Apelles, so no scholar will ever be able to produce a translation of the Bible that shall excel Luther's."

If we were compelled on other grounds to conclude that Sturm had become altogether denationalized, and a Roman to the core, this

passage just cited proves to us that it was not altogether so. But why, in view of his deep and heart-felt recognition of the great German master-piece of Luther, and why especially in view of his acknowledgment that Italians, French and Germans, had written classical works, each in their own language,—why, I repeat the question, did he continue, like a second Sisyphus, his fruitless endeavors to metamorphose German into Roman youths, and to impart to them, in defiance of the laws of human nature, another native tongue? The entire age in which he lived was in fault, not he: it was only at a later period, that the claims of our own country and our own language came to be properly regarded.

MICHAEL NEANDER.*

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Michael Neander was the son of a tradesman, of the town of Sorau, Hans Neumann by name, and was born in 1525. His father had destined him for a tradesman also; and, as the occupation called for long journeys on horseback, he determined to lose no time in making his son a good horseman. He, therefore, placed him upon a gaunt and restive horse, without a saddle, and bade him ride him to water. On his reaching the pond the horse threw him into it, and he was only saved from drowning by the efforts of some chance bystanders, who lifted him again to his seat. As he rode in at the gate, a stone was thrown at him, which cut his head and covered his face with blood. Thus, wet and bleeding, he returned home. But his father, instead of showing pity for his sufferings, ordered him to mount, upon the spot, a still wilder horse, which he did. But he was again thrown off and his arm broken. And when his mother and his relatives gathered around him in tears, his father upbraided him harshly with these words: "To a cloister with you; you are of no use to any body." Thus was his whole course of life shaped by this one day of mishaps.

The rector, Heinrich Theodore, of Sorau, was his first teacher. In his seventeenth year, in 1542, he went to the University of Wittenberg. "Although at that time I was quite young," says Neander, of himself, "I yet listened attentively for three years to Luther's lectures and sermons, and many of his excellent thoughts. I wrote down with care, nor shall I ever forget them so long as my life lasts;

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* Sources. 1. "*Events in the Life of Michael Neander.* A contribution to the religious and social history of the 16th century. By W. Havemann, professor of history at Göttingen."

2. Neander's works, as follows, viz:—(*a*) Two Latin Grammars. (*b.*) "*De re poetica Graecorum, libri quatuor. E notationibus M. Neandri praeceptoris sui collecti Opera J. Vollandi.*" Editio secunda. 1592. (*c.*) "*Catechesis M. Lutheri Graeco-Latina.*" "*Patrum Theologorum Graecorum sententiae.*" "*Apocrypha; hoc est. narrationes de Christo, etc., extra Biblia.*" Basileae, per Joh. Oporinum. 1563. (*d.*) "*Compendium Dialecticae ac Rhetoricae.*" 1581. (e.) "*Orbis Terrae partium succincta explicatio.*" 1586. (*f.*) "*Orbis Terrae divisio compendaria, in usum studiosae juventutis in schola Ilfeldensi.*" 1586. Nova editio. (*g.*) "*Compendium Chronicorum, conscripta in schola Ilfeldensi.*" 1586. Havemann cites the following in addition:—(*h.*) "*Mankind's Mirror.*" Nuremburg. 1620. (*i*) "*Theologia megalandri Lutheri.*" Eisleben, 1587. (*k.*) "*Advice to a good nobleman and friend; or, how to guide and instruct a boy.*" Eisleben, 1590. Says Havemann, "this is an incomparable little book."

3. (*a.*) "*Funeral Sermon at the burial of the venerable M. Neander. Delivered by Valentine Mylius.*" Leipzig, 1595. (*b.*) Vollborth's "*Panegyric upon M. Neander.*" 1777.

for I often recall them with delight, in sorrow and affliction they are my consolation, and they aid me, moreover, in my labors both with old and young."

In the year 1547, when, after the battle of Muhlberg, Neander, in common with all the professors and students at Wittenberg, deserted the place, he obtained, through the recommendation of Melancthon, the post of (colleague) assistant in the school of Nordhausen. Shortly after, he was chosen conrector and was employed also as tutor to the children of Herr Schmied, the Mayor. The rector of the school, whose name was Basilius Faber, imposed upon the youthful Neander, then fresh from the conceited air of Wittenberg, and regarding "grammar and syntax" as "insignificant trifles," the humiliating task of teaching the older boys the "*Advanced Syntax*," (*majorem Syntaxin majoribus*) a work which he had "never even seen, much less heard of or studied."

In the year 1550, Neander was called to the rectorship of the cloister-school at Ilfeld, in the Harz. Here, in 1544, Thomas Stange had been chosen abbot of the monastery. But he afterward joined the Protestants, and then, under the patronage of the noble Count of Stolberg, founded the school, to which, at the recommendation of Melancthon and Schmied, he now called Neander. When, in the year 1559, the devout, conscientious abbot lay upon his death-bed, he commended the school most urgently to Count Stolberg's care, and to the faithfulness of its rector, Neander.

This dying injunction Neander kept in view even to the close of his own life. The amount of labor that he accomplished would appear well-nigh incredible. When he entered upon his office, he found but twelve scholars in attendance; nine years later, in 1559, this number had increased to forty. And until within a few days before his death, or during the space of forty-five years, he took the charge of the whole school entirely upon himself, never employing a colleague.* He was, moreover, compelled to defend the very existence of the school itself against many who endeavored to wrest the cloistral domains into their own possession. At the same time he acomplished much literary labor—giving to the press, during his life-time, thirty-nine books, and leaving behind him, in manuscript, fourteen more.

Many of his contemporaries, Melancthon in particular, have borne testimony to the excellent results with which his teachings were attended. Melancthon deemed the school at Ilfeld, "by reason of the faithful labors of Neander," to be the best seminary in the country.

* "Tantum praestitit unus vir, qui *nullum* in administratione scholae usque ad ultimum fere senii limen *collegam* haberet."

Thus that eminant man, Laurentius Rhodomannus, a pupil of his, and later a professor at Wittenberg, writes of Neander.

Said Rhodomannus: "Neander has proved himself an exceedingly skillful and successful teacher. He has carried scholars forward, within the space of three or four years, so far in the languages and the arts, and grounded them so thoroughly in catechetics, that, when he had done with them, they were fitted to enter at once upon important posts, whether in the school or in the church. Especially have they been so thoroughly drilled in the three languages, that they have not inelegantly imitated the Greek classics." And the learned Caselius, a scholar of Neander's, in Nordhausen, said: "Neander's boys, on entering the university, have at once taken precedence of most others."

Of his text-books, so far as I am acquainted with them, I have already, in part, spoken elsewhere. In his grammars, he constantly dwelt more upon the elementary than the abstruse, and placed general principles and rules, that were universally binding, before unimportant particulars and anomalous exceptions. Hence his text-books were brief; but, whatever he undertook, he intended should be fully and entirely comprehended by the learner.

His instructor, Melancthon, whom he highly esteemed, undoubtedly urged him to give his attention to the physical sciences. It was said of Neander, that "he was such an adept in medicine and chemistry, that he was enabled, by means of serviceable remedies, to extend a helping hand to his scholars when sick."* His "*Hand-Book of Natural Philosophy*" was in much repute.

His "*Compendium Chronicorum*" gives, in the compass of forty pages, a survey of the history of the world, from Adam to the year 1575. The subjects of the various chapters are, "Jews," "Ægyptians," "Persians," "Greeks," and "Romans;" then "The Period of the Migration of Races, ending with Charlemagne," "Mohammed and the Saracens," and "Argonautæ, or the Crusades, Tartars, and Turks." And it ends with a glance at the prophecies of Daniel.

In geography, he wrote a somewhat extended text-book, called "*Orbis terrae partium succincta explicatio;*" and a second, much shorter, with the title, "*Orbis terrae divisio.*"

The first mentioned compend is a singular book; now proceeding methodically, and again branching off into the strangest of digressions. It begins by giving a list of the various authorities made use of. Then there follows a concise and clear treatise on the mathematics of geography, (in which the sun moves around the earth,) and a history of the science. Next are described Europe, Asia, Africa, and the oceans; and lastly the islands, among which America is enumerated. Some of the stories interspersed in this book we have already cited.

* A favorite scholar of his, Thalius, afterward a physician at Nordhausen, "gathered 72 species of grasses in the neighborhood of Ilfeld, and carefully pressed and dried them between the leaves of an old and huge monkish missal."—[*Orbis explicatio.* article. Nordhausen.]

In his description of Goldberg, Neander not only communicates much upon Trotzendorf, but also narrates that unsuccessful, first, and last attempt of his own to learn to ride. Under the article "Sagan," he gives a long story; how, after a fourteen years absence from his native land, he returned thither, and how he was every where received like a prince. Every where they made feasts in his honor, at which, too, vocal and instrumental music were heard, and often the wine flowed till midnight. The like, also, befell him in his native town, where he found his aged and honored mother still living; though, alas! his father had died but a short time before. In describing Nordhausen, he takes occasion to speak of a favorite scholar of his, who died there, the physician Thalius, tells of his botanical studies, and of his death, caused by being thrown from a carriage. Nor does he stop here, but gives a letter of Thalius's, and cites Latin and Greek poems composed upon his death. And still further—he adds a list, many pages long, of the good scholars shaped in Ilfeld, but remarks that nevertheless he had some very bad ones, and gives the history of one of these, who was beheaded. He communicates this, that teachers may learn, from his example, not to be dispirited on account of some untoward experiences, but rather to keep up a courageous heart. Thus much in characterization of the larger geography. The lesser, but thirty pages long, is far more concise.

Let us now turn back to his life. In the year 1562, he married Anna Winkler, of Nordhausen, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The daughter Maria married Valentin Mylius, the pastor at Ilfeld, who in after years pronounced the eulogy upon Neander.

In this eulogy we find an exceedingly edifying sketch of the last days of the venerable man. His sickness began a few days previous to Easter, in the year 1595. But, before he took to his bed, he celebrated the Lord's supper at church, after full confession. Upon his death-bed he testified his hearty adhesion to the Lutheran confession of faith. When his pastor read to him from the 73d Psalm, he repeated, with joyful emphasis, the words, "The strength of my heart, and my portion forever," and said, "I will give praise to God forever; for he is the strength of my heart, and I shall not be afraid; he is my portion and I am his, and all the powers of darkness can not sunder us forever." His last words were, "Ah, how long shall I linger here before I go to that blessed place? There shall I meet and welcome my dear grand-parents, my parents, and so many dear, pious christians, so many good and glorious friends; God grant me a speedy entrance into that happy land! Amen." Then, after waving a last farewell to all, he fell asleep in the Lord without a groan or a murmur. It was four in the afternoon of the 26th of April, 1595.

THE JESUITS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

It is impossible to estimate rightly the schools of this famous Order without some knowledge of its history. All its institutions both ecclesiastical and educational, are pervaded by one spirit, and have reference to a single and clearly defined end, the "conversion of heretics," and elevation of the church of Rome. We must, therefore, begin our inquiries with a brief historical survey of the circumstances, that called the Order or Society of Jesus into being, and determined the character of its development.

Its founder was Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, usually known as IGNATIUS VON LOYOLA, the youngest son of a noble Spanish family, and born in 1491. His youth was spent at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and he was early distinguished for the chivalric tone of his character, and his reverence for holy things, as well as for his proficiency in martial exercises, and for his courage. Being wounded at the seige of Pampelona in 1521, a wound which made him lame for life, he was taken to his father's castle, where he amused the weary hours of his confinement by reading tales of knightly adventures. But his attention was soon turned to the Lives of the Saints, and the records of their holy devotion, and heroic self-sacrifice, awakened in him a passionate desire to walk in their steps. With all the energy of his fiery nature, he consecrated himself to the service of the Blessed Virgin, to go forth as her champion and subdue the heathen to the obedience of the faith. At this time, and for many years later, he seems to have looked upon Jerusalem as the fitting field for his activity. So soon as he recovered from his wound, he clothed himself in a beggar's garb, and wandered over Spain, till reaching Barcelona, he embarked for Jerusalem. Here he was not permitted long to remain; and we soon find him again in Spain, endeavoring to supply the defects of his education by the study of grammar and philosophy. He was supported by alms, and devoted his time to the care of the sick. At this time his enthusiastic character, and the ecstacies and dreams and visions, of which he was

the subject, and his zeal in teaching, awakened the suspicions of the Inquisition that he was a member of some heretical sect, and he was imprisoned for forty days, and ordered to give up all discourse upon spiritual matters, for four years. This he would not do, and leaving Spain in 1528, fled to Paris. Here in the college of St. Barbara, he renewed his studies; and here he gathered around him those disciples, whose names afterward became so famous; Xavier, Faber, Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla and Rodriguez. These he bound together into a little society, and in August 1534, at the church of Montmartre, they took upon themselves the oaths of poverty and celibacy, and solemnly bound themselves to go, after the expiration of their studies, to Jerusalem, or if they could not do this, to put themselves at the disposal of the Pope, to go where he might choose to send them. The next year, (1535,) Ignatius returned to Spain.

In January 1537 the new society reassembled at Venice, strengthened by three new members. A war between Venice and the Turks making it impossible for them to go to Jerusalem, they employed themselves in the hospitals of the city, showing wonderful self-denial and patience, and in vigorous attempts to awaken a higher religious life in the hearts of the clergy. Here they received admission to the office of priests. After a time, leaving Venice, they came by different routes to Rome. Here they devoted themselves by day to the same labors among the sick and poor as at Venice, and at night they consulted together respecting the constitution and form of the new order. But it was some time ere the Pope was willing to give them the needed permission, it being then a question in the papal councils whether the number of monkish institutions should not rather be diminished than increased. It was not till August, 1540, that the *Society of Jesus* was formally authorized and established by a papal bull. The number of members was at first limited to sixty, but this restriction was, three years later, removed. The first step of the new order was the choice of a General or Chief, and all votes were given to Ignatius. It is a remarkable fact that he immediately after devoted himself, for several weeks, with all the ardor of his nature, to the personal instruction of children of the church. The office of General, Ignatius held to his death in 1556.

Before examining the internal organization of this society, let us follow a little way its external history. The labors of the Jesuits embraced three departments, preaching, confession, and education. Of the latter, Ranke remarks; "To this they thought of binding themselves from the first by a special clause in their vows, and although that was not done, they made the practice of this duty im-

perative by the most cogent rules. Their most earnest desire was to gain the rising generation." So small in its beginnings, the order very rapidly increased in numbers and influence. At the time of Loyola's death it had established itself in thirteen Provinces, of which seven were in Spain and her colonies, and three in Italy. Their schools and colleges were very soon found in most of the chief cities of Catholic Christendom. The *Collegium Romanum* was established at Rome in 1550, and the *Collegium Germanicum* for the education of German youth, in 1552. Other national colleges of the same general character soon followed,—one for the English, one for the Greeks, one for the Hungarians, &c. In 1551, Ferdinand established a college at Vienna; in 1554, one was founded at Coimbra in Portugal; in 1556, one in Bavaria; in 1559, one in Munich. Pope Gregory XIII, (1572—1585,) was very active in this way, and it is said that twenty-two Jesuit colleges owed their origin to him. In a very few years the education of the higher classes, and of the leading minds in all the parts of Europe that yielded allegiance to the Roman pontiff, was in the hands of the Society of Jesus.

But this activity was not confined to education. Their members were busy in every part of Protestant Christendom to which they could get access, striving to bring back the people to the old faith. And their missionaries went forth into all parts of the heathen world, converting idolaters, and establishing churches. In every department of religious enterprise, they were conspicuous among their brethren, and in most, the recognized leaders.

The rapid increase of the Order in numbers, and in educational influence, may be seen from the fact, that, beginning with a membership limited to sixty, in the year 1626 they numbered more than fifteen thousand, divided into thirty-nine Provinces, and possessing 803 houses, 467 colleges, and thirty-six seminaries. In 1710, they had 612 colleges, and twenty-four universities, besides a multitude of lower schools. In the middle of the eighteenth century their number amounted to more than 22,000, with 669 colleges, and 176 seminaries, and in France alone, they had almost 700 schools.

But, though thus successful, the Society of Jesus met, from the first, strong Catholic opposition in many quarters. Several of the other orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, looked upon it with great jealousy and dislike. Many of the universities regarded their colleges as rival institutions, and were angry at the great favor showed them by the Pope, and princes, and nobility. And some of the Popes, even, feared its growing power and popularity. Very early, Paul IV, demanded that the General should hold

his office only for three years, and not for life as the constitution appointed, but the Jesuits resisted, and his successors yielded the point. Still it was felt by the papal councils that the power in his hands was excessive, and it was feared that it might be wielded to dangerous ends, a fear that time showed to be just.

To trace in detail the history of the Order would be foreign to our present purpose. Suffice it to say, that as it became numerous, rich and powerful, it lost in some measure its early religious character, and became ambitious and worldly. Its members drew upon themselves the hatred of kings and statesmen by their continual intermedling in political affairs, and by their attempts to make the authority of the church dominant over that of the state. For this cause they were banished from the territories of the Republic of Venice, as early as 1606. With increasing wealth came luxury, and many of the lay members engaged in traffic and commerce; the extensive ramifications of the order giving them great facilities for the successful prosecution of commercial enterprises. The Society thus became the owner of large factories in many parts of the world, from which rich revenues were derived. The richly endowed colleges became often banks of exchange. As the interests of the Order were held paramount to all other interests, they did not hesitate, notwithstanding the vows of obedience, to array themselves against the Pope, when they found it for their advantage. Thus gradually they lost the favor of all parties, and toward the close of the eighteenth century, the Society was driven out of all the Catholic kingdoms of Europe. Russia alone, moved by considerations of the educational advantages derived from them, offered them an asylum. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV, suppressed the Order. But though thus formally dissolved, the Society still kept up its organization in secret, and its members, though under other names, labored incessantly to regain their former position. It was not, however, till 1814, under Pope Gregory, that the decree of dissolution was repealed. Its history from that time has been varied, but it seems to have been slowly but steadily gaining in numbers and influence. In 1844, the number of members was estimated at 4,133, in 1855, at 5,510, in 1860, at 7,144. This latter number was thus divided; in France 2,181, in Belgium 531, in Holland 205, in Spain 680, in Austria 455, in Prussia 527, in England 379, in America 444, in Italy 1,742, and more than 1,000 at different missionary stations.

II. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

We turn now to the internal organization of the Society. This is simple and admirably adapted to the ends it had in view. All

power is concentrated in the hands of the head or General, (*Praepositus Generalis,*) who holds his office for life. He is elected by the members of the order, represented by delegates in General Congregation. This body can give him advice in particular cases, but can not control him in his actions. He is to the Order, what the Pope is to the church, the representative of God. "In him should Christ be honored as present in his person." The ultimate decision rests with him alone, and only in case of some very flagrant and gross abuse of his authority, can the General Congregation interfere to depose him. It should be said that hitherto no such deposition has ever taken place. This possession for life of almost absolute power, lifts the General above all fear of those under him, and makes it unnecessary to seek, by favoritism, or weak concessions to faction, a transient popularity. In the hands of a strong, sagacious man, it gives a stable character to the policy of the Order, and a unity and energy of action attainable in no other way. But his knowledge of the characters and capacities of its members must be commensurate with his power over them, to enable him to employ them with wisdom, and to this end he is the ultimate depository of all the secrets of the confessional. Thus he knows what is passing in the hearts of all under him, and can wisely choose his instruments, and adapt his measures to the end to be attained.

Under the head of the Order stand the chiefs of various provinces, or the Provincials, (*Praepositus Provincialis,*) who in their several jurisdictions represent him, and are responsible only to him. These hold their offices for three years. After them come the heads of Houses, the rectors of Colleges, and the superiors of the Residences, who also all hold their offices for three years.

Aside from these official distinctions, the members of the society are divided into four classes, the Professed, Coadjutors, Scholastics, and Novices. The latter are those who have sought admission to the order, and been accepted, and placed in one of the houses established for them, there to spend the two years of their novitiate in meditation and prayer, and in the performance of various specified labors, under the care of the master of the novices, (*magister novitiorum.*) Having successfully passed this period of probation, the novice enters into one of the colleges of the society, and becomes a scholastic. Here he gives five or six years to the study of grammar, and rhetoric, and philosophy, &c; and having completed the course, enters upon the work of teaching. As a teacher, he begins with the lower class, and teaches it in the same order of studies through which he himself has just passed. After five or six years thus spent, he

enters upon the study of theology, to which four or six years are given. Then a year is spent in the repetition of the spiritual exercises, and the probation of the novitiate; and at length at the age of 30—32, he is admitted into the priesthood.

Becoming a priest, the scholastic takes the oath either as a *coadjutor spiritualis*, or as a professed. The distinction between these two classes is this, that the former promises to devote himself with all zeal to the work of education, while the latter binds himself to execute any mission the Pope may intrust to him. Ranke in his History of the Popes, thus explains the way in which the distinction arose. "As the professed members had bound themselves by the fourth vow to continual travel on the service of the Pope, it was inconsistent to assign to them so many colleges as were now required, establishments that could only flourish through their constant presence. Ignatius soon found it necessary to constitute a third class, between the professed and the novices, spiritual coadjutors, priests like the others, possessed of requisite learning, and who expressly engaged themselves to the duty of instructing youth. These coadjutors were allowed to settle themselves in the several localities, become residents, gain influence, and control education." The professed constitute the smaller class, and are really the aristocracy of the order, since from their ranks only, can the General and the provincials be taken, and they are the authorized members of the General Congregation. Thus under the General, the law making power, and the chief offices, are in their power. When not employed in the service of the Pope, they reside in houses especially appropriated to their use.

The coadjutors, who are divided into several classes, some engaged in preaching and teaching, *coadjutores spirituales*, some in secular pursuits, *coadjutores temporales*, constitute, with the scholastics, the largest and most laborious part of the order. The care of the colleges, and of the schools, is almost wholly in the hands of the spiritual coadjutors, the lay coadjutors fulfilling other duties. By bull of Paul III, the society was authorized to elect lay members, to be employed in various kinds of secular labor, but who were not permanent members, the relation ceasing when their work was done.

There are two or three features in the constitution of this Order which at once arrest our attention, and which we must take into account if we would explain its success, or understand the character and working of its institutions. The first of these is the principle of implicit obedience. In none of the monkish orders is the principle carried so far as here. Each member must obey his superior

as he would obey God. So long as a command does not involve manifest sin, it is binding upon the conscience. *Superioris vocem ac jussu non secus ac Christi vocem.* The members must be in the hands of the chiefs as passive as if dead, (*ac si essent cadaver,*) or as a stick that yields without resistance to every motion of the hand that bears it. Not only the will, but the understanding was so to be brought into subjection, that the obedience should be both instantaneous and unquestioning. To obey, and not to reason, was a fundamental principle. By thus making one will to pervade the body, it was believed that there might be perfect unity in purpose and action, and the result showed the correctness of this belief. The boast of Cæsar that he had no soldier who would not leap into the sea at his bidding, might be truly made by the Generals of the Society of Jesus, but with this essential distinction, that the former obeyed from personal love to his chief, the latter because the command came clothed with divine authority.

The second feature to be noticed, is that each member was made to feel that the interests of the Order were paramount to every other interest. This had claims upon him superior to those of kindred, and friends, and country. He was taught to say, not "I have parents, and brothers, and sisters," but, "I had parents, and brothers, and sisters, now I have them no more." It is said of Faber, one of Ignatius' early converts, that on reaching his native town after an absence of some years, he would not stop to visit his kindred and friends, but passed on. This was deemed a highly meritorious act. He was to be dead to all other relationships of life, and alive only to those which bound him to the Society, He must be a true cosmopolitan, a sojourner, as he might be sent in any country, but a citizen of none. To the prosperity of the Order he consecrated all his energies, to it all things were made subordinate. It stood to him instead of all other objects of affection, of family, of kindred, of country. Of course this entire devotion pre-supposed that in serving the Order he believed himself to be serving the church, and God. Only thus believing, was it possible that such complete self-abnegation could so have gained the mastery.

It needs no observation to show that a body of men so wholly under the will of their chiefs, so dead to all considerations but that of the success of their Order, must have been potent allies, and dangerous enemies. All historians agree that their efforts stayed the progress of the Reformation, and rolled back the tide of conquest that threatened to sweep over all the Catholic countries of Europe.

III. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES.

We turn now to the subject which especially interests us, the educational institutions of the Jesuits. As we have seen, from the very first existence of the Order, the instruction of the young had been made a cardinal point. Wherever its members went, schools and colleges, and universities, were rapidly established. In a short time the number of pupils under their care, in all parts of Europe, was very large. This rapid and great popularity was doubtless in considerable measure, owing to their zeal and energy, and to the fact that the existing schools were very imperfect, and far below the exigences of the times; but something is also to be ascribed to the intrinsic excellence of the system of education they adopted. This system received its definite and permanent form, under *Acquaviva, the fifth General of the order, who held office from 1581 to 1615, and a man highly distinguished for his administrative ability. The Congregation that elected him, recommended that a commission should be appointed of six fathers from the various Catholic kingdoms, who should draw up a plan of study, based in part, upon that followed in the Collegium Romanum. This commission was subsequently enlarged, and in 1599, made its report. The order of studies as then adopted, continued, with a few additions, to be the order till the dissolution of the society, in 1773. After its restoration in 1814, a new commission was appointed to revise it; but it was determined in General Congregation in 1820, that the former

*Claudius Acquaviva, the fifth General of the order, was born in the province of Bari, in southern Italy, on Sept. 14th, 1543. He was of a noble family, several members of which had highly distinguished themselves both in the service of the state, and of the church. A bright career was open before him, but he preferred, at the age of twenty-five, to enter into the Order of Jesus. Here he soon distinguished himself by his talents and learning, and was early made a Provincial, first at Naples, and then at Rome. He was elected General in 1581, at the age of thirty-seven. It is said that the selection of so young a man, excited the surprise of the Pope, but it was justified by the great abilities of Acquaviva, and the skill with which he managed affairs. His first care was to secure to the Order good leaders, not only virtuous men, but such as understood their position, and avoided extremes. The times were stormy, and he had to reconcile internal dissensions, and ward off attacks from without. His relations to Pope Sextus V, were often delicate, and he had need of the utmost caution not to bring about an open rupture. Sextus wished to change the constitution of the order, and make it more democratic, and less under the direction of the General, and also to withdraw the promised subsidies. By adroit managment, Acquaviva pacified the Pope, till his death freed the Order from the impending danger. He had also much difficulty in making the Spanish members of the Order obedient to his authority.

It is, however, as the author of the famed *ratio studiorum*, that Acquaviva is best known. He named in 1584, a commission of seven persons of various nations, the result of whose labors, is that course of study which remains in substance, in use to day in all the Jesuit schools.

Acquaviva died on the 31st, January, 1615, after a Generalship of thirty-four years. According to d' Alembert the Society of Jesus owes more to him than to any of its chiefs for its success in after times. The work which he did seems to have been this—that he harmonized the religious and political elements, and made the Order what it has continued to be.

order should not be essentially changed. Little, however, seems to have been done in the matter down to 1830, when * Roothaan, the General at that time, appointed a new commission. The changes made by this commission had reference mainly to the higher departments of study ,theology, philosophy, mathematics and physics. The ancient course of instruction in the lower departments was left unchanged, except in regard to modern languages and history. The reasons given for thus retaining a system which had seemingly become antiquated, will appear in the sequel.

So far as regards the external organization of the Jesuit schools, we find them to partake of the general character of all the institutions of the Order. No one not a member was permitted to teach, unless in some cases in the lowest schools. As has been already stated, every member after spending five or six years in study, was required to devote a like period to teaching. Thus all the teachers were not only members of the society, but had been educated by it, and were familiar with its methods of instruction. And in the giving of instruction, nothing was left to the choice or will of the individual teacher. Every thing, even to the details, was prescribed by the laws, and from these there could be no departure. And the same principle of implicit obedience ruled here as elsewhere. As it was a rule of the Order that it would not accept any college which did not, in addition to a dwelling, a school edifice, and a church, possess an endowment in money or lands sufficient for the support of at least fourteen persons, it was thus raised above the necessity of adapting its methods of instruction to popular tastes, or of imitating the schools around them. This enabled them also to make their instructions gratuitous, a circumstance that naturally tended much to their popularity. The care of these endowments, as of all merely business matters, belonged to the lay brethren.

Colleges.

The colleges were of three classes, according to the number of teachers. The first must, as a rule, have twenty, the second, thirty, the third, which ranked as a university, seventy. The general supervision of each college was given to an officer called a rector, usually taken from the ranks of the older teachers, but who himself took no part in the work of instruction. To him it belonged to appoint the teachers under him, to note the progress of the pupils,

* Roothaan was born at Amsterdam, Nov. 23d, 1785, elected General of the Order, 1829, and died 8th May, 1853. His activity was especially directed to three points; 1, Foreign Missions; 2, the promotion of scientific studies; 3, the more strict practice of the exercises of Ignatius.

and to watch over all that concerned the prosperity and usefulness of the institution. He was appointed by the General, or his plenopotentiary, and held his office for three years, and all must render obedience to him as to the representative of Christ. Under him were several officers who had special charge of the studies, and discipline of the pupils, and who were like himself, taken from the ranks of the spiritual coadjutors. With the colleges were generally united pensions, or boarding schools, in which pupils, especially those of rich and noble families, were received for a moderate compensation; and sometimes also seminaries for the education of priests. There were also in some cases day schools attended by youth, who boarded at home, and these were open to the children of Protestants under certain restrictions.

The course of study in these institutions divided itself into higher and lower; *studia superiora et inferiora.* The smaller colleges limited themselves to the latter, and to these we shall mainly here confine ourselves. The lower course of study occupiės six years, which are thus divided: the first year is occupied with the school Latin, or the rudiments; the second, with grammar in its first elements; the third with syntax; all these are called the grammatical classes, The fourth year is occupied with philology and poetry, and the fifth and sixth years with rhetoric; the latter two are called the humanity classes. The subjects of study, the books to be used, the amount of time to be daily spent, and the methods of instruction, are all accurately prescribed, and can not be departed from.

The character of this course of study can be understood only by keeping in view the fact, that the knowledge of the Latin tongue was regarded by the Jesuits as of the first importance, and that all other knowledge was made subordinate to this. The ability to speak it and write it with correctness and fluency, is constantly held up before the pupils as the chief end of their efforts. The Latin has always been greatly honored in the Romish church, as the language of the ritual, and of the larger part of her theologieal literature, but to the members of the Order the mastery of the language had a special value, since it enabled the natives of different countries to converse freely with each other whenever they met, and served them as a secret tongue, when they wished their conversation to be unknown. And the prominent place given it under Acquaviva, it retains even to our own day. The present General of the Order, (Peter Beck, chosen 1853,) writing to the minister of education of Austria, says, "Since the Latin tongue is the tongue of the church, the tongue of Christian tradition, and since in this tongue the scientific

treasures of all ages and of all nations are preserved, and n other has so developed itself for the expression of faith and science, the Society of Jesus has for this tongue a special love, and makes use of it for the purpose of giving instruction in its schools."

As the chief object in this study of the Latin language is to get the mastery of it as of a living language, and to make it available for practical ends, it follows that the classics are read more for their style than for their ideas, and for this reason considerable portions of them are committed to memory in order to give the pupils command of words and phrases. The lowest class begins with the rudiments of the language, and learns, during the first year the declensions and conjugations, with some of the simplest rules of syntax; *gradus hujus scholæ est rudimentorum perfecta, syntaxis inchoata, cognitio.* Easy passages are selected for reading, attention being paid chiefly to the construction of the sentences. A beginning is also made in the practice of composition, and in committing to memory short sentences, as a foundation for speaking, for the latter purpose use being made of the so called "Amalthea," of Pomey, a curious miscellany of odds and ends. The age of members of this class was from nine to twelve.

The second class continued the study of grammar, following the method already indicated. The object aimed at being a general knowledge of its rules and principles, special attention was given to the syntax. Of the authors read, Cicero and Ovid were the chief,—some of the epistles of the former, some of the simplest poems of the latter. Sometimes also some of the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil were studied.

The third class—the age of the pupils being from thirteen to fifteen years—completed the Latin syntax, and the grammar generally, and began the study of prosody. Among the works studied were the more difficult letters of Cicero, and some of his didactic writings; and passages of the poets, of Ovid, Virgil, Catullus, and Tibullus. The latter, however, were not read at random, but only certain selected and expurgated portions; *selectæ aliquæ et purgatæ.* Parts of the "Amalthea," were also committed to memory.

During these three years the Greek was studied with the Latin, and the same general method of instruction pursued, but it held a very subordinate place, as appears both from the very little time daily allotted to it, and from the few authors read. In Greek the compendium of Gretser was used; in Latin the same grammar which was adopted in 1581,—the *Grammatica Emmanuelis*, prepared by Emmanuel Alvarus,—continues, for the most part unaltered, in use to the present day.

Besides these two ancient languages, nothing is spoken of in the early plan of studies, *ratio studiorum*, but "religion," by which term was meant the learning by heart the little catechism of Peter Canisius, and of the Latin Gospel; and "Erudition," comprising some facts respecting sacred history, an outline of the four great monarchies and of the present kingdoms of the world. Of arithmetic, of geography, of history, as distinct departments of knowledge, nothing is said. Nor was any instruction given at first, in these institutions respecting the mother tongue of the pupils; but this omission causing great complaint, it was determined in 1703, that they should be taught it, although the teaching seems to have been fragmentary and imperfect. Nor was any attention given to the modern languages till the revision of the studies in 1832, when some concessions were made in this point to the spirit of the age.

The two higher classes, distinguished as the "poetical" and "rhetorical," *quarta poetica, quinta rhetorica*, had as their goal, eloquence, or the art of writing and speaking well. The foundation of this art was laid in the studies of the fourth class, *præparare veluti solum eloquentiæ*—which were directed to the knowledge of the structure of the language, and of the rules of rhetoric, and to the acquisition of general information. The studies of the fifth class, embracing two years, were not well defined; *gradus hujus scholiæ non facile certis quibusdam terminis definiri potest*, but had reference more or less direct to oratory, the *facultas oratoria*. The methods of study followed were essentially the same as in the lower classes. Some selected portions of an author are read in the morning, such as treat of eloquence, tropes, figures, &c., and in the afternoon, such as treat of the art of poetry. The Latin classics are used mainly with reference to style, that the pupils may learn to express themselves with fluency and propriety. The favorite author is Cicero, whose works are studied at all stages of the course, the orations being reserved to the last. Of the historians, Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, are read; of the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Martial; care being taken in all cases that any thing immodest is first expurgated.

In these two classes, as in the earlier, the Greek is taught with the Latin, and continues to hold a subordinate place; but while the other classes devote but an half hour to it each day, the fifth class devotes an hour. The scholars study some of the easier prose writers, and some of the early Christian poets. The Rhetoric of Aristotle is studied, not in the original, but in the Latin. In both languages, the object is, throughout, to gain such knowledge of them as to enable the pupil to speak and write them. But in regard to the Greek, this was never, or at least very rarely, attained. The Latin,

however, being constantly used in the school as the medium of instruction, and by the pupils of the higher classes in their conversation with each other, became by degrees very familiar, and was spoken and written with great fluency, if not always correctly, or often with elegance. How many Greek authors were actually read, it is difficult to say. The list given of those to be perused in the last year, embraces Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and others of the ancients, together with Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom. It is apparent, however, that only very small portions of these could possibly have been read. It is to be remembered that the pupil ended the course, as a rule, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and then proceeded to the higher course, *studiis superioribus*, during which no special attention was given to philology.

Aside from the Greek and Latin, the instruction of the pupils in other departments of knowledge was, in the higher, as in the lower classes, very fragmentary and imperfect. As a religious text-book the catechism of Canisius was used, and the Gospels in Greek, or the Acts of the Apostles, or the Panegyrics of Chrysostom, read and explained. Besides this, there was a very miscellaneous and undefined field embraced in the phrase *eruditio*, points of archæology, and history, symbols, proverbs, inscriptions, architecture, remarkable facts, and the like, but as instruction was given upon these multifarious points only upon the weekly holiday, it is apparent that much real knowledge could not have been acquired. It is not a little remarkable that arithmetic is mentioned only once, and incidentally, and that the only time given to it was in the last week of each term, when the severer studies were ended. To the physical sciences no time was devoted except in the brief interval between the examination and the division of the prizes, and that mainly to amuse the pupils with entertaining experiments. But we must add that the Society, yielding to the demands of the times, does now give much fuller instruction in history, geography, mathematics, and the mother tongue. Still, even now it must be said that the instruction in these branches is very imperfect. The study of the Latin and Greek continues to be, as it has ever been, the chief object of attention, and casts all else into the shade.

In regard to text-books, changes are permitted very slowly and cautiously, the old being retained as long as possible, and great care is taken that none of them contain any thing contrary to the Catholic faith and dogmas. Only expurgated editions of the classics are used, and such as can not be purged, as Terence, are not read at all.

The pupils are permitted to read no books in private which have not been examined and approved of by the teachers, nor to bring them into the school, or have them in their possession. The time devoted to each branch of study was very precisely marked out, and could not be departed from. The whole time given each day was five hours, two and a half in the morning, and the same in the afternoon, except in the highest class, which was four, making for the week in the former case, twenty-seven hours, in the latter from twenty-one to twenty-two; no allowance being made here for the feast and fast-days, which limited the school time still more.

The order of exercises each day is substantially as follows: At six and three quarters A. M., the bell is rung, and the pupils begin to assemble; at seven, all go together to mass, and at seven and a half the school opens with a short prayer, both pupils and teachers kneeling with uncovered heads; and closes in the same way. Before beginning to read, the teacher makes the sign of the cross; a half hour is given to collecting and correcting the written tasks, hearing recitations from memory, &c. From eight to nine the lessons of the preceding day are repeated, then a new passage is read and explained; at nine, matter is dictated for a new composition in Latin or Greek, which is always so brief that it can be written and corrected within an hour; in the lower classes two or three lines suffice. Whilst the scholars are occupied in this labor the master gives help to the more backward pupils. In the afternoon the school begins at one and a half and follows the same general order. At its close the teacher gives thanks to God. On Tuesdays and Thursdays the order is somewhat varied, and on the weekly holiday the morning school is shortened half an hour, and the afternoon session omitted.

The prescriptions which are very minute, respecting the studies not only of each day, but of each month, and for the discipline of the school and its management, we here pass by.

Characteristic Features.

From what has been said, it is not difficult to point out the characteristic features of the Jesuit schools. They may be summed up in these points: first, the limitation of the course of study to a few subjects; second, the culture of the memory by the practice of repetition; and third, the awakening of the ambition of the pupils by constant appeals to the feeling of emulation.

The one central thing in the course of study, is the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, especially of the former. In the

original plan, *ratio studiorum*, scarce any thing else was mentioned; and although within a few years the course has been enlarged, still, these languages retain their high position. This concentration of the time and labor of the scholar upon a single point, brings with it some very decided advantages. What is learned is usually learned thoroughly, and the mind is thus made, in its measure, clear and strong, and the danger of great superficiality, of knowing a little of many things and nothing well, is guarded against. Yet on the other hand, the Jesuits, as has been remarked, attach a value to the Latin tongue, which most in our day will regard as exaggerated. To speak it and write it fluently, is an acquisition hardly worth its cost. We do not here intend to enter at all into the discussion respecting the comparative value of the study of language and of science as a means of mental discipline. We speak only of the fact that, to attain this mastery over the Latin, not only science in almost all its departments, but also modern languages and literature, must be neglected. Six years, from the age of ten to sixteen being thus spent, and in this period only the merest smattering of mathematics, or history, or geography, having been acquired, it will, we think, be rightly judged that the time could have been more profitably employed.

As to the mode in which the Latin is studied, there may be an objection taken, and we think a just one, in that the object is not to enable the pupil to enter into the genius of the language, and to imbibe its spirit as the deepest, truest expression of national life, but to obtain a verbal, external command over it as a vehicle of communication. The study, therefore, becomes a mechanical one, and serves rather to discipline the memory, than to develop the higher faculties of the mind.

A second characteristic is the cultivation of the memory by the frequent repetition of the lessons. In the lower classes, besides words and grammatical rules, passages from Cicero are selected and learned by heart, and care is taken that these shall be short, not more than four to seven lines. The catechism is also committed to memory. In the higher classes, and especially in the highest, there are frequent declamations, that what has been learned may be fittingly expressed. It is the duty of the teacher to explain the lesson, and illustrate it by examples, and the next day the pupil must repeat the illustrations in substance, or verbatim. Sometimes the remarks of the teacher are written down by the pupils and next day repeated from recollection. That the lessons may not be beyond the grasp

of an ordinary memory they are made very short, and being often repeated can not be easily forgotten.

That complete command may be attained over the Latin, not only is it used by the teachers of the higher classes in their instructions, and in all their intercourse with the scholars, but the scholars themselves are required to use it in their private intercourse with one another. The use of the mother tongue is visited with censure, and some mark of disgrace. By this continual practice the language soon becomes very familiar; at least in its colloquial forms.

The third characteristic is the intense emulation which is aroused among the pupils. The teacher is directed to appeal to this principle in every possible way. "He, who knows how skillfully to awaken emulation, has the most efficient means at his command, and in itself a sufficient means, to attain success in his office. Let him therefore value this weapon highly, and diligently inquire how he can attain with it the greatest results." Among the means to this end always employed, are the establishment of different offices with Latin titles, Prætors, Censors, Decurions, among the pupils, who are chosen according to the results of the monthly studies—skill in composition being most highly prized. Those who have written the best, receive the highest dignity, and others according to their merits. Frequently the school is divided into two parties, called now, Romans and Carthagenians, now, Greek and Trojans, under like officers, who contend with each other which shall best answer the questions put by the master; or they put questions to one another. Sometimes an officer challenges another to a trial of knowledge and skill, or a private may challenge an officer, and if he overcomes him, takes himself the office, or receives some badge of his triumph. The highest in rank, called a dictator, wears upon his breast a gilded key upon a rich ribbon, and a costly bound register, in which are inscribed the names of the dictators. These contests take place regularly at fixed times. Besides these contests various artifices are used to awaken the ambition of the scholars, as the writing down the name of one who has distinguished himself upon a public table, or the public mention of his name each month; as on the other hand, a great offense is entered in the censor's book, and the name of the offender publicly proclaimed.

But in addition to these ordinary means, great importance is given to the yearly examination and the distributions of prizes. After the feast of the Assumption of Mary, the pupils begin their preparations for examination, which occupies nearly a month. The ceremony of distributing the prizes at the end of the school year in

September, is publicly commemorated and numerously attended. The names of the victors are announced to the audience, and coming forward they receive their premiums before the assembly. Often a comedy, prepared by one of the teachers, is acted, and poems repeated. Each teacher also gives little presents, images, and books, or posts of honor, to such as have in any way distinguished themselves.

From these characteristic features of the mode of instruction in the Jesuit schools, let us consider the principles that lie at the basis of their whole educational system; and the first and fundamental one is that education must be religious. The pupils must be educated for God and the church, and every thing must be adapted to this end and subordinate to it. But religion and morality are not matters of the intellect merely; they can not be so much learned as practiced. Hence great stress is laid upon pious practices, as pilgrimages, hearing of mass, adoration of images, saying of prayers, and the like. It does not appear that very much instruction was early given to the pupils about religious dogmas. The catechism of Canisius, *summa doctrinæ christianæ*, was committed to memory, but this seems to have been as much to teach them Latin as theology. So the Gospels in Greek and Latin were read and explained. Beyond this no special dogmatic religious instruction was given. But the pupils were made daily to attend mass, and accustomed to offer certain prescribed prayers to God and the saints; sometimes from a book, sometimes from memory. They were to pray, not only at the opening and close of the school but at other times, as whenever the clock struck; and at the beginning of his written exercise, the pupil kneeling, addressed a petition to the Holy Spirit. He, who distinguished himself by the strict performance of these pious practices, was praised and rewarded, but he who neglected them was punished by being compelled to attend more masses, or repeat more prayers.

In order more effectually to accomplish the end and stimulate the scholars to outward acts of devotion, special means were resorted to. The pupils, who distinguished themselves by their piety, were received into the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, a society which had its origin in the Collegium Romanum, but had extended itself widely in most Catholic countries. The rite of confession also played a most important part in promoting these external observances, since in this way it was easily ascertained who of the pupils neglected his religious duties. It deserves to be noted that the father-confessor of the pupils is not one of the teachers, or one having

any direct connection with the school, but a priest of the Order, specially commissioned to this duty. It need scarcely be said that the original abhorrence of the Society of Jesus against all heresy was implanted, so far as possible, in the hearts of their pupils, and it is a curious fact, and not a little suggestive, that while they were forbidden to attend public executions, there was an express exception with regard to the execution of heretics. That they almost universally became most zealous defenders of the Roman church and opponents of the Reformation, followed, of course.

As religion constituted a prominent part of education in the Jesuit schools, so also did morality. How far the accusations brought against the moral teachings of the Order by Pascal, and so often repeated since, are true, we can not here inquire. That they have had general credence is sufficiently shown by the current use of the term Jesuitical. That, however, they watched over the morals of their pupils with care, and trained them to virtuous habits, we see no good reason to doubt. But some of the principles adopted by them and applied in their schools seem justly open to exception. Among them is that of implicit obedience, an obedience which embraced not only the act, but the will; for as we have seen, every member of the Order was to be in the hands of his superior, as a corpse. He was to obey the commands given him without hesitation or reflection. Only when they manifestly involved sin could they refuse; *quæ cum peccato manifesto conjunctæ non sint.* In all other cases his obedience must be instantaneous and blind. The command was binding upon his conscience. This principle of the Order naturally ruled in the schools. The instructions of the teacher were in no case to be questioned, but received. What he said in explanation or interpretation of the lessons was not to be examined or reasoned upon, but to be remembered and repeated and believed. In this way all mental independence must soon cease, and the pupil, forbidden to exercise his own judgment, would become the mere passive recipient of the ideas of others. Men so trained might be excellent members of the Order, but could scarcely be expected to be pioneers in yet unexplored realms of thought, neither acute critics of old dogmas, nor propounders of new.

In its moral, as well as in its intellectual bearings, this principle of implicit obedience is fraught with danger. If it be true that the church of God, rightly constituted and guided by the Holy Spirit, is infallible, it by no means follows that the will of the individual members is to be held in abeyance, and that a blind, unquestioning obedience is to be paid to ecclesiastical rulers. All service rendered

to God should be reasonable, voluntary, and free, and while there is proper submission to authority, there should be at the same time no coercion of the conscience. We can not throw the responsibility of our moral acts upon others, and to do this destroys the sense of right and wrong, and disorders the whole spiritual nature. In so far, therefore, as the Jesuits taught their pupils that all disobedience, except when the command is flagrantly immoral, is mortal sin, they undermined that sense of individual responsibility which is essential to true manhood, and without which human actions have no moral character, and morality itself no real existence. To obey unquestioningly is an excellent rule for the soldier, since military evolutions rarely involve points of ethics, but not for the Christian warrior whose duty it is to have always a conscience void of offense toward God and toward men, and whose first question respecting every act must be, is it right?

But while we must protest against the principle of implicit obedience, and regard its application to education as highly injurious to the nobler forms of moral character, in the external discipline and government of the Jesuit schools we find no reason to believe that there was over much rigor and severity. Indeed, at their first institution they seem to have favorably contrasted with most of the schools of that period, in this respect. There was comparatively little of corporal punishment, or of punishment of any kind, and complaints were sometimes made that the better class of pupils were allowed too great liberty. It was a rule that the teacher should get hold of the pupil rather by mildness and kindness than by sternness, and that youth is better led by the excitements of honor and by fear of shame, than by rough punishments. When it was necessary to inflict bodily chastisement, a "corrector" was appointed for this purpose, and care was taken that he should not be a member of the Order. A chief means of preserving good conduct at all times was the supervision to which every pupil was constantly exposed. At all hours and in every place a teacher, or some officer, was present, at study and at play, by day and by night, in the play-room and the sleeping-room, and upon all walks and excursions; and more than this; it was a rule that, so far as possible, a pupil should never be left alone. Two must go in company, both to school and to church, in their walks and amusements. To this, in itself, although an excess of caution, there is little to object; but it merits severest reprobation, if, as is charged, the purpose was to make each a spy upon the other, to note and report at the confessional, or to the superiors, every offense. Such a system was destructive, not merely of private

friendship, which indeed the society never favored, teaching that Christian love embraced all alike, but of all youthful sincerity and nobleness.

To manners and deportment special attention was paid; the pupils were taught to speak distinctly and elegantly, to write a clear and handsome hand, to walk with an erect and easy carriage, and to conform to all those external forms that distinguished the gentleman. To aid them in gaining ease and assurance of manner and readiness of address, much was made of dramatic representation; both tragedies and comedies were frequently acted, but all in Latin. At first the time of each representation was limited to one and a half hours, and much expense and display were forbidden, but later much more time was given them, and the preparations were often on a magnificent scale. The people who came were admitted gratuitously, and great crowds often assembled. The plays were not unfrequently written by one of the scholastics, taking as the groundwork a legend out of the history of the martyrs, or some event of contemporaneous history. Of course these reflected the ruling feeling of the day, and were sometimes both gross and fantastic.

Besides the acting of plays, most forms of amusement were encouraged, and such gymnastic exercises as tended to promote bodily strength and grace. The pupils were taught to ride, to dance, to row, to fence, and to divert themselves with all proper games. Almost every college had a spacious farm-house where they were taken upon holidays in the summer. Especial care was taken that the site of the school should be healthy, and the rooms airy. The food was wholesome and well prepared, and beyond the watchings and fastings required by the church, there was no undue asceticism. In short, to every thing that pertained to the physical and external prosperity of their schools, the Jesuits seem to have given much care, and to have been very successful.

Before attempting to estimate the comparative merits and demerits of the Jesuit schools from the data before us, let us consider the opinions that have been expressed respecting them by various eminent scholars. Among their commenders is that very able man and competent judge, Lord Francis Bacon. In his work "De augment. Scient." he writes; "As to pædagogy, it may briefly be said, consult the schools of the Jesuits, for there is nothing better than these." Elsewhere, also, he expresses his approbation in strong terms, praising the practice of gathering the pupils in colleges, as giving a better field to dramatic representations, and awakening emulation, and

commending the short lessons, and the gradual progress from the easier to the harder branches of study.

Another distinguished philosopher, Descartes, gives the same commendation, which is the more valuable since he was himself educated at one of these schools.* One of the special advantages of which he speaks is, the mingling together and intercourse of so many youth taken from all parts of the land, supplying the place in a good degree of foreign travel; and the equality upon which all are placed.

One of the warmest encomiasts is Chateaubriand, who affirmed that in the suppression of the Society of Jesus, Europe had suffered an irreparable loss, and that education had never recovered from the blow it then sustained. He praises especially the skill with which the teachers knew how to bind the pupils to themselves, and declares that the Jesuits had brilliantly distinguished themselves in every department of knowledge, as chemists, botanists, mathematicians, mechanicians, astronomers, poets, historians, translators, archæologists, and journalists.

In the praises of the French Catholics, many Protestant writers have joined, though not without some qualification. Macaulay observes: "No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculation or of active life, in which Jesuits were not to be found. They guided the counsels of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motions of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, alcaic odes, editions of the fathers, madrigals, catechisms, and lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands, and was conducted by them with conspicuous ability. They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals. Meanwhile they assiduously and successfully cultivated the eloquence of the pulpit. With still greater assiduity and still greater success they applied themselves to the ministry of the confessional. Throughout Catholic Europe the secrets of every gov-

* According to Lewes; "Biographical History of Philosophy," Descartes, on leaving the college of La Fleche, "declared that he had derived no other benefit from his studies than that of a conviction of his utter ignorance, and a profound contempt for the systems of philosophy in vogue." Still it is beyond doubt that he highly valued the education he had received at La Fleche.

ernment, and of almost every family of note were in their keeping." To the darker shades in Macaulay's picture we need not advert.

Ranke in his "History of the Popes," speaking of their pedagogical success, thus explains it: "The Jesuits were more systematic than the earlier teachers. They divided the pupils into classes, and the instruction of all from highest to lowest was carried on in the same spirit. They took good care of their morals, and formed well educated people. One thing they had which especially distinguished them; it was method. Every thing was designed, every thing had its end."

In the same strain Hallam remarks in his "Literature of Europe." "It was one of the first great services which the Jesuits performed, to get possession of the universities, or to found other seminaries for education. In these they discarded the barbarous school-books then in use, put the rudimentary study of the languages on a better footing, devoted themselves, for the sake of religion, to those accomplishments which religion had hitherto disdained; and by giving a taste for elegant literature, with as much solid and scientific philosophy as the knowledge of the times and the prejudices of the church would allow, both wiped away the reproach of ignorance, and drew forth the native talents of their novices and scholars. They taught gratuitously, which threw, however unreasonably, a sort of discredit upon salaried professors; it was found that boys learned more from them in six months than in two years under other masters; and, probably for both these reasons, even Protestants sometimes withdrew their children from the ordinary gymnasia and placed them in Jesuit colleges. No one will deny that, in their classical knowledge, particularly of the Latin language, and in the elegance with which they wrote it, the order of the Jesuits might stand in competition with any scholars in Europe."

Of recent German writers both Stahl and Hahn speak of the many merits of these schools. Hahn says: "It is customary to represent the instruction as exceedingly superficial and defective, and as injurious to the intellect. I believe that in this we do the Jesuits injustice, at any rate so far as concerns their earlier history, when their schools were inferior to the universities in their variety of learning, but not inferior to them in method and result. The Jesuits took great care to make study agreeable to their pupils. This has caused their opponents to bring many charges against them, as if the knowledge thus gained was necessarily both partial and superficial. It is however to be remarked that the pedagogical efforts of that day are not to be judged of by the principles which only

within a few years have found currency. That the Jesuits with their more pleasing modes of instruction reached as high results as the universities with their drier and more scholastic methods, is satisfactorily shown by the lists of their scholars whose names hold honorable places upon the pages of French literature, and in political and ecclesiastical history. They count among them the famous warriors, Conde, Bouillon, Rohan, Luxembourg, Montmorency, Villars, Broglie; the prelates, Flechier, Bossuet, Fleury, Tericin; the lawyers, Lamoignon, Argenson, Montesquieu; the philosophers and poets, Descartes, Corneille, Cubillon, Fontenelle, Moliere and Voltaire. Not all of these pupils have remained faithful to the principles of the Order that educated them, but the very enumeration shows both that the Jesuit schools had a wide sphere of action, and that they did not stupify and benumb the intellect."

To these friendly judgments of Protestant writers we may oppose the severe strictures of many Catholics, even of some educated in the Jesuit schools. The author of a recent treatise entitled, "The Gymnasia of Austria and the Jesuits," thus sums up the matter: "The method of Jesuit instruction appears upon impartial consideration, only as a melancholy proof of pedagogical error, and of rigid persistence in antiquated ways. The system as originally devised in the *ratio studiorum*, answers less and less to the necessities and demands of the times. We do not hesitate to say that if great and important provinces of the German empire have presented in our days the image of intellectual stagnation, we explain this fact by the defective character of Jesuit education. We do by no means assert that single members of this Order have not rendered important services to science. But this is not due to their method of educa tion. We repeat, what was said in the last century, that if we compute the numbers of the Order from its institution to the year 1774, at 150,000, which is a very moderate estimate, one need not wonder that out of so many, some fifteen or twenty should be good Latin scholars. In general what the Jesuits have done for science is very small. In philosophy scarcely a single work can be named which has had any decided influence upon the progress of thought. Even in historical labors, in which they have won most praise, they have been greatly surpassed by the Benedictines of St. Maur. The deficiency in original investigation, which is so conspicuous in their schools, is manifest in all the after life of the pupils. There is often a poverty of thought in their writings which contrasts strangely with their industry in compilation. The numerous sources of information which we have examined respecting the educational labors of

the Jesuits, enable us confidently to affirm that their whole system is not only antiquated, but wrong in character, and has no internal vitality. Its continuance, whether upheld by authority or artifice, endangers both the church and the state, since it educates men who can not understand their age, and have learned nothing which enables them to meet its needs."

A much earlier writer (1625,) says: "Into no Order enters so many good minds, and none study more industriously. Nevertheless only few members of it become really learned men. It can show us no distinguished preacher, no great theologian, or humanist. That in Spain so great barbarism rules is especially to be ascribed to its educational system. If men knew to what these evils were owing, they would chase the Jesuits out of the schools."

It is apparent from this brief survey of opinions, that the educational system of the Jesuits has both its merits and defects, and that it can not be commanded or condemned in the gross. Here, as so often elsewhere, religious prejudices strongly influence our judgments. No Protestant can be expected to look with favor upon the schools of an Order whose vigorous efforts stayed the progress of the Reformation, and won back for the church of Rome large territories that the reformers had looked upon as permanently their own. Nor can it be forgotten that the Jesuits owed the success of their efforts in good measure to their zeal in educating the young. In their schools they molded the minds of the children, and reared up a generation that hated heresy with a double hatred, and honored the Pope with double honor. Looked upon as a chief means of making proselytes, and of training defenders of the Romish church, a Protestant would naturally see nothing in them to commend. On the other hand, the Catholic would find a system that produced such results, both admirable in its character and excellent in its details. Let us, as educators, try to lay aside the prejudices of both, and judge the system impartially both as to its principles, and its practical working.

There are two points of view from which we may examine the Jesuit school: first, as compared with the schools of their times; second, as tried by the established principles of education.

The schools existing when the Order of Jesus was founded, had many and palpable defects. The best of them were those of the Hieronymians,* "the scholarly fraternity," *fratres scholares*. But the range of studies was very narrow, Gerard the founder of the Fraternity, caring little for any learning that had not a directly religious character. "Spend no time" he said, "either on geometry, arithmetic,

* For an account of this Order see "Barnard's German Teachers and Educators." p. 65

rhetoric, logic, grammar, poetry, or judicial astrology." Yet great importance was attached by him to the Latin tongue, and in the houses of the brethren was the Latin alone used. Still they were very zealous that the people should read the scriptures in their native tongue.

The repeated attempts made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to revive the cloister-schools, had resulted in little, and they had fallen very low in public estimation; the spirit of the age was not favorable to monastic isolation. The religious impulses which the outbreak of the Reformation gave to all institutions, was not unfelt by these schools, but was not lasting. Indeed it was impossible that they could give such culture as should meet the wants of the time. Nor were these wants met by the town or city schools. Doubtless here and there were many excellent teachers, who were very useful, but the course of study was very meager, and poorly calculated to rouse into internal activity the youthful mind. Skill in verbal disputation was the end of education. The classics were studied not that they might be understood, but for the words and phrases they supplied, and therefore the orators and rhetoricians were studied, and the poets and historians neglected. Homer was little read, or Livy, or Tacitus, or Sallust. Luther referring to his early studies, says: "How often do I lament my own case, in that I read so few of the poets and historians when I was young, and that there was no one to direct me to them. But in this place I was compelled to flounder in all manner of vain philosophic and scholastic trash, true Serbonian bogs of the devil, and with much cost and care, and vast detriment besides, so that I have had enough to do ever since in undoing the harm they did me." In all schools a knowledge of the Latin was the Alpha and Omega. In this respect the system of Acquaviva had nothing peculiar. It was the scholastic feature of that day. In the famous school of the Lutheran, Sturm, at Strasbourg, where many thousand scholars were gathered of all ranks, including princes, of the nine years spent in the gymnasium, seven were given to the acquisition of Latin words, idioms, &c, and two to the acquisition of an elegant style; and the five subsequent collegiate years were spent in learning to speak and write with fluency and elegance. A certain mastery was thus gained over Latin words, but the language itself was not learned.

So far as regards the methods of study, the early Jesuit schools do not seem to have differed much from the best schools of the day. In both was the same careful cultivation of the memory by the practice of continual repetition; in both, instruction was confined to very

few branches, and thus made thorough; in both, mathematics were greatly neglected, and the students' native tongue. In one respect the Jesuit schools seem to have had the advantage; they resorted but little to corporeal punishment. Luther speaks of the schools of his day, as "being no longer hells and purgatories as they once were, where a boy learned nothing, absolutely nothing, by reason of ceaseless flogging, trembling, woe, and anguish." The Jesuit teacher made great use, as did Sturm, of the principles of emulation, and resorted only in extreme cases to bodily chastisement.

In general, comparing the schools of the Jesuits, soon after the establishment of the Order, with the schools of their day, we may say that if there was nothing distinctively new in their method of instruction, still they were ready to use all the information they could gain from any quarter, and were not bound to old ways. But the secret of their success and popularity was in the zeal and energy with which all the institutions of the new Order were inspired. In the hands of men burning with religious ardor, any system would have been, at least for the time, successful. The society had a specific work before it, and it addressed itself to the education of the young, to make them its own, to fill them with its ideas, with an earnestness and resolution without parallel in the history of teaching. Of course, in the lapse of time, this intensity of zeal passed away, and the schools were left, in good part, to stand or fall according to their intrinsic merits.

If we try these schools by those principles of education now generally recognized among us, we find both marked advantages and defects. 1. By limiting the studies to a few branches, what was learned was learned well. It was wrought into the mental being of the pupil, and made, so to speak, a part of him; and in this way the memory was greatly strengthened. 2. The scholars were not mentally overtasked; the terms of study were brief. 3. Much attention was given to physical culture, to bodily health, and to exercise and amusement. Perhaps an undue importance was attached to gentlemanly accomplishments, to a graceful carriage, and easy address. 4. The uniform working of the system, giving completeness to the training of the pupil. Nothing was left to the caprice of teachers, but he was led on, step by step, in a fixed order, till the course was mastered. Thus was there a unity in the process in itself favorable to mental discipline.

On the other hand we find some palpable defects. 1. The course of study was too narrow. It was chiefly confined to Latin and Greek. History, geography, mathematics, and the vernacular

tongue, were almost wholly omitted. How far this omission is now rectified, we can not say, but it is certain that the study of the two languages, especially of the Latin, continues to be the chief thing, to which all else is made subordinate. 2. The method of studying the Latin and Greek is defective. The great end is to get control of them as spoken languages, or at least the former, and to make it the vehicle of verbal communication. This, under certain circumstances, may be a desirable acquisition, but to most is not worth the cost. It may be done, and yet one not penetrate into the spirit of a language, or even be able to understand its authors. Many more things are necessary to make a classical scholar than mere knowledge of words. Besides, sufficient time was not given. The pupils finished, for the most part, their studies when sixteen years of age, before the judgment was sufficiently matured to appreciate the authors they had read. 3. The attention was too much directed to externals, to fluency and grace of speech, and an elegant style. Eloquence was placed in manner rather than in matter. The pupil was not taught to think profoundly, but to express himself handsomely. 4. To awaken diligence, the principle of emulation, was unduly appealed to. The pupils were converted into rivals, and made jealous and unsocial; eavesdropping and tale-bearing were its natural fruits. 5. As the object of the Order was to restore the past, and to resist all innovating tendencies in religion and theology, this feeling gave character to their educational system. It aimed to reproduce the old. In style, Cicero was the model; in theology, Thomas Aquinas. Hence the pupil was taught to imitate, to copy, to repeat. He was to receive what he was taught, not to think any thing new. Hence it is that of the distinguished members of the Order of Jesus, few have been prominent in any department of knowledge where investigation is demanded. The training of the school does not prepare them for original inquiry. 6. The final end of all school instruction was to make the pupil a faithful son of the Church. Its whole bearing is ecclesiastical. It is assumed that the church is in possession of the truth, and that it is infallible, and that it is the duty of all her children not to investigate or question, but to believe and obey. In upholding unity, individuality is destroyed. The Christian is swallowed up in the church, the man in the order, the boy in the school. Through the confessional, the superior becomes possessed of the inmost secrets of the scholar's heart. Hence there results an obliteration of what is peculiar, or distinctive in character; all appear stamped with a common stamp.

obedience has in it a tinge of servility; and the young student is changed into an unquestioning zealot.

Such in few words are the advantages and disadvantages of the Jesuit schools regarded simply from an educational point of view. As ecclesiastical missions of the church, each one will approve or condemn, according to his religious opinions. From this point of view it is not our place to consider them.

NOTE.

In the preparation of the foregoing article, use has been made of the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu. Paris.* 1850. Of the articles, "*Jesuiten*," and "*Jesuitenschulen*," in Schmidt's "*Encyklopadie*," "*Jesuitenorden*," in Herzog's "*Real Encyklopadie*," and "*Jesuiten*" in the "*Kirchen Lexicon*" *of Wetzer and Welte.* Some use has been made of Ravignan "*De L Institut des Jesuits*," of Ranke's "*History of the Popes*," and of Maynard "*On the Studies and Teaching of the Jesuits.*" The writer's aim is historical not controversial.

THE CONSTITUTIONS RESPECTING INSTRUCTION—1558*.

INTRODUCTION.

Since the object at which the Society directly aims is to aid their own souls and those of their fellow-creatures in attaining that ultimate end for which they were created; and since learning and the method of propounding it, as well as the example of life are necessary to this object; as soon as a good foundation of self-denial, and the needful advancement in virtue has been laid in those admitted to probation; the next care will be the edifice of literature, and the manner of employing it, by which they may promote the better knowledge and the better service of God our Creator and Lord.

For this the Society comprehends Colleges, and also Universities, or general studies; in which those who have given satisfactory evidence of themselves in the Houses of probation, but have entered without adequate instruction in the learning indispensable for our Institute, may be taught that and other things which conduce to the salvation of souls. First, then, let the discourse turn on those things which pertain to Colleges; afterwards of what relates to General Studies, with that favor which the divine Wisdom shall vouchsafe to grant us to His own greater honor and glory.

I. COMMEMORATION OF FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS.

1. Since it appears most agreeable to reason that a due return be made, as far as in us lies, to the piety and beneficence of those whom the divine bounty has used as instruments for the foundation and endowment of our Colleges; first, in every College of our Society let Masses be celebrated once a week forever for its founder and benefactors, whether alive or dead.

2. At the beginning of every month all the priests who are in the College ought to offer the same sacrifice for them forever. On that day, moreover, in every year, on which possession of each College was given to the Society, let it be solemnized with a Mass for the founder and benefactors ; and whatever Priests are present in the College at that time, let them all celebrate their sacrifices there.

3. On that day let a wax candle be offered to the founder, or to one nearest allied to him in family, or to him whom the founder himself appoints, in which candle there shall be the arms of the founder, or the emblems of devotion. In that shall the Society testify the gratitude which it owes to its founder in the Lord.

4. As soon as the Society shall come into possession of any College, let the General see that it be communicated to the whole Society, that every Priest may thrice say Mass for the living founder of the College and its benefactors; that the Lord may guide them with His benignity in all things, and enrich them ever with His gifts. Again, when they shall have departed this life, the General will take care, as soon as he hears of it, that throughout the Society every Priest say three Masses for their souls. And as often as it is said, Masses are to be solemnized by the Priests; all the rest who live in Colleges, and are not Priests, ought to pray to the same purpose; since they are all bound in the Lord to the same gratitude.

5. The founders, moreover, and the benefactors of Colleges are made partakers of all the good works which are done, by the grace of God, not only in the Colleges, but in the whole Society.

6. In general, however, the Society should understand that it is peculiarly bound in charity, as well to founders as to their connections, as long as they live, and after their decease, to do them every service which can be rendered by us according to our humble profession to the glory of God.

II. ADMISSION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONS.

1. The General shall have full power, in the name of the whole Society to admit those Colleges which are freely offered to the Society, to use them in full accordance with its Constitutions.

2. If the founder should exact any conditions at all contrary to the order and manner of proceeding usual with the Society, it may be left to the consideration of the General (after hearing the opinions of those whom he shall think most capable of judging in such matters) whether it will be useful to the Society, all things being considered, with a view to God's service, which it has proposed to itself, to admit this College, or not. But if in the course of time the Society finds itself burdened with the load, it may propose and determine,

* This translation of PART FOUR of the *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* was made from a copy printed by the College of the Society in Rome, in 1558.

in a general Congregation, that such Colleges be relinquished; or see that the burden be lightened, or at least that ampler means be provided to bear it. This is meant however, if before a Congregation of this sort, the General have not remedied the evil, as is proper in the Lord.

3. In conjunction with the whole Society, the General shall have the power of relinquishing or alienating Colleges or Houses already admitted. But as this is as it were to remove a limb from the body, and is altogether a matter of perpetual and serious moment, it is better that the whole be consulted.

4. Within the Colleges of the Society, let no care of souls, nor obligations to say Mass nor other things of this sort be allowed which are very apt to divert their inmates from their studies, and interfere with the benefits which are sought from them to the service of God; in the same way also, they shall not be allowed in the other Houses, nor the Churches of the Professed Society, which, as far as possible, ought to be left at liberty to undertake the missions of the Apostolic Chair, and other works of piety to the service of God, and the salvation of souls.

5. The Society shall take possession of the Colleges with the temporal property which belongs to them, and shall appoint rectors duly qualified for the office, who shall undertake the care of maintaining and managing their temporal concerns, and provide for the wants as well of the building, as of the scholars (who reside in the Colleges) and of those who are under probation for admission, and those also who without the Colleges conduct their affairs. The conduct of the entire administration shall remain in the rectors: so as to enable them to render an account, whenever and to whom the General shall appoint; and since the General can neither convert the temporal goods of the Colleges to his own use, nor that of his relations, nor of the Professed Society; he may therefore conduct himself the more completely above all suspicion in their superintendence, to the greater glory and service of God.

6. In those Colleges which, besides preceptors, can maintain twelve scholars out of their own incomes, for the greater edification of the people alms should neither be required, nor received, nor any other gifts. If the revenues are less than sufficient to maintain this number, alms may be received but not solicited; unless the College be laboring under so great poverty that it be necessary to ask, at least from some. Then indeed (keeping ever before their eyes the service of God and the general good) not only may alms be solicited, but they may beg from door to door for a season, whenever necessity requires it.

III. SCHOLARS DESTINED FOR MEMBERS—CONDITIONS OF ADMISSIONS.

1. As regards the scholars, for whose instruction the Colleges are appointed, it will first be necessary to consider in the Lord what kind of persons they ought to be who are sent, or admitted to them.

2. First of all, no one shall be placed in any College of the Society amongst the Scholars with any of the five impediments mentioned in the second part.* And besides the coadjutors necessary to the service or assistance of the College, the rest ought to be such that it may reasonably be hoped they will prove useful in the vineyard of the Lord Christ after our example, and in the cultivation of learning.

These, the more intellectual they are, and the more adorned with good morals, and the more healthy to sustain the labor of study, the more proper will they be, and the sooner they may be sent, to be admitted into our Colleges.

3. In addition to this, they only shall be admitted among the approved scholars, who have been under probation in our Houses and Colleges, and at the end of two years spent in various trials and proofs, and after taking the vows, with a promise to enter the Society, they shall be admitted to spend their lives within it forever to the glory of God.

4. Besides these, some may be admitted to study, who, before the two years, and the probation above-mentioned, are sent to the Colleges from the Houses (because such a course seems expedient in the Lord) or are admitted into them; but they shall not be deemed approved scholars, until at the expiration of the two years, and after their vows and promise have been made, they are placed among the number of the approved.

IV. SUPERINTENDENCE OF SCHOLARS.

1. Let that suffice, which is set forth in the third part, of the superintendence of temporal and external affairs of the Colleges, in all that relates to the

* The impediments specified in Part Second of the Constitutions are (1) incorrigibility in any depraved affections or vices; (2) individual traits injurious or prejudicial to the place and good estate of the society; (3) incapacity of adaptation to a life of obedience and self-negation; (4) discovery of relations concealed upon first examinations.

body. This however must be noted with peculiar care, that the Scholars study not at seasons unfavorable to bodily health; that they devote sufficient time to sleep, and observe moderation in their mental labors. So will it come to pass that they will be able longer to persevere both in the acquisition of learning and in employing it to the glory of God.

2. In what relates to spirituals; the ordering of those who are admitted into the Colleges, and of those admitted into the Houses will be the same, so long as they are under probation. After probation, when they are at leisure to acquire learning, as on the one hand care must be taken lest in the eagerness of study the love of the solid virtues and a religious life grow cold; so, on the other, too much time must not be given to mortifications, prayers, and lengthened meditations. Since to labor in learning which is acquired with the sincere purpose of serving God, and in a certain sense requires the whole man, will not be less pleasing to God, and our Lord, but even more so, than to be occupied in religious exercises during the time of study.

3. Therefore, besides the Sacraments of Confession and Communion (in which they must participate once a week) and the Mass which they must hear daily, let them employ one hour in reciting the Office of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and in examining their consciences twice a day, with other prayers according to their particular devotion to fill up the hour, if not already occupied. All which they shall do at the appointment and judgment of their superiors to whom *as in the place of Christ* they owe obedience.

4. Others, such as those coadjutors who have not learned to read, besides Mass, may spend an hour also in reciting their Rosary, or Crown of the most blessed Virgin Mary, with a double examination daily, or other prayers, according to their particular devotion, as was set forth for the scholars.

5. As an increase of devotion, and to raise the sense of obligation with which they are bound to God, and for a greater confirmation of the students in their calling, it will be expedient to *renew* twice a year, viz., at the feasts of the Resurrection and the Nativity, *the simple vows* which they have taken according to the formulary in the Fifth Part, Chapter IV. And let him who did not take them at the conclusion of the two years, as is set forth in the Examen, take them now.*

6. In their way to the public schools (and let them go nowhere else without permission of the Superiors) let them go and return together with that exterior and interior modesty which is suitable to the edification of themselves and others; and let their conversation with the exterior scholars be limited to literature or spiritual advancement; as shall be thought more profitable to all to the greater glory of God.

V. STUDIES.

1. As the object of the learning to be acquired in this Society is by the divine favor to benefit their own and their neighbors' souls; this will be the measure in general and in particular cases, by which it shall be determined to what studies our scholars should apply, and how far they should proceed in them. And since, generally speaking, the acquisition of divers languages, Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Theology, as well Scholastic, as that which is termed Positive, and the Sacred Scriptures assist that object; they who are sent to our Colleges shall give their attention to the study of these faculties; and they shall bestow greater diligence upon those which the supreme moderator of the studies shall consider most expedient in the Lord to the aforesaid end, the circumstances of time, place, and person being considered.

2. Descending to particular persons; what each individual shall study must be left to the prudence of the Superiors. But the services of any one endowed with good natural abilities will be useful in proportion to his attainment of solid learning in the faculties above-mentioned.

3. The rector shall consider and determine of the time to be spent on any of these sciences, and when to proceed to more useful things, after a fitting examination.

4. Let them follow in each faculty the safer and more approved doctrine, and those authors who teach it; the care of this shall belong to the rector, who shall follow that which is established throughont the society to the greater glory of God.

VI. AIDS TO INSTRUCTION.

1. That the scholars may make the greater proficiency in learning, let them in the first place labor to watch over the purity of their souls, and to maintain

* The vow binds the proposed to unqualified obedience to the General and Vice-General of the Society, and special obedience to the Pope and Missions, as well as to perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience.

the proper object of their studies, aiming at nothing else in their literary pursuits than the divine glory and the advantage of souls; and in their prayers let them often beg for grace, that they may improve in learning to this end.

2. Let them besides seriously and constantly resolve to apply their thoughts to study, and assure themselves that they can do nothing more acceptable to God in the Colleges, than if with the intention above expressed, they give themselves diligently to learning. And even though they never call into exercise what they have learned, let them persuade themselves that to have undertaken the labors of study, as is fitting, out of mere obedience and charity, is a work of great merit in the sight of the divine and supreme Majesty.

3. Let all impediments which distract the thoughts from study be removed, whether of devotion, and mortification, which are undertaken exorbitantly, or without due order, or of cares and occupations which arise at home from domestic duties, or abroad in conferences, confessions, and other duties towards our neighbors; so far at least as they may be declined in the Lord. For it is praiseworthy that these employments be deferred, however pious, until their studies be completed, that hereby they may afterwards render themselves more useful to others with that learning which they may have acquired. And let all these things be done with greater zeal for God's service and glory.

4. Order must be observed in study, that they lay a solid foundation in the Latin language sooner than in the liberal arts; and in these before they attend to scholastic theology; and in this, before positive theology. The Sacred Scriptures may be taken in hand either at the same time, or afterwards.

5. Those languages in which they were either written or translated may be learned sooner or later as the superior in the variety of concurring causes and the difference of persons may think best. So the order of time will be left to his prudence. But if our scholars apply to the study of languages, among other objects to which their attention may be directed, let this be one, namely, to defend the version sanctioned by the Church.

6. Let all the scholars attend the lectures of the public professors at the pleasure of the Rector of the College; which professors, whether they belong to the society or not, it is to be wished, should be learned, diligent, assiduous, and anxious for the improvement of the students as well in the lectures as in their other literary employments.

7. Let there be a common library in the colleges, if possible; of which a key should be given to those who in the Rector's judgment ought to have it. Besides these, however, every one shall have such other books as are necessary.

8. Let the scholars be assiduous in attending lectures, and diligent in preparing for them; and when they have heard them, in repeating them; in places which they have not understood, making inquiry; in others, where needful, taking notes, to provide for any future defect of memory.

9. It shall be the duty of the Rector of the College to see whether masters and scholars do their duty in the Lord, or not.

10. Since the habit of debating is useful, especially to the students of Arts and Scholastic Theology, let our scholars attend the ordinary disputations of the schools to which they belong (though they be not under the control of the society), and see that they afford a distinct specimen of their learning, but with all modesty. It is proper also that on every Sunday, or on some other day of the week, some one in our College appointed by the Rector from any class of students, of arts or theology, after dinner should undertake some positions to be maintained (if no impediment intervene from any peculiar cause), to be affixed to the school doors the previous evening, where all who please may assemble to dispute or listen; which being briefly stated by him who is to reply, it shall be permitted to all to debate whether within or without our College; but some one should preside to moderate the debaters, and elicit and demonstrate to the benefit of the audience the doctrine which ought to be held; and also to give the signal to those who dispute to conclude, and so to divide the time that an opportunity of speaking be allowed to all as far as possible.

11. Besides these two sorts of disputations above mentioned, let a time be set on each day for debating in the colleges, a moderator being appointed, as we have said; so that, by these means, their talents may be exercised, and the difficulties which occur in these faculties may be the better elucidated to the glory of God.

12. Those who are studying polite literature shall have their appointed times also for conferring and disputing on what pertains to those studies, before some one who shall direct them; and on Sundays, or other appointed days after dinner, they shall alternately either maintain positions in their own studies, or exercise themselves in writing verse or prose; whether it be done

extempore, the subject being then proposed to discover their readiness; or whether they read in public what they have composed in private on a theme previously given them.

13. Let all speak Latin commonly, but especially the students in humanity, and commit to memory whatever shall be set by their masters, and diligently cultivate their style in composition; and let some one take the trouble to correct them. It shall also be allowed to some, at the Rector's pleasure, to read certain other authors in private, besides those which are publicly studied; and every week on an appointed day, after dinner, let one of the more advanced pronounce a Latin or Greek oration on a subject tending to the edification of the inmates, by which they may be animated to greater perfection in the Lord.

14. Moreover, the students of arts and theology especially, and all the others should have their private quiet study, where they may learn better and more exactly what has been treated of.

15. As the over earnestness of some in their studies ought to be repressed, so others who require it ought to be stimulated, incited, and animated to their duties; and that the Rector may more effectually do this, he should ascertain himself, from personal observation and by means of another to whom he shall have entrusted the office of Syndic or Visitor of Studies, in what way the scholars do their duty. And if he shall perceive that any one during his studies wastes his time, that he is unwilling or unable to make progress in literature; it will be proper to remove him, and put some one in his place, who shall make more proficiency in the object appointed in the Colleges for God's service.

16. The study of any faculty being completed, it will be well to go over it again in private, reading one or more authors than before; at the Rector's discretion. He may moreover reduce to writing, if the Rector thinks proper, more briefly, distinctly, and accurately, whatever in that same faculty he had previously written during the course of lectures when he had less skill than now at the conclusion of the course.

17. At the appointed times let them prepare themselves for the public examinations and responses; and they who after diligent scrutiny may be found worthy shall be advanced to the usual degrees. Let them not however assume any particular places, although such as are generally assigned in the University wherein they take their degree, that *they may avoid every appearance of ambition and other inordinate passions;* but let them all arrange themselves together without precedence, and incur no expense unbecoming paupers in these degrees, to which they should be advanced without detriment to their humility, and with no other motive than to render themselves more useful to their neighbors to the glory of God.

18. Whether it may be better for their own benefit or that of others for those who have accomplished the course of their studies, to read privately or publicly, shall be left to the judgment of the superior, who shall determine whatever he may think most expedient in the Lord.

VII. SCHOOLS FOR PERSONS NOT DESIGNING TO BECOME MEMBERS.

1. Regard being had not only to the progress of our own scholars in literature, but to the progress also of those not of our society in literature and morals, whom we have admitted into our Colleges to be instructed, let public schools be opened, wherever it may conveniently be done, at least for polite learning. In the more important studies, they may be opened with reference to the circumstances of the places where our Colleges exist, always keeping before our eyes what shall be most pleasing to God.

2. In these schools let that method be pursued by which the external scholars may be well instructed in all that relates to Christian learning; and let care be taken, as far as possible, they may *attend the Sacrament of Confession once a month*, frequently hear the word of God, and in short imbibe, together with learning, morals becoming Christians. And because, in particular subjects, there must needs be much variety, according to the difference of places and persons, we shall not here insist upon them severally; but this may be declared that rules should be established in every College which shall embrace all necessary points. And we may in this place recommend that *the correction* which the external scholars require *shall never be withheld;* only let it be administered *by some one who is not of our society.*

3. As it is peculiar to our profession to receive *no temporal remuneration* for spiritual services, in which according to our Institute we are engaged for the service of our fellow-creatures; it is not expedient to receive any endowment of a College, by which the society shall be bound to maintain a preacher, or confessor, or lecturer in Theology. For although a regard to equity and gratitude should stir us to attend with increased diligence to the said ministra-

tions which belong to our Institute; yet in our Colleges which have been founded with greater liberality and devotion, no obligations or conditions shall be admitted, which may derogate from the sincerity of our manner of proceeding, namely to give freely what we have freely received; still, for the support of those who labor or study for the common good of the College, *that endowment may be accepted* which the charity of the founders assigns to the glory of God.

VIII. ADAPTATION OF INSTRUCTION TO FUTURE WORK.

1. Looking to the object to which the studies of our society are directed, it will contribute to that end, that they begin to habituate themselves to wield their spiritual weapons for the benefit of their neighbors. For although this should be done in our Houses more properly and continuously, it should yet be commenced in our Colleges.

2. First of all, those who in the judgment of the superior are to be admitted to sacred orders, should be instructed in the method of saying Mass, so that besides intelligence and internal devotion, they may exhibit a becoming external manner to the edification of the hearers; and that all the society, as far as possible, may use the same ceremonies; in which so far as the variety of countries shall allow, it shall follow the Roman practice as being more general, and that which the Apostolic See has adopted in a more peculiar manner.

3. Let them accustom themselves also in setting forth their sermons and sacred lectures to the way best adapted for the edification of the people, which differs from the scholastic method; and to discharge this duty let them labor to acquire the vernacular tongue of the country thoroughly. There are other things which they should have studied, and have at their fingers' ends, which will be useful to this duty; and in short, they should *employ all means* which may assist them to discharge this office the better, and with greater spiritual profit to others.

4. Let them be accustomed also to the ministration of the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, and endeavor to comprehend and discharge that duty not only as relates to themselves but also to the penitents and communicants, that they may understand and receive the same duly and usefully to the glory of God.

5. Let them accustom themselves to communicate their spiritual exercises to others, when each has experienced them in himself; and let all be diligent not only to give an explanation of them, but also to acquire a readiness in wielding this kind of spiritual arms which by the grace of God is felt to contribute so largely to His service.

6. Let due diligence be employed in acquiring the proper method of teaching the Catechism, accommodated to the intelligence of children and ignorant persons.

7. As in the foregoing, our neighbors are helped forward in living well; so care must be taken that they be instructed in whatever is available towards dying well; and let it be understood what method ought to be observed at that hour which is so momentous to the ultimate attainment or loss of everlasting happiness.

Generally speaking, they should be taught what method should be pursued by the laborers of this society, (who must be engaged in such various quarters of the world, and with such different classes of men), in preventing the inconveniencies which may arise, and *in securing the emoluments which contribute to the greater glory of God, by employing all the means which can possibly be employed.* And although *that unction of the Holy Ghost, and that wisdom which God is wont to communicate* to those who confide in His divine Majesty, can only teach this; *a way may still be opened* in some measure by those lessons which tend and dispose to the furtherance of divine Grace.

IX. REMOVAL OF SCHOLARS.

1. Some are removed from the Colleges for the reasons set forth in the Second Part, and in the manner there explained; that others may succeed them who shall make more progress to the service of God. The method is the same both for Houses and Colleges.

2. Sometimes individuals shall be removed, because to be sent elsewhere tends to their greater improvement in religion or learning, or to the general advantage of the society; as it might happen, if one who had already passed through the course of arts, in a certain College should repeat it elsewhere, before the study of theology be commenced. And the same may be said, if they are to be occupied in any other thing to the greater service and glory of God.

3. The ordinary method of removing scholars from any College where all the aforesaid sciences are taught, shall be, when each shall have accomplished his studies, his course of arts being completed, and four years spent in the study of theology. And towards the conclusion of this period the Rector shall understand that it is his duty *to inform the General or Provincial*, and represent what proficiency they have made; and then he shall follow whatever instructions he may receive to the glory of God.

X. GOVERNMENT OF THE COLLEGES.

1. The Professed Society shall have the supreme care or superintendence of the Colleges according to the letters of the Apostolic See. For since the professed cannot apply any portion of those revenues to their private advantage or their own use; it is most consonant to reason that they will proceed with greater purity and religion more constantly and perseveringly in those things which are necessary to the good government of the Colleges to the greater service of God and our Lord.

2. *Except what relates to the Constitutions, and the dissolution or alienation of our Colleges, the whole power and administration*, and (generally speaking) the *execution* of this superintendence *shall belong to the General*, who keeping before his eyes the object towards which the Colleges and the Society at large are directed, shall best perceive what is beneficial for them.

3. The General himself therefore, or some one empowered by him for this duty, shall appoint one of the Coadjutors of the Society to preside over each College; who shall give an account of the duty assigned to him to the Provincial, or whomsoever the General shall nominate. And the General also may remove the Rector, and relieve him from his responsibility, as shall appear to him most desirable in the Lord.

4. Care should be taken that he who undertakes the office of Rector should be most exemplary, of great edification, and strict mortification in all depraved inclinations, and tried especially in obedience, and in humility; one endowed with discretion, skilled in government, versed in business, and experienced in spiritual concerns; knowing how to interchange severity with mildness in due time and place, anxious, laborious, learned; in short one in whom the Superiors may confide, and to whom they may safely communicate their power; since, the ampler this authority, the more effectually the Colleges will be directed to the greater glory of God.

5. It will be the Rector's duty, in the first place, to sustain, as it were upon his shoulders, the whole College by prayer and holy desires; in the next, to see that the Constitutions be observed, to watch over all the Collegians with all solicitude; to defend them from all that may hurt them at home and abroad, as well by prevention, as by applying a remedy when mischief occurs; according both to the general interest and also that of the individual; by seeing that they improve in virtue and learning; securing their health, and likewise the property of the College as well moveable as immoveable; prudently appointing those who hold domestic employments, and observing how they discharge their duty; and as he shall judge most expedient in the Lord, keeping them in their places, or removing them; and generally speaking, he shall see that that which has been set forth in the previous chapters relating to the Colleges, be observed. Let him be mindful also of the *subordination* to be entirely maintained in obedience, not only to the General, but to the Provincial also, informing him of all things needful to be communicated, and referring to him everything of moment; obeying all his injunctions (seeing he also has a superior); as it is just that matters be referred to him, and obedience be yielded by those who live in the College; who should greatly revere and venerate their Rector, as one *who holds the place of Christ our Lord, leaving to him the free disposition of themselves and their concerns with unfeigned obedience; keeping nothing concealed from him, not even their consciences, which they should disclose to him, as is set forth in the Examen, at the appointed seasons, and oftener if any cause require it; not opposing, not contradicting, not showing an opinion in any case opposed to his opinion*, so that by the union of the same sentiment and will, and by due submission, they may the better be maintained and forwarded in the service of God.

6. Let the Rector provide not only the necessary number of officers for the good management of the House, but let him see that they are competent, as far as possible, to their employments; to every one let him give his regulations, containing all that relates to their several duties, and see that no one intermeddle with another's department. Moreover, as whenever it is necessary, he should provide assistance for them, so whenever they have time to spare, he should see that they spend it profitably to the service of God.

7. Among the officers necessary for the Rector, in the first place, a proper person must be selected to be Sub-rector, or Major Domo, and to see to all things which appertain to the general good. There should be a Syndic also to superintend external concerns; one to see to spiritual affairs, and two or more besides, in whose probity and prudence the Rector has great reliance; and with whom he may consult on the more difficult occasions, and such as seem to involve the greater glory of God. Others also are needful for particular duties.

8. Let the Rector see that the Collegians pay to every man in the discharge of his duty an entire obedience; that the other officers obey the Sub-rector, and himself also, just as he commands them.

It may be well to state this in general, that those who have to exact obedience from others should set them an example of that obedience which they should pay to their superiors *in the place of Christ.*

9. The maintenance of regularity as to time in studies, prayers, masses, lectures, food, sleep, and other things will be useful in all respects; and a signal should be given at stated hours; at the sound of which, let all forthwith betake themselves to that whereto they are summoned, not stopping to *complete even a single letter.* It will, however, pertain to the Rector, or to him who superintends, to see when these hours are to be changed according to the seasons or other sufficient causes; and let what he determines be observed.

10. The Rector should himself read or teach the Catechism forty days. Let him see also which of the Collegians, especially towards the conclusion of their studies, and to what extent at home and abroad, should impart instruction to others in conferences, in setting spiritual exercises, in hearing confessions, in sermons, lectures, or explanations of the Catechism, partly for their own improvement, partly for the benefit of others as well within as without; and all things duly considered, let him provide for whatever he shall perceive most pleasing to the divine and supreme Goodness, and His greater service and glory.

XI. ADMISSION OF UNIVERSITIES.

1. The same reason in charity, for which Colleges are admitted, and public schools maintained in them not only for the edification of our own scholars, in learning and morals but still more of those that are without, may be extended to the undertaking of the care of Universities; that in them this benefit may be enlarged, and be wider spread as well in the sciences which are taught as in the men who frequent them, and the degrees to which they attain; so that in other places they may teach with authority, what they have in these thoroughly learned to the glory of God.

2. On what conditions and obligations, and in what places these Universities shall be admitted, is left to the judgment of the General of the Society; who having heard the opinions of his assistants, and of others whom he may choose to consult, shall determine within himself whether they shall be admitted. But when they have been once admitted he shall have no power to dissolve them without the concurrence of a General Congregation.

3. Since religious peace and spiritual occupations allow not that distraction of mind nor other annoyances to the Society which attend the duty of judging in civil or criminal proceedings, no jurisdiction of this kind shall be permitted which the society might exercise either of itself, or by others depending on it; although it is proper in all that peculiarly relates to the welfare of the University that the ministers of ordinary justice whether secular or ecclesiastical should fulfil the pleasure of the Rector of the University as signified to them touching the punishment of its scholars, and generally promote the interests of learning, especially when recommended to them by the Rector.

XII. SCIENCES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

1. As the object of the society and its studies is to assist their neighbors in the knowledge and love of God and the salvation of their own souls; and as to this end the most proper means is the study of theology, the Universities of the society shall chiefly labor therein, and diligently teach by sufficient masters whatever relates to the Scholastic doctrine and the Holy Scriptures, and so much of the positive as contributes to this our appointed end, without entering upon the portion of the Canons which ministers to contentious courts of law.

2. And since both the study of theology and its practice demand, especially in these times, a knowledge of humanity, and the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, competent professors of these shall be appointed in adequate numbers. Professors also may be appointed for other languages, as Chaldaic, Arabic, and Indian, wherever they shall appear necessary or useful to the aforesaid end, regard being paid to the various regions, and the motives which lead to their study.

3. And since the arts or natural sciences dispose the mind to theology, and contribute to its perfect study and practice, and of themselves assist in the same object, let them be taught by learned preceptors, and with proper diligence, sincerely seeking the honor and glory of God in all things.

4. The study of medicine and of the law shall not be engaged in within the Universities of our society; or at least, the society shall not take that duty upon itself, as being remote from our institute.

XIII. ARRANGEMENT AND ORDER OF STUDIES.

1. A proper arrangement and order of study must be observed both morning and evening for the subordinate faculties and theology.

2. And though some variety may occur in this arrangement, and in the hours assigned to study in different countries and seasons, let all at least agree in this that everywhere that only be done which shall be deemed most expedient to the greatest progress in learning.

3. The lectures which are read in public, and the various professors shall be appointed with reference to the intelligence and number of the audience; they shall particularly inspect the progress of every one of their scholars, and demand an account of the lectures; see that they are repeated, and that the students in humanity cultivate their conversational powers, speaking Latin and improving their style by writing; enjoining frequent disputations, and especially on the superior students, for which certain days and hours shall be appointed, when they shall debate, not only with their equals, but the inferior with the more advanced on subjects of their own selection; which also in turn the more advanced shall do with the less forward, descending (in their turn) to the studies in which these are engaged, and the perceptors with one another, due moderation being maintained, and a president appointed, to break off the debate, and to declare what doctrine should be elicited from the discussion.

4. It will be the duty of the Rector either by himself or the Chancellor ever to see that the new-comers be examined, and placed in those classes, and under those preceptors which are most fitting; and it shall be left to his discretion, after hearing the opinion of the persons appointed to that duty, whether they should remain longer in the same class, or be advanced to a higher. He also shall decide respecting the study of languages, except Latin, whether they should be engaged in before or after arts and theology, and how long each student should apply to them. So in any of the higher sciences, he shall settle with due regard to the inequality of talents and age, when each should commence and how long occupy himself in them; although it will be best that they who are in the vigor of life and intellect should endeavor to advance in all, and become conspicuous to the glory of God.

5. As assiduity in literary pursuits is necessary, so is some relaxation also. Although it shall be left to the Rector to consider what this should be, and at what periods, the circumstances of persons and places being attended to.

XIV. TEXT BOOKS.

1. In general, as was observed in treating of the Colleges, those books shall be read which are esteemed of more solid and safe doctrine in any faculty. Nor shall those be entered on whose doctrine or authors are suspected. In every University they shall be particularly specified; in theology, the Old and New Testament shall be read, and the Scholastic Divinity of St. Thomas, and in that branch of divinity called positive, those authors shall be selected which appear best adapted to our object.

2. As touching Latin and Greek books of humanity, both in our Universities and Colleges, as far as possible, those shall not be used which contain anything prejudicial to good morals; except they have been previously purified of improper things or words.

3. In Logic and Natural and Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, the doctrine of Aristotle should be professed; and in other liberal arts, and in commentaries as well of these authors as of humanity, a choice being made of them, let those be selected which the scholars ought to see, and the teachers chiefly to follow in the doctrine which they deliver. But in all his determinations, let the Rector proceed in the way which he shall judge most conducive in the whole society to the glory of God.

XV. TERMS AND DEGREES.

1. In humanity and the languages the period for the completion of the course cannot be determined, by reason of the difference of talent and information of the students, and many other causes, which admit of no other lim-

itation of time than that which shall appear suitable in every case at the pleasure of the discreet Rector or Chancellor.

2. In the study of arts the terms shall be arranged, in which the natural sciences shall be read, and for which not less than three years will be sufficient; besides these a further period of six months shall be reserved for repetitions, and keeping the acts of the schools, and taking the Master's degree, by those who shall take it. There will elapse a period therefore of three years and a half before any advancement to the Master's degree. And in every year one such course shall be commenced, and another by God's help accomplished.

3. The course of theology shall comprise six years. In the first four all that is necessary shall be read; in the other two, besides the repetition, the usual acts for the Doctor's degree shall be kept by those who are to be raised to it. Every fourth year the course shall ordinarily be commenced, the books to be read being so arranged that a student may begin on any one of the four years; and through the remainder of the four years commenced and of so much of the four years to follow, down to the period corresponding to the term when he began, he may complete a course of theology in four years.

4. In the degrees as well of Masters of Arts as of Doctors of Divinity, let three things be observed: First, let no one be advanced until he be diligently and publicly examined by persons appointed, who shall carefully perform this duty, and he shall be found qualified for that science, whether he belong to the society or not; Secondly, That the door may be closed against ambition, no fixed places shall be assigned to those who are raised to degrees, but let them rather study in honor to prefer one another, without observing any difference of places; Thirdly, As the society instructs gratuitously, so let it raise to degrees gratuitously; and to those without the society, let very little expense, although voluntary, be permitted, lest custom at length obtain the force of law; and in this point in the course of time they exceed moderation. Let the Rector take care also not to permit the masters, or any others of the society, to receive, for themselves or the College, money, or any gift from any one for anything done for his service; since the Lord Christ alone is to be our reward, our exceeding great reward, according to our Institute.

XVI. MORAL TRAINING—THE CORRECTOR.

1. Let diligence be used that they who come to the Universities of the society to study literature, acquire also good morals worthy of Christians; to which it will greatly assist if all go to the sacrament of Confession at least once a month, and hear Mass every day, and a sermon every holy-day, when one is preached. And each of the preceptors will take care that this be done by his pupils.

2. The Catechism shall be rehearsed in College on a certain day of every week, and care shall be taken that boys shall learn and repeat it, and that all of more advanced age, if possible, may know it.

3. Every week also there shall be a declamation, (as was said in treating of the Colleges,) by one of the students on subjects tending to the edification of the hearers, and inciting them to increase in all purity and virtue; that thus their style may not only be exercised, but their morals improved. And all those who understand Latin shall attend these declamations.

4. Neither oaths nor injuries by word or deed shall be permitted in the schools, nor anything indecorous or dissolute in such persons not belonging to the society as frequent them. Let the special attention of perceptors be turned to this, as well in the lessons, when occasion offers, as at other times, to incite their pupils to the service and love of God and of all virtues, by which they may please Him, and to refer all their studies to this object. To keep this in mind, at the commencement of every lesson, let some one pronounce a short prayer to this effect, which the perceptor and all the students shall listen to uncovered.

5. Let a Corrector be appointed, who shall not be of the society, for those who offend as well in what concerns diligence in their studies, as against good morals, and for whom kind words alone, and exhortation are not sufficient, and let him keep the boys in fear, and chastise those who need it, and are capable of this sort of correction. And when neither words nor the office of the Corrector shall suffice, and amendment in any individual is quite hopeless, whilst he seems to be injurious to others, it is better to remove him from the schools, than to retain him where he does no good to himself, and only harm to others.

But this decision shall be left to the Rector of the University, that all things may proceed, as is meet, to the glory and service of God.

XVII. RECTOR, CHANCELLOR, AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

1. The whole care or superintendence and government of the University shall be in the Rector, who may also be head of the leading College of the Society, and endowed with such gifts of God, of which mention has been made, that he may satisfy the whole University in the fulfilment of the duty committed to him in learning and morals. His election shall belong to the General, or him to whom he shall depute it, as the Provincial or Visitor; but the confirmation shall always rest with the General. The Rector shall have four counsellors, or assistants, to help him in whatever relates to his duty, and with whom he may regulate things of moment.

2. There shall be a Chancellor also, a man well versed in literature, abounding with right zeal and judgment in what is committed to him; whose office shall be to be the general instrument of the Rector in the due arrangement of studies, and in conducting the debates in public acts, and in ascertaining that the learning of those who are to be admitted to acts and degrees (which he shall himself confer) be sufficient.

3. Let there be a Secretary of the society, who shall keep a book in which the names of all the students diligently attending the schools shall be written; and who shall receive their engagements of obedience to be paid to the Rector, and of submission to the constitutions; and who shall keep the seal of the Rector and of the University; all which shall be done without any expense to the students.

4. There shall be a Notary also to give public assurance of degrees taken and other occurrences. Let there be also two or three Beadles, one appointed for the faculty of languages, another of arts, the third of theology.

5. The University shall be divided into these three faculties; and in each of them let there be appointed a Dean, and two more selected from among those most learned in that faculty; who, being summoned by the Rector, may declare what they think most expedient to the good of their faculty; and if anything of this sort occur to them whilst engaged together in these affairs, they shall communicate it to the Rector, even without any summons from him.

6. In matters which concern one faculty only, the Rector shall summon not only the Chancellor and his assistants, but the Dean also and his assistants of that faculty; in matters which relate to all, the Deans and assistants of all shall be summoned. And if the Rector should think proper to summon others to the Convocation whether belonging to the society or not, he may do so; that when he has heard all their opinions, he may better determine what is most expedient.

7. There shall be one general Syndic, to advise the Rector and Provincial and General as well concerning persons as things, as he shall see fit; which Syndic should be a man of great fidelity and judgment. Besides him, the Rector shall have his special Syndics, to bring before him occurrences requiring his inspection in every class. And as he shall write once a year to the General, and twice to the Provincial (who shall inform the General when necessary), respecting all the Preceptors, and others of the society; so also his College, and Syndic, and Counsellors shall write respecting him and others; so that in all things they may proceed with greater circumspection and diligence each in his own peculiar duty.

8. It shall be left to the consideration of the General when any University is admitted, whether the Rector, Chancellor, Beadles, Doctors, and Masters should wear any distinctions by which they may be recognized in the University, or in the Public Acts, or not; and if they wear them, what they shall be. And he shall appoint, either by himself or another, whatever he shall judge, after duly weighing all the circumstances, to be most conducive to the greater glory and service of God and the general good, which is our only aim in this and all our other doings.

Note by the Editor.—The words *italicised* in the early sections of this article were copied inadvertently from the edition, followed by the compositor, of 'The Constitution' of 1558 printed by Rivington, and which were there so marked for a special purpose. The provisions of these Constitutions of Loyola, although generally followed in the original establishment of institutions, were essentially modified in the details of organization, studies, and methods, by the commission appointed in 1581 by Acquaviva, and which reported in 1599, the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum*—the rule and methods of the Schools of the Order to this day.

SCHOOL LIFE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS PLATTER.*

THOMAS PLATTER was born in the year 1499, near Vispach, in the Canton Valais, in Switzerland, while the bells were ringing for mass, and his kinsmen hoped from the augury that he would become a priest. In his boyhood he tended goats and kine; at the age of nine years he was sent to his uncle, who was a clergyman.

"Here," we cite from the narrative, "it fared ill with me; for he was a passionate man, and I but an awkward peasant boy. He beat me without mercy, and took me by the ears and lifted me up from the ground, until I cried like a goat when pierced by the knife of the butcher, and at many such times the neighbors in their alarm, would run in, fearing he would kill me.

"I was not long with him, for about that time there came into the place a cousin of mine, a Summermatter, who had been at the schools, [to become a priest,] at Ulm and Munich, in Bavaria; his name was Paul Summermatter. My friends spoke to him of me, and he promised them he would take me with him, and place me at school in Germany. When I heard this, I fell on my knees and prayed to God the Almighty that he would help me out of the hands of the parson, who taught me nothing at all, and beat me continually. For I had learned nothing but how to sing the "Salve" and "Um Eier," with the other scholars in the village who were under my uncle.

"When Paul was ready to go, he appointed to meet me at Skalden. Simon Summermatter, my mother's brother, who was also my guardian, lived on the road to Skalden; he gave me a gold gulden, [sixty-three cents;] this I held in my hand till I reached the town, and often looked at it on the way, to see whether I had it still with me. I gave it to Paul, and then we started on our travels. I was now obliged to forage for myself and my *Bacchant* Paul likewise; and because of my odd appearance and rustic dialect the people gave me food in plenty. Beyond the Grimsen mountains we came to an alehouse where I saw a Dutch tile stove. I had never seen one before, and as the moon shone on it, I thought it was a great calf, for I saw only two of the tiles glimmer, and they looked to me like two great

* Extracts from the "autobiography of Thomas Platter, composed in the 73d year of his age, for the instruction of his son Felix."—*Raumer's History of Education*

eyes. In the morning I saw geese for the first time in my life; and when they hissed at me, I thought the devil had come to eat me, and I screamed and ran. At Lucerne, I first saw tile roofs, and was greatly taken with their bright red color. We came next to Zurich. There Paul waited for some comrades who were going with us to Meissen, [in present Kingdom of Saxony.] Meanwhile I had to forage to get a subsistence for Paul; and whenever I entered an ale-house, the people gathered around me to hear my Valais dialect, and were quite willing to give me food.

"After waiting eight or nine weeks for our companions, we went to Meissen, which was to me a very long journey, as I had not been used to such things, especially as I had to stop and get food on the way; there were eight or nine of us,—three little *fags*, the rest, great *Bacchants*,* as they were called; of the fags I was the smallest and the youngest. When I grew tired, and did not want to go farther, my cousin Paul came to me with a stick and lashed me on my bare legs, for I had no stockings, and worn-out shoes. I remember scarce any thing that befell us on the journey; but here is one incident. As we went along, saying all manner of things, the Bacchants told us how it was the custom in Meissen and Silesia, that the scholars stole geese and ducks, and other such game, and that nothing was done to them, if only they got out of the reach of the man who might happen to own them. One day we were not far from a village where there was a great flock of geese, without their keeper; for every village has its goose-herd, but here he was at quite a distance from the geese, with the cow-herd. Then I asked my little comrades, 'when will we reach Meissen, that I may steal geese?' They replied, 'we are there now.' Then I picked up a stone, threw it at one of the geese, and hit him on the leg; the rest flew off, but the wounded one could not keep up with them for limping. Then I took another stone and hit him on the head, and knocked him down; for when among my goats, I had had no equal in throwing, in leaping the bar, or in catching the sound of the herdsman's horn; in all such arts I was well skilled. Then I ran up, caught up the goose by the neck, whisked him under my coat, and ran down the street through the village. At that instant the goose-herd commenced running after me, and cried out to all the villagers, 'the boy has stolen my goose.' Hearing this outcry, we quickened our pace, and as I ran, the legs of the goose swung back and forth in front of me, from under my coat. The peasants too came out with clubs and gave chase to throw at us. When I saw that they were gaining upon me, I let the goose drop, and darted to

* *See Note, page* 90.

one side of the village amongst the thickets, but my two companions kept to the street, and two peasants after them. Then they fell down on their knees, and begged for mercy,—said they had not done it; so when the peasants found that they were not the ones who had let the goose drop, they returned and picked the goose up. But as for me, when I saw my companions thus pursued, I was in great distress of mind, and said to myself, 'Alas! thou hast not prayed to-day, as thou wert taught to do every morning.' When the peasants went back they found our Bacchants in the ale-house; for they had gone on before, leaving us to follow them; and they asked them to pay for the goose,—it was a matter of two *batzen* or so,—but I did not hear whether they did or no. When we came up, they laughed and asked what we had been doing; I plead in excuse, that I supposed it the custom of the country. They said it was not yet time for that.

"At a quarter of a mile from Nuremberg, our Bacchants remained behind in a village; for whenever they wished to carouse, they sent us on before. We staid at Nuremberg several weeks. Here, we little fags spent our time in singing through the streets, those who could sing, but I in foraging, and none of us went into school. This the other boys would not endure, but threatened to drag us into school. The schoolmaster, too, bade our Bacchants come to school, or they should be carried there by force. Antony, as their spokesman, refused to go. There were some Swiss there who had agreed to join us on a given day. Then we, little fags, carried stones on to the roof, but Antony and the others made a demonstration against the door. On this the schoolmaster came out with all his boys, large and small, but we flung down stones upon them, so that they were glad to retreat. The next thing we heard was, that we were summoned before the magistrate: it so happened that a neighbor of ours was about to give away his daughter in marriage. This man had a stall full of fat geese. We broke into this in the night and took out three of the geese, and decamped to the farther side of the city. Here we awaited the Swiss, who joined company with us, and we all went together to Halle, in Saxony, to the school of St. Ulrica. But our Bacchants dealt so roughly by us, that, in company with my cousin Paul, we ran away from them and came to Dresden. Here the school was not a good one, and the habitations of the scholars were full of vermin, so that we heard them in the night crawling about in the straw on which we lay. So we left the place and set out for Breslau; on the way we suffered much with hunger, so that some days we had nothing to eat but raw onions with salt, and at other times roasted acorns, crab-apples or pears, and many nights lay out under the open sky, for nowhere would they give us a

shelter, much as we besought them; and some would even set the dogs on us. But when we came to Breslau, in Silesia, we found great abundance, and that so cheap, that the starved scholars would over-eat, and many of them were very sick in consequence. Here we went first to the school of the Holy Cross, in Thum. But when we heard that in the upper parish of St. Elizabeth there were Swiss, we went thither. There were two from Bremgarten, two from Meilingen, and more, besides many Swabians; there was no distinction between Swabians and Swiss; they clanned with one another like fellow-countrymen, and stood up for one another's rights. The city of Breslau has seven parishes, and each parish its separate school, and no scholar of one parish can go into another singing or shouting, '*ad idem, ad idem*,' without causing a general uproar; the boys run together from each side and pummel each other most unmercifully. It is said there have been some thousands of Bacchants and fags in the city at a time, and all dependent on alms. They say, moreover, that some have their fags for twenty and even thirty years, who forage for them. I would often carry five or six loads home of an evening to my Bacchants to the school where they lived. The people were always very ready to give to me, because I was a little boy, and a Swiss; for they loved the Swiss, and they felt great sympathy for them, because they had fared so ill in the great Milan battle; and it was the common saying, 'now have the Swiss lost their best *pater noster*,' for before every one thought them invincible.

"I remained here some length of time, and during the winter was thrice taken sick, so that I had to go into the hospital. The scholars had their own hospital and physician. They received from the city treasury sixteen *hellers* each a week; this was ample for their support; out of it they had good attendance and a good bed, though there were many vermin, like little hemp-seed, so that I preferred, with many others, to lie on the hearth rather than in bed. The scholars were covered with vermin to an extent that was scarcely credible. As often as I wished, I could pick two or three out of my bosom. I have often, especially in the summer, gone down to the Oder, washed my shirt, hung it on the bushes to dry, and meanwhile picked the vermin off my coat, dug a pit, buried a great quantity in it, covered them up, and marked the spot with a little cross.

"In the winter the fags lay on the hearth in the school room, but the Bacchants in the cells, of which there were some hundreds at St. Elizabeth's; but in the summer, when it was hot, we lay in the church-yard; we carried the grass that was spread in the *Herren-gasse* for the houses on Saturday, made a bed of it in a good spot in the

church-yard, and there lay, like pigs in their straw. But if it rained, we ran into the school, and when there was a thunder-storm, we sang the whole night long the *Responsoria*, etc., with the *Sub-cantor*.

"Sometimes we would go of a summer evening to the ale-house to fetch beer. There they gave us full flagons of strong beer, and I often drank so much before I knew it, that I could not go back to the school again, though it was but a stone's throw from where I was. In short there was plenty to eat and drink, but not much studying.

"In the school at St. Elizabeth's nine Baccalaureates in a room read every hour. The Greek tongue had not been then introduced into the country, nor had they any printed books; only the teacher had a printed Terence. Whatever was read, had first to be written, then divided, then construed, and then explained, so that when the Bacchants left the school, they had great thick copy-books to carry away with them."

From Breslau he went with Paul, by way of Dresden, to Munich, to a soap-boiler's. "This my master," he says, "I helped boil soap, more than I went to school; and I went about with him, through the surrounding villages, to buy ashes. Paul went to school in the parish of Our Lady, and so did I, though seldom, for I sung through the streets to procure bread, which I brought to Paul."

After fifteen years' wanderings Platter revisited with Paul his native town, Vispach. "Here," he adds, "my friends could not understand my speech. 'Our Tommy,' they said, 'talks so foreign, that no one can tell what he would have;' for while I was young, I had learned the language of every country where I had lived.

"Soon after this we went back again to Ulm: Paul took a lad with him, whose name was Hildebrand Kalbermatter, a clergyman's son, and quite young. They gave him a piece of cloth, such as is made in the place, for a coat. When we came to Ulm, Paul bade me take the cloth, and go for food. In it I brought much home; for I was well used to wheedling and begging, since to this trade the Bacchants had from the first accustomed me, but not to go to school, and not to learn to read.

"Though I seldom went to school, and during school hours went around with the cloth, yet I suffered much from hunger; for, whatever I got, I brought to my Bacchant; I ate not a mouthful of it all, for I feared a beating. Paul had associated with him another Bacchant, named Acacius, from Mentz, and I and Hildebrand, my companion, had to provide for him too. But Hildebrand ate up every thing; so they sometimes followed him through the streets to detect him in the act, or when he came back, they would force him to rinse out his

mouth with water and spit in a basin, in order to find out whether he had been eating. And if he had, they would both together take him, throw him on the bed, cover his head with a pillow to drown his cries, and then beat him terribly. This put me in so great fear, that I brought every thing home, and we often had so much bread, that it would turn mouldy; the mouldy part they would then cut off and give to us. Many a time have I suffered bitterly from hunger and cold, when walking the streets far into midnight, singing for bread. And this puts me in mind how at Ulm there was a kind widow lady, who had two grown up daughters at home, and a son, named Paul Reling. Often in winter, when I came to her house, she wrapped my feet in a warm blanket that hung behind the stove, gave me a plate full of boiled pudding, and then bid me God speed. Often I felt the gnawings of hunger so keenly, that I would snatch the bone out of a dog's mouth, or would pick the crumbs from the crevices in the school room floor, and eat them."

At Munich Platter ran away from his Bacchants, who had persecuted him so long, and went to Zurich.

"Here I found a fellow-townsman of mine, named Anthony Venet, who persuaded me to go with him to Strasburg. When we arrived there, we found the place full of needy scholars, and but an indifferent school, but heard there was a good school at Schlettstadt. So we set out for the latter place, and on the way met a nobleman, who asked us where we were going. When we told him 'to Schlettstadt,' he advised us not to go, as the place swarmed with indigent scholars, and there were but few rich people there. Then my companion began to weep aloud and to ask, what we should do. I bade him keep up a good courage, 'for,' said I, 'when we get there, I am sure that one can easily shift for himself alone, and if so, I will engage to provide for us both.' As we came to an inn about a mile from Schlettstadt, I was seized with such a severe colic, that I thought I should die; I had eaten so many unripe nuts which I found under the trees. Then my companion wept again, saying if he should lose me he would not know what to do or where to go; and yet all the time he had ten crowns secreted about him, while I had not so much as a *heller*.

"When we arrived at the city, we found lodgings with an aged matron, whose husband was stone-blind. We then went to my beloved preceptor, John Sapidus, now deceased, and asked him to take us into his school. He inquired from what country we came, and when we replied, 'from Vispach, in Switzerland,' he said, 'they are headstrong, bad people there; they have driven all their bishops out of the land. But for you, if you will study well, you need pay me

nothing, otherwise you *shall* pay me, or I will have the very coats off from your backs." This was about the period of the revival of classical studies and the classical tongues, and in the same year that witnessed the Diet of Worms. Sapidus had nine hundred pupils at once, some of them well-bred, learned scholars. There were there at that time Dr. Jerome Gemusaeus, and Dr. John Huber, besides many others who have since become eminent doctors and renowned men.

"When I came into the school, I knew nothing, nor could I even read Donatus, and yet I was eighteen years of age; and I sat there like a hen among the chickens. One day as Sapidus read over the names of his scholars, he said 'there are many barbarous names among you; these I must Latinize a little.' After he had finished reading, he wrote down my name, Thomas Platter, and my companion's, Antony Venet: these he changed into Thomas Platerus, and Antonius Venetus, and then said, 'let these two stand up;' when we did this, he exclaimed, 'see, there are a pair of clumsy boys, and yet what fine-sounding names they have.' This was in part true, especially of my companion, whose awkwardness was so great that I had many a laugh at his expense; for I suited myself to foreign ways and usages much more readily than he.

We remained here from autumn to Easter, and as new scholars kept continually coming, and so it grew harder to secure a livelihood, we went to Soleure. Here there was quite a good school, and more abundant provision, but there was so much time to be spent in the church, and otherwise consumed, that we resolved to return home. I remained at home a while, and went to school to a master who taught me a little writing, and I know not what else I learned. At this time I taught my little cousin, Simon Steiner, his '*a b c*,' in one day; the following year he came to me to Zurich, continued there at school, until he went to Strasburg; was Dr. Bucer's *famulus;* studied till he was appointed teacher of the third class, then of the second; was married twice, and died at Strasburg deeply lamented by the whole school."

After much change of place Platter returned to Zurich, and here went into the Frauenminster school.

"The schoolmaster's name was Master Wolfgang Knœwell; he took his degree at Paris, and while there went by the appellation 'Le Gran Diable;' he was a man of stalwart frame and honesty of purpose, but gave little heed to the school, attending more to the pretty maidens, whose charms he could not resist. But I desired to study, for I felt there was no time to be lost.

It was soon after reported that a teacher was coming from Einsiedlin, that he had formerly been at Lucerne, was a very learned man and a faithful master, but odd in the extreme. Ther I took a seat in the corner near the teacher's chair, and thought to myself, 'here in the corner will I study or die.' When, now, the new teacher arrived and entered the school-house, he said, "This is a neat-looking place,'—it had recently been built anew—' but it seems to me the boys are an ungainly set; let them only show a diligent spirit, though, and all will be right.' For my part, if my life had been at stake, I could not have declined a noun of the first declension, and yet had learned Donatus by heart. For when I was at Schlettstadt, Sapidus had with him a Baccalaureate, named George Andlow, a very learned scholar, who tormented the Bacchants so incessantly with Donatus that I thought if this is such an important book I will master it thoroughly, and so I did. And this stood me in good stead with Father Myconius. For when he came he read Terence to us, and we were obliged to decline and conjugate every word of whole comedies, he was often so severe with me that my shirt was wet with perspiration, and my sight failed me; and yet he did not give me a blow, not even with his little finger. He read, likewise in the Holy Scriptures, and at such hours many of the laity would come in to hear, for the light of the Holy Gospel was then only beginning to dawn, and men were yet burdened with interminable masses, and had idols in all the churches. But whenever he had been angry with me, he took me home with him, and gave me to eat, and after I had eaten, he would listen in delight as I told of all that had befallen me in my long and many wanderings in Germany."

Platter was afterward tutor to the two sons of Henry Werdmiller. "There they gave me every day regular meals to eat. One of the boys was named Otho; he afterward became Master of Arts at Wittenberg, and subsequently entered the service of the church at Zurich; but the other died at *Kappell.* I had no more hardships to endure; only it might have been that I applied myself too severely to study; I undertook Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, gave myself for whole nights together but little sleep, but fought resolutely against sleep, when I began to feel drowsiness, putting raw turnips, sand, or cold water into my mouth, or grinding my teeth together, etc. My good Father Myconius would caution me against such close study, nor did he rebuke me when, at times, sleep came upon me unawares. And although I had never been where I could hear lectures upon either Latin, Greek, or Hebrew grammar, yet I practiced reading by myself; for Myconius had before drilled us with frequent exercises in

the Latin grammar; but Greek he did not pursue to any extent, for the Greek language was yet foreign, and but little used. I, however, read by myself in Lucian and Homer, as far as the vernacular version would carry me. It happened, moreover, when Father Myconius took me to live with him in his house, that he had some at his table, the now deceased Dr. Gessner was one of them, with whom I was obliged to practice Donatus and the declensions; and this proved of great use to me. At that time, too, Myconius had for an assistant, the finished scholar Theodore Bibliander, who was thoroughly versed in the languages, the Hebrew especially, and had written a Hebrew grammar; he likewise took his meals with Myconius. I begged him to teach me the Hebrew; he did so, and I learned to read it both printed and written. Then I rose early in the mornings, made a fire in Myconius' room, sat by the stove, and copied off the grammar, while he slept; nor did he ever know what I had done."

Immediately after this period Platter taught Hebrew to others, but himself learned—the ropemaker's trade. "There came," he continues, "a well-bred and learned young man from Lucerne, on his way to attend the festivities at Constance, and Zwingle and Myconius persuaded him to stop and learn the ropemaker's art with his money. After he had learned to weave and become a master workman, I begged him to teach me the trade too. He said he had no hemp. I had a small pittance left me by my deceased mother, and with that I bought the master an hundred of hemp and learned with it, as far as it went, and yet all the while took great delight in study. When my master thought me asleep, I rose up stealthily, struck a light, stepped softly, and procured his Homer, glossed my own by it, and this I kept by me while I plied my trade. He afterward learned what I had been doing, and he said to me, 'Platerus, he whose mind is on many things can do nothing well; either study or else work at your trade!' Once, as we sat together by the water pitcher, he said, 'Platerus, what says Pindar?' As I replied 'ἄριστον μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ' he said, laughing; 'then we will follow Pindar, and have no wine, but only water!'

When I had worked up the hundred of hemp, my lesson was ended, and I determined to go to Basle, which I did at Christmas."

At Basle he went to a second master of the craft, Hans Staehlin. "It was said of him, he was the crustiest master who could be found in all the Rhine valley, hence no journeyman would willingly stay with him, and there was the more room for me." When Platter worked till "the sweat ran down, then my master laughed and said; 'had I studied as much as thou, and loved it as much, I would toss

ropemaking to the devil!' For he saw very well, that I had a special fondness for books.

The printer Cratander had presented me with an unbound copy of Plautus printed by himself in 8vo. I took one leaf at a time, fixed it upon a fork, stuck the fork underneath in the lower division of the hemp, so that as I twisted I could read alternately each side of the leaf; but when I saw the master coming, I would throw the loose hemp over it. Once he came up before I was aware, and when he saw what I was about, he flew into a passion and cursed me roundly: 'A pox light on you for your villainy, hypocritical priest that you are! Wilt study? Then go elsewhere. But if you remain with me you must work. Is it not enough that you have evenings and Fridays to yourself, but must you read the rest of the time too?' On Fridays, after breakfast was over, I would take my book, go out into the fields, and read the whole day until nightfall. By degrees I made the acquaintance of a few scholars, chiefly those who attended the instruction of Beatus Rhenanus. These and others came often to the shop, and urged me to leave off ropemaking."

At the request of Dr. Oporinus, Platter engaged to teach him Hebrew. "Oporinus nailed up on the churches a notice that there was a certain one who would read the elements of the Hebrew tongue on Monday, from 4 to 5, at St. Lienhart; there it was that Oporinus taught school. I went at the appointed hour, thinking to find Oporinus alone, for I had not seen the cards on the church doors; when lo! there were eighteen of his friends assembled, all well-bred, studious young men. When I saw them, I drew back; but Dr. Oporinus reassured me, saying they were good friends of his. I was ashamed of my shop clothes, but nevertheless yielded to his importunity, and began by reading from the grammar of Dr. Munster,—its fame had not then reached Basle;—I read to them also from the prophet Jonah as well as I was able."

Platter subsequently taught in his native town, and elsewhere, plying his trade at the same time; he was also employed as proof-reader at Basle, and sometimes, too, as a printer. He was repeatedly urged to give up printing, by Rudolph Frey among the rest, who said to him; "my friend, become a school teacher; you will thus please our rulers, and serve God and the world." He then spoke to the council, and the council delegated the town recorder, Dr. Grynaeus, to confer with me. Dr. Grynaeus said to me; 'become a school teacher; there is no more godlike office; for myself there is no station I would sooner fill.' So much was said to me that I finally consented. This was in the year 1541, on Good Friday.

The council then sent for me to meet them at the town house, and then they made an agreement with me. I stipulated, in case they should intrust the school to me to organize and direct it, for three assistants and a salary upon which I could subsist; otherwise I told them I could not conduct the school with profit and honor. This was all granted; the salary, however, with some reluctance. I desired 200 florins; 100 for myself, and 100 for my assistants. They agreed to this with the proviso, however, that I should not mention it to any one, for they had never given so much before, and they would scarcely give the like to any one who should come after me. Now everything was concluded, and the university not consulted at all in the matter, whereat they were not a little nettled; for they had desired to strike another bargain with me, and would have pledged themselves above all, in case I had subjected myself to their authority, organizing my school after the pattern they should furnish, and reading such authors alone as they should prescribe,—that they would confer a Master's Degree upon me, with other marks of their favor from time to time.

Then I went to Strasburg, intending to look into the system in operation there, and to confer with my brother Lithonius, who was teacher of the *third class* there; and then to re-arrange my school so far as the case would admit. I returned, divided my four classes; for, before, the pupils were in the lower rooms, and it had been the custom to warm no other rooms than the lower; for there had been but very few pupils. When I now began to keep school, I was obliged to lay before the university in writing, my class system, and whatever I read every hour during the whole week. This did not entirely please them; they thought I read higher authors than they in my instruction, and as for dialectics they would not suffer me to teach it at all; and they chid me so often that at last the masters began to wonder what this dialectics could be, about which there was so much strife and contention. When I explained to Herr Joder Brand, the worshipful burgomaster, at his own request, what dialectics was, he was astonished at their refusal to let me teach it. For at their convocation at Easter, they had unanimously resolved that I should not teach it any longer. But for all their interdict, I did not vary my course a hair, so long as I had pupils who wished to study the art. However, the Faculties generally were not much opposed to it, only the Faculty of arts, and they said it would revolutionize the existing systems of instruction. But the boys, nevertheless, would not give it up; for their minds were wholly set upon it. This strife lasted for some six years,

until finally a pestilence came, and my school, in consequence, was so reduced that I had no pupils who desired to learn dialectics."

The university soon after signified to him their pleasure that he should hold examinations before their delegates. "At the next Lent," he adds, "I conducted my class down to be examined in due form. But some of them so managed the matter, that they soon fell out with each other, and not being able to harmonize, they bade me undertake the examination. I said *they* must do it, for *I* had it to do every day in the school; however, I yielded, and since then have conducted these examinations myself. My opinion was, the examinations were instituted that it might be seen whether the boys made improvement or no; but those, who should hear, sat there, the most of them, and prated. The examinations are worthless; scarce a line can any one explain, and people truly say, they are only continued that the world may exclaim, "what care is given to these things!"

In the close Platter turns to his son Felix, for whom he wrote this biography, glances back upon the hardships and the poverty of his own youth time, and down through later years, when competence and fame had been allotted to him. "What shall I then say of you, Felix, of your prosperity, and the respect which is paid to you? What, but that it is God our Lord who has granted you the happiness of living so long under the fostering care of your dear mother, and the fortune of making the acquaintance of many princes and lords, noblemen and commoners. Looking at all these things, my dear son Felix, ascribe nothing of it all to your own merits, but give God alone the praise and the glory your whole life long; so shall you win the life that is everlasting. Amen."

It was in 1541, in his 42d year, that Platter took up the office of teacher; and he administered it with faithfulness and vigor for thirty-seven years, until 1578. He died, his son Felix tells us, on the 26th of January, 1582, in the full possession of his faculties, at the age of eighty-three.

NOTE.

BACCHANTS, and ABC-shooters. In the period from 1300 to 1600, when the Latin town schools first began to flourish independently of the church, many grown-up students, with more or less of university education, were accustomed to wander over all Germany, like the journeymen of the present day; stopping at one place and another to teach, and leading with them a number of boys, nominally their scholars. These students were called Bacchants, from their bacchanalian lives; and their scholars, ABC-shooters, from the rudimentary character of their studies and their chief occupation, which was, not only to study, but to steal (*Baccanticè* to shoot) fowls, &c., and to beg, for the maintenance of their masters. A future article will treat somewhat more fully of these extraordinary peripatetic educators and their lives.

UNIVERSITIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

THE reader has doubtless been surprised to learn how much was left untaught, in the sixteenth century, in the schools. Geography and history were entirely omitted in every scheme of instruction, mathematics played but a subordinate part, while not a thought was bestowed either upon natural philosophy or natural history. Every moment and every effort were given to the classical languages, chiefly to the Latin.

But we should be overhasty, should we conclude, without further inquiry, that these branches, thus neglected in the schools, were therefore every where untaught. Perhaps they were reserved for the university alone, and there, too, for the professors of the philosophical faculty, as is the case even at the present day with natural philosophy and natural history; nay, logic, which was a regular school study in the sixteenth century, is, in our day, widely cultivated at the university.

We must, therefore, in order to form a just judgment upon the range of subjects taught in the sixteenth century, as well as upon the methods of instruction, first cast a glance at the state of the universities of that period, especially in the philosophical faculties.

A prominent source of information on this point is to be found in the statutes of the University of Wittenberg, revised by Melancthon, in the year 1545.

The theological faculty appears, by these statutes, to have consisted of four professors, who read lectures on the Old and New Testaments,—chiefly on the Psalms, Genesis, Isaiah, the Gospel of John, and the Epistle to the Romans. They also taught dogmatics, commenting upon the Nicene creed and Augustine's book, "*De spiritu et litera.*"

The Wittenberg lecture schedule* for the year 1561, is to the same effect; only we have here, besides exegesis and dogmatics, catechetics likewise.

According to the statutes, the philosophical faculty was composed

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* This is to be found in Strobel's "New Contributions to Literature," who likewise cites an earlier one of the year 1507.

of ten professors. The first was to read upon logic and rhetoric; the second, upon physics, and the second book of Pliny's natural history; the third, upon arithmetic and the "*Sphere*" of *John de Sacro Busto;* the fourth, upon Euclid, the "*Theoricæ Planetarum*" of Burbach, and Ptolemy's "*Almagest;*" the fifth and sixth, upon the Latin poets and Cicero; the seventh, who was the "*Pedagogus,*" explained to the younger class, Latin Grammar, Linacer *de emendata structura Latini sermonis,* Terence, and some of Plautus; the eighth, who was the "Physicus," explained Aristotle's "*Physics and Dioscorides;*" the ninth gave instruction in Hebrew; and the tenth reviewed the Greek Grammar, read lectures on Greek Classics* at intervals, also on one of St. Paul's Epistles, and, at the same time, on ethics.

The above requisitions of the statutes are likewise confirmed by the lecture schedule already alluded to. To the lectures were added declamations and disputes, and that alternating, so that on one Saturday there would be declamations, on the next disputes, &c.

In regard to lectures by jurists and medicists, the statutes are silent. But we learn from the lecture schedule, before cited, that seven jurists read upon the various departments of Roman and canon law; of medicists, one discoursed upon the ninth book of "*Rasis ad Almansorem;*" a second read "*Hippocratica et Galenica;*" a third, likewise upon Galen, and also upon Avicenna.

Thus the philosophical faculty appears to have been the most fully represented at Wittenberg, as it included ten professors, while the theological had but four, the medical but three. The Elector John Frederick, in a new foundation-grant to the university, specified a faculty of "*Artists,*" the "origin and parent of all the other faculties," and took it under his especial protection. Its functions overstepped even the limits of the curriculum, prescribed by the statutes. Thus Melancthon read a historical course upon Carion's "*Chronicon,*" as did afterward his son-in-law, Peucer. A new chair, moreover, was established in 1572, when William Rabot, a native of Dauphiny, was installed in Wittenberg as professor of the French language. In his inaugural address, he spoke of the affinity between the Germans and the French, remarked that, according to the "*lex Carolina,*" the German emperors were expected to understand French, and praised the elector, because he had called a special teacher to give instruction in the language.

On a comparison of different Protestant universities of the sixteenth

* When Melancthon was a student at Wittenberg, there existed no chair there for instruction in the Greek language; at Heidelberg, however, Dionysius Reuchlin had, prior to this period, been inducted into the office of Greek Professor.

century, it appears that they all proposed to themselves essentially one and the same problem. This problem was, in part, entirely new; though, in part also, an inheritance of the past, made new, however, or greatly modified, under the demands of that awakening age. We need only refer, in illustration of our statement, to the fact, that before Erasmus there was no exegesis of the New Testament in the original, before Reuchlin none of the Old, and that Rudolf Agricola was the first to initiate a new style of commenting on and interpreting the ancient classics.

But, as in our own day, we should not be in a condition to make a correct estimate of the value of our present schools and universities simply by consulting school-plans, governmental decrees, lecture schedules, and the like, but must much rather, to avoid erroneous conclusions, inform ourselves, by careful observation, upon the internal economy of these institutions, so neither can we decide upon the merits of the institutions of learning of former centuries, without putting them to a similar ordeal. Now there happens to have been preserved some indirect testimony to this point, going to show that studies in the sixteenth century, at least those of the majority of students, by no means conformed to the idea which the reader will naturally form of them in the light of the preceding pages. A few examples will suffice in support of this assertion.

The professor of mathematics and astronomy, at Wittenberg, Erasmus Reinhold,* was an eminent scholar, who advocated the Copernican system; but, in spite of his ability, "because of the general distaste for mathematical pursuits, he had few hearers." Melancthon wrote to Duke Albert, of Prussia, as follows: "Very few apply themselves to mathematics, and fewer still are the men of wealth and influence who foster this study by their patronage. Our court pays scarce any heed to it." To Spalatin he wrote: "There is urgent need of two instructors of mathematics in Wittenberg, that a science so absolutely indispensable, but now neglected, may come into honor." But the best proof we can give of the disrepute into which mathematics had then fallen, is to be found in the address of invitation of a Wittenberg mathematical *Docent*. He eulogizes arithmetic, and implores students not to be intimidated by the difficulties that this study presents. The first elements are easy, and though the principles of multiplication and division require more diligence, yet the attentive can master them with ease. It is true there are parts of arithmetic which are much harder, "but," he continues, "I now speak only of these rudiments, which I am to teach, and which you will

* Reinhold was born at Saalfeld, in 1511, and he died in 1552. His principal work was entitled "*Tabulae prutenicae coelestium motuum.*"

find serviceable." We can scarcely trust our eyes, when we read such language as the above.

In the year 1536, Melancthon read a course of lectures upon Ptolemy's Treatise, "*De apotelesmatibus et judiciis astrorum.*" On finishing the first book, he announced the second in these terms: "It gives me pain to perceive that some of my hearers have already taken a dislike to so excellent an author." Then, after a panegyric upon Ptolemy's book, he continues: "It appears marvelous to me that so many can reject such a book. For, if we think of it, the life of a student is a continual warfare. Now it is not becoming in a soldier to grow weary and faint-hearted when every thing does not go according to his wish. I therefore exhort all who began with me these lectures upon Ptolemy to come back. To those who have not deserted me, I offer my tribute of thanks."

We might conclude that such a general indisposition to study had reference mainly to the department of natural science, and not to philology; inasmuch as the latter was the peculiar educational agent of that era. But it fared no better with Greek at Wittenberg, as we may learn from the following expressions of Melancthon. In 1531, he announced that he would give some lectures upon Homer: "I shall," said he, "according to my custom, read *gratis*. But, as Homer in his life-time was needy and a beggar, so the same fate follows him now that he is dead. For this noblest of poets is compelled now to wander about imploring men to listen to him. He does not, however, seek out those groveling souls, bent only on gain, who, not content with resting in ignorance themselves, delight in crying down all noble learning, but turns rather to those free spirits who aim after perfect knowledge."

There is preserved an announcement from Melancthon, of the year 1533, of his lectures on the 4th Philippic of Demosthenes.* In this he says: "I had hoped, by disclosing to my hearers the grace of the second Olynthiac, to have allured them to a nearer acquaintance with Demosthenes. But I perceive that this generation has no ear for such authors. For there remain to me but few hearers, and these have not forsaken me lest I should be wholly discouraged; for this courtesy, I thank them. But I shall, nevertheless, continue to discharge the duties of my office. I shall commence these lectures to-morrow." But, on another occasion, Melancthon spoke in still stronger terms: "To-morrow it is my intention to begin my exposition of the "*Antigone*" of Sophocles. And I would here utter an admonition, if I thought it would be at all heeded, in rebuke of the shock-

* The scarcity of printed copies of Demosthenes occasioned the request "that the students should transcribe Melancthon's copy."

ing barbarism of manners that prevails around us.* But I must except a few of a better class, who have been my hearers thus far, and thank them."

As at the schools, so also at the universities, Latin was the chief object of attention. And, while Greek was regarded with indifference, we have the authority of Grohmann for the assertion that a special Professorship of Terence was founded by Frederick the Wise. But we have a truer criterion by which to judge of the limited nature of the studies of that period, as compared with the wide field which they cover at the present day, in the then almost total lack of academical apparatus and equipments. The only exception was to be found in the case of libraries; but, how meager and insufficient all collections of books must have been at that time, when books were few in number and very costly, will appear from the fund, for example, which was assigned to the Wittenberg library; it yielded annually but one hundred gulden, (about $63,) with which, "for the profit of the university and chiefly of the poorer students therein, the library may be adorned and enriched with books in all the faculties and in every art, as well in the Hebrew and Greek tongues." †

Of other apparatus, such as collections in natural history, anatomical museums, botanical gardens, and the like, we find no mention and the less, inasmuch as there was no need of them in elucidation of

* This strong expression of Melancthon's agrees throughout with many of his addresses, delivered to the students on the annual reading of the university statutes. Take an extract, by way of example, from the address of the year 1533: "Quorundam tanta est ferocitas, ut contemptum disciplinae et legum, fortitudinem quandam esse putent. Jure deplorant omnes boni viri hoc tempore nimis laxatam esse disciplinam." "The barbarity of some is so great that they even think that a contempt for discipline and law is a part of true bravery." And again he says, in the address of 1537: "Nunquam juventus tam impatiens legum et disciplinae fuit, prorsus suo arbitrio, non alieno vult vivere. Non enim hominum sed Cyclopum hi mores sunt, totas noctes in publico tumultuari, furiosis clamoribus omnia complere, conviciis, lapidum jactu, armis in pacatos adeoque inermes atque innocentes hostilem in modum debacchari, oppugnare honestorum civium aedes, effringere fores, fenestras, turbare somnum puerperis miserisque aegrotis ac senibus, dissipare tabernas in foro. currus et quicquid occurrit." "Never were our youth so impatient of laws and of discipline, so determined to live after their own wills and not according to the wills of others. But it is the part, not of men, but of Cyclops, to make public tumults all night; to fill whole neighborhoods with furious outcries; to make bacchanalian and even hostile assaults upon the unarmed and innocent with insults, throwing stones, and even with weapons; to lay siege to the dwellings of respectable citizens; to break in their doors and windows, destroy the slumbers of women in child-bed, of the wretched, the sick, and the aged; to demolish the booths in the market-place, carriages, and whatever else comes in the way."

† The largest salaries then received by any of the professors at Wittenberg amounted to only two hundred *gulden*. The third medical professor had but eighty gulden. And the annual expenditure of the entire university did not exceed three thousand seven hundred and ninety-five gulden. And yet we find sumptuary edicts then in force, which forbade the rector, a doctor, &c., to entertain more than one hundred and twenty guests at any one time. But we should remember that a cord of wood could then be bought for six *groschen*, a hare for two, and other things in proportion. "For board, lodging, and government, the student paid annually, to one of the professors, the sum of thirty *gulden*.

such lectures as the professors ordinarily gave. When Paul Eber, the theologian, read lectures upon anatomy, he made no use of dissection. And it was stated, as a remarkable event, that the medical lecturer, Schurf, in the year 1526, instituted an anatomical analysis of a human head. For it was not until some years after, that the special enactment, requiring two dissections annually, was passed. In Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Eggeling instituted the first dissection in 1542. But much earlier, in 1482, Pope Sixtus IV. had issued a brief, in which the University of Tübingen received permission to dissect one subject every third or fourth year. It was not, however, until the middle of the sixteenth century, that the first anatomical museum was founded by the efforts of the talented Leonard Fox; and, in 1569, the medical faculty were empowered to dissect the bodies of executed criminals.*

The earliest mention that we find of a botanical garden at Tübingen is in 1652, at Wittenberg in 1668. Yet, at the latter place, it appears to have been a part of the duty of Professor Niemann, in 1624, "to take medical students, twice in each year, on a botanizing tour, (*herbatum.*)†

The earliest regulations for the Tübingen cabinet of natural history are of the year 1771.

In the year 1603, Professor Joestelius, at Wittenberg, asked in vain for the erection of an observatory, and it was not until 1752 that Tübingen could boast of one.

In the following pages we shall see how there grew up by degrees a strong desire, no longer to teach and to learn a traditional science of nature from books alone, but to question nature herself directly, without an interpreter; meanwhile, what has been now advanced respecting academical institutes (apparatus,) may serve to point in advance to the period when a true realism was applied to the investigation of nature, and an enlightened humanism, moving in language as in its native element, penetrated through the form to the spirit of the ancient classics.

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* The following inscription was placed over the door of the Wittenberg anatomical theater, where executed criminals were dissected :—

"Qui vivi nocuere mali, post funera prosunt,
Et petit ex ipsa commoda morte salus."
"Here wicked men are found at last in useful ways,
And here death shows us how to lengthen out our days."

† As early as 1615, the University of Wittenberg sentenced a student, who had been convicted of the crime of dueling, to pay a fine of three hundred gulden, hoping with the money to found a botanical garden, but the project failed through the inability of the student to pay

EARLY SCHOOL CODES OF GERMANY.

1. DUCHY OF WIRTEMBERG.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.

THE schools of Trotzendorf, Neander, and Sturm, formed the general model upon which the schools of the sixteenth century were organized, a model imitated with greater or less exactness, however, in the different German states, according to their varying position and demands. The truth of this remark will appear from an examination of the school codes of Wirtemberg and Saxony, that were published in the second half of this (sixteenth) century.

The Wirtemberg code, to which we shall first advert, is to be found incorporated in the Grand Ecclesiastical Order, so-called, issued in the year 1559, by Duke Christopher, and, after receiving the formal sanction of the assembled states at the Diet of 1565, accepted as an integral part of the constitution of the government, and approved by successive revisions at different periods, as in 1582, 1660, etc. In the preamble to this code, its purpose is stated as follows: "To carry youth from the elements through successive grades to the degree of culture demanded for offices in the church and in the state."

TEUTSCH (GERMAN) SCHOOLS.

The "*Teutsch*" schools formed the lowest grade, in which boys and girls, separate from each other, received instruction in reading, writing, religion, and sacred music. Arithmetic was left out of the account here; although afterward we find it required of the schoolmaster, that he be "of a good understanding to teach both reading and figures." In the matter of discipline, the master was cautioned "to use the rod on all proper occasions, but never to seize the children by the hair, etc." And in order that the service of the school might wholly engage the attention of the teacher, "wherever any sacristan is now required to do beadle and mass service, for the future he may be released therefrom."

Such "*Teutsch*" schools, moreover, were to be set up "in the little villages and hamlets," where there were no higher institutions in existence; but, together with these, "in each and every city, large or small, as well as in the principal villages or hamlets, Latin schools likewise were to be founded." These last were also called private schools

LATIN SCHOOLS.

A fully equipped Latin school was to include, according to the code of Duke Christopher, five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This number, however, in thinly settled hamlets, was reduced, so that in some instances we find but one class in a school.

Where the classes were sufficiently full, they were to be divided into *decuriæ;* and each *decuria*, as in the school of Sturm, had its *decurion*, elected weekly, whose duty it was to take the general "oversight of his comrades."

The lowest class was called *Prima.* The boys in this class learned to read Latin. The teachers were particularly admonished to require the boys "to pronounce the vowels and consonants in a clear and distinct manner, and according to the usage of the Latin language rather than that of the vernacular." Those who, "from natural backwardness, are unable to pronounce all the letters, should be, as much as possible, practiced upon words of a smooth and gliding accent." The paradigms of the etymology were taught, Cato read, and two Latin words, taken from the *Nomenclatura rerum*, were daily assigned to each scholar, to copy and commit to memory.

Second Class.—In this, Cato and the "*Mimi Publiani*" were expounded, word by word, and the declensions and conjugations were continued; "with the other parts of speech (*i. e.*, other than nouns substantive and adjective, and verbs,) the boys in the lower *decuria* were not to be perplexed;" but, in the upper *decuriæ*, all the parts of speech were to be learned, syntax begun, and translations made from the Latin catechism. Moreover, the preceptor was enjoined to "question and drill the boys in phrases," to see how they would express this or that particular phrase in Latin; for at this point Latin conversation was the chief subject of attention. Exercises in music were likewise required.

Third Class.—In this class, lessons were recited from the "Fables of Camerarius" and the "Dialogues of Cattalio," and "fine phrases were pointed out therein," for the boys "to put to use, both in writing and in speech." They were likewise introduced to the "choice epistles of Cicero," and to Terence. The latter was to be committed to memory. "And, since Terence wrote with great elegance and purity, the boys should read over his expressions often, and that attentively, and should also turn them into good German, 'that so their own Latin, both written and colloquial, may be improved.'" At the reading of Terence, the teachers "should be specially careful to give prominence to the design and purpose of the author, how he does not himself advocate every thing that is said, but depicts various vices and

dispositions in the person of his various characters; for instance, where *Mitio* says—'*Non est flagitium (crede mihi) adolescentem scortari, neque potare, neque fores effringere,*' etc.; here the boys are to understand that these words do not express the real sentiments of the writer." "Again, these and the like passages should be used by the preceptor, to show how those benighted pagans knew nothing of God and his word; in short, a diligent care should be exercised, on all occasions, that the tender minds of the young receive no evil bias."

Syntax was then taken up, combined with "exercises in style;" and in these the pupil was instructed "to imitate the periods of authors, gleaned from suitable readings." Patience and perseverance were especially commended to teachers, in their corrections of the written essays of their scholars.

Fourth Class.—Cicero's "Letters to his Friends," the treatises on "Friendship," and on "Old Age," and Terence were read in this class. After finishing syntax, the elements of prosody were taken up. Also the rudiments of Greek grammar were learned, and translations made from the smaller Greek catechism of Brentius.

Fifth Class.—Those boys who, while passing through the four first classes, "had been sufficiently exercised and perfected in grammar, so that they spoke Latin with tolerable freedom, and had besides mastered the elements of Greek," were in this class to be confirmed "in all the studies to which they had previously attended."

They were then to read Cicero's "Familiar Letters," and his "Offices," also Ovid "de Tristibus," the Gospels in Greek and in Latin, and, in addition, to give their attention to prosody and to exercises in style.

Sixth Class.—"After the boys have been thoroughly drilled in grammar, they are in this class to be made acquainted with logic and rhetoric." They were to read, beside Cicero's Speeches and Sallust, the Æneid of Virgil, "that they may thereby grow accustomed to the elegancies of the Latin tongue, and to a pure, poetical diction."

In their exercises in style, "regard should be paid not to the quantity but the quality of their compositions, and to their successful imitation of the idiom and the phraseology of Cicero."

In Greek, they were to go through with the grammar, and to read the Cyropædia and the larger catechism of Brentius.

Music, especially sacred, both in German and Latin words, was thoroughly practiced by all the classes, and the recitations of the day were always introduced with the singing of the "*Veni sancte Spiritus,*" or the "*Veni Creator Spiritus.*"

The boys were also obliged, "as well out of as in school, to con-

verse with each other in Latin, not in German," and "every week to write 'letters.'"

A comparison of the Wirtemberg school code with that of Sturm reveals a most surprising similarity between them both, in their respective aims, as well as in the means by which in each case that aim was reached. The Wirtemberg boys were required to be "devout, God-fearing, modest, and obedient, and to be faithful in attendance on school and in study." Teachers were repeatedly cautioned against too great severity, especially in the infliction of corporeal punishment.

THE CLOISTER SCHOOLS.

Duke Christopher's chief care was to provide his people with good spiritual guides. For the education of such, he founded, in the year 1556, cloister schools, so-called, upon the endowments of the disfranchised monasteries, so that these might be, according to their original design, again enlisted in the service of the church. At an annual examination held by authority at Stuttgart, the most promising boys, of twelve or fourteen years of age, at the Latin schools, were transferred to the cloister schools, and there educated without charge, until they were fitted to enter the University of Tubingen. At their entrance into the cloister schools, the promise was exacted of them, to continue faithfully in the study of theology, and, except under permission from the duke, never to engage in any foreign service. The "*Church Order*" divided the cloister schools into lower and higher; the former were also styled grammar schools. Boys went, as we have stated above, in their twelfth or fourteenth year, from the Latin school, into the cloister grammar school. They were obliged, beforehand, to have completed the studies of the third class; for in the cloister school they received nearly the same instruction that was imparted in the fifth and the sixth of the Latin schools. To this there was, moreover, added much theological doctrine, bearing upon their future course.

From the grammar schools, they went up into the higher cloister schools. Here they read Cicero, Virgil, and Demosthenes, and took up Greek grammar; they also continued logic and rhetoric, and practiced singing, in connection with the study of a compendium of musical science. Up to this point, they were wholly upon old ground. But now, other and new branches demanded their attention; viz., arithmetic and astronomy, the latter most probably taught out of the "*Sphere of Sacro Bosco.*"

Meanwhile, frequent exercises in style were insisted on, in order "to attain to the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue." Some short collection of phrases was to be learned by heart, and reference "should

be freely made to the 'Phrases out of Cicero and Terence, collected by certain scholars, and now first put into print.'" The preceptor "should himself, with such phrases as he had collected in his reading during the week, compose a Latin treatise, inventing his argument in such a manner, that well-considered phrases may be fitly woven into its expression; for he ought, by all means, to avoid affectation, and to use embellishments only where they grow out of the subject. Such treatises he should translate into good German, and dictate the same to the boys, bidding them turn it again into pure and elegant Latin, for which purpose he may remind them to use their own common-place books, already prepared of words and phrases from Cicero, Terence, Virgil, and other good authors. The preceptor must "strike out every phrase which is not sanctioned by some approved author," .... "and at last he should read over to the boys the Latin treatise which he has himself already prepared from the same phrases, and they should listen attentively, in order to see how skillfully the preceptor has joined these phrases together; that they may learn how to follow his lead, and attain to his excellence."

Every where we find the same grand aim; *i. e.*, imitation of classical authors. And those earlier scholars fancied themselves genuine imitators and pure classical writers, when they had merely put together, with great care and pains, phrases borrowed from the classics. That they did not learn from the classics, as did Wieland, how to write German well, is sufficiently evident from the composition of the foregoing citations.*

Every two weeks, disputations were to be held upon questions of grammar, logic, rhetoric, or the sphere, ("*Sphærica lectio.*")

The discipline of these cloister schools was the more strict, inasmuch as more was demanded of boys who were destined for the clerical office.

UNIVERSITY.

When the cloister scholars had reached the age of 16 or 17, they entered the university. They were first examined; and those who had passed a good examination were admitted to the Tubingen Foundation, and, during their entire university course, received a gratuitous maintenance. And here, too, they were subjected to a strict discipline. Besides their particular department of theology, they paid special attention to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, prosecuted logic, rhetoric, and mathematics more thoroughly, and were kept at exercises in style, together with disputations. The Foundation was

* Take for instance the following: "Kein phrasin die nicht ex probato authore herkommen passiren lassen."

sufficiently ample for the support of one hundred and fifty students. Its privileges however were extended only to native-born Wirtembergers, who were destined for the sacred office.

Such was the Wirtemberg school system, beginning in the "*Teutsch*" or elementary schools, and ending in the university. But it did not entirely answer the expectations even of its founder, Duke Christopher. The private schools especially often proved a failure; as, in many places, "from the scarcity both of teachers and pupils," they were not fully organized, having only the lower classes. For this reason, the Duke founded in eight cities special private schools with more classes—the principal of these was at Stuttgart; this contained five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This latter school was a perfect realization of the plan of instruction of Louis, being a fully equipped private school, in which boys were thoroughly fitted for the university.*

They read the speeches of Cicero, Virgil, the comedies of Frischlinus, and practiced writing, both in Latin and Greek, both diffuse and compact, (*exercitia styli Latini, Græci, soluti, ligati.*)

They attended also to music, astronomy, logic, and rhetoric; we find mention made likewise of physics and ethics. And because, in 1599, complaints were made of the neglect of the Greek language, the grammar of Crusius and the Cyropædia were introduced into the school. Afterward, in the year 1686, "this school was reorganized into the form and shape of a completely-equipped gymnasium;" both studies and classes being raised.

The external organization of the Wirtemberg schools of the present day, agrees in the main with that of the 16th century. In addition to the German elementary schools, the duchy can now boast of 83 Latin schools. From these, those pupils destined for the ministry, who distinguish themselves at the official examinations, are sent to the four cloister seminaries at Maulbronn, Urach, Blaubeuren, and Schonthal, among which there is now no longer the ancient distinction of lower and higher. For example, thirty scholars entered, in the year 1828, the seminary of Schonthal, taking the places of those, previously there, who had just left for Tubingen. These thirty new scholars formed a promotion, so called, and remained there four years; until, in 1832, at the end of the summer *semester*, they all left for the university. In the same manner, every year, one of the four cloister schools dismisses its scholars, and admits at the same time a new *promotion*, so that every year the Tubingen

* The course of instruction pursued in this school toward the close of the 16th century may be seen in the "*Swabian Magazine*" for 1776, part 1, page 412. In 1574 the school numbered 312 pupils.

Foundation receives from one of the four cloister schools not far from thirty scholars.

But although the external organization of the present Wirtemberg schools appears thus similar to that of the schools of the 16th century, yet, on a comparison of their internal economy, we discover a most marked difference. A new educational ideal, developed chiefly within the last seventy years, has introduced new subjects of instruction, and inaugurated new methods of teaching. To speak but of a single branch, viz., the classics. Under the old system, but three of the Latin classics, Cicero, Terence, and Virgil, were read; while now seven others are included in the curriculum, and eight Greek classical authors have now taken a place side by side with the Cyropædia and Demosthenes of those days.

Now, too, instruction in French and German is regarded as of equal importance with that in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. We have likewise, among our modern branches of education, geography, history, and natural philosophy; and, with logic, we have the new science of anthropology.

II. SCHOOL CODE OF SAXONY, 1580.

In the year 1580 there appeared in the Electorate of Saxony the "Rules and Regulations of Augustus, Elector of Saxony," to be observed by the churches, universities, and schools, both royal and private, throughout his dominions.

If we compare these ordinances closely with the Wirtemberg school code of Duke Christopher, we shall find a most remarkable similarity between them; and, in fact, a great portion of this Saxon edict was borrowed, word for word, from the Wirtemberg.

The "Teutsch" schools "in the villages and thinly-settled hamlets" were, in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, set apart for elementary instruction in reading, writing, and religious doctrine. Here, also, there was no mention made of arithmetic, although the Wirtemberg Ecclesiastical Order required of schoolmasters "that they understand it."

Private schools in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, were the next highest in grade; and there as well as here they were divided into five classes. With a few slight exceptions, the Saxon system was almost a literal transcript of the Wittemberg. The chief difference between them was this, viz., that in the Saxon schools arithmetic was carried in the fourth class through division, and finished in the fifth; while in those of Wirtemberg it was not taught at all. With regard to music, (and by consequence to musical instruction,) the Augustan code thus stringently and wisely ordained: "Pastors shall give diligent heed that

none of the pieces of the *cantators*, where these are also composers, nor any new pieces whatever, be sung; but only the music of such learned and worthy old masters as Josquin, Clement, (not the Pope,) Orlandus, and the like; and, above all, that all airs of a light and lascivious character be avoided; for all the music chosen ought to be solemn, noble, and inspiring, so that the people may be charmed into a devout and Christian frame of mind."

The private schools of Saxony were unconnected with any special theological institutions, as in Wirtemberg; but in their stead there were royal schools at Meissen, Grimme, and Pforten, which were founded "for the benefit of all future generations." Each of these schools were divided into three classes, and each class into *decuriæ*, all under *decurions*. Boys were to remain at these royal schools six years. Before their admission they were required to have gone through the third class in one of the private schools. Nevertheless, in the first or lowest class of the royal schools, the course of study in that third was to be repeated, viz., etymology, the *Mimi Publiani*, Cato, and the Familiar Letters of Cicero. So, likewise, the course in the second class of the royal schools agreed in part with that of the fourth of the private schools. Latin, syntax, the Familiar Letters, the Bucolics of Virgil, Ovid's Pontus, Tibullus, select Latin poetry, elementary Greek, with Æsop's Fables in Greek, and, lastly, arithmetic and music. In the third or highest class of the royal schools, the whole of Melancthon's Latin grammar, with the additions of Camerarius, was studied, and there was read of Cicero the *Offices*, *Old Age* and *Friendship*, and the *Tusculan Questions*, Virgil's *Georgics* and *Æneid*, and the *Odes* of Horace; in Greek, Isocrates, the Theogony of Hesiod, the Golden Lines of Pythagoras, and the first book of the Iliad, and Plutarch on the Education of Children. Instruction was also given in the elements of Hebrew, in logic and rhetoric, Sacro Bosco on the "*Sphere*," and the "*Rudiments of Astronomy*" of M. Blebellius. Above all, the boys were to "learn to read and write good Latin in an elegant as well as intelligible manner;" for this purpose to collect phrases, to give much attention to Cicero, to write many essays, etc. "The comedies of Terence and Plautus they (the teachers) shall cause the boys to perform throughout the year, and in this way accustom them to speak Latin with elegance." Yet the teachers should separate the poison from the honey, and should instruct their pupils "carefully to avoid and eschew the vices which these poets have depicted both in young men and old."

Upon the office and qualifications of teachers, rectors especially, and the doctrine and discipline to be observed in schools, the Saxon code

contained much that was admirable. We find therein plain and straightforward rules, distinguished alike for their devout tone as for their shrewd common sense.

In the year 1773, there appeared the well-known "*Remodeled school code for the government of the three royal and national schools of the Electorate of Saxony.*" Its framer had before him the code of Augustus I., then of nearly 200 years' standing, and he appears to have translated this as faithfully as possible into the character and style of his own day. But, while both these codes agree with each other in the main, yet the new one was conformed to the demands of the new age, disclosing, for instance, an unmistakable tinge of the rationalism of that age. The branches of study were more numerous; notwithstanding the study of the classics still continued prominent, and the old modes of forming a Latin style, both written and spoken, were still retained. Hebrew was taught as formerly, and to this were added French, Italian, and English. Geography, history, and chronology were also particularized as subjects of study. With logic and rhetoric, natural theology and moral philosophy were combined, the text-books in these sciences being the well-known Initia of Ernesti.

Since this code of 1773 appeared, a new educational era has dawned, and the character of Pforte has changed far more since 1773 than it had previously done during the long period from 1580 to 1773.

EDUCATION IN PERIODS OF WAR AND PEACE.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

I. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY.

THE "Thirty Years' War," which broke out in 1618–19, is the most dreadful period in the history of Germany. Its armies were great bands of murderers and robbers. The spirit of peace and holy order had entirely perished; and murder, license, and robbery reigned without opposition. So fearful were the results of devastation and impious recklessness, that pious men began to doubt even of the government of God. "The country was desolated, plundered, empty of men—a desert for wolves and savage beasts. Of schools and teachers nothing was said."*

The histories of those German institutions which date back to the thirty years' war confirm these statements. I shall quote a few of them.

The Protestant school at Friedberg, in Hesse, suffered during that time "immeasurable evils." The pestilence and poverty which resulted from the war robbed it of many of its scholars. In 1630 it was almost destroyed by the Austrians and Bavarians; but was reestablished† in 1631, when the Swedes entered Friedberg, after the siege of Leipzig by Gustavus Adolphus. The Protestant gymnasium at Hersfeld was put in possession of Catholic priests and Jesuit teachers in 1829. Tilly was at hand to enforce the Edict of Restitution by arms, and raved fearfully about it. In 1632 the gymnasium received its Protestant teachers back again; but was entirely destroyed in 1634 by the imperial general, Götz—the teachers fleeing to Kassel and elsewhere. In 1636 instruction was again commenced; and, in 1637, when the imperialist troops again came to Hersfeld, it had to be closed. It was soon reopened, and vegetated painfully through

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* Raumer's "*History of Europe,*" III, 596. Two religious hymns, of the time of the thirty years' war, afford the deepest glimpse into the melancholy feelings of upright men. One by Meder, a pastor in the circle of Leipzig, begins, "When, oh when will it appear, our much-longed-for day of peace?" The other, by Martin Rinckart, (1585—1649,) is a parody upon the Lord's Prayer. It begins, "Our father will no longer be the father of the miserable;" and again, "Shall thy name be entirely forgotten upon earth?" and, "Shall thy will never more be done upon earth?" It ends, however, with a hopeful prayer for relief, and with the words, "Thou hast the kingdom, and the power, and the glory over hell and death."

† "*Account of the Augustine School at Friedberg,*" by Prof. Dieffenbach. Programme, 1825, p. 12, &c.

those troubled times, until its first accession of renewed vigor, after the Peace of Westphalia.*

Göttingen was besieged for nearly two months in 1626, and terribly bombarded. Under the pressure of the extremest want, the then celebrated rector, Georg Andreas Fabricius, accepted a call to the gymnasium at Mülhausen; and with him there departed the other teachers and the pupils from other places.† He was afterward invited back to Göttingen, but in 1641 was without income and five hundred thalers in arrear.

Schulpforte suffered much by the war. The minister, Martin Caulbel,‡ came to Pforte, August 2d, 1632, through the midst of Wallenstein's army. In the same year the pupils were dispersed by hostilities, and returned next year. In 1636 they were twice dismissed, on account of attacks by the enemy; in 1647, when Field-Marshal Leslie had his winter-quarters near Pforte, they were dismissed for seventeen weeks; there being no means of subsistence either for them or the teachers. On the 18th of February, 1639, both teachers and pupils were again dispersed by Bannier's cavalry. When the minister of Schulpforte returned, on the 23d of the same month, with five scholars, they were obliged by necessity to eat oaten bread until the next harvest. On the 16th of April, 1641, the boys, twelve in number, were hunted away again by Duke Bernhard's forces, under General Rose. "God will repay the general and his soldiers at the last day," writes Besold, then the minister; "for they tortured two of the pupils by cords twisted round their heads." On the 21st of May, Besold and two scholars returned to Pforte. The centennial festival of the institution fell in the year 1643; but such was the devastation of the war that only eleven boys sorrowfully celebrated the memory of the foundation of the school.

It was only to the school at Schweinfurt that the war seemed to bring good fortune.§ After the battle of Leipzig, Gustavus Adolphus entered Schweinfurt, October 2d, 1631. The citizens treated his troops exceedingly well, and gave much assistance in fortifying the city. In return, the Swedish king presented them with seventeen valuable villages,‖ with the express condition that the rents and incomes should be in part devoted "to the erection of a gymnasium for the glory of God and the benefit of studious youth." After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, at Lützen, and the evacuation of the

* "*Hersfeld Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Münscher. 1836, p. 8, &c.

† "*Göttingen Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Kirsten. 1829, p. 22, &c.

‡ H. E. Schmiederi, "*Commentarii de vitis Pastorum et Inspectorum Portensium.*" 1838, p. 31, &c.

§ "*History of the Latin School and Gymnasium at Schweinfurt*," by Prof. Wainich. Programme for 1831, p. 4, &c.

‖ The letter of gift was dated at Frankfort on the Main, March 2d, 1632.

territories of Wurtzburg by the Swedes, the bishop resumed possession of the villages, which had been his property before. Notwithstanding, the magistrates added to the already existing six classes of their Latin school a seventh, with the name of Gymnasium Gustavianum. This was consecrated in 1634, and the burgomaster, (Dr. Bausch,) a senator, and several clergymen, undertook to give instruction in it gratis. The honorable public spirit of the citizens maintained the school under the severest misfortunes of the war; * and it only ceased to exist, at the end of one hundred and seventy years, in 1804.

A gymnasium was founded in Stargard by the legacy of Burgomaster Peter Groning, and was opened in September, 1633. But, in 1635, the city was besieged by the imperialists, and became a prey to the flames—only the church of St. Peter and nineteen houses remaining. The gymnasium building itself was also burnt, and the teachers were dispersed. For some time there was no school held. Two teachers then gradually gathered the scholars again, and one of them, Conrector Bindemann, was appointed rector, after there had been none for eleven years.†

The gymnasium at Goldberg, once famous far and wide, by means of Trotzendorf, quite perished in 1621, as did that of Beuthen, in 1629. That of Oels fell into great distress. In 1639 an imperial regiment was quartered in Oels; in 1640 the city was besieged, unsuccessfully, by the Swedes, taken and plundered by them in 1642, and afterward taken by the imperialists. Biebing, rector of the gymnasium, wrote at that time, "Truly, among so many and so great miseries, to live in Oels means to starve, to die before our time, and daily to have a foretaste of the torments of hell."‡

In 1648, the year of peace, Duke Georg Rudolph established a school for princes in the church of St. John, at Liegnitz. He bestowed upon it the revenues of the late Goldberg gymnasium, as he says in his decree of establishment, dated 28th of April, 1646, "for the re-establishment, renovation, and improvement of all the praiseworthy institutions of our forefathers, for church and school, which it has been an impossibility to maintain, by reason of the thirty years' war."§

So much may suffice to show how destructive was the effect of the terrible desolation of the thirty years' war on the schools of our unfortunate fatherland.

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* Octavio Piccolomini bombarded Schweinfurt, after the battle of Nordlingen, with redhot balls, and took it; and the Swedish general, Wangel, took it in 1647. The imperial troops alone had exacted from the city ransoms to the amount of 284,610 gulden.

† "*History of the Gymnasium of Stargard,*" by Director and School-Councilor Falbe. 1831, p. 6, &c.

‡ "*Gymnasium Progromme,*" by Director Dr. Lange. 1841, p. 18, &c.

§ "*Gymnasium Programme of Liegnitz,*" by Prorector M. Köhler. 1837, p. 14.

When, however, the war came to an end, this destruction was followed by a period of "re-establishment and renovation." We shall consider this more in detail, after we shall have become acquainted with the life and labors of Comenius, who lived and suffered through the whole of the thirty years' war.

II. THE CENTURY AFTER THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

After the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, all good princes and magistrates of free cities took an interest in the re-establishment of schools. This was the more necessary since the generation which had grown up since and during the desolating thirty years' war had degenerated as well in morals and religion as in knowledge.

The plans of school organization which appeared first after the war agree mostly with those of the sixteenth century. Latin continued the chief study; and next was Greek.

Programmes of a later date, in the end of the seventeenth and the first ten years of the next century, show a much altered character. The old studies were pursued no longer after the old methods; and an increasing number of new ones were gradually introduced into the circle of learning.

We will first consider the methods followed in teaching Latin.

In the school-plan published in 1654, by the council of Frankfort on the Main, daily exercises in speaking Latin were required. "Any one," it says, "who shall speak otherwise than in Latin, or any thing indecent or blasphemous, shall be punished at the time of his transgression, but with good discretion." Entirely in agreement with Trotzendorf, Sturm, and the Jesuits. Whether this kind of speaking Latin were judicious, Feuerlein, inspector of the Nuremberg Gymnasium, doubts.* "Hitherto," he says, "our *leges* have required of the boys even in the lower classes, *sub pœna*, to speak nothing but Latin; with the intention, besides the *usu expeditiore hujus linguæ*, that they should not be able to chatter so much with each other." Others, on the other hand, were so "scrupulös" that they would not require any speaking whatever of Latin from the boys, in order that they might not become used to a vulgar Latin.† There should be a middle way between this excessive scrupulosity, "for the sake of preserving the language of the young by means of Latin, or rather the Latin by

* "*The Fates hitherto of the Nuremberg Gymnasium of St. Ægidius*, rebuilt from the ground out of its ashes, in three completed periods; and the institution for instruction and discipline as renewed and improved in the fourth period, now passing," &c. By J. C. Feuerlein, pastor of St. Ægidius and inspector of the gymnasium. 1699, p. 95.

† Feuerlein cites here Wagenseil's "*Præcepta de copia verborum*" and "*De stylo.*" (Joh. Christoph Wagenseil, born at Nuremberg, 1633; died in 1705, while professor at Altorf; an eminent man of learning in his day. He wrote, among other things, upon the education of a prince, who abhors study above all things.) He says, in the place quoted, "Infants are forthwith taught to attempt Latin expressions; boys are forbidden, under severe penalties, from

means of their tongue, and the fear that the boys would become accustomed to mere sorry kitchen-Latin." They must not speak Latin among themselves, but only under the oversight of their teacher.* "As for the rest," says Feuerlein, "I do not believe it is necessary to forbid our youth from speaking Latin among themselves.

Evidently speaking Latin began to be regarded with other eyes in the previous century, for it was required of all, even the youngest scholars. Having been regarded as a second mother-tongue for the boys, it had been taught like the mother-tongue. Just as the latter is at first spoken by infants in mere attempts, in a most disfigured manner, and only gradually with fewer faults, so the youngest scholars had been permitted to speak the most helpless, gibberish Latin. But now a different rule was established. The boys were rather to be silent than to speak bad Latin; and good Latin was to be learned by the continued reading of the classics. Was the Latin then no longer regarded as a second mother-tongue? Such an altered state of affairs is indicated by the following facts. Previously, Latin had been learned from the Latin grammars; a practice which Ratich was the first to oppose.† He was followed by the school ordinances of the second half of the seventeenth century and the first decennium of the eighteenth. "In *Quinta*,"‡ says the Frankfort school ordinance, "the new German grammar shall be used instead of the '*Compendium Grammaticæ Giessensis*.'"§ Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‖ says that it is a question to be considered, "whether, in learning Latin, the use of a grammar written in Latin should be continued, or whether it would not be found best to introduce one written in German?" Some made use of the German grammar of Seybold. The celebrated Mark grammar, prepared in 1728, by the rectors of Berlin, was in German.

uttering a word except Latin at home, at school, or amongst their playfellows. Thus it happens that, by saying whatever comes into their mouths, and many words which it would be better not to hear, they contract, unwisely, the habit, not of Latin eloquence, but merely of Latin talk."

* In like manner, it is said, in the "*Ordinance of the Honorable Council of Hamburg for the Public St. John's School*, 1732," that "the youth shall speak Latin, especially in the two higher classes, and that there shall be examinations under the charge of the preceptor, to see that the boys speak Latin with each other." Page 15.

† And after him Comenius and Balthazar Schuppius (1610—1661.) The latter says: "The first hindrance which makes the grammar difficult and unnatural is that they have to learn it in a language unknown to them; that the *præcepta grammatices* are laid before them in Latin; and thus it is naught to teach them *ignotum per æque ignotum*, and to bring them, by means which they do not understand, to the attainment of a subject which they do not understand."—B. Schuppius' Works, p. 161. J. M. Gesner's opinion was, that the use in German schools of grammars written in Latin was not at all suitable for beginners, but only for such as had, by other means, already obtained some knowledge of Latin.—Gesner's "*Minor German Writings*," 302.

‡ *Sc. classis*; 5th class.

§ In Quarta, however, the Giessen grammar was used.

‖ L. c., 54.

A comparison of the earlier dramatic representations in the schools with the later ones is in place here.* Sturm required that, every week, a piece from Terence or Plautus should be acted; his design being the attainment of facility in speaking Latin. Many schools followed his advice.† In Oels, Terence or the Colloquies of Erasmus were used; in Liegnitz,‡ in 1617, "*Terentius Christianus*" was recommended. "Notwithstanding," the recommendation continues, "let us adhere to the opinions of the renowned Herr Sturmius, whose counsel is to make use in the schools rather of recitations and scenic performances than of tedious readings and explanations of the comedies and tragedies. In Göttingen, also, pieces from Plautus and Terence were represented.§

But this principle was not adhered to. At one time the teachers of gymnasiums themselves began to write pieces, sometimes very extraordinary, in Latin; with the purpose of attaining the original end of practice in speaking Latin, and at the same time of avoiding the indecencies of Terence; but after a time the use of German compositions, which began as early as in the sixteenth century, seems to have altogether prevailed. There was no longer any pains taken about practice in speaking Latin. Among the Latin school-dramas, the "*Belsasar, Lutherus, and Jesulus comœdia sacra de nativitate,*" by Hirtzwig, rector at Frankfort, was celebrated.‖ Rector Tesmar caused to be exhibited, at Neustettin, in 1684, a comedy "*De rustico ebrio qui princeps creabatur.*"¶

At the gymnasium at Salzwedel, Alexander the Great, after Curtius, was exhibited.** It contained, besides the historical persons, the Angel Gabriel, Fame, a multitude of pages, a ghost, and a courier. Another piece was Epaminondas before the criminal court at Thebes. Between two Latin acts was introduced an entirely inappropriate German interlude, which represented the strife between choral and figural music; in which Apollo and the muses appeared. In the drama of Hercules at the parting of the ways, there appeared the seven arts, three soldiers, three students who sang the students' song, &c. And these pieces were much exceeded by the later German, or rather German-Latin and German-French, school-dramas in deplorable tastelessness. Thus there was exhibited at the gymnasium at Thorn, in 1723,

* I only touch upon the German school-dramas, and refer to Gervinus for a rich array of facts relating to them, to which I make a few additions. See his celebrated "*History of National Poetical Literature of the Germans,*" III., 69, etc.; among others, pp. 83 and 87—94.

† "*Oels Gymnasium Programme.*" by C. Leissing. 1841, p. 21.

‡ "*Liegnitz Gymnasium Programme,*" by Director M. Köhler. 1841, p. 21.

§ Director Kirsten, 1827, p. 15.

‖ Vömel, l. c., 13.

¶ "*History of Neustettin Gymnasium,*" by Director A. Giesebrecht. Page 19.

** "*Invitation to the School Festival of the Gymnasium at Salzwedel,*" by Rector Dannell. 1833, p. 64.

an "*Actus dramaticus* of Joseph distressed and exalted," in which the author, a teacher in the gymnasium, himself played. "Now," he says, "I have selected a biblical subject, and have obtained permission from our masters, the school officers, to represent the same in this theater; and also to invite to the same, with our most humble obligations, all and every one of the high patrons and patronesses of our Parnassus—requesting them with friendly kindness to favor us with their presence for some few hours," &c. The play is a mixture of rococo-gallantry and coarseness.*

The drama called Stargaris, on the bad and good fortune of the town of Stargard, which the Stargard scholars acted apparently in 1668, in a large warehouse, must have been without gallantry, but still coarser. In the third act, there appeared two adulterers, with an adulterous and loose woman, who conversed not in the most decent manner; until there appear the wives of the faithless husbands, who assault them with slippers and distaffs. In the second act, where the masons, at the command of the magistrates, are building the wall of the city, there occurs some violent quarreling. And this play was acted before the assembled authorities of the vicinity.†

Although Sturm and others, by these Latin. school-dramas, proposed that the scholars who acted them should learn to speak Latin, and others again sought the edification and at the same time the amusement both of scholars and spectators, and therefore exhibited German plays, Müller, rector at Zittau, describes the object of these plays to be "The exercising of the students by public comedies in oratory and political decorum." Of six comedies exhibited, he himself wrote four, by the exhibition of which many had "acquired better morals, and had learned to fill better than before their places in the political world." They are designed for the training of the memory; "since," he says, "we did not seek the empty pleasure of idle minds, but benefited in study and in conduct. For we would not willingly rank among those whom men call Merry Andrews, and who divert the mob with vulgar follies."

Who can not trace here, as well as in the above introduction to the play at Thorn, the influence of the age of Louis XIV.? But I shall speak of this point further on; and at present will only say this: The new principle, that the youngest scholars were not to speak Latin, and were not to learn from the grammar in Latin; the decline of Latin school-dramas, previously acted by the scholars, in order to facilitate speaking Latin; all these indicate that Latin was no longer sought to be made a second mother-tongue, and that the true mother-tongue was beginning to attain to its natural and real rights. This

* Richter's "*Prussian Provincial Journal*," Nov., 1841, p. 458. † Falbe, p. 14, 15.

will now be made strikingly evident to us from other sources; and it will become quite clear when we shall have glanced over the history of Latin in Germany, and especially of its relations with the German language from the earliest times to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The requirement to speak and write Latin is the last echo of the old Romish dominion over a great part of Europe;* for the Romans forced their language upon the conquered nations. The Romish papacy, as well as the German emperors, inherited this ruling language, which was that both of church and state. In general, however, German was the language of government, and French of diplomacy; and thus, after the Reformation, Latin remained the language of the Bible, of religion, and of the courts of justice, only among the Catholics.

Thus partly driven from the church and the state, the speaking and writing of Latin fled to the domain of learning; it should serve as the general medium of intercourse, written, printed, and oral, among all the learned men of Europe.

It however gradually withdrew itself from this sphere also, especially at the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Burmann, in an oration at Leyden, in the year 1715, complained that, "Within a little time, the serious German nation has proceeded toward the disuse of the Latin speech, so that in university chairs and in schools only the mother-tongue is heard."

The intellectual and learned Matthias Gesner expresses himself clearly upon this subject. "In vain," he says,† "it has been held a sin to speak any thing but Latin in our universities. And yet, sixty or seventy years ago, none dared to break the rule. But when the University of Halle was founded, in 1695, some few began to violate it. The first was Christian Thomasius, who read German because he did not understand Latin. But he had quite sufficient reasons besides this for doing so. For at that time learned men spoke Latin, it is true; but after such a manner that it would have been better for them to speak German. Yes, even had Latin not been taught in the schools and universities, that language would not have been injured by it. Thus then the ignorance of Thomasius was the first reason for this change, but the second and entirely just one was that the Latin language should not come to entire destruction. It was that men of education, who understood Latin, were in favor of the use of the German, and advised in future to teach it, while the few barbarians

* "Leges sermone suo, imperium quasi præ ss ferent conscriptas, imposuerunt debellatæ genti."

† "*Isagoge*," Vol. I., 102. Gesner's lectures, (*Primæ lineæ Isagoges in eruditionem universalem*,) began about 1742.

defended the use of Latin.* But the German made rapid progress, and in few years was entirely predominant. And now even royal edicts were of no more avail against the practice of teaching in German."

Life and teaching go hand in hand. When state and church no longer required the speaking and writing of Latin, it was vain to attempt to require that it should be used as the living mother-tongue by the literati.†

As in the universities, so in the schools, the use of German increased; it was soon made one of the branches of instruction.‡ Even that very school ordinance of Frankfort, of 1654, which was so strict in requiring the speaking of Latin, requires the scholars in the seventh class to "read fluently German and Latin."§ Feuerlein of Nuremberg‖ cites stronger instances. "Most people," they say, "will in future have occasion, in their spiritual or worldly employments, for the power of speaking well in German almost always, and only to the least possible extent in Latin; and yet they give almost no application to German." But they add, as if fearful that they have said too much, "notwithstanding the Latin is to be studied more than any thing else in the Latin schools, and is not to be neglected."

The Hamburg school ordinance, above quoted, goes still further.¶ The scholars must, it is true, according to it, speak good Latin; but as to the German, it is said that "the German language shall be betimes studied, both in *Quarta*, after they have been well grounded, and afterward in *Tertia*, *Secunda*, and *Prima*, as well by reading the commendation of good German books as by the practical imitation of the same in German letters, speeches, and otherwise; so that no one

* Gesner had spoken in the same way as early as 1715. "*Institutions*," p. 109.

† I say, as a living mother-tongue; for I am not speaking of the other instruction of the schools in speaking and writing Latin. Of this I shall treat hereafter. Gervinus says, l. c., 91: "At first, the chief purpose of the school comedies was strictly practical; Latin was to be practiced by the scholars, and their practice in conversation had the same design."

‡ Gervinus gives details on the way in which the German language became honored again in Germany. He shows how the Society of Usefulness was, above all, the cause of it. It is worthy of observation that the first idea of this society happened when Prince Ludwig of Anhalt was attending the burial of his sister, Duchess Dorothea Maria von Weimar, in 1617. It was this same Duchess who had so zealously espoused the cause of Ratich as early as 1613, and had bestowed upon him two thousand gulden; it was this same Prince Ludwig who did so much, at his capital of Köthen, for the introduction of Ratich's plans of school organization. It was also Ratich who had said, in 1613, that it was the course of nature for boys first to learn well and fluently to read, write, and speak their mother-tongue; and in all the faculties the German language could be used. When the Society of Usefulness, in 1620, published Terence, in Köthen, in German and Latin, this, as we have shown, was brought about by Ratich; and his own school-books appeared there in the year 1619. And the question may be asked whether, if Ratich did not himself give the first impulse to the establishment of the Society of Usefulness, he was not the occasion of the movement from which it came. Comp. p. 23, remark 2.

§ P., 5.

‖ L. c., 93.

¶ L. c., 14.

shall leave the school for the gymnasium who shall not have passed a sufficient examination in pure composition in this language.

Many entertained similar opinions. Baumeister, rector at Gorlitz, says:* "It is a very harmful opinion to believe, that at school men must trouble themselves only about the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues; but that the German does not belong among the learned tongues. The example of the Romans ought to be remembered, who never dishonored their native tongue in such a way. I seek on every occasion to remove this prejudice among youth." He says further that, if they would strictly require thorough study and practice of the mother-tongue, the Germans have their classical authors as well as the Romans.

Wenzky, rector in Prenzlau,† says: "It is fitting that men should learn their own mother-tongue well, and that youth should acquire the same in the school. This principle will be acknowledged just now by many persons. If men had had regard to this in past times, there would not have been all the mortification which has been felt at seeing our greatest and most learned men make such blunders in Latin as would have been severely punished in a scholar at school."

Müller,‡ already mentioned as rector of the gymnasium at Zittau, expresses the same opinion. "Among the languages," he says, "the mother-tongue holds the pre-eminence; both because it is the model by which all other languages must be learned and judged and is the chief means by which we apply to practical use all our acqusitions. For these reasons should the German language be diligently studied in all schools, from the beginning to the end; and be made the chief instrument of the development of all the powers of the understanding."

It is a matter of astonishment that rectors of gymnasiums should have entertained such views upon the German language; for at that time it was in a state of the deepest decay. While previously there had been written a compound of German and Latin, there had lately entered into it a third element—the French; it was a truly Babelish language. The proverb "The style is the man" might apply both to the upper classes and the people. In the second half of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century, there was apparent, in the style, the taste, and even in the opinions and character of the German men of learning, a heterogenous and intolerable mixture of stiff German-Latin erudition and pedantry with frivolous gallantry and a disgustful servilism to France.

There now began the strife between the Latin and Latin litera-

* "*Account of an Important Improvement in the Gymnasium at Görlitz.*" By F. Ch. Baumeister, rector of Görlitz Gymnasium.

† "*The Mode of Teaching Used by Georg Wenzky, Adjunct-Rector in Prenzlau,*" 1746, p. 5.

‡ L. c., 7.

ture and French and French literature. Vainglorious Frenchmen made themselves and others believe that their poets and prosemen excelled the ancient classics.* In diplomacy French unfortunately gradually took the place of Latin as the universal language of kings and princes. It had also become the language of conversation among the higher classes in German, having been introduced by the influence of the profligate Louis XIV. and the crowd of abandoned courtiers who adored him as the highest model of courtly training. The shallow and traitorous un-German admirers of this literature hoped that the French would entirely drive out the classical languages, and would even become the language of instruction at the universities.†

Is it to be wondered at that all this had an influence upon schools? "It has come to be the case," says Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‡ "that some eminent people have exempted their sons entirely from the study of Greek." And again, "The tendency of the times is to consider a knowledge of French entirely indispensable to such persons."

The connection is evident between the exemption of the sons of these eminent people from studying Greek and the considering a knowledge of French indispensable to them.

When Sturm's gymnasium, in 1578, contained more than one thousand scholars, and among them about two hundred nobles, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes, yet all these scholars, great and small, were instructed according to one and the same plan. The Baron von Sonneck was,§ as we have seen, examined exactly like his fellow-scholars in rhetoric, Latin, and Greek. The same equality among the scholars prevailed at Trotzendorf's gymnasium, and here they even proclaimed in the school laws, He who is a scholar can no longer play the noble.‖

What honorable firmness and disregard of consequences on the

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* "Among writers in that tongue, (French,) it can not fairly be denied that there were many of very finished talents; but an all but intolerable conceit obscured the excellencies of some of them. They boasted, often in a ridiculously ostentatious manner, that they only were men, that they only possessed talents," &c. Morhof, Polyhistor, I., 759.

† For the malignant and truly devilish way in which the French perverted our princes, and poisoned their morals, see Rüh's "*Historical Developments of the Influences of France and the French upon Germany and the Germans.* Berlin, 1815." A book of the greatest interest and value. Corruption of German princes, 167. French education of the young, 174. Astonishment of an *emigré* upon finding that the Princess Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg understood German, as she usually spoke only French, 205. How French gradually came to be the language of diplomacy, 358. The work contains many other facts of the same kind. How different the custom of the Romans! "The ancient magistrates took the most watchful pains that no answer should be made to the Greeks except in Latin. So that those of that nation, being unable to use that volubility of speech on which they were accustomed chiefly to depend, were obliged to speak through interpreters." Valerius Maximus, 2, 2, 2.

‡ L. c., 118.

§ Part 1., 249.

‖ "Ponit etiam personam nobilis qui induit scholastici." Ib., 216.

part of these old rectors! How rightly did they feel that in the realm of learning there is no respect for persons!

How disgusting, on the other hand, is the conduct of later rectors, who treated their noble scholars in a more respectful and entirely different manner from the others! The same France which, in the Revolution, preached a thoroughly false equality, preached, in the time of the tyranny of Louis XIV., an equally false inequality of rank, and thus pointed out the way to the later preachers of equality. This French servility to those of higher grade spread into Germany, and even infected the schools. We give a few examples of it.

Baumeister,* already mentioned as rector at Gorlitz, has an especial arrangement of lessons for the noble scholars. Greek, which the citizen scholars studied assiduously, is omitted from it. It was promised that a French teacher should be appointed. It was said that "mathematics chiefly were to be learned by nobles." The man is even not ashamed to say "We make a distinction between the children of nobles and gentlemen and those of lower birth; in part because a more intimate, loving, and trustful intercourse with their teachers is proper for them, for instruction in the manners appropriate to their rank, and in part that they may be safe from faults into which they might fall by intercourse with the others. If the children of gentlemen," he continues, "bring a tutor with them, they are not strictly required to attend the public recitations." For such lessons a nobleman paid double.

Rector Müller, of Zittau, agrees with him of Görlitz; and his programme, both in language and in matter, is made up of stiff pedantry, plastered over with a dressing of French gallantry. Modern history,† according to him, must be studied thoroughly, but other history only in a cursory manner. "We study," he says, "not for old times, but for the present. And we might well study also heraldry and genealogy." Again, "The languages of the present political world must not be neglected in the schools;" these are of practical use to "many classes of persons, especially the nobility and those about the court." Müller‡ assures patrons that in the gymnasium their children will have abundant opportunity to acquire noble and gallant studies, especially mathematics, French, Italian, and English, as well as dancing." "Yes," he continues, "if any one should be most graciously pleased to intrust their children to my own house and table, I will myself instruct them in French and dancing, in

* "*Account of the Gymnasium at Görlitz*," 28, 29, 30.

† L. c. 9, 8. At p. 29 we read, "A lecture upon history entirely modern, from 1700 down to the present time."

‡ Ib., 33.

order to have them more completely under my own observation, and when needful to give them an occasional admonition."

It was always, however, an ungrateful task for the gymnasium rectors of that time to instruct their noble scholars after the model of the French aristocracy. The purpose of the system of education, the method, the organization, and the character of the teachers of the gymnasium were all opposed to it. From the troubles arising from these sources came the practice of founding special institutions for noble youth, such as the Pædagogium at Halle, the Knights' Academy at Liegnitz, &c.

Thus we see that the schools of literature, in the century after the peace of Westphalia, assumed a character very much varied from that of those of the sixteenth century. We see that the Latin lost its place as a second mother-tongue, and that the German took its rightful one as the native and honored language; but that, in consequence of the disgusting influence of France upon our country, the French language and French education ruled our higher ranks with an unholy spell.

How deeply soever these influences had already changed the idea of the character of our literary schools, still other causes were at work to the same end.

"For a long time," writes Rector Wenzky of Prenzlau, in 1746,* "the old methods of teaching have been discontinued in most places, and others have been adopted more in accordance with the times. The object now is, though it is pursued in various ways, to instruct scholars who may be able to serve the state best in the present emergency. The times change, and the school-teachers must vary with them." We have already seen how unfortunately the times had varied. Wenzky sought especially the introduction of a multitude of new studies, and names, besides the already mentioned instruction in the mother-tongue, genealogy, heraldry, geometry, military and civil architecture, astronomy, dialing, botany, theoretical and practical philosophy, &c., &c. "I teach," he says, "how to judge of books; and show how to compose, write, examine, complete, and correct the proof of a book." "I dissuade scholars from prejudices as from irreconcilable enemies." "If one should tell me these 'subjects are too many, and the chief object, the learning of language, must be obstructed thereby;' I answer, these subjects are nevertheless all useful, and are such that the scholar must have some knowledge of all of them. Why are the arts and sciences so many?" In this strange error we see a picture of the theory of pedagogical development of the second half of the eighteenth century, and which has

* L. c., 32.

existed down to our own times. These exercises may be described in two words: real subjects, and exercises of the understanding. We shall hereafter become sufficiently acquainted with both of them; but their real objects remined us but little of the profound views of Bacon and Comenius.

There appeared also a third element which has been named pietism, which originated with August Hermann Franckè and his school. Before I speak of this school, I must discuss the pedagogy of a man who is to be considered a follower of Montaigne and Bacon, and as a predecessor of Rousseau; the pedagogy of the Englishman Locke.

THE PROGRESSIVES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

We have already become acquainted with the educational institutions of Protestant Germany, from the lowest elementary school to the university; and likewise with the character of the most important Catholic schools—those of the Jesuits.

We now approach the beginning of a new period in the history of the German systems of instruction; at the same time, the most frightful period in the history of Germany. Before delineating the character of this new epoch, I shall glance at the condition of the schools of learning in Germany, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

First, the institutions of the Jesuits. The Order had early discerned the immeasurable importance to its purpose—the purpose of re-establishing an absolute hierarchy, and of nullifying the results of the Reformation—of securing to itself, if possible, the entire management of the education of youth. The Jesuits followed up their design with wonderful wisdom and skill, and indefatigable perseverance; and upon comprehensive and well-studied plans.* In 1550, they had no permanent foothold in Germany. The next year they founded their first school, in Vienna; in 1556, they established seminaries at Cologne, Prague, and Ingolstadt; in 1559, at Munich and Tyrnau; in 1563, at Dillingen; in 1569, at Braunsberg; and, in 1575, at Heiligenstadt.† They also established themselves firmly at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Brünn, Olmütz, and Würzburg.

The Jesuits were accustomed to use every means of accomplishing their objects; and well understood how to put out of their way such institutions as obstructed them—not only Protestant, but Catholic ones—as in Treves, Posen, and Prague.

In Treves, the Hieronymites had established a Brothers' House, at the end of the 15th century.‡ Johannes Even, substitute-bishop of

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* Ranke's account of the Counter-Reformation.—*History of the Popes*, Vol. 2, p. 25, &c.

† Director Rinke says, ("*Gymnasial Programme.*" Heiligenstadt, 1837,) "In 1574 commenced the work of regaining Eichsfeld to Catholicism." Two years after the erection of the Jesuit school there, in 1577, it already had 200 scholars. The Jesuits remained there until 1773, when Dalberg came from Erfurt, and ordered them, in pursuance of the bull of abrogation of Clement XIV., to leave the city before daybreak of Sept. 30.—Ibid, pp. 5, 11, 41.

‡ "Contribution to the history of schools in the former electorate of Treves, by First Director J. H. Wyttenbach." In the Treves Gymnasium programme of 1841, p. 10, &c.

Treves, gives (about 1514,) a most favorable account of them, as good and respected priests, of virtuous life, and as having in his time 300 scholars. The people gave the Hieronymians the surname of "golden priests." A protestant movement appearing in the archbishopric, Archbishop Johann von der Leyen invited the Jesuits to Treves, in 1560. They begun by preaching; then the elector appointed them teachers; and, in 1566, they had a college, completely organized. "The Hieronymian College of St. Germain, was still in existence, although operations were already commenced to undermine the institution from a distance, since it did not seem practicable openly to overturn it. But it was easy to foresee that, by the side of that of the Jesuits, which received all the favors of the prince, it could not exist much longer." In 1570, the Jesuits got possession of a convent, which the Minorites were obliged to leave, "altogether against their will, and to remove into the building of the College of St. Germain, where the school of the Hieronymians had at last come to an end. Of these latter teachers was remaining, in 1569, only one." They were obliged "at Treves, as elsewhere, to give way to the new order. All the schools came into the hands of the Jesuits."* In Posen,† Bishop Lubranski had established a school, in 1519; the Jesuits founded theirs in 1573. They contrived to get such an influence over Bishop Konarski, that he not only favored and assisted the Jesuit college in every way, but altogether neglected Lubranski's school, and intentionally suffered it to decline. In 1574, most of its pupils had already left it for the Jesuit institution, in which they were permitted much greater liberty. Thus did this order use their seductive influence, as well against Catholics as Protestants. A merchant, Ryot, had founded an evangelical school here, in 1567; and still earlier, in 1555, one had been established by the Bohemian brothers. In 1616, both these schools, as well as the evangelical church, were "destroyed by the scholars of the Jesuits, and a mob acting in concert with them." In 1621, after the battle of the White Mountains, the Jesuits intrigued most recklessly against both Catholics and Protestants. In spite of the opposition of Archbishop Harrach of Prague, and in violation of the existing rights of the chapter, university, dean, and minister, they seized the exclusive control of all schools and institutions of education. In the same year, they drove the Calvinistic preachers into Bohemia.‡

* Ib., p. 14.

† "On the former schools of Poland, especially in Posen," by Prof. Czwalina. Posen Gymnasium programme, 1837, pp. 10, 14, 18, 19.

‡ Raumer's History of Europe, iii. 416.

With the purpose which the Jesuits had in view, they very naturally established themselves, as far as possible, in Protestant cities, or in their vicinity. And Protestant parents in various portions of Germany were, nevertheless, so blind, as to intrust their children to the Order, for instruction. Should they wonder or be angry, if they were thus enticed into the bosom of the Catholic church?

When the Jesuits, in 1621, were about building a stately college at Alt-Schottland, before the very doors of Dantzig, Johannes Schröder, teacher in the Dantzig Gymnasium, wrote to the council, that there was urgent need for their schools to rouse themselves; "lest," he says, "these fellows, with their institution, obtain the pre-eminence and the prize. Otherwise, much young blood will be seized upon by them, and thoroughly contaminated. I know these birds—I understand the Jesuits. I had twelve years' acquaintance with them in Brunswick."*

Against this far-seeing and deeply-planned educational activity of the Jesuits, we have already seen with what hearty zeal the Protestants, reformers, educators, and princes, exerted themselves for the erection or improvement of schools. Especially prominent, in the second half of the 16th century, is Johannes Sturm, as a normal educator. His method, says Morhof,† was followed not only by the German cities, but also by those of foreign lands. We have seen that the school system of Duke Christopher, of Wurtemberg, and that of August I., of Saxony, corresponded very nearly with Sturm's. His model was followed in the most different German cities. The plan drawn up for the Stralsund Gymnasium, in 1591, by Rector Jentzkow, was "no other than the method laid down by Johann Sturm, in his various writings, extended and adapted with great care and judgment."‡ In like manner, it is related by Rector Heinrich Petreus, that, in organizing the Göttingen Gymnasium, he took that of Strasburg for a model.§ In the gymnasium at Frankfurt-on-the-Mayne, Sturm's method was followed.‖ The introduction of decurions, in the gymnasium at Liegnitz, as well as at Frankfurt, was evidently after Sturm's plan.¶

The contest of the confessionals was transferred to the schools. But, nevertheless, Protestants and Catholics sought the same object in their efforts for literary culture. Sturm said: "I have observed what

* "History of the Academic Gymnasium in Dantzig, by Prof. Dr. Th. Hirsch." Dantzig Gymnasium programme, Aug. 3, 1837. Exceedingly valuable.

† Morhof Polyhistor. Ed. 4, 1747; 1, 333.

‡ Zober; Stralsund Gymnasium programme, 1846, p. 7.

§ Some account of the ancient schools of Göttingen, by Dir. Kirsten, 1840, p. 7.

‖ On the trecentennial jubilee of the Frankfurt Gymnasium, by Rector Vömel, 1829, p. 5.

¶ Gymnasium programme of Rector Köhler, in Liegnitz, 1837.

writers the Jesuits explain, and what method they follow; and it differs so little from ours, that it seems as if they had drank from our fountains."

Against this system of education, common to the Protestants and Jesuits of that day, adversaries now rose up. In the first decennium of the 17th century, commenced that contest of pedagogical principles, originating from Protestant sources, which, under varying forms, has lasted even to the present day.

Those who sought to introduce these new principles and new ideals into pedagogy, I shall for that reason denominate Progressives. This term is to be understood as implying neither praise nor blame. It is to indicate not at all whether the new matter brought forward by these men was good, or bad, or mingled of both.

Innovations were to be expected. When any mode of culture is exclusively adhered to, until it passes over into caricature; whenever only this or that subject of instruction is regarded, to the exclusion of others; and only the faculties employed about that subject developed, while others are neglected; sooner or latter, this condition of affairs brings its own retribution, in the reaction which must follow. And this reaction, moreover, commonly in its turn overpasses the limits of moderation, becomes a radicalism, and seeks entirely to extirpate what had previously been made too prominent.

Thus it happened in the pedagogical controversy which was now beginning. That the philological education had been pushed into caricature, Erasmus had already seen, and had satirized the imitators of Cicero. His "*Ciceronianus*" seems yet to have made no impression upon Sturm. The latter's ideal of attainment was, and remained, Ciceronian Latin eloquence; and he would make every school-boy, as far as possible, a Ciceronian. We wonder at his method, at the professional and literary skill with which he pursued his object, and concentrated all the mental powers upon it. But, if it be asked, Was his ideal of attainment the true one? We can not escape the reply, that he himself, and his innumerable imitators, in their zeal to train their scholars to a Ciceronian eloquence, undervalued almost every thing else worth learning, and every intellectual gift of the pupil as well, except that of speaking. We have moreover seen that Bacon and Montaigne, directly or indirectly, opposed this purely philological training. But neither of these was an educator, and they were therefore not in a condition.

But it was not long before there were teachers, also, contending actively against the cotemporary system of instruction. Two men appeared, who, for many years, made persevering and unintermitted

efforts to develop, and put in practice, a new method of teaching. These were Wolfgang Ratich and Johann Amos Comenius. With them commences a long series of educational methodologists, in which Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, are most prominent. These men differed widely; from personal character, the influences of country, religious belief, and the times and circumstances in which they lived; yet we find something of a common character in the principles and tendencies of them all. I will preface, to the monographs upon these men, a short discussion of these common elements, as composers introduce into the overture of an opera the principal themes which are afterward to be heard in the work itself.

Sight was becoming clearer, views wider, and many new opinions and ideals of value had arisen. In truth, the horizon enlarged so rapidly, that the vision of the observers failed to command it. Frequently the Progressives were incompetent to work out the complete exemplification of their own ideals. It was with entire correctness that they recognized as indispensable, and as founded in human nature, and as demanded by the relations of actual life, elements of culture unthought of by preceding teachers. They were right in opposing their narrow one-sidedness, and the manifold errors in their courses of instruction. But, again, even from the short characterizations of the Progressives* which follow, it will appear, that they in their turn failed to recognize many valuable constituents of a perfected course of study; and, in opposing one extreme, fell themselves into the other. Let us hope that we ourselves, taking warning by this error, may shun both extremes, thankfully recognize the good existing in each of the two conflicting parties, and hold it fast; and thus accomplish an actual and solid reconciliation of both.

The traits common to the Progressives are these:—

1. They all vigorously controverted the systems of education and instruction prevailing in their day. They called the common methods of instruction, which remained substantially the same, from the Reformation nearly down to our own times—that of the *Grammatici* (Philologists)—a blind groping, without road or object.

2. They offered, not an improved method, but asserted that the teaching of the *Grammatici* was entirely unmethodical; and offered simply a method; as something entirely new. This was to conduct the student forward, from the simplest and most comprehensible elements of each subject taught, by a plain, short, and easy way, to the attainment of his end. They said even, in substance, that, with the

* In the course of the History, I shall furnish the proofs of this description.

inner organic necessities of the pupil, the blossoms and fruits of learning would be developed.

3. They wrote manuals, adapted to their methods; by the use of which, as they claimed, one as well as another, the intelligent and the stupid alike could learn well, if only he adhered to the text-book with diligent and even pedantic exactitude. This equalized talents; indeed, it was questioned whether independent and untrammeled teachers were not inferior, in pedagogic efficiency, to those of more moderate endowments.

4. These views were carried into actual caricature by some, who ventured to maintain: That intelligence or dullness is a matter of indifference to the scholar. The teacher who adheres closely to the method, will accomplish every thing by that means. He can carve a Mercury, and make grass grow, out of the same timber.

5. They opposed, in particular, the current modes of instruction; calling them vain, lifeless memory-cramming. (This was their usual term for it.)* This was especially the case with the usual methods of teaching the ancient languages; which the Progressives promised to teach in a shorter time, and an easier manner; one in one new way, and another in another.

6. They applied the term lifeless to the so-called memory-cramming, because by it the pupil was made to learn so many things which he did not understand. They aimed at imparting life to instruction, by calling into action the understanding of the child, in proportion as they omitted the drilling of memory. Some of them seem indeed to have had no reverence for the mystery of the memory, and even to have known nothing of any intellectually living human memory, but only of a mere echo-like parrot's memory; and not to have known how very common is the phenomenon of an understanding stupefied by drilling.

7. While undervaluing the receptivity, so natural to youth, they endeavored, on the contrary, to stimulate the learner to an incessant and unnatural effort after precocious production. Estimating all communicated knowledge at a low rate, they preached to the young generation the doctrine that they were to take pride in shaping out and accomplishing every thing for themselves; and that to themselves, therefore, were they to be indebted for every thing.

8. Since our method is conformable to nature, said the Progressives, the children will learn, voluntarily, with ease and pleasure. And they gave assurances that, by their method, all punishments, corporeal

* An expression somewhat appropriate for the military style in which the teachers put he children through their rote-exercises.

ones especially, would cease of themselves; being only the results of a course of instruction uncongenial, and stimulating to disobedience.

9. Some of the Progressives would have had each scholar taught according to his individual peculiarities and gifts; not all alike. Others, on the contrary, regarded only the human character in general. As there is only one and the same nature, they said, common to all men, so there should be only one and the same method of education. The former of these was the more aristocratic view, the latter democratic; the former was entertained by those who looked to the education of some single normal pupil, the latter by those who aimed at common education.

10. The Progressives had a regard for the mother tongue; indeed, a special one; and contended against the tyrannical dominion of the Latin, without altogether rejecting it. By this study of the mother tongue, by introducing it among subjects of instruction, they endeavored, if not to break up the sharp distinction maintained by means of Latin between educated and non-educated classes, at least to narrow it as far as possible, and to promote at once an education independent of Latin, and democratic sentiments.

11. They set great value upon real studies, and endeavored to connect them with studies in language.

12. Connected with these traits are the progress of bodily exercise, and the controversy against dark and dim school rooms.

13. As the mother tongue and real studies became prominent, opposition arose to the education of uneducated persons in the Latin schools; and separate real schools were demanded. Some, from true Christian love, turned their attention to the improvement of the common schools, which were undervalued by most of the Latinist learned men, and labored extensively in their behalf.

14. These Progressives opposed themselves not only to the memory, but the imagination—more however in effect than in theory. Their unnatural and precocious stimulation of the reason of the children destroyed their imagination. Of the beautiful they said nothing. If they taught music, drawing, &c., it was upon a rationalist, anti-artistic plan. Poetry was neglected, or taught with loveless and unfriendly coldness. The poems were analyzed and interpreted to death.

15. The intuition, of which there was so much said amongst them, tended to the development of imagination; although, for the most part, only apparently so. They disturbed the quiet necessary for it, by incessant repetition, and torturing questions, and destroyed the natural susceptibility to ideas by the most untimely and repulsive

reflections and reasonings. This word does not signify a complete expression in the mind of the scholar; it refers much more to words put too soon into the child's mind by the teacher. He was obliged to name and describe things entirely strange to him. Thus the so, called exercises in intuition were only empty exercises in talking, without any real substance.

16. They were especially strict in insisting that the pupils, even the youngest, should have a clear conciousness in all their saying and acting; and should give a thorough account of all their doings and thinkings, in clear and well-chosen words. By diligent reflection upon language and speaking, it was thus expected that the pupils would become able to hear and to speak intelligently. In this manner they sought to drive the children away from their natural simplicity, and to train them into an unnatural, unchild-like condition; one occupied by themselves, and trying to manage and govern themselves.

17. With this controversy against the memory, was united, on the part of many, an undervaluation of history, and a deification of the present and the actual. Thus was induced the most powerful tendency to mere earthly, material interest, and earthly things and labors, and an entire contempt for a higher and freer culture.

18. With some of the Progressives of the eighteenth century there appeared a distinct form of Pelagianism. The problem of the educator, according to them, was only this: To promote the vegetative development of the natural good endowments of each child, after the fashion of a gardener, so that the inborn *potentia* may ripen into *actus*. *Naturam sequi*, is their principle. Of any case that the inborn bad *potentia* should become extinct, and should not ripen into *actus*, of the strife after holiness, they took no heed; with them the opposites of nature and of grace have no existence.*

Thus may the outlines of the new tendencies in instruction and education be described; we now come to the life and labors of the Coryphæus of the Progressives, Wolfgang Ratich.

*References will be made, further on, to the religious tendencies of the earlier Progressives, and to the irreligious ones of the later.

WOLFGANG RATICH.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

WOLFGANG RATICH was born in 1571, at Wilster in Holstein. He attended the Hamburg gymnasium, and afterward studied philosophy in Rostock. On account of a difficulty in his speech he gave up theology, turned his attention especially to Hebrew, and went to England, and thence to Amsterdam, to study mathematics. Here he remained eight years, and learned Arabic of a native-born Arabian. Here, also, he offered to present to Prince Moritz, of Orange, a new method of instruction, as discovered by him. The prince agreed to his proposal, but on the condition that he should teach Latin only. Dissatisfied with this restriction, Ratich went to Basle, Strasburg, and also to other courts, offering his new method. He finally offered "to the German Empire," May 7th, 1612, at the diet at Frankfort, a memorial,* in which he promised, "with the help of God to give instructions for the service and welfare of all Christendom:

1. How the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other tongues may easily be taught and learned both by young and old, more thoroughly and in shorter time.

2. How, not only in High Dutch, but, also, in other tongues a school may be established, in which the thorough knowledge of all arts and sciences may be learned and propagated.

3. How, in the whole kingdom one and the same speech, one and the same government, and finally one and the same religion, may be commodiously and peacefully maintained.

The better to exemplify this," he continues, "he is prepared to show written specimens of the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures, and of the Arabian and Greek, Latin and High Dutch languages, from which a full opinion may be formed of the whole work."

Ratich now proceeded to attack the usual methods of instruction. It is the course of nature, he says, first to learn to read right, and speak the mother tongue correctly and fluently, so as to be able to use the German Bible. Hebrew and Greek come next, as the tongues of the original texts of the Bible. Next comes Latin, which may be learned from Terence; or jurists may learn it from the Institutions. Elsewhere German should be used in all the faculties.

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* I received a copy of this memorial by the kindness of Herr Archivist Doctor of Law Hertzog, in Frankfort.

After the reading of this memorial, Pfalzgrave Wolfgang Wilhelm von Marburg gave Ratich five hundred *gulden* to buy him the necessary books; Landgrave Ludwig von Darmstadt appointed, and professors Helwig and Jung of Giessen, to make reports to him upon Ratich's mode of instruction. In 1613 the widowed Duchess Dorothea von Weimar summoned an assembly of learned men at Erfurt to examine the method. At the request of the same lady, Professors Grawer, Brendel, Walter, and Wolf of Jena, investigated Ratich's method. Their report appeared soon after that of Helwig, and both were decidedly in favor of the new method.*

In 1614 the church and school authorities of Augsburg invited Ratich thither to reform the schools of their city. We know nothing more of his stay there.†

The Duchess Dorothea summoned Ratich to Weimar as early as 1613 to instruct her and her sister Anna Sophie, both princesses of Anhalt, in Latin. In 1617, she gave him, for the promotion of his plans, two thousand *gulden.*

In the same year, 1617, Ratich was again at Frankfort, where he petitioned the town council to appoint an agent to whom he might explain his method. The agent was appointed, reported, and the council thereupon decreed that "Ratich should be notified that he had permission to apply elsewhere at his convenience."

Prince Ludwig von Anhalt Köthen first met Ratich in 1613,‡ at Weimar, with his sisters, the Duchess Dorothea, and the Countess Anna Sophie von Schwarzburg. Both urgently recommended Ratich to him. In 1616 he invited him to Rheda in Westphalia, and was so much pleased with his plans that he requested him to take up his abode near him. April 10th, 1618, Ratich came accordingly to Köthen; and explained to the prince, that "his structure was ready prepared to his mind, but that the workmen were wanting to help put it up." He settled in Köthen for a time, on account of the purity of the German spoken there, to make a trial of his system for teaching foreign languages, but especially to establish a good German school.

Prince Ludwig repeatedly applied to the other princes of Anhalt to assist him in carrying out Ratich's schemes, but in vain. His brother, Prince Christian, wrote to him that Ratich's views were praiseworthy, but that "it is the work that praises the master," and

* Duchess Dorothea refers to both in the letter of invitation which she gave to Ratich, 8th of May, 1613, to the magistrates of Frankfort, when he left Weimar for that city. Of this I have a copy.

† Report B. of Dr. Niemeyer, p. 11. We shall hereafter see two reports from fellow laborers of Ratich, at Augsburg.

‡ According to Prince Ludwig's own account, it was in 1618. See Niemeyer, p. 6, &c.

it was best to wait for the result. He advised to have the system examined by Rector Wendelin of Zerbst, for which purpose he said he would gladly use his influence. But he soon afterward declined to do even this.* Only Duke Johann Ernst von Weimar, son of the Duchess Dorothea, and nephew of Prince Ludwig, united with him in the undertaking to call into life the new method of instruction at their common expense."

Ratich† now formally bound himself to the work which the Prince wished him to undertake: namely, that of instructing and training teachers, so that they should be able "to impart to their pupils a thorough, good, and fluent knowledge of any language, especially of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in less time, not to exceed half as much, than could be done by any other method usual in Germany, and also with much less pains." These teachers were, on the other hand to promise him upon his requisition not to reveal the secret of his method to any one.

The prince now caused a printing office to be erected at Köthen, for supplying Ratich's books. The founts for six languages were partly brought from Holland, and partly cast in Köthen; and four compositors and two pressmen were brought from Rostock and Jena.

The prince required the people of Köthen to send their children to the schools established by Ratich; two hundred and thirty-one boys, and two hundred and two girls were enrolled.‡

The schools were divided into six classes. In the three lowest the mother tongue was taught, in the fourth a beginning was made with Latin, and in the sixth with Greek.§ According to the plan, his teacher of the lowest class, was to be a man of kind manners, who need know no language except German. His duty was to be, "by daily prayer, short Biblical texts, and questions in the manner of ordinary conversation, to form the tongues and language of the new scholars, according to the pure Misnian dialect, and by continued practice to correct the faults of the scholars, acquired outside the school.‖"

We shall see, further on, the methods of teaching German and

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* Niemeyer gives a French letter from Prince Christian, of 8th of September, 1618. He writes *literatim* as followa: "Puis donques qu'il vous tarde que je me reaolvé sur l'affaire du Ratichiua. J'ay suis delibere de ne me vouloir pas mesler. Et ce a cause que nul de ceulx auxquels J'ay parle depuis, (vous asseurant en avoir parle avec divera personnages qui ont renommée d' estre doctea,) ont voulu croire que lea Effets seront conformes a ses propoaitions m' alleguanta force Exemples au contraire en Hassie, en la Comte de Nassau, de Hanau, chez ma. le marg de Bade, a Auguste et a Basle meme." Comp. Niemeyer, C. p. 13.

† Niemeyer, C. 10, 15.

‡ Ib. 24.

§ Niemeyer, C. 24. On comporing pp. 28 and 42, it does not appear whether there were five or six classes, and whether Greek was begun in the 5th or sixth.

‖ J. C. 29.

Latin in Ratich's schools. Here it must suffice to say, as to the instruction at Köthen, that as soon as the children had learned their letters, in the first (lowest) class, they learned reading and writing together, in the second, using Genesis for a reading book. In the third class was studied "the grammar of the mother tongue, with examples both general and special; that is, to speak and write grammatically, and to understand the grammatical speaking and writing of others.*

In the fourth and fifth classes, Terence was studied, and the Latin grammar abstracted from it; after this there followed an especial Greek class.†

Besides these lessons in language, there was instruction in arithmetic, singing, and religion.

Ratich's labors at Köthen, however, as in other places, soon came to an end. There were various reasons for this. One was, that Ratich was a strong Lutheran, while the city of Köthen was of the "reformed" persuasion. The citizens also took offense at Ratich's having the ten commandments learned in his school, not after the reformed text and division, but after the Lutheran. Superintendent Streso charged him, for this reason, with being heterodox. Prince Ludwig tried to heal the difficulty by ordering both the Heidelberg catechism and Ratich's reading manual to be used in the schools; but this satisfied neither party.

In a report which Streso‡ and some other men of eminence made upon Ratich's school, by the order of the prince, it was remarked that the catechism and music were studied too little; that the discipline was bad; that the hours of recreation were too many; that the children were made to pass too quickly and abruptly from the letters to reading, without any intermediate study of syllables, and that they "wrote *vitiosissime.*"

It is true that the results did not answer Ratich's great promises. He laid the blame, for various reasons, upon his patrons and colleagues; and the consequence was that Prince Ludwig imprisoned him on the sixth of October, 1619, and only released him in the middle of the year 1620, on his signing a declaration in which he says that he "had claimed and promised more than he knew or could bring to pass.§

Afterward, in 1620, Ratich went to Magdeburg, where he was well received by the magistrates, but in 1622 he got into a quarrel with Rector Evenius. Princess Anna Sophie, who had married Count Gunther von Schwarzburg, now invited him to Rudolstadt, where she

* J. C. 35. † Ib. 42. ‡ Ib. 15-19. § Ib. 7, 19, 20.

studied Hebrew with him. About this time many opponents came out against Ratich, and among others the well known Dr. Hoë von Hoënegg, chief court chaplain at Dresden, who had been his strong partizan in 1614. In 1626, however, he wrote a long communication to the Countess Anna Sophie, opposing Ratich's views. "Your grace knows well," he writes, "that if one should give himself out for an architect, and especially for an uncommonly good architect, he would not be at once received as such, but that special, thorough, clear and demonstrative tests, would be made use of, before men would employ him for important buildings, or put them under his charge. But we, here at court, know of no such public, thorough proof, whatever, which the Herr Ratichius has given, proportionate to his claims, even in any small place; for the lack of which proof, people here will be the less willing to make any change in their system of teaching, and to adopt, instead of it, the Didactics of Ratich."* The Dukes of Weimar and Gotha soon gave him up, but Countess Anna Sophie still adhered to him. She supported him at Kranichfeld and Erfurt, and recommended him to Chancellor Oxenstiern, who caused an examination to be made of his system. Doctors Hieronymus Brückner, Johann Matthaeus Meyfart and Stephan Ziegler, made a favorable report upon it to the Chancellor, March 10, 1634.†

This report discussed, 1. The purpose and design of the plan.

2. The mode of teaching.

3. The promises made. The reporters first take up Ratich's arguments against the existing mode of instruction; as, that it is not really Christian; that the scholars have to learn too many things at the same time, &c.‡ They then describe Ratich's method; and, lastly, consider his requirements, as, a regular appointment, the chief directorship of the work, good fellow-laborers, &c.

Comenius, who met the Chancellor in Sweden, in 1642, relates the result of his negotiations with him. "When I heard," said Oxenstiern, "that Ratich had a new method, I could not be easy until I had myself seen the man; but instead of conversation, he sent me a thick quarto. I accomplished this wearisome labor, and after I had read the whole book through, I found he had, it is true, not ill displayed the faults of our schools; but that his remedies did not appear thorough."§ A sensible opinion. Comenius himself applied to

* Niemeyer B. p. 8. This letter is in the Duke's library at Gotha. Niemeyer gives other extracts from it. (D. 13.)

† Ib. A. p. 7.

‡ Details further on

§ The Chancellor does not mention Meyfart's report.

Ratich by letter, in 1629, as he relates in another place, asking him earnestly and repeatedly, to give him an account of his new method. But Ratich gave him no answer.

It was in 1632 that he first obtained an account of it, in a letter from the excellent Georg Winkler, pastor in Goldberg. "What great hopes," wrote the latter, "were excited by Helwig and Jung's pompous report upon Ratich's method! But our good friend Ratich fell short of it, and will continue to fall short of it." Winkler then relates how Moser, teacher in the school at Goldberg, had eaten a meal with Ratich, in hopes, by this plan, to find out something about his method; but he learned but little. Ratich had declared that he would only sell his discoveries to a prince, at a dear rate, and upon the condition that the men of learning to whom he should communicate them should promise to conceal them. Winkler asks; "would Christ, the Apostles, and the Prophets, have done so?"

Ratich did not long survive his negotiation with Oxenstiern. He had suffered an attack of palsy in the tongue and right hand, in 1633; and he died in 1635, aged sixty-four.

We will now examine specimens of Ratich's method of teaching German and Latin, in order to show how he and his followers proceeded in instruction, and then consider his more important general principles of instruction and education. I commence with an account of a method of instruction, so as to be able more conveniently to refer to it for explaining principles.

I. Ratich's Instruction in Language.

Instruction in language should begin in the sixth or seventh year, with learning the letters; since the letter is the simplest element of grammar. The teacher should show the pupil the form of the letter, drawing it slowly on the blackboard, and naming it at the same time, so that the scholar may learn the form and the name of the letter together. He is also to compare the letters with forms, as, for instance, O with a circle, C with a semicircle, X with a cross, &c.*

Ratich requires that the pupil should copy the letters at the same time, but Kromayer, his follower, on the contrary, only permits it when he can read them easily.

The teacher then proceeds to the making of syllables; writing the names of them, as before, at the same time.

After this, Ratich says, he is to select an author from whom the language can well be learned, and whose contents are chaste and interesting; as, some history, comedy, &c. The youngest scholars

* Ratich's "Methodus," 140.

must, however, have a manual of the rudiments, (*parvus libellus rudimentorum*,) while the older use the author himself. This author is Terence.

Here the Ratichians differ from Ratich in one direction, and Kromayer in another. The former direct that after the study of the letters, Terentius* should immediately be taken up. The latter, however, says: "The boys should first learn German well, before Latin or any other language is laid before them; for it is wrong for the boys to have any Latin material, such as Donatus, Latin verses, or the like, put before them, before they understand German well." He adds that many scholars learn Latin grammar without knowing German well; "that although they may not have learned it well in the lower classes, they are at once put into Latin. It is still worse when the children even at first, before they can read German, are taught to read in Latin A B C books. This is contrary to nature; for it is much easier to learn to read in the mother tongue, than in one strange or entirely unknown." German should therefore be taught in the German classes, and Latin be postponed to the Latin classes.

Kromayer's course of Latin instruction is briefly as follows. From their letters, the step to reading, is to be made as soon as possible. The teacher must first "read over by himself the whole book (of Genesis) to the end, reading each chapter twice over together; the scholars not reading at all, but only listening, looking on and following." When the book is gone through in this manner, the preceptor is to begin again at the beginning and read each chapter once, making the scholar read it over immediately after him, perhaps four lines at a time." The book is afterward to be read a third time, by the scholar alone.

After this Kromayer proceeds to teach German grammar to those who are afterward to study the ancient languages. "When any especially fine intellects are found," he writes, "such as the teacher recognizes as fit for study, and to be afterward put forward into other schools, after they have learned to read fluently, they are to be put into the German grammar, and thereby a good introduction made for them to the Latin grammar.

"The preceptor is to place these scholars together, and to teach them the German grammar; a chapter, or some other convenient part, at a time. The teacher is first to read it clearly, and explain it a little, where necessary, in other words; secondly, the scholars are

* "Praxis," 162. "*Alphabeto absoluto progreditur ad syllabas. Quo facto statim ad Autorem, qui in lingua latina est Terentius, fit transitus.*" Nothing is said by the Ratichians about teaching German; but we have seen that in Ratich's school at Köthen, the three lower classes were German, and that Latin was first begun in the fourth.

to read it over after him, once, or ten times, if necessary; thirdly, as it has been well enough read, the pupil is to take up the first book of Moses, which he knows already; and the teacher is to show him the applications of that part of the grammar which was read, in the first chapter, in five, six, or even ten examples, reading the chapter until he comes to a point which is an instance of the rule in question. Here he pauses a little, and shows how the example agrees with the rule or precept in the grammar. As, for instance; if he is speaking of uninflected words; he will find an example of them in the very beginning of the first book of Moses, as he will also almost anywhere. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," &c. "In" is a preposition. "And the earth was without form and void. "And" is a conjunction, &c. Again; if he is speaking of nouns and verbs,* "Beginning" is a substantive noun, of the masculine gender, singular number, &c. "Created" is an active verb, third person, imperfect, &c. He may then conjugate it to the third person singular, where he will show that this is the person used in the book, at that place. He is to go on with such applications, not only in the first book of Genesis, but through the remaining chapters.

This method of application depends chiefly upon this point: that the teacher only is to read, while the pupils pick out the examples; finding them themselves in the book, when any form in the declension or conjugation is required; so that it is necessary to keep a sharp eye upon the grammar, and to listen very quietly to the teacher's reading. When one part of the grammar has thus been applied, the teacher is to go on to another; read it, make the scholars read it after him, look out the examples in Genesis, show and apply them.

And in all this matter of the German grammar, it is to be observed, that it is not intended that an entirely complete knowledge of each part of the grammar, shall be required of the boys as they go over it. Indeed, this could not be required either of the teacher or the pupils.

We know very well, it is true, that improvement in grammar must consist of an always increasing amount of observation and practice; but it is enough for the boys to get a reasonable knowledge in their own mother tongue of the *secundas notiones*,—the grammatical terms—such as number, case, declension, conjugation, noun, verb, &c., before they take up Latin, since they will then have more than half learned the meaning of these terms in their own language. It would be much easier for one who had already learned the grammar of Latin, to understand the parts of speech, number, tense, person, verb,

* Ratich uses German words for all the grammatical technicals. Niemeyer, p. 39.

noun, &c., in Hebrew, or any other foreign language, than for one who should first learn his grammar in the Hebrew, or other entirely unknown language, without knowing what grammar really is, nor what are the true notions and actualities of nouns, verbs, number, tense, mode, and case. It can be easily understood that the case is the same with scholars who are set at once to learn Latin grammar in the unknown Latin language, before they really know what the ideas of grammar itself and its different notions are.

It should be remembered, however, that it is not to be expected that one grammar should be of assistance in learning another, by having all the words in one of exactly the same gender, conjugation, and declension, as they are in another. This is impossible in most languages. It is sufficient, that, in general, one grammar helps in learning another; that, in general, if I have already become acquainted with the notions and characters of gender, case, declension, conjugation, &c., they would no longer be so difficult and entirely unknown, when they should come up again in the Latin, or some other grammar, but much easier. And this opinion, is, by no means, of little importance. It is upon it that we base our principle that the German grammar should be learned before the Latin."

Ratich's directions for teaching Latin, agree, throughout, with those of Kromayer, in whose own words I have given them.*

"The Latin grammar should not be learned before the author, but after, and in the author. The books which we use in the Latin class, are, accordingly, these: 1. The author, as, for instance, Terentius, whom we have had printed for this special purpose. 2. The Latin grammar, which we have also had arranged expressly for this purpose. 3. The Latin evangelists. *Item*, the Latin catechism, and the Theological Commonplaces; and, moreover, for the higher classes, the other Latin authors, as Cicero, Virgilius, &c.

Terentius, with whom we begin, should be first understood, as to his substance and meaning, as far as possible, in German.

For just as a man can learn Hebrew, for example, in the first book of Moses, which he already understands in German, much more easily than in one of the difficult Prophets, which is in great part unknown, or than in an entirely unknown Rabbinical book; in like manner is it certain that the scholar will learn the Latin language also much more easily, if he is already acquainted with the sense and manner of his author, as, Terence, for example, in German, than if he should

* I purposely give the full original, instead of extracts; as its diffuse form entirely coincides with its wearisome contents, and will give the reader a just idea of the method of instruction of Ratich, and his followers, and a lively sympathy with teachers and scholars under it.

have no knowledge, whatever, of it. It is much to be wished, that some one would print a close translation of Terence, in good German;* for then each boy might be made to read over each comedy twice or thrice, before taking it up in the Latin.

In the meanwhile, however, the preceptor must make up for the deficiency by his own industry. Before each comedy he must give the whole substance of it, before each act its whole contents, and before each scene the full meaning, in German, orally, very clearly and intelligibly, once or twice, or must make them say them over after him, just as if they had a German Terence in their hands.

After this he is to begin to translate the Latin *de verbo ad verbum*; taking perhaps three pages at once, and translating it word for word, twice at one lesson. The signification must be given most strictly after the letter of that radical meaning of the word, as far as possible, which is in use, whether it agrees with the sense or not. As for example in the prologue to the Andriae: *Poeta* the poet, *cum* when, *primum* first, *animum* the mind, *ad* to, *scribendum* writing, *adpulit* he has applied, *id* it, *sibi* to himself, *negotii* of business, *credidit* he believed, *solum* alone, *dari* to be given, *populo* to the people, *ut* in order that, *placerent* they might be pleased, *quas* which, *fecisset* he had made, *fabulas* the narratives, etc. And the exposition must not vary, but each word must be always translated alike, as often as it appears, throughout the book.

He must read each portion twice at a lesson, immediately over, and must say not a word between; and the boys are to remain entirely still, and only to listen and follow in the book. Thus the preceptor is to go from lesson to lesson, letting no one recite, but translating

* Gervinus (History of poetical national literature, 3, 76) says: "People could not be satisfied with translating Terence. In 1620, the Society for usefulness, (*fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*,) published the whole of Terence, at Köthen, in German and Latin. The whole of it was also translated in 1620, by Michael Meister and at Halle, in 1624, by David Höschel and Math. Schenk, in 1626 anonymously, (published at Weimar, by Joh. Miechner,) and in 1627 by Johann Rhenius; which last translation passed through two editions in the 17th century." All these translations ought to be attributed to Ratich's method. The first certainly was; for its title is, "Publii Terentii six comedies. For teaching. Köthen 1620." (Niemeyer C. 22.) The Society for usefulness, which edited this translation, was also established by Prince Ludwig von Anhalt, Ratich's protector. David Höschel, a co-author of the translation of 1624, was rector of St. Anne's schools at Augsburg. He was sent, with two others, in 1614, to Ratich to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to become acquainted with his method. They reported that Ratich had so far explained his invention to them, that they were satisfied and pleased with it. He was, in consequence, invited to Augsburg, to reform the Gymnasium there. I discovered in a certain catalogue of books, "Terentii six comedies. translated into the German tongue. Weimar, 1626;" which is, perhaps, the translation mentioned by Gervinus, and by Kromayer too. Johann Rhenius published, in 1626, three pedagogical treatises, which he had received from his excellent friend (*optimi amici*) Ratich. As Terence occupied a prominent place in these treatises, it was, perhaps, by this means, that Rhenius was influenced during the next year, 1627, to print a translation of it.

the whole of Terentius alone, each portion twice. This will occupy a few weeks.

After this the preceptor is to begin Terentius again from the beginning, as before; translating word for word; but so that the preceptor shall translate his three pages only for the first time, during the first half lesson; and for the other time, immediately after, for the second half of the lesson, the boys are to translate, always in their order, each four or five lines; and when they fail, he must immediately help them; and the others are to listen earnestly in the meanwhile, and attend.

When, in this way, Terentius had again been brought to an end, he must begin at the beginning a third time; and now the boys alone are to translate it, each portion twice at a lesson; and the preceptor is only to listen, and to assist them when they fail.

When they have thus gone through their author for the third time, the preceptor is to cause them to take the grammar in their hands, and here also, he must go over all the ground before them, as follows:

He is to explain to them the substance of the whole grammar: how it speaks of the treatment of single words according to the etymology, and then of the right connection of them, according to the rules of syntax, so that they shall become complete propositions; and he is to remind them of what they have already learned in the German grammar, and to encourage them by showing that it will be almost all of it easy, and the work trifling and not hard, if they will only silently and earnestly listen and observe.

After this he is to take a certain chapter or part, read the rule or definition, and immediately repeat the interpretation of it according to the sense, that is, the right German meaning, always reminding them of what they have been over in the German grammar. Thus he is to go on to the end of the part he has taken, and to repeat his explanation a second time; and for the third time he is to read the Latin contents of the same part, but without the German, and is to let the boys explain it after him perhaps three or four times, each a certain part; and after that, at the same lesson, they should read the portion over ten times or more, clearly and distinctly, but without translation.

Afterward, in this or the following lesson, the preceptor must apply this lesson without the grammar, in the author, Terentius, in this way; he is to begin Terentius again at the beginning for the fourth time, and now he is to make the boys all the time keep both books in their hands, for the application; namely, Terentius and the grammar. Then the preceptor is to translate again, word for word, until

an example occurs of the part of the grammar which has been read, and there he is to stop, and explain how this is an example of the rule which has been studied, and to repeat the translation of the Latin words, and to read over the rule or precept, and immediately to show how the example comes under it; and the boys must all the time point out with their fingers the examples in the author, as he names them, and immediately afterward turn their eyes and their fingers to the grammar, to the rule which has been explained there as that under which the example comes.

And as soon as the preceptor has made application to one example, he must cause the boys to do the same with four or six examples of the same kind, until the whole class has often enough heard and observed what are such examples in the text, how they stand in the author, and how they relate to the grammar; and until they well understand the rule by means of such examples. If the preceptor were to proceed at once, the boys would not so soon have learned to pick out the examples in the author, and before they had learned to perceive and understand them, the preceptor would be far advanced in the lesson.

But when, as above shown, such examples have been picked out five or six times by the boys, then the preceptor is to proceed and select further examples in the text. But he must always translate along in the author until another example occurs, and not let any precept or rule pass until it has been explained by some twenty examples; and must make the boys repeat such examples, especially at first, and until they have become a little used to the application in the author, some four or six times; and when they have become used to it, at least two or three times.

And in this course of study it is not necessary to say how far the pupil shall go at a lesson, either in the grammar or in the author; for when one lesson is not sufficient, another may be taken on the same.

When one precept has been explained as above, and applied in the author, the preceptor is to go on in the grammar, take another part of it, explain it, read it, cause it to be explained after him, and to be applied to the author.

And it is to be observed, that only the most important and principal rules of the grammar are, for the most part, to be practiced; but if there are some special portions or exception, of which not many instances occur in the author, then those are to be more quickly passed over, and the drill upon them is to be postponed until after the grammar has been gone through with.

It is to be remarked also, that we practice *triplicem analysin* or

applicationem; 1, *particularem;* 2, *universalem;* 3, *universalissimam.* In the particular analysis, we make application only to examples which come under the single precept or rule of the grammar which we have been over, and pass over the remaining words of the author with only a translation. But in the universal analysis, which follows after the pupils have gone through the etymology in the grammar by portions, we make applications to each word, as they stand one after another in the author, whether it be *vox flexibilis vel inflexibilis, conjunctio vel praepositio, nomen vel verbum,* etc.

In like manner is the proceeding to be with the syntax, after it has been gone through with by portions; that is, without regard to the place in the author where the class is, all instructions are to be used for application *universaliter,* period after period, as they stand in the author, and brought under their rules in the syntax; until at last comes the third or *universalissimam analysin,* in which all the grammar is applied at once; first etymology, and then syntax being applied to each period of the author; until the whole author has been analyzed and explained *grammatice.*

In the beginning the teacher must go slowly, and make the application to one word ten or twenty times, *item* must cause each rule to be recited over ten times or more. But he need no longer go so slowly, and may proceed more rapidly, when he sees that the boys both understand the principal precepts, and from their repetition of them know them by heart; then it is enough to make a single application with one word, or to pass it over entirely and only to have those attended to and carefully recited, which occur more seldom, or are for some reason more difficult; at the last the preceptor must push on with speed, only attending to such examples as have some special interest.

And especially must the teacher begin, this time, when any particular phrases occur, to inflect them thoroughly in tenses and persons, although not always in their regular order; the preceptor first repeating such phrases over to the boys, several times, and inflecting them, and causing them to select them for themselves and inflect them, when they have heard him sufficiently.

As for example, Heaut. 1, 1. *Ego vesperi domum revertor,* I return home at evening; *tu vesperi domum reverteris,* thou returnest home at evening; *vos vesperi domum revertimini,* ye return home at evening; *tu vesperi domum revertebaris,* thou didst return home at evening; *nos vesperi domum revertebamur,* we returned home at evening; *illi vesperi domum revertentur, nos vesperi domum revertemur, reversieramus,* etc.

It is to be remembered that only the more important points in the grammar are usually to be studied; as, in etymology, the declension, *item* the *Genus nominum*,* *item* the *Conjugationes verborum;* in syntax, barely one rule more than ten: as 1. *Adjectivum et Substantivum*, etc. 2. *Substantivum cum substantivo.* 3. *Dativos adsciscunt*, etc. 4. *Ablativo casu efferuntur*, etc. 5. *Relativum cum antecedente*, etc. 6. *Nominativus praecedit*, etc. 7. *Activa verba omnia.* 8. *Ablativus instrumenti*, etc. 9. *Quodlibet verbum admittit dativum*, etc. 10. *Infinitivi adduntur*, etc. 11. *Accusativus proprius casus*, etc.; *item* about *Praepositionibus.*

These portions are chiefly to be practiced; with the rest, the boys must not be too soon troubled, delayed or discouraged, since they can learn them just as well afterward, when they have come to the making of sentences, when they can well and quickly learn them in small portions at a time, thus being able to observe for themselves some *fructum studii grammatici*, not without pleasure and good hopes for the future. When they have come as far as this, then the preceptor may take up the remaining more difficult parts, bringing them forward as supplementary, and explain them one after another, reading them over often, *item* making them well and clearly understood by a repeated application of many examples.

When the grammar, with its more important parts, has thus been brought to an end, then the preceptor is to take up the author once more and translate him according to the sense, each scene a couple of times, and then to go on immediately, letting the boys listen only, until he observes that by thus listening they have acquired a good habit in it; and then he may cause them to translate for themselves, helping them at once when they fail.

When the scholars understand the author *ad sensum*, then may follow exercises in style; or, as they are called, argument making, that is:

The preceptor shall first for some four weeks himself orally make sentences before the scholars, all in imitation of Terentius, from the beginning again; shall bid the boys attend closely, and repeat to them the German sentence, *ad imitationem mutatis personis item temporibus*, etc. Immediately after this he is to proceed and give another, as long as the lesson lasts, and the boys are only to listen and observe the imitation in Terentius. Such sentences should be at first only a line long, or should include only one comma; but may afterward be longer and longer, of two or three commas, etc. At last they may be of two or three whole periods; and then he may carefully explain to them the *particulas connexionem.*

* These are the beginnings of rules from the syntax of Melancthon's Latin grammar.

When this oral sentence-making has been practiced for a while, then first, and not before, may he proceed to written sentences, and these must for the most part, especially in the beginning, for a sufficient time, be only for imitation. And when the sentence has been dictated he is to cause one or another scholar to read it aloud, and to observe whether they have all heard and written correctly, and made the right distinctions. Afterward comes correction; and this to be not silent, but aloud; not with a pen in each book, (for the boys can seldom read and correctly understand such blots.) but aloud. And it is sufficient, when the boys are many, if one sentence is corrected for some four of them, only it must be done aloud, that the others may have advantage of it.

When the boys have come so far, he may begin to talk Latin with them; and they may be put forward *ex classe grammaticae Terentiana*, into a higher school or class, as *Ciceronianam*, *Virgilianam*, etc."

In 1573 appeared a school-plan* for all the Saxon duchies, forty-six years before Kromayer's School System. This plan was in many respects diametrically opposed to the latter. Grammar was put first in it, learning by rote, and private study next, etc. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that Ratich's new method gave great offense in Weimar, so that Kromayer, at the end of his report, was obliged to add that this new organization for schools did not contemplate the destruction of religion.† "Especially," he continues, "has this excellent school system been opposed by ill-disposed or ignorant persons, as if there was concealed behind it nothing else than a corruption of pure learning, and apostacy from the true Lutheran religion. Such a charge is entirely baseless and false." He refers in addition, to the fact that "in our schools the Book of Concordance itself, which makes the Lutherans differ from the Calvinists even more than from the Papists, is used continually, in German and Latin, in a manual prepared for the purpose."

I quote so much from Kromayer's report to show that Ratich and his followers had already gone far enough in the road of Hamilton and Jacotot, and had even pushed the method to caricature. For example, Terence, according to Kromayer's directions, would be read three times in German, and more than six times in Latin. The German translation had to be as literal as possible, for the purpose; and if this were so, what justification had they, for causing such matter to be repeatedly read by the young?

* Method for managing the trivial schools proposed at the visitation of churches and schools under the dukedom of the younger princes of Saxony. Jena, 1573

† Similar complaints, but with more reason, were made against Rousseau, Basedow, etc., at a later period.

From the explanations of Ratich and the Ratichians, of the method of reading Terence with the boys, I shall further only extract a couple of strange observations.

The teacher, says Ratich, must first read his author very slowly, and syllable-wise, and the scholars are to follow in silence, reading after him in their books. The scholars are not to read the lessons over by themselves.* After the lesson, say the Ratichians,† the books are to be left in school. Only the more advanced scholars are to be admitted to repetition. "The understanding acts of itself, and learns naturally," he says in the Articles,‡ "but only when the teacher is present so that he may teach it first. If the pupil is himself wise and intelligent enough to know how he ought to learn and be taught, then he needs no teacher." Yet before the scholar has heard any thing of Latin grammar, the teacher is to read with him a portion every day, and thus from Monday to Friday, to go over a space which is to be read again on Saturday. Thus the six comedies of Terence were to be read within six weeks.§

We shall see further on why the author is to be read before the grammar is studied.

Having thus explained one instance of the methods of instruction of Ratich and his followers, I proceed to the

II. General Principles

Of this methodologist, as they appear in the "Articles" and "Aphorisms," subjoined to the "Praxis."

1. "Every thing in its order; or, the course of nature.‖ Since nature uses a peculiar method, proper to herself, with which the understanding of men is in a certain connection, regard must be had to it, also, in the art of teaching; for all unnatural and violent or forcible teaching and learning is harmful, and weakens nature."

But, had Ratich and his school found the true order of nature? Had they, for instance, in teaching Latin? Were they not forced, in discipline, to adopt methods of compulsion and beating, quite opposed to the sacred motto of "*naturam sequi?*"

2. "Only one thing at a time.¶ Nothing is a greater hindrance to the understanding than to undertake to learn many things together and at once. It is as if one should undertake to cook pap, fruit,

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* Methodus, 145. *Absente praeceptore omnis privata repetitio discenti plane interdicta est.*

† Praxis, 166.

‡ Ib. p. 199.

§ Ib. p. 164. "Thus a comedy will be finished in a week, at one act a day. This shows how much promptness the teacher needs, to finish a whole act in an hour." (Very true!) * * "until, in six weeks, all Terence will have been read and explained. And up to this time the pupil has heard nothing of Latin grammar."

‖ Ib. pp. 179, 176.

¶ Ib. pp. 179, 175.

meat, milk and fish, in the same kettle. But things should be taken up orderly, one after another, and one thoroughly dealt with before proceeding to the next. In each language, one author should be studied until the language is well learned. When he is well learned, and, as it were, well swallowed down, others may be read. One should undertake nothing new until that which preceded it has been learned thoroughly and sufficiently for all purposes."

Is this actually according to the "course of nature?" Is it natural, if one has lived eight months on pap or on fish alone, just as Ratich's scholars were kept at Terence eight months, and more too, not to wish anything else to eat? Is not a variety of reading material like that in the valuable reading books of Jacobs, much more agreeable to the "course of nature?" Just as we do not eat one thing altogether; but, for example, bread with meat; just so it is the problem of the teacher, not to lay before the scholars an everlasting and wearisome monotony. And, as skilful cooks endeavor to find out what viands go together, so as to obtain at once a good flavor and easy digestion, just so must the skilful pedagogue, even within the same term, teach the same scholars different things, such as may serve as supplements to each other, by their variety may keep the scholar fresh and unsatisfied, and at the same time may healthily nourish his mind.* And the rule, "one should undertake nothing new until that which precedes has been thoroughly learned," needs this addition: in proportion to the measure of ability of each scholar.

3. "Each thing should be often repeated. It is incredible, what may be accomplished by the frequent repetition of one thing. For this reason it is that only one and the same material is to be handled, in all lessons, both forenoon and afternoon. For what is often repeated, will become more deeply and correctly impressed upon the understanding. But if one goes over one thing once, and immediately goes on to another, and so to many things, one after another, none of them will be learned well, and the understanding will be confused, overstrained and weakened."

This is like the previous principle; and like it suspicious, if moderation be not observed in the practice of it.

4. "Every thing first in the mother tongue. For the scholar must do his thinking about what he has to learn, in the mother tongue; and he ought not to have any further trouble about the language of it." "There is always this advantage, that if knowledge useful and

* A contemporary had already said, "variety of lessons may be of two kinds: one confused, and the other orderly; this last is not hurtful, since it is directed to a single knowledge." Grawerus, 12.

necessary in common life, were put into German and learned in it, every one, whatever his business, could acquire a much better knowledge of it, because he could guide himself aud express himself better in all matters connected with it. How important this would be in religion and government, and in human life generally, will easily be imagined, if we reflect what a miserable condition of ignorance and inexperience is most usual."

"After the mother tongue, then the other languages."*

The importance of this article is clear. It aims at the restoration of the mother tongue to its proper rights, and at the removal of the sharp distinction between the Latin learned and the unlatinized laity, and of the demand that the latter shall be educated, and that the mother tongue be the vehicle of their education.

What germs of good, but, from after abuses, of evil too!

5. "Every thing without compulsion."†

a. "Boys can not be whipped into learning or wishing to learn. By compulsion and blows youth are disgusted with their studies, so that study becomes hateful to them. Moreover, this is contrary to nature. For boys are accustomed to be flogged for not remembering what has been taught them; but if you had taught them rightly they would have remembered it, and you would not have needed the blows. And that they should atone for your errors, because you did not use the right method of teaching, is too great an injustice. Also, the human understanding is so made that it must have pleasure in learning what it is to remember; and this pleasure you destroy with your anger and blows. But as to what belongs to morals, *mores*, and virtue, there is a different rule. 'Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction will drive it far from him,' as Solomon says.

b. The pupil should not be frightened at the teacher, but should hold him in love and reverence. This follows of itself from the foregoing. For if the teacher rightly exercises his office, it will not fail but that the boy shall take up a love for him and for his studies.

‡All the work comes upon the teacher. For he has to read and explain, and in the mother tongue too; yet this is much easier than the work formerly usual in the schools. For he has not to plague himself with hearing, examining and whipping, but conducts his lessons in a decent way, and is sure that he will gather fruit from them; for this can not fail him if he only does rightly the office of teacher, and pursues the proper method.

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* Praxis, p. 182. † P. 183. ‡ P. 196.

*The teacher must do nothing but teach. To maintain discipline belongs to the school officials, * * * * so that the pupil can not contract a repugnance to his teacher, but may love him more and more; which has much efficiency in learning."

These doctrines again are forerunners of the later pedagogy. If the children learn nothing, the teacher must take all the blame; for according to Ratich's method they *must* make progress, without any doubt at all; a Mercury can be carved out of any block. If the earlier pedagogy was hard-hearted and Orbilian, here there appeared a tendency diametrically opposite; a fear of losing the children's love, even by the conscientious enforcement of justice.† To make up for this, it is not the teacher, but the school officer, who is to administer punishment—as the Jesuits used to inflict bodily punishment not by a Jesuit, but by some one not a member of the order.

6. "Nothing must be learned by rote.‡ Reason: such is the indication of nature; otherwise violence is done to the understanding; and accordingly, experience shows us that any one who applies himself much to learning by rote, loses much in understanding and intellectual keenness. For if the understanding is occupied with the words, it has not room rightly to consider the things. It is unnecessary, too, and can be accomplished by better means; that is, when a thing has been well impressed upon the mind by frequent repetition, the memory of it will follow of itself without any pains."§

Here is an indication of the origin and tendency of the method. Earlier pedagogues base every thing upon learning by rote, without regard to the understanding of what they learned; but now the understanding is to be substituted for the memory. Ratich's school had as little regard as many of the later pedagogues, for the intimate connection between imagination and the memory, by which the former grasps the images which the latter retains and either purposely or arbitrarily reproduces.‖

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* Praxis, p. 200. The Praxis recommends the same. p. 167. "All should be done with judicious words and a countenance pleasant, yet grave; not with blows and harshness. If any case demands severe discipline, it should be put into the hands of the school authorities.

† We have observed above that the complaint was made in Köthen, that Ratich's schools were deficient in discipline.

‡ P. 185. The Praxia, p. 169, says, "Examine your scholars, whether they are ready in the conjugations and declensions, but always from the book, and not from memory; neither must the pupil be allowed to recite the inflections from memory."(!)

§ "For the real memory of an object depends immediately upon the knowledge of it." Methodus, 146. "The proceeding should be from the intellect to the memory; and never the contrary." Praxia, 164. "Nature has been constrained in this; that the boys have been made to learn by rote, and entirely by themselves, without the aid of the preceptor, what they do not understand" Grawer, 29. He also says, "The *localis memoria* is entirely forbidden; that is, remembering any thing by means of certain figures set in a certain order and so retained."

‖ P 186.

Connected with this rule is another one, that the children are to have their hours of recreation; indeed that no two lessons are to come immediately together. Chiefly because "this method of teaching depends upon reading, and the hearing becomes wearied more easily than the other senses;" and because "each scholar must listen and remain silent."* During the lesson he must not speak nor ask questions, in order not to disturb his fellow scholars, and because the lesson can not otherwise be finished in time. If he has any thing to ask, he must ask it after the lesson.

That such a continued silent listening to reading was a most unnatural constraint upon the boys, is indirectly here confessed by the Ratichians themselves in recognizing this fatigue. Comenius, who gives us a short description of Ratich's method,† mentions, that if the scholars are made to observe a Pythagorean silence, the teacher must labor in vain, for all power of attention is destroyed in the former.

7. "Mutual conformity in all things.‡

"In all languages, arts, and sciences, there must be a conformity, both as to the method of teaching, books used, and precepts given, as far as possible. The German grammar, for instance, must agree with the Hebrew and the Greek, as far as the idioms of the languages will permit. For this is a valuable help to the understanding, * * and gives perspicacity, when one sees how one language agrees with others and differs from them."

This points toward a general grammar, by teaching that the grammar of each language is to be divided into two portions, the universal and the particular. This is certainly right in part. In learning a new language, we very soon distinguish its agreements with, and differences from, the mother tongue.

8. § "First a thing by itself, and afterward the explanation of the thing.

No rule can be given before the material for it—the author or the language—has been given. This appears entirely absurd, but experience shows that it is entirely true. For what can one understand in any language, who has read nothing in any author of it, though he be all stuffed full of rules? He must at last come to this, that either in one author or in many, one after another, and with frequent repetition, he learns to understand the rules and make them useful.

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* P. 197. "In the disciple a Pythagorean silence." P. 176.

† Opp. did. 2, 80, 100. "This maxim imposes upon the teacher an asinine, useless, vexatious labor." "A human being is not a mere passive log from which you are to carve out a statue; it is a living figure, forming, reforming, deforming itself."

‡ P. 187. § P. 188, etc.

What need, therefore, had he to plague himself in vain beforehand with the rules? Rules without material confuse the mind. Let any one remember for himself whether all his life long he has found in his reading all the examples which he was obliged to learn with great pains in the grammar. As, for instance, the patronymics; how they martyr the poor boys, and yet are seldom used; therefore it is an absurd thing that the grammar should first be beaten into them and that they should learn the language for the first time afterward. Get your corn before you trouble yourself about a sack. Get money before you buy a purse to put it in. Rules are not of use for a preparation, nor for a guide; but for the fixation of what has been learned. Whatever may have been the other uses of rules, nobody can remember that they gave him any help at the beginning, and prepared him to acquire the language more rapidly. Practice and experience teach us that any such speculation is empty."

"A basis of material must have been laid in the mind, before the rules can be applied to it." To the observation that in the grammar the rules are furnished with examples, Ratich answers, that, notwithstanding, the rules are useless; because they are insufficiently scraped together out of the most various authors, and are uninteresting. And in the "Articles" he says: "All sorts of examples come together from all sorts of authors, like mixed fodder in a manger; but no such means, with no connection within itself, can lay a good foundation and lead into the peculiarities of a language."*

These are the grounds upon which Ratich and his followers require the reading of some select author, and that the grammar shall be developed out of that author. At the first it may seem strange that Ratich should cite here the instance of geometry. Oral instruction, he says, would be of little use in this study, if the teacher should not display before his scholars some actual body or drawing on the blackboard, an obtuse or acute angle, a circle, etc. But this illustration will be found, upon nearer examination, quite correct. He expresses himself entirely in agreement with our eighth "Article," thus, "that it is unnatural to occupy oneself with the accidentals of the thing before the thing itself."† This principle admits of a wide application in teaching, and is of great importance and truth, if it is not pushed to caricature.

9. "Every thing by experience, and investigation of parts."‡

The Latin aphorism is neater: *Per inductionem et experimentum omnia.*‖

* p. 193.

†*Et omnino, accidentem rei prius quam rem ipsam quaerere prorsus absonum et absurdum esse videtur.* And in the Praxis, p. 175, *Ne modus rei ante rem.*

‡ p. 194. ‖ p. 178.

No rule or idea is admissible which is not based upon new investigation and founded upon good proof, whether or not many, or all, have written, or believed so or so about it. For it is assured certainty which is needed, and this can by no means be founded upon authority. In this way there is no possibility of failure.* No authority is admissible, therefore, unless traced to its original reasons. Neither has established prescription any validity; for it gives no certainty.

The Latin phrase, "*Per inductionem et experimentum omnia,*" shows almost conclusively that Bacon had had an influence upon Ratich. Whether or not the latter was in England when Bacon's first work appeared, "induction" was Bacon's shibboleth. Ratich's radicalism appears most strongly in this; and the motto of his school books, "*Vetustas cessit, ratio vicit,*"† proves the same—as if *vetustas* and *ratio* were opposite! In combating the prevailing servile regard for antiquity, however, he threw away the good with the bad. It is the past which must be the foundation of the future.

The later Methodians became infected with a stupid self-esteem and undervaluation of the ancients. In fact, however, the ancients had full authority, with both Ratich and the Ratichians; which is shown by the important part which Terence played in their schemes.

The above quoted report of Jungius and Helwig agrees with this statement. Jungius was born in 1587 at Lubeck, and was in turn professor of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine, at Giessen, Rostock, and Helmstadt; and died in 1657, at Hamburg, while rector of the gymnasium there, and professor of physics and logic. Among his numerous writings I find nothing except this report, of a pedagogical character.

With Helwig it is otherwise. He was born in 1581, at Sprendlingen, south of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and studied at Marburg, where he took the degree of master in 1599, in his eighteenth year. In 1605 he was established at Geissen, and was appointed professor of theology there in 1610. He died as early as 1617, in his thirty-sixth year, apparently in consequence of overwork. Helwig was an extraordinarily learned man. He spoke Hebrew as well as his mother tongue;‡ wrote grammars of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syrian;

* *Non igitur auctoritas destituta rationibus valeat, neque vetustas quicquam praescribat.* Praxis, 178.

† The same motto stands before his universal system in German: "prescription yields, reason overcomes, truth is recognized." (*Gewohnheit verschwind, Vernunfft überwind, Wahrheit platzfind.*)

‡ Buxtorf wrote, "If I were with you, Helwig, I would lick the dust off your feet." Thus says Schupplus, Helwig's son-in-law.

a Hebrew and Greek school lexicon, and many other works. He was considered one of the most skillful teachers of languages of his day ;* and had a new method for teaching languages easily, which brought upon him much derision and enmity. It was said of him that he "had contrived a funnel through which he could pour learning into the heads of youth as they pour wine into a cask in the autumn."† Helwig's report upon Ratich's method appeared only three years before his death. This learned man had adopted Ratich's views with great enthusiasm, and had developed them with remarkable skill.

I shall give the most important parts of this report. In the beginning he remarks, that Ratich has, "by diligent reflection and long practice, discovered a valuable method by which good arts and languages can be taught and studied more easily, quickly and correctly, than has been usual in the schools; and that he has been for thirteen years pursuing this Christian purpose."

According to Ratich's method it is possible, "if the proper books are provided first, as well for the old as well as the young, to teach or to learn any language, with pleasure and love, better than the mother tongue, at most in a year, and, with industry, in half a year, in three or four hours daily."‡

"Ratich's method is more practicable in arts and sciences, than in language; since arts and sciences are, by their nature, consistent with themselves, while the languages, on the contrary, by long use, have contracted many incorrectnesses."

Helwig seems to consider any departure from his general principles of language as much of an incorrectness as any maimed or distorted Latin word introduced into German.

We will now consider, continues Helwig, not only the knowledge of objects of instruction, but the gift of teaching likewise; but not this only, however.

"For nature," he says, "does much, it is true; but when art assists her, her work as much more certain and complete. Therefore it is necessary that there should be an especial art to which any one who desires to teach can adhere, so that he shall not teach by mere opinion and guess, nor by native instinct alone, but by the rules of his

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* Bayle, Helvicus.

† Schuppius, "on schools," p. 129. His epitaph, on the contrary, calls him, "*Novae didacticae autor et informator felicissimus.*"

‡ Grawer's report, (p. 21,) says that Ratich's method does not dispense with labor, but that it requires less than heretofore. He says, "If one, in going from Jena to Leipzig, goes to Weida, then to Altenburg, then to Weissenfels, and thence to Leipzig, he will get there. But if another comes to him and says, 'I will show you a surer way, that is, by Naumberg and Weissenfels to Leipzig,' he does not mean that the traveler can go to Leipzig without labor, but only without superfluous and unnecessary labor."

art; just as he who would speak correctly, by the rules of grammar; and he who would sing correctly, by the rules of singing." This art of teaching applies, like that of logic, to all languages, arts and sciences; and is such a universal art of teaching as Ratich's. It discusses among other things, "how to distinguish among minds and gifts, so that the quicker may not be delayed, and that, on the contrary, those who are by nature not so quick, may not remain behind; how and in what order to arrange the exercises, how to assist the understanding, how to strengthen the memory, to sharpen the intellect, without violence and after the true course of nature. This art of teaching, no less than other arts, has its fixed basis and certain rules, founded not only upon the nature and understanding, the memory and the whole being of man, but also upon the peculiarities of languages, arts, and sciences; and it admits no means of teaching which are not deduced from sure grounds, and founded upon proof."

Helwig argues further against the usual unintelligent learning by rote, and translating into strange languages; "the requiring what has not been taught; the remembering what is not understood; the practicing what has not been learned." Ratich remedies this, relieves the boys from their misery, and puts the chief labor upon the teacher, who, however, finds it easier than before, "since, if he is not fully master of every thing connected with the language or art which he teaches, still, while he is teaching it to others, he himself, becomes ready, prompt, and thorough in it." Under the usual teaching, the result is uncertain, and every thing must be done by guess. "Most persons," he says, "choke themselves upon the bitter root, even to weariness, before they can get the least taste of the lovely fruit; that is, they have to torment and plague themselves, before they can see or know of the least use for their efforts."

Helwig proceeds to oppose the tyranny of the Latin; "as every such language directly injures the knowledge of the mother tongue, and as all arts and sciences may be easily and with advantage learned in the German language." Men, in general, have no need of Latin; "just as if Latin were the only measure of all the other arts and sciences, and the only means of attaining them."

Thus the new method leaves to the languages, arts, and sciences, their natural freedom. For," continues Helwig, "he who has abjured the tyranny of the Latin, may, according to his preferences or his necessities, learn one or another language, and use it, or devote himself entirely to one single art or science, and enrich it with new discoveries, as the Greeks, Hebrews, and others have done; who would never have done so much for posterity if they had been obliged tc

martyr themselves with the grammar as many years as our own youth." If the monopolizing Latin is removed, Hebrew, Greek, and even Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, would be attended to.

The mother tongue, in particular, would not be neglected; as it has great excellencies, and ought to be correctly and systematically learned, as the ancient Greeks and Romans learned their native tongues. "Besides," says Helwig, "it is a clear truth that all arts and sciences, logic, ethics, political economy, mensuration, medicine, drawing, weighing, astronomy, architecture, fortification, and as many more as there are, can be more easily, conveniently, correctly, thoroughly, and successfully learned and taught in the German language, than in the Greek, Latin, or Arabic."

In order to introduce Ratich's method, grammars and compends must be prepared according to it, and "books of roots and words."

In conclusion, Helwig recommends the subject to princes and authorities, parents and teachers.

I can scarcely say how many of the principles of the modern Methodians, and of their views, appear in this report. Polemics against the usual method of instruction, against the tyranny of Latin, against mechanical learning by rote, and neglect of the understanding; and on the other hand, the promise of a new, easy, brief and certain method of instruction, by whose aid both scholar and teacher would be spared fatigue and doubt, which made but little requisition upon the teacher; the bringing forward of the understanding, and the low estimate of the memory; the equalizing of the Greek, Hebrew, &c., with the Latin; and especially the requisition that the mother tongue should be reinstated in its rights, and, still more, that it should be learned "correctly and systematically."

Grawer's report (of Jena) upon Ratich, is chiefly directed against the opponents of the new method. Objections had been heard, just as they are to-day, if any thing new is sought to be introduced in the school system. He says, "Do you ask, has nobody, up to this time, known how to teach youth languages correctly? Did our forefathers know nothing about it? Is the art now for the first time discovered?"* Grawer answers, "is it true that the method of instructing youth in languages, is so incapable of improvement? When music has risen to such a state of perfection, within the last eighty years, from so small a beginning, and yet have our forefathers left no improvements to be made in didactics?"

These questions were, however, occasioned by Ratich's too violent

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Grawer, 58.

attacks upon the accepted method of teaching, and his extravagant valuation of his own.

The second objection was, that if learning should be taught in the German language, it would become altogether too common, so that all without distinction, would be learned, and the rightful learned men would fall into disrespect. Learning, answers Grawer, is bound up with no language, although there is a belief, that, absolutely no one can be learned unless he understands Latin and Greek; and on the contrary, that if any one knows Latin and Greek, even if he knows nothing else besides, he is a very learned man.* We have heard something of the same kind in our own times.

Meyfart's report praises especially Ratich's orthodox Lutheranism, and says that he omits useless studies, and substitutes others.†

Ratich's life and labors are, in many respects, diametrically opposed to those of Johannes Sturm. The latter succeeded in every thing, because he labored in the spirit of the age, and, therefore, had the support of the age. He was only the head master among many who pursued the same design with him. Upon this purpose Sturm kept his eyes fixed clearly and steadily, and followed it resolutely and earnestly. On the contrary, many of Ratich's ideas were new and unintelligible, and even irritating to his contemporaries. He had sagacity enough to perceive the wants of the systems in vogue, but not enough to remedy them. He indicated many improvements, but only shadowed them forth in general principles. If he undertakes to work out any of his principles, to put them in practice in the school, he shows himself entirely confused and incompetent. Trusting in his principles, he promised what his practical incapacity would not permit him to perform; and thus, even with his well-wishers, he appeared a charlatan. This conflict between his ideal and his want of skill for the realization of it, made him unsuccessful, and in this he is a characteristic forerunner of the later Methodians, especially of Pestalozzi. Sturm, as a man skillful in his calling, known and recognized by his age, was, on the contrary, successful.

Ratich's works are in Latin, diffuse to tediousness, and pedantic in structure and style. Those of his followers are sometimes in German, but singularly interlarded with Latin words, showing that they were still under the "tyrannical dominion" of that language.

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* Grawer, 63-65.

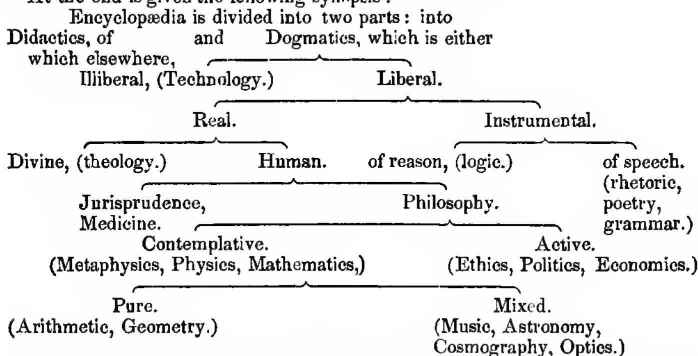
† I omit what Meyfart says about "*Instrumenta inservientia* and *dirigentia*," as obscure. "By means of the former," he says, "all can be learned which will enable one to attain to a knowledge of things and of language; and to the power of effective labor; and it therefore consisted, partly in knowing and partly in laboring." This sounds very much like Bacon As *Instrumenta dirigentia*, he names, *eutactica*, *epistemonica*, *mnemonia*, *glossodidactica*, *praxeodidactica*, *noematicodidactica*, *organicodidactica*.

Works of and relating to Ratich.

Ratich wrote many books, of which the following have come to my knowledge:

1. Universal Encyclopædia for Ratich's Didactics. Kothen, 1619. This is apparently the same with the *Allunterweisung nach der Lehrart Ratichii*, 1619. This Encyclopædia contains 13 pages of almost nothing except definitions of thirty-two literary studies. For example: "What is Encyclopædia? *Ans* It is the course of rightly instructing the human mind in all things which can be known. How is it divided? *Ans.* Into dogmatics and didactics. What is dogmatics? *Ans.* It is the system of methodically explaining studies."

At the end is given the following synopsis:



2. Universal Grammar for Ratich's didactics: Kothen, 1619. (This appeared in Latin, German, Italian and French.) Like the Encyclopædia, it is in catechetical form, and has twenty pages, mostly of definitions. For example: "What is grammar? *Ans.* Grammar is the system instrumental for correct speech. How many things are to be considered, relating to correct speech? *Ans.* Two; essence, and attribute. What is the essence of correct speech? *Ans.* The essence of correct speech is its agreement with approved authors," etc.

To this catechism is added a tabulated view of the Latin conjugations and declensions. Both the Encyclopædia and the Grammar are little enough adapted to give a knowledge of Ratich's method.

3. The new method of instruction of Ratich and the Ratichians: by Johannes Rhenius. Leipsic, 1626. This collection includes:

1. W. Ratich's general introduction to the method of learning languages.
2. The Praxis, and description of the method, (in Latin,) which may serve as a model for other languages: by certain Ratichians.
3. Principles on which the Ratichian system is chiefly founded.

Rhenius says, in his preface, that he received these three treatises from the hand of his friend Ratich, and that two of them are by fellow-laborers of his at Augsburg. My respected friend Herr Rector Vömel of Frankfort, has been kind enough to communicate them to me; they are of great importance for understanding the peculiarities of Ratich's method. I have quoted from all of them.

Besides the manuals under the above heads 1 and 2, Ratich published the following books, mentioned by Jöcher, Schwarz and Massmann. I have not been able to obtain them, although I went for that purpose to Kothen, where they appeared.

New Didactics. 1619.
Rhetoric.
Physics.
Metaphysics.
Compendium of Latin Grammar.
Compendium of Logic. 1621.
Practice in Greek. 1620.
Little manual for beginners.

To each of these titles are added the words "for Ratich's Didactics."

4. Memorial presented to the German Electoral Diet of the Empire at Frank-

fort, 27th and 28th May, 1612. This memorial exists in manuscript in the city archives of Frankfort.

To these works of Ratich are to be added the following works expressing the opinions of his contemporaries:

5. Short report on the didactics, or art of teaching, of Wolfgang Ratich. In which he gives directions how the languages, arts and sciences may be learned more easily, quickly, correctly, certainly and completely, than has heretofore been the case. Written and published by Christopher Helwig, Doctor of Sacred Theology, and Joachim Jung, Philosopher; both professors at Giessen. Printed in the year 1614.

This report I received, as also the subsequent works, through my friend Professor Massmann, who reprinted them with valuable remarks, in part 1 of vol 7, for 1827, of Schwarz's Independent Year-book for German common schools.

6. Report on the didactics, or art of teaching, of Wolfgang Ratich. In which he gives directions how youth can learn languages very easily and quickly, without special constraint or wearisomeness. Composed and written by request, by several professors of the University of Jena, in which also various idle and useless questions are answered. Jena, 1714.

At the end of the report are the names of A. Grawer, Doctor and professor of the Holy Scriptures. Zacharias Bendel, Doctor of philosophy and medicine and public professor. Balthasar Gualtherus, professor of the Hebrew and Greek languages M. Michael Wolfius, public professor of physics. I have quoted from Grawer.

7. Report on the new method, as it has been put in practice in the instruction of youth in the schools of the principality of Weimar; both in the German classes and in the classes in Latin grammar. Composed by Johannes Kromayer, court chaplain there, under the General Superintendency. Weimar: J. Weidner, 1619.

For this important work also I am obliged to the kindness of Herr Professor Massmann, who found them in the library at Munich.

8. Humble relation. On the system of instruction of Herr Wolfgang Ratich, put into the hands of his excellency the Chancellor and High Councilor of the Kingdom of Sweden, at Gross-Sommerda, March 15, 1634. Signed, at the conclusion, in these words: Signed, at Erfurt, March 10, 1634. Hieronymus Brückner, Doctor; Johannes Matthäus Meyfart; Stephanus Ziegler, Doctor of Sacred Theology.

This Relation, which was addressed to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, was printed by Herr Director Dr. Niemeyer in his examination programme, Halle, 1840; where he has also made valuable contributions to our knowledge of Ratich. The original Relation is preserved in the ducal libary at Gotha. Among the contributions just referred to, is an abstract of one of Ratich's works, also found at Gotha, with the title: "The universal system of a Christian school, and how to establish and maintain it, in the true and natural faith, and in harmony of language, out of the Holy Divine writings, Nature and Language, according to the educational system of Ratich. Written by ———. *Ratichii symbolum, Gewohnheit verschwind, Vernunfft uberwind, Wahrheit platz-find.* Kranichfeld, 1632."

In three other programmes by Dr. Niemeyer, of the years 1841, 1842 and 1843, his interesting communications respecting Ratich are continued. I have quoted the programme of 1840 as "Niemeyer A," the second as "Niemeyer B," the third as "Niemeyer C," and the fourth as "Niemeyer D."

In programmes A and D, Dr. Niemeyer cites, among others, the following important works relative to Ratich:

Brief account of a celebrated teacher of the last century, Wolfgang Ratichius. By J. C. Förster: Halle. Printed by Michaelis, 1782.

Didactic accrued interest; or, certain meditations, and decrees of wise men cited under each; whence clearly appears what is to be thought of the method commonly called the Ratichian. By M. J. Blocius, of the school at Magdeburg, 1621.

Ordinance of the honorable Council of the City of Magdeburg, relative to the didactics of Herr Wolfgang Ratich. Magdeburg, 1641.

Hientzsch's Weekly Journal of the common schools. Vol. 1, Nos. 5 to 8.

Ratich's new and much needed method. Halle, 1615.

Vockerodt Programme, by Evenius. Gotha, 1724.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Johann Amos Comenius was born at Comnia* in Moravia, in 1592. He early lost his parents, and his guardians so neglected him that he only began Latin in his seventeenth year. He says this neglect of his instruction, by which he suffered so much, made him early sympathize with others in the like condition.† He afterward studied in different places, especially at Herborn in the duchy of Nassau, where Alsted was his instructor. This man, a reformed theologian,‡ and an adherent of the Synod of Dordrecht, was the author of many theological, philosophical, and pedagogical works; he was also a Millenarian, and must have had an influence upon Comenius in the most different directions.§ Returning to his native country in 1614, Comenius became rector of the school at Prerau, and in 1618 preached at Fulneck,‖ which, since 1480, had been the chief seat of the Bohemian Brethren, and of the Waldenses who had fled to them. Here he busied himself in overseeing the schools, and working upon school books; but lost his manuscripts when the Spaniards took Fulneck, in 1621.

In 1624 all the evangelical preachers in the Austrian dominions received an order to leave the country, by which Comenius lost his place. He then remained in the mountain country of Bohemia with Baron Sadowski von Slaupna, whose children a certain Stadianus instructed, for whom Comenius wrote a brief methodology. When afterward the decree was issued, ordering all who would not become Catholics to leave the country, there left Bohemia thirty thousand families, of whom five hundred were of noble blood.¶ Comenius, with his scattered flock, departed into Poland. Upon the range of mountains at the boundary, he paused, to look once more back to Moravia and Bohemia, fell, with his brethren, upon his knees, and prayed God, with many tears, that he would not suffer his word to be entirely destroyed out of those countries, but would preserve some seed of it there.

Comenius says that he places the beginning of his didactical studies

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* Comnia is in Long. 35° 30′, lat. 49°.

† Works on didactics, 1. 442.

‡ Born 1588; died 1638, while Professor of theology and philosophy at Weissenberg in Transylvania.

§ Thus, Comenius says that he copied his arrangement of school classes from Alsted.

‖ Didact. works, 1, 3. Prerau is south from Olmütz; Fulneck about midway between Teschen and Olmütz.

¶ Raumer, Hist. of Europe, 3, 451.

in the year 1627,* when he wrote the methodology above mentioned; but he might have gone back much further, namely, to the year 1614, in which appeared the report of the professors of Jena and Giessen, upon Ratich's method.† Under the influence of these reports he had, while pastor in Prerau, worked out a milder method of teaching Latin, and, for the purpose, had written a short grammar, which was printed at Prague in 1616. In the unhappy year 1627, he had reflected upon the means of helping the people, at the return of better times, by the erection of schools in which instruction should be given by good school books and clearer methods. In like manner, in the years of the French servitude, Fichte cast his eye upon Pestalozzi, with the hope that at Yverdun a new generation would grow up, for a future time of freedom in Germany. Comenius settled at Lissa in Bohemia, where he taught Latin, and in the year 1631 published his *Janua linguarum reserata*,‡ a new method of teaching languages, especially Latin. This book was the basis of his fame. He himself, in the dedication to his didactic works, says of it, "That happened which I could not have imagined; namely, that this childish book, (*puerile istud opusculum*,) was received with universal approbation by the learned world. This was shown by the number of men, of different nations, who wished me heartily success with my new discovery, and by the number of translations into foreign languages. For not only was the book translated into twelve European languages, since I have myself seen these translations,—that is, into Latin, Greek, Bohemian, Polish, German, Swedish, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian,—but into the Asiatic languages, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and even into the Mongolian, which is understood by all the East Indies."§

In Lissa he planned, as early as 1629, his *Didactica magna seu omnes omnia docendi artificium.* The great fame which his Janua had given him, brought him an invitation from the Swedish government, in 1638, to undertake the reformation of their schools. He did not accept it, but was induced by it to translate his Didactica, which had been written in German, into Latin. Some of his friends in England, to whom he had sent an extract from it, caused this to

* Didact. works, 1, 3.

† Besides him, Comenius names Campanella, Bacon, Rhenius, Joh. Valentin Andreä, &c., whose methods he had studied. He repeatedly applied to Ratich in vain by letter, during the year 1629, for information upon his method. Works, 2, 282. See Ratich.

‡ Didact. works, 1, 250.

§ "*Mogolicam toti orientali Indiae familiarem.*" Bayle mentions the authors of several of these translations. The orientalist J. Golius, of Leyden, sent the *Janua* to his brother, P. Golius, in Aleppo, and the latter translated it into Arabic. It pleased the Mohammedans so much that they caused it to be translated into Turkish, Persian, and Mongolian. (?) J. Golius related this to Comenius in 1642, and adds, "*Vides Comeni quam feliciter tibi Janua tua ad gentes aperiat Januam.* Opp. did., 2, 268.

be printed. Upon receiving from England a like invitation, to undertake to reform their schools, he journeyed to London in 1641.* The matter was introduced into parliament; but the Irish disturbances, and the outbreaking of the civil wars, hindered his plans so much that he left England, and, upon an invitation from Ludwig de Geer, went to Sweden in 1642. In Stockholm he conversed with Chancellor Oxenstiern, and with Johannes Skyte, chancellor of the university of Upsala. "Oxenstiern, the Northern nobleman," says Comenius, "examined me more severely than any learned man ever did."† "I observed, in my youth," said the chancellor, "that the usual method of teaching was too harsh; but was unable to discern wherein the fault lay. When, afterward, my king, of glorious memory, sent me as ambassador to Germany, I spoke upon this subject with many persons. When I heard that Ratich had come out with a new method, I had no rest until I had seen the man himself; but, instead of a conversation, he gave me a thick quarto to read. I performed this tiresome work, and after I had read the whole book through, I found that he had well enough explained the defects of the schools; but the remedy which he proposed seemed to me not adequate. What you bring forward is better founded." I replied, "that in this direction I had done as much as was possible, and that now I must go forward to something else." To this Oxenstiern answered; "I know that you are contemplating a greater design, for I have read your *Prodromus Pansophiae;* we will speak of that tomorrow." "The next day," relates Comenius further, "Oxenstiern began to speak very plainly about the Prodromus, asking, to begin with, whether it would bear opposition?" Comenius answering in the affirmative, he began to attack the great hopes expressed in the Prodromus, with profound political reasoning, urging, among other things, that the Holy Scriptures prophecy much more of unhappiness than happiness, toward the end of the world. Still, he recommended Comenius to pursue his undertaking, but first to care for the needs of the schools, and to work out the easier way to learn Latin, which would be a step forward in the greater design which he was looking to. It seems as if the clear-headed, practical Oxenstiern desired to recall Comenius from his boundless undertaking, into one more restricted, but for that reason more sure of success.

The Swedish government now established Comenius in Elbing, to compose a work upon his method. With this arrangement his Eng-

* Opp. did. 2. introd. Congregatum interim Parlamentum, praesentiaque nostra cognita, jussit nos expectare.

† Ib. Comp. above, under W. Ratich, where was given an extract from this conversation with Oxenstiarn.

lish friends were not pleased; they wished that others might be left to busy themselves in writing for boys, but that he should labor upon the greater work of the *Pansophia*. "*Quo moriture ruis? minoraque viribus audes?*" they wrote to him. He was pleased at this call to him to return into the "royal highway,"* and sent the English letters to Sweden, in sure hopes they would be persuaded by them But the opposite happened; for he was urged much more on the part of the Swedes, to first finish his didactics. Things more excellent are to be preferred, it is true, they said. But what must be done first, should be first done. And men do not proceed from the greater to the less, but from the less to the greater.

So Comenius was obliged, whether he would or no, to return to making school books. After laboring four years he returned to Sweden in 1646. Three commissioners examined the work, and declared it proper for printing, when Comenius should have put the last touches to it. He returned to Elbing to do this, and thence, in 1648, to Lissa, where, in the same year, he brought out his work, the *Novissima linguarum methodus*.† It was in this year that the peace of Westphalia put an end to the frightful thirty years' war. In allusion to this, Comenius thus addresses himself to the princes, in the book: "Ye have destroyed many things, O ye mighty; now rebuild many! In this matter, imitate him who has given you the power of determining the fortunes of men; of him who destroys that he may build up; who roots up that he may plant."

In 1650, upon an invitation from Prince Ragozki, he went to Hungary and Transylvania, and remained there four years, during which time he organized a school at Patak.‡ Here Comenius wrote, among others, his second celebrated work, the *Orbis Pictus*. He was not, however, able to finish it in Hungary, for want of a skillful engraver on copper. For such a one he carried it to Michael Endter, the bookseller at Nuremberg, but the engraving delayed the publication of the book for three years more. In 1657 Comenius expressed the hope§ that it would appear during the next autumn. With what great approbation the work was received at its first appearance is shown, by the fact that within two years, in 1659, Endter had published the second enlarged edition.

In 1654 Comenius returned to Lissa, where he remained until 1656, in which year the Poles burnt the city, by which he lost his

* Gavisus ego hac regiam in viam revocatione.

† Didact. works, 2. The preface was written at Elbing, 1648.

‡ Patak, i e., river; also Saros Patak: according to Comenius, (Did. works, 3, 101,) from its muddiness. It is east of Bodrog, in long. 29° east, lat. 48° north.

§ Did. works, 3, 830.

house, his books, and his manuscripts, the labor of many years. He fled into Silesia, thence to Brandenburg, and thence to Hamburg and Amsterdam. Here he remained until the end of his life, chiefly supported by wealthy merchants, whose children he instructed. He printed his *Opera Didactica* at Amsterdam, in 1657, at the expense of Lorenzo de Geer, son of Ludwig de Geer, mentioned above. He died Nov. 15th, 1671, in his eightieth year.

According to my promise, I have recorded especially the pedagogical labors of Comenius, although other writers* have made more prominent other facts in relation to this remarkable man, particularly his belief in several false prophets of the times, as Drabicius, Kotterus, and Poniatovia. Under the title *Lux in tenebris*, Comenius, in 1657, published their prophecies, which were chiefly directed against the Pope and the house of Austria. The Turks, they said, would make a successful invasion, take Vienna, and march thence, by way of Venice, against Rome, as against the new Babylon, and would destroy both cities. Afterward, it was hoped, Louis XIV., upon the destruction of the house of Austria, would become emperor, for the salvation of the world. The eyes of the prophets were also turned to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, Ragozki, and others; and they looked for the beginning of the reign of a thousand years, in 1672. Georg Müller says with much truth, in relation to Comenius' *Lux in tenebris*, "Is he so much to be blamed, when he saw truth and religious freedom, which lay so near his heart, everywhere put down by violence, for having insisted eagerly upon better hopes in the future, and, for having seen, in a lovely and hopeful dream, the time of salvation more nearly at hand than it was in the order of the providence of God?" Similar hopes, remarks Müller, were entertained by the most intelligent men of the day.

An important object, besides pedagogy and prophecy, which Comenius pursued with much eagerness, was the vain undertaking of reconciling the various Protestant confessions.

We may obtain an insight into the great piety and heartfelt love of this valuable man, as well as into the varied direction of his restless activity, from the Confession, which he wrote in his seventy-seventh year, in expectation of death; from which I quote the extract at the end of this account.

Comenius left many pedagogical works.† The *Opera Didactica* alone fills more than a thousand folio pages, and is a most rich treasure of acute and profound thoughts. I hope I may be able to give a brief character of the pedagogy of this distinguished man, as dis-

* See especially, Bayle, *voc.* Comenius.

† See the list of them, appendix II

played in his writings, in such a manner as to present his most valuable and permanent principles, labors, and efforts, unconfused with his more transitory and accidental ideas and endeavors.

The first important work which Comenius wrote was his

I. Didactica Magna.

He was, by no means, one of those pedagogues who take up one or another single subject of instruction, or who place all good in this or that method of teaching. He was, in the very best sense of the word, universal; and, notwithstanding this universality, he always strove after the most thorough foundation. Of this his *Didactica Magna*, the earliest and profoundest of his pedagogical works, is a proof. He had planned it as early as 1628, in his thirty-sixth year, in the full power of his manhood, and while unbroken by the misfortunes through which he afterward passed. He had pedagogical experience, while his views were not narrowed by the errors which afterward came upon him. He was sailing before a prosperous breeze, and gave his thoughts free course, without asking whether they were practicable. In truth, how many of them were impracticable in his time, which have since been well realized!

"Man," says Comenius in the Didactica, "lives a threefold life; vegetable, animal, and intellectual or spiritual. He has a threefold home; the mother's womb, earth, and heaven. By birth he has the second of these, and by death and resurrection, the third, which is eternal. As the child in his mother's womb is prepared for his earthly life, so is the soul, with the help of the body, prepared, in the earthly life, for eternity. Happy is he who brings into the world from his mother's womb, well formed limbs; a thousand times happier he, who at death takes a well trained soul from it.

Man is a reasoning creature, and the lord of all other creatures; the image of God; and, therefore, was his mind, in the beginning, directed toward knowledge, virtue, and piety. We can not declare ourselves incapable of these three by reason of the fall, without shameful ingratitude to the grace of God in Christ, through which we are born again.*

As made in the image of the all-knowing God, we strive after wisdom. The capacity of our minds is immeasurable.

The seeds of knowledge, virtue and religion, are not themselves, in the beginning, given to men, but they must be developed by prayer, study, and practice; by action does man first arrive at true existence.

* *Interiores nostrae vires ex lapsu primaevo infirmatae sunt sed non extinctae.* Did. 56.

All men need instruction. Instruction must begin early. In youth God has made man unfit for civil and other duties, that he may have an opportunity for learning.

All children, rich or poor, high or low, boys or girls, must be instructed in school; in every thing God's image must be sought to be restored, and each must be prepared for his future calling. Each must learn every thing; each man is a microcosm. Not that each should learn every science, but that all should be so instructed that they may understand the basis, relation and purpose, of all the most important things relating to what they are, and are to become; so much is necessary for all who are to be actors, and not mere lookers on, in this world.*

We have no schools which fulfill their purpose. In many places they are entirely wanting; in others only the children of the rich are cared for; the methods of instruction are repulsive, wearisome and obscure; and morals are entirely neglected. No instruction is given about real things; fifteen or twenty years are spent upon Latin, and yet nothing is accomplished in it. "The best years of my own youth," says Comenius, "were wasted in useless school exercises. But how often since I have learned to know better, have I shed tears at the remembrance of lost hours; how often have I cried out in my grief, *O mihi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos!* But grief is vain, and past days will not return. Only one thing remains, only one thing is possible; to leave to posterity what advice I can, by showing the way in which our teachers have led us into errors, and the method of remedying those errors. May I do this in the name and under the guidance of Him who alone can number all our faults, and make our crooked things straight."

Instruction will usually succeed, if the method follows the course of nature. Whatever is natural, goes forward of itself.

Instruction should begin in early youth, when the mind is yet free; and should proceed by steps, in proportion to the development of the powers.

The schools are wrong, in first teaching languages, and then proceeding to other things. And boys are kept for several years in studies which relate to languages, and only then are they put to real studies, such as mathematics, physics, etc. And yet the thing is the substance, and the word the accident; the thing is the body, and the word the clothing. Things and words should be studied together, but things especially, as being the object both of the understanding and of language.

* Didact. 42-5.

The practice is wrong of making grammar the beginning of instruction in language, instead of beginning with an author, or a properly arranged word-book; for the author or the word-book contain the material of the language, and the form should be afterward added to it from the grammar.

Examples should precede abstract rules; and in general, matter should precede form, everywhere. Too many things should not be studied at the same time, but one after another.

The scholar should be introduced into a sort of encyclopædia of what he is learning, which should be gradually developed further and further.

Each language, science, or art, should be first taught in its simplest rudiments, then more fully, with rules and examples; and afterward systematically, with the addition of the anomalies.

Instruction should be carefully given in successive classes, so that the lower class may have completely gone over the ground preparatory to the higher, and that the higher shall, on the other hand, confirm what was learned in the lower. Nature proceeds by continual progress, but yet so that she usually does not give up any thing preceding, at beginning something new, but rather continues what was begun before, increasing it and carrying it to completion. Each class should be finished in a fixed time.

Youth should not be molested at first with controversies; no one would ever be established in the truth, if his first instruction should consist in discussion.

It is not good for a boy to have many teachers, since they would hardly follow the same method, and thus they would confuse him. All studies should be taught in a natural, uniform method, and from books of a uniform character.

Even teachers of less ability will be enabled by such books to instruct well, because the book will make a beginning for them.

Friendly and loving parents and teachers, cheerful school rooms, play-grounds near the school houses, and systematic and natural instruction, must all contribute to the success of teaching, and to counteract the usual dislike to the school.

Most teachers sow plants instead of seeds of plants: instead of proceeding from the simplest principles, they introduce the scholar at once into a chaos of books and miscellaneous studies.

The grammar of a foreign tongue, for example the Latin, should be adapted to the mother tongue of each scholar; since different mother tongues stand in different relations with the Latin.

In learning a foreign tongue, the course of proceeding should be

from the understanding of it to writing it, and afterward at the right time, further, to speaking it, when improvising will be necessary.

Things near at hand should be learned first, and afterward those lying further and further off.

The first education should be of the perceptions, then of the memory, then of the understanding, and then of the judgment. For knowledge begins with mental perceptions, which are fixed in the memory by the apprehension; then the understanding, by inductions from single apprehensions, forms general truths, or ideas; and lastly, certain knowledge proceeds from the operation of the judgment upon things before understanding.

The scholar should not learn by rote what he does not understand.

He should learn nothing which is not useful for one or another mode of life;* he is preparing himself not only for knowledge, but also for virtue and piety.

All studies must be as much as possible worked into one whole, and developed from one root. The relation of cause and effect must everywhere be shown.†

We learn, not only in order to understand, but also to express and to use what we understand.‡ As much as any one understands so much ought he to accustom himself to express, and on the other hand he should understand whatever he says. Speech and knowledge should proceed with equal steps.

If the teacher is obliged to instruct a great number of scholars, he should divide his class into *decuriae*, and should set over each a decurion, to assist him.

Reading and writing should be learned together.

Youth should be made to understand, not the appearances of the things which make impressions upon their minds, but the things themselves.

Instruction must begin with actual inspection, not with verbal description of things. From such inspection it is that certain knowledge comes. What is actually seen remains faster in the memory than description or enumeration, a hundred times as often repeated. For this reason, pictures, Biblical scenes for example, are strongly to be recommended.

The eye should first be directed to an object in its totality, and

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* Ea siquidem discenda sunt in terris, monet Hieronymus, quorum scientia perseveret in coelos, 88.

† Omnia doceantur per causas, 95. Scire est rem per causas tenere, 118.

‡ Quae quis intelligere docetur, doceatur simul eloqui et operari, seu transferre ad usum, 96. This reminds us of Bacon

afterward to its parts. This is true not only of the mental, but of the bodily vision.

All the parts, without exception, should be dealt with, and their various relations.

The distinctions of things should be properly brought out. *Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.*

Each study should be learned by practice; writing by writing, singing by singing, etc. The master must first perform the thing before the scholar, to be imitated by him, without tiresome theoretical explanation. For man is *animal μιμητικον.*

In practicing any thing, a beginning must be made with the first elements, and gradual progress must follow to the more difficult and intricate parts of it. First, for instance, from letters to syllables, words, etc.

Imitation must, in the beginning be strictly conformed to the model; and the pupil must, only by degrees, attain to freedom and independence. Thus, at first, he must copy very carefully the copy set by the writingmaster; and only after long practice does he attain to an individual hand writing.

Languages. The mother tongue should be learned first, then the language of some neighboring nation, and only then Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc.; and always one at a time. Several should not be commenced at the same time, for this would confuse. When the scholar is well acquainted with several languages, he may begin to compare them by the lexicon and grammar.

Any language is learned better by practice, by hearing rapid reading, writing off, etc., than by rules. These are to come in aid to the practice and to give it certainty. The rules of language should be strictly grammatical, not subtile and philosophical.

At learning a new language, the scholar's attention should be directed to the differences between its grammar and the grammar of the language which he already knows; and should not be obliged to repeat every time things common to both.

Only the mother tongue and Latin should be learned with entire completeness.

Comenius gives earnest directions for training boys to right wisdom, moderation, manliness and uprightness, by practice, teaching, and the example of the old. The tares sown by Satan, and the perversions of nature, must be withstood by the discipline of warning and chastisement.* The children, he says, must be taught to seek God, to be obedient to him, and to love him above all things; and that

* Verbis et verberibus.

from an early age.* This will not be so difficult to teach as many think; they may not, at the beginning, understand what they are doing, but the understanding of it will come afterward of itself. Has God commanded that we shall offer him all firstlings, and shall we not offer him the firstlings of our thoughts, our speech, our efforts and actions? The children should early be taught that not the present, but everlasting life, is the object of our being, that time is a preparation for eternity; so that their eyes may not be withdrawn by earthly cares from the one thing needful. Therefore, must they from their earliest youth, be led in the road which leads to God; in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in attendance upon divine worship, and in doing good. "Oh may God give them grace," cries Comenius,† "to find the way which shall teach them well how to cast upon God all things with which our souls busy themselves, other than God; to cast upon God all the earthly cares in which the world is busied and buried, in striving after the heavenly life!"

Inwardly and outwardly, must they be trained to religion; outward training alone makes hypocrites, who fear God only in appearance; inward training alone makes fanatics, who fall into visionary views, disowning the ministry, and destroying the good order of the church.‡

II. JANUA RESERATA.

The preface treats of the purpose and arrangement of the book.

Facts show, says Comenius, that up to this time, the proper method of teaching languages has not been understood in the schools; after ten years and more have often been devoted to it without any remarkable result. Youth have been occupied for several years with prolix and confused grammatical rules, and at the same time § crammed "with the names of things, without the things themselves." "But," continues Comenius, "although the names signify the things, how can they signify them to any good purpose, if the things themselves are not known? A boy may be able to say over a thousand times a thousand names, but if he has not the mastery of the things, of what benefit will all that multitude be to him?"‖

It has been thought to remedy the evil, by the introduction of the

* Perfrui conscientiae voluptate. Fruimur Deo in amore et favore ejus ita acquiescendo ut nihil nobis in coelo et terra optabilius sit Deo ipso.

† Didact., 144.

‡ The school plan which Comenius gives in his *Didactica Magna*, will be given further on; as well as extracts relating to Realism.

§ I shall quote indifferently, from the Latin and German texts of the Janua.

‖ Est enim nocentissimarum fraudum non postrema, quae humano gener., imo et doctorum vulgo, multum illudit, in linguarum scientia locare sapientiam. Thus says Comenius, in one of his latest works. Ventilabrum, opp. did., 450.

classics into the schools, with the idea that pure Latin and the knowledge of things could together be learned from them. "But this notion, how plausible soever, is in the highest degree harmful." In the first place, the boys can not provide themselves with the classics, and in the second, they are not old enough for them. And even if "one had been through all the classics, he will still find that he had not attained his object, namely, a sufficient knowledge of the language; for the language does not treat of every thing, and even if it treated of all matters current in its time, it could neither treat of such as are current in our own times, nor know any thing about them; so that it would be necessary for him to read many more books, both of old and new authors; as, for instance, upon plants, metals, agriculture, war, and architecture; and, in truth, there would be no end to his accumulation of books." How much time would be needed to learn a language in this way!

For this reason it is desirable "that a short compendium of the whole language should be prepared, in which each and all of its words and phrases should be brought together in one body, so as to be understood in a short time, and with less trouble, and so as to give an easy, appropriate and certain introduction to the authors who treat of the subjects themselves." Just as it would be easier to take a survey of the beasts in Noah's ark, than if they had to be searched out all over the world; so it would be easier to learn all the words from such a compendium, than to gather them together from innumerable authors. Such a compendium had been made by a Jesuit some years before; he having published a *Janua linguarum* in Latin and Spanish, which contained, in twelve hundred proverbs, the most usual Latin words, so that, (particles excepted,) no word appeared more than once. This book was enlarged in 1615 with the English translation, afterward with German and French ones; and later, in 1629, appeared in eight languages.*

This book, however, did not fullfil its promise. First, many words were wanting in it, which are needed in daily use; and it contained many useless ones. Secondly, words of several significations appeared in it only once, and then only with one meaning. If this

* Further information upon this Janua will be found, Didact. works, 2, 81, 270. Its title is, "Janua linguarum sive modus ad integritatem linguarum compendio cognoscendam maxime accommodatus; ubi sententiarum centuriis aliquot omnia usitatiora et necessaria vocabula semel comprehensa sunt, ita ut postea non recurrant." Its author was an Irishman, W. Bateus, a Theatin at Salamanca. Isaac Habrecht, a physician at Strasburg, reprinted this Janua in Germany. Caspar Scioppius published it in 1627 in Latin and Italian, under the title of Mercurius bilinguis, and in 1636 at Basle, as Mercurius quadrilinguis, (Latin, German, Greek and Hebrew.) Bateus' object was to promote the spread of Christianity by his book, by enabling the heathen to learn Latin easily by means of it.

meaning had been the first, simplest and radical one, an intelligent person could easily have guessed out the others. But this was not so; most of the words being given in derived, metaphorical, metonymic, etc., meanings. Lastly, the work contains many sayings with no meaning, and others not edifying. For these reasons Comenius undertook to remedy these faults, from a "desire to promote the profit and piety of the young." What he undertook to do was as follows:

"Since," he says, "I consider it an established law of the art of teaching, that understanding and speech must go in parallel lines, and that one should be able to express whatever he comprehends with the understanding, (since what difference is there between one who understands what he can not express and a mere dumb image? and to speak without understanding is only parrotry,) I have come to the conclusion that all things in the world ought to be arranged in distinct classes, so that the boys can understand them; and what is to be expressed in speech, namely, things themselves, should be first impressed upon the mind." Thus have arisen his "hundred generic names of things."

He thus brought together eight thousand words, in one thousand complete sentences, which he made at first short and more simple, and afterward longer and more complex.

Further, he has endeavored to bring forward, to be first understood by the boys, all words in their proper and natural signification, "except a few." Words of several meanings he has given more than once, in their different meaning. Synonyms and words of opposite meanings he has given opposite each other, "and has so arranged that each shall assist in the understanding of the others."

At the same time he has so prepared the sentences that they are valuable as grammatical exercises.

This preface is followed by the one hundred chapters which treat *de omni scibili*, in one thousand sentences. The first is an introduction, in which the reader is saluted, and informed that learning consists in this: to know distinctions and names of things; and that to attain this is not so very difficult. In this short little book, the reader will find explained, "the whole world and the Latin language." If the reader should learn four pages of it by rote, he would "find that his eyes were opened to all the liberal arts." Then follows the second, which treats of the creation of the world, and so on to the ninety-ninth, which treats of the end of the world; the one hundredth is his farewell advice to the reader.

III. Realism of Comenius.

Such, substantially, is the little book which was translated into twelve European, and several Asiatic languages. I shall, hereafter, speak of the subsequent revision and enlargement of it. If it is asked how came about so great a success, I reply, it was partly from the pleasure found in the survey of the whole world, adapted both to young and old, and at a day when no great scientific requirements were made. Many were amused by the motley variety of the imaginations and investigations of the book; by its old fashioned grammatical, didactic and rhetorical discussions, and its spiritual extravagances. The greatest influence was, however, exerted by the fundamental maxim of the book; that the knowledge of a language, especially of Latin, should go hand in hand with knowledge of the things explained in it. By this principle, Comenius is distinguished from the earlier pedagogues; and he sought to bring it into natural operation in many ways.

From his Physics, which appeared in 1633,* we may see how thorough a pedagogical realist he was. He received his first impulse in this direction, as he himself relates, from the well known Spanish pedagogue, Ludovicus Vives, who came out against Aristotle, and demanded a christian instead of the heathen mode of philosophizing. It is not disputation which leads to any result, said Vives, but the silent observation of nature. It is better for the scholars to ask questions and to investigate, than to be disputing with each other. "Yet," says Comenius, "Vives understood better where the fault was, than what was the remedy.

Comenius received a second impulse from Thomas Campanella,† who, however, did not satisfy him. "But when," he says "Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* came into my hands, a wonderful work, which I consider the most instructive philosophical work of the century now beginning. I saw in it, that even Campanella's demonstration was wanting in that thoroughness which is demanded by the nature of things.‡

* The preface was written at Lissa in 1632. The information following is from it.

† Campanella was born in 1568, at Stilo in Calabria, and died in 1639 at Paris. He was a Dominican. Being accused of a state offense against the Spanish monarchy, he was imprisoned in 1599 and only released in 1626, at the request of Urban VIII. Of his works, those which had most influence upon Comenius, were his *Prodromus philosophiae restaurandae*, *Realis philosophia epilogistica*, and *Libri de rerum sensu.*

‡ I may here be permitted, in order to a complete characterization of Comenius, to repeat something of what I have already said of Bacon's influence on teaching. In this connection I shall quote the Opp. did., 1, 426, where he says, "*Non est nihil, quod Verulamius mirabili suo organo rerum naturas intime scrutandi modum infallibilem detexit.*" And in another place, (p. 432,) he praises Bacon's "*artificiosam inductionem, quae revera in naturae abdita penetrandi reclusa via est.*" Elsewhere, Comenius cites Bacon, or uses expressions (E. g., "*Infelix divortium rerum et verborum,*") and states views, which refer us to Bacon.

Yet again, I was troubled, because the noble Verulam, while giving the true key of nature, did not unlock her secrets, but only showed, by a few examples, how they should be unlocked, and left the rest to future observations to be extended through centuries." He goes on, in the preface to the Physics, from which these extracts are taken, to say that he is convinced that it is not Aristotle who must be master in philosophy for Christians, but that philosophy must be studied freely by the indications of nature, reason and books. "For," he continues, "are we not as well placed in the garden of Eden, as were our predecessors? Why can we not use our eyes, ears, and nose as well as they could? And why did we need other teachers than these, in learning to know the works of nature? Why, say I, should we not, instead of these dead books, lay open the living book of nature? In this there is much more to display than one person like myself can relate, and the display will bring much more, both of pleasure and profit." "Moreover," he adds, evidently following Bacon, "we are so many centuries beyond Aristotle even in experience."

From these extracts it is evident that Comenius, like Bacon, aimed at a real realism, not at a simply verbal one; at one which should operate by the direct observation of things by the senses, not by the narratives and descriptions of others. This appears clearly also, from many portions of his other works. Thus, he says, in the Didactica Magna: "To instruct youth well, is not to cram them with a *mish-mash* of words, phrases, sentences and opinions, gathered from reading various authors, but to open their understandings to the things themselves, so that from them, as from living springs, many streamlets may flow." Again: "Hitherto, the schools have done nothing with the view of developing children, like young trees, from the growing impulse of their own roots, but only with that of hanging them over with twigs broken off elsewhere. They teach youth to adorn themselves with others' feathers, like the crow in Æsop's fables. They do not show them things themselves, as they are, but tell them what one and another, and a third, and a tenth, has thought and written about them; so that it is considered a mark of great wisdom for a man to know a great many opinions which contradict each other. Thus it has come to pass, that most scholars do nothing but gather phrases, sentences and opinions, and patch together their learning like a cento. It is of such that Horace says, '*O imitatorum servum pecus!*' Of what use is it to vex one's self about others' opinions of things, when that which is needed is, the knowledge of the things themselves? Is all the labor of our lives to be spent in nothing except in running after others who are employed in all sorts of directions? Oh ye

mortals, let us hasten without circuit, toward our object. If our eyes are fast and clearly fixed upon this, why do we not together steer toward it? why should we prefer to see with others' eyes, rather than with our own? Almost no one teaches physics by actual observation and experiment: all instruct by the oral explanation of the works of Aristotle or some body else. In short, men must be led as much as possible, to gather their learning, not from books, but from the observations of the heavens and the earth, oak trees and books; that is, he must know and investigate things themselves, not merely the observations and explanations of others about them. And thus we shall be again following in the footsteps of the ancients." Comenius' meaning is too clear to need an explanation. Further on,* he goes more fully into the method of instruction. The object must be a real, true, useful thing, capable of making an impression upon the senses and the apprehension. This is necessary, that it may be brought into communication with the senses; if visible, with the eyes, if audible, with the ears, if odorous, with the nose, if sapid, with the taste, if tangible, with the touch. The beginning of knowledge must be with the senses.† "Must not, therefore," he asks, "the beginning of teaching be, not at all with the verbal explanation of the things, but with the real intuition of them? and then first, after the presentation of the thing itself, may the oral explanation be added, for the further elucidation of it." What has thus been perceived by the senses, sinks deep into the memory, and can not be forgotten; an event is better remembered, if one has lived through it, than if he has heard it related a hundred times. Thus says Plautus, "One showing to the eye is more than ten showings to the ear."‡ One who has, with his own eyes, seen a corpse dissected, better understands the anatomy of the human body, and gets more insight into it, than if he had read the greatest quantity of anatomical books, without having seen it. Hence the old proverb, "Demonstration must make up for intuition."

If here and there a thing is wanting, one or another thing may make up for it. So, for example, pictures, such as are to be found in botanical, zoölogical, geographical, and other books. Such should be in every school; for although they cost much, they are of much use.

IV. Comenius' three school books, the Vestibulum, the revised Janua reserata, and the Atrium.

A. Vestibulum.

Soon after publishing the Janua reserata, Comenius wrote a small

* Didactica Magna, p. 115, etc.

† Comenius repeatedly refers to his maxim, ***Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius in sensu***

‡ Comenius also quotes Horace's "*Segnius irritant animos,*" etc.

school book called *Januae reseratae Vestibulum,** of only 427 short sentences.

About 1648 he published a revisal of it,† and a second in 1650, while at Patak, employed in re-organizing the schools there.‡ He intended this second revisal as a manual for the lower classes of this school; I will briefly describe its form and contents.

It begins with an *Invitatio;* the teacher promising to the scholar an introduction to wisdom, to the knowledge of all things, to the ability to do right always, and to speak correctly of every thing, especially in Latin, which, as a language common to all nations, is indispensable to a learned education. In the *Vestibulum* the foundations of language are laid, in the *Janua* the materials for building are furnished; and in the *Atrium*, the decoration of the edifice is begun. After this the scholar may enter the palace of authors; that is, their wise books; by the perusal of which he may become learned, wise and eloquent.

The second part treats of the classification of things; that is, of substantives only, E. g.: *Sidera sunt, sol, luna, stella. In sole sunt, lux, radius, lumen. Sine lumine est; umbra, caligo, tenebrae.*

Apld uanionem; farcimen, perna, lardum, arvina, adeps, sebum, etc.

In the third part, the modifications of things are brought forward, adjectives being the most prominent words, E. g.; *Sol est clarus vel obscurus. Luna plena vel dimidia. Stella fixa vel vaga.*

The fourth part is headed *mentiones rerum.* E. g.; *Quis ibi est? Is quem vides. Quid fert? Id quod vides.* It explains especially the pronouns.

In the fifth section, headed *motus rerum*, verbs are introduced. E. g.; *Quaeque res potest aliquid esse, agere, pati. Dei actio est creare, sustentare, beare. Sentire est, videre, audire,* etc. After this comes the varieties of human action, e. g., *per membra corporis, per animam,* etc.

The sixth section, headed *Modi actionum et passionum,* includes the adverbs. E. g., *Ubi est? hic, illic, ibi,* etc.

The seventh, headed *Circumstantiae rerum et actionum,* brings in the prepositions. E. g., *Quod movetur, movetur ab aliquo praeter aliquid, ad aliquid.*

The eighth, headed *Cohaerentiae rerum et actionum,* contains conjunctions. E. g., *Ego et tu, illeque sumus homines,* etc.

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* *Opp. did.*, 1, 302. Preface dated 4th January, 1633.

† *Opp. did.*, 2, 293. Preface undated. This Vestibulum immediately followed the *Methodus Novissima,* in which, (p. 163, 173,) it is described. Only a fragment of it is in the *Opp. did.*

‡ *Opp. did.*, 3, 141.

The ninth, *Compendia rerum et verborum*, contains interjections. E. g., *Heus tu! Ecce me!* etc.

The tenth is entitled *Multiplicatio rerum et verborum;* and contains some examples of the derivation and relation of words. E. g.; *Doctus, doctor, docet, dociles, doctrinam*, etc.

The *Janua* and the *Atrium* contain each 1,000 sentences, but the *Vestibulum* only half as many, 500.

To the *Vestibulum* are subjoined the rudiments of grammar. Chap. 1 treats of the letters; chaps. 2—10 correspond with the same of the *Vestibulum*, e. g.; chap. 2 treats of nouns, and gives briefly the declensions; chap. 5 of verbs, conjugation, etc.; chap. 10 explains the ideas of primitives, derivatives, compounds, etc., and chap. 11 gives fifteen simple rules of syntax.

This grammar is followed by a *Repertorium vestibulare sive lexici Latini rudimentum*, containing all the words in the *Vestibulum*, alphabetically arranged, with the number of that sentence of the five hundred where it is found. *E. g.: Cano, (cecini, cantum,)* 457. And sentence 457 is, *Cantoris est canere.*

In a letter to Tolnai,* teacher of the first (lowest) class at Patak, Comenius writes of his duties as a teacher, and especially of the use of the *Vestibulum*, etc. He (Tolnai) receives scholars who can read and write their mother tongue; and he is to teach them the grounds of Latin and the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic.

The arrangement of the *Vestibulum* might seem to be exclusively grammatical, as it begins with substantives, and proceeds to adjectives, etc. It is in fact, however, in the profoundest sense, an arrange-in the order of things; for it began with the enumeration of the things themselves, and goes on to their principal qualities, (*primaria rerum accidentia*,) and so on.

Comenius would have been glad to illustrate the *Vestibulum* with such cuts as the text requires, to amuse the boys and to enable them better to remember, but was prevented for want of competent artists. The want of such cuts must be supplied by the teacher, by explanations of the things, showing them, or by such delineations of them as may be accessible. If there be not some such reference to them, the instruction will be entirely lifeless. "This parallelism of the knowledge of words and things is the deepest secret of the method." In order that this may be more easily done, this nomenclature (of the *Vestibulum*) is to be translated into the mother tongue, and with this translation the scholars are to be first taken over the ground before any study of Latin. Thus their whole attention will be confined to

* This latter reminds us strongly of Sturm's *Epistolae classicae.*

the things; they will not be required at the same time to attend to unknown things and unknown languages, but only to the first.

B. Janua.

I have already described the *Janua reserata* of 1631, the first edition. But the *Janua* which Comenius describes in the *Methodus Novissima*, is different from this. The latter consists of a text, similar to that of the original *Janua*, but to which is added a lexicon, and to this a grammar; there being thus three parts, as in the *Vestibulum.**

Comenius brought out the third edition of the *Janua*, at the same time with the third of the *Vestibulum*, for the schools at Patak. It does not, however, like the latter, begin with the text and go on to the grammar and lexicon, but in a reversed order, with lexicon, grammar and text. The lexicon is entitled, *Sylva Latinae linguae vocum derivatarum copiam explicans, sive lexicon januale.*† It is etymological, showing the derivation of each word. E. g.: *Fin-is-it omnia, et ostendit rei-em,*‡ *h. e. - alem causam. De-ibus agrorum saepe sunt lites, quas-itor de-it distinguens agrum tam ab agris - itimis (seu af-et con-ibus) quam a con-iis inde-itis. Si vero inter af-es (af-itate junctos) jurgia exoriuntur, judex prae-it diem prae-itum, quo ea-aliter de-itat; nam-ita esse convenit; non in-ita; in-itas Dei est.*

In this manner are arranged some twenty-five hundred roots and their derivations and compounds, with the rules of derivation and composition.

The teacher is to occupy some four months, in the beginning, in taking his scholars through this lexicon; for they must first become acquainted with words, which are the simple elements of language. He calls the lexicon the forest, in which the radical words, with their derivations and compounds, are the trees and their branches. These form the material in which the second book, the *Grammatica janualis continens residuum grammaticae vestibularis*, is to be used and prepared for the construction of speech.

In the introduction to the grammar, Comenius laments the faults of the earlier teachers of language, quoting especially the valuable teacher Gerard Vossius. "Our grammars," says Vossius, "contain a

* According to *Opp. did.*, 2, 299, this second edition contained only the *Januae linguarum grammatica. Comp. Meth. nov.; Opp. did.*, 2, 181.

† Opp. did., 3, 219.

‡ I. e., *Finis finit omnia, et ostendit rei finem, h. e. finalem causam*, etc. For the sake of greater clearness, Comenius afterward, (Opp. 4, 60,) required the German equivalent to be added, as

Am-are-or-ator,
Lieb-en-e-haber.
(*Lov-e-e-er.*)

mass of rules and exceptions which overwhelm the boys, who are obliged to learn much that is superfluous, only soon to forget it; and besides, how many false rules do these grammars contain!" "Lipsius," continues Comenius, "calls them silly; and Caselius, more than silly, and they agree that it would be better to learn Latin only from authors." Comenius, however, does not coincide with them in this; mere practice, he says, is blind; it is only by rules that they attain to the sure comprehension. He says further, in speaking of the *Grammatica Janualis*, subjoined to the *Vestibulum*, that it follows especially G. Vossius.

The succession of chapters in this grammar is:* *De Litera, Syllaba, Voce, Phrasi, Sententia, Periodo, Oratione.* It proceeds from the simple beginnings of the *Grammatica Vestibularis*, leaving, however, the subtilities and delicacies of the language for a higher class.

From this grammar the scholar goes on to a third part, a *Janualis rerum et verborum contextus, historiolam† rerum continens.* This is a revision of the earlier *Janua reserata*, but more extensive and complete, although, like it, containing a thousand paragraphs, in a hundred sections. In the first *Janua* each paragraph usually consisted of one short period; but in the second the paragraphs are often much longer.

C. *Atrium.*

Comenius describes the *Atrium*‡ in his *Methodus novissima;* but he first published it for the school at Patak.§ Like its predecessor, it is divided into three parts; but its arrangement, like that of the *Janua*, varies from that of the *Vestibulum;* a grammar coming first, then the text, and then the lexicon. Comenius calls the grammar of the *Atrium, Ars ornatoria, cive grammatica elegans.* He defines it, "The art of speaking elegantly. To speak with elegance is, to express the thoughts otherwise than the laws of the mother tongue require, and yet to be understood with more pleasure than if we had spoken according to those laws." From this definition it follows, that Comenius was not speaking of what they called fine Latin, free from barbarisms, but of such Latin as was then used in rhetorical exercises.

After the grammar follows the *Atrium* itself; which, also, is an encyclopædia of one thousand paragraphs, in one hundred sections, but more extensive and advanced than that in the preceding *Janua.*

* Opp. did., 3, 428. † Ib., 474.

‡ Ib, 451. There is here a great error in the paging; p. 451 following 592.

§ Opp. did., 2, 163, 197, 458. David Bechner published before Comenius, in 1636, a fragment entitled *Proplasma templi Latinitatis*, (Opp. did., 1, 318,) which, like the *Atrium*, was to follow the *Janua.*

To this Comenius had intended to add a *Lexicon Latino-latinum;* which, however, did not appear.

V. The Classics.

After the scholars had used, in their first year, the *Vestibulum*, in the second the *Janua*, and in the third the *Atrium*, as preparatory manuals, they were next, in a fourth class, to enter, from the *Atrium*, into the palace of authors. "For," says Comenius,* "if we should not, through the *Vestibulum*, the *Janua*, and the *Atrium* introduce the scholars into the palace of authors, we should be as foolish as one who, after with much pains, seeking, finding and pursuing his road to the very gates of a city, should refuse to enter." The scholars of this fourth class are, in their first quarter of a year, to practice the ordinary Latin style; in the second, speeches from the Roman histories, and the Ciceronians, for the sake of the oratorical style; in the third, to read Ovid, Horace and Virgil, to learn the poetical style; and afterward to study the laconic authors, especially Seneca and Tacitus, and to begin studying the composition of letters, speeches and poetry.

In his *Methodus Novissima*,† he gives fuller directions what authors to read and how to read them. His three text-books, he says here, enable the scholar to understand Latin, and to write and read it not unlatinistically. He must then proceed to the authors, in order from them to gain a fuller knowledge of real things, a better style, and practical readiness. He must not restrict himself to Cicero, as he neither contains all Latinity, nor all subjects. Terence and Plautus must be read with caution, on account of the immoral character of some of their contents. For speaking Latin, however, they are the best; as is Cicero for the construction of periods. For the laconic style, Seneca is the model, Virgil for the epic, Ovid for the elegiac, and Horace for the lyric. An acquaintance with real objects can be gathered from Pliny, Vitruvius, Cæsar, and others. Authors must be read thoroughly, and extracts and imitations may be written; this last in part by means of translations and re-translations; and then abridgments and continuations come, and finally the contents of the classics are to be transferred to other persons, relations, etc. For this purpose the scholar must adopt only a single model, Cicero for instance, and train himself to a style by daily and hourly exercises‡

* This, he says in his treatise upon the school at Patak in three classes, the necessity of adding a fourth, and its purpose. See below, *Schola pansophica.*

† Opp. did., 2, 199.

‡ "For he must feel himself so transferred into his author's spirit, that nothing will be grateful to h's ears, which has not the sound of Cicero." Ib., 205.

upon that model. Yet he must be very careful lest he become a mere empty phraseologer.*

Comenius expresses himself with greater rigor against the heathen books, in his earlier *Didactica Magna*.† "Our schools," he says, "are Christian only in name; Terence, Plautus, Cicero, rule over them. Therefore it is that our learned men, even our theologians, belong to Christ only in externals, while Aristotle has the real authority over them. Day and night they study the classics, and neglect the Holy Scriptures. Shall our boys, for the sake of a style, study the indecency of Terence, Plautus and the like? Shall we in this way cast oil upon the fire of men already lost? Although these authors have many good portions, still, the evil they contain sinks at once deep into the souls of the boys. Even the better of the classics, Cicero and Virgil for instance, have whole pages entirely unchristian. Yet, as Israel took the vessels of the Egyptians,‡ so many learned men of confirmed Christian character, make collections of extracts from the classics, which may be read by youth without danger. Perhaps Seneca, Epictetus and Plato, only, may be put whole into the hands of youth already confirmed in Christianity." But to avoid any misunderstanding, as if he had forbidden without explanation, to read the classics, he refers to the promise of Christ, that believers shall be harmed neither by serpents nor by poison. Only boys who are yet weak in the faith, must not be exposed to such serpents, but fed with the pure milk of God's word.

He expresses himself in the strongest manner upon the study of the ancients, in one of his latest pedagogical works, which he has named "The Winnowing-fan of Wisdom."§ Here he says, "We have seen in very recent times frightful examples of kings and queens,‖ who, seduced by heathen books, have despised the simplicity of the gospel. If such learned men as Lipsius and others, who have become drunk with the classics, should be examined, there would be found in them nothing like David's pleasure in the law of God, but on the other hand a disgust with it."

* "Not without reason did the wise Buchholtzer write, 'I dislike the Italian Ciceronians, because they speak only words; not things. Their rhetoric, for the most part, is κολακευτική. It is a gloss without a text, a nut without meat, a cloud without rain. Their feathers are better than the birds themselves.'" Comenius was evidently acquainted with the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus; and like him, he found especial fault with the paganism of Bembo and the other Italians.

† Opp. did., 147.

‡ This same comparison occurs in Augustine's Confessions, (7, 9,) in relation to the reading of the heathen philosophers by Christians.

§ *Ventilabrum sapientiae*. *Opp. did.*, 4, 47. A remarkable retractation.

‖ Referring apparently to Christina of Sweden.

As to the reading of the ancients, Comenius was in the same perplexity with many other Christian teachers. He feared the influence of the heathen books upon youth; but at the same time these same Christian youth must learn thoroughly to speak and read Latin. Latin would be, without doubt, best learned by the repeated reading of Terence; but then again Terence is so indecent! How was this dilemma to be solved?

VI. Orbis Pictus.

Besides the three school books with which we have become acquainted, the *Vestibulum*, the *Janua* and the *Atrium*, Comenius wrote a fourth. This is the *Orbis Pictus*, which, since its first appearance in the year 1657, has been, during nearly two hundred years, down to the present time, and in the most various forms, the favorite book for children. Comenius had deeply felt the imperfection of his school books in one respect. He desired that the beginning of teaching should be always made, by means of dealing with actual things; and in the school-room, there was nothing which could be thus used. "It may be observed," he writes to the bookseller, Michael Endter, of Nuremburg,* "that many of our children grow weary of their books, because these are overfilled with things which have to be explained by the help of words; things which the boys have never seen, and of which the teachers know nothing." By the publication of the *Orbis Pictus*, however, he says, this evil will be remedied.

We have seen that Comenius was desirous that the text of his *Vestibulum*, long before, should contain pictures; but he could find no artists capable of designing the pictures, and cutting them on wood under his supervision. In the letter above alluded to, he most earnestly thanked Endter for having undertaken the designs. "This work," he writes to him, "belongs to you; it is entirely new in your profession. You have given a correct and clear edition of the *Orbis Pictus*, and furnished figures and cuts, by the help of which, the attention will be awakened and the imagination pleased. This will, it is true, increase the expense of the publication, but it will be certainly returned to you." Comenius says further, that the book will be very welcome in schools, since it is entirely natural to look at pictures; and still more welcome, since now instruction may progress without hindrance, and neither learning nor teaching need delay, since what is printed in words may be brought before the eyes by sight, and thus the mind may be instructed without error.

* The letter is dated at Lissa, 1655, and is printed before the edition of the Atrium issued by Endter in 1659.

I have thought it scarcely necessary to give a detailed description of this celebrated school book, for, as I have said, it has been published in innumerable editions, down to the present day. The old *Orbis Pictus*, varies little as to text, from the *Janua reserata;* it is the *Janua* with illustrations. The cuts in the later editions are clearer than in the old; but the variations of the texts are not successful. The comparison is especially striking between the forty-second cut, entitled "Of the soul of man," in the edition of 1659, and the same in the edition of 1755. In the first, the soul is very ingeniously represented in a bodily shape, by uniform points, without light or shade, like a phantom. The artist evidently wished to indicate that the soul, so to speak, was present throughout the whole body. In the *Orbis Pictus* of 1755, on the other hand, the picture is an eye, and on a table the figures I.I.II. I.I.II. It is difficult to recognize in this an expressive psychological symbol, and to explain it.

The *Janua reserata* of Comenius, notwithstanding its former great celebrity, is forgotten; the *Orbis Pictus*, on the contrary, is known and liked by many, if not in its old form, at least in a new one. The principle that the knowledge of things and of words should go hand in hand, was, it is true, laid down by Comenius in the preface of the *Janua*, but was not realized in the book itself. Hence, very naturally, the complaints of teachers and scholars, of the incompleteness of the book.

But in the *Orbis Pictus* this principle was found to be realized as far as possible; and many persons* said that they did not need the *Vestibulum* and the *Janua*, for that the shorter way in the *Orbis Pictus*, was enough. There was, it is true, a world-wide difference between what Comenius originally sought—an acquaintance with things themselves, before any knowledge of words relating to those things—and the actual use made of the scarcely recognizable pictures of these originals in the *Orbis Pictus*, in connection with the reading of the text. Yet this is at least a beginning; and who can tell what may be, in the course of time, developed from it? Basedow's elementary book is the *Orbis Pictus* of the eighteenth century. Chodowieck's pictures in this work, are much superior to the old wood-cuts of the *Orbis;* but in other respects, how far does the godless Elementary Book, filled with false explanations and superficial and materialistic realism, fall behind the ancient earnest and religious *Orbis Pictus!*

A very valuable commendation of the *Orbis Pictus* is to be found in the *Isagoge* of Joh. Matth. Gesner.† "For beginners in language," says Gesner, "books are proper, from which, at the same time, a

* Opp. did., 3, 830.

† 1, 112.

knowledge of things themselves may be gained. For the younger scholars, especially, the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius, which I very much like. Not that the work of Comenius is complete; but we have no better."

I repeat, the *Orbis Pictus* was the forerunner of future development; and had for its object, not merely the introduction of an indistinct painted world into the school, but, as much as possible, a knowledge of the original world itself, by actual intercourse with it.

VII. COMENIUS' PLAN OF STUDY.

A. Three schools. Academy.

Comenius, in his *Didactica Magna*, gives a general plan of study, which, upon comparison with the school ordinances of Saxony and Wurtemberg, already mentioned, appears to have been generally similar to existing ones. He proposes the four following classes of institutions; A. *Schola materna*, (mother's school;) B. *Schola vernacula*, (vernacular school;) C. *Schola Latina*, (Gymnasium;) D. *Academia*, (University.)

A mother's school, he says, should be in every house; a vernacular school in every municipality; a Latin school in every city, and a university in each kingdom or large province.

Pupils are to remain in the mother school until their sixth year, from the sixth to the twelfth in the German, and from the twelfth to the eighteenth in the Latin, and from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth at the university. In the mother school the external senses especially are to be trained in the right apprehension of things; in the German school, the inner senses; the imagination and the memory. Here, also, must the pictures of things which are impressed upon the mind through the external senses, be together brought out into expression, by the hand and the tongue, by reading, writing, drawing, singing, etc. In the gymnasium, the understanding and the judgment are to be trained by comparing, distinguishing, and the deeper investigation of things. In the university, the will is to be cultivated.

After this Comenius proceeds to describe each of his four schools,

A. The Mother School.

We should pray for the *Mens sana in corpore sano*, but should use means for it also. Even during pregnancy, the mother should pray for the well-being of the embryo, should live upon suitable diet, and should keep herself as quiet and comfortable as possible. She herself must nurse the new-born child; it is a most injurious custom which prevails, especially among noble ladies, of employing nurses;

a custom harmful both to mothers and children, and contrary to God and to nature. Even the wolves and the swine suckle their own young.*

From vanity or convenience, nurses are often employed who are weaker than the mothers themselves.

No high-seasoned food should be given to children, and still less any heating drink; the Spartans dared drink no wine until their twentieth year. Unnecessary medicine is poison to children. They should be allowed to play as much as they wish.

During the first six years, the foundation should be laid for all that they are to learn in all their lives.

In physics, they should begin to learn to know stones, plants, beasts, etc.; and the names and uses of the members of their own body.

In optics, they should begin to distinguish light and darkness and colors; and to delight their eyes with beautiful things.

In astronomy, they should learn to know the sun, moon, and stars, and that the moon is sometimes full and sometimes sickle-shaped.

They should begin geography with the knowledge of the cradle, the room, the farm, the streets, the fields; chronology, with the knowledge of day and night, hours, weeks, and festivals; history, with the knowledge of what happened to themselves yesterday and the day before; politics, with the knowledge of domestic economy; arithmetic, with counting, etc.; geometry, with understanding the ideas of length and breadth, lines, circles, an inch, an ell, etc.; music, with hearing singing, (in the third year they will be able to join in psalm singing;) grammar, with the pronunciation of syllables and easy words; rhetoric, with the making of gestures, and the understanding of the gestures of others.

Thus we see the beginning of all the sciences and arts, in the earliest childhood. Even then the children will take pleasure in poetry, rhythm and rhyme.†

Comenius now proceeds to the beginning of the first or ethical part of religious instruction; he requires above all things, that the parents should set a good example; and he inveighs strongly against the unjustifiable spoiling of children, and the want of a wholesome

* "Have you nourished with your own blood the child which you carried beneath your heart for so many months, to deny it milk now, when that very milk was given by God for the child, not for the mother? It is much more conducive to the health of the infant, to suckle its own mother than a nurse, because it has in the womb already become accustomed to nutriment from its mother's blood."

† Comenius gives specimens of rhymes to amuse the children, as:

"O mi pulle, mi puelle, dormi belle;
Claude bellos tu ocellos, curas pelle."

strictness.* He also gives directions how to train them to moderation, purity, and obedience; and to silence, as soon as they can speak fluently, and not to speak merely in order to learn to speak. In baptism, children should be given back to their Creator and Saviour; and from that time they should be prayed for and taught to pray; should learn the Lord's Prayer, the creed, &c.

In the sixth year the child will be ready to go to school, which should not be described to him as an institution of punishment. We often hear people say, "If you are not good I will send you to school, and there you will be kept in order with the rod." It should rather be represented as delightful, so that the child shall be pleased with the idea of going.

B. German School.

1. This is peculiarly a school of the mother tongue.†

In this school, says Comenius, the children should not be, as many would have them, put at first to the study of Latin.

All children should be instructed. Whether or no they prove apt at study, and, therefore, proper to be carried forward to the Latin school, is not a thing to be determined in the sixth year. That school is not for the children of the noble alone; the wind bloweth whither it listeth, and does not begin to blow at any fixed time. My method, continues Comenius, does not, by any means, look simply to the Latin, most often so vainly beloved, but rather regards a common way of instruction in all the mother tongues. To teach a scholar a foreign tongue before he knows his own, is to instruct him in riding before he can walk.‡ Finally he says, I aim at knowledge of real things; these can be learned just as well in the mother tongue as in Latin or Greek; and, above all, all technical terms should be learned in German, instead of in Latin or Greek.

He then proceeds to enumerate the studies in the German school; as, to read German, to write well, to reckon, so far as ordinary life will require, to measure, to sing common melodies, to learn certain songs by rote, the catechism, and the Bible, a very general knowledge of history, especially of the creation, the fall of man, and the redemption; a beginning of cosmography, and a knowledge of trades and occupations. All these are necessary, not only for those who are to be students, but also for future farmers, mechanics, &c. The Ger-

* "I can not refrain from reproving the apish and asinine conduct of some parents toward their children.

† Opp. did. 172.

‡ At a subsequent period Comenius found fault with himself for having written his *Vestibulum* in Latin, "*nota docendo per ignota, vernaculam per Latinam. Quicquid notius est praecedat, vernacula Latinae semper praeeat.*" Opp. did. 4, 51.

man school should be divided into six classes, and for each class a text-book should be prepared in German.

C. The Latin School.

Here are to be learned four languages, and the seven studies of the Trivium and the Quadrivium; grammar, dialectics and rhetoric; and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Also physics, chronology, history, ethics, and biblical theology. The school is to be divided into the six following classes, to pass through which will require six years: 1. grammar, 2. physics, 3. mathematics, 4. ethics, 5. dialectics, 6. rhetoric.

The scholars are to finish their studies in German and Latin, and to gain a sufficient grammatical knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.

Dialectics and rhetoric, says Comenius, are to be learned only after a knowledge of real things has been acquired. Without the knowledge of things, it is impossible for one to speak practically upon them.* He places physics before the abstract mathematics, as addressed to the senses, and, therefore, easier for beginners.†

D. The University.

Although, Comenius says, his method does not extend to the university, yet he will express a few views concerning it. For a university he would have a universal course of study, and an examination of all students entering, to determine for what pursuit each is best fitted, &c. He has one remarkable recommendation; to found a *schola scholarum* or *collegium didacticum*, for those of all countries. The learned men, members of this, should bind themselves to use their united powers to promote the sciences, and to make new discoveries. He thus suggests the idea of an academy of sciences, before the Royal Society of London, the first academy of the kind, was established; following Bacon, however, in this also.

B. Schola pansophica.

In 1650, as before related, Comenius was invited to Patak in Hungary, to reorganize the schools there. The plan which he drew up bears the strange title, *Scholae pansophicae delineatio.*‡ And the plan itself is strange. The names of the seven classes are, in part, given upon very singular grounds. The school books of the three lower classes, the *vestibularis, janualis and atrialis*, were the *Vestibulum, Janua, Atrium.* After the *Atrium* came, as class fourth, the

* *Ut virginem non impraegnatam parere impossibile est, ita res rationabiliter eloqui impossibile eum, qui rerum cognitione praeimbutus non est.*

† Apparently following Bacon's remark, "*Mathematica quae philosophiam naturalem terminare, non generare aut procreare debet.*" Nov. Org. I, 96.

‡ Opp. did. 3, 20.

philosophical; then the logical, political, and theological or theosophical. These seven classes were arranged to occupy the seven years from the tenth to the seventeenth.

From Comenius' plan, it appears that it was not his intention that Latin and real studies, from the three above named books, should be the only occupation of the three lower classes. The catechism, writing, arithmetic, geometry, and music, were to be added.

The idea of proceeding methodically from the elements forward, is to be recognized everywhere. The first class is to study geometry, with points (!) and lines; the second with plane figures, and the third with solids.*

In the fourth class, Greek was to be studied, and Latin quite passed over; so that it was in the fifth that the Latin authors were first to be read, for the purpose of acquiring a style.†

In each week Comenius set apart an hour for the reading of the newspapers of the day,‡ in order to learn cotemporary history and geography. Sacred music was to be sung daily, and no one not even of noble birth, was to be excused; and specified hours were set for choral music.

Plays and gymnastics, he says, are so far from being to be forbidden, that they are rather to be promoted; as, for instance running, jumping, wrestling, ball, ninepins, &c.; and walks are to be taken with the boys.

Comenius strongly recommends dramatic exhibitions, among other reasons, because the boys will learn "to act well any part." He, however, forbids the immodest pieces of the ancients, and instead, recommends other strange ones, which may be played by the classes. Thus, the fourth class may play Diogenes, the Cynic, or Compendious Philosophy. "The fifth," he says, "may give a very beautiful play, namely, the Contest of Grammar, Logic and Metaphysics, who strive for the preëminence, and in the end kiss each other in a friendly manner, thus showing how they will all labor wisely together in the realm of wisdom, which drama, including fifty persons, is very delightful." The sixth class is to represent Solomon, and the Seventh David.

The walls of the school-room of each class are to be ornamented with pictures and inscriptions, relating to the employments of the classes.

* These examples indicate the same error which afterward appeared in the Pestalozzian school.

† "Verba rara, phrases pulchras, imprimis etiam sententias elegantes, et sic succum omnem extrahant, sua Cicero, Sallust, &c."

‡ Ib., 28. "praeleganlur ordinariae mercatorum novellae." The Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus, for example

The whole school and each single class, should represent a republic, and should have a senate, consul, and praetor.

Of the hours of study, three should come in the forenoon and three in the afternoon, and between each two study hours, a half hour of recess should come.

Only the three lower classes of the pansophistic school went into operation; the Hungarian nobility not approving of the four others, which very much grieved Comenius. "When only patchwork is required," he says, "a more complete course of study is impossible; and nothing new can come to pass when people stick to their old habits." He, however, accommodated himself to his station, and composed the treatises "upon an easy, short, and convenient way to read the Latin authors fluently and to understand them clearly, in schools of three classes."*

VIII. Latin and the Mother Tongue.

According to Comenius, the mother tongue was to be studied. For this purpose he required a *schola vernacula*, through which each child was to pass, whether afterward to become a student or not. If he was, then he was to go from the *schola vernacula* into the *schola Latina*. He expresses himself most strongly opposed to the neglect of the mother tongue, and speaks with approbation of Schottel and the Society of Usefulness, who devoted themselves to the German.†

Why did he insist upon having Latin so diligently studied by the boys? His strictness in this respect was not surpassed by that of Trotzendorf or Sturm, who altogether neglected the German. Comenius requires from the boys "daily, even hourly exercises in Latin style;" and imitation of Cicero even to entire Ciceronization, and the constant speaking of Latin, both in and out of school.‡

His object was that Latin should become a universal language upon the earth, as an antidote against the confusion of tongues at Babel. What the Romish church sought for the unity of the church, Comenius sought for the unity of humanity; that all nations should be able to understand each other by means of a common speech.

He laid down the principle, that the Latin must be understood in its fullest extent.§ By this, however, he did not mean that every man must understand every word of the language. Even Cicero himself did not understand the expressions of artizans; and very reasonably, because he had not studied their business. In like manner, we do not blame any one for not understanding similar expressions in

* *Opp. did.* 3, 113. The treatise is dated 1651; and includes many things which Comenius had already said in the *Methodus Novissima.*

† Opp. did. 2, 219. ‡ Ib., 204, 205. § Ib., 152, &c.

his own language. But what he means by the understanding of the language in its whole expression is, an understanding according to each man's own condition and necessities. All must understand the common portions of the language, and, in addition to this, the apothecary must know the technical terms of medicine, the theologian those of theology, &c.*

Comenius has not remained true to this correct principle in his school books. They are crammed with esoteric and technical expressions, which are expected to serve the purposes of general education. He has collected, with inexpressible industry, a multitude of phrases in trade-Latin and market-Latin, it is difficult to say whence; and many of them are, probably of his own composition. Such Latin, Döderlein himself would never understand; and he would usually seek in vain for aid from the lexicon. Take, for instance, the chapter on baking, butchering, or cooking. In the Latin we read; "Placentarum species sunt; similae, spirae, crustulae, lagana, liba, scriblitae, (striblitae,) teganitae, globuli, boletini, obeliae, tortae, artocreata." Comenius had good reason for adding a translation here; the kinds of cake are, wheat bread, pretzels, iron-cakes, pan-cakes, short-cakes," &c. The poor boys are to be pitied who had to study such words as *lucanicae, botuli, tomatula, hillae, apexabones, tuceta, isicia,* &c. And for what purpose are they to be studied? to talk Latin to the butcher? and if native Germans were to be addressed in classical Latin, what should they say in reply? in fact, what have been their criticisms upon the Latin of the *Janua reserata?* "*Scatet barbarismis Janua,*" says Morhof, for instance. Comenius allowed that boys and even men know as little of most of the technical terms in their native language, as Cicero did of those in his. Why, therefore, does he lay upon the boys the unendurable labor of learning them all in Latin? Even if Latin were to become the universal language of all nations, of which there is not the remotest prospect, it is altogether impossible that a German butcher would be able to converse with a Turkish or Japanese butcher, in Comenian butchers' Latin.

Eventually, therefore, the Latin of one-third and, probably, of one-half, of the *Orbis Pictus,* is of no use to the scholar; so that the half of the book would be of more value than the whole.

But what was it that caused Comenius to write so superfluous a

* See *Didactica Magna,* p. 127; where Comenius, agreeably to our citation from the *Methodus Novissima,* says; "Thence it follows, that the knowledge of the whole of a language is not necessary to any one; and that if any one undertakes it, he will only make himself ridiculous and silly. For Cicero himself, even, did not know the whole of the Latin language; he himself, confessed that he was ignorant of the technics of artizans; he had never sought the conversation of shoemakers, butchers, and the like, to examine their operations and to learn the names of all their works and tools. And to what end would he have learned them?"

school book, in opposition to the principle which he himself had laid down? I think it was his view of the parallelism between things and words. A world of language corresponding to a world of things was the ideal before his mind.* And if the *Orbis Pictus* was to include the whole real world, the verbal explanation of the illustrations in it must be equally comprehensive.

IX. Methodus Novissima.†

Twenty years after Comenius wrote the *Didactica Magna*, he published the *Methodus Novissima*, which he had written on the requisition of Chancellor Oxenstiern. This work has not the freshness and boldness of the *Didactica*, but is constructed upon a more regular plan. In truth it was intended to be a plan of studies; to contain the principles which must lie at the basis of every rational plan of study.‡

In this work Comenius names, as the three chief principles of his method, the parallelism of things and words, the uninterrupted succession of introduction, and the easy, natural, and rapid progress made by his system; the scholar being kept in continual activity.§ "If the method," he says, "could be as clearly written out as it lies in my thoughts, it would be like a well made clock, that goes on steadily, and, by its movements, marks out the hours for sleeping and for all occupations, without varying; and, if it does vary, is easily set right again.‖

The mind thinks, the tongue speaks, the hand makes; hence sciences of things, and arts of working and speaking.

In God are the ideas, the original types, which he impresses upon things; things, again, impress their representations upon the senses, the senses impart them to the mind, the mind to the tongue, and the tongue to the ears of others, by a bodily intercourse; for souls, shut up in bodies, can not understand each other in a purely intellectual way.¶

Any language is complete, in proportion as it possesses a full nomenclature; has words for every thing; as the signification of its words are consistent; and as it is constructed after fixed grammatical laws.**

It is a source of errors, when things are made to accommodate themselves to words, instead of words to things.††

* "Condendam suademus rerum et verborum labulaturam quandam universalem, in qua mundi fabrica tota et sermonis humani apparatus totus, parallele disponantur." Opp. did. 2, 53.

† Opp. did. 2, 1, &c.

‡ Various extracts from the *Methodus* will be given in the proper place.

§ Ib. 211. ‖ Ib. 14. ¶ Ib., 24. ** Ib. 50. †† Ib. 52

The same classification prevails for words as for things; and whoever understands the relation of words among themselves, will, so much the more easily, study the analogous relations among things.*

The most complete language, says Vives, would be that in which the words express the nature of things, such as must have been the speech of Adam, in which he gave names to things. Comenius believed that there could be composed a real language, in which each word should be a definition, and which, even by its nouns, should represent the nature of the things spoken of.†

To know, is‡ to be able to represent any thing, either by the mind, or the hand, or the tongue. For all is done by such representing and imagining of the pictures of things. If, for instance, I perceive a thing by the senses, its image is impressed upon the brain; if I represent a thing, I impress its image upon the material. But if I express in words the thing which I have thought of or represented, I impress it upon the atmosphere, and through this upon the ear, brain and mind of another. The first kind of representation is called *scire, wissen;* the second and third kinds are called *scire, können.* Thus, Comenius includes in one idea of representation, knowing, the power of representing and the art of speaking. To know is to him a mode of representing in which the individual holds himself in a receptive condition, and the mind receives impressions through the senses, like a living daguerreotype plate. Such is his process of conception. Opposed to this is a process of expression, in which the mind performs its creative operations by the arts of representation and speech.

In every thing known, continues Comenius, there are three things; which he calls *Idea, Ideatum,* and *Ideans. Idea* is the original image, (*Imago archetypa,*) of the object of knowledge; *Ideatum* the conception, the product of the knowledge; and *Ideans* the producing instrument, the sense, the hand, the tongue.

To learn, is§ to proceed from something known, to the knowledge of something unknown; in which there are also three things, viz., the unknown, the known, and the mental effort to reach the unknown from the known.

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* Meth nov., 62. † Ib., 67, 68.

‡ Ib., 94. This difficult passage is, in the original, "Scire est aliquid effigiare posse; seu mente, seu manu, seu lingua. Omnia enim fiunt effigiando, seu imaginando, h. e. imagines et simulacra rerum effingendo. Nempe cum rem sensu percipio, imprimitur imago ejus cerebro. Cum similem efficio, imprimo imaginem ejus materiae. Quando vero id quod cogito, aut efficio, lingua enuntio, imprimo ejusdem rei imaginem aëri, et per aërem alterius auri, cerebro, menti. Primo modo imaginari dicitur Scire, Wissen: secundo, et tertio posse imaginari, dicitur Scire, Können."

§ Ib., 95.

Every thing is to be learned by examples, rules and practice. Before the understanding, truth must be held up as the example; before the will, the good; and before the forming powers, the possible; and to this must be added practice, under the government of rules. Rules should not be given before examples. Artizans understand this well. None of them would give their apprentice a lecture upon his trade, but would show him how he, the master, went about it, and then would put the tools into his hands, and show him how to do the like, and to imitate himself.* Doing can only be learned by doing, writing by writing, painting by painting.

A second point† must not be undertaken until the first is learned; and, with the second, the first must be repeated.

Learning‡ is by steps, and proceeds from the easy to the difficult; from little to much; from the simple to the compound; from the nearer to the more distant; from the regular to the anomalous.

We first proceed toward knowledge by the perception and understanding of the present, and afterward go on from the present to the absent, by the information of others.§

Sight will supply the place of demonstration. It is good to use several senses in understanding one thing.‖ A thing is understood when one comprehends its inward nature as well as he does its outward nature, by his senses. To this inner conception are requisite a healthy, intellectual perception, a distinct subject, and deliberate consideration.¶

The attention should be fixed upon only one object at a time; and upon the whole first and the parts afterward.

By the understanding, are compared the original object and its representation. (*Ideatum cum idea.*)**

The memory has three offices; to receive, to retain, and to recollect.††

The subject to be apprehended must be clear, consistent, and orderly; the faculty to be directed to it must not be too full of impressions, which are liable to confuse each other; it must be calm, directed only to one thing, and that with love, (*animo affectuoso,*) or reverence.

Retaining will be made easier by repetition, extracts, etc.; recollecting by means of the inner relations of things.

The youngest must be instructed in visible things; pictures impress themselves upon their memory most firmly;‡‡ for these are suitable examples, copies, but not abstract rules.

* Meth. nov., 103, 129. † Ib., 106. ‡ Ib., 109. § Ib., 113. ‖ Ib., 114. ¶ Ib., 116. ** Ib., 120. †† Ib., 121. ‡‡ Ib., 132.

The teacher should not be intellectually too quick; or if he be, let him learn patience.* Cicero says well, that the more skillful and intellectual the teacher is, the more irritably and impatiently will he teach; since it will annoy him to see his scholars slow in learning what he learned quickly.

The scholars who learn quickest are not always the best.†

The scholar's indolence must be made up by the teacher's industry.

Beginners must keep strictly to the copy; those more advanced may go on more independently of it; beginners must work slowly, and the more advanced faster and faster.

Whoever wishes to teach rapidly, must fasten his eyes at once upon his object, and go straight toward it, without regarding collateral points; must have all his instrumentalities ready at hand; and one and the same method for all studies; so that his scholars need not be required, at the same time, to undertake new matter and new forms.‡

Learning will become easy to the scholars, if their teacher manages them in a friendly manner, and according to the dispositions of each one; if he explains to them the object of their work; not only makes them look on a lesson, but take part in the work and conversation; and is careful to have a proper variety.§

To teach thoroughly‖ are necessary, distinct, carefully chosen illustrations and copies, reliable rules, and persevering drill; solid foundations of knowledge, a judicious continuation of it, and completeness, examining and repetition. It is of especial importance that every scholar be made himself to teach. Fortius says that he learned much from his teachers, more from his fellow scholars, and most from his own scholars.¶

The school is a manufactory of humanity; it ought to work its subjects into the right and skillful use of their reason, speech and talents for occupation; into wisdom, eloquence, readiness, and shrewdness.

Thus will the teacher shape these little images of God, or rather fill up the outlines of goodness, power and wisdom impressed upon them by the divine power.**

The art of teaching is no shallow affair, but one of the deepest mysteries of nature and salvation.

X. Unum necessarium.

As we have looked back upon the predecessors of Comenius, so we

* Meth. nov., 133. † Ib., 134. ‡ Ib., 139, &c. § Ib., 142, &c. ‖ Ib., 145.

¶ Ib., 150. Saepe rogare; rogata tenere; retenta docere. Haectria discipulum faciunt superare magistrum.

** Ib., 251

may look forward for a glance at his followers. Erasmus, Vives, Campanella, and especially Bacon, had, as we have seen, great influence upon him. A fifth stands in still closer relation to him, both in time and intellectual connection; namely, Wolfgang Ratich.* Many of Comenius' principles seem to have been taken from Ratich. Among these are, the recommendation of the natural method instead of the prevailing unnatural one, the insisting upon the study of the mother tongue, the rejection of punishment in instruction, the preference of practice over theoretical rules, the acquisition of a knowledge of substances before the analytical treatment of their accidents, &c. By a comparison of our descriptions of the characters of Ratich and Comenius, the reader will find still other similarities, and also important differences. Although, for example, both were Christians; Ratich was a decided adherent of the Lutheran confession, while Comenius' highest ideal was a union of all confessions. Ratich's method of teaching Latin is entirely different from Comenius'; for while the latter requires every scholar to be continually taking an active part in the instruction, Ratich makes the teacher only read, and imposes upon the scholar a Pythagorean silence.

The influence of Comenius upon later pedagogues, and especially upon the Methodians, is immeasurable. It is often difficult to judge whether they knew him, or in their own way discover the same things. In Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, we shall find much that is entirely in agreement with Comenius, of which, however, I will not here anticipate my description. In the course of this history I shall have frequent occasion to mention this extraordinary man, for the reason that his works contain the germs of so many later developments.

Comenius is a grand and venerable figure of sorrow. Wandering, persecuted and homeless, during the terrible and desolating thirty years' war, he never despaired; but with enduring and faithful truth, labored unweariedly to prepare youth, by a better education, for a better future. His undespairing aspirations seem to have lifted up, in a large part of Europe, many good men, prostrated by the terrors of the times, and to have inspired them with the hope, that by a pious and wise system of education, there would be reared up a race of men more pleasing to God. Adolph Tasse,† a learned professor at Hamburg, writes: "In all the countries of Europe, the study of a better art of teaching is pursued with enthusiasm. Had Comenius

* Comenius, as we have related, applied to Ratich by letter, for information respecting the latter's method, but received no answer. He, however, knew Helwig's Report; and probably the *Methodus institutionis nova Ratichii et Ratichianorum*, which appeared in 1626.

† Tasse, author of many mathematical works, died 1654. The letter seems to be dated, 1640. Opp. did., I. 155.

attempted nothing more than to sow such a seed of suggestions in the souls of all, he would have attempted enough."

I have mentioned that Comenius wrote, in his 77th year, a Confession, from which we may become acquainted with his piety, his deep love, his unwearied aspirations to do good in the most various ways. The title of this book is, "The one thing needful to know; needful in life, in death, and after death, which the old man, Amos Comenius, weary with the uselessness of this world, and turning to the one thing needful for himself, in his 77th year, gives to the world to consider." I will conclude my description with an extract from this remarkable book.*

"I have described the universal labyrinth† of the human race; shall I now record my own errors? I would pass them over in silence, did I not know that there have been spectators of my deeds and of my sorrows; did I not fear to cause scandal by errors not repaired. But since God gives me a heart desirous of serving the common good, and has caused me to play a public part; and, since some of my actions have been blamed, I have thought it necessary to make mention of it, to the end that, although some have thought me, or still think me, a model of forwardness and gratuitous pains, they may see, by my example, how a man may err with the best intentions, and may learn, by my recollections, either to avoid the same, or, like me, to repair them. The apostle says, 'For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause.' This ought every true servant of God to apply to himself, so that if he has committed any error, he may confess it to God, and if he has learned to amend it, he may, as soon as possible, make use of his knowledge.

"I also thank God that I have, all my life, been a man of aspirations. And, although he has brought me into many labyrinths, yet he has so protected me that either I have soon worked my way out of them, or, he has brought me by his own hand, to the enjoyment of holy rest. For desire after good, if it is always in the heart, is a living stream that flows from God, the fountain of all good. The blame is ours if we do not follow the stream even to its source, or to its outflow into the sea, where is fullness and satiety of good. Yet, besides, by the goodness of God, who always brings us through the many errors of our labyrinths, by the sacred Ariadne's clue of his wisdom, in the end, back again into himself, the spring and ocean of all good.

* The Latin title of the book, which lies before me, is: "Unum necessarium in vita et morte et post mortem, quod non-necessariis mundi fatigatus et ad unum necessarium sese recipiens senex J. A. Comenius anno aetati suae 77 mundo expendendum offert. Terent. Ad omnia aetate sapimus rectius. Edit Amstelodami 1668, nunc vero recusum Lipsiae 1734."

† In the beginning of the book he explains the story of the labyrinth of Minos, as an instructive picture of the manifold errors of man; hence the frequent references to it.

To me, also, this has happened; and I rejoice, that after so innumerable longings after better things, I have always been brought nearer to the end of all my wishes; since I see that all my doings hitherto have been the mere running up and down of a busy Martha, (yet from love to the Lord and his children!) or a change from running to rest. But now, at last, I lie with Mary at the feet of Jesus, and say, with David, 'This is my delight, that I believe in God!'

"One of my chief employments has been the improvement of schools; which I undertook, and continued for many years, from the desire to deliver the youth in the schools, from the difficult labyrinth in which they are entangled. Some have held this business foreign to the office of theologians; as if Christ had not connected together and given to his beloved disciple, Peter, at the same time, the two commands: 'Feed my sheep,' and, 'Feed my lambs!' To him, my everlasting love, I give everlasting thanks that he has put into my heart, and blest, such a love to his lambs, that things have turned out as they have. I hope and confidently expect it from my God, that my plans will come into life, now that the winter of the church is over, the rain has been heard, and the flowers are springing in the land; when God shall give to his flock shepherds after his own heart, who will feed not themselves, but the Lord's flock; and when the enmity which is directed against the living, shall cease, after their death.

"My second wearisome and difficult labyrinth was, my labors after peace; or my desire to unite together, if it should please God, the parties of Christians who were contending together over various articles of faith, in a most harmful manner; which effort cost me much pains. Upon this subject, I have not committed any thing to print; but may yet do it. That I have not published any thing, is by reason of the implacableness of certain people, whose furious hatred true friends thought it unadvisable for me to draw upon myself. But I will yet publish it, for, after all, we must fear God rather than men.* Our times have been like the experience of Elias upon Horeb, when he did not dare come forth from the cave, by reason of the storm-wind, the fire and the earthquake from before the Lord. But the time will come when Elias shall hear the still small voice, and shall recognize in it the voice of the Lord. To each one his own Babylon yet seems beautiful; and he believes it the very Jerusalem, which must give precedence to none, but all to it. It is called insolence, if any one, trusting in God and his own good purposes, dares to address himself to the whole world, and to admonish it to amendment. We

* This work remained unaccomplished, on account of his death.

are all assembled together upon the great theatre of the world, and what happens here or there concerns all. We are all one great family. By the same right by which one member of a family comes to another for help, ought we to be helpful to our fellow men. The whole of the Holy Scripture preaches love of our neighbor, and sound reason teaches the same. Socrates died, rather than not to teach goodness; and Seneca says, that if wisdom were to be given him for himself only, and he were not to communicate it to any other, he would rather not have it.

"Besides this, I fell, but, according to the will of God, into another strange labyrinth: in that I published the divine prophecies which have been accomplished down to our times, under the title, *Lux in tenebris*, or *e tenebris*. This brought upon me much pains and labor, and also much fear, enmity, and hate; and I was derided for my credulity. Although some of these prophecies may not come to fulfillment, I shall avoid, being angry thereat, as Jonah was, to his sorrow. For perhaps God has cause to change his purposes, or, at least, the revelation of them; perhaps he chooses thus to show that without him men know nothing; in order, at a future time to show what he can do without man, or by means of them, if he shall have brought them into accordance with his own will.

"Where shall I now begin, after so many labyrinths and Sisyphian stones, with which I have been played all my life? Shall I say with Elias: 'Now, Oh Lord, take away my life from me, since I am no better than my fathers;' or with David: 'Forsake me not, Oh Lord, in my age, until I shall have prophecied all that thine arm shall bring to pass.' Neither, that I may not be unhappy with painful longing for the one or the other; but I will have my life and death, my rest, and my labor, according to the will of God; and with closed eyes will follow wherever he leads me, full of confidence and humility, praying, with David: 'Lead me in thy wisdom, and at last receive me into glory.' And what I shall do hereafter, shall happen no otherwise than as if directed for me by Christ, so that the longer I live the more I may be contented with what is needful for me, and may burn up or cast away all that is unnecessary. Would that I were soon to depart to the heavenly country, and leave behind me all earthly things! Yea, I will cast away all the earthly cares which I yet have, and will rather burn in the fire, than to encumber myself further with them.

"To explain this, my last declaration, more clearly, I say that a little hut, wherever it be, shall serve me instead of a palace; or if I have no place where to lay my head, I will be contented after the example

of my master, though none receive me under his roof. Or I will remain under the roof of the sky, as did he during that last night upon the Mount of Olives, until, like the beggar Lazarus, the angels shall receive me into their company. Instead of a costly robe, I will be contented, like John, with a coarse garment. Bread and water shall be to me instead of a costly table, and if I have therewith a few vegetables, I will thank God for them. My library shall consist of the threefold book of God; my philosophy shall be with David, to consider the heavens and the works of God, and to wonder that He, the Lord of so great a kingdom, should condescend to look upon a poor worm like me. My medicine shall be a little eating and frequent fasting. My jurisprudence, to do unto others as I would that they should do unto me. If any ask after my theology, I will, like the dying Thomas Aquinas—for I, too, shall die soon—take my Bible, and say with tongue and heart, 'I believe what is written in this book.' If he asks further about my creed, I will repeat to him the apostolical one, for I know none shorter, simpler, or more expressive, or that cuts off all controversy. If he ask for my form of prayer, I will show him the Lord's Prayer; since no one can give a better key to open the heart of the father than his only son, his own offspring. If any ask after my rule of life, there are the ten commandments; for I believe no one can better tell what will please God than God himself. If any seek to know my system of casuistry, I will answer, every thing pertaining to myself is suspicious to me; therefore I fear even when I do well, and say humbly, 'I am an unprofitable servant, have patience with me!'

"But what will admirers of earthly wisdom say to this? they will, no doubt, laugh at the old fool, who, from the highest pinnacle of his honors, falls to the lowest self-abasement. Let them laugh, if it pleases them; my heart will also laugh, that it has escaped from error. 'I have found the harbor, farewell fate and accident!' says the poet. I say, I have found Christ; depart, ye vain idols! He is all to me. His footstool is more to me than all the thrones of the earth, and his lowliness more than all grandeur. It seems to me that I have found a heaven below the heavens, since I see more clearly than of old the footsteps of this guide toward heaven. To follow these footsteps without departing from them, will be my surest way to heaven. My life here was not my native country, but a pilgrimage; my inn was ever changing, and I found nowhere an abiding resting place. But now I see my heavenly country near at hand, to whose gates my Leader, my Light, my Saviour, who has gone before, to prepare a place for me in his father's house, has brought me. He

will soon come to take me to be where he is. Yea, Lord Jesus, I thank thee, thou beginner and finisher of my faith, who hast brought me, a foolish wanderer, straying a thousand ways from the direction of my journey, diverted and delayed in a thousand by-occupations, so far that now I see before me the bounds of the promised land, and have only to cross the Jordan of death, to attain even unto thy loveliness. I praise and glorify thy holy wisdom, O my Saviour, that thou hast given me on this earth no home; but that it has been for me only a place of banishment and pilgrimage; and I can say with David, 'I am thy pilgrim and thy citizen.' I can not say, like Jacob, 'My days are few, and they attain not unto the days of my fathers,' for thou hast caused it to come to pass that they surpass the days of my father and my grandfather, and many thousands who have passed with me through the desert of this life. Why thou hast done this, thou knowest. I commit myself into thine hands. Thou hast always sent an angel unto me, as unto Elias in the desert, with a morsel of bread and a draught of water, that I should not die of hunger and thirst. Thou has preserved me from the universal foolishness of men, who always mistake pleasure for real good; the road for the destination; striving after rest; the inn for a home; and pilgrimage for their country; but me hast thou led, and even forced, to thy Horeb. Blessed by thy holy name!"

Pedagogical Works of Comenius.

1. Janua Linguarum Reserata aurea sive seminarium linguarum et scientiarum omnium, hoc est, compendiosa Latinam (et quamlibet aliam) linguam, una cum scientiarum artium que omnium fundamentis, perdiscendi methodus, sub titulis centum, periodis mille comprehensa. Editio postrema, prioribus castigatior et mille circiter vocabulis auctior, cum versione Germanica et Gallica, absolutissimoque titulorum et vocum indice. Amstelodami apud Joannem Janssonium. 1642.

I am not acquainted with the first edition. Comenius' preface is signed with "Scribebam in exilio 4 Martii. 1631."

2. Physicae ad Lumen Divinum Reformatae Synopsis. Lipsiae, 1633.

3. Orbis Sensualium Pictus, hoc est omnium fundamentalium in mundo rerum et in vita actionum, pictura et nomenclatura. Editio secunda, multo emaculatior et emendatior. Noribergae typis et sumptibus Michaelis Endteri, 1659. The visible world; that is, the representation and names of all the principal things of the world and occupations of life.

I am unacquainted with the first edition. Of the later ones, I have an Orbis Pictus Quadrilinguis, in Latin, German, Italian, and French, which was edited by Coutelle and published by Endter, in 1755.

4. Opera Didactica Omnia, variis hucusque occasionibus scripta, diversis que locis edita, nunc autem non tantum in unum, ut simul sint, collecta, sed et ultimo conatu in systema unum mechanice constructum, redacta. Amsterdami impensis D. Laurentii de Geer excuderunt Christophorus Conradus et Gabriel a Roy. Anno, 1657. 4 vols., folio.

Volume I. contains the following, written between 1627 and 1642:

1. De primis occasionibus quibus huc studiorum delatus fuit author, brevissima relatio.
2. Didactica Magna. Omnes omnia docendi artificia exhibens.
3. Schola materni gremi, sive de provida juventutis primo sexennio educatione.

4. Scholae vernaculae delineatio.
5. Janua Latinae linguae primum edita. (The first edition of the Janua.)
6. Vestibulum ei praestructa.
7. Proplasma templi Latinitatis Dav. Vechneri.
8. De sermonis Latini studio.
9. Prodromus Pansophiae.
10. Variorum de eo censurae, &c.

Volume II. contains treatises written from 1642 to 1650; especially those of his Swedish engagement, viz.:

1. De novis didactica studia continuandi occasionibus.
2. Methodus linguarum novissima.
3. Latinae linguae vestibulum, rerum et linguae cardines exhibens.
4. Januae linguarum novissimae clavis, grammatica Latino-vernacula.

Volume III. contains treatises written by Comenius in Hungary, from 1650 to 1654, viz.:

1. De vocatione in Hungariam relatio.
2. Scholae pansophicae delineatio.
3. De repertis studii pansophici obicibus.
4. De ingeniorum cultura.
5. De ingenia colendi primario instrumento, libris.
6. De reperta ad authores Latinos prompte legendos et clare intelligendos facili, brevi, amoenaque via.
7. Eruditionis scholasticae pars 1. Vestibulum, rerum et linguae fundamenta ponens.
8. Eruditionis scholasticae pars II. Janua rerum et linguarum structuram externam exhibens. This includes
   a. Lexicon januale.
   b. Grammatica janualis.
   c. Janualis rerum et verborum contextus, historiolam rerum continens. This is a revision of the Janua reserata, in one hundred chapters and one thousand paragraphs, as in the first edition.
9. Eruditiones scholasticae pars III. Atrium, rerum et linguarum ornamenta exhibens. This is, like the Janua, in one hundred chapters and one thousand paragraphs, but one grade above it.
10. Fortius redivivus, sive de pellenda scholis ignavia.
11. Praecepta morum in usum juventutis collecta. Anno 1653.
12. Leges bene ordinatae scholae.
13. Orbis Pictus. Merely a sort of announcement of the work.
14. Schola ludus; hoc est, Januae linguarum praxis comica. This is, substantially the contents of the Janua linguarum in the form of a dialogue.
15. Laborum scholasticorum in Hungaria obitorum coronis. An educational address delivered at his departure from Patak, in 1654.

Volume IV. includes the treatises written by Comenius in Amsterdam, up to the year 1657, viz.:

1. Vita gyrus, sive de occasionibus vitae et quibus autorem in Belgium deferri, iterumque ad intermissa didactica studia redire contigit.
2. Parvulis parvulis, omnibus omnia, hoc est, Vestibuli Latinae linguae auctarium, voces primitivas in sententiolas redigens.
3. Apologia pro Latinitate Januae linguarum.
4. Ventilabrum sapientiae, sive sapienter sua retractandi ars.
5. E scholasticis labyrinthus exitus in planum, sive machina didactica mechanice constructa.
6. Latium redivivum, hoc est, de forma erigendi Latinissimi collegii, seu novae Romanae civitatulae, ubi Latina lingua usu et consuetudine addiscatur.
7. Typographeum vivum, hoc est; arscom pendiose et tamen copiose ac eleganter sapientiam non chartis sed ingeniis imprimendi.
8. Paradisus juventuti Christianae reducendus, sive optimus scholarum status, ad primae paradisiacae scholae ideam delineatus.
9. Traditio lampadis, hoc est studiorum sapientiae Christianaeque juventutis et scholarum, Deo et hominibus devota commendatio.
10. Paralipomena didactica.

It may be added, that Comenius revised an edition which appeared in 1661, of the Theologia naturalis sive liber creaturarum of Raymundus de Sabunde.

DUKE ERNEST THE PIOUS.

SCHOOL METHOD—1643.

DUKE ERNEST, founder of the House of Saxa-Gotha, was the first to introduce the principles and methods of the Progressives into Common Schools. In his efforts to repair the devastations of the war in his principality, and improve the condition of the peasantry, he called to his assistance Andrew Reyher, rector of a gymnasium in Schleusingen, (born May 4th, 1601, in Heinrichs, near Suhl.) Reyher was intimately acquainted with the principles of the greatest pedagogues of that time, viz., Ratich and Comenius, and was, as a teacher, himself a representative of his age. The first thing the duke desired him to do was to draw up a *methodus docendi* for the lower classes of the gymnasium, but arranged in such a manner that it might be useful for the whole country. Reyher, whose whole life had been devoted to nothing but "didacticæ," —as he declared in his letter to the consistory of the duchy—went vigorously to work at once. The duke faithfully assisted. Reyher relates: "His Grace often caused me repeatedly to alter what I had written, until I had at last satisfied him." The result of these combined labors was received in Germany partly with derision, partly with astonishment and enthusiasm. It bears the title: "*School-method*, or special and particular report, stating how, under the protection of the Lord, the boys and girls of villages, and the children belonging to the lower class of the population of towns, of this principality of Gotha can and shall be plainly and successfully taught. Written by the order of his Grace the Prince, and printed in Gotha by Peter Schmieden in the year 1642." This manual of school method, republished with alterations in 1648, 1653, 1662, 1672, and 1685, contained minute regulations about every thing that concerned schools and teachers, school superintendence and government, parents and children. The manual consists of thirteen chapters. *Chapter I, treats of the nature of the schools in general;* of the obligation of the children to attend school, (there was at that time no legal obligation;) of their admission when they had completed their fifth year; of attendance at school in Winter and Summer; of vacations; of the means to obtain the school-books; of a didactic and methodical instruction of the teacher. It is interesting to meet here with the remark that the teacher should pay particular attention to the poor and backward children who do not get on very well in their studies, and further that the teacher himself should, in pronouncing words, very carefully discriminate between different letters which are vulgarly sounded alike. *Chapter II, treats of the instruction in the lowest class.* It is laid down as a rule, that the beginners should learn Bible verses, the Lord's prayer, the arti-

cles of faith, the ten commandments, and morning and evening prayers. The method of teaching the elements of reading is similar to that of Ratich of Kölhen, with which the duke was familiar, Ratich having been instructor to the duke's mother. The manual expects of this class that the children should advance from spelling to reading in less than one year. *Chapter III, treats of the instruction in the intermediate class.* Here, too, we find extravagant demands made upon the children in the lessons in religion, Luther's catechism to be committed to memory, so also a number of psalms, prayers in rhymes, &c.; then follow instructions about reading lessons. Penmanship is to be commenced and practiced; the teacher shall correct what is written, and pay particular attention to orthography. In arithmetic, addition and subtraction shall be taught, and the multiplication table practiced. Hymns are to be learned ln the singing lessons. At the close of the chapter, the reading lessons in this class are again emphasized. *Chapter IV, treats of the instruction in the upper class.* The subjects of study are: Religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, &c. Then follow special instructions for composition, and themes for composition are recommended: such as points of doctrine, the art of dying, certain prayers, and the secular sciences, *e. g.*, family life, laws of the country, politics, regulations for marriage, baptism, burial, and dress; prohibition of hard drinking. In regard to orthography, the methodus states: "If there should be any doubt about the proper spelling of a word, either the minister or the reading-book, or particularly the Bible, will decide the point in doubt." *Chapter V, treats of the lessons in school-hours.* For every school-hour a lesson is prescribed. Thus: Monday morning, first hour, catechism, then recitation of hymns, then examination about Sunday's sermon, &c. *Chapter VI, treats of the method to teach the catechism understandingly.* The author takes the same view that Luther first advanced in the preface to his smaller catechism, viz., the children should thoroughly learn the catechism by heart, every word; later, (in the upper class,) that shall be explained which has been firmly fixed upon the memory. The minister is expected to assist the teacher once every week, and to give an explanation of parts of the catechism in presence of the teacher. *Chapter VII, treats of the manner in which the sermon is to be remembered and examined.* The children shall assemble in the school-room at the first bell on Sunday morning, and proceed, two abreast, with the preceptor, to church on the second bell. There they shall pray, and write down the sermon, paying attention to (*a*,) the prefatory remarks; (*b*,) text and division; (*c*,) treatment of each point; (*d*,) the blessed application. *Chapter VIII, treats of natural and other useful sciences, and how to teach them.* This chapter, certainly the most interesting of the whole method, and remarkably similar to the views of Amos Comenius, decides that this branch of instruction shall begin when the children have done their other lessons. Natural science should first be spoken of, and mensuration and surveying shall only be taught to boys. (*a*,) *Natural science:* the teacher shall

explain the length of an hour by an hourglass or sundial; explain the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the rising and setting of sun and moon. Speaking of shooting stars and ignis fatuus, the teacher shall mention the flying fire, called dragon, condemn all superstitions, and teach "that it is not always the Evil One who plays with natural objects, but that God also does so sometimes." When explaining thunder and lightning, the preceptor shall fire a gun, and demonstrate that the flash is seen first and the report heard later. In geography, he shall show the points of the compass by stating that the altar of the church is always in the East, that hence, when looking at it, West will be found in the rear, South on the right, North on the left of the observer. Having comprehended this, the children should observe the wind, and say from what point it blows. The principal phenomena of earthquakes are to be explained. But the children should become most intimately acquainted with herbs, trees, and shrubs, and the preceptor should therefore use all his influence to induce neighbors to grow such plants in their gardens, and also to obtain dried and stretched plants to show them to the children, calling their attention particularly to wood, willow, elder, &c. In Zoölogy the children should learn to see in what one animal differs from another, *e. g.*, a frog from a toad, and the preceptor should take the children to a place where a pig or any other animal is killed, point out and give the proper names to the several parts, and remark that the bodies of animals agree in many parts with that of man. (*b*,) In the chapter on *things ecclesiastic and secular*, the preceptor shall instruct the children about Thuringia; the difference between villages and towns; what may be seen in either, as ditches, water-mills, ramparts, hospitals, &c. And then (150 years before Pestalozzi) we find here the principle: "Every thing that can be shown to children should be shown." The preceptor shall also give information about government, courts of justice, laws, taxes, &c., of merchants and pedlars, and make it understood what a blessing good schools are. Lastly, the preceptor shall imprint on the children's minds a number of good domestic rules. (*c*,) Among the other sciences, the manual first mentions *surveying*. The teacher should not only give the name of the measure and of the carpenter's rule, but show them. If any thing is taught that can be drawn, like angles, circles, &c., the teacher should first draw it on the tablet (blackboard,) and then cause the children to imitate it. The measuring line, the plummet, the square, the scale of reduction, &c., are to be explained. When speaking of circles, it should be shown that a string stretched round the crown of a hat is a little more than three times its diameter. The children should then be taught to measure and compute figures, being taken into gardens and public places for the purpose. The same should be done with reference to casks and other hollow measures. To render the instruction in natural philosophy effective, it is prescribed that there shall be kept in every superintendent's office, a balance with weights, a lever, a number of blocks with rollers and ropes, &c., with which the preceptor should

experiment. *Chapter IX, speaks of Christian discipline and godliness.* The necessity of a good school-discipline is pointed out, and especially the value of good example shown. In regard to punishments, it is desired that the preceptor should not inflict punishment when angry; he should punish with temperance, and in mixed schools without offense to the other sex. *Chapter X, treats of the duties and of the conduct of the children.* The moral conduct of the children should engage the greatest attention; they should regularly attend school, say devoutly their prayers at morning, noon, and evening; sit straight in school, never walk negligently and stoopingly; they must not eat, whisper, laugh, play, or prompt; must, when answering, speak distinctly, loud and not too fast; they must be always tidy, keep quiet at school, politely bow in the street to all ecclesiastic and secular dignitaries; when at play, not quarrel or use bad language; they must honor their parents, not steal, not lie, not throw stones, not bathe cold, &c. *Chapter XI, treats of the preceptor's and assistant's duties.* He who teaches children should remember that to neglect a pupil is to commit a flagrant sin. He should treat the children kindly, and show a hearty interest in them. All abusive language is prohibited, and such words as scamp, thief, devil's child, cur, &c., must not be used. Punishment is to be inflicted in this way: the child is to be reprimanded and threatened, if the offense be not great; if this should not produce the desired effect, punishment should follow, not however with sticks, books, keys, or fists; nor is the delinquent to be pulled by the hair, nor pushed, nor kicked; but the rod is to be used, more or less severely, according to circumstances. If the offense should be too severe, the minister's decision should be requested. The preceptors are desired faithfully to use their gifts, bestowed on them by God; diligently to read the manual and to act accordingly; to pay strict attention to the sermon, and to live according to its precepts. He is expected to keep school very punctually, to keep careful account of the absentees, to lead a godly, quiet, retired life, to keep good fellowship with his colleagues, and to show due respect and obedience to his superiors, viz., the superintendent, the assistant, the minister, and the other inspectors. *Chapter XII, treats of the duties of parents and guardians.* Parents are obliged to send their children regularly and punctually to school, and make them act as good children should. According to the manual, a fine is to be levied of one groschen for every hour's absence, for the first offense; two groschen for the second offense, and so on to six groschen for each hour's absence. The money thus collected by fines shall be employed for the purchase of school-books, &c., for indigent children. The chapter closes with an exhortation addressed to the parents, to keep good discipline at home. *Chapter XIII, treats of the annual examination.* There shall be held an examination every year, a week before harvest, at which the teacher is required to exhibit minute tables, showing the number of pupils, the proficiency and absences of each child; they shall also show how far the children have advanced in

the catechism, articles of faith, proverbs, psalms, reading, writing, singing, arithmetic, &c.; they shall, lastly, show whether there has been any deficiency of books, paper, pens, and ink. The superintendents or assistants are instructed to have the last year's tables with them, to collate them with those of the present year, and thus arrive, independently, at a result about the progress of the children. Every child is required to write a copy, do a sum, and read in the examination, in order to prove that the report, as exhibited in the tables of the schoolmaster, corresponds with the fact. The examination closed, the examiners shall pronounce the "translocation," and give a vacation to the school.

These are the contents of the school-manual, (*methodus*,) the grandest work of the many grand creations of Ernest the Pious, and that in a time when life and property were trodden into the dust, and when licentious mobs stubbornly resisted the establishment of schools—a work which was destined to be the foundation of a new edifice in Germany, because A. H. Franké, (whose father was counselor to the duke,) carried into effect subsequently the principles of the school-methodus in Halle, and rendered it thus available for all schools. The new regulations were received with laughter and derision in the principality of Gotha itself; yet the duke was not disconcerted. He first obtained better teachers, built twenty new school-houses as models, established a new school-inspection, and charged rector Reyher to get the necessary school-books for teachers and pupils. "*The German Hornbook and Speller for children of the principality of Gotha*" was published, 1641; "*The German Reader*," 1642; and both were given gratis to each child, an instruction which is still in force. Reyher published later the "*Arithmetica*," and (1656) the "*Short Instruction*" in natural objects, in some useful sciences, in ecclesiastic and secular institutions of the country, and in some domestic prescripts;" and in 1655 he published some patterns of catechising on penitence, the virtues and vices spoken of in the Ten Commandments, on the value of the holy communion, &c. When it was reported to the duke that some teachers did not study satisfactorily for their self-improvement, he issued an order that they should study arithmetic and writing more earnestly, either by themselves or with their pastors, or the inspectors of schools. To improve the domestic education of the children, a "short instruction" was published, 1654, "on the behavior, &c., of children," when going to school, at dinner, at home, in church, at play, at supper, when going to bed, when in company of strangers, on rising early, &c. This instruction was not only posted in every village, but the duke decreed, May 1, 1654, that it should be read in every school on examination day, in presence of the mayor, citizens, and elders of every township. But it is not only for the inner improvement of schools that the duke labored so honestly and faithfully; it is also astonishing how much he did to improve the material condition of the teachers, by raising their salaries and their official position. Some facts may find a place here. There existed till 1646, in the duchy of

Gotha, the unreasonable custom, degrading to the teacher, by which he, like the cowherd and night-watchman, was compelled to renew every year the petition to be continued in his office and to receive again a few groschen as an earnest (*Leihkauf.*) The duke put a stop to this practice by the decree of August 7th, 1646, and ordered that the schoolmasters should be appointed once for all by the proper authority. Nobody had thought of caring for the teacher's widow and orphans until he, in 1645, visiting a school in the bailiwic of Reinhardsbrunn, and finding the teacher sick in bed, and yet faithfully and diligently instructing the children, who were standing around him, resolved to institute a fund for invalid teachers, and in case of death, their widows. And how much did the pious prince do for the increase of the teachers' salaries! First, he set aside, from his private property, a capital of 27,000 m. fl., at $\frac{7}{8}$ thalers Prussian,) partly for the increase of salaries, partly for the purchase of spelling-books and readers for the children. Then, in 1650, he prevailed upon the estates of the principality to vote three levies of taxes, in three succeeding years, amounting in all to 30,750 m. fl., for the increase of the ministers' and teachers' salaries; in 1660, when Henneberg was annexed, he again devoted 20,000 m. fl., and subsequently increased this foundation for other charitable purposes (orphans, poor, church and school inspections) to 142,021 m. fl., 9 groschen, at that time an enormous sum. He gave, moreover, from his private purse, additional pay to those teachers who distinguished themselves by fidelity and diligence in the performance of their duty. This amounted to 1,657 fl. in 1666. Well, therefore, might the duke recite with great satisfaction to Weller, minister of state at Dresden, on the 12th of August, 1653, that every schoolmaster's salary in his country amounted at least to 50 fl. in coin, (equal to 200 thalers Prussian money at present,) and besides a house, two rations of bread grain, kitchen vegetables, wood, &c. This was, in fact, a respectable salary at a time when a bushel of rye flour cost 1 m. fl., a bushel of barley 15 groschen, a bushel of oats 9 gr., a cord of wood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ thalers, 20 eggs 5 gr., a yard of linen ($\frac{3}{4}$ wide) 2 gr., 8 pfennigs. The duke, "mindful of his Christian duty and the heavy responsibility before God's throne of judgment," considered the increase of salary necessary. These improvements in the condition of the teachers receive, however, their true lustre from the circumstance that the duke was not induced to take these steps by personal vanity, but by true devotion to God and true love of his people, and secondly from the circumstance that the duke proved how well he appreciated the hard labor of faithful schoolmasters, "who, in their schools, lay the first foundation of true Christianity, performing thus the most important and most difficult task; wherefore they should receive a sufficient compensation." As for himself, he had few wants; he spent his income for others.* "A

* Dr. A. Beck relates, in his Life of Ernest the Pious, (Weimar, Böhlau,) the following characteristic traits, illustrating the duke's economy: The duke wrote to bailiff Hackspan, in Zella, giving order that he should send a milch-cow to Reinhardsbrunn as a birth-day present to his

prince," he used to say, "must not only consider that *he* is a man, but that his *subjects* too are men." Knowing all this, it is not to be wondered at that the people in all Germany said: "The duke's peasants are more wide awake than citizens and noblemen elsewhere." The pious duke, who, during his life, had not only been a praying-Ernest (Earnest) but also a working-Ernest, (Earnest,) died on the 26th of March, 1675. On his death-bed even, he admonished the officers of the State to keep up good order and propriety in church and school. His body has moldered in the tomb of Margaret church, but the memory of this just man remains a blessing!

After Ernest's death, the land was divided into seven portions, and Frederic I, the late duke's eldest son, succeeded him as duke of Gotha-Altenburg. He governed from 1675 to 1691, and showed the deepest reverence for his father's admirable institutions; yet he did not realize the expectations which the people had formed of the pious duke's son and successor. He had the best *will* to further the condition of the common schools, but he was deficient in insight, energy, and money. There were three causes of the deficiency in money. Firstly, Frederic was but duke of Gotha-Altenburg, and had therefore only two-sevenths of his father's income. Secondly, he was wanting in the virtue of economy; he spent too much for his court, which he had established after the fashion of Louis XIV, and expended a large portion of his revenues on the chase, the theatre, fireworks, splendid dresses, expensive dishes, &c. But, thirdly, the greatest portion of his revenue was swallowed up by an army, which he raised to six regiments of cavalry and four of infantry; an armed force so extravagant that the German emperor, in 1691, grew suspicious of the duke's hostile intentions toward him. Thus did the little country of Gotha prove, what has later been confirmed by other and larger States, that schools never flourish where the military is too much favored. The common schools visibly deteriorated in Gotha, and alchemy, to which the duke had devoted himself with great zeal and confidence, proved to be incapable of procuring the means necessary for the prosperity of schools. Nor was the son of Frederic I, duke Frederic II, (from 1693 to 1732,) able to stop the decline of the common schools. He imitated, as his father had done, the expensive court of Versailles, and, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the assembly, increased the annual expenses for the army to 165,124 thalers, at that time an enormous sum. The bad results of such extravagance could not be neutralized, either by a supplement to the school-methodus, published in 1698, or by the other decrees issued in the interest of the schools, *e. g.*, 1701, directing school statistics to be carefully kept; 1720, his grandfather's school-laws to

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duchess, but that its price should not be higher than five florins. Once, when passing a night in one of his castles, he extinguished two of the four candles placed in his chamber, and, observing that the bailiff used two candles for himself, he extinguished one of them too, saying that these were but sorry times. Luxury, he used to say, is an insatiable glutton; expensive festivities, the chase, theatres, ballets, fireworks, &c., are apt to be oppressive to the subjects of a prince.

be read once every year in school; 1726, the children to be taught to understand the difference between Catholics and Protestants, &c. Even the ten *seminaria scholastica*, founded by him in Friemar, Eschenbergen, Ichtershausen, Wölfis, Leina, Tambach, Sättelstedt, Erfa or Friedrichswerth, Wangenheim, and Kranigfeld, were very soon discontinued, in consequence of the want of money.

During the reign of duke Frederic III, (1732 to 1772,) the storm of the Seven Years' War desolated the country, and it relapsed from the condition of having no debt, as was the case at the death of duke Ernest, into that of being overwhelmed with debt. The schools did not improve, but quite the reverse; misery and wretchedness prevailed every where. Duke Ernest's school-manual existed still *de jure*, but the common schools had received no encouragement. Their continuance was all that had been cared for; their gradual improvement had been neglected. Thus it resulted that the teacher held the school-method no longer in proper estimation, as it had become altogether a forgotten document, interesting only to the antiquary. How fearful the demoralization must have been, can be learned from the decrees issued by Frederic III. Thus we read in the circular of the consistory, (Sept. 11th, 1741:) "We have, with great displeasure, perceived that a great many persons make teaching their profession without sufficient cultivation of their faculties. Many of the teachers have employed incapable masters to teach them a little instrumental and vocal music, which is not an important requisite, but they are unable to awaken in the children's heads a true understanding of the catechism, unable to jot down the sermon, to hear the children recite, much more unable to give instruction about any thing in nature. They know little of penmanship and arithmetic, and yet, in spite of their ignorance, twenty apply for one vacancy in a school, because, as they say, they have learned nothing else by which to make a living. They do so from love of a comfortable life, and from fear of the plough; but this must and shall be stopped, and our most gracious duke has therefore pleased to decree that you (superintendents) are required to select teachers from young men of ability, who will devote themselves for life and with enthusiasm to this work, and to reject bungling boys," &c. How little such decrees effected, and how little power the consistory possessed to give force to such decrees, is shown by the number of monitory decrees of Oct. 11, 1746; July 7, 1750; Oct. 2, 1750; April 16, 1760. The chairs of the teachers remained occupied by the poorest pupils of a gymnasium, discharged corporals, bankrupt tradesmen, and, above all, by servants of the household of a count, (patron of a school,) who had outlived their usefulness in the family. They brought the once celebrated Gotha schools into discredit.

These abuses were checked with a vigorous hand by duke Ernest II, of Gotha-Altenburg (1772 to 1804.) It was "Ernest the Wise," son of Frederic III, who called, in 1783, Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, teacher

of religion at the Philantropin in Dessau, to Gotha, and assisted him most liberally in the establishment of the educational institute at Schnepfenthal in 1784, partly by a donation of 4,000 thalers, partly by the loan of 5,000 thalers without interest, and partly by other privileges and grants. It was Ernest II, the great contemporary of Joseph II, and intimate friend of Göethe and Herder, who founded, in 1780, the seminary for teachers in Gotha, and appointed John Ernest Christian Haun, minister to the orphan asylum, to be its senior teacher and "master of method." It was Ernest II, the savant among contemporary princes, who raised the Gotha schools again to eminence, and made them, for the second time, patterns for all countries. As Ernest the Pious had employed Reyher for the execution of his reformatory plans, so Ernest II employed Haun. The latter received his appointment as inspector of the country schools in 1783, and it was his privilege and duty to subject all schools, except the town-schools, to a vigorous and minute inspection. Haun discharged this mission, during the eighteen years he held the position, in a manner which does credit to his judgment as an educator, and to his character as a man. Of a nature like Elias, inexorable and unyielding, Haun rushed like a whirlwind into the corrupt Gotha schools, cleansing them thoroughly from the chaff of incapable teachers. He was not only a terror to all good-for-nothing teachers, but he performed a more meritorious work, viz., he applied his practical ability to the education of a new generation of teachers, and cleared the way for the introduction of the latest improvements into the common schools. Haun required that any piece, singled out for declamation, should be explained to the child before committing it to memory; he desired clear understanding in place of senseless memory-work, and practical and logical instruction in place of the old stupefying method. He abolished the tyrannical school-discipline; he forbade teachers to put irons around the boys' necks, to cover them with mud, or to make them kneel on peas. He punished those teachers severely who gave holydays without permission. The old servants of noblemen, when not equal to the new work, were superseded. In a short time the inert mass became animated with life, and the germs of a new and better period began to develop every where. It was but natural that Haun, "the wicked innovator," made many enemies by his energetic proceedings; yet it is to be regretted that his worst enemies were just those who ought to have assisted him most vigorously, viz., the clergy of the country. Their opposition assumed a shape which we, in our days, can scarcely believe.* What the clergy, in alliance with the worthless among the schoolmasters, could not effect, was tried by the feudal lords and noble school-patrons. The counts and knights, as well as the late Hohenlohe counselors, protested in the assembly against any tax on church-property, to be applied as a contribution toward the salary of the land-school inspector, and utterly refused to employ those teachers who had been educated in Haun's seminary. But

* Second annual Report of the Gotha Seminary for teachers, p. 31, *seq.*

Haun came out of all these struggles a victor. Thus was attained what, twenty years before, would have been considered impossible, viz.: the Gotha common schools were reconstructed from their very foundation, a superior generation of teachers was educated, and sensible methods of teaching were introduced. "The common-school methodus, or practical instruction for inspectors and teachers of every kind of elementary schools, also for private teachers; illustrated by correct tables constructed by J. E. Christian Haun; published (1801) by Geo. Adam Keyser, in Erfurt," contains, according to a statement in the preface, a description of the methods of teaching in the Gotha schools; and renders it therefore a speaking witness of the spirit of that time. It would lead too far to give here the contents of Haun's school methodus, but this one remark may be allowed, that this work, tested by the pedagogic principles of the period preceding and following, shows all the deficiencies and merits which are peculiar to the deism and philanthropinism of the last century, and that undoubtedly the schools which were taught according to Haun's methodus, were the best of their time. The book, in spite of the utilitarianism it displays, gives evidence of a strictly moral spirit, a clear comprehension, a strict discrimination, earnest exertions, and, above all, practical applicability. It is a pity that the indefatigable Haun should have fallen so soon a sacrifice to his zeal and his exertions; he died, only 53 years old, March 22d, 1801. But it is much more to be regretted that Haun's untimely death should have been followed by a long pause in the development of the common schools. The Gotha schools shine for a time, after duke Ernest's death, in the reflected light of their past glory, but then disappear altogether from the history of education.

As the party of reaction had seized upon the Gotha public schools after the death of Ernest the Pious; so did they now, after the death of Ernest II. What was done in reference to schools under his successors, down to the extinction of the line of Gotha's princes and to the consolidation of Gotha with Coburg in 1826, is not worth mentioning. The successors of practical Haun labored neither in the seminary nor as inspectors of schools, in the spirit of sound pedagogic science. The mistake made was simply this, that those gentlemen were learned ecclesiastics, but certainly not practical educators, without a clear understanding of the nature of schools, and without interest in their successful development. Thus it will be understood why Ernest's school-plan, though still the law, was in fact neglected, and why Haun's school methodus was not followed. Nobody caring for the monthly plans of lessons, the public schools had, for a long time, no plan at all, no method whatever. Every one did what he liked, as he liked it, and because he liked it. Voight's scientific text-book, which had been used in the Gotha schools, was discarded by the consistory, "because it is unnecessary to teach in elementary schools the German language, history, and geography; the teaching of these branches make men neither better,

nor wiser, nor more diligent, nor more happy." The School-Reader, composed by superintendent-general Lœffler, was discarded with the remark, "that instruction in religion by proverbs and verses, only, was not sufficient; that the articles of faith were passed over, and that morals were not taught in detail." The principle of object-teaching was ridiculed; a person of quality saying "that exercises in comparing and discriminating visible objects, as a dwelling-house and a church, a sheep and a goose, &c., were laughed at by the parents; such objects could be taken one for the other by a lunatic, only; that there were invisible objects enough to exercise the understanding of children by, as moral ideas, the difference between economy and stinginess, of mirth and wantonness, &c." The post of an inspector of country schools was repealed in 1817. The teachers were henceforth no longer specially inspected at their ordinary work; they passed again under the general control of ecclesiastics, who took the school, for inspection, into their churches. The local inspection by the local ministers was either altogether neglected, or very rarely and superficially performed. Prussia and the neighboring states of Thuringia, viz., Weimar, Meiningen, Rudolstadt, sent delegates to Pestalozzi, in order to study his system of teaching, with a view of engrafting it upon their own systems. Gotha thought it not worth her while to notice a phenomenon, which marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of teaching. The most reasonable requests of Mr. Waitz, director of the seminary, were refused. It will scarcely be believed, and yet it is true, that the seminary for teachers in Gotha, together with the seminary school, were, till 1846, penned up in one single, small, damp hired room of the penitentiary, and that it was seriously proposed to dissolve the school altogether, "in order that the more important might not suffer by the less important." A somewhat more decent locality was at last found in 1846; a Reader for common schools was published in 1854, but a plan of studies, a programme for the internal work, was not issued before 1860. In brief, the consistory dissolved in 1858, and committed so many and so great blunders, was guilty of so great a neglect of the schools, it is not to be wondered at, that things came to such a pass in Gotha. It is, however, the duty of truthfulness and gratitude distinctly to state, that the authorities in Gotha have done every thing, since 1848, to atone for the mistakes of the past, and that particularly the State ministry have done all in their power to prevent the differences between church and school from widening into a complete rupture. They have not been wanting in good will, devotion, and sacrifice; yet as every sin is revenged on earth, so it happens in this case. The seeds of the past have yielded their fruit. The controversy grew more and more pointed, the wildly surging waves of hostility engulfed the well-meant mediation of the State ministry, and buried in their flood the whole relation that had hitherto existed between church and school. The organization of common schools, published in 1863, gave clear expression to the tendencies of the spirit

of our time, and proclaimed the separation of school and church, or rather the discontinuance of clerical supervision over the schools.

B. THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SCHOOLS.

A programme of instruction regulates the inner life of the common schools, the organic statute regulates their other relations. Superintendent-general Dr. Petersen speaks about the programme in the assembly, in 1863, in this manner: "A so-called table of lessons was, at the beginning of this century, (1810,) prescribed for our common schools. It referred originally only to recitations from memory, but was gradually applied to other subjects of instruction. This table of lessons, used in our schools for a long time, has by degrees disappeared; nor could any copies be found at the office of the consistory. The public schools had, moreover, in their general development, gone much farther than the table prescribed. The government, therefore, found itself under the necessity of composing a new programme in agreement with the demands of our time. Many preliminary labors had to be gone through; the local managers held meetings to hear the opinions of the teachers, and reported from each district; an enormous pile of documents accumulated. When these preliminary labors were, after some years, so far completed as to allow a general survey, the results of these accumulated official documents and of the experience of the common schools in Germany in general, had to be worked into a system. Though the programme has thus been constructed, yet the government did not consider it right to issue that document at once as an instruction. A special committee was appointed, to which there were called three of our most able teachers, Pitter, Keher, Burbach, and three ministers, Härter, Anacker, Bieber. The committee examined section after section, and thus a programme was composed which is the result not only of the experience in our own schools, but also in those of all Germany." The programme, of which Lübin says, that it is in every respect equal to all the demands of the science of teaching, and that it shows none of the mistakes which have been committed by the Prussian instructions, is noticeable also for this, that it marks down "Diesterweg's guide to education, for German teachers," in the "catalogue of books of reference" recommended to teachers.

The programme contains, in six chapters, the whole mechanism of public schools: *Chapter I*, treats of the division of the school into classes, and prescribes that every common school, in which all the children are taught by one teacher, shall be divided into four classes, viz.: 1st class, children in their first school-year; 2d class, children in their second and third year; 3d class, children in their fourth and fifth year, and 4th class, children in their sixth, seventh, and eighth years. *Chapter II*, treats of the number of recitations and their order during the day, of the time of beginning the school, &c. *Chapter III*, treats of the subjects of instruction in the different classes, viz.: Religion, German,

(reading and writing,) arithmetic, geography and history, singing, drawing. In girls' schools, needle-work is obligatory and regulated by special instructions. *Chapter IV*, contains hints about the plan of teaching in "divided" or graded schools. *Chapter V*, contains the method which characterizes the spirit of the whole programme. Some extracts may profitably find a place here: "Teaching attains its full value only when it promotes education and nourishes a moral religious sense in the young. It is a fundamental law that the school shall not only be an institution for instruction, but, above all, an institution for education. The teacher must, by his personal conduct, always maintain a moral influence over the children in his trust, and treat the subjects taught in such a manner that he may educate through his instruction." "The teachers should always bear in mind, that the children must be properly educated for practical life by his teaching. Cramming and reciting the lessons will therefore not at all answer the purpose; the teacher should rather earnestly labor to produce a perfect understanding of the lesson, to assimilate it with the mind of the child, and to continue the exercises until the child is prepared to make independently a practical application of it. Care should at the same time be taken that the faculties of the children be naturally developed. The important principle, "to instruct in such a manner, that the child understands you perfectly," should not be taken as a general law only, but be also applied to every special case. To treat a subject so as to make it the absolute property of the child, necessarily involves a certain routine and technical skill in teaching. And yet teaching and learning must not be a mere mechanism; it should rather be a quickening activity of the mind, the mechanism but the means, skillfully applied, to attain the end." "The school is intended to educate for work in general, by leading children, in appropriating and applying the subject taught to them, to exercise their own powers vigorously and freely, and at the same time carefully and strictly. Let the teacher set an example by performing his daily round of duties with cheerful devotion, conscientious even in the smallest details, that the children may learn to devote themselves with cheerful devotion and great carefulness to their labors in school. This exercise in doing work is a main object of school teaching. But the pleasure in and love of work in school must be excited by that instruction which renders a thorough understanding and practical application possible. The teacher, therefore, must always bear in mind, first, that every child, even the smallest, should be occupied in school with a work for which its understanding and its powers have previously been prepared, and, secondly, that every subject of instruction, as soon as it is understood, should be applied to independent exercises. Such work is intended to exercise the faculties and powers of a child in such a manner as to enable it to perform every labor in practical life with cheerful devotion, and at the same time with carefulness and ability." "A mechanical method should be particularly avoided in the religious instruction, as it might mislead the children to consider

religion to be something external. The memory exercises should, therefore, be more than "learning by rote;" the children should be accustomed, from the very beginning, to lay hold of that which they commit to memory, both with the understanding and the heart, and to store it up for application in life." "The method of teaching how to read may be left to the option of each teacher, but he should very carefully avoid making it a purely mechanical exercise. The younger teachers, however, are required to employ one of the modern methods." "The children are to be accustomed to read with attention, and to remember what they have read." "The principal laws of the formation of words and sentences should be practiced, in connection with the reading exercise, in this manner, that the children, by degrees, learn to point out the general rules and the principal laws of the language." "In arithmetic, mental calculations mainly should be practiced; exercises on the slate should, however, always be connected with them." To instruct the children in general knowledge of the earth and its products, it is desirable that the teacher should collect, with the children's assistance, a number of natural objects. "Completeness and systematic order are, however, not necessary; it suffices if a number of stones, dried plants, seeds and similar objects are kept cleanly and neatly in boxes, and used according to need. Fresh plants, flowers and fruits can be used for instruction in Spring, Summer, and Autumn. During Winter, examine objects merely as to their shape and their boundaries by planes and lines; take for that purpose regular solids, such as cubes, spheres, prisms, pyramids, cylinders, cones, &c., which the teacher may easily construct of pasteboard. Let not the teacher attend, in the beginning, to so-called systematic divisions and classifications, nor let him be contented with dry, isolated notices, but let him give animated descriptions of nature. The systematic classification should be given at the closing chapter of the whole instruction in the highest class. Every thing that has connection with agriculture claims particular attention; horticulture should, if possible, be practically taught to the pupils of the highest class. Let the teacher bear in mind that in imparting to the children the knowledge of the earth and its products, he should not only communicate to them useful information, but also awaken and nourish in them a sense of the beautiful and magnificent in nature and that which is noble and good in history." The object of the drawing lesson is "correct measuring by the eye, skill in using the ruler, which should also be used as a carpenter's rule, and facility in sketching simple figures." "The culture of the voice should be highly valued. Let the teacher understand that singing can and must be one of the principal levers of education; that its influence is great and lasting." "In connection with the culture of the children's intellects, the most earnest attention should be paid to their bodily welfare. The school can and must have a salutary influence on the after life, by producing habits of order, cleanliness, and good manners. The carriage of the body should always be under the watchful eye of the teacher; he

must keep his school also, in this respect, in good discipline, that the children avoid carelessness in sitting, walking, or standing, and that they always show by their deportment a firm government over their body. Systematic gymnastics serve this purpose best, and ought, therefore, to be diligently practiced.

Such is the programme of the Gotha common schools. The spirit of modern education pervades it, and it shows this spirit principally by the accompanying decree, in which the following passage occurs: "The *ephori* are lastly enjoined henceforth to enumerate in their reports on school-visitations and conferences, their observations and experiences in regard to this programme; for it is the intention to complete and rectify it, wherever necessary, according to the collected observations and experiences, so that it may be improved more and more satisfactorily as the theory and practice of teaching improve."

The law of common schools for the duchy of Gotha, issued in June, 1863, is in perfect harmony with this programme. It is arranged under eight sections, which are subdivided into one hundred articles; it is an exponent of the principles on which modern schools rest. *Section I*, Art. 1 to 5, treats of the general rights and duties of the citizens, as regards the instruction of the young. Art. 1, The duty to attend school as a general law. Art. 2, treats of the branches of instruction in a common school. The instruction—says this law—shall embrace the following branches: Religion, German language, exercises in reading and writing, arithmetic, geography, history, natural history and philosophy, singing, drawing, and gymnastics. The teaching of religion in common schools shall be founded on Bible history, particularly of the New Testament. When the children commence to receive instruction to qualify them for their first communion, they will be excused from this branch of instruction in the school. Art. 3, treats of the objects the common school has in view, and the means to attain them. "The common school is intended to educate children to a self-conscious, moral activity, and to develop their intellectual faculties." There shall not be taught any thing which is above the perceptive faculties of children; their memory shall not be burdened with any thing that has not previously been perfectly explained." "The disciplinary power of the teacher shall be in harmony with the paternal character of the office of a teacher." Art. 4, extends the obligation to attend school over a period of eight years. Art. 5, provides for the attendance in a higher class of schools, or proper private instruction, as a discharge from the obligation to attend the public school. *Section II*, Art. 6 to 11, defines the duties and rights of the school-districts, concerning organization and maintenance of schools. Art. 6, determines the limits of school-districts; and the consolidation of several into one. Art. 7, provides for every district one common school, and more if necessary. Art. 8, fixes the normal number of children in a common school at eighty. The number of teachers, as well as of school-rooms, must be increased in proportion to the excess over this number.

Art. 9, ordains that every school must be kept in a house used for no other purpose; all the rooms designed for the use of the school must be built and furnished in harmony with the demands of instruction and of health. Art. 10, provides that exceptions under Art. 7, 8, and 9, should be regulated by the administration. Art. 11, Every school must be in possession of all the necessary materials; particular care should be taken to obtain a library. Art. 12, It is the duty of the district to defray the expenses of common schools, so far as they have not been hitherto paid from other sources. Art. 15, The annual tuition fee shall, in towns, not exceed four thalers for one child, six thalers for two children, eight thalers for three and more. The fee shall, in the other places, not exceed half the above amount. Art. 16, Those districts which have given evidence that they can not possibly defray the whole of the expenses of the public school, shall receive the necessary assistance from the State treasury. *Section III*, Art. 17 to 28, relates to particular duties and rights of parents and guardians of children liable to attend school. Art. 17, regulates the age when the duty to attend school begins, (after the completion of the sixth year.) Art. 18, The children are but once a year admitted as scholars, viz., at the beginning of the scholastic year, the week after Easter. Art. 19, Children leave school at Easter of that year in which they have completed their fourteenth year. Art. 20, regulates the dispensation from attendance at the instruction in religion. Articles 21 and 22, speak of the place where school shall be kept, and the regularity of attendance at school. In cases when absences are not at all or not satisfactorily accounted for, the local school-board may (Art. 23) enforce a fine of not more than five thalers, or equivalent imprisonment. Art. 24, regulates complaints of parents against teachers, and distinctly states that nobody is permitted to enter the school-room for such a purpose, or to call a teacher personally to account. Trespassers shall pay a fine of not more than ten thalers, or shall be punished by equivalent imprisonment. Art. 25, treats of the exclusion of children from the privilege of attending school, for reasons of discipline, of police or of criminal law, and of the manner in which such children shall receive private instruction. The private instruction and its control is regulated in Articles 26, 27, and 28. *Section IV*, Art. 29 to 36, is "on the training of common school teachers; the matriculation and obligations of candidates." Art. 29, The State charges itself with the training of common school teachers in the seminary. Art. 30, Admission to the seminary not before the applicant has completed his sixteenth year. Art. 31, Conditions for admission: (*a*,) certificate of qualification for the Secunda of the gymnasium at least, or (*b*,) certificate of qualification for the Prima of the progymnasium at Ohrdruf, or (*c*,) the candidate must pass an examination equivalent to the above demands. Art. 32, In regard to the subjects of instruction, the law requires that besides the course of the gymnasium, (except foreign languages,) at least the following shall be added: Pedagogy and its history, anthropology and physiology, literature, and music. Art. 33,

The studies, began at the gymnasium, are partly to be completed, particularly mathematics and natural philosophy, partly to be reviewed with a view to their treatment at the common school. The instruction in religion is essentially historical, embracing the history of the progress of Christianity, in connection with the books of the Old and New Testaments, and history of the progress of the Christian Church. Art. 34, The number of students to be admitted is not limited. The tuition is free to natives, and to foreigners on the payment of twenty thalers a year. Art. 35, treats of the matriculation of the candidate. Art. 36, places the matriculated candidate under the obligation to serve as assistant or substitute for a longer or shorter portion of two years. *Section V*, Art. 37 to 41, is on the appointment of teachers at common schools. Art. 37, The privilege of election rests with the district, provided it has not received any pecuniary assistance for its schools from the State, during the five years preceding the time when the vacancy occurs. The election requires the confirmation of the government. Art. 38, regulates the right of election of the patrons. Art. 39, treats of the appointments by the government. The latter is authorized to appoint a teacher, when the district has received assistance from the State to defray the expenses of the school within the last five years, or when the district or patron has not filled the vacancy within four months from the day the vacancy commenced. Art. 40, The first appointment of a teacher is, as a rule, only provisional; this provisorium shall, however, last no longer than two years. Art. 41, treats of the appointment of female teachers. It is prescribed that examined female teachers may, with the consent of the district and the minister of State, be intrusted, in the prescribed manner, with the instruction of children of the first, second, and third years of their attendance at school. *Section VI*, Art. 42 to 62, treats of the rights and duties of teachers of common schools. Art. 42, The salary varies according to the appointment being revocable or irrevocable, and according to the number of pupils. (A.) The teachers who are revocably appointed shall receive as a minimum, (*a*,) 150 thalers and free lodging, or an equivalent indemnification when they are vicars or assistants; (*b*,) 175 and lodging, or indemnification when they are provisionally appointed teachers. (B.) There are three classes of irrevocably appointed teachers: (*a*,) at a school in the country with 50 or less pupils, the minimum salary shall be, from the first to fifth year included, 200 thalers and free lodging; from the fifth to tenth year, 230 thalers; from the tenth to fifteenth year, 260 thalers; from the sixteenth year, 290 thalers; (*b*,) at a school in the country with more than 50 pupils, (including the schools in the towns of Friedrichsrode and Zella,) the minimum shall be; from the first to fifth year, 200 thalers; from the fifth to tenth year, 240 thalers; from the tenth to fifteenth year, 280 thalers; from the sixteenth year, 320 thalers; (*c*,) at the schools in the towns of Gotha, Ohrdruf, and Waltershausen, the minimum shall be: from the first to fifth year, 250 thalers, (no free lodging;) from the fifth to tenth year, 300 thalers; from

the tenth to fifteenth year, 350 thalers; from the sixteenth year, 400 thalers. Included in the salaries of those teachers who have to perform church duties as cantors, organists or sacristans, are the emoluments and perquisites connected with these duties. Other income, which the teachers derive as clerks of the district or book-keeper of the church, are not included in the salary. Art. 43, treats of the computation of the number of pupils, and of the time the teachers have served. Art. 44, treats of the manner of paying the salary, (teachers in the country must take part of their salary in kind.) Art. 45, Estimates of salaries. Art. 46, How to divide the salary between the new teacher and the one who retires. Art. 47, Of the extra occupation of teachers of common schools. Art. 48, Of the particular privileges of teachers appointed irrevocably. These rights are: (*a*,) claims to be pensioned (after ten years or less of service, 40 per cent. of the salary; for every additional year or fraction of it, 1½ per. cent. more;) (*b*,) admission to the widow fund, (by paying 4 per cent. a year of his salary, the widow or children of a teacher shall receive one-fourth of the salary until the youngest child has reached the age of 21;) (*c*,) the right and duty to be a member of those charitable institutions which are organized for the benefit of common school teachers. Art. 49, The maximum number of hours a teacher may be employed is thirty per week. The Board may grant furloughs. Art. 50, Marriage licenses of teachers. Articles 51 to 62, Penal code concerning teachers charged with dereliction, viz.: suspension, waiting order, dismission, removal. *Section VII*, Art. 63 to 84, treats of the inspection of public schools. The law discriminates between two classes of inspection of public schools, viz., inspection by the district and by the government. The district inspection is vested in the Board, consisting of the chairman of the councilmen (mayor or bailiff,) the minister of the place, the teachers of the place, and as many citizens of the district as there are teachers in the Board. The minister may, but must not necessarily, be chairman; directors of schools and teachers are not allowed to be chairmen. A modification of this organization takes place, when several districts are consolidated into one, and in towns. The government has three classes of inspectors: (*a*,) the district school inspectors, Art. 85, requiring that they should be selected from among practical schoolmen; (*b*,) school-courts, consisting of the district administrator—or in towns the mayor—and the district inspector; (*c*,) the ministry of State, being the highest school authority, which (Art. 91) appoints a practical schoolman as inspector-general, who shall assist as counselor in all that concerns education and instruction in public schools, at the sessions of the ministers of State.* *Section VIII*, Art. 93 to 100, contains final and transitory decrees, which have mostly accomplished their purpose.

This short extract will enable the reader to understand the character which distinguishes the common school law of Gotha.

* Instruction for district school-inspectors in the duchy of Gotha, in Dr. K. Schmidt's History of the Public Schools in Gotha. Köthen: P. Schettler, 1863.

AUGUSTUS HERMANN FRANKE.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

AUGUSTUS HERMANN FRANKE, the founder of the Orphan House at Halle, and of all the institutions which cluster around it, was born March 22, 1663, in Lubeck, where his father was syndic of the cathedral-chapter of the town. In 1666, the father removed to Gotha, and became privy counselor and counselor of justice under Duke Ernst the Pious; but died in 1671. The orphan boy attended the gymnasium at Gotha, where he was declared ready to graduate in his fourteenth year. He, however, did not go to the university of Erfurt until his sixteenth year; whence he removed in the same year to Kiel, where he studied chiefly under the instruction of Kortholt. Under him he heard lectures on metaphysics and ethics; under Morhof on physics, natural history and universal history. He also read carefully the rhetoric of Aristotle. Theology was with him only an affair of the head.

From Kiel, he went to Hamburg, in 1682, where he studied Hebrew for two months under Ezra Ezard. He then lived in Gotha for a year and a half, in which time he read the Hebrew Bible seven times, and studied French and English. In 1684, he went to Leipzig, where he took his degree and *habilitated* himself by a disputation *De Grammatica Hebraea.* His most important lectures were a biblical course. He explained, after the afternoon's sermon, a chapter from the Old and one from the New Testament, first philologically and then practically. Spener, then court chaplain at Dresden, took much interest in these lectures, which were attended by an extraordinarily large number of hearers. About the same time, Franké translated two works of Molinos, for which reason he was considered a friend of Quietism and of Catholicism.

In 1687, Franké went to Luneburg, to superintendent Sandhagen. Piously brought up, he had always prayed, from a boy, that his whole life might be devoted only and entirely to the glory of God. But when, at the university, theology became to him merely a heartless study, his inward peace of mind left him. In Luneburg he grew uneasy, and was assailed by painful doubts. He himself relates that his opinion of the Bible became quite uncertain. The Jews, he often

reflected, believe in the Talmud, and Turks in the Koran, and Christians in the Bible. Which is right? This contest of doubt had arisen to its greatest hight, when it became his duty to preach upon the words,—"But this is written; that ye believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that ye have life through faith in his name." He was to speak of true and living faith, and was conscious that he himself had not this faith. He was already thinking of refusing to preach the sermon, when he besought God for help in his perplexity. He was quickly heard, and all his doubts were removed. "I was assured in my heart," he says "of the grace of God in Jesus Christ; and I could call him not only God, but my father." Forty years afterward, in this last prayer, he referred to this, his real conversion.

From Luneburg he went, in 1687, to Hamburg, where he remained until Easter, 1688. Here he established an infant school, which was numerously attended. Teaching gave him self-knowledge; by it he learned patience, love, forbearance. "Upon the establishment of this school," he says, "I learned how destructive is the usual school management, and how exceedingly difficult the discipline of children; and this reflection made me desire that God would make me worthy to do something for the improvement of schools and instruction." The result of his experience he put together in a work, "*Upon the education of children to piety and Christian wisdom.*" He often said that this work of instructing youth at Hamburg was the basis of all that God afterward did through him. It was upon the remembrance of it that he said, at Halle, that education would never be bettered by mere writing of books; but by working at it.

From Hamburg he went, after two months, to Spener, at Dresden, then published his biblical lectures at Leipzig, and, in 1690, was invited to become deacon in the church of St. Augustine, at Erfurt. Here, however, he soon became suspected of being the founder of a new sect, for which reason he was, by a decree of the elector of Mainz, and a vote of the council, of September 18th, 1691, prohibited from any further filling of his office.

Just at that time the university of Halle was founded, chiefly by the efforts of Spener, who was appointed, in 1691, high consistorial counselor and provost at Berlin. On the 21st of December, 1691, Franké was designated as a suitable man for professor of Greek and Oriental languages, in the new university; and at the same time the pastorate of the suburb of Glaucha was offered him. On January 7th, 1692, he removed to Halle, where he lived and labored for thirty-five years afterward, to the end of his life.

The opening of the year 1694 is to be considered the time of the

beginning of all the great institutions of Franké. They commenced as follows. The poor were accustomed to come every Thursday to the parsonage. Instead of giving them bread before the door, Franké called them into the house, catechised the younger, in the hearing of the elder, and closed with a prayer; and in his own poverty he began to lay by money for the poor, by depriving himself for a long time of his supper;* and, in 1695, he fixed up a poor's box in his room, with the following text.

"Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"—1 John, iii. 17.

"Every one, according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver."—2 Cor. ix., 17.

In this he once found seven florins, left by a benevolent lady. Upon taking out this, he said, "this is a handsome capital; I must found some good institution with it. I will found a poor school." On the same day he bought two thalers worth of books, and employed a poor student to teach the children two hours daily. Of twenty-seven books given it, only four were brought back. But Franké bought new books, made a schoolroom of a room next his study, and gave the children alms three times a week. The children of citizens soon began to attend, each of whom paid one grosch as tuition fee, so that the teacher was better paid, and was enabled to give five hours of teaching daily. During the first summer, the number of children in the school reached sixty.

The reputation of Franké's great activity in the cause of the poor soon spread abroad, and, from that time, contributions began to come to him from far and near; in proportion as this increased, his plans enlarged. Still, it often happened that in firm faith he undertook something great without any means, and that these means came to him at the necessary time in the most wonderful manner.

His parsonage soon became too small for the school. He hired a room in the neighboring house and made two classes, one of the poor and the other for the citizens' children, each with its own teacher.

The wish soon sprung up in Franké's mind not only to instruct, but also to educate the children; a wish to found an orphan-house. A friend gave him for this purpose five hundred thalers, and in November, 1695, nine orphans were already assembled, who were brought to him by citizens. Neubauer, a student of theology, was employed as overseer.

In the same year, 1695, three young persons of noble family were

* He sent to a friend, who was in want about this time, one hundred and fifty thalers, which he had received from the bookseller for his Biblical Improvement.

put under Franké's care to be instructed and educated. This was the first beginning of the present Pædagogium.

In 1696, Franké bought a second house. The number of orphan children in these two houses, in that June, reached fifty-two. At the same time he established a free table for students, at which forty-two were fed in three months.

As the number of children increased, Franké determined to build an orphan-house. For this purpose he sent Neubauer, the overseer of his orphan children, as early as 1696, to Holland, in order to gather information. At his return, this true and intelligent man took the direction of the building of the orphan-house; and the corner stone was laid, July 24, 1698. There were already one hundred orphans, and five hundred children were receiving instruction.

It is impossible to read without edification how the blessing of God was with all which Franké, in his unselfish Christian love, undertook. We can here mention only a few of the many examples of these blessings, which he himself relates. Once, his want of money was extreme. "When I went out into the beautiful weather," relates Franké, "and looked upon the clear heavens, my heart was much strengthened in faith, so that I thought within myself, how beautiful it is, when, although man is nothing of himself, and has nothing to rely upon, he recognizes the living God, who made the heavens and the earth, and puts all his trust in him, so that even in want he can be peaceful. Upon my return to the house, there came an overseer who wanted money for the work-people. 'Has any thing come in?' he asked. I answered, 'No; but I have faith in God.' Scarcely had I uttered the words, when a student was announced to me, who brought thirty thalers, from some one whose name he refused to give. Then I went back into the room and asked the other how much he wanted to pay the workmen. He answered, thirty thalers. I said, here they are; and asked whether he wanted more. He said, No; which much encouraged both of us, since we saw in it so evidently the hand of God, who had given what was needful in the very moment when it was wanted."

In 1698, relates Franké further, "I sent to a pious and distressed Christian woman one ducat. She replied to me, that the ducat had come to her at a time when she was in much need of it; and that she had prayed God that he would bestow upon my poor orphans a heap of ducats in return. Soon afterward were brought to me four ducats, and twelve double ducats. On the same day, two ducats were sent to me from a good friend in Sweden. Not long afterward, I received by the post twenty-five ducats, the giver of whom was not

named. Twenty ducats were also sent me at the same time from one of my patrons. Prince Ludwig, of Wurtemberg, died about the same time, and I was told that he had left a sum of money to the orphan-house. It was five hundred ducats in gold. They were sent to me at a time when I was in the greatest need of them for the building of the orphan-house. When I saw this heap of ducats upon the table before me, I thought upon the prayer of the pious woman, that God would give to my poor orphans a heap of ducats in return."*

In innumerable other cases like these, Franké received help from the Lord. Two productive sources of income are especially worthy of mention. A young theologian, named Elers, had joined himself to Franké. In 1698, he took charge of the printing of one of Franké's sermons, entitled, "On duty toward the poor." Elers laid this and a few other sermons upon a little table at the Leipzig fair, for sale. This was the first beginning of the orphan-house bookstore, which, under the careful and intelligent management of Elers, soon so much increased that it opened branches at Berlin, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. There were sold in them, among other things, all of Franké's very popular works, besides many school-books, some of which passed through a great number of editions. All the gains of the bookstore went into the treasury of the orphan-house.

Franké's second fruitful source of income was from the medicines of the apothecary's shop of the orphan-house. With this he had a singular experience. One Burgstaller, upon his death-bed, left to Franké a legacy "for the establishment of a very splendid apothecary's shop." Franké appointed to the management of the shop, Christian Friedrich Richter, well known for his deeply pious divine songs. After the expenditure of large sums of money, the enterprise began to be profitable in January, 1701. The orphan-house medicines began to be in demand everywhere, wonderful effects were related of them, and great sums accrued to the orphan-house from their sale.

It would require too much time to narrate how the institutions grew with each year; it must suffice to give their condition at two periods.

In 1705, there were in existence the following of Franké's institutions.†

1. The orphan-house proper, containing fifty-five boys engaged in

* King Frederic I, of Prussia, also gave 2,000 thalers. 100,000 brick, and 30,000 tiles, for the building. In 1702. he granted to the Orphan House and the Pædagogium some very valuable privileges. "*Footsteps*," p. 121 and 136.

Envious adversaries accused Franké "of having embezzled many thousand thalers; *item* that the people had sent him money; *item*, that he caught at the money of papists and all manner of visionaries." "*Footsteps*," ch. 3, 94.

† Franké's Institutions, 1, 382.

study, forty-five in mechanic arts; twenty-five girls, and seventeen persons in the household.

2. The seminary for teachers; supporting seventy-five persons, whose board was free.

3. The extraordinary free table for sixty-four very poor students.

4. Eight school classes; with eight hundred scholars, including one hundred and twenty-five orphan children; and sixty-seven teachers.

5. The Pædagogium; with seventy scholars, and seventeen teachers.

6. Bookstore and printing office; fourteen persons.

7. Apothecary's shop; eight persons.

8. Widows' house; four widows.

9. Oriental college; eleven persons.

In 1727, at Franké's death, the following return of the institution was made to King Friedrich Wilhelm I.*

1. The Pædagogium, eighty-two scholars, and seventy teachers and others.

2. The Latin school of the orphan-house; with three inspectors, thirty-two teachers, four hundred scholars, and ten servants, &c.

3. The German burgher school; with four inspectors, ninety-eight teachers, eight female teachers, one thousand and twenty-five boys and girls.

4. Orphan children; one hundred boys, thirty-four girls, and ten overseers and female overseers.

5. Persons boarded free; two hundred and fifty-five students, and three hundred poor scholars.

6. Household, apothecary's shop, booksellers; fifty-three persons.

7. Institutions for females; fifteen in the girls' institution, eight in the boarding house for young women, six widows.

This sketch of the exterior condition of Franké's institution does not however show by any means the whole of his sphere of labor; especially in his pastorate, for the university, the spread of the Bible, and missions. How wide soever were the extensions of these labors, they all sprang from the same root; from Franké's inward Christian love toward God and his neighbor. Only in the name of Christ would he labor or plan; and his expressed wish was, to bring to Christ all whom he taught, from the student down to the youngest of the orphan children.

In this, as in his views of the study of theology, he agreed entirely with his friend Spener. They both repeatedly insisted upon the con-

* Franké's Institutions, 2, 296. In 1707, there were, in the Pædagogium, and the other schools, one thousand and ninety-two pupils, under three inspectors, and eighty-five teachers Seven hundred and fifty-five scholars were from Halle. *Footsteps*, p. 3, 29.

version and piety of the students: and that theology must not only be an affair of the head, but of the heart.* "One drachm of living faith," says Franké, "is more to be valued than an hundred weight of mere historical knowledge; and one drop of true love, than a whole sea of learning in all mysteries." He was strenuous against the perverted study of what does not look toward the work of real life. "It is the common evil," he says, "that we do not learn what we use in our occupations every day; for it is too small for us; and what we have learned at the university, that we do not know how to use profitably."

Both Spener and Franké, however, were careful to guard against the supposition that they were opposed to theological learning. "If you would become teachers," says Franké to the students,† "it is not enough that you are pious; you must also possess thorough theological learning." "The Christian student," remarks Spener, "prays as earnestly for divine illumination as if he had no need of his own industry, and studies with as much zeal as if he must do every thing by his own unassisted labor. For it would be presumptuousness and tempting God, only to pray, and thus to await the divine help without any industry of his own."

Franké labored in every way in connection with his like-minded colleagues, those able teachers Anton, Breithaupt, and Michaelis, for the good of the young theologians. Lectures were read upon all theological studies, and Franké read besides upon the method of theological study. In the "parenetical lecture," he shows what are the hindrances of young theologians in religion, and in seeking their object in study; and how these hindrances are to be overcome.‡

These lectures he continued weekly through many years, and at an hour when no other lecture was read. He began them in 1693; and the last lecture which he delivered, May 15, 1727, three weeks before his death, was parenetical. In this lecture he combated, with great zeal, the sins of young theologians; he advised them before all things to convert themselves before they tried to convert others, to pray and to labor. He gave them rules for living and studying, drew their attention to all that had been done at Halle of late for students, which had not been thought of at other universities, and which had not been thought of at all in earlier times. Among these things he included this, that the theological students of Halle were spared the usual scholastical disputes, and applied themselves instead to the careful

* "*Idea*," 95. The Bohemian Brothers told Luther that "they could not look for good to result to those in whose schools so much care was expended on learning and so little on conscience."

† Idea, 37.

‡ For the students he wrote his "Idea studiosi theologiæ," "Timotheus," and other writings.

exegesis of the Holy Scriptures; and that they had opportunity for practical efforts in catechizing and other instruction. Students newly come must report themselves to the theological faculty, who met upon certain days for that purpose.* Each new comer is to be inquired of, how he has regulated his life and his studies. Once every quarter of a year all the theological students are to meet before the faculty, to give an account of their studies, and to receive counsel for the future. Besides, they are to be encouraged to visit single professors, and to consult with them upon the state of their souls, and upon their studies.

In 1709, Franké delivered some parenetical lectures,† "in which," as their title states, "the distinctions between the present students of theology there and those who were here in the beginning is shown." Here he complains, that zeal for good has much diminished with most of them; describes the coarse kind of student-life which has crept in;‡ and remarks how little the well-intended care of the theological professors is recognized by the students; that the latter rather complain about them, as if they made invasions upon their freedom as students; and that their good advice produces no results.§ "The complaint is often heard," he remarks, "of the students of Halle, that they are hypocrites." "I can not think of this without great sorrow; and can not enough wonder at it," he says, "how it should be possible that, from all our lectures and admonitions, so little effect should have come."

A reaction was produced. In place of the prevailing useless student-life, Franké and his theological colleagues, with one blow, succeeded in introducing the still, pious, almost Christ-like state of discipline, which it would be well worth while to compare with the life of the Hieronymians.‖ One devotional exercise after another was attended. Pious emotions and incitements were encouraged in all ways. At every opportunity all prayed, preached, exhorted, and sung.¶ It is no wonder that a mode of life diametrically opposed to this, a student-life of coarse immorality, rooted deep in the customs of so many centuries, should make a strong opposition against Franké's efforts, so that he only succeeded in attracting to himself youths of

* "Appendix to the representation," p. 198.

† Lectiones par., part 4, p 73, &c.

‡ Ib "A *Studiosus* Theologiæ must know this rule: *Quod in aliis est peccatum veniale, id in clerico*, and also, moreover, *in studioso theologiæ est peccatum mortale*."

§ Ib, III. "Formerly, the *theologiæ studiosi* rather thought it a benefit, that their *studia* were directed by the Faculty." See also p. 39.

‖ Ullmann's "Johann Wessel," p. 23 (1st ed.)

¶ Niemeyer's Principles. 8th ed., 3, 348. Semler's autobiography has much information on the same subject.

quiet and thoughtful character. There do not seem to have been enough pains taken to devise means for winning others; to practice a Pauline accommodation, such as is of no injury to truth or holiness.

I doubt much whether Luther would altogether have approved of the ideal of the student-establishment of Franké and Spener. How violently did Luther inveigh against all manner of monkish restraint! "Pleasure and amusement,"* he says, "are as necessary to young people as eating and drinking." How strongly does he recommend "music and knightly games, fencing and wrestling; of which the first dispels care of the heart and melancholy thoughts, and the others bring the body to its proper proportions and keep it in health." There is danger of falling into drinking, debauchery, and gaming, "if such honorable exercises and knightly games are condemned and neglected."†

Franké's complaints of the ignorance of the students at entrance are worthy of attention. That he advises them to take lessons in writing, I am sorry to say, need not surprise us;‡ but in regard to spelling the case was as bad. "I find," he says,§ "that there are few theological students who can write a German letter correctly spelled. They violate orthography almost in every line. I even know of many examples where, after they have entered upon the ministry, and have had occasion to have something printed, it has been necessary to have their manuscript first corrected almost in every line; insomuch that it has been recommended to them to have their work transcribed by some one who understood spelling, in order that it might be read without difficulty. The reason of this defect is usually in the schools, where only the Latin translation of their exercises is corrected, but not the German; so that they learn nothing of spelling. They do not learn to distinguish in their spelling such as *er war*, *die Wäar*, *es ist wahr*, and the like, and can not, so long as they write their German exercises in so superficial a manner."‖

It may be imagined that, in proportion as German was neglected at the schools, Latin was more thoroughly learned. But this was not so. "In many cases," continues Franké, "when they desire to write a Latin letter, it appears that they have not learned the grammar of the language; which occasions many faults." The same students, at

* See Part First, 141, 177.

† The eating and drinking life of dissipated students, as Franké described it, might well destroy hopes for such men, even if they should apply themselves to "honorable exercises and knightly games."

‡ "It is seldom that one writes a good hand when he comes from school."

§ Lect. paræenet., 4, 280. Comp. "Appendix to the picture of a theological student," p. 280.

‖ "Appendix to the picture," &c., p. 281. "There is seldom as much as a *qualemcunque eritiam* in German orthography brought from the schools."

entering, are not well grounded even in Luther's catechism. "At the same time," he says, "it is seldom the case that any one brings with him a knowledge of vulgar arithmetic, although it is of continual use in common life."*

In another place, Franké says† that the theological professors of Halle "have found, with great grief, that most of the schools are so ill taught, that from them there come pupils of twenty years and over, who have, notwithstanding, to be taught the very rudiments of Latin, not to mention Greek and Hebrew, if they are to attend the lectures with any profit. The universities also," he goes on, "have found, by sad experience, that many unqualified and ignorant persons enter them, who are not fit to be taught any thing." The teachers of the schools ought to perform their duties more conscientiously.

While Franké tried all means to enable those who were backward in their school knowledge to recover their lost ground, he sought, on the other hand, by every possible means, to promote instruction in all the school studies; languages, history, geometry, mathematics, &c.‡ In the institutions founded by him, which contained nearly two thousand scholars, there were taught more than one hundred students, under the oversight and guidance of inspectors. They were especially trained in catechising. "The whole of the so-called ordinary table of the orphan-house," says Franké, "now including one hundred and thirty-four students, is in fact a seminary of preceptors for the rest of the institution.§ From these "some were selected and placed in the select seminary of preceptors." This latter seminary was commenced in 1707. From ten to twelve theological students were chosen for it, well grounded in their studies, and with an inclination and aptitude for their business of school teaching.‖ They were trained for the occupation of teaching during two years, by lectures and practice. They received their board there, but were required to bind themselves to teach in the Pædagogium, or the orphan-house, for three years, after the expiration of the two years.¶

We have seen that, in 1695, Franké founded a poor school, to

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* Ib. † Ib., 275. ‡ Ib., 284, 274, 277, 289, 290.

§ The first occasion of the foundation of this free table and seminary, was a gift of five hundred thalers, which he received, in 1695, for poor students. "*Footsteps*," Third Part, 9.

‖ "*Footsteps*," Third Part, 9. Fifth Part, 60.

¶ In 1702, Franké founded, together with Anton and Breithaupt, the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*, in which, besides Hebrew, Syriac, were taught, Chaldee, Arabic, &c. The students at this college were of much service to J. H. Michaelis, by collating MSS. for his edition of the Hebrew Bible. It contained twelve students; it seems to have lasted until 1720. Johann Tribbechor, of Gotha, was its first principal; the same who was author of that "astonishing hymn,—"O, thou guard of Israel." Michaelis was connected with him in its management. "*Footsteps*," Second Part, 6. Third Part, 6.

which children of citizens came. In 1697, he established the Latin school for boys of a better order of talent. The poor school received the name of the German burgher school, and was divided into the boys' and girls' school. At Franké's death, as above related, there were in the burgher school one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five boys and girls, in the Latin school four hundred scholars, and twenty-five more in the Pædagogium. The course in the German school at first included religious instruction, reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which were afterward added, natural history, history, geography, &c. An overseer was placed over all the German schools, to whom was also intrusted the preparation of proper teachers for them. The girls were to be especially instructed in woman's work, and even the boys received instruction in knitting.*

In the Latin school, were taught (besides religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic,) Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, history, geography, and music. "Classic Greek was much neglected for the constant reading of the New Testament."† The oldest accounts mention botany as one of the branches of instruction at this school. In 1709, Latin was taught in seven classes;‡ and physics, painting, and anatomy were introduced among the studies. In 1714, oratory and logic were added; but, on the other hand, French is wanting.

Franké intended the Pædagogium for the instruction of the sons of those of the higher ranks. As we have said, three young noblemen were sent to him in 1695; which was the beginning of the institution. The number of scholars grew, and, in 1705, was 70; who boarded here and there in citizens' houses. In 1711, Franké determined to build a large house for it, which was completed and occupied in 1713. The accommodations for scholars and overseers in it were convenient and cheerful, not dark and cloister-like. Additions to this soon showed that Franké was looking to real instruction; there were connected with the Pædagogium a botanical garden, then a natural cabinet, a philosophical apparatus, a chemical laboratory, conveniences for anatomical dissections, also turning-lathes, and machinery for glass-cutting.§

The course of study of the Pædagogium was thus stated, in 1706:

* In 1701, Franké appointed for this purpose an especial knitting-master. "*Footsteps*," Part First, 45.

† Niemeyer, 3, 346. Rector Mal, from Franké's school, banished the Greek Classics from the gymnasium at Hersfeld, and substituted the reading of the New Testament, even to the Apocalypse. (Programme of director Dr. Müencher, 1837.)

‡ By the subdivision of *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, and *Quinta*, the whole number of classes reached eleven.

§ Franké's Institution, 2, 14, &c. Further details upon the Pædagogium are given in Franké's book, "Complete order and method of teaching for the Pædagogium," 1701.

"Besides the grounds of true Christianity, they will be instructed in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French languages, as well as in a good German style, and in writing a good hand; also in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history, geometry, astronomy, music, botany, and anatomy, besides the chief principles of medicine, * * * and moreover, in the hours of diversion, they find opportunity to learn turning, glass-grinding, painting, writing, &c. During all recreations, when they might be liable to injury, they are under careful supervision, and are not left alone during the night." It is stated as a characteristic feature of the Pædagogium, that in it "the classes are so arranged that the scholar has a place not only in one class, but in this or that class differently, according to his proficiency in different studies. For example, he may be in the first class in Latin, in another in Greek, and in like manner may have fellow-students as far forward as he in every study. First of all, the scholar must be thorough in Latin, but in the other languages and studies he may take up only one after another, in such a way as to learn one well before he undertakes the next."

A special class, *Selecta*, was organized in the Pædagogium, for preparation for the university. The scholars of this class read many of the Latin authors cursorily, disputed, spoke frequently, studied rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, a kind of dogmatics, and read part of the Old and New Testaments in the original. The Greek classics were not mentioned; but for them were substituted the homilies of Macarius, Nonnus' paraphrase of John, &c.*

For instruction and oversight, so far as number of persons is considered, the Pædagogium was richly endowed. At Franké's death it contained eighty-two scholars, for whom were employed one inspector, one mathematical teacher, eighteen ordinary teachers, eight extraordinary ones, and ten assistants.

Only a small number of teachers in comparison were employed for the great number of scholars in Franké's institution; most of the school work being done by a large number of students, who had received a preparation for this purpose in the two seminaries already mentioned. Franké proposed in this way to select young men of character similar to his own, and who should be trained up in the methods used in the orphan-house school. Inspectors watched carefully that none of them varied from the established way. In this manner it could not fail to happen that, notwithstanding the great extent of the institution, all the teachers in it should teach in the same spirit, and to the same end.† But we must not pass over the dark side of

* Prudentius' hymns were also read; and dialing was added to the mathematical studies.

† Franké's Institutions, 2, 39. "Candidates and students were selected for teachers, to whom Franké prescribed a method of instruction which they must follow strictly. Most of them

this plan. This unity of the whole was liable easily to become a monotony, the unity of a machine, in which no part makes or can make pretensions to independence. The students bound themselves to teach for three years, and then left the institution. In so short a space of time, how could they attain to independent knowledge and skill in the pedagogical art?* What earnest teacher has not found that this vocation is an art to the acquisition of which time is necessary that in the first years of his teaching much of his labor was injurious to himself and his scholars, and that he only attained to skill after a long time? Thus it was with Franké, who had in his institution only a very few masters of the art of teaching, but a preponderating crowd of dependent beginners, whose mistakes were only partly compensated by their thorough subordination.†

Franké was director of his institution; but first named, in 1716, as sub-director, Joh. Daniel Herrnschmid; and, after his death, in 1723, his own pious son-in-law, Joh. Anastasius Freylinghausen.‡ After the death of Tollner, in 1718, who had held the oversight of both the Latin and German schools, Herrnschmid took that of the Latin school, which was from that time separate from that of the German school.

In order to comprehend the peculiarities of Franké's school, it must be remembered that it was especially characterized by its prevailing Christian or perhaps pietistic element, which appears in its many devotional exercises, in the neglect of the Greek classics for the New Testament, and in the study of Hebrew for the understanding of the Old Testament. It is also a peculiar trait of the school, that real studies had a prominent place in it; that the scholars were allowed

willingly followed his directions; for, up to that time, they had had no method of their own to which they had become used, as is usually the case with men who have already taught in other schools."

* Hieronymus Wolf, the learned Rector of the Augsburg Gymnasium, says: "It was exceedingly desirable that such young teachers should be employed, by what may be called an appropriate good fortune, in a school where, the labor being endurable and the wages accordingly, and great enough to support themselves and their families, they would not be seeking better situations. For a frequent change of teachers has many disadvantages: and it is not possible for one to teach faithfully and thoroughly, who is on the watch for every opportunity to better his situation, and who is seeking to serve, not the minds of his scholars, but his own ease and pleasure." (Programme of the Augsburg Gymnasium, by Dr. Mezger, 1834, p. 11.)

† This is no reproach to Franké. One who is endeavoring, like him, to assist a large number of children, must adapt himself to circumstances. The monitors of Bell and Lancaster were certainly not as good assistants as the students of Franké.

‡ Herrnschmid was born in 1675, at Bopfingen, in Suabia, and was the author of several sacred hymns; among others, of "Praise the Lord, O thou my soul." Freylinghausen was born at Gandersheim, in 1670, and died in 1739, in his place as director of the Orphan House. He was distinguished for excellent sacred hymns; and his volume of them marks an epoch in their history. Herrnschmid was succeeded, as inspector of the Latin school, by several eminent men, as Johann Jacob Ramhach, Sigismund Jacob Baumgarten and August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who was afterward Bishop of the United Brethren

different places in different classes, according to their progress in different studies; and lastly, that many of the students also gave instruction, and in a prescribed and strictly-followed method.

After having thus surveyed the numerous pedagogical labors of Franké,—for the university, for the Latin schools, burgher schools, and orphans,—we will now consider two departments of his efforts which had only an indirect influence upon pedagogy.

The first is the Canstein Bible Institution, which was annexed to the orphan-house.

Carl Hildebrand, Baron von Canstein, born in 1667, was lord marshal, and president of the supreme court of judicature, of the electorate of Brandenburgh, and the trusted friend of Spener. In 1710, he published a pamphlet, with the title: "Humble proposal how the word of God may be brought into the hands of the poor for a small price." His plan was, "by means of the institution, to keep forms standing, and to print one hundred thousand copies of the Bible before the types were worn out." He put the sale into the hands of Franké's orphan-house; and Prince Carl of Denmark, brother of King Frederick IV, gave for the purpose one thousand two hundred and seventy-one ducats. The first edition of the New Testament under this arrangement appeared in the year 1713. And, up to 1795, there had been printed in the institution one million six hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-three Bibles, eight hundred and eighty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety New Testaments, sixteen thousand copies of the Psalms, and forty-seven thousand of Sirach. Luther's text was strictly adhered to, with only a few changes universally recognized as necessary, and which were made with the utmost diffidence and care, for fear of exciting attention and opposition.

A second department of Franké's activity was missions. King Friedrich of Denmark, under the influence of his two German court chaplains, Masius and Lütkens, applied to Franké for this purpose. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, and Heinrich Plutschau, were selected by him as missionaries, were ordained in Copenhagen, and landed at Tranquebar, July 9th, 1706.

This was the beginning of this important mission of the Lutheran church, which lasted more than a century. With a depth of love that believed all, and hoped all, the missionaries from Halle labored perseveringly and faithfully, when all hope seemed to have departed. In evil times, when pestilence, famine, and war prevailed, they were in many ways the advisers and helpers of the natives. Ziegenbalg, at unbounded sacrifices, and with vast zeal, translated a great part of the

Bible and of the small Lutheran catechism into Tamul, wrote hymns in that language, and with great industry composed two dictionaries and a grammar of it. His worthy successor, Benjamin Schulze, completed his translation of the Bible. The influence of the missionaries grew so fast that it was not confined to Tranquebar. From the year 1728, they were induced and aided to found Lutheran missions at Madras, Cuddalore, Calcutta, Tanjore, and elsewhere.*

Schwarz distinguished himself above all the missionaries. He was held in high respect by those of all sects. While the East India Company, in 1779, employed him as an envoy to Seringapatam, and the English in 1784, in the negotiation with Tippoo Saib, he was so highly regarded by the Rajah of Tanjore, that the latter, upon his death-bed, in 1787, required him to undertake the guardianship of his adopted son, then nine years old. Schwarz died in 1798. In 1816, Middleton, English bishop to Calcutta, visited this son, then King Sirfogan, in Tanjore; the king, says the account,† "was no believer in Christianity, but to the end of his life he wept tears of love and gratitude for the well-remembered missionary Schwarz, whom he was accustomed to call not only a great and good man, but his father, and the friend, protector, and king of his youth; and to whose memory he had erected a costly marble monument, which was made in London, and solemnly set up in the Christian church at Tanjore."

The missionaries from Halle applied themselves particularly to the instruction of the Hindoo youth, by which means they trained up many Hindoo catechists, who rendered valuable assistance in converting their countrymen.‡

This is not the place to give a detailed history of the Halle mission. From 1705 to his death, Franké was actively laboring for it in many ways. Of these the chief was the careful choice of missionaries, who were selected from the theological students of the school at Halle, without special preparation for the missionary service.§ From 1710,

* The Anglican church had not hitherto interfered with the missions; no missionaries had received its ordination, or subscribed to the thirty-nine articles. Most of the missionaries, from 1731 to 1792, were ordained at Wernigerode, by the Lutheran church. See Franké's Institutions, pp. 3, 355, 383, 389, 518, 552. So far from the Lutheran missionaries being under the government of the Anglican church, it was especially remarked, in regard to the Lutheran missionary, Diemer, "that (in London,) his great faults being well understood, he found at first no very encouraging reception; but that he afterward, by his pretenses, succeeded in enlisting many upon his side; and, in the hope of afterward deriving benefit from it, submitted to episcopal ordination."

† "Later history of the evangelical missions," by Knapp, 67th part, p. 633.

‡ The number of members upon the church book at Tranquebar, in the space from 1706 to 1780, was 16,556. Franké's Institutions, 3, 248.

§ This has been the rule down to the latest times; it has been remarked by the late Knapp, of only one missionary, that he had not studied, but had shown himself endowed with distinguished talents

he was preparing for the publication of a "History of the evangelical missions for the conversion of the heathen in India;" he caused a Tamul printing press to be sent from Halle to Tranquebar; large sums were intrusted to him with confidence for these missions; and his name was the security of the undertakings. Even in his last address he showed how dear it was to his heart.

We have thus considered Franké's direct efforts, in the most various directions. These labors however appear much greater when we examine their indirect results. How many orphan-houses and poor-schools may thank his example for their existence; how often to-day is his name mentioned in reports upon reform institutions! What an impulse did the Halle mission give to Protestants; and how dear to their hearts and consciences did the spread of Christianity become by this means! Zinzendorf, the founder of the Herrnhuters, was a pupil of Franké's, and how great are the blessings which the Herrnhuters have distributed among the most outcast of the heathen! Was it not the example of Franké which, in 1727, led professor Callenberg, of Halle, to found an institution for the conversion of Jews and Mohammedans; and was not this mission the forerunner of the present mission to the Jews? Lastly, was not the Canstein Bible Institution, which has distributed, at exceedingly low prices, more than two million copies of the Bible, the New Testament, the Psalter, &c., the forerunner of all the Bible societies of the present day? *

We have pursued Franké's life up to 1694 only; although might we not say that his life was most properly characterized by his efforts and institutions; that he lived entirely in what he considered his divinely-given vocation?

I shall here add but little. In that year, 1694, he married a Miss Von Wurm, with whom he lived thirty-three years, until his death, in happy marriage. They had three children. The first, a son, died early. The second son, Gotthilf August, born in 1696, was Franké's successor in the direction of the institutions; the third child, a daughter, married Freylinghausen in 1715. Franké's domestic life, in the small circle of his family, was wholly characterized by his pious spirit. Up to his sixty-third year, he enjoyed, on the whole, good health. If at any time he found himself overworked, he relieved himself by travel. In 1725, he was attacked by a painful dysentery, and in Nov., 1726, he was lamed in his left hand by an apoplexy. He however felt himself so much stronger in March, 1727, that he inserted his lec-

* I forbear here to enlarge upon the fact that in Spener and Franke's schools originated an unchurchlike, pietist, and mystical separatism, which has in after times become steadily more and more influential, erroneous, and misleading.

tures in the catalogue of lectures for the summer season. But he delivered only one, on the 15th of May, a parenetical one, which he ended, evidently affected, with the words: "so now go hence, and may the Lord be blessed for ever and eternally."

On the 18th of May, he partook for the last time of the Lord's Supper.

On the 24th of May, he walked in the garden of the orphan-house. Here he poured out his soul in earnest prayer; in which he referred to his conversion at Luneburg. He said: "Under the open heaven I have often made a league with thee, and said, if thou wilt be my God, I will be thy servant. Often have I prayed to thee, Lord, give me children, make them as the dew of the morning, make their numbers as the stars in heaven. Thou hast done it; and hast by my means opened a spring of eternal life, and hast caused it to flow so far that souls have drank of it in all parts of the world. Let it now flow forth and forever, that the blessings may never cease, but may live on to the end of the world."

From that time onward, his pains increased; but he bore them with Christian patience, supported by prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He often repeated the words of the dying Jacob, "Lord, I wait for thy salvation."

On the 8th of June, he grew weaker and weaker. His pious wife then asked him, "Is thy Saviour still near thee?" "There is no doubt of that," he answered. These were his last words. He now fell into a slumber; and sank away softly and placidly, among the prayers and singing of his family and his friends, at three-quarters past ten in the evening. He had reached the age of 64 years two months and three weeks.

The whole city came forth to see once more the remains of the dead; and followed him to his resting-place, on the 17th of June.

FRANKE'S ORPHAN HOUSE IN 1853

Let us now bestow a short glance upon the exterior of Franké's Institutions; placing ourselves, for the purpose, in the so-called Franké's Square. From this, we first see a large building, three stories high, and with fifteen windows in front. In the first story, as we have related, are the book establishment and the apothecary's shop; and, in the second and third, the rooms of the Latin High School, (Hauptschule.) Under two eagles, who direct their flight toward the sun, is the inscription which we have already read: "They who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles." On going up the outer steps, the eye falls upon two large tablets, upon one of which is the inscription, "Stranger! what thou seest is the result of faith and love. Honor the spirit of the founder, by believing and loving like him." The inside of the edifice presents a long street with lofty houses each side. On the right is the common dining-room, and over it the assembly-room, which is for school or religious uses. Next this are the officer's residences, the Canstein Bible Institution, the library, (which has gradually increased by gifts and legacies to 26,000 volumes, and in whose lower story is a high school for girls,) the chief accountant's office, the treasury, and the archives.

On the left hand are, next to the front building, the orphan institution for boys, the rooms of the burgher and free schools, the Mädchenhaus for orphan girls, and two girls' schools. The long building next, with six entrances, the first of which admits to a real school, and the others to many lodging-rooms for teachers and scholars.

At the end of this interior street is a side of the edifice of the Royal Pædagogium, to which, between two courts, is adjoined the main building for the pupils of the institution. South of the great inner street is a second street, with buildings for the domestic departments, bakery, store-rooms for books and bibles, the hospital, and the building yard. Beyond these are the extensive gardens and the beautiful play grounds of the Orphan House and the Pædagogium.

Several of these buildings have, since Franké's death, either been entirely rebuilt or changed by important repairs; the outward appearance of his institutions is, at this day, however, but little different from that in his time.

The schools have been much increased. Franké established the Pædagogium, the Latin school, and the German schools for boys and girls. His successors have maintained these, but, as successive periods required, have added to them a real school, a higher girls' school, a preparatory school for future teachers, and boys' and girls' schools for children entirely poor, quite separate from those in which a moderate rate is required.

The number of scholars has increased remarkably. In 1698, it was 500; in 1707, 1100; in 1714, 1775; in 1727, 2205; and at about 1750, 2500. After that time the number began to decrease, so that at the centennial foundation anniversary there were only 1418. During the present century, confidence in the schools revived; and the attendance upon them has rapidly risen to so great a number as would have been injurious to the grade of the instruction, if care had not always been taken to divide classes when too full. The Pædagogium alone has decreased, by reason of various unfavorable circumstances, so that whereas, fifty years ago, there were 76 pupils in it, there are now but 24. The Latin high school has 475 pupils; the real school 480; the girl's high school 253; the burgher school 714; the intermediate girls' school 406; the free school for boys 315; that for girls 322; so that more than 3000 scholars are now (1853) daily instructed in the institution.

The number of orphans, which in 1798 was 100, was, in 1727, 134; and in 1744, 200. The great scarcity of the years from 1770 to 1773, inclusive, rendered it necessary to decrease this number. In 1786 there were 80 boys and 35 girls; and the number was maintained only by great efforts. At present (1853) there are 114 boys and 16 girls. The whole number of orphans who have been brought up in the institution is 6757; of whom 5450 are boys, and 1307 girls. To so many thousands has it been a foster-mother! See "*August Hermann Franké, or the Power and Blessing of Prayer and Faith.*" Breslau.

A full account of the institution for orphans is given by Prof. Bache, in his "*Report on Education in Europe.*"

VERBAL REALISM.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Thus we perceive that the circle of studies, both at the schools and universities of that period (the sixteenth century, and thereabouts,) was extremely limited, compared with that of the present day. It is abundantly evident, as I have repeatedly remarked, that all the time and energy of youth was devoted to the acquisition and the practice of Latin eloquence. A many-years' course in grammar was submitted to for the sake of correctness of speech, in logic for the sake of precision of thought; and history was taught in order to furnish the material for the display of rhetoric, either in speaking or in writing. Nothing was thought of, but disputations, declamations, and the acting of the plays of Terence. The classics were read merely for the purpose of gleaning from them phrases to be used in constructing Latin sentences; and, provided that an agreeable fullness and cadence was thereby secured to the expression, but little heed was given to the contents. Such we find to have been the spirit of education among the Protestants, equally with the Jesuits; Trotzendorf and Sturm, Wurtembergers and Saxons, agreeing herein with the Jesuit general, Claudius di Aquaviva.

Nevertheless, in the more liberal-minded Erasmus, there appeared indications of a rebellion against this universal tendency: with him arose a new type of culture, which may be appropriately styled "verbal realism." This we will now endeavor to analyze, in order in the sequel to distinguish it more clearly from "real realism."

Erasmus demanded of the grammarian or philologist (and it would really appear self-evident,) that he should learn many things, without which, he would be in no condition to understand the classics. For instance, he insisted upon a knowledge of geography, arithmetic, and natural science. He did not, however, exact that perfect and full acquaintance with these topics possessed by the adept, but only a general knowledge of them all, which, nevertheless, was a great advance on the profound ignorance which had hitherto been acquiesced in.

As in so many other literary aspirations and achievements, Melancthon, in this matter also, followed in the wake of Erasmus. We have seen that, even while at Tubingen, he did not rest contented with philological pursuits alone, but used every endeavor to acquire universal

knowledge, turning his attention to physics, mathematics, astronomy, history, and medicine, and all his life he remained true to this desire for universal culture.

In what spirit he studied all these sciences, especially the natural, he intimates in many places. Thus, in the dedication to his physics, addressed to Meienburg, the Mayor of Nordhausen, he says: "Although the nature of things can not be absolutely known, nor the marvelous works of God be traced to their original, until in that future life we shall ourselves listen to the eternal counsel of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nevertheless, even amid this our present darkness, every gleam and every hint of the harmony of this fair creation forms a step toward the knowledge of God and toward virtue, whereby we ourselves shall also learn to love and maintain order and moderation in all our own acts. Since it is evident that men are endowed by their Creator with faculties fitted for the contemplation of nature, they must, of necessity, take delight in investigating the elements, the laws, the motions, and the qualities or forces of the various bodies, by which they are surrounded." "The uncertainty which obtains with regard to so much in nature," he says elsewhere, "should not deter us from our search, for it is none the less God's will that we trace out his footsteps in the creation." "Let us prepare ourselves," he continues, "for admission to that enduring and eternal Academy, where all the imperfections of our philosophy shall vanish in the immediate presence of the Master-Builder, who there shall Himself show us his own archetype of the world."

"Many," he proceeds to say, "will smile at these Aristotelian beginnings; but they are the rudiments of what is destined, one day, to become a perfected philosophy. Were the powers of men on a greater scale than we find them, still their knowledge must, as now, proceed from small beginnings. In such a plain and simple manner might Adam once have taught his son, Abel, philosophy; pointing him to the heavens, the stars, the land, the water, teaching him of the times and seasons, and, in all his teachings, directing him up to God the Creator."

Further on he admonishes the learner, with an intelligent choice to read the best authors on physics, to avoid all controversy, and to make use of a faultless Latin style. "For," he says, "he who takes pains to weigh his words will form a clear conception of the objects he is describing. Where, on the contrary, a person coins uncouth and strange words, his ideas will be sure to be crude and anomalous; as in the writings of Scotus and his fellows, you will not merely find the language corrupt, but likewise that vague shadows of truth, or it

may be dreams, have been summoned up, and new words formed to express them."

Then he relates how Paul Eber, in connection with himself, has projected the text-book in question, upon the basis of Aristotle. And he adds his caution against the course of those who deem it a mark of genius to make a parade of high-sounding sentiments; for "the right spirit in the quest of truth consists in the love of truth." Science must be applied to life. "The church too is benefitted by these physical studies; as, for instance, we have often to speak of the harmony of the creation, so, likewise, of the derangement of this harmony, and the evils which God has visited upon man in consequence of the fall." While preparing his psychology, in which he treats of the entire nature of man, he sought an interview with the Nuremberg doctors of medicine, and requested the celebrated Leonard Fox to send him communications upon anatomy, temperaments, &c. His enthusiasm for astronomy, he expresses thus, in his preface to John Sacrobusto's book on the sphere. This book he thinks peculiarly adapted to schools, "because the author understood how, from the great mass of astronomical facts, to select the simplest and most essential." Then he praises the study of astronomy, and quotes, with commendation, Plato's saying, "that it was to gaze upon the stars that eyes were given to men. For to look at it, the eye itself would seem to bear an affinity to the stars." "And then too, the perdurable harmony of the starry heavens bespeaks a God. Thus, philosophers, who despised astronomy, were atheists, denying our immortality. The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and the conduct of life, equally called for a knowledge of astronomy. What would become of men, had they no chronology for the past, no calendar for the present? Neither the church nor the state could stand without it." And further on, he lauds the Germans, Purbach and Regiomontanus, through whose labors, astronomy, after being in disrepute for centuries, had been again brought into honor. Thus those Epicurean theologians, who scorned and rejected, not astrology alone, but a firmly-based scientific astronomy also, had more need of the physician than the geometer, to be cured of their madness. In the preface to his edition of Aratus, addressed to Hieronymus Baumgartner, he says, "the knowledge of nature we must learn from the Greeks; Aratus throws light upon much in the Latin poets." And against the enemies of mathematics, he bears the following testimony, in a letter to Camerarius, "I can only laugh over your anger that my recommendation of mathematics has been condemned. In it I had no other aim, than to restore to the schools the right use of this science, and to allure youth to the

study of it. This I have desired, and for this will I labor, so long as any opportunity is left to me to help forward the cause of sound learning." But how ill it must have fared with the mathematics, when, as we have elsewhere cited, the mathematical professor at Wittemberg, lectured upon simple numbers, or the four primary elements of arithmetic; this fact, of itself, forms a practical comment on the entire neglect into which arithmetic had fallen in the schools.

But much as Melancthon's defense of astronomy and mathematics merits our approval, yet we must not close our eyes to the fact that, he, like so many of his contemporaries, was a firm believer in the superstitions of astrology.* In support of this belief, he cites the saying of Aristotle, that "the world is under the dominion of the heavens." Neither the learned treatise of Picus di Mirandola against astrology, nor Luther's hearty contempt for it, could ever wean him from this superstition, as is evinced by the practical use he made of it throughout his life.

In common with many eminent astronomers of that day, he adhered to the Ptolemaic system, and this, although his friend and colleague, Erasmus Reinhold, was among the first to recognize the claims of Copernicus. And truly, what an entire change, both in modes of thought as well as in text-books, was called for by that great work of Copernicus, "*On the revolutions of the heavenly bodies;*" for it required every work on astronomy to be rewritten, every opinion, and every method of instruction, to be reconsidered.

Allusion has already been made, in another part of this work to Luther's earnest and lively recommendation of the study of the "*real*" sciences, such as history, mathematics, astronomy, and music.

But, despite all the expostulations of Erasmus, Melancthon, and Luther, these studies, as we have had occasion to observe, were sadly neglected, both at schools and universities; nor did they begin to receive a gradually increasing attention until the seventeenth century.

But what are "reals," and what is "realism?" These questions are not easy to answer, even after all that we have said in elucidation of them. Our task, however, will be simplified, if we divest ourselves of the views and conceptions obtaining on this subject at the present day, and confine our thoughts to the sixteenth century. The philologist of that period aimed, in the study of the classics, at a twofold object. In the first place, he applied himself merely to the lan-

* He thus writes of his son-in-law, Sabinus:—"Sabinus is of a head-strong nature, and will not listen to advice; this is due to the conjunction of Mars and Saturn, at his nativity, a fact which I ought to have taken into account, when he asked the hand of my daughter." And, because the mathematician, Hasefurt, who cast his nativity when he was a boy, had predicted that peril would befall him from the North Sea, and the Baltic, he declined invitations both to Denmark and to England.

guage of ancient authors, grammatically, as he considered its etymological and syntactical forms; critically, as he scrutinized the accuracy of the text; and æsthetically, while he weighed the expression and the rhythm of the prose writer or the meter of the poet. At the same time he read both prose and poetry, with constant reference to a more and more perfect imitation of them, both in speaking and in writing. And, secondly, he applied himself to the contents, whatever they might be, whether they related to war or to peace, to affairs of state, to nature, art, mythology, etc. This study of the contents of an author was afterward styled the study of "reals," to distinguish it from that of language alone. Such was that study upon which Erasmus and Melancthon laid so much stress; but it was nevertheless by no means conducted independently of the ancients, being based in great part upon their writings, and then, in turn, used as indispensable aids in their interpretation.

Let the reader imagine himself, on the one hand, regarding solely the language of the classics, and taking their subject into account only where this is required to throw light on the words; and, on the other hand, penetrating to the subject-matter of an author, and giving no more attention to the phraseology than is absolutely necessary to an understanding of that subject-matter. In this latter case, his ideal will be to convert the language into a perfectly transparent medium, and to read the classics without embarrassment, as though Greek or Latin were his mother tongue.

Reading the classics out of pure regard for the language, belongs chiefly to the professional philologist. This study of language, in and for itself, might be called pure philology, after the analogy of the pure mathematics. These have to do, for instance, with unknown quantities, with numbers in the absolute, with algebraic formulæ. And, as the pure mathematics are applied to astronomy, optics, acoustics, etc., becoming the handmaid to these sciences, so pure philology ministers to the purposes of the historian, the archæologist, etc.

This contest between "reals" and "verbals," had presented itself, as we have seen, to the minds, both of Erasmus and Melancthon; but the terms "reals" and "realism" were not, so far as I can learn, employed by either of them. Nor is this strange, if we consider that they flourished near the period when the term "realism," introduced by the scholastics, as contrasted with "nominalism," had a meaning wholly unlike that of the same term in its present acceptation.

When this term first began to change its original meaning, we may gather from a treatise by the well-known philologist, Taubmann,

which appeared in the year 1614. In this he says, "there is one thing which has often excited my surprise, and that is, if any one devotes unusual care to the acquisition of a graceful and elegant style, young men, and sometimes even the teachers of young men, will call him, by way of derision, philologist, critic, and grammarian, or, in one word, verbalist; but to themselves they arrogate the new name of realists, thereby intimating that their concern is with things alone, while those others, wholly absorbed in language, overlook the matter spoken of."

It will be observed that realists are here contrasted, not with humanists, but with verbalists. *Verba valent sicut nummi.* Evidently, then, the realists to whom Taubmann alludes, found their advantage in fastening upou their opponents the epithet verbalists; for thereby they branded them as dealers in words, who pursued the shadow and lost the substance. In our day, however, the tables are turned, since the verbalists have assumed the new title of humanists, and, by so doing, have given the realists, in no vague manner, to understand that they count them for barbarians, and, as such, destitute of all ennobling culture.

"But," my readers may ask, "what is to be understood by the expression 'verbal realism?' Is it not a contradiction in terms?" Apparently it is; yet we shall see, in the sequel, that besides the general distinction between "verbals" and "reals," there also subsists a two-fold division of realism itself; viz., into verbal and real. Some indications of this latter division we have already met, in the close of our sketch of the earlier universities. Here, for instance, astronomy was taught without an observatory, anatomy without dissections, botany without herbals, natural philosophy without experiments, all from books,—Aristotle, Pliny, Aratus, Galen, etc.,—and this knowledge was then made use of in turn for the elucidation of the same books from whence it was drawn. Such was "verbal realism" in those times, and such is it likewise in our day! The meaning that we attach, on the other hand, to the phrase "real realism," will appear more clearly in the light of the succeeding chapter upon Lord Bacon.

THE REAL SCHOOLS OF GERMANY.

[Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer for this Journal.]

DURING the seventeenth century, pedagogical realism gained more and more ground in the schools of learning, as is shown by the introduction of the school-books of Comenius. These were brought into the gymnasium at Hersfield, in 1649. In the Dantzic Gymnasium, according to the plan of study for 1653, the *Vestibulum* and *Janua* of Comenius were to be read; in those of Stargard and Nuremberg, the *Orbis Pictus*.

In the use of these books, however, the thing sought for appears to have been a *copia vocabulorum*, with especial regard to the speaking of Latin. The pictures were used rather as a mnemonic help for fixing the words in the memory, than according to the idea of Comenius, as means of becoming acquainted with the things themselves.

The things, however, imperceptibly asserted their proper place. Feuerlein remarks, that complaint had been made of the want of a good vocabulary or *nomenclator;* and about the *Orbis Sensualium* of Comenius, which up to that time had been almost the only work of the kind. This contained the Latin of tailors, weavers, shoemakers, cooks, and butlers, unlatin phrases and barbarisms; and, on the other hand, lacked the most necessary words, particles, &c.* The *Libellus memorialis* of Cellarius was introduced in the place of the *Orbis Pictus*, to remedy this defect. But this school-book, which was of printed matter only, gave no better satisfaction; men had become used to the pictures of Comenius, and to his world of real things. Thus, Feuerlein says: "men might set about some wood-cuts or copper-plates, in which the several things which youth were learning might at least be placed *in effigie* before their eyes, and under each, what they are, or for what they are used, might be written; of which they might memorize the Latin names, and thus might fix words in their memories in relation to which they did not know what the thing is, or what the word means. * * * Besides, it would not be a

* Feuerlein relates that when a scholar asked Conrector Manner. "Master, what is the Latin for Kugel-Höpflein?" (a sort of cake.) he answered, "You fool. do you suppose that Cicero ever ate a Kugel-Höpflein?" That is, where is the use of learning Latin words which do not appear in the classics?

bad plan," he continues, "to take some of the boys, from time to time, upon walks into the fields and gardens, to forges, saw mills, paper mills, &c., or to workshops of all kinds; to show them the tools, and tell them what are their names, and what is done with them; and then to ask them what are the Latin names of this or that, which they see *in substantia* before their eyes; or to tell them to them. This would not only impress the words much better upon their memories, while they would not otherwise learn them without vexation, since they do not understand them in German, or know what the thing is; but also this knowledge would serve a good turn in every-day life; in which the educated man often appears so ignorant and ill-informed upon subjects which are always coming up in ordinary conversation."

Something of life was beginning to make itself felt all through the schools.

Although the *Orbis Pictus* was disused in the Nuremberg Gymnasium, the Vestibulum of Comenius was yet retained there in the two lowest classes. In the same direction was tending most of the realist instruction in mathematics, which is called, in the plan of study given by Feuerlein, *mathesis juvenilis*, and which passed through five classes.

Sturm's class-book,* which was used for this purpose, is largely furnished with copper-plates, and includes general mathematics, practical arithmetic, theoretical and practical geometry, (field surveying, measuring altitudes, and stereometry,) optics, military and civil architecture, cosmography, chronology, dialing, mechanics, and, last of all, chiromancy! The elements of these studies are contained upon seventy-nine folio pages. Feuerlein praises highly Sturm's mathematical method; one would think one was listening to a scholar of Pestalozzi. "In it," he says, "there is no learning by rote of the one-times-one, as is customary in the German schools, without understanding it; but they learn themselves to make it, and to fix their understanding on it with reason and good apprehension of it. Here is learned the διότι, the basis of the rules, why they do so and so; in the German schools only the ὅτι is taught; how to proceed, without knowing the basis of the proceedings, the why. In the latter case the work would seem to be almost entirely one of memory, rather than of reason." He then goes on to praise it,—and this is what we have special regard to; that the boys "learn so skillfully to use the compasses, the square, the measuring-rod, &c., and that, after a few exercises, they learn, quickly and neatly, to estimate by the eye alone, the size of a table, a window, a room, a house, &c."

* The title is: "*Johannis Christophori Sturmii mathesis compendiaria sive tyrocinia mathematica.*" I have before me the sixth edition in folio, Coburg, 1714; edited by Sturm's son, Leonhard Christoph Sturm.

According to Sturm's preface to his book, it was introduced into various German gymnasiums.

Pastor Semler, of Halle, went still one step further.* In 1739, he published an account called "*Upon the Mathematical, Mechanical, and Agricultural Real School in the city of Halle*, approved and re-opened by the royal Prussian government of the Duchy of Magdeburg, and the Berlin royal society of sciences."†

So far as I know, this is the first time that the name and the idea of the *real* school appear. Besides religious instruction, according to Semler, youth are to be instructed in knowledge which is useful and entirely indispensable in every-day life; and, in particular, all visible things are to be shown to them, whether in nature or by means of all manner of pictures. "A description of Rome in a book," he says, "gives the faintest notion of the city; a more lively one is given by an oral description, from one who has lived long in Rome; the liveliness of this impression is increased by copper-plates, paintings, or models; but to see the city with one's own eyes gives a most perfect knowledge. His rule has been, for forty years, *Non scholæ sed vitæ discendum.* In *real* life is needed a knowledge of weight, size, of the use of circles and lines, of the almanac, astronomy, and geography. There is also needed: "Knowledge of some physical things, such as metals, minerals, common stones, and precious stones, woods, colors, drawings, farming, gardening, book-keeping, something of anatomy and regimen, the most necessary parts of police regulations, the history of the country, from the Halle Chronicle and other authors; the map of all Germany, and those of the Duchy of Magdeburg, and of the cities and towns lying about Halle, which will be the subject of conversation very often in daily life; for this sort of knowledge is much more important than to know in what part of the world are Dublin, Astrakhan, and Adrianople."

We have here not only an enumeration of most of the real subjects which were afterward taught in the real schools, but also the fundamental principle appears here which was the leading one of Rousseau and Pestalozzi; that, first of all, that must be learned which is required by the immediate present, by daily life.

Among the professors at Halle, Semler mentions Chr. Thomasius, Cellarius, Hofmann the physician, and the philosopher Wolf, as those who approved his principles. In 1706, he presented his school pro-

* Christoph Semler, a Lutheran preacher, was born in Halle, in 1669; read lectures there, in 1697 became a magistrate, in 1699 inspector of the poor schools; was principal deacon of the church of St. Ulrich, and member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. He died in 1740 Jöcher says, "He was a man of great science in mechanics and mathematics."

† This appeared in the "*Halle Advertiser*," from which it was taken for the "*Acta Historica Ecclesiastica*," (1740, Vol. XIX., p. 198.)

posals to the government of Magdeburg, which entered into them with approval. The Berlin society of sciences, being applied to by that government upon the subject, answered on the 15th of December, 1706; that provided schools were established for the training up of state and church officers, it would be well for such boys as now attend only the German schools, "to be instructed in an actual mechanical school, so that their understandings and senses might be more developed; and especially that they might become acquainted with common materials and subjects, their value and price, with the common proportions of circles, lines, angles, and weight, as well as with different sizes and their measurement, with weighing, and upon opportunity with the simple microscope, for the better understanding of the constituents of bodies; and with the use of other useful instruments, together with tools and levers; to the end that this knowledge might serve them for improved understanding and practices, and to the invention of new and useful modes of using them. Thus it can be seen that there would be attained by such scholars, good proportions in their work, a steady hand, and the like advantages, such as are derived from a more intelligent use of the outward senses, which are the foundation of all the skill which nature can offer and practice can perfect."

Semler, now assisted by the city, caused twelve poor boys to be instructed in his house, by a "literary man, well experienced in mathematics, mechanics, and agriculture;" but his plan lasted only for a year and a half. In this course of instruction, "sixty-three single objects were displayed before their eyes," chiefly by models.* In 1738, these ocular demonstrations were resumed. These were placed before the scholars, says Semler, "to see, not exotic things and objects of curiosity, but only things daily necessary, and such as possess the most immediate utility in every day life. By this method, the schools, which have been verbal schools hitherto, will become real schools, since information will be given in them no more by means purely abstract, universal, and intellectual. The elementary information of little children should be given to them without books, from things themselves." Books should merely serve for repetition, and the ideas of things are to be adjoined to words. The schools, hitherto rooms of martyrdom, will, by the introduction of realities into them, become real pleasure rooms. Semler was seventy years old when he wrote these words. It would be an error to consider him, from what has above been said, an entirely earthly-minded ma-

* Sometimes by very strange ones. Thus there was a machine "which demonstrated the true reason of the rise and fall of the tide."

terialist realist, as so many of his successors were. He did not desire to remain permanently in the realm of the material, but, as he says, "to ascend from the creature to the Creator;" and he prays for the gift of enlightened eyes, which may penetrate within the penetralia of the creature. In conclusion, the pious old man, with the Psalmist, praises the works of God. "Blessed is he," he says, "who knows them holily; and twice blessed, he who holily takes pleasure in them, and thanks him for them, from the bottom of his heart."*

It has been remarked that in Francké's school there were various real studies, as botany, turning, and the like. Should not Semler, brought into such close communion with Francké, as teacher in the University of Halle, and as preacher and instructor of the German schools, have had an influence upon the improvements in teaching in the Pædagogium and Orphan-house by his pedagogical realism? It is worthy of remark, that from Francké's school came Johann Julius Hecker, who, in 1747, established the first important real school in Berlin; as did his successor in the same school, Johann Elias Silberschlag.

In treating of the stronger and stronger growth of realism, a distinction of it must be made, into two kinds. On the one hand, real studies, before entirely suppressed by the study of language, began to be more correctly estimated, and attempts were made to introduce them into the learned schools. And, on the other hand, the conviction grew, that in these schools the instruction was proper for such boys as were intended for the learned professions, and only for such, and that all other scholars were obliged to learn, and that in a superficial manner, things which could be of no use to them in after life. It was clear that, for scholars not intending a life of study, real knowledge was far more valuable than a mere purposeless beginning with Latin. The answer of the Berlin academy in the matter of Semler shows as much. Rector Gesner, of Rotenburg, in 1720, wrote to the same effect: "The one class, who will not study, but will become tradesmen, merchants, or soldiers, must be instructed in writing, arithmetic, writing letters, geography, description of the world, and history. The other class may be trained for studying." Schöttgen, rector in Dresden, wrote, in 1742, a "*Humble proposal for the special class in public city schools.*" In these schools, he says, every one is arranged with a view to the learning of Latin, and children, "who are to remain without Latin," are entirely forgotten. They are forced to learn Donatus and the grammar, which are useless for them; and

* I have, up to this time, been unable to learn further particulars about Semler. Schulz, ("*Rhenish Gazette*," March and April, 1842, p. 159,) speaks cursorily of "Semler's sad experiences at Halle."

they do not study what would be useful to mechanics, artists, or merchants. Of what use will it be to such, to have learned *anthrax*, *colax*, &c.? State and country need, not only people who know Latin, but others also. For these reasons he advises to organize a special class for such. "My proposal," he says, with resignation, "is already rejected before it has been brought to light. But, if what there is in it is not yet ripe, we will wait until the time comes for it."

Rector Henzky of Prenzlau, already mentioned, wrote, in 1751, a treatise "*That real schools can and must become common;*" and the learned and cautious Joh. Matthias Gesner expressed himself thus: "It is a common fault of most of our schools, that in them provision is made only for such as intend to become what are called learned men by profession; and thus a complete acquaintance with Latin is required of all young people, without any distinction. On the contrary, those things are for the most part neglected, which would be indispensable, or at least useful, in common civil life, in the arts and professions, at court and in war. * * * A well-organized gymnasium should, on the contrary, be so arranged that youth, of every extraction, age, character, and distinction, may find their account there, and be taught in them for the common good. Youth may be, with reference to their future life, divided into three classes. 1. Those who are to learn trades, arts, or to be merchants; 2. Those who are to seek their fortune at court or in war; and, 3. Those who are to remain students, and to go to the university."*

Thus many wise men demanded that regard should be had, not only exclusively and uniformly to the education of students, but also to that of children who were "to remain without Latin." But the question how to bring this to pass, was a difficult one to answer.

According to Gesner's view, each gymnasium must solve the problem of educating all these entirely different classes of children. But it is evident how difficult of solution it must have been; and how great was the danger, that the endeavor to comply with the most various requirements, would result in satisfying none of them, and becoming quite characterless.

But why such mixed schools? asked others. Would it not be better to erect separate institutions, perhaps not for every pursuit not literary, but for them all together? These questions may have become more important, as the confusion in the gymnasium from their attempt to attain different ends increased, and the conviction grew,

* J. M. Gesner, Minor German Works, p. 355. As these appeared in 1756, Gesner's "*Thoughts on the Organization of a Gymnasium*," from which the extract in the text is taken, must have been written before that time. His plan of a gymnasium includes those three classes, for the accommodation of pupils.

that each school should have but one principle, one aim, one character.

The history of the Berlin real school is very instructive in this connection, as furnishing a series of attempts to unite and bring into harmony with each other, humanist and real studies; the instruction of those who were and were not to become men of learning.

I have named Julius Hecker as the founder of this school.* He was appointed preacher at the Church of the Trinity, in Berlin, in 1739, and at the same time became instructor of the German schools belonging to the parish. He considered institutions of instruction the seed-beds of the state, from which the young, like trees from a nursery, could be transplanted into their proper places. He therefore wished for schools which should prepare for learned studies; and others which should train for the position of citizens, artisans, soldiers, and land-owners; and others for farmers and day-laborers. In accordance with this view, he organized the real school, which he established in 1747. It consisted of three schools, partly subordinated and in part co-ordinate; of the German school, the Latin school, and the real school proper. Scholars from the Latin and German schools might receive instruction in the real school also. In the latter were taught arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, architecture, drawing, and the knowledge of nature. A knowledge of the human body was especially taught, then plants and minerals, and instruction was given in the cultivation of mulberry trees and silk-worms, and the scholars were taught by being taken to workshops. Among the classes were a manufacturing class, an architectural class, an agricultural class, a book-keeping class, and a mining class.†

The organization of the Latin school presents nothing particular. The pupils were taught weekly, Latin twelve hours, French and other languages five hours; and the boys received besides various kinds of real instruction, and were overwhelmed with lessons. Except from twelve to one, instruction was given from seven in the morning to seven at night.

In 1753, J. F. Hälm became teacher of the real school; who taught by means of intuition, after Semler's manner. For this purpose a large collection of real objects was used, among which were models of buildings, ships, chests, plows, churns, columns of the different orders, pictorial representations of an entire Roman triumphal procession, collections of merchandise, a miniature shop, a pharma-

* The information here following is mostly from Principal Schulz's "*History of the Real School in Berlin.*" See Diesterweg's "*Rheinische Blätter,*" Vols. XXV. and XXVI., 1842.

† In 1748, a boarding-house was attached to the school, in which the first boarder was Friedrich Nicolai.

cological collection, specimens of leather, &c., &c. There was also a botanical garden adapted to the real school, and a plantation of mulberries.

Hecker and Hälm laid their pedagogical views before the public. The former, among other works, wrote, in 1749, one entitled "*A sincere proposal how the Latin tongue may be maintained in worth and honor.*"* He says, "it is in vain that we strive to keep the Latin upon its ancient throne; juridical and medicinal examinations and examinations of candidates show into what a low estate it has fallen." His advice is, to pursue real studies until the eleventh or twelfth year, and then to begin Latin.

Hälm wrote, "*How to collect in real schools what is necessary and useful of languages, arts, and sciences*, 1753." He advised to give children not only oral descriptions, but also to show them things themselves, either in their natural form or in models and pictures. From his treatise will appear the connection between the specimens of leather above mentioned, and the class in manufacturing. "In the class in manufactures," he says, "they began at Christmas with the art of working in leather. To pursue this study in a manner to make it useful and practical in future life, a collection of all kinds of leather is necessary. There might be shown to youth for instruction, more than ninety kinds of leather, each piece perhaps as large as an octavo page. Among these might be all kinds of sole-leather, calves' leather, and that of cows, horses, and sheep; similar pieces of goatskin, deerskin, doeskin, buckskin, Cordovan, Morocco, Russia, and other kinds."

Julius Hecker died in 1768; and Hälm had left the school in 1759.

From the foregoing it seems clear, that there had not been enough difference, in the real schools, between the studies of those who were to be students and of those who were not; between literary studies and real studies. This occasioned the unheard of number of eleven hours of study daily; which was made necessary by the crowd of objects of instruction. It however also appears, from the same, that Hecker not only was true to his "chief principle, *non scholæ sed vitæ discendum*, but that he pushed it from a misunderstanding, even to caricatures.

The school should prepare well for life, but should not anticipate it; it should not undertake to teach what life only teaches or can teach. Hälm's words, above quoted, "At Christmas we began with the art of working in leather," must appear silly to every intelligent

* Ancient and Modern Schools, collected by Biedermann, 1752, Part VI.

man. Is this the meaning of the wise maxim, *non scholæ sed vitæ discendum?* Had the real idea of life become wholly lost in that hard and dead period?

After the death of Hecker, Johann Elias Silberschlag, known as a mathematician and naturalist, became director of the institution.* He seems to have in view a more popular distinction of the three institutions here united under the common name of "real school." He gave to the three the names of Pædagogium, art school, and German or artisans' school.

The German school was the elementary school for all, but had also an especial class in trades. In the art school, the students laid the foundation of a knowledge of mathematics, Latin, and French, although this school was particularly intended for workmen, farmers, and others not proposing to study. The teachers of mathematics in this school gave as rules, "Axioms and theorems which did not require theoretical acuteness;" these being needed in the Pædagogium. In this there were two theoretical-mathematical classes; in the lower of which arithmetic was taught, in the other algebra. The other studies of the Pædagogium were the usual ones of the higher gymnasium class. Silberschlag leaving in 1784, Andreas Jacob Hecker succeeded him in his office. An education for special pursuits was more and more aimed at in the artisans' school; there were given in it special lectures to future miners and smelters, and particularly for those preparing to become practical geometers, artillerists, foresters, farmers, merchants, &c. Some hours weekly were even devoted to instruction in German; "in order to make those, who shall wish in future to engage as secretaries to high boards of authorities in the country, better acquainted with the course of business." Thus the real school of arts was a gathering of the most dissimilar schools for special pursuits. "The idea rises of necessity," says the historian of the school, "that where the endeavor is to reach every one, but little will be actually attained. And this was the fact with our real school."

During the same time, the Pædagogium, under Hecker, acquired more the peculiar character of a literary school. In 1797, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary festival, it took the name of the Friedrich Wilhelm's Gymnasium;" and, in the year 1811, it was finally separated from the real school, in respect to its teachers and its lectures.† Long and hard experience had at last brought the conviction that the previous close connection of the two institutions was a *mésalliance*, by which both lost their independence of character.

* It is characteristic of the man, that he was at the same time a consistorial counselor and high counselor of public buildings.

† That is, from the real school in its more proper sense; the school of arts of Silberschlag.

The purposes of the two institutions being so different, it was necessary that the teaching in real studies in the gymnasium must be entirely distinct from that in the real schools; and the instruction in language in the real school from that in the gymnasium. There must be a distinction in selection, method, and design.

One observation suggests itself here. Gymnasiums are, as to their instruction, really and clearly distinct universities, in this; that they look only to the general education, as the foundation for instruction in all vocations, while the universities are characterized by study in the faculties, and thus prepare for the entrance into real life. It was with justice that great displeasure was manifested, when, at the end of the last century, a master required that future jurists, in the gymnasium, should study, instead of Tacitus and Virgil, the institutions of Heineccius. The gymnasium knows no professional studies, and should know of none; lest it should forcibly communicate, to immature boys, a professional education without any real basis.

Does this same distinction apply to real schools? was it not the greatest of mistakes, that in the Berlin school direct instruction was given for miners, farmers, &c., &c.?

Such a purpose was that of the excellent Spilleke, who assumed the direction of the real school in 1820.* His opinion was, that this school should, in its higher classes, "give or at least introduce to such an education as, without pretending to thorough classic studies, should prepare for the higher relations of society; but a more special preparation; such as was aimed at in earlier times in this part of the school, is not proper."

If we understand Spilleke here, he suggests new questions. If the real schools must correspond with the gymnasiums, how must those real studies be organized which correspond with the universities; in which the real scholars intend to finish their studies?

Are our polytechnic schools and higher industrial schools true "real" universities? Do they, by virtue of the great variety of their studies in arts and trades, become divided into parts which correspond to the faculties of the universities? Or are such "real" universities not practicable, and must there be a special school for each trade, because most occupations have some peculiar elements in their life? The miner must ultimately be trained in the mine, the sailor on the sea, the farmer in the country; but all three can receive their general preparatory training in the same real school. And indeed,

* A. J. Hecker died in 1819, and was followed by Bernardi, who died the next year. After him came Spilleke, who was succeeded, after his death, in 1841, by F. Ranke, distinguished both as an educator and a man of learning.

if students of many arts and trades should enjoy primary instruction, whether carried more or less far, should not this be followed by a purely practical study and drill in the pursuit, under the guidance of skillful masters; and should not their more complete artistic or scientific training come after these years of apprenticeship?

But I must not too far transgress my limits as a historian. When rector Schöttgen, in 1742, published his "*Modest proposal*," for making suitable provision for the instruction of children who are not to study Latin, he hopelessly added, as we have seen, "My proposal is already rejected, before it has been brought into the light." But encouraging himself, he went on: "But yet, if what is proposed therein is not yet ripe, we will wait until its time shall come."

The old rector prophesied rightly. One century after he wrote, there were, in the Prussian states alone, forty-two real institutions, to one hundred and twenty-six gymnasiums.

[To enable our readers, who may not have access to Bache's "*Education in Europe*," or to Barnard's "*National Education in Europe*," we transfer from the latter the following account of a Real School, and Art Institute of our day, in Prussia, compared with a Gymnasium of the highest grade.—Ed.]

FREDERICK WILLIAM GYMNASIUM OF BERLIN.

This institution dates from 1797, and was at first an appendage to the "real school" of Mr. Hecker. It is now a royal institution, and is independent of the real school, except so far that it has the same director, and that the preparatory classes are in the real school, in which, or in other equivalent schools, the pupils are taught until ten years of age. The qualifications for admission are those contained in the general account of the gymnasia. This gymnasium had, in 1837, four hundred and thirty-seven pupils, divided into six classes, and instructed by fourteen teachers and six assistants. The second and third classes are subdivided into two parts, called upper and lower, pursuing different courses, and both divisions of the third class are again subdivided into two others, for the convenience of instruction. The course in each class occupies a year, except in the first, which is of two years. Pupils who enter in the lowest class, and go regularly through the studies, will thus remain nine years in the gymnasium. The numbers of the several classes in 1837 were, in the first, fifty-four; in the upper second, thirty-two; lower second, forty-seven; upper third division, first, or A, thirty-six; second division, or B, thirty-six; lower third, division first, or A, thirty-eight; division second, or B, thirty-two; fourth class, fifty-five; fifth, fifty-seven; and sixth, fifty. Each division averages, therefore, nearly forty-four pupils, who are at one time under the charge of one teacher. One hundred and eight were admitted during the year, and the same number left the gymnasium; of these, twenty-one received the certificate of maturity to pass to the university, viz., ten who intend to study law, three medicine, five theology, one theology and philology, one philosophy, and one political economy, finance, &c., (cameralistic.) Of these all but five were two years in the first class; out of this number two were two years and a half in the first class, and three more had been in the gymnasium less than two years, having entered it in the first class. The average age at leaving the gymnasium was nearly nineteen years, and the greatest and least, respectively, twenty-two and between sixteen and seventeen years. It appears, thus, that on the average, the pupils actually enter at ten, and remain nine years, as required by rule.

The subjects of instruction are Latin, Greek, German, French, religious instruc-

tion, mathematics, (including arithmetic, algebra, and geometry,) natural philosophy and natural history, history, geography, writing, drawing, vocal music, and Hebrew for theologians.

The numbers attached to the names of the different classes, in the following programme, show the number of hours of study per week in the regular branches in which the division of classes takes place. In like manner, the numbers attached to the several subjects of study show how many hours are occupied per week in each of the subjects by the several classes.

SIXTH CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Inflections of nouns, &c. Comparisons. Conjugation of the indicative moods of regular and of some irregular verbs. Translation from Blume's elementary book. Exercises from Blume. Extemporalia. Ten hours.
German. Etymology and syntax. Exercises in writing upon subjects previously narrated. Exercises in orthography, reading, and declaiming. Four hours.
French. Etymology, to include the auxiliary verbs, in Herrmann's grammar. Oral and written exercises. Reading and translation. Exercises on the rules from the grammar. Three hours.
Religion. Bible history of the Old Testament. Committing to memory selected verses. Two hours.
Geography. Delineation of the outlines of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, from determinate points given. Divisions of the countries, with their principal cities, rivers, and mountains. Two hours.
Arithmetic The four ground rules, with denominate whole numbers. Their applications. Four hours.
Writing. Elements of round and running hand. Dictation. Writing from copy slips. Three hours.
Drawing. Exercises in drawing lines. Two hours.

FIFTH CLASS, TWENTY-NINE HOURS.

Latin. Etymology. Use of the prepositions. The accusative before an infinitive, practiced orally and in writing, and extempore, and in exercises. Translation from Blume's reader. Ten hours.
German. Parsing, reading, and declamation. Exercises on narrations. Four hours.
French. Etymology, by oral and written exercises. Easier stories from Herrmann's reader. Three hours.
Religion. Explanation of the gospels, according to St. Matthew and St. Luke. Committing to memory the principal facts. Two hours.
Geography. Review of the last year's course. Rivers and mountains of Europe, and chief towns, in connection. Two hours.
Arithmetic. Review of the preceding Fractions Four hours.
Writing. Running hand from copy slips. Two hours.
Drawing. Drawing from bodies, terminated by planes and straight lines. Two hours.

FOURTH CLASS, TWENTY-EIGHT HOURS.

Latin. Review of etymology. The principal rules enforced by oral and written exercises and extemporalia Translation from Jacob's reader and Corn. Nepos. Ten hours.
German. Compositions on subjects previously read. Declamation. Reading from Kalisch's reader. Parsing. Three hours.
French. Review of etymology. Irregular verbs. Reciprocal verbs. Anecdotes and narrations from Herrmann's grammar, and committing the principal to memory. Two hours.
Religion. Gospel, according to St. Matthew, explained. Verses and psalms committed to memory. Two hours.
Geography. Political geography of Germany, and of the rest of Europe. Review of the geography of the other parts of the world. Three hours.
Arithmetic. Review of fractions. Simple and compound proportion. Partnership. Simple interest. Three hours.
Geometry. Knowledge of forms, treated inductively. One hour.
Writing. Running hand, from copy slips. Two hours.
Drawing. From bodies bounded by curved lines. Two hours.

LOWER THIRD CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Syntax. Rules of cases from Zumpt. Exercises and extemporalia. Inflections formerly learned reviewed. Cornelius Nepos Eight hours.
Greek. Etymology, from Buttmann's grammar to regular verbs, included. Translation from Greek into German from Jacob's, from German into Greek from Hess's exercises. Six hours.
German. Compositions in narration and description. Declamation. Two hours.
French. Repetition of inflections, and exercises by extemporalia and in writing. Translation of the fables from Herrmann's reading book, 2d course. Two hours
Religion. Morals, and Christian faith. Two hours.
Geography. Physical geography Europe and the other parts of the world. Two hours
History. General view of ancient and modern history. Two hours.
Mathematics. Legendre's geometry, book 1. Decimals. Algebra. Square and cube root. Four hours.
Drawing. Introduction to landscape drawing. Two hours.

UPPER THIRD CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Division I. Syntax. from Zumpt. Review of the preceding course. Oral exercises in construction of sentences. Written exercises and extemporalia. Cæsar Bell. Gall

books 1, 2, and 7, in part. Ovid's Metamorphoses, extracts from books 7 and 8. Prosody, rules from Zompt. Ten hours.

Greek. Division I. Etymology, from Buttmann's grammar. Oral and written exercises and extemporalia. Jacob's reader. Six hours.

German. Examination of exercises on historical subjects. Poetical selections for declamation. Two hours.

French. Exercises in translation. Written exercises. Extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. Principal passages from the gospels gone over. General view of the Old Testament writings Two hours.

History and Geography. Roman history, from the Punic Wars to the destruction of the western empire. History of the middle ages, three hours. Review of the five general divisions of the world, one hour. Four hours.

Mathematics. Geometry. Legendre, books 1 and 2, and part of 3. Algebra, with exercises from Meyer Hirsch. Four hours.

LOWER SECOND CLASS, THIRTY-ONE HOURS.

Latin. Extracts from Livy and Cæsar de Bell. Civ. Review of Bell. Gall., books 2 and 3. Syntax. Exercises and extemporalia. Committing to memory exercises from Livy and Cæsar. Ovid's Metamorphoses, books 11 to 14. Eight hours.

Greek. Homer's Odys., 11, 12, 13, and 14. Exercises on the dialects. Xenophon's Anab. 1. 2, and part of 3. Excerpts from the grammar reviewed. Exercises and extemporalia. Syntax. Six hours.

Hebrew. Grammar, ending with irregular verbs. Easier parts of historical books of Scripture translated. Vocabulary learned by rote. Exercises on regular and irregular verbs out of the recitation room. Two hours.

German. Correction of written exercises and essays. Exercises on delivery. Two hours.

French. Voltaire's Charles XII. Exercises and extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. Explanation of the principal parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, with historical sketches, and a view of the life of early Christian communities. Two hours.

History. Roman history, from the Punic Wars. History of the middle ages concluded. General view of history. Three hours.

Mathematics. Geometry to proportions and simple figures. Elements of algebra. Logarithms. Four hours.

Natural History. Mineralogy. Botany, especially of native plants. Two hours.

UPPER SECOND CLASS, THIRTY-TWO HOURS.

Latin. Cicero's Orations, pro. Rosc. Amer., de Amic., de Senectute. Livy, books 22 to 25, inclusive. Virgil's Æneid, books 1 and 2. Some eclogues and excerpts from Georgics. Exercises and extemporalia. Nine hours.

Greek. Homer's Iliad, books 4 to 11, inclusive. Arrian Alex. expedition, books I and 2. Buttmann's grammar, with exercises and extemporalia. Six hours.

Hebrew. Books of Judges and of Ruth, with exercises of syntax. Easy exercises, and committing vocabulary to memory out of the class-room. Two hours.

German. Essays. Delivery. Two hours.

French. Excerpts from Herrmann and Brüchner's manual of the more recent French literature. Two hours.

Religion. Christian faith and morals. Two hours.

History. Review of ancient history and geography, using the Latin language. Three hours.

Mathematics. Arithmetical geometry and plane trigonometry. Algebraic exercises. Polygons. Stereometry. Simple and quadratic equations. Four hours.

Physics. General physics. Electricity and magnetism. Two hours.

FIRST CLASS, THIRTY-ONE HOURS.

Latin. Horace's Odes, books 3 and 4. Cicero against Verres. Tacitus, Annals, books 11 and 12, and extracts from 3 to 6. Cicero, Tusc. quest. Extempore translations from German into Latin. Exercises. Declamation. Eight hours.

Greek. Homer's Iliad, book 16, Odyssey, books 9 to 16, inclusive. Hippias Major, Charmides, and Gorgias of Plato, (excerpts.) Sophocles' Edip. tyr. and Antigone. Grammatical exercises. Buttmann's grammar. Six hours.

Hebrew. Second book of Kings. Genesis. Psalms, 61 to 100. Grammatical criticisms of historical excerpts, or of psalms, as an exercise at home. Two hours.

German. Criticism of compositions. General grammar, and history of the German grammar and literature. One hour.

French. Selections from Scribe and Delavigne. Exercises and extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. History of the Christian church, to the times of Gregory VII. Two hours.

History. Modern history, and review. Three hours.

Mathematics. Plane trigonometry and application of algebra to geometry. Algebra. Mensuration and conic sections. Binomial theorem. Exponential and trigon. functions. Four hours.

Physics. Physical geography. Mechanics. Two hours

Philosophy. Propædeutics. Logic. One hour.

There are five classes for vocal music, the fifth receiving two hours of instruction in musical notation and singing by ear. The fourth, time and cliffs, &c. Exercises in the natural scale, and harmony. Songs and chorals with one part. The third, two hours, formation of the scale of sharps, running the gamut with difficult intervals, combined with the practical exercises of the last class. The second, two hours, repetition of tones; sharps, and flats. Formation of the scale of flats. Exercises of songs and chorals, in two parts. The first class is an application of what has been learned, as well as a continuation of the science and art, and all the pupils do not, of course, take part in this stage of the instruction. The course is of four hours per week, two for soprano and alto, one for tenor and bass, and one for the union of the four parts. The proficiency is indicated by the fact, that the pupils perform very creditably such compositions as Haydn's "Creation" and Handel's "Messiah."

The Frederick William Gymnasium is regarded by Dr. Bache, as a fair specimen of this class of schools in Prussia; in the organization and instruction of which a good degree of liberty is tolerated by the government, to enable them the better to meet the peculiar circumstances of each province, and the peculiar views of each director.

The Royal Real School, and City Trade School of Berlin, furnish a course of instruction of the same general value for mental discipline, but hetter calculated for that class of pupils who are destined in life, not for what are designated as the learned profession, but for tradesmen and mechanics. There is less of verbal knowledge but more of mathematics and their application to the arts; and the whole is so arranged as to facilitate the acquisition of those mental habits which are favorable to the highest practical success.

ROYAL REAL SCHOOL OF SERLIN.

The Royal Real School of Berlin was founded as early as 1747, by Counsellor Hecker. At the period in which this school was founded, Latin and Greek were the exclusive objects of study in the learned schools, and the avowed purpose of this establishment was that "not mere words should be taught to the pupils, but realities, explanations being made to them from nature, from models and plans, and of subjects calculated to be useful in after-life." Hence the school was called a "real school," and preserves this name, indicative of the great educational reform which it was intended to promote, and the success of which has been, though slow, most certain.

The successor of Hecker, in 1769, divided this flourishing school into three departments, the pedagogium, or learned school, the school of arts, and the German school: the whole establishment still retaining the title of real school. The first named department was subsequently separated from the others, constituting the Frederick William gymnasium; the school of arts, and the German, or elementary school, remain combined under the title of the royal real school. The same director, however, still presides over the gymnasium and the real school.

The question has been much agitated, whether the modern languages should he considered in these schools as the substitutes for the ancient in intellectual education, or whether mathematics and its kindred branches should be regarded in this light. Whether the original principle of the "realities" on which the schools were founded, was to be adhered to, or the still older of verbal knowledge, only with a change of languages, to he substituted for it. In this school the languages will be found at present to occupy a large share of attention, while in the similar institution, a description of which follows this, the sciences have the preponderance.

In the royal real school the branches of instruction are—religion, Latin, French, English, German, physics, natural history, chemistry, history, geography, drawing, writing, and vocal music. The Latin is retained as practically useful in some branches of trade, as in pharmacy, as aiding in the nomenclature of natural history, and as preventing a separation in the classes of this school and that of the gymnasium, which would debar the pupils from passing from the former to the latter in the upper classes. It must he admitted that, for all purposes but the last, it occupies an unnecessary degree of attention, especially in the middle classes.

The following table shows the distribution of time among the courses. There are seven classes in numerical order, but ten, in fact, the third, fourth, and fifth being divided into two; the lower fourth is again, on account of its numbers, subdivided into two parallel sections. Of these, the seventh, sixth, and fifth are elementary classes, the pupils entering the seventh at between five and seven years of age. In the annexed table the number of hours of recitation per week of each class in the several subjects is stated, and the vertical column separating the elementary classes from the others, contains the sum of the hours devoted to each branch in the higher classes, excluding the lower section of the fourth class, which has not a distinct course from that of the other division.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF HOURS OF RECITATION PER WEEK, OF EACH CLASS, IN THE SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN THE ROYAL REAL SCHOOL OF BERLIN.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class, A.	Third Class, B.	Fourth Class, A.	Fourth Class, B. I.	Fourth Class, B. II.	Sum of the hours in the seven upper classes.	Fifth Class, A.	Fifth Class, B.	Sixth Class.	Seventh Class.	Proportion of other studies to German in the Royal Real School.	First six classes of the Fred'k Wm. Gymn.	In all the classes of the Fred'k. Wm. Gymn.
Latin, ...	4	4	4	5	6	5	6	28					1.4	2.9	3
French, ...	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	22	4	5			1.1	0.7	0.9
English, ...	2	2	2					6					0.3		
German, ...	3	3	3	4	3	4	4	20	8	8	10	10	1.0	0.8	1.0
Religion, ...	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	12	2	3	2	2	0.6	0.6	0.8
Mathematics,*	6	6	5	6	7	6	4	35	4	3	6	6	1.7	1.1	1.6
Natural History, ..	3	2	2	2				9					0.4	0.1†	0.1
Physics, ...	2	2	2	2				8					0.4	0.2†	0.2
Chemistry, ...	2	2	2	2				8					0.4		
Geography, ...				3	3	3	3	9	2	2	2		0.4	0.5	0.5
History, ...	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	15	2	2	2		0.7	0.3	0.7
Drawing, ...	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	12					0.6	0.4	0.4
Writing, ...					2	2	2	4	4	4	6	8	0.2	0.3	0.3
Singing, ...	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	15					0.7	0.6	0.6
Total, ...	36	36	35	35	32	32	32		26	26	26	26			

Pupils who enter this school between five and seven years of age, and go regularly through the elementary classes, are prepared at ten to pass to its higher classes, or to enter the lowest of the gymnasium. It is thus after the fifth class that a comparison of the two institutions must begin. The studies of the real school proper, and of the gymnasium, have exactly the same elementary basis, and they remain so far parallel to each other that a pupil, by taking extra instruction in Greek, may pass from the lower third class of the former to the lower third of the latter. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the real schools must be institutions for secondary instruction, since the pupils have yet three classes to pass through after reaching the point just referred to. It serves also to separate the real schools from the higher burgher schools, since the extreme limit of the courses of the latter, with the same assistance in regard to Greek, only enables the pupil to reach the lower third class of the gymnasium. In general, a pupil would terminate his studies in the real school at between sixteen and eighteen years of age. The difference between the subjects of instruction in the real school and the Frederick William gymnasium, consists in the omission in the former of Greek, Hebrew, and philosophy, and the introduction of English and chemistry. The relative proportions of time occupied in the same subjects in the two schools, will be seen by comparing the two columns next on the right of the numbers for the seventh class, in the table just given. The first of these columns contains the proportion of the number of hours per week devoted to the different subjects in the six classes of the real school above the elementary, the number of hours devoted to the German being taken as unity; and the second, the same proportion for six classes of the gymnasium, beginning with the lowest, the same number of hours being taken as the unit, as in the preceding column. To bring the natural history and physics into comparison, I have taken the numbers for the

* Including arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and trigonometry.
† These numbers include the entire course.

upper classes of the gymnasium in which these branches are taught. Of the courses common to the two schools, those to which nearly equal attention is paid in both institutions, are—the religious instruction, the German, geography and history, writing, and vocal music. The French, mathematics, physics, and natural history, predominate in the real school, the Latin in the gymnasium. The effect of reckoning the first, second, and upper third classes of the gymnasium, does not materially change the proportionate numbers of the courses which are common to the two schools, except as to Latin and mathematics. To show this, the column on the extreme right of the table is introduced, containing the proportions for all the nine classes of the Frederick William gymnasium.

There were, in 1838, five hundred and ten pupils in this real school, under the charge of fourteen regular or class masters, teaching several subjects in the lower classes, and of six other teachers. Each of the eleven class divisions thus averages about forty-six, who are under the charge of one teacher at a time.

The elementary course in the real school is similar to that described in the burgher schools, beginning with the phonic method of reading, the explanations of all the words and sentences being required at the same time that the mechanical part of reading is learned. Written and mental arithmetic are taught together in the lowest class. The religious instruction consists of Bible stories adapted to their age; and verses are committed to improve the memory of words. The exercises of induction are practiced, but in a way not equal to that with objects, introduced by Dr. Mayo in England. Some of the pupils are able to enter the gymnasium after going through the two lowest classes.

In regard to the real classes proper, as I propose to enter into the particulars of the course of study of the trade school, I shall here merely make a few remarks upon two of the branches studied in them, namely, French and drawing. The remarks in regard to the French will serve to show how great a latitude a teacher is allowed in the arrangement of his methods, the result of which is, that those who have talent are interested in improving their art by observation and experiment. The French teacher to whom I allude had been able to secure the speaking, as well as the reading, of French from his pupils. From the very beginning of the course this had been a point attended to, and translation from French into German had been accompanied by that from German into French: the conversation on the business of the class-room was in French. The pupils were exercised especially in the idioms of the language in short extempore sentences, and the differences of structure of the French and their own language were often brought before them, and the difficulties resulting from them anticipated. Difficult words and sentences were noted by the pupils. Declamation was practiced to encourage a habit of distinct and deliberate speaking, and to secure a correct pronunciation. The chief burthen of the instruction was oral. Without the stimulus of change of places, the classes under this gentleman's instruction were entirely alive to the instruction, and apparently earnestly engaged in the performance of a duty which interested them. If such methods should fail in communicating a greater amount of knowledge than less lively ones, which I belive can not be the case, they will serve, at least, to break down habits of intellectual sloth to promote mental activity, the great aim of intellectual education.

SYSTEM AND INSTITUTIONS OF SPECIAL INSTRUCTION.

Bavaria was one of the first states in Germany to found a school of art, in its highest sense, and one of the earliest to apply instruction in science to the development of mechanical industry, and to bring its young artisans and workmen of every kind into systematic courses of technical instruction.*

The Academy of Art in Nuremberg was founded by Sandrart in 1662, and after being long conducted by him, gained new distinction under Preissler, and no school of art out of Munich has done so much in our day to develop taste and skill in artisans and artists as the Royal School of Art, and several private schools of drawing now in successful operation in that quaint old town.

The first Technical School, so called, in Germany, was opened in Nuremberg in 1823, under the lead of Scharrer, afterwards mayor of the city, who gave the impulse, by providing instruction one hour on Sunday, and two evenings in the week, in drawing (free-hand and architectural) and mathematics. He was assisted by Heideloff, architect, and Hermann, afterwards professor in the Polytechnic and counselor of state. The school was adopted by the municipal authorities, and as the instruction was of the best kind, it was completely successful, and by the expansion of its studies and length of term, grew into a Trade School, under the law of 1834, till 1836, when it had 7 teachers, with 490 pupils (one-fourth of them journeymen) in 11 divisions, receiving instruction in mathematics, drawing, modeling, molding and casting metals, wood-carving, &c. The pupils of this school, (called, in 1836, Mechanic School,) created a new trade for this district of Bavaria; and the example of special schools on Sunday, evenings, and holidays, was followed by other cities, until in several of them the mechanic schools grew into polytechnic schools—Munich in 1827, Nuremberg in 1829, and Augsburg in 1833, none of which, however, attained to the highest scientific development—the pupils not being required to go through a thorough course of theoretical study, as in some other institutions of this class. In all, the plan of instruction was pretty much the same, but gradually Munich turned its force towards construction and engineering; Augsburg and Nuremberg to mechanical handicrafts. In 1862 the school at Munich was divided into two parts, the polytechnic proper, and the school for construction and engineering.

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* For the details of this system, see National Education, Part I, GERMAN STATES, *Bavaria*.

In 1864 the whole system of real-schools, trade-schools, and polytechnic schools, which had grown up since 1808, was reorganized. After the law of 1808, real-schools and real-institutes were set up in the large centres of population parallel with the progymnasiums and gymnasiums. The real-schools added to the elementary course the study of French, drawing, the elements of natural history, and algebra. The real-institute added to the real-school course, which usually terminated at the fourteenth year, the natural sciences, more of mathematics, history, general philosophical studies, as well as the literature of modern languages. This course, if carried out, occupied four years, and was intended to prepare for higher academical studies and for special careers, such as financiers, merchants, &c. The system did not work well, and was modified in 1816—the real-institutes being discontinued, and the real-schools converted into higher burgher-schools—which were only the higher classes of an elementary school. The deficiency of State realistic seminaries was partially supplied by the municipal authorities, associations and in-individuals, in artisan schools, further-improvement or Sunday-schools, mechanic schools, and polytechnic institutes, in which the arts of design and drawing received particular attention. To give this new instruction, which the necessities of society had created, thorough organization and symmetry, the government, in 1829 and in 1833, decreed the establishment of technical schools in all the large cities of the kingdom. The law of 1833 discontinued the higher burgher-schools and laid down the outline of a course of instruction for the technical schools, which was perfected by the law of 1836. The object of the technical schools, in the language of the law, is "to carry the sciences into industry, and to put industrial pursuits themselves upon a footing corresponding to the progress of technical art and the competition of foreign industry." With this aim the technical schools had their central point in the exact sciences, and were preparatory for, 1, the artist's vocation proper; 2, the technical branches of the public service, especially architecture, mining, salt works, and forests; 3, for technical departments of civil life; 4, for strictly civic vocations, particularly for carrying on improvements in manufacturing, agricultural, and mechanical industries.

In the development of this system there sprung up, and existed in 1863, the following institutions:

1. Schools of arts and trades, or technical gymnasiums, with an agricultural, commercial, and mechanic arts division. Of these there were twenty-nine, in as many centres of population and in-

dustry. They received pupils at twelve years of age, and dismissed them at the end of three years. With several were connected preparatory schools, and with all, a Sunday and holiday or feast-day school for apprentices and journeymen.

2. Polytechnic schools or technical lyceums. Of these there were three, located at Munich, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. They received their pupils at the completion of their fifteenth year, and with a preparation equal to the attainments of the graduates of the technical gymnasium.

3. Special courses, or schools for the completion of technical instruction: (1,) engineering in the polytechnic school at Munich; (2,) mining, foundries, and salt works in the department of public economy in the University of Munich; (3,) higher forestry service in the Royal Forestry School at Aschaffenburg, and one year in the University; (4,) higher agricultural training, in the Central School of Agriculture at Weihenstephan, near Freising; (5,) for the fine arts, including architecture and ornamentation of an artistic character, the Royal Academy of Arts in Munich, and (6,) for higher chemical analysis, the laboratories of the Academy of Science, the Conservatorium, and the University.

This system, although it developed a prodigious amount of scientific and artistic talent, and in several directions, of improved industrial fabrics, did not satisfy all the wants of different classes and different industries. In consequence of "urgent pressure from the Department of Commerce and Public Instruction," the king promulgated in 1864 a new law respecting technical institutions, according to which they are now classified and administered.

EXISTING ORGANIZATION OF TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

The system of technical instruction, as organized under the law of 1864, and in force after 1868, when the classes under the former system will have completed their curriculum, and the new classes will be in full operation, consists of—

I. The trade-school, (*gewerbschulen*—twenty-nine in all, located in the principal centres of population and industries,) designed to impart a fitting general education, and the theoretical knowledge preparatory to different occupations, and the professions in which science forms the basis of the highest success. The instruction begins where the common school leaves off, and while it is passably complete in itself, it is the systematic preparation for a more extended course in commercial and agricultural studies which can be

organized in the institution with the sanction of the highest authorities, or pursued in the special institutions of a higher grade.

Eight of these institutions, one in the chief town of each of the eight districts or circles into which the kingdom for administrative purposes is divided, are designated in the law as district or higher trade-schools.

II. The real-gymnasium—this class of schools, of which there are six, one in the chief town of each of the six provinces, is of a higher grade than the trade-school, and includes, in a four years' course, the study of Latin and one or more modern foreign languages. It presupposes the attainments of the primary-school and of the first year of the classical gymnasium, with which its first year is parallel. The final examination and certificate entitles to admission into the polytechnic school at Munich, and into the university, for participation in such studies as do not fall within the special limits of the three faculties of theology, jurisprudence, and medicine, and if found qualified after special examination, into the higher special schools of forestry, agriculture, veterinary science, or separate branches of the public service.

III. The polytechnic school at Munich, in which the different professional studies of engineering, architecture, technical chemistry, trade and commerce, are treated independently of each other, in courses of two years each, on the basis of a common scientific instruction in mathematics and the natural sciences, and the art of drawing, pursued to the extent deemed necessary for each professional course.

The Royal School of Machinery at Augsburg, and the Royal School of Art at Nuremberg, both of which were polytechnic schools up to 1865, are not yet permanently organized as part of the system. Their present course of instruction exceeds the course of the district trade-schools, and falls short of the Central Polytechnic School.

With each of these institutions or their teachers are associated, more or less directly, supplementary schools and classes, designed to impart instruction in subjects of immediate utility to apprentices and workmen in various crafts and occupations; and above them all in the lectures, collections, libraries and laboratories of the universities, and in the higher special schools of agriculture, forestry, and art, the student can carry his artistic, artisan, or purely scientific studies to the highest point.

We append the substance of the regulations recently issued for the government of these schools:

SYSTEM AND INSTITUTIONS OF SPECIAL INSTRUCTION.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

Sunday schools, for instructing the young people of a parish in the catechism, and biblical and church history, existed in Prussia and throughout Germany, certainly as early as the sixteenth century, but their recognition as part of the public school system dates from 1763, when Frederick II, in his *General Regulations of Schools* (section 6), ordains that "on Sundays, besides the lesson of the catechism or repetition school given by the minister in the church, the school-master shall give in the school recapitulary lessons to the unmarried people of the township. They shall there practice reading and writing." In the General regulations for the Catholic schools in Silesia, opened in 1765, "the older children are required to attend the Sunday instruction in Christianity every Sunday afternoon, and after that to participate for two hours in the lessons in reading and writing given in the school, which lessons the teachers shall give under the direction of the pastor, that they may become useful to the young. Those also who have left school, and are not yet twenty years of age, must attend these lessons, and their employers are bound to send them to school at such time, that they may review what they learned before, and acquire necessary knowledge." On this basis of law and habit, by degrees the instruction of the Sunday school was extended and systematized, and became an important portion of the elementary education of the people. In the large villages and cities, drawing, and the first principles of natural history and mechanics, composition in the form of business correspondence, and other branches bearing on the occupations of the pupils, were gradually introduced into this class of schools, which were also held on Monday mornings, in the evening of other days, as well as on the half-holidays of Wednesday and Saturday, and on holidays. They were also connected with the real schools and trade institutes, and got the name of Further Improvement Schools. In Prussia in 1854, there were 220 such schools, with 18,000 pupils; and in Berlin, the trade improvement schools are taught on Sunday by the teachers of the higher schools, and constitute an important agency in the technical instruction of apprentices and workingmen.

REAL SCHOOLS AND BURGHER SCHOOLS.

The real school, which in Prussia now occupies a well-defined place in the system of general education, had originally a direct technical aim, in the plan of Francke in 1698, and of Semler in 1706 and

1738, and of Hecker in 1747.* Francke projected a special pedagogium for children, who wished to become "secretaries, clerks, merchants, administrators of estates, or learn useful arts." Semler calls his school "a mathematical trades school," and in the mathematical, mechanical, and economical real school," opened by him in Berlin in 1738, the instruction given was "in connection with models and real objects,"—*things*, as he designates them.

Rev. J. J. Hecker, in the programme of his "Economical Mathematical School," opened in the schools of Trinity church in 1747, he pledges to all his pupils "a preparation to facilitate their entry into any trade they may choose." Among his classes was one of "architecture and building," another of "manufacture, commerce and trade," and another of "agriculture;" moreover, "drawing shall be practiced." The views of Hecker were encouraged by Frederick II, who named his institution the "Royal Real School." This school became the normal school for teachers of schools on the crown domains; and to it, Felbinger sent a number of pupil-teachers, who became the organizers of improved schools in Austria, in which realistic studies and methods were prominent.

In connection with the real school should be mentioned the Higher Burgher School—the high school of the primary system in all large towns, and which received its earliest and highest development in Leipsic, but which in Kœnigsberg, Dantzig, and other large provincial centres, aimed to fit their pupils for practical careers. Both the real school and the higher burgher schools, although they no longer aim to be technical or professional schools, even for a commercial career, do give a scientific preparation for such higher vocations of the State as do not require an academic career, and they also prepare students for the special and purely technical schools. Without them, the subordinate departments of the public service would not be so well filled, and the special schools of trade, commerce, agriculture, and forestry could not attain their present high development.

SPECIAL TECHNICAL SCHOOLS.

The immense strides made in mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial industry, and the gigantic works in engineering and construction which the public service in peace and in war have required in the last half century, have made necessary the establishment of special schools, in which architects, builders, machinists, engineers, artillerists, and technical chemists could be taught and trained. Hence

* For an account of the educational labors and views of Francke and Hecker, see Barnard's *Educational Reformers* of Germany.

in every State we find government schools for these purposes, and in all the great centres of population and special industries, these institutions are as varied in their independent organization or associated classes, as are the industries and wants to be supplied. Prussia has felt deeply these necessities, and side by side with the thorough reorganization and extension of her general system of education—the multiplication and improvement of primary, secondary, and superior schools—has grown up a system of special instruction—schools of agriculture, forestry, commerce, navigation, architecture, engineering, construction in wood and metal, and trades of all sorts, which will compare favorably with the best in other countries of Europe. Although not as early in the field as some of the smaller States, and not acting with such entire disregard of the general system as some others, in which the manufacturing and mechanical establishments are relatively more numerous and important, this class of institutions in Prussia are worthy of particular study on account of the superior system of general education on which they all rest.

TRADE SCHOOLS.

The earliest Trade Schools, (*Gewerbe Schulen*, as they are called, the word *gewerbe* being used in its restricted meaning, equivalent to the improvement of material for the purposes of gain,) in Prussia, were organized by Beuth in 1817–18, at Berlin and at Aix la Chapelle, to meet a want of government for better workmen in building operations. The school at the latter place was expressly founded to improve the general and special education of carpenters, mill-wrights, masons, stone-cutters, cabinet-makers, locksmiths, house-painters, braziers, pewterers, and other handicrafts. They were first connected with the Sunday schools.

Those established at that time were called *Handwerker fortbildung schulen*, and belonged to the class of "improvement schools," being planned to add to the knowledge of the local handicraftsmen and their apprentices. Schools for special trades or industries did not rise until a few years later. The whole system underwent a reorganization in 1850, when all the establishments of this character were assigned to the Department of the Minister of Commerce.

There are now not far from 500 giving instruction in almost all branches of industrial activity, and all being exclusively devoted to technological studies. The real and burgher schools, (of which there were in 1868, over 190,) through which those pupils who are intending to enter the higher technical institutions generally pass, and

which, moreover, give some instruction in commerce, are not included in this list.

The technical schools may be divided into those imparting general industrial instruction, and those devoted to special branches.

I.—The class giving general instruction embraces the following:

(1.) *Establishments corresponding to Improvement Schools.*—There are a number of varieties of these: the evening, Sunday, and finishing schools; societies for apprentices to which improvement schools are added; journeymen's schools, and workmen's societies, which also make provision for technical instruction.

This class does not carry technical studies very far, except in drawing, the general aim being to extend the knowledge gained in the elementary schools, and nothing more than this is required at admission.

(2.) *Foremen's Schools.*—These aim to train foremen for various mechanical occupations. The institution at Kœnigsberg has 7 teachers and 69 scholars, (1867); the fees are about six thalers per half year. The requirements for admission are the studies of the primary schools.

(3.) *The Provincial and Municipal Trade Schools.*—These two classes of establishments form the next grade in technical instruction, and prepare pupils to enter the central academy at Berlin. They receive those who have had a partial course in the gymnasiums, real schools, or burgher schools. There are in Prussia about 30 of these, averaging four or five teachers, with 2,600 scholars in all. The fees vary exceedingly. There is a journeyman's improvement school connected with each.

(4.) *Central Trade Academies.*—The highest grade of education for mechanicians, chemists, and ship-builders is obtained at these establishments, which approaches the character of a polytechnic university. There are now two—the Academy, (*Gewerbe Academie*, formerly called *Gewerbe Institut*,) is at Berlin; another, recently organized (1867), at Aix la Chapelle. The Berlin Academy receives scholars who have completed the course at the provincial trade schools, real schools, or the gymnasiums. Of this institution, J. Scott Russell, in his elaborate treatise on systematic technical education for the English people, thus speaks:

Here in Berlin, I found a large and handsome building, close by the king's palace, in one of the best parts of the town, and this was called, at that time, a "*Gewerbe Schule*," or royal school for trade teaching. This very humble designation did not lead me to expect the high scientific education and training which was there provided for the young professional men of Berlin. The truth is, that in Berlin, everything but the three learned professions, law, medicine, and theology, were still called trades, and not yet admitted to the rank of professions, just as, in our country, the time was when Brindley, the canal engineer, was still

reckoned a sort of superior ditch-digger, and George Stephenson a sort of superior engine-driver. The tradition had still enough influence in Berlin to call a technical university for the modern professions a "trade school."

Since that time, the dignity of the "*Gewerbe Schule*" has been recognized. Its buildings, its endowments, the rank and salaries of its professors, the number and preliminary qualifications of its pupils, have all been raised. It has now the recognized rank of a technical university, with professors of equal dignity, and degrees of equal weight.

Berlin being the first technical university with which I became acquainted, and also one of the earliest, I should naturally quote, as an example of a "technical university abroad," this *Gewerbe Institut*, or *Gewerbe Academie*, of Berlin. I recommend those of my countrymen who care for such things, to visit that institution, which is admirably conducted, systematically organized, and a great boon to the professional men of Prussia. They will find that it in every way lends itself, by means of evening as well as morning lectures, by trade associations connected with it, by free libraries and museums, to the education not merely of the higher professional men, but also of the working men who have leisure and disposition to desire high trade knowledge.

In very many respects, therefore, I consider Berlin a model technical university. I do not quote it, however, as my type of what such a university might be, because it labors under some traditional and local disadvantages, which somewhat narrow its sphere, derange its symmetry, and cramp its development. It is not symmetrical in the highest degree, because in Berlin there had already existed, before it attained its present growth, surrounding institutions, which had monopolized a portion of its ground.

Kindred academies, institutions, or universities, had already provided education and training for some of the arts and professions which a more isolated university would have systematically included in its curriculum; and which it was, therefore, unwise, unnecessary, or inconvenient to include in the new organization. Precisely, therefore, because the Berlin *Gewerbe Academie* fits its place, and answers its special purpose, it is less fitted to serve as a type of a symmetrical institution than some others of more recent growth, more remote from the overshadowing influence of rival and more ancient institutions.

II.—Institutions giving instruction in special professions, include:

1. Building Professions: (1.) *Building Schools.*—There are many of these open to all building artisans who have received an elementary education, and imparting theoretical and practical instruction in their special departments. They rank with "improvement schools." The fees are about six thalers per half-year.

(2.) *Building Academy.*—This academy at Berlin educates architects and engineers of the highest grade.

2. Mining Pursuits: (1.) *Mining Schools.*—These correspond in grade to the provincial industrial schools, and educate foremen and master workmen in the mines.

(2.) *Mining Academy* at Berlin, which gives the highest education in mining and in metal working, and prepares mining engineers.

3. Weaving and Dyeing: (1.) *Weaver's Schools.*—The weaving schools belong to the grade of improvement schools. There are 3 of them in Prussia, with 12 teachers and 96 pupils in all. The fees are 20 thalers per half-year.

(2.) *Superior Weaving Schools.*—There are 5 superior weaving schools, with 12 teachers. They require the same qualifications as

the provincial industrial schools. The fees are about 20 thalers per half-year.

(3.) *Industrial Drawing School.*—The industrial drawing school at Berlin gives æsthetic and practical instruction to designers for various tissues and to weavers. It is a distinct institution.

4. COMMERCE.—Commercial instruction is given to some extent in schools of a general literary aim. Of the special institutions of this class, the school of commerce for young women, at Berlin, deserves attention.

5. NAVIGATION.—There are six schools intended to train young men to be pilots and captains of merchant vessels. These are at Memel, Dantzig, Pillau, Grabow, Stettin, and Stralsund.

6. AGRICULTURE.—There are thirty-two institutions, in which both the theory and practice of agriculture, and kindred occupations, are taught, and several of them, in the range and thoroughness of instruction, are not surpassed in any country of the world. The work of the school is carried home to neighborhoods by itinerant teachers paid by the government, who go from village to village, and the results of improved methods are seen and disseminated by the action of upwards of five hundred agricultural associations, which by conferences, exhibitions, and prizes, keep up a lively interest in agricultural improvement.

7. The new laboratories, as well for original research as for higher instruction, may be regarded not only as "arsenals" of science, but as mighty engines of industrial development.

The teachers of the lower and middle grades of technical schools become prepared by giving instruction in a gymnasium or real school, and afterwards studying in the Berlin trade academy for three years. Teachers from other schools are also employed, and, in the lowest grades of technical schools, instruction is often given gratis by private manufacturers.

To all of these institutions are attached libraries, and to many belong collections of models, and other aids of instruction; especially full is the collections of the central academy at Berlin.

The result of the system has been to convert workmen into refined and thinking men, and to develop rapidly the industrial resources of the country, as was shown in the late international exhibition at Paris.

JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW AND THE PHILANTHROPINUM.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

The Philanthropinum, founded at Dessau, in 1784, by Basedow, in which the views of Rousseau were strictly followed, and where those views were by every means sought to be introduced into actual life, gained a great reputation in Germany and Switzerland.*

Johann Bernhard Basedow was born in Hamburg, in 1723; and was the son of a watchmaker. His mother was melancholy even to hypochondria. His father kept him so strictly that he ran away and became a servant with a country physician, in Holstein. After a year he returned, upon the urgent entreaty of his father, and went to school at the Johanneum, where he made himself notorious for useless tricks. In 1741, he went to the gynasium, where, among others, the well-known Reimarus (the author of the "*Wolfenbuttle Fragments*,") was his teacher. While there he composed many poems; *e. g.*, one of one hundred stanzas upon history. He earned money by occasional poems and teaching, and spent it in debauchery. His studies were without rule or perseverance. In 1744, at the age of twenty-one years, he went to the university of Leipzig, with the intention of studying theology. There he studied, as he tells us, almost altogether in his own room, but attended the lectures of Crusius. The Wolfian philosophy brought him "into a state half way between Christianity and naturalism;" and he acquired, as he says, "ignorant opinions about philosophy." In 1746, he went to Hamburg as a theological candidate. In 1749, at the age of twenty-six, he took employment as private tutor with a Herr von Quaalen, in Holstein. For his pupil, seven years old, he worked out a new method of teaching language, by which he himself learned to speak and write Latin.‡ He learned French from the governess of the family, whom he married. In 1753 he became professor of ethics and belles lettres at the Knights Academy, at Soröe. A treatise published by him,

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* See Schwarz's "*Theory of Education*," 1, p. 460; and "*Quarterly Report on Basedow's Elementary Book*, 1771," p. 4 to 31; where Basedow gives a biographical account of himself. Also, "*Contributions to the history of the life of Johannes Bernhard Basedow*; Magdeburg, 1791."

† He gave an account of this method in a Latin dissertation, entitled, "*De inusitata et optima honestioris juventutis erudiendæ methodo*;" Kiel, 1752.

"*On practical philosophy for all ranks*," brought upon him, by its heterodoxy, the ill will of the patron of the academy, Count Daneskiold;† and for this reason he removed, in 1761, to Altona, as professor in the gymnasium. Here he published two other heterodox books; "*Philalethie*," and "*Methodical instruction, both in natural and in biblical religion*." Several theologians, and among them Senior Götze, of Hamburg, wrote against these works; the Hamburg magistrates issued a warning against them; and those of Lubeck prohibited them under a penalty of 50 thalers. Basedow and his family were not allowed the communion in Altona and the neighborhood.

From 1763 to 1768, he wrote a multitude of theological controversial works. In the latter year he published the "*Representation* to the benevolent and the rich, upon schools, studies, and their influence upon the public well-being," with a plan of an elementary book of human knowledge. At the same time he wrote to the emperor, kings, universities, freemasons' lodges, learned men, &c., to interest them in the elementary work which he proposed to publish; the most of whom answered him favorably.*

The Danish minister, Bernstorff, in order to give him time for his pedagogical labors, relieved him from the duties of his place, securing him a salary of eight hundred thalers.

His first work for schools, which was destined to become prominent, was, as Basedow himself says, his "*Book of methods for fathers and mothers of families and nations*." This book was intended for adults; and the "*Elementary Book with plates*," published at the same time, for children.

The object of the "*Elementary Book*" is, with the help of the cuts, as Basedow remarks, 1. Elementary instruction in the knowledge of words and things; 2. An incomparable method, founded upon experience, of teaching children to read without weariness or loss of time, 3. Natural knowledge; 4. Knowledge of morals, the mind and reasoning; 5. A method, thorough and impressive upon the heart, of instructing in natural religion, and for a description of beliefs so impartial, that it shall not at all appear of what belief is the writer himself; 6. A knowledge of social duties, of commerce, &c. It will be seen that this is an encyclopedia of every thing worth knowing by

* In 1771, before the first edition was completed, Basedow had already received 7000 *reichsthaler* of contributions.—("*Quarterly Account*," p. 20.) King Christian VII, of Denmark, gave 900 thalers, the Empress Catharine 1000, grand-duke Paul 500, the hereditary prince of Brunswick 200, "the wealthy class in Basle" 150, the royal government of Osnabruch 50, prince Czartoryski 50, Nicolans von der Flüe, Abbot of Mary-Einsiedel, 42, &c. I cite these instances from Basedow's list of the contributors to the "*Elementary Book*," to show how the most different persons, in the most distant countries, took great interest in the undertaking, and conceived great hopes from it

children, as comprehensive as was the "*Orbis Pictus*" of Comenius; the work, with its characteristic plates, may be called the Orbis Pictus of the eighteenth century. It appeared in 1774, in four volumes, and with one hundred plates, mostly engraved by Chodowiecki. It was translated into Latin by Mangelsdorf, under the supervision of the well known counselor, Klotz, into French by Huber, and afterward into Russian. A little before, in 1774, had appeared Basedow's "*Agathokrator*," upon the education of future rulers. "In this," he says, "I have described the education of a truly well-trained prince; the necessary preparations for it; and its operation after he has become king. I hope that this will be one of the most useful of all my writings, and a great blessing to posterity." An age has passed since the appearance of the book, and where are the traces of its influences? how many even know that such a book existed?*

Basedow's repeated appeals for activity in the cause of education produced effects other than the spread of his writings. An excellent young prince, Leopold Friedrich Franz, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, became interested in Basedow, by means of Behrisch, (known for his life of Göthe,) who was tutor to the hereditary Prince of Dessau. The prince, from the purest benevolence, and from the wish to further a holy enterprise, resolved, in 1771, to invite Basedow to Dessau, with a salary of eleven hundred thalers; and in 1774,† to give to the Philanthropinum, buildings, a garden, and twelve thousand thalers.

In the last year, 1774, but before the erection of the Philanthropinum, occurred Basedow's acquaintance with Göthe, whom he visited in Frankfort. Here Basedow, on his birth-day, (11th Sept.,) took a firm resolution to establish an educational institution, and to name it PHILANTHROPINUM.

From Frankfort he traveled, with Lavater and Göthe, to Ems and the Rhine. Göthe, in his life, has described Basedow in the most masterly manner, in part in the strongest contrast to Lavater.

Basedow arrived, came in contact with me, and laid hold of me on the other side. No stronger contrast could be imagined than that between Lavater and Basedow. Their very looks indicated their opposition to each other. While Lavater's features were open to the observer, Basedow's were contracted closely together, and, as it were, drawn inward. Lavater's eyes were clear and calm, and under very broad lids; Basedow's were deep in his head, small, black, keen, and looked out from under coarse eyebrows; while Lavater's temples were hung with the softest brown hair. Basedow's heavy, rough voice, his quick and sharp expressions, his somewhat sneering laugh, his sudden changes of the conversation, and his other peculiarities, were the opposite of the qualities and the conduct by which Lavater had become pleasing to us. Basedow was much sought after in Frankfort, and

* Prince Albert, of Dessau, sent Basedow, in return for a copy of the "*Agathokrator*," 100 thalers; and Joseph II a medal with his portrait.

† December 27th, 1774, the day of the birth of the hereditary prince of Dessau, then five years old, was considered as the birth-day of the Philanthropinum. See Wölke, description of the plates to the "*Elementary Book*," p. 8; and "*The Philanthrovinum*," part first, p. 101.

his great intellectual gifts were admired; but he was not a man either to stimulate others or to guide them. The only work for him was to improve the field which he had marked out for himself; so that future generations should find their labors in it more easy and natural; and toward this purpose he hastened with even too much zeal. I could not interest myself in his plans, nor even make his views clear to myself. That he should require all instruction to be given in a living and natural way pleased me, of course; that the ancient tongues should be practiced now seemed to me desirable; and I willingly recognize whatever in his plans tended to a promotion of activity and of a newer view of the world; but I apprehended that the illustrations in his "*Elementary Book*" would confuse still more than objects themselves; because, in the natural world, only things possible exist together, and therefore they have, notwithstanding all their multitude and apparent confusion, always something regular in all their parts. But this "*Elementary Book*" utterly disarranged them, because it placed together, for the sake of a relation of ideas, things which never go together in the real world; so that it was destitute of that natural method which must be recognized in the corresponding work of Amos Comenius. Much stranger yet and harder to understand than Basedow's theories, were his manners. His purpose in his present journey was to interest the public in his philanthropic undertaking, by his personal influence; and thus to secure for himself access, not only to their good will, but to their purses. He had the power of speaking in a lofty and convincing way of his plans; and all men readily assented to whatever he argued. But he wounded, in the most incomprehensible manner, the feelings of the men from whom he was asking a contribution, and offended them with no reason, by not being silent upon his opinions and vagaries in regard to religious subjects. In this respect, also, Basedow was the precise opposite of Lavater. While the latter held the whole Bible, letter for letter, and with its whole contents, as true and applicable even to the present day, the former felt a most restless itching for remodeling every thing, and changing not only religious beliefs, but even the outer forms of church observances, according to his own whims. He would dispute in the most merciless and extraordinary manner against all views not founded immediately upon the Bible, but upon the interpretation of it; against those expressions, philosophical technics, and material similitudes, with which the fathers of the church, and councils, have sought either to explain the inexpressible, or to convince heretics. He declared himself before every body, in the harshest and most indefensible manner, the bitterest enemy of the doctrine of the Trinity; and could not be satisfied with arguing against this universally received mystery. I myself suffered much in private conversation from this subject; and had forever to let myself be plagued with Hypostasis, and Ousia, and Prosopon. In opposition to these attacks, I betook myself to the weapons of paradox, surpassed his own opinions, and ventured to combat his daring notions with others still more daring. This gave my mind a new direction; and, as Basedow was much better read than I, and readier at the tricks of disputation than a natural philosopher like myself could be, I was obliged to exert myself more and more, as the points discussed between us became more important. So excellent an opportunity, if not to instruct myself, at least to exercise myself, I could not quickly resign; I prevailed upon my father and friends to give up the most important business, and I left Frankfort again, with Basedow. What a difference was there between his influence and presence, and that of Lavater! Pure himself, the latter sought to surround himself with purity. By his side one became maidenly, for fear of annoying him with any thing unpleasant. Basedow, on the other hand, far too much absorbed in himself, could not attend to any thing external. One of his habits, that of smoking coarse, bad tobacco, was exceedingly disagreeable, and was much the more so because, whenever he had smoked out one pipe, he at once struck fire again with some dirtily prepared German tinder, which caught quickly, but smelled hatefully, and with his very first whiff defiled the atmosphere intolerably. I named this preparation the "*Basedow Stink-tinder*," and proposed to introduce it under this name into natural history; at which he made much sport, and explained to me circumstantially, and even to nauseation, the abominable stuff, and with great delight applied himself to my aversion. For it was one of the strongest peculiarities of this gifted man, that he loved too much to tease, and maliciously to vex, the most unprejudiced people. He could not bear to see any one at rest; he would attack him with grinning and jeers, with his hoarse voice,

put them into a dilemma with some unexpected question, and laugh bitterly if he accomplished his purpose; but he would be well pleased if any one answered him promptly. I always spent part of the night with Basedow. He never laid down on the bed, but dictated incessantly. Sometimes he threw himself down on a couch and slept, while his secretary, pen in hand, sat quietly, all ready to write, when his half-awake master should again give free course to his thoughts. And all this was done in a room closely shut, and full of the smoke of tobacco and tinder. Whenever I left off dancing I ran straight to Basedow, who was always ready to talk or discuss upon his problem; and when, after a little while, I went out to dance again, he took up the thread of his treatise, even before I had shut the door, dictating as quietly as if nothing had happened. Basedow was pursuing an object of primary importance, the better education of youth; and for this purpose he was seeking large contributions from the noble and the rich. But scarcely had he, by his reasoning or the force of his powerful eloquence, brought them, if not to the point where he wished, at least into the state of mind favorable to himself, when his vile anti-trinitarian notions would catch hold of him, and, without the least regard for the place where he might be, he would break out into the strangest speeches, exceeding religious in their intention, but, according to the beliefs of society, exceedingly abominable. We tried to find means of preventing the mischief—Lavater by mild earnestness, I by evasive sport, the ladies by diverting walks; but the trouble could not be removed. Christian conversation, such as was expected from Lavater, pedagogical, such as was looked for from Basedow, sentimental, such as I should have been ready for, all were alike broken up or changed.*

Basedow had at first, at Dessau, only three assistants, Wölke, Simon, and Schweighäuser. The first of these was the most efficient in the work of teaching.† He was born in 1742, at Jever, and died at a great age, known especially for his remarkable labors for German orthography. He first began to study in his twentieth year, but had before learned, without a teacher, drawing and etching. In five half-years he finished the necessary studies in Latin, Greek, and French, entered the University of Göttingen in 1763, (where he studied chiefly mathematics, natural sciences, and French,) and in 1766 went to Leipzig, where he taught Latin and mathematics. Through Büsch he came to Basedow, at Altona, in 1770, to assist him in working upon his "*Elementary Book.*"

Here Wölke made his first experiment of a new method of instruction, upon Basedow's daughter, Emilie, who seems to have been named after Rousseau's "*Emile.*" This experiment stands in such close connection with the Philanthropinum, and is so characteristic, that I shall give Wölke's own account of it. He says:—

When I came to Herr Professor Basedow, at Altona, at new year's of 1770, to take part in the labor upon his "*Elementary Book,*" in the departments of natural history and mathematics, his little daughter, Emilie, was three-quarters of a year old. My inclination to be employing myself about children led me to help her mother, who was instructing her carefully, about an hour a day, in little exercises, which, if made as complete as possible, are much more important than would be supposed. I taught her, for example, after a certain order and selection, about things of all kinds and their qualities, by showing them to her, and by clear and accurate descriptions of them; how to stand up, how to fall down judiciously,

* Göthe's Works; 22, 273—8, 279, 80, 91. Edition of 1840.

† See Wölke's autobiography, in Basedow's work, "*The Philanthropinum, established in Dessau, 1774.*"

how to save a fall by catching hold of something and by other means. Both in sport and in earnest, we were very careful to avoid that confusion of ideas which is usual in such teaching. For example, she saw in a looking-glass not herself, but her image; in pictures, not men, trees, beasts, but only their representations; she was not permitted to call the cooked meat and bones of a hen, a hen, nor a doll a baby, a penny a ducat, &c. By such care, which I earnestly recommend to all in charge of children, and such a method as is now taught in the "*Elementary Book*," Emilie had in her third half-year learned to form opinions with a correctness which was the admiration of all who saw her. When she was a year and a half old, she could not only speak much more clearly and correctly than is usual at her age, but, by means of our peculiar method of teaching spelling before the knowledge of the letters, to understand sentences if we only said over the letters of them to her. If, for example, any one said to her the letters y o u s h a l l h a v e a c a k e, she would say "you shall have a cake." The success of this practice, the facility of which had been foreseen by Herr Professor Basedow, pleased him exceedingly, when Emilie, without further trouble or the wearisome spelling in a book, learned to read in a month, to her own pleasure and to mine. This was at the end of her third year. Three months after this, Herr Professor Basedow left home for ten weeks. To give him a pleasure at his return—for he had but little during his labors upon the "*Elementary Book*"—I exercised Emilie in that time in French, of which she had not before heard a word. In a month and a half, she could speak of her wants and of things about her, in French, so well that the mixing of German words in the instruction was no longer necessary. Since the Feast of St. John of the present year, I have done something similar in Latin, with a boy of five years old; of which I shall speak further. Emilie learned French as quickly as she did German. In this language I used a book called "*Joujou de nouvelle façon;*" for the elementary "*Manuel d'education*" was not yet published. About a month and a half after the beginning of this learning to read, Emilie was with us for a few days with his very worthy grace, the Herr Canon von Rochow, where she excited the wonder of various gentlemen, masters, and officers from Brandenburg and Potsdam, by her facility in reading German and French. At this time she read, in writing and printing, German and Latin; knew a large number of natural objects and tools, with their origin and use; distinguished, with reference to the particular case, mathematical lines, surfaces, and bodies; counted forward or added to 100; backward or subtracted, by ones and by twos, from 20 or 21 to 0 or 1; practiced drawing or writing by copying the copies in pencil which were set before her; sometimes dictated a letter to her father, &c. With all this knowledge, which Emilie acquired in play—that is without exertion or harmful sitting still—we avoided the fault, so common in such circumstances, of making her what is called a learned lady, who is lifted by her knowledge above her sex, and neglects her feminine employments. She was, on the contrary, in every way imbued with a love for feminine labors, and instructed in them. She was often, and with much pleasure, employed in preparing food in the kitchen, setting the table for the children, putting the table-furniture, &c., which they left in disorder, in its proper place, and had made a good beginning in learning to sew and to knit. I have taken every opportunity of drawing Emilie's attention to the goodness and wisdom of God, in her studies of nature. She often rejoices in God, as in a wise, powerful, and good father of herself and of all men. She takes pleasure in the lightning and thunder, recognizing them and the rain which follows them as indispensibly divine benefits, by means of which vegetation, for the nourishment of men and beasts, is supported, and the beautiful flowers are made to grow. She rejoices in the convenience and human form of her body, in the reasoning faculties of her soul; in rain, wind, snow, and darkness, even when she suffers inconvenience from them, and at times when others complain of them. The sight of caterpillers, spiders, mice, snakes, and lizards, is neither disgusting nor frightful to her. She has never had any trouble about witches, ghosts, or the devil, since they have never been named to her as things which do any injury to man. The silly representations of the devil are only ridiculous to her; not frightful. Of the Christian religion she knows many portions, but only such as will be useful at her age; preparatives to virtue, to trust in God, and to peace. Although she speaks and judges upon many subjects, yet she has never made any misuse of what has been told her of the origin of the human race. Up to Michaelmas 1773, when she

was four and one-half years old, she heard not a word of Latin. Her father having at that time to go to Berlin on business connected with the "*Elementary Book*," I was desirous of preparing for him at his return such a pleasure in his daughter's knowledge of Latin as I had the year before in that of French. I had, however, so many employments, that I could talk with Emilie only two hours a day. My instruction was still more interrupted by my absence at Berlin during November. Yet, Emilie now speaks Latin with a facility and correctness which is admired by many. For the sake of any who may doubt the truth of this account, and who may be willing to believe it, if they or any one whom they can trust will visit us, to hear for themselves, I will have an examination, (which otherwise I am very willing to avoid,) in which they may hear that Emilie (who has never learned one word by rote, after the school fashion,) knows at least fifty words of any two leaves taken at random from Cellarius' Dictionary, (because most people take the number of words known for a measure;) and that from the same book, of one hundred and twenty leaves, she knows at least three thousand words, and that, not after the fashion of a school-boy, but like the words of her own mother-tongue. And of these fifty words, I can vary each, by declensions and conjugation, so that no less than five hundred different questions can be made from them, which Emilie shall answer. Thus no one can doubt that, with all these words from Cellarius' dictionary, (besides which she knows many others,) more than thirty thousand questions can be asked, all differing from each other, which she can understand, and can either translate correctly into German, or answer them in Latin, whichever is preferred.*

Basedow himself published an account of his daughter,† from which it appears clearly how far his instruction followed Rousseau's plans. He says that, when she was scarcely three and one-half years old, she began to observe "errors in correct reading, both in French and German." And in anticipation he says that, "before the end of her ninth year, she will fluently read in German out of Latin writers." If the question is asked, what is the purpose of all this? Basedow answers, "I intend Emilie, God permitting, for the teacher of other girls."

This remarkable child was repeatedly cited by her father and by Wölke, both in writing and speaking, as a standard by which it might be judged what was to be expected from the Philanthropinum. These expectations were especially excited by the periodical which Basedow published, under the title "*Philanthropic Archives;* addressed by the fraternity of friends of youth to the guardians of humanity, and to fathers and mothers, who may send children to the Dessau Philanthropinum. Dessau, 1776." The preface, Feb. 1st, 1776, is addressed "To guardians, intercessors, benefactors of humanity, intelligent cosmopolites."

This singular address is surpassed in the second part of the "*Archives*," which is dedicated, in the name of the Philanthropinum, to four kings. First, to Joseph the Second, the "Father of Germany." "I honor you," it says, "as the most eminent of all the inhabitants of the world, and as one of the best; as my own indirect supreme lord and protector; as the foundation of my hopes for better times in

* Ib., p. 44–52. † Quarterly Account, sixth part, 1773.

Germany," &c. In the dedication to the king of Denmark, Basedow calls himself a Cimbrian; and, to the Empress Catharine, he promises to establish a Catharineum, for women from all the world. (*Weltburgerinnen.*)

The Philanthropinum had been in existence seventeen months, when the first part of the "*Archives*" appeared. Basedow gave an invitation to the great examination, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of May, 1776.

"Send children," he says, "to a happy, youthful life of studies certainly successful. This affair is not Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed, but Christian. We are the philanthropists; cosmopolitans. The freedom of Switzerland, here, is not placed below the sovereignty of Russia or Denmark, in our teaching or our opinions." He adds repeated appeals for contributions.*

Further† he says, "The aim of education must be, to train a European,‡ whose life shall be as harmless, as useful, and as peaceful, as it can be made by education. Care must also be taken, 1. That he may endure little trouble, grief, or sickness; and, 2. That he may learn to take real pleasure in what is good."

"The wisdom of all wisdoms is virtue and peace. Few exercises in virtue, as it should be taught, in our education, are found. Here, ye wise men, ye philanthropic writers, a plan for an orderly arrangement of exercises in virtue, for parents and schools, is one of the most important works for the good of all humanity. Were we rich, we would offer ten thousand thalers for the best book of this kind which should appear within two years."§ "For the paternal religion of each pupil," Basedow remarks, "the ministry of this place will care. Natural religion, however, and ethics, are the chief part of philosophy, of which we have charge. In the Philanthropinum the first beginning of instruction is, to have faith in God as the creator, upholder, and Lord of the world. As we have a universal, Christian, Philanthropinist liturgy, approved by persons of reputation in all the churches, we promise to give a general Christian instruction, which, by means of its omission of all points of distinction, shall offend neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Greeks; but which shall necessarily please all Christians, even if they are as different as Zinzendorf and Foster."‖ In this universal, private instruction in religion, he says further,¶ "Neither word nor deed will be introduced, which will not be approved

* Boarders paid two hundred and fifty thalers. "*Archives*," p. 38. † Archives, p. 16.

‡ By a European, "we understand a man of a civilized nation, who has such manners and dispositions as are almost universal in Europe."

§ Ib., p. 20, 21. ‖ Ib., p. 39. ¶ Ib., p. 63.

of by every one who fears God, by the Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, or Deist. And just as satisfactory shall we be to the friends of all systems of Christianity, from Zinzendorf to Foster." Afterward, clergymen of the different professions may "instruct, drill, and convince the children in their paternal religions." *

All the Philanthropinist manuals are to be free from "theologizing distinctions in favor of Christianity as opposed to the Jews, Mohammedans, Deists, or the so-called Dissidents, who are in some places called heretics."

"In the temple of the Universal Father, the Dissident brethren appear like brethren with the rest. And until that time let us come like brethren, one (as long as the difference shall last,) to the holy mass; another to pray with his fellows, after one form; and a third to pray with his fellows, after another." *

So much may suffice to describe Basedow's religious tendency; his proceeding from the broadest deism is the most general idea, (leaving out the poor heathen, after Rousseau's example,) to the narrow idea of Christianity, the still narrower ideas—illiberal ones as Basedow thinks them—of the Christian professions, he leaves to be taught to the children by the clergy. The positive ideas which he lays down I shall consider hereafter.

From what Basedow says in his invitation of the moral and religious tendency of the Philanthropinum, I proceed to what he promises, and claims to have accomplished, in intellectual education, in Latin, German, French, knowledge of nature and of art, and mathematics.

Of memorizing, he says, there will be but little with us. The students will not be forced to learn even by advice. Yet we promise, by the excellence of our method, and by means of the agreement of it with the whole of the Philanthropist education and method of living, at least twice as much progress in study

* "He who believes in one God, and in the eternal existence of virtue, will not be a heretic in the institution. Public religious exercises will be, as heretofore, merely the worshiping of God, or Christian merely in general. The former, the chief Rabbi, or the Mufti, if they understood them, could not disapprove of; and by the latter, the Catholic, the Greek, the Protestant, the Bohemian brother, and the Socinian, would be edified. Any thing more is the province of the ministry."

† The interest taken by the Jews and Freemasons in the Philanthropinum is remarkable. Thus, four Hamburg lodges sent five hundred thalers, one at Leipzig one hundred, one at Göttingen twenty-five One Meyer translated an "*Explanation of Freemasonry*" from the English, and recommended the Philanthropinum to the support of the masons. "Basedow's Philanthropinum," he says, "that quite masonic design for making poor humanity more fit for the purpose of its being, by a reasonable instruction of youth, for spreading virtue, religion, and knowledge, and removing prejudices," &c.—("*Pedagogical Conversations of Basedow*," part first, p. 104.) Had Basedow, without being a freemason, made application to this "honorable fraternity of architects of the council-house of universal citizenship, pupils of Solomon and Socrates," as he calls them?—("*Philanthropinum*," p. 8.) From the Jews, especially from those of Berlin, he received at one time five hundred and eighteen thalers, &c. Among others, Mendelssohn interested himself for him.

as is usual in the best schools, boarding institutions, or gymnasiums. And especially we promise great development of the understanding, by the practice of a truly philosophical art of thinking.

The results which have been already shown prove that what we promise is true. In the telling, and when their means are not seen, they are incredible. Every thing is so pleasant with us, that no one wishes to be at home again. At the age of fifteen there is need of punishment but few times a year. The pupils learn without sitting too much, and more outside than in school-hours. Of our method we can say (and God knows it is with fairness and reflection,) as follows: when we have all our apparatus and arrangements all completed, a boy of twelve years old, who shall be sent to us, with his manners not too far destroyed, and of moderate capacity, if he knows only how to read and to write, will become with us, without constraint or discomfort, in four years, well fitted to study for either of the higher faculties in a university. For, whatever is valuable for all students in the philosophical faculty, he will have studied with us so thoroughly that, in order to arrive at a higher grade, he will need only himself and his books. From this measure of our institution all other things in relation to it can be judged of.

You wise cosmopolites, this is said, not by foolish project-makers, idle talkers, but by men who are worthy of friendship and of your assistance.

One language requires, with us, unless it is to be brought by grammatical exercises to the natural degree of accuracy, six months, in order to enable the students to understand whatever he hears or reads in it, as if it was his mother-tongue; and to speak and write it, little by little, after rules, by himself.

After this we require six months more of grammatical exercises, to make a Latin or a French scholar so complete, or so little lacking of it, as it is not possible for him to be from the ordinary school, without uncommon good fortune, genius, and application.

In May, 1775, he says, two boys, of thirteen and seventeen years, were sent to the Philanthropinum. "They had minds of ordinary capacity. Neither of them had the least attainments in study, or the least rudiments of Latin. They can now, (Feb. 1st, 1776, nine months afterward,) understand a Latin address on any art which may be selected, if only the technical terms be explained to them, and the unusual words made clear by Latin synonyms, or by the connection. They read a classical author understandingly, if he is easy; that is, if he is good. They can express themselves, either orally or in writing, upon any subject, so well that they would get on much better in ancient Rome than one could do in Leipzig now, who could write and speak only low Dutch."

This is roguery. Further on Basedow praises himself for having found a way of making the work of learning "three times as short and three times as easy as it usually is." All studies must be arranged in a common plan, and be placed, by means of uniformity of text-books, in such a connection that one shall always shorten and assist the other. Only the useful part of each science is to be learned.

To fill up the sketch here given from Basedow's invitation, I quote the following from a letter of his written to Campe, the same year; which, as they say, lets us into the whole programme. Latin, he says in this, must be learned by speaking; and, for this reason, Basedow requires his teachers to use every means to gain facility in speaking Latin. They must use all their leisure in reading the colloquies of Erasmus, Terence, &c.; they must try, when alone, to translate silently in their thoughts expressions which they could not manage in conversation, and "get all their religious instruction from Castalio's Bible only."

"The actual design of the institution, it would scarcely be possible

to follow out. But Latin, Latin—when we see that the end of our well-trodden and brief road leads to correctness and elegance, (not to say any thing of eminent skill,) in this language, this alone can give certain encouragement. But well for thee, thou dear young posterity! you learn Latin, Latin, without rod or care! Greek, however, we shall not teach by speaking; it is too difficult.

But ye ancient and modern languages, ye tormenting ghosts of youth, ye flatterers of unthinking people, who have memory and patience, when will it be possible to have the name of being well-educated, intelligent, and learned, without having at first let one's self be destroyed by your discipline and afterward by your flattery?"

I return to Basedow's "*Invitation.*" In this he very openly asks for contributions. "Dearest cosmopolitans," he says, "your wills may be most heartily good and your sentiments correct; but our enterprise can not go into operation except by means of deeds."

Let us, lastly, hear how urgently he invites.* "We promise," he says, "under the penalty of contumely, that upon the aforesaid 13th of May, (1776,) there will be in the Philanthropinum so much worth seeing, hearing, investigating, and considering, by the intelligent guardians of humanity, in regard to schools, that it will be worth their while for some of them to be sent to us, by the order of the German Diet, from Copenhagen, Saint Petersburg, and the most distant places; for it is a duty, by the arithmetic of morals, in respect to such good works as must be of great use, to proceed upon probabilities. God, thou father of posterity, secure us, we pray thee, a hearing with the wise inhabitants of the world."

The examination which was to decide upon the existence or non-existence of the Philanthropinum took place, and was, according to Basedow's expression, "attended by many skillful men, citizens of the world, most of whom had come abroad for the purpose." Among others came from Berlin, Nicolai and Teller; from Halberstadt, consistory-councilor Struensee; from Leipzig, Plattner and Zollikofer; from Magdeburg, Resewitz and Schummel; from Potsdam, Campe; from Quedlinburg, Stroth; from Hamburg, Bode, the translator of Montaigne; and from Rekalm, Rochow.

The Philanthropinum however included only thirteen pupils, besides Emilie and Friedrich Basedow. Two accounts of the examination are lying before me, one by Basedow, the other by the above named professor, Schummel; it is entitled "*Fritz's journey to Dessau.*" † They agree with and complete each other. I shall, however, chiefly follow the journey, which is in a form of letters from a boy of twelve,

* Ib., 58. ‡ Basedow's account is in the 2nd part of "*Philanthropinist Archives.*"

who goes with his father to Dessau; as it is from an impartial person.

In the third letter the boy says: "I am just come from the Philanthropinum; I already know Herrn Basedow, Wölke, Simon, Schweighäuser, and all the little Philanthropinists. I am already greatly delighted, and do not know where to begin."

Fritz goes to the Philanthropinum with his father. "There are two great houses close to each other, all painted white, and right before them the great wide square with trees, and between the houses and the trees the street goes through. One of the scholars, but one of the real scholars, only one of the lower ones, whom they call Famulants, stood at the door and asked us if we would like to speak to Herr Basedow? We said yes; so he let us right into the house, and we knocked, and some one said "come in!" Herr Basedow was standing behind a desk, in his dressing-gown, and writing; we came upon him at a somewhat inconvenient time; but he was very friendly, and told father that he must not take it ill that he had so much work to do in the morning; but that at evening he would call upon us at our lodging. Then we went away, and went into the Philanthropinum. Father asked for Herr Wölke. He was at table, but came immediately out. He is a large, tall man, with a worn face; but I know very well that that comes from hard labor; for he often works day and night. He otherwise looks so good and so friendly, that one must be good to him from the very first. He asked us if we would like to come in and see the Philanthropinists at their meals, and immediately he opened the door and showed us in. The whole table was full of great and small, and there was just one lady there; she was Frau Wölke."

In the fourth letter he describes the Philanthropinists. "They all have the hair cut short, and none of them patronize the wigmaker. The children go without neckcloths, with their necks open, the shirt turned back over the dress."

In the fifth letter Fritz describes the little girl already mentioned; "snow-white, with coal-black hair, and a wreath upon it. The child looked at me and said to me in Latin, Salve; and threw me a kiss." This was Emilie Basedow.

He very correctly describes the prince and the princess as a most beautiful pair; and relates that the prince had been in France and Italy, and was very much beloved.*

*The author does not, in this, flatter this excellent prince. He was a very accomplished man; to be convinced of this, it would be enough for any one to see the gardens which he laid out at Wörlitz. The whole of his little territory, indeed, he brought almost into the condition of a garden. And what is still more, he enacted paternal care over all, even the very least of his subjects, and was heartily loved by all of them. I was born in Wörlitz; my father served that prince for more than fifty years; and he himself gave me the account of his

He mentions Wieland, Göthe, and Lavater as expected, but as not coming; and then describes the guests: Teller, Rochow, Zollikofer, Bode, &c. Of consistorial-councilor Struensee, of Halberstadt, a distinguished educator, he says he was not very well pleased; or, at least, he kept looking straight before him with a very serious face.

In the eighth letter, he comes to the examination:—

The children did some very droll things. First they played the commander game; all together, some eight or nine; do you see, Charley, this was the way. First, they all stood in a row, like soldiers. Herr Wölke was commander; he commanded in Latin, and they were to do every thing that he said. For example, when he said *claudite oculos*, they all shut their eyes; or, *circumspicite*, and they all looked around them; or, *imitamini sartorem*, and they all sewed like tailors; or, *imitamini sutorem*, and they all drew out waxed-ends, like cobblers. Herr Wölke ordered a thousand queer things.

Now I will tell you about the other game; the hiding game. In this, a word is written behind the blackboard, where the children can not see it; the name of some part of the human body, or of a plant, or a beast, or a metal; and then they guess what it is, until one of them guesses it; and the one who guesses it has an apple or a piece of cake for a reward. One of the visitors wrote on the board, *intestinu*, the intestines; and told the children that it was a part of the human body. They then began; one guessed *caput*, others *nasus* or *manus*, *pes*, *digiti*, *pectus*, *collum*, *labium*, *genu*, *aures*, *oculi*, *crines*, *dorsum*, and so on, for a long time, until at last one cried out it is the intestines! Then Herr Wölke wrote the name of a beast. I can not now remember myself what it was. They then began; if you could have seen it! *Leo*, *ursus*, *camelus*, *elephas*, for you must understand it was a four-footed animal, *eques*, *bos*, *asinus*, *vacca*, *sus*, *canis*, &c. Well, now I remember it! at last one said *mus*, a mouse; he had guessed it, and he received a piece of cake. Once the name of a city was written; and then they guessed Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, London, Stockholm, Copenhagen, until they came to Petersburg, which was the name written behind the board.

Then they played still another game. Herr Wölke ordered in Latin, and the children imitated the voices of beasts; so that we laughed until we were weak. Sometimes they roared like a lion, then crowed like a cock, mewed like a cat; made noises like a donkey, a dog, and a raven; in short, like every thing which was told them.

Herr Wölke brought in a picture, hung it up, and said, "Dear children, I bring you here a picture which you have not seen; and I tell you beforehand, it represents the most serious thing in the world; so do you be serious also." And the children were. Now I must first tell you what the picture was. First, a pregnant woman was sitting in an arm-chair, and near her stood a man who held her by the hand. Next, on the other side stood a table, and on it lay two little caps, one for a girl, and the other for a boy; and underneath stood a tub, with water and a sponge in it. Then Herr Wölke began to ask what sort of a woman this was, and why she looked so sad, and why the man held her by the hand; and the children said that it was a pregnant woman, and that the man who stood by her was her husband, who was encouraging her, because she was in great danger, and would almost die. Then Herr Wölke asked further, what was the meaning of the two little caps? Then some of the spectators began to laugh; but if you could once have seen Herr Wölke, how serious he was, and how he at once turned round to us and requested us very earnestly not to laugh, during so serious a business, or he should much rather not teach at all. Then in a twinkling all was as still as a mouse. Then he began again, and asked about the little caps. Then the children said, it was not known whether it was a boy or a girl that was coming, and therefore the parents had made both caps. But there were a great many things more that Herr Wölke said and asked about, as, for example, he said about the table and water, that when the child came into the world, it would

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beneficence; which facts may serve as an excuse for these remarks, which I have written from a thankful heart and with truth.

strangle in its own blood, if its good parents did not take it, and wash it, and clean it. After this Herr Wölke began and made an address to the children, which I shall never forget in my life. I remember almost all of it, although I had to cry almost all the time. "Listen, dear children," he said; "if I were able to hate any body, although I am not, it would be that one among you who could be so godless as to be ungrateful to his parents. Think once what your mother has undergone for you! She came into danger of death, for your sake, and endured the most inexpressible pain; and your parents had cared for you even before you came into the world. How then do you think you can be thankful enough to them?"

Then Herr Wölke asked Fabreau, one of the children, where the little children came from. Then he began to smile and said, "Parents tell very different stories about it. There are judicious parents, and silly ones. The judicious ones say the mother bore the child; the silly ones, that the stork brought it!" Then he asked again, "If your mother bore you, whom have you to thank for being in the world?" "Why," he said, "I have to thank my mother." "But what if it was the stork that brought you?" "Then," he said, "I should have to thank the stork;" and he laughed heartily. I wish I had been as wise, in my sixth year, as Fabreau! How I would have answered my aunts, when they always kept telling me that silly story about the stork! But I am wiser now; let them try it again!

I could not pass over this coarse and conceited examination, especially as Basedow himself speaks of it with emphasis. He says, "We tell the children the truth about the generation of beasts and men. We do not dwell upon the act of generation, but upon the results of it; the painful pregnancy of the mother." The picture which was hung up was taken from the "*Elementary Book*," and printed on a large scale. "Some hearers," relates Basedow, "cried out, 'now it's coming!' and others laughed, but Wölke said to them, 'we beg you not to laugh,' and this was the only part of our plan which was laughable." "O, how hard it is for good reformers," he adds, "to overcome the hindrances which are placed in their way by the good!" *

Now Fritz comes to the instruction in arithmetic.

First Herr Wölke dictated a number as long as my arm; the blackboard had scarcely been set up, before Emilie began with 149,532 quadrillions, so many trillions, so many billions, and then the millions, thousands, and hundreds, until it was all done. Then they went to adding. Herr Wölke wrote a long row of figures under each other, as many as ten, and there was none of the children who took chalk; they reckoned it all in their heads, or often counted upon their fingers, and brought every thing out right to a hair, and often corrected even Herr Wölke, when he made mistakes; but he did that only for sport. So they went on for a long time, and the spectators all had much pleasure in seeing the children so ready, and able to work out an example before one could turn his hand over.

From arithmetic Wölke proceeded to an "experiment with all sorts of little drawings."

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* Philanthropinum, part 2d, pp. 26, 27. All this is very delicate, however, in comparison with an article of Wölke's in Vol. 2d of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*," entitled, "When and how shall children be taught that their father and mother are the origin of their life?" and in particular the extracts given from Basedow's "*Elementary Book*." One paragraph begins: "But no woman becomes pregnant until, &c." It appears from the article that Rousseau's "*How children are made, &c.*," was the immodest theme upon which Basedow, whose character was the opposite of Lavater's delicacy, made the most vulgar and indecent variations.

Then he took chalk and asked the children what they would like to have him draw. *Leonem*, *Leonem*, they all cried out together. Then Herr Wölke pretended that he was going to draw a lion; but instead of that he drew a great beak. "Hu," they cried out, "*non est leo, non est leo.*" "Why not?" "*Quia habet rostrum*," they said, "*Leones non habent rostrum.*" Then Herr Wölke drew the ears, but frightfully long. Then they cried out again that it was not right; that they are asses' ears. In short, they told Herr Wölke every thing that he was to draw, from the head to the tail; and then they had not had enough of it. They told him to draw a boy on the lion. Then Herr Wölke drew it carefully, all wrong; first an eye was wanting, then an ear, then the nose; and the children saw it in a moment, and made him put it in. And that was not enough either. The beast must have a bridle in his mouth, and the boy must hold the bridle in his hand; it was a figure to laugh yourself speckled at. When that was through, Herr Wölke asked them what he should draw next; and they all cried out, *domum, domum!* "Good," said Herr Wölke; "and now what is the first thing in a house?" *Fundamentum, Fundamentum!* Then in a twinkling he drew the foundation. Then they told him to make the first story and then the second story, and then the roof; and he did it. "What next?" *Januam, januam!* "And where must the door be?" *In medio, in medio!* "But I will not put it in the middle this time," said Herr Wölke; "it shall be here;" and so he drew it pretty near one end. "Yes," said the children, "but then there must be one at the other end too." "But why?" *Propter symmetrium.* When that was done, he proceeded to the window. Herr Wölke did it, on purpose, wrongly; but they told him how it must be; and which was too large or too small. Then came the chimneys; and Emilie drew a chimney-sweep on one of them, with a broom. Then they played another game, called the judicial game. In this they threw dice, and he who lost had to explain a picture. These pictures represented all kinds of artisans. The first I did not know; it was a turner. But I knew all the others. There was a sculptor, a painter, and a scribe. The sculptor had a chisel in his hand, and was chiseling a Minerva, and the whole room was full of statues.

In the twelfth letter Fritz relates what happened on the last day of the examination. There had been on the first day a sort of celebration, after the pattern of Basedow's universal religion; but on the last day it said, "First there was divine service, and this time according to the Christian religion." Basedow has given the exercises performed on the three days of the examination.* The first was a "universal worship of God." There was a liturgy alternating with a "choir of experienced worshipers of God," and with the congregation. The whole is a deistical, ethical, prosaic patch-work; Christ is not named in it. For example:—

Give the dark nations wholesome light;
Make every doubter see;
Belief by force continue not,
Nor forced hypocrisy.

May those with child have strength from thee,
Their children strong be made;
And may the pain of bringing forth,
With pleasure be repaid.

May youth grow up with worth and strength
Beneath thy training wise;
And give to all the wish to aid
The schools' great enterprise.

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* Philanthropinist Contributions, p. 1, &c.

Give wisdom to all friends of youth,
And tasks not too severe;
The seed we sow is still despised,—
The harvest is not here.

The second divine worship held at the examination is entitled: "A foundation for youth, of instruction and education, in faith in God, from the study of nature and a sense of conscience, with the help of faith and the example of adults." Nothing is said here, either, of Christianity; but the matter is a stupid, poetical kind of prose, mostly about the creation; for example: "Before the beginning of things whispered no soft brook, roared no falling cataract." And the liturgy says: "Hear, ye children, pleasant teachings, which you will certainly believe, when you understand them and consider them."

Lastly, Basedow gives the divine service held on the third day of the examination. It is entitled, "Foundation of a Christian instruction and exercises of conscience for children, with the help of their elders;" and begins with, "We all believe on Jesus Christ." The former line, "We all believe in one God," is considered as having been disposed of in the previous deistical service. The whole is orthodox, and agreeable to the apostolical confession of faith; being universally Christian, it appears calculated for Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants, for all who believe in God and in him whom he has sent; even for Jews.*

On this same third day of the examination, Basedow delivered an address, whose burden was, "Support the institute!" He says: "Fathers, fathers! Mothers, mothers! Have patience! Give a part of your superfluous manure for the garden where our happiness, (that of our children and our childrens' children,) is planted and waited for. Remember the defects of your own school lives." He asks over and over again for thirty thousand thalers, and uses all sorts of inducements to give. "Whoever gives not less than fifty thalers, but not more than five hundred, shall have his name, with a number showing how many times fifty thalers he has given, cut in capitals in the bark of a young tree, in a grove of lindens, consecrated to that purpose."

After Basedow's speech, Simon examined the children in French. He explained to them a "picture of Spring." "First," says the letter-writer, "he asked them one and another question, and then brought out a model of a plough and of a harrow, and showed them every thing belonging to the plough, and how the farmer uses it when he

*After what has been said before upon Basedow's religious views, we might wonder at this orthodoxy. But in this, as in Latin, he knew how to comply with the times. De Marées, well known for his Christian character, was then, as superintendent, at the head of the church in Dessau.

ploughs. Now it was that I saw what it was to learn words after Herr Basedow's methods. I never, in my life, knew what was a harrow in French; and now, while Herr Simon was showing the harrow, I heard it, for the first time, called *la herse*, and now I know that I can never forget it."

Afterward a historical examination, upon Alexander's expedition to India, was held by Mangelsdorf, the same who translated the "*Elementary Book*" into Latin. Basedow says that the answers were very well made; Fritz says that Mangelsdorf asked his questions of one scholar especially. This scholar was one of the four who translated a passage from Curtius, and the eighth chapter of the Gospel of John from Castellio's Bible. Basedow repeated the passage from Curtius, by periods, and each of the four "translated it correctly and with facility. And none of them had heard a word of Latin a year before, nor during that year had they ever committed one word to memory, or learned any thing from Donatus or the grammar." After another year, he promised, these scholars should be able to translate into Latin, from any German book which they could understand, orally or in writing, "with grammatical correctness, and not bad rhetoric."* "The spectators," says Fritz, "were much pleased with the Latin, all except one couple, whom I heard reasoning doubtfully to each other by themselves. They said that this was all mere childishness; that they ought to bring up Cicero, Livy, Horace, Virgil, and the like; and that then only it would be seen whether the Philanthropinists understood Latin."

In geography and natural history, no examinations were made. Two of the elder Philanthropinists demonstrated the Pythagorean theorem, and proved a trigonometrical problem.

After the examination came an exhibition of two plays, by the children; one in French and the other in German. The prince took the most friendly care of the guests who came to Dessau to the examination, both there and in Wörlitz; so that most of the strangers went away with high opinions of the examination itself, of Dessau, and especially of the beautiful prince and princess. Advantageous accounts of the result appeared, soon after, in the "*Deutsche Merkur*," and in the "*Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*."†

Among those who declared themselves in favor of the Philanthro-

* Ib., p. 15. The younger scholars tranalated from the "*Colloquies*" of Eraamus.

† In the "*Merkur*" for 1776, is the report of Canon Von Rochow. Stroth, of Quedlinburg, also wrote upon the examination; Prof. Eck, of Leipzig, chaplain Rambach, of Quedlinburg, and others, wrote letters to Basedow in praise of it, which he caused to be printed ("*Philanthropinum*," part 2d, p. 107;) and provoat Rötger, of Magdeburg, wrote, also on the same, "*Letters of an Impartial Cosmopolitan*."

pinum was Kant. In 1777, he published, in the "*Konigsberg Gazette,*" the following article:—

For the Common Good.

There is no want, in the civilized countries of Europe, of educational institutions, or of teachers, ambitious to be useful in their calling; and it is equally clear, that they are all, taken together, spoilt, by the fact that every thing in them operates against nature, and thus they are of very much less benefit to man than nature has made the latter capable of; and it is clear that, inasmuch as by education we become men, from brutish creatures, we should in a short time see around us men of an entirely different character, if a method of education wisely derived from nature herself should come into universal use, instead of one slavishly imitated from the custom of a rude and ignorant antiquity. It is however in vain to expect this benefit to the human race from a gradual improvement of the schools. They must be revolutionized, if any thing good is to be derived from them; for they are bad in their fundamental organization; and even their teachers themselves must receive a new training. It is not a slow reform, but a quick revolution, which can accomplish this. To this end nothing is wanting, except one single school, organized anew from the very beginning, strictly upon the right method, conducted by intelligent men, not from pecuniary but from honorable motives, watched over during its progress to completion by the attentive eyes of men of experience in all countries, and sustained until its maturity by the united contributions of all the benevolent. Such a school would not be merely for those whom it would instruct, but—which is infinitely more important—for those to whom it would give an opportunity to train themselves, in gradually increasing numbers, for teaching upon the true system of education. It would be a seed, from the careful protection of which, in a short time, a multitude of well-trained teachers would spring up, who would supply the whole land with good scholars. Interest for the common good of all countries should first be directed to this end; to get assistance from every place to such a model school, that it may quickly attain that entire completeness, the sources of which are already within it. For to imitate its organization in other countries immediately, and to keep imperfect and hindered in its progress toward completion, what should be the first perfect example and seed-bed of good instruction, would be to sow unripe seed, in order to reap weeds. Such an educational institution is no longer a mere idea; but the actual and visible demonstration of its practicability, which has been so long needed, is given. Such a phenomenon, in our times, though overlooked by common eyes, must have more importance to observers of intelligence, who are interested in the good of humanity, than the glittering nothingness which appears on the rapidly changing stage of the great world; by which the good of the human race, if not absolutely impeded, is not one hair's breadth promoted. The public designation, and especially the united voice of upright and intelligent men of experience in all countries, have already taught the readers of this paper to recognize the educational institution of Dessau (the Philanthropinum,) as the only one which bears these marks of excellence; of which it is not one of the least that, by the plan of its organization, it must of itself naturally throw off all the faults which belong to its beginning. The incessant attacks and libels which have appeared here and there, are such general marks of censoriousness, and of the old custom of defending one's self with one's tongue, that the indifference of this sort of people, who always look with evil eyes at whatever shows itself good and noble, would raise a suspicion of the mediocrity of the new claimant of excellence. An opportunity is now given to afford to this institution, which is devoted to the good of humanity, and that deserves the sympathy of all men, assistance, which will be insignificant to each person, but important from the large number. If the invention should be tasked to contrive the means by which a small gift should do the greatest, most lasting, and most universal good, it would be found to be that means by which the seeds of good are planted and maintained, so that they may grow and strengthen themselves with time. According to this idea, and to the high opinion which we have of the number of benevolent persons in this country, we refer to the 21st part of this literary and political gazette, with the appendix; where we find a numerous subscription, from men of standing in the church and

in schools, and especially from parents to whom nothing can be indifferent which will serve for the better education of their children; and even from those who, although they have no children themselves, have heretofore, as children, received education, and who therefore feel the obligation to contribute, if not to the increase of mankind, at least to the improvement of their education. The subscription to the monthly journal issued by the Dessau educational institution, entitled "*Pedagogical Conversations,*" is two reichsthalers ten groschen of our money. But as it is impracticable exactly to determine the number of issues, and as thus there might be a further payment necessary at the end of the year, it would perhaps be best (though this is left to the good feelings of each man,) to send a ducat for his subscription; the overplus of which, if he demands it, shall be punctually returned to him. The institution indulges in the hope that there are many liberal persons in all countries, who will gladly seize this opportunity to make the small free-will offering of this surplus over the subscription, as a contribution to its support, while it is yet near being completed, but has not received in time the help which it expected. For since, as Herr O. C. R. Büsching says, the governments of the present day do not seem to have any money for the improvement of schools, it must, unless they are to be entirely broken up, be left to wealthy private persons, to sustain, by generous contributions, these so universally-important institutions.

KANT.

It is remarkable that Kant conceived as great hopes from the Philanthropinum as did Fichte, afterward, from Pestalozzi's institution; and both, led by their amiable benevolence, hoped for too much. Kant perceives this himself, afterward, as appears from the following passage, from his work "*On pedagogy.*" He says:*

It was imagined that experiments in education were not necessary; and that, whether any thing in it was good or bad, could be judged of by the reason. But this was a great mistake; experience shows very often that results are produced precisely the opposite to those which had been expected. We also see from experiment that one generation can not work out a complete plan of education. The only experimental school which has made a beginning toward breaking the path was the Dessau institution. This praise must be given to it, in spite of the many faults which may be charged against it; faults which belong to all conclusions based upon such undertakings; and which make new experiments always necessary. It was the only school in which the teachers had the liberty to work after their own methods and plans, and where they stood in connection, not only with each other, but with men of learning throughout all Germany.

In the first part of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*" is found also the letter of "A poor country clergyman in Alsace" to Simon, a professor in the Philanthropinum, whose teacher the clergyman had been. This clergyman was no other than the excellent Oberlin, well known to all. Here is his letter:†

My dear Fritz: You wish to be loved by me as much as you love me? Right; I am glad to have you say so. Judge now yourself whether I love you. I carry your institution in my heart. Oh, how willingly would I devote myself to it; but God requires my services here. How earnestly have I wished to be present in it, if only for a few months or even a few weeks, to hear, to learn, and then to go back, richer than before, to my Steinthal, and finish learning by myself! But my God has quite forbid me; for nothing but my wish is favorable to that wish. I have already been kept poor, and hard pressed; and am so now; even to extremity. O, if we had money, money which is so useless in many hands! So I have thought a thousand times since I have known of the institution at Dessau; and so I and my wife had to think again, when we read the third part of your "*Archives.*" We thought of every thing, whether we had not some thing

* Kant's works, Vol. 9, p. 381. Rosenkranz's edition.

† Pedagogical Conversations, first part, pp. 97-100

which we could turn into money. I was grieved, for I knew we had not. Then my wife came silently into my study, and with pleasure in her eyes brought me a pair of ear-rings, with the request that I would send them to the Philanthropinum, or their value, if we could sell them. She had given thirty gulden for them, ten or twelve years before. I wrote at once to Herr ——, in Strasburg, but without telling him the name of the giver. Now I do not know, my dear friend, whether the ear-rings, or the money paid for them, will accompany this letter. You can imagine how much pleasure I take in these ear-rings. I can feel no regard for such idle things, which cost so monstrous a sum for so emaciated a purse. God gives me bread to-day, and has promised it to me for the future. My friend, besides God and ourselves, no one knows who has made this gift, so little in itself; but the secret is placed fully at your disposal. I do not know what gift could have been made to me, so agreeable as the three copies of the "*Elementary Book.*" I hardly know myself; for I had been looking with covetous eyes upon those who could buy them; and I saw no shadow of hope that I could ever buy them; for I and my money-box are quite empty. I try to make this excellent book known wherever I can in Strasburg. My friend, I can speak openly with you; so many copies frightened me and my wife. And I could hardly restrain myself; and had to make an effort to keep from tears. Thanks, and pleasure, and shame, and sorrow at my inability to make a return to the institution and to you, were too strong for me. I can pay you for them, my friend, in nothing but wishes, ardent wishes to my dear God, who keeps me so poor, for you and for your and my care, the institution. Yes, my friend, I hold your vocation and your labor enviable. May God strengthen, bless, and encourage you, and—which I always shall for myself—give you a more tender love for Jesus and for the children, bought with his blood, and so dear to him. Adieu, my dear friend, and all my friends. I remain, even until death, and anew after that, your sincere, willing, and tender friend, OBERLIN.

Waldersbach in the Steinthal, on the borders of Alsace and Lorraine, March 16, 1777.

In 1776,* the same year in which the examination was held, Campe, then chaplain at Potsdam, took the curatorship of the Philanthropinum, but left it in the following year. After his departure, Basedow was again "director of instruction," and Wölke vice-curator. Trapp, from Altona, became a teacher, but was appointed professor of pedagogy in Halle, in 1778.† Busse, "candidate in pedagogy," and known for his mathematical text-books, and who was afterward professor of mathematics in the mining academy at Freiberg, became a teacher in 1778.

In 1778 there were thirty-three boarders. The plan of instruction was nearly as in 1776, and extracts from Cicero, Terence, &c., were read. "At the last, at the very last," Basedow directs to instruct in the principal heads of grammar. "A very wrong method, in the opinion of most," says he, "but in truth the method of nature and of reason."

* Philanthr. Archives, part 3d. In the same year Simon and Schweighäuser left the institution.

† Trapp received this invitation by the means of the Prussian minister for schools, Von Zedlitz, who was strongly in favor of Basedow. In an address "On patriotism as an object of education," Zedlitz says, "The cuts of Basedow's "*Elementary Book*" should be the first manual for all instructors." They were to be a picture-gallery, by means of which children can easily and clearly be taught the first ideas of civil employments.—"*Pedagogical Conversations,*" Vol. 1, p 604.

German exercises were written. "For each exercise, the author shall receive tickets of industry, according to their value; by which he can earn for himself golden points upon the white table of merit."*

Neuendorf, afterward rector of the school in Dessau, had an especial oversight of the Philanthropinists, whom, upon one occasion, he addressed as follows: "My dear children, we are here a little republic, of which each one of us is a free member. You are my young friends, and I am your older and more experienced friend." Trotzendorf organized his school as a republic, but declared himself, not the older friend of the youths, but the *dictator perpetuus*. Neuendorf, as a follower of Rousseau, was seeking to show his scholars the necessity of laws for their republic.

Turning, planing, and even threshing, were among the branches of instruction.†

While the Philanthropinum made many friends, it did not want enemies. One of them published a romance, "*Spitzbart;* a comico-tragic pedagogical history of this century. Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus, 1779."‡ This book had much success. It was directed especially against Basedow. In the third volume of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*" is a commentary by the institution upon "*Spitzbart.*" "Although this institute," it says, "is still called the Philanthropinum, it is as unlike the Philanthropinum which Basedow founded and would have carried on, not as a hen to the egg, but as the hen to another fowl. If charges are to be brought against Basedow and his plans, they do not apply to us, because we have not adhered to all of them." They say, again, that they have not let Basedow's work go to destruction, but that they occupy themselves no longer with constructing plans, but with carrying them out.

Criticism had had a good effect, at all events.

As will have been concluded from what has been said, Basedow soon left the institution, and even got into a quarrel with Wölke; it was out of enmity with him that the former refused to have any part in the direction. Wölke was now director, and with him were five professors. In 1781, Salzmann, professor and clergyman at Erfurt, and Olivier, from Lausanne, became teachers. The former was also chaplain; and, as such, published, in 1783, "*Divine services,* held in the chapel of the Philanthropinum."

* In 1782 four pupils were admitted to the Order of Industry.

† See appendix for full order of exercises.

‡ The same professor Schummel, who earlier, while a teacher in the girls' school at Magdeburg, had attended the examination at Dessau, and had written "*Fritz's Journey,*" was the author of "*Spitzbart;*" "A satire," says his biographer, Menzel, upon the Philanthropinic scheme of education which he had previously subscribed to." The work was perhaps the result of a reaction from his first excessive valuation.

In 1782, Matthisson, the poet, and Spazier, became teachers in the Philanthropinum. At this time there were fifty-three boarders, from all countries of Europe, from Riga to Lisbon.

Salzmann left Dessau, in 1784, and, with the assistance of the Duke of Gotha, founded his well-known institution in Schnepfenthal.*

From the year 1778 Basedow taught privately in Dessau, and gave great offense by many vulgarities, especially by drunkenness. He got into very violent open quarrels with Wölke, and even into a law-suit, which was ended, in 1783, by a reconciliation. He again wrote many theological treatises. In 1785, he supervised the second edition of the "*Elementary Book*," and wrote "*On the method of teaching Latin by the knowledge of things;*" and also upon learning to read. In 1786, he published "*New Assistant for Teaching Reading*, for the knowledge of God, and for the necessary correctness in language; by Basedow, and a society laboring for enlightenment;" and also "*New Assistant* for the suitable enlightenment of scholars by teachers of the middle classes." A strange title! The book is intended to contain lessons in virtue and the principles of practical wisdom. From the year 1785, Basedow was accustomed to take a yearly journey to Magdeburg for a few months, and to teach there in a family school. While there on his third trip, in July, 1790, he was seized with a hemorrhage. Feeling that his end was near, he dictated some additions of his will, took an affectionate farewell of his youngest son, and died, in the full possession of his faculties, on the 25th of July, aged 66 years, 10 months, and 14 days. His last words were characteristic: "I desire to be dissected for the benefit of my fellow-men." He was buried in the church of the congregation of the Holy Ghost. He was twice married. His first wife died in Soröe; with the second, a Danish woman, he lived thirty-three years, until her death in 1788. She was of a very melancholy disposition, and was especially affected by the excommunication of her husband in Altona. Emilie, his daughter, whom we have so often mentioned, married, in 1789, a clergyman named Cautius, who lived near Bernburg.

Let us return once more to the Philanthropinum.

There is so much that is strange and remarkable in the information which I have given, that the whole seems almost a pedagogical caricature. Yet it would be, in the highest degree, unjust to

* The authentic accounts in my possession, come down only to 1784; so that I am obliged to break off at that point. The "*Pedagogical Conversations*" ended with their 5th year, 1784. In 1796, at the age of thirteen, I came to Dessau, and there saw several of the teachers of the Philanthropinum; Dutoit, the enthusiastic follower of Rousseau, Busse, Wölke, and Neuendorf. I was especially often in the house of the honest, benevolent, and enthusiastic Olivier, of whose important method of reading I shall hereafter speak.

keep in the back-ground the good qualities of the institution, and of its managers.

As it regards the teachers in the Philanthropinum, whatever differences there may be in estimates of them, we must recognize with honor their honest and unselfish purposes; and even for that of Basedow, in spite of his shameless begging for plans which his brain, which, says Göthe, would not let him rest day or night, incessantly brought forth. He died poor, and while dying requested to be dissected for the benefit of his fellow-men. Even his boasting habit of promising impossible things, and even asserting them to have been done, at the Philanthropinum, to the great after injury of the institution, may well be ascribed in part to a rude enthusiasm for his plans. Most of the teachers gave themselves to their work with self-sacrificing love, and with their whole hearts. With what unwearied and vivid activity did Wölke labor! Olivier, to his death, felt a youth's enthusiasm for his vocation as a teacher; and the honest, conscientious, and persevering activity in teaching, of Salzmann and Campe, is well known.

Was then all the labor of these men in vain, and even more than in vain? Certainly not. To convince ourselves of this, however, we must, as in forming our estimate of the character of Rousseau, take into consideration the character of the pedagogy of that time; not as it was exhibited in the single cases of eminent philologists, but as it prevailed upon an average taken through most of the schools. The time of youth was then, for most of them, a very miserable time; and the instruction was hard and heartlessly strict. The grammar was whipped into their memories, as were also texts from Scripture and hymns.* A common school punishment was the learning by rote of the 119th Psalm. The school rooms were miserably dark; it was a wonder that the children could work with pleasure at any thing; and no less a wonder that they had any eyes left for any thing besides writing and reading. The godless age of Louis XIV also inflicted upon the poor children of the higher ranks hair frizzled with powder and smeared with pomade, embroidered coats, knee-breeches, silk stock

* Pedagog. Convers., Vol. 3, p. 467. In this place is the following item: "About this time died Häuberle, *Collega jubilaeus* at a village in Suabia. During the 51 years 7 months of his official life, he had, by a moderate computation, inflicted 911.527 blows with a cane, 124,010 blows with a rod, 20,989 blows and raps with a ruler, 136,715 blows with the hand, 10.235 blows over the mouth, 7,905 boxes on the ear, 1,115,800 raps on the head, and 22,763 *notabenes* with the Bible, catechism, singing-book, and grammar. He had 777 times made boys kneel on peas, and 613 times on a three-cornered piece of wood; had made 3001 wear the jackass, and 1707 hold the rod up; not to enumerate various more unusual punishments which he contrived on the spur of the occasion. Of the blows with a cane, about 800,000 were for Latin words; and of those with the rod 76.000 were for texts from the Bible and verses from the singing-book. He had about 3.000 expressions to scold with; of which he had found about two-thirds ready-made in his native language, and the rest he had invented himself."

ings, a sword at their sides; all of which was the severest torture for young and active children.*

Like Kant, F. H. Jacobi, Euler,† and others, conceived at first great hopes from the institution, and that gained great reputation and received assistance, in and from all parts of Europe. The unnaturalness of much that was usual was so strongly felt, and there was so strong a desire after freedom, after what may be called natural in the best sense of the word, that, as Kant says, there was a powerful wish not only for a reformation, but for a revolution, for the freedom of youth.

Rousseau's oratorical exhortations had caused much attention to be paid to the more intelligent management of little children; mothers nursed them themselves, and many effeminate habits were avoided.

In the Philanthropinum, the same principles were followed in educating boys; and bodily education was attended to in a manner which had never been any where seen before.‡

The preposterous and painful clothes of boys, embroidered coats, breeches, curling, and hair-bags, were all done away with. It may be imagined how delightful it must have been to the boys, to be let out of their tormenting dress—coats, breeches, and cravats—permitted to wear the most convenient sailor's jackets and pantaloons of striped blue and white tick, to have their necks free and their collars turned down,§ to be quite rid of the smear of powder and pomade in their hair, and of their hair-bags. A report of the institution for 1779 says, "If parents insist upon it that the hair of their children shall be daily dressed and powdered by the usual barbers, the institution can not answer for the purity of their characters; for, by means of the barbers, they can easily establish a connection with immoral persons, &c." This appeal was efficient.

Care was taken that the body should be disciplined and hardened.

* Most of the children can be judged of by the cuts in the "*Elementary Book.*" Of the influence of the unnatural French manners upon the German girls, Göthe has given a vivid representation in a scene of the earlier edition of "*Erwin and Elmire.*" See his works, first edition, Vol. 34, p. 211.

† This great mathematician was the author of the favorable testimony which the Academy of St. Petersburg published, upon Basedow and the Philanthropinum, in 1775 Basedow had sent his book, "*The Philanthropinum,*" to St. Petersburg. They say, "The academy considers this work worthy of its praises. It applauds in particular the cordial zeal with which the author is penetrated for the good of the human family; and, as the plan of education and the method of instruction for the young, which is therein proposed, is in several respects preferable to those which have been followed hitherto, the academy has no doubt that if it shall be carried into execution, and imitated by other institutions, there will result a material advantage to the public."

‡ What had been begun in the Philanthropinum was carried further by Gutsmuths, in the Salzmann institution, at Schnepfenthal. Gutsmuths indeed shows himself, in his gymnastics, the forerunner of Jahn.

§ This was the custom of the children under the care of Olivier, when I saw them in 1796.

The boys learned carpentering and turning, wrestled in the open air, ran foot-races, &c. As the instruction proceeded as much as possible from actual seeing, the training of the eyes was not neglected.

Here also should be mentioned the fact that the Philanthropinum, and the teachers who adhered to its principles, made special efforts for the prevention of certain frightful secret practices.

As to instruction, the teachers of the Philanthropinum did many great services to it.

It was one of their favorite principles, that the scholars should learn with love and not with repugnance. In this they were certainly right, although they made many mistakes in their method of inspiring this love of learning. They severely blamed the unloving indifference of so many teachers toward their pupils, and toward their pleasure or displeasure in learning. That teacher will accomplish most, whose work is adapted at once to the growing natural gifts of his scholars, and to their weak conscientiousness. To have regard only to the natural gifts of the children leads to a servile following of them; to make demands upon their conscientiousness only, and to overlook and neglect their individual endowments, leads to the tyrannical practice of requiring every thing from all alike. In the first of these cases, the wills of the children are left to themselves, and they are treated only as personified powers, vegetating and developing themselves; which the teacher must follow only, and to which he must subject himself entirely. In the second case, on the other hand, they are regarded as personified wills, and they are required to will and to do all things, even the impossible; as if one should require a blind man to become a painter by the power of his will. In the Philanthropinum, the ethical element was comparatively neglected; the pleasure and wishes of the children was too much consulted, and their conscience and wills too little called into activity; even a wrong vanity was put in requisition.* This may well have happened in opposition to the already mentioned caricaturized character of the ancient pedagogy, and its extreme severity, which commanded and set lessons recklessly, in reliance upon punishment, had reference neither to the pleasure nor the consciences of the children, and would carry all things through by fear.

I now proceed to consider the method followed in the Philanthropinum in giving instruction on different subjects.

In teaching language, Comenius was followed in this respect, tha

* In the fourth collection of "*Worshiping Exercises*, holden in the chapel of the Philanthropinum," the exercises are given, with which seven pupils were admitted to the Order of Industry.

the teaching of words of foreign languages was as much as possible united with the inspection of the things designated by his words. At the examination in French, the teacher showed the picture of a harrow and called it *herse.* The word was to be impressed upon the memory by seeing, and the sight by the memory. The "*Elementary Book*," like the "*Orbis Pictus*" before it, aimed at such a united knowledge of things and their names, in different languages.

A second distinction between the instruction in languages at the Philanthropinum and that elsewhere was this, that foreign languages were taught, first by speaking them, and next by reading. The grammar, which in other schools was always made the beginning, was not brought in until a late period. But this is not entirely new. In this way, as we have seen, Montaigne learned Latin; Ratich placed the reading of Terence before the grammar; and Locke's principles were similar. Basedow and Wölke, however, were accustomed to cite, principally, various places in Gesner's "*Isagoge;*" in one of which it is said, that it is a hundred times easier to teach a language by use and practice, without grammar, than it is to teach it by grammar, without use and practice.

To avoid repetition, I omit here the full discussion of this pedagogical controversy; I shall hereafter have occasion to take it up in my account of the Hamiltonian method. I will only remark that, so far as I know, no philologist of eminence proceeded from the Philanthropinum. This is the less to be wondered at, since Basedow himself must have been entirely destitute of all susceptibility to the grandeur and beauty of the ancient classics; and, by his own confession, studied the dead languages industriously himself, and caused them to be diligently studied by others, only because otherwise the Philanthropinum could not be kept in existence.

The instruction in arithmetic seems to have been very good; at least the manuals of Busse, the professor of mathematics, have had much reputation. In geometry, the views of Rousseau appear to have been followed; who, as we have seen, insisted much upon drawing the geometrical figures as neatly and accurately as possible. This was entirely correct. Nowhere is the imposing principle of "Spiritualism" less appropriate, than in the instruction of youth. This spiritualism despises the form, and immediately requires the idea; whereas the young need the best and truest representations, as being the symbols of the clearest and truest ideas.

I possess a collection of geometrical drawings on pasteboard, which were used for instruction in the Philanthropinum. In these, nothing is omitted which can make the representation more correct, or the

demonstration more easy. Even painting, in the names of the separate parts of the figures, is employed; and some of the triangles can even be taken out of their places, to show how they may be placed upon other triangles. The great Euclid certainly would not have used the word "cover," unless he had actually laid one figure upon the other.

Upon the instruction in geography, natural history, and physics, we may give some particulars from the "*Elementary Book*." The geographical instruction is arranged in two courses, but offers nothing special. But the strange political and religious remarks of the author, repulsive to men, and wholly unintelligible to children, are worthy of attention. Of the method of procedure, he says, "It is a practical method to begin with a sketch of a room, a house, a town, and a well-known neighborhood; and then to go on to the map of a country, and so on to a continent." This is after Comenius, and Rousseau; but I do not know whether this method was actually followed.

To the geography, in the "*Elementary Book*," is subjoined a some what confused universal history, which is mingled with all manner of inappropriate observations; and this is followed by portions of mythology, narrated in the most vulgar and disgusting manner.

The natural history, in the "*Elementary Book*," contains one thing and another from the three kingdoms; and rather more from physics and astronomy. The structure of the human body is also considered. Many absurdities are attributable to the condition of natural science at that day. There is also a technology, containing a description of the most common trades and arts.

All these things were subjects of instruction at the Philanthropinum, where the "*Elementary Book*," indeed, was in its proper place. The numerous representatives from nature and art, which were placed before the children, like pictures passed before them in a magic lantern, must have been a great diverson to them; but how wearisome, on the other hand, must have been the homilies which they had to endure on morals, politics, and religion! Basedow had not bestowed any thought upon the questions, what was appropriate for boys in this country; what stimulates them; what they can understand; what appeals to their hearts? Not less than sixty-one pages, in the "*Elementary Book*," are occupied with "Fundamental Ideas of Politics," which tell about a certain Democratus, who lived in the country of Universalia; of a great Count Aristocratus; of actionable injuries, &c.

Religion is the foundation of education; upon the solidity of this foundation depends the excellence of the whole building. Basedow's

house was built upon the sand; and, notwithstanding the beautifu. execution of some of its parts, it was, therefore, uncomfortable and insecure. What we find on this subject, in the "*Elementary Book*," and in the other writings, which have proceeded from the Philanthropinum, go beyond any thing hitherto referred to. We expect to find in them only a tiresome rationalism; and it is with wonder that we discover more. I shall cite a few examples.

Wölke quoted, with approval,* some remarks of a third person, which begin thus: "To-day I revealed to Fritz the existence of a God. For a long time, I have been preparing him for this important occasion; especially by carefully directing his attention to every thing in nature, and leading him to guess at causes wherever he noticed results." The narrator had not taken the boy out of the village for four days, that on the fifth he might be more impressible and attentive, when God should then, for the first time, be named to him as the creator of the sun, &c. Here Wölke adds this observation: "One who desires to make the impressions of such an occasion still deeper, and to raise still higher the pleasure felt at the beauty of nature, and in its creator, must stay at home for a still longer time, with his pupil, in a room whose windows are shut close, day and night, and which is lighted only by a feeble lamp. But the pupil must know nothing of the design, and during this last day must be kept busily and pleasantly occupied." The Fritz of this account had, up to the appointed day, never heard the name of God; or, at least, ought not to have heard it; and is first made acquainted with prayer, after this day of revelation; having before been taught to thank his father or guardian only, after meals, for his food and drink.

Something of the same kind is found in the "*Elementary Book*."† In this the passage from "younger childhood" to "elder childhood" is thus described:—

The parents issue preparatory orders, relating to the change, as well in the relations of the child as of the deportment of others toward him; and in relation to the festivities of the day. These are previously explained to the child, a part at a time, and he is practiced, by preparatory exercises, in the behavior proper for so great and honorable an occasion, also with the admonition, that too childish conduct may cause a postponement of the day selected. The day comes. He rises, once more, as a little child. A few of his mother's friends come in, with pleasure, to assist in putting on his new clothes. An uncommonly good breakfast is provided. All his old toys, &c., are collected and thrown away, and his new ones brought out, together with his clothes. The child is congratulated upon having advanced to this period. He is taken up into a church, and is taught what is the purpose of the assemblies, which meet there; but not yet in the peculiarities of his national religion. They return home. The father offers a short prayer for his child; and a pair of good singers sing an appropriate stanza. After a few questions by the parents, and answers by the child, the rod is burned in the fire. Now, for the first time, the child prays, kneeling, and after a form. The

* Pedagogical Conversations, 3d vol., p. 146. † Part I, pp 87–90.

father prays again, with a hand, for benediction, upon his child's head. The singing of a final stanza concludes the more serious part of the solemnity. All go into the house, and some guests, with their children, offer their congratulations upon the change. After this, until 8 o'clock in the evening, the company of children are entertained, and made to enjoy themselves, after their fashion, but with such games as are agreeable to others, and not too noisy; as any other would not be suitable to the solemnity of the day. At evening, the mother prays, with her hand, for benediction, upon the child's head. Next day, the tutor prays for the child, and over him, and gives him, in the name of his parents, a beautiful set of tablets, bound in red, and whose vignette represents a whole company of children, following their teacher in prayer. During the day of this festivity, at each item of the arrangements, its reason is explained to him. For example, the reddish binding is for a reminder of modest sincerity, in which, for one occasion and another, children should be trained, even at so early an age, etc., etc. In this manner does the little child become an older child.

What was Basedow's ideal of divine worship will appear from the following:—

For the weekly, and other less extraordinary solemnities of the family, a chamber should, if circumstances permit, be consecrated; that is, set apart for this sole use. Each object in it is instructive and significant to this end; for example, the ceiling signifies heaven, or the elevated happiness of the virtuous after death, and is so finished as to inculcate this idea. The chief color of the walls is striped with black stripes, to represent the preponderance of good over evil, in this life. The middle of the carpet has the figure of a coffin, for the sake of increasing wisdom, by reminding men of death. In the highest place, behind the speaker's seat, is a box, in which is kept the book of God's laws and promises. The cover of the box has a mirror in it, to indicate the necessity of self-examination, according to God's law. At the sides of this box burn two wax candles, to signify the two methods of acquiring religious knowledge, by the instruction of others and by our own insight. Over the box, on the wall, are represented, in statues, pictures, or words, the four cardinal virtues; prudence, moderation, justice, and benevolence. These means of instruction are to be employed at the beginning of every service, with the help of certain words, and gestures, and of the liturgy. All who enter this chamber must be cleanly clad; and no one in it must turn his back to the box.*

After a variety of other particulars, he adds: "For setting forth a domestic liturgy and ceremonial, a whole book would be required. True, many would think ill of the purpose of such a work; would laugh at it, and revile it. Let them do so. Even for its own advantage, posterity has decided in favor of the Copernican system." Compare these fantasies with Luther's homely directions for the father's devotions with his family! Basedow, as a follower of Rousseau, seems to have been led into these singular details by one remark in "*Emile.*" This is, "We depend too much upon the unassisted reason; as if men were minds only. In neglecting the language of symbols, which speaks to the imagination, we neglect the most impressive part of language. The impression of words is always feeble; and the heart is better addressed through the eye than through the ear."

To the strange rhetoric of Basedow's incoherent religious addresses are subjoined hymns of a very appropriate character. For a speci-

* Same, part 2, pp. 110, 111, 113. But this worship is described only in Basedow's "*Alethinie.*" It reminds us much of "*Wilhelm Meister.*"

men, I give the following, from a collection entitled "The whole of natural religion in hymns."*

No mortal being knew me yet,
  Within my mother's womb!
Not even herself! She but believed
  I was a human child!

There lay I, all prepared, I!
  With soul and flesh, all I!
I, now a child, and soon a man,
  Prepared completely there!

Thus, then was I prepared, I!
  Not by my parents' plan!
But he who shaped me to his mind,
  He was my God, my God!

'Tis God who shapes the milk-soft form
  From out of drink and food;
Who changes these, and makes them blood;
  And sends the blood around.

The body uses what it needs,
  And what would harm, rejects!
By lungs, and by magnetic skin—
  Thus works, thus works my God!

Thou, God, of father hast no need
  To make the human form.
No generation, and no birth,
  My primal father had.

The wind thou leadest on its way,
  Teachest the air to move,
That one may speak, another hear,
  And both may understand.

In thinner, or in thicker air,
  No sound nor life could be!
Father of life, thou causest it
  In measure just to stay!

In the place of a Christian, renewing faith, enlivening for time and eternity, was thus constructed a human, superficial, lifeless, and absurd patchwork of natural religion. From such a barren seed could never grow a plant to bear fruit, both in time and eternity.

From the Dessau Philanthropinum a great pedagogical excitement and agitation spread over Germany and Switzerland, and, indeed, over a great part of Europe. This is evident, both from the list of the patrons of Basedow's "*Elementary Book*," and from the fact that boys were sent to his school from all quarters, from Riga to Lisbon. Educational institutions, on the model of the Philanthropinum, arose in all quarters. Ulysses von Salis first established one, in 1775, at Marschlins, in Switzerland. He selected for its principal the well-known Dr. Bahrdt, who had been professor of theology at Giessen, but was about being sent away for his heterodoxy. Salis and Bahrdt,

* The original is not rhymed. (*Translator.*)

however, had a disagreement within a year, and the latter accepted an appointment from Count von Leiningen, as superintendent at Durkheim. The count, at the same time, gave him the occupation of Castle Heidenheim, for the erection of a philanthropinist institute. But this feeble institution expired after three years, (in 1779,) Bahrdt being deposed by the royal council for theological error. By the assistance of Teller, however, he found an appointment at Halle, under the protection of the minister, Zedlitz.

Campe founded a third institution, in Hamburg, after leaving Dessau. This he left, in 1783, to the care of Trapp, who, however, seems to have let it quite perish, for he went to Wolfenbüttel, in 1786. Salzmann's Institute, founded in 1784, existed longest, and still exists. Among the teachers and pupils of this institution, have been such men as Gutsmuths and Karl Ritter.

The Philanthropinists exerted an influence, not only through these institutions, but through a multitude of authors, for young and old, who swarmed all over Germany. At the head of the teachers who wrote, stands Campe. The most successful of his writings was "*The Swiss Family Robinson*," (*Robinson der Jüngere.*) He seems to have been induced to write this by Rousseau's strong recommendation of the "*Robinson Crusoe*" of Defoe, as a book for children. But Campe's *Robinson* is far below its original, and is much weakened and diluted, by the sapient observations of the children, and weak and silly preachments about morals and usefulness. Campe's books on travels also had much success, especially that upon the discovery of America; although even this truly poetical material was injured by tiresome disquisitions, doubly tiresome for children. Campe's purely ethical writings for children, like his "*Theophron, or the Experienced Counselor of Youth*," must have been unendurable to a sprightly boy. "As soon as Campe's *Robinson* came into the hands of all children, of the educated classes, the biblical histories disappeared. In consequence, there came up, besides the practical prose of our youthful relations, a theoretical element of them. There grew up a generation of youth, who regarded nothing but what was material, domestic, or of immediate use in the external relations of life; and full of childish pertness."* When the poisonous wind of the desert blows, all the fresh, green, tender plants, quickly fail and wither. But many children escaped the fatal effects of the pedagogical Simoom, which, at that time, blew from France over Germany.

Among Campe's works for teachers, his collection of writings on

* Schlosser, ("*History of the Eighteenth Century*," 3, 2, 163,) in his excellent character of Campe. My own vivid recollection of the effect upon myself, when a boy, of these juvenile books, fully coincides with his remarks upon them.

the whole subject of schools and education must be placed first. He was assisted in this undertaking by educators and instructors of like views with himself, Resewitz, Elers, Trapp, &c. This includes translations of Locke's "*Thoughts on Education,*" and Rousseau's "*Emile;*" and it deals with the most important pedagogical problems; especially those upon which the old and new schools in education are at variance.

After Campe, Salzmann was the most influential of this class of pedagogical writers.

Their restless activity gave the Philanthropinists great influence upon the educational systems of Germany. They attacked in all ways the old schools; who, on their part, sheltered themselves behind received principles, and often made successful attacks upon the many weak points exposed by the assailing Reformers.

Notwithstanding this hostile attitude, however, the old schools could not wholly avoid the influence of the Philanthropinists. Some rectors of gymnasia even passed over to the ranks of their opponents; as Gedike, rector of the Gray Friars' Gymnasium, at Berlin. In an ode* to Basedow he says:—

> Thou North-Albion's son, lighted the sparkling torch,
> Flung'st it aloft with a Hercules' mighty arm—
> Many ran toward thee, kindled their lights from thine,
> Brighter and brighter the light of the torches shone,
> Till the very snorers rose,
> Rubbing their sleepy, blinking eyes.

Gedike also assisted in Campe's collection of educational writings. Being a man naturally inclined to the older schools, a legitimist, he would have been doubly welcome to the Philanthropinists, could he have been ranked as an able philologist even by the humanists. He was, moreover, much too rough as a teacher.

Far above him, though a cotemporary, stands Meierotto, the able rector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, at Berlin. His brethren called him the Frederic the Great of the rectors. He never wrote any odes to Basedow, but was indefatigable in his efforts to secure instruction in drawing in his gymnasium, a cabinet of natural objects collected there, an area with apparatus for gymnastic exercises; and thus proved himself an honorably sincere and earnest educator, and intelligently accequainted with the new pedagogy.

The isolated, independent labors of the Philanthropinists grew weaker and weaker toward the end of the eighteenth century;† and, in the beginning of the nineteenth, a new epoch of reform commenced with the establishment of the Pestalozzian institution at

* Not rhymed. (*Translator.*)

† Only Salzmann's institution, at Schnepfenthal, as we have seen, outlasted the century

Burgdorf, and the substitution of the too theoretical Pestalozzians in the place of the too practical Philanthropinists.

In the educational institutions and writings of the followers of Basedow are found only imitations, or, at the most, variations of what was practiced and written in the Philanthropinum; and, in fact, in that institution itself, only imitations and variations upon the themes of Rousseau's "*Emile.*"

We shall now leave the consideration of the philanthropist schools proper; but it will still be of the utmost interest to trace the influence of Rousseau's thoughts, and of Basedow's realization of them, upon other eminent Germans, whether belonging to the old or the new school, or seeking to harmonize the two. We shall, at the same time, see what peculiar educational thoughts and views were originated in such men, by means of so great a pedagogical revolution. In our account of the Philanthropinum, Göthe and Kant have already been quoted for this purpose. To these may now be added Hamann and Herder, and lastly, Friederich August Wolf, the official successor and antipodes of the philanthropist, Trapp; the most genial of the later philologists; who ought to have been ashamed to shelter himself, in the defense of classical education, behind prescription.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENTS IN THE PHILANTHROPINUM.

At five o'clock, a house-servant awoke a "famulant," and the latter a teacher, and the other famulants. The teacher then inspected their rooms, to see if every thing was in good order, and their business properly arranged. At a quarter before six, the reveille was sounded, by a servant or famulant, when all the teachers and Philanthropinists arose. Then the teacher and inspector of the day visited all the pupils in their rooms, and called the attention of each to any thing in regard to which he was to blame. After having passed inspection, and washed, and dressed, the pupils met in the fourth auditorium for morning devotions. After this all went to breakfast, and then, in winter at eight o'clock, in summer at seven, to the school-rooms. The order of exercises there was as follows:—

For the First Class of Older Boarders.

From 8 to 9. Instruction in taste, and in German style, by Prof. Trapp, from Ramler's "*Batteux,*" Schützen's "*Manual for Training the Understanding and the Taste,*" and Sulzer's "*First Exercises,*" (*Vorübungen.*) This for the first three days of the week. In the other three, Prof. Trapp instructed in natural religion and morals, from Basedow's "*Natural Wisdom for those in private stations.*"

From 9 to 10. Dancing, with a master, riding, with riding-master Schrödter, under the inspection of Feder and Hauber, alternately, every day, except Wednesday and Saturday. Dancing was taught in the fourth auditorium, riding in the prince's riding-school.

10 to 12. Instruction by Basedow, at his house, in Latin; either in ancient history, (with accompanying studies,) or in practical philosophy, from Cicero "*De Officiis.*"

12 to 1. Dinner.

1—2. Moderate exercise; as, turning, planing, and carpentry, in the rooms of Prince Dietrich's palace, granted for that purpose by the prince.

2—3. Monday and Tuesday, Geography, by Hauber, from Pfennig's "*Geography.*" Wednesday, knowledge of the human body, and a partial course in Chemistry, by the prince's privy councilor and private physician, Kretzschmar,

at his house, where the preparations and instruments were at hand. On the other three days of the week, mathematical drawing, by Prof. Wölke.

3—5. French and universal history, by Prof. Trapp, from Schröckh's "*Universal History*," and Millot's "*Historie Universelle*," during five days. Saturday, a news-lecture, by Hauber, to make the elder pupils gradually acquainted with public transactions and remarkable occurrences.

5—6. Mathematics, by Busse, from Ebert's "*Further Introduction to the Philosophical and Mathematical Sciences*," during the first three days of the week; in the other three, physics, from Erxleben's "*Natural Philosophy.*"

6—7. Knowledge of the heavens and the earth, by Wölke, from Schmid's "*Book of the Celestial Bodies*," twice a week; the other four days, Greek, by Danner, from rector Stroth's "*Chrestomathia Graeca*," Lucian's "*Timon*," and Xenophon's "*Memorabilia.*"

For the Second Class of Elder Scholars.

8— 9. Similar to the studies of the first class; by Prof. Trapp.

9—10. Riding and dancing, interchangeably with the first class. Arithmetic for some of them, with Prof. Trapp.

10—11. Latin, with Hauber; from Basedow's "*Chrestomathia in historia antiqua.*"

11—12. Latin, with Danner; from Basedow's "*Chrestomathia.*"

1— 2. Turning and planing, in alternation with first class.

2— 3. Drawing, with Doctor Samson. Some were instructed with the first class; and some study arithmetic, with Busse.

3— 5. Same exercises as the first class.

5— 6. Mathematics, with Danner, three days; on the other days, some were taught with the first class, and others received various kinds of private instruction.

6— 7. English, from the "*Vicar of Wakefield*," with Prof. Trapp.

For the First Class of Younger Scholars.

8— 9. Reading German, with Jahn; the books being, Von Rochow's and Weissen's "*Children's Friend*," Campe's "*Manual of Morals for Children of the Educated Classes*," Feddersen's "*Examples of Wisdom and Virtue*," Funk's "*Little Occupations for Children*," and "*First nourishment for the sound human understanding.*"

9—10. Writing, with Vogel, alternately with the second class, all the week; and instructive conversation with rector Neuendorf, at his room, or during walks.

10—11. Latin, with Feder; from "*Phaedrus*," Büsching's "*Liber Latinus*," and select parts of Basedow's "*Liber Elementaris*," and "*Chrestomathia Colloquiorum Erasmi.*"

11—12. French, with Jasperson.

1— 2. Music, and recreation, under care of Feder.

2— 3. Drawing, with Doctor Samson, under charge, alternately, of Jasperson, Vogel, and Spener.

3— 4. Dancing, with the master, under care of Vogel.

4— 5. French, with Spener; from select portions of Basedow's "*Manual d'education.*"

5— 6. Latin, with Feder; from select portions of the Latin "*Elementary Book.*"

6— 7. For walking, under the care of Neuendorf.

For the Second Class of Younger Pupils.

8— 9. Writing, with Vogel.

9—10. Writing and walking, alternately with first class.

10—12. Latin, with Wölke.

1— 2. As the first class.

2— 3. Drawing, as in first class.

3— 4. Dancing, as in first class.

4— 5. French, with Jasperson; from seclect parts of the "*Manual d'education.*"

5— 6. Instructive reading, with Jahn, in his room.

6— 7. Conversation with Neuendorf. On the first and fifteenth of each month, letter-writing was practiced. Walks were taken two afternoons a week.

The foregoing sketch of Pestalozzi's labors, and of their influence on the popular schools of Germany, abridged from the Centennial Discourses of two of his avowed disciples, Dr. Blochmann, of Dresden, and Dr. Diesterweg, of Berlin, represent the extreme views entertained by the admirers of the great Swiss educator. There is a large number of educators and teachers, at the head of whom is Karl von Raumer, at one time a resident at Yverdun, for the purpose of studying the system and methods of the Pestalozzian Institution, who, while they acknowledge the value of Pestalozzi's services to the instruction and industrial training of the poor, and to the true theory of education, maintain that his principles and methods as developed and applied by himself, are in some respects unsound and incomplete.

The following summary and comparative view of his principles, is taken from an article by William C. Woodbridge, in the American Annals of Education, for January, 1837.

As the result of his investigations, Pestalozzi assumed as a fundamental principle, that education, in order to fit man for his destination, must proceed according to the laws of nature. To adopt the language of his followers—that it must not act as an arbitrary mediator between the child and nature, between man and God, pursuing its own artificial arrangements, instead of the indications of Providence—that it should assist the course of natural development, instead of doing it violence—that it should watch, and follow its progress, instead of attempting to mark out a path agreeably to a preconceived system.

I. In view of this principle, he did not choose, like Basedow, to cultivate the mind in a material way, merely by inculcating and engrafting every thing relating to external objects, and giving mechanical skill. He sought, on the contrary, to develope, and exercise, and strengthen the faculties of the child by a steady course of excitement to self-activity, with a limited degree of assistance to his efforts.

II. In opposition to the haste, and blind groping of many teachers without system, he endeavored to find the proper point for commencing, and to proceed in a slow and gradual, but uninterrupted course, from one point to another—always waiting until the first should have a certain degree of distinctness in the mind of the child, before entering upon the exhibition of the second. To pursue any other course would only give superficial knowledge, which would neither afford pleasure to the child, nor promote its real progress.

III. He opposed the undue cultivation of the memory and understanding, as hostile to true education. He placed the essence of education in the harmonious and uniform development of every faculty, so that the body should not be in advance of the mind, and that in the development of the mind, neither the physical powers, nor the affections, should be neglected; and that skill in action should be acquired at the same time with knowledge. When this point is secured, we may know that education has really begun, and that it is not merely superficial.

IV. He required close attention and constant reference to the peculiarities of every child, and of each sex, as well as to the characteristics of the people among whom he lived, in order that he might acquire the development and qualifications necessary for the situation to which the Creator destined him, when he gave him these active faculties, and be prepared to labor successfully for those among whom he was placed by his birth.

V. While Basedow introduced a multitude of subjects of instruction into the schools, without special regard to the development of the intellectual powers, Pestalozzi considered this plan as superficial. He limited the elementary subjects of instruction to Form, Number and Language, as the essential condition

of definite and distinct knowledge; and believed that these elements should be taught with the utmost possible simplicity, comprehensiveness and mutual connection.

VI. Pestalozzi, as well as Basedow, desired that instruction should commence with the intuition or simple perception of external objects and their relations. He was not, however, satisfied with this alone, but wished that the *art of observing* should also be acquired. He thought the things perceived of less consequence than the cultivation of the perceptive powers, which should enable the child to observe completely,—to exhaust the subjects which should be brought before his mind.

VII. While the Philanthropinists attached great importance to special exercises of reflection, Pestalozzi would not make this a subject of separate study. He maintained that every subject of instruction should be properly treated, and thus become an exercise of thought; and believed, that lessons on Number, and Proportion and Size, would give the best occasion for it.

VIII. Pestalozzi, as well as Basedow, attached great importance to Arithmetic, particularly to Mental Arithmetic. He valued it, however, not merely in the limited view of its practical usefulness, but as an excellent means of strengthening the mind. He also introduced Geometry into the elementary schools, and the art connected with it, of modeling and drawing beautiful objects. He wished, in this way, to train the eye, the hand, and the touch, for that more advanced species of drawing which had not been thought of before. Proceeding from the simple and intuitive, to the more complicated and difficult forms, he arranged a series of exercises so gradual and complete, that the method of teaching this subject was soon brought to a good degree of perfection.

IX. The Philanthropinists introduced the instruction of language into the common schools, but limited it chiefly to the writing of letters and preparation of essays. But Pestalozzi was not satisfied with a lifeless repetition of the rules of grammar, nor yet with mere exercises for common life. He aimed at a development of the laws of language from within—an introduction into its internal nature and construction and peculiar spirit—which would not only cultivate the intellect, but also improve the affections. It is impossible to do justice to his method of instruction on this subject, in a brief sketch like the present—but those who have witnessed its progress and results, are fully aware of its practical character and value.

X. Like Basedow, Rochow and others, Pestalozzi introduced vocal music into the circle of school studies, on account of its powerful influence on the heart. But he was not satisfied that the children should learn to sing a few melodies by note or by ear. He wished them to know the rules of melody and rhythm, and dynamics—to pursue a regular course of instruction, descending to its very elements, and rendering the musical notes as familiar as the sounds of the letters. The extensive work of Nageli and Pfeiffer has contributed very much to give this branch of instruction a better form.

XI. He opposed the abuse which was made of the Socratic method in many of the Philanthropinic and other schools, by attempting to draw something out of children before they had received any knowledge. He recommends, on the contrary, in the early periods of instruction, the established method of dictation by the teacher and repetition by the scholar, with a proper regard to rhythm, and at a later period, especially in the mathematical and other subjects which involve reasoning, the modern method, in which the teacher merely gives out the problems in a proper order, and leaves them to be solved by the pupils, by the exertion of their own powers.

XII. Pestalozzi opposes strenuously the opinion that religious instruction should be addressed exclusively to the understanding; and shows that religion lies deep in the hearts of men, and that it should not be enstamped from without, but developed from within; that the basis of religious feeling is to be found in the childish disposition to love, to thankfulness, to veneration, obedience and confidence toward its parents; that these should be cultivated and strengthened and directed toward God; and that religion should be formally treated of at a later period in connection with the feelings thus excited. As he requires the mother to direct the first development of all the faculties of her child, he assigns to her especially the task of first cultivating the religious feelings.

XIII. Pestalozzi agreed with Basedow, that mutual affection ought to reign between the educator and the pupil, both in the house and in the school, in or-

der to render education effectual and useful. He was, therefore, as little disposed as Basedow, to sustain school despotism; but he did not rely on artificial excitements, such as those addressed to emulation. He preferred that the children should find their best reward in the consciousness of increased intellectual vigor; and expected the teacher to render the instruction so attractive, that the delightful feeling of progress should be the strongest excitement to industry and to morality.

XIV. Pestalozzi attached as much importance to the cultivation of the bodily powers, and the exercise of the senses, as the Philanthropinists, and in his publications, pointed out a graduated course for this purpose. But as Gutsmuths, Vieth, Jahn, and Clias treated this subject very fully, nothing further was written concerning it by his immediate followers.

Such are the great principles which entitle Pestalozzi to the high praise of having given a more natural, a more comprehensive and deeper foundation for education and instruction, and of having called into being a method which is far superior to any that preceded it.

But with all the excellencies of the system of education adopted by Pestalozzi, truth requires us to state that it also involves serious defects.

1. In his zeal for the improvement of the mind itself, and for those modes of instruction which were calculated to develop and invigorate its faculties, Pestalozzi forgot too much the necessity of general positive knowledge, as the material for thought and for practical use in future life. The pupils of his establishment, instructed on his plan, were too often dismissed with intellectual powers which were vigorous and acute, but without the stores of knowledge important for immediate use—well qualified for mathematical and abstract reasoning, but not prepared to apply it to the business of common life.

2. He commenced with intuitive, mathematical studies too early, attached too much importance to them, and devoted a portion of time to them, which did not allow a reasonable attention to other studies, and which prevented the regular and harmonious cultivation of other powers.

3. The *method* of instruction was also defective in one important point. Simplification was carried too far, and continued too long. The mind became so accustomed to receive knowledge divided into its most simple elements and smallest portions, that it was not prepared to embrace complicated ideas, or to make those rapid strides in investigation and conclusion which is one of the most important results of a sound education, and which indicates the most valuable kind of mental vigor both for scientific purposes and for practical life.

4. He attached too little importance to testimony as one of the sources of our knowledge, and devoted too little attention to historical truth. He was accustomed to observe that history was but a 'tissue of lies;' and forgot that it was necessary to occupy the pupil with man, and with moral events, as well as with nature and matter, if we wish to cultivate properly his moral powers, and elevate him above the material world.

5. But above all, it is to be regretted, that in reference to religious education, he fell into an important error of his predecessors. His too exclusive attention to mathematical and scientific subjects, tended, like the system of Basedow, to give his pupils the habit of undervaluing historical evidence and of demanding rational demonstration for every truth, or of requiring the evidence of their senses, or something analogous to it, to which they were constantly called to appeal in their studies of Natural History.

It is precisely in this way, that many men of profound scientific attainments have been led to reject the evidence of revelation, and some, even, strange as it may seem, to deny the existence of Him, whose works and laws they study. In some of the early Pestalozzian schools, feelings of this nature were particularly cherished by the habit of asserting a falsehood in the lessons on Mathematics or Natural history, and calling upon the pupils to contradict it or disprove it if they did not admit its truth. No improvement of the intellectual powers, can, in our view, compensate for the injury to the moral sense and the diminished respect for truth, which will naturally result from such a course.

6. While Pestalozzi disapproved of the attempts of the Philanthropinists to draw forth from the minds of children, before they had stores of knowledge, he seemed to forget the application of his principle to moral subjects, or to imagine that this most elevated species of knowledge was innate. He attempted too much to draw from the minds of his pupils those great truths of religion and the

spiritual world which can only be acquired from revelation; and thus led them to imagine they were competent to judge on this subject without external aid. It is obvious that such a course would fall in most unhappily with the tendencies produced by other parts of the plan, and that we could not hope to educate in such a mode, a truly Christian community.

The personal character of Pestalozzi also influenced his views and methods of education on religious subjects. He was remarkably the creature of powerful impulses, which were usually of the most mild and benevolent kind; and he preserved a child-like character in this respect even to old age. It was probably this temperament, which led him to estimate at a low rate the importance of positive religious truth in the education of children, and to maintain that the mere habit of faith and love, if cultivated toward earthly friends and benefactors, would, of course, be transferred to our Heavenly Father, whenever his character should be exhibited to the mind of the child. The fundamental error of this view was established by the unhappy experience of his own institution. His own example afforded the most striking evidence that the noblest impulses, not directed by established principles, may lead to imprudence and ruin, and thus defeat their own ends. As an illustration of this, it may be mentioned that, on one of those occasions, frequently occurring, on which he was reduced to extremity for want of the means of supplying his large family, he borrowed four hundred dollars from a friend for the purpose. In going home, he met a peasant, wringing his hands in despair for the loss of his cow. Pestalozzi put the entire bag of money into his hands, and ran off to escape his thanks. These circumstances, combined with the want of tact in reference to the affairs of common life, materially impaired his powers of usefulness as a practical instructor of youth. The rapid progress of his ideas rarely allowed him to execute his own plans; and, in accordance with his own system, too much time was employed in the profound development of principles, to admit of much attention to their practical application.

But, as one of his admirers observed, it was his province to educate ideas and not children. He combated, with unshrinking boldness and untiring perseverance, through a long life, the prejudices and abuses of the age in reference to education, both by his example and by his numerous publications. He attacked with great vigor and no small degree of success, that favorite maxim of bigotry and tyranny, that obedience and devotion are the legitimate offspring of ignorance. He denounced that degrading system, which considers it enough to enable man to procure a subsistence for himself and his offspring—and in this manner, merely to place him on a level with the beast of the forest; and which deems every thing lost whose value can not be estimated in money. He urged upon the consciences of parents and rulers, with an energy approaching that of the ancient prophets, the solemn duties which Divine Providence had imposed upon them, in committing to their charge the present and future destinies of their fellow-beings. In this way, he produced an impulse, which pervaded the continent of Europe, and which, by means of his popular and theoretical works, reached the cottages of the poor and the palaces of the great. His institution at Yverdun was crowded with men of every nation; not merely those who were led by the same impulse which inspired him, but by the agents of kings and noblemen, and public institutions, who came to make themselves acquainted with his principles, in order to become his fellow-laborers in other countries."

ORBIS SENSUALIUM PICTUS.*

The most remarkable school book of the seventeenth century, both for its immediate and widespread popularity, and for the revolution which it wrought in scholastic methods, and particularly in elementary teaching, not only in Germany where it was first published, but of England and other countries, was the *Jauna Reserata* of Comenius, first published in 1631, and the *Orbis Pictus*, which in its plan and text is the same as the former, with pictorial illustrations. The Jauna Reserata was doubtless suggested by the *Jauna Linguarum* [in Latin and Spanish] of W. Bateus, an Irish Theatin at Salamanca, who adopted the idea from Ludovicus Vives, the eminent Spanish educator who was the friend and correspondent of Erasmus and for a time (1519) a resident in England. This *Jauna* was published in England in 1615, with the Spanish turned into English; and in the year following, in France, Germany, and Italy.

The Jauna Reserata was more carefully prepared on the same general plan with the avowed purpose of introducing only words which represented real objects, which the pupil, even the youngest, could understand from actual perception of the objects; and the special object of the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, first published by Comenius in 1657, was, by means of pictorial illustrations of the words of each lesson, 'to bring the chief things in the world, and of men's actions in their way of living, directly into the domain of the perceptive faculties'—'a little *Encyclopedia* of things subject to the senses.' This book was reproduced in London in 1658, with a translation by Charles Hoole, who follows the original Preface of Comenius, with an 'Epistle to all judicious and industri-

* For a full account of the School Books of John Amos Comenius, see Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, and *Educational Reformers and Teachers—German*, (ed. of 1875) 257-298.

A reformation of Schooles, designed in two excellent Treatises: The first whereof summarily sheweth, the great necessity of a generall Reformation of common Learning. What grounds of hope there are for such a Reformation. How it may be brought to passe. The second answers certaine objections ordinarily made against such undertakings, and describes the severall Parts and Titles of Workes which are shortly to follow. Written many yeares agoe in Latine by that Reverend, Godly, Learned, and famous Divine, Mr. John Amos Comenius [Komensky], one of the Seniours of the exiled Church of Moravia. And now upon the request of many translated into English, and published by Samuel Hartlib, for the generall good of this Nation. 4to.—London, Printed for Michael Sparke senior, at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbor, 1642.

This translation consists of 94 pages without preface. Page 61, gives a second Title-page:—'A Dilucidation, answering certaine objections, made against the endeavours and meaas of Reformation in Common Learning, expressed in the foregoing Discourse.

Commencing at page 90, and occupying four pages, are 'The severall Titles of the seven parts of the Temple of Christian Pansophie.' These briefly are, 1, The threshhold of the, Temple of Wisedome; 2, the Gate; 3, the outward Court; 4, the middle Court; 5, the innermost Court; 6, the last and most secret, The Holy of Holies, and 7, the Fountain of living Waters.

A Continuation of Mr. John-Amos-Comenius School-Endeavours. Or a Summary Delineation of Dr. Cyprian Kinner *Silesian* his Thoughts concerning Education: Or the Way and Method of Teaching. Exposed to the ingenuous and free Censure of all Piously-learned men. The which shall shortly be seconded with an Elucidarium or Commentary to open the sense of whatsoever is herein contained, chiefly of what is paradoxall and obscure (if any such shall appear to be.) Together with an Advice how these Thoughts may be successfully put in Practice.
Translated out of the Original Latine, transmitted to *Sam. Hartlib*: and by him published, and in the name of many very Godly and Learned Men, recommended to the serious Consideration, and liberall Assistance of such, as are willing to favour the Regeneration of all Christian Churches and Common-wealths; but more especially the Good and Happiness of these United Kingdoms. *Published by Authority*.—Printed for R. L. in Monks-well street. 4to. [1648.]

The treatise opens with 'A Brief Information concerning Doctor Kinner and his undertakings,' occupying four pages; next, 'The Summary Delineation of Doctor Cyprian Kinner,' of two pages; then the treatise paged 1 to 9, and concludes with a page headed 'Doctor Cyprian Kinner's Vows to the Almighty God, sent from Dantzick, the fift of Aug., 1684, to Samuel Hartlib.' and another page, with 'An Advertisement to the Noble and Generous Lovers of Learning,' recommending any one, requiring information, to 'repair to Master Hartlib's House, in the great open Court in Duke's-place, and satisfaction shall be given to all their desires.'

ous schoolmasters,' in which he anticipates many of the best educational suggestions of this century. In the original preface, Comenius insists that 'all instruction should be *true* (dealing only with things necessary and useful), *full* (such as will polish the mind for wisdom, the tongue for eloquence, and the hands for a neat way of living), *clear*, and *solid* (such as is distinct and articulated, as the fingers of the hand),' or knowledge systematized. 'The ground of this business is that *sensual objects be rightly presented to the senses*—and the senses be rightly exercised in perceiving the differences of things, without which there can be no clear understanding, wise discourse, or distinct action.'

'This new help for schools is a Picture and Nomenclature of all the chief things in the world, and of men's actions in their way of living. The descriptions are explanations full and orderly, of every important detail in the picture —the picture and description having a corresponding number to assist the senses in seeking the appropriate object; and to make the teaching more clear, both Comenius and Hoole urge that where the things can not be pictured out, the objects themselves should be kept ready so as to be shown.

In the copy before us (a reprint in 1704, of the edition of 1658), Mr. Hezekiah Woodward, an eminent schoolmaster in London, and author of the *Gate of Sciences*, is cited to this effect, that teachers should make 'their words as legible to children as Pictures are'—'for next to Nature, Pictures are the most intelligible books that children can look upon—nay,' saith Scaliger, 'Art exceeds her.' Although the artist of the 150 pictures in this book has made obvious to the eye and understanding the objects of the several lessons, from the Symbolical Alphabet in which the *Crow crieth*, and the *Lamb blaiteth*, to the *School* [in full operation, the master with his rod or twigs (reposing on the stand), and *some things writ down before the children with chalk* on a table, hung up like a blackboard on the side of the room], we can not say that *his art exceedeth nature*. We subjoin the text of cut xcvii.

A SCHOOL. XCVII.	SCHOLA.
A School, 1.	*Schola*, 1.
is a Shop, in which	eſt Officina, in qua
Young Wits	*Novelli Animi*
are faſhion'd to vertue, and	ad virtutem formantur,
it is diſtinguiſhed into Forms.	& diſtinguitur in *Claſſes*.
The Maſter, 2.	*Præceptor*, 2.
ſitteth in a Chair, 3.	ſedet in *Cathedra*, 3.
the Scholars, 4.	*Diſcipuli*, 4
in Forms, 5.	in *Subſelliis*, 5.
he teacheth, they learn.	ille docet, hi diſcunt.
Some things	Quædam
are writ down before them	præſcribuntur illis
with Chalk *on a* Table, 6.	*Creta* in *Tabella*, 6.
Some ſit	Quidam ſedent
at a Table, and write, 7.	ad Menſam, & ſcribunt, 7
he mendeth their Faults, 8	ipſe corrigit, 8. Mendas.
Some ſtand and rehearſe things	Quidam ſtant, & recitant
committed to memory, 9.	memoriæ mandata, 9,
Some talk together, 10. *and*	Quidam confabulantur, 10.
behave themſelves wantonly	ac gerunt ſe petulantes,
and careleſly;	& negligentes;
theſe are chaſtiſed	hi caſtigantur
with a Ferrula, 11.	*Ferula* (baculo) 11.
and a Rod, 12.	& *Virga*, 12.

FREDERIC EBERHARD VON ROCHOW.

MEMOIR.

FREDERIC EBERHARD VON ROCHOW, the third son of the Prussian Minister of State, Frederic William von Rochow, was born October 11, 1734, at Berlin. After receiving the best education which private teachers and the 'Knights' Academy' at Brandenburg could give, he became, in 1750, ensign in the regiment of Carbineers at Rathenau, where Frederic II. noticed him in a military review and promoted him to the *Garde du Corps* at Potsdam. In 1752, he was commissioned, and in 1756, he was in active service, captured the Imperial General Labkonitz at the battle of Labkonitz, and was wounded in his left arm. In the next campaign, in the battle around Prague, he was wounded in the right arm; and in 1758, resigned his commission, and retired to his estate at Rekahn, near Brandenburg—married the daughter of Chancellor von Bere, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits and scientific studies. Endowed with a lively sensibility and active benevolence, he studied the condition of the laboring population on his estates, and devoted himself to its amelioration. Becoming acquainted with Basedow's 'Aims and Methods of Education,' he devoted himself with sound judgment and discriminating charity to improving the schools and homes of his own peasantry—but not without encountering many untoward hindrances and much opposition from those whom he strove to benefit.

During the years 1771 and 1772 wet weather prevailed and much hay and grain were ruined, and, in consequence, famine and disease befell man and beast. Rochow did all in his power to relieve his tenants and his country people by advice and active help. He engaged a regular physician at a fixed salary to treat his people without charge for attendance, medicine, and advice; but an unreasonable prejudice, superstition, a total ignorance of reading and writing, rendered his best efforts useless. The people accepted the remedies, which he paid for, but did not use them; the most simple prescriptions of cleanliness and order were not followed, and they would secretly employ other remedies, consult quacks, miracle-doc-

tors, and old women, for which they paid roundly, while many died a miserable death.

Profoundly grieved by these terrible consequences of ignorance and superstition, von Rochow was one day sitting before his writing desk, engaged in sketching a lion held by the hunter's net. 'So,' he mused, 'the noble gift of God, reason, which every man possesses, is surrounded by a tissue of prejudice and ignorance,—so much so, that, like the lion here, it can not make use of its strength. If only a little mouse would come, to gnaw and cut a few meshes of the net, perhaps the lion would apply his strength and break his bonds.'—And he began to draw the mouse, which has cut some of the meshes of the net which holds the lion. Then a sudden thought occurred to him: 'Suppose you were that mouse!'—And the whole chain of cause and effect lay clear before him. The peasant was so ignorant—because he grows up like an animal among animals. His instruction can have no effect upon him, since the schools are so mechanically conducted; and the church is no better, since the clergyman speaks a language which he can not understand. The sermon is a connected discourse, which he hears from duty, but which tires him, because, not accustomed to such style and language, he can not follow up its ideas, and even if good and compact, it leaves no conviction in his mind. Such teachers, as Christ said of old, are generally 'blind guides,' and 'thus the state suffers more from this condition of the peasantry, than from defeat after the bloodiest battle.'

'My God!' he mused, 'can not the peasantry, the true strength of the state, be instructed and become better qualified for all good work? How many men could I have saved to the country, who have been sacrificed to their own ignorance, which ought to have been prevented? Yes! I will be the mouse; and may God help my purpose.'

School Books.

And the next morning, on the very sheet upon which he had sketched the lion and mouse, he began to write the titles of the thirteen chapters of a '*School book for Country Teachers.* At noon he showed it to his clergyman, Stephen Rudolph, who approved it and recommended him to advise with Chief-Counselor Teller, in Berlin. The latter appreciated his enterprise and gave him his hearty support. His first literary effort appeared in 1772, under the title: '*School Book for Children of Country People and for the use of Village Schools.*' Its chief object was to elevate the intelligence and practical skill of teachers; and he advocates an increase

of their salary, so as to dispense with tuition fees, so that all instruction might be free, and poor parents have no excuse for withholding their children from school.

This book, of which several editions were published during his life, created much interest among educators, and arrested the attention of Minister von Zedlitz, deserves a description, as being the first beginning of a sound elementary instruction for country schools, and because there are still many countries that might learn from it much on popular education.

In the introduction to the first edition, the author modestly inquires: 'Who called you to be a teacher of the country people?' And he answers: 'My heart yearns to help men who, besides the severity of their condition, are suffering under the burden of ignorance and prejudice. The cause of many evils, destructive to the state, lies in the neglected education of the young in rural districts.' He knew the rudeness and barbarism of the peasantry; but felt that the soul of a peasant child is as precious as the soul of a child of the nobleman.

Want of Competent Teachers.

'Not having found any thing that to him appeared directly suitable for the common people and their children, he had attempted to produce it,'—closing with the remark—'all efforts to improve their education will be unavailing without competent teachers.'

On this last point, Büsching, Counselor of the Consistory, in his '*Journey from Berlin to Rekahn*,' communicates his conversation with Rochow (June, 1775): 'The children can not learn without teachers, on whom, consequently, all depends.' 'I know not,' says Büsching, 'whether I ought to be astonished or vexed, that so little is done to provide schools in cities and the country with able teachers. There are plenty of complaints, wishes, and writing, but no money or respect for their work; and yet without these nothing can be done, especially in common schools. I can hardly tolerate the common idea, that for the first elements, moderate skill is sufficient, since it is all-important that children are not only not spoiled in their first learning, but are taught in the best and most careful manner.' Rochow says: 'Since there is no state (1775) which provides for the proper remuneration and honor of the teacher, so as to render the position desirable, it appears necessary to find candidates who will devote themselves to it with the same pious enthusiasm which inspires others to become missionaries among the heathen.' 'Without teachers full of this missionary spirit, the true reform of the people must fail. He who is not

penetrated by the saving power of the doctrine of Jesus, who desires not from all his heart the welfare of man, will be an hireling; and reading, writing, and ciphering will in the end be the only product of our schools, and thus hold out but little hope for the extension of the kingdom of God. The coldness with which hirelings in the church speak of religion is more injurious than their silence. He, whose heart is not warmed by the spiritual power of religion, has no call to be its teacher.'

In the introduction to his School book, Rochow remarks: 'As medicine is given to sick children through their nurses, so also this attempt at reform; I want to infuse into teachers what I consider good methods for them to use.' He then defines the plan of his book;—'the beginning consists of exercises of observation, which are continued for about six months, and are then followed by demonstrations of cause and effect, to lead to reflection and the use of language in description.' All of which, though familiar now, was unheard of as the preparatory conditions of instruction proper at that day.

In a preface to the second edition of his book, he treats on catechetic instruction, by which he means instruction by conversation, not theological or church catechising. 'By conversation children learn quicker and more accurately; for they can ask questions, and by questions the attention is kept awake, and they learn to comprehend, to form, and express their thoughts on what they understand—in a word, they become rational.' With this view, he decidedly opposed the so-called literal and tabulated method, introduced by the Berlin Real-school, as not at all suitable for country schools. Abbot Felbiger, who had been trained in the Berlin system, and had published the principles of morality in tabular form for the schools of Silesia, entered into a friendly correspondence with Rochow on his book, which, however, soon ceased, as Felbiger, in all probability, was not inclined to adopt the views of its author.

The contents of Rochow's School book consists of 16 chapters, which, in ordinary but attractive style, treat of:—1. Attention and Studiousness; 2. Cause and Effect; 3. The Foundation; 4. Truth, Certainty, Probability, Error, Faith, Unbelief, Credulity, Superstition; 5. On the Human Soul; 6. On Religion; 7. Doctrine of Virtue according to the Bible; 8. Society and Government, Law and Soldiery; 9. Relations; 10. Politeness in Intercourse and Conversation, Letter-writing; 11. Arithmetical Exercise of Reason; 12. Measurements of Surfaces and Solids, and something on Mechanics, with a table of Weights and Measures; 13. Of Optical Illusion; 14. Com-

mon Phenomena, for the increase of useful knowledge; 15. Recreation, for the preservation of health, and simple remedies for reëstablishing lost health; 16. Farming, and what is necessary in all kinds of agricultural work. These subjects are all treated in a practical manner, with dignity and originality. Much that has since been prepared, as the basis of common school instruction, is here anticipated, and in many particulars developed in a masterly manner.

His second publication was the '*Reader*,' the first edition of which bore the title of '*Peasants' Friend*,' which, in the next edition, was changed into '*Children's Friend*.'

Rochow and Von Zedlitz.

The publication of these books brought Rochow into correspondence and personal intercourse with Baron von Zedlitz, and other higher officials at Berlin, connected or interested in the establishment and improvement of schools.

The Minister, in a letter dated Jan. 17, 1773, writes:—'Praise is due the man who could be induced to prepare school books from a sole regard to their general utility. Allow me to consult you as a person, who is able to render powerful aid to the great plans of the best of kings for the improvement of country schools, and who has patriotism enough to be disposed to render such service.' From this date, the Minister does not enter on any great or small reform in popular schools, without obtaining Rochow's opinion. In regard to the application of the sum of 100,000 thalers, from the interest of which the salaries of teachers in the electorate of Brandenburg should be paid, the Minister desires some Saxon schoolmasters. Rochow, in answer, says: 'With all due deference I beg your gracious preference for my own countrymen. The Saxons, as much as I honor the Tellers, Gellerts, etc., *nantes in gurgite vasto*, are not specially qualified for schoolmasters among the Brandenburgians. An offending accent, an effeminate manner of living, *orthodoxy*, that means punctuality in form, not in essentials, etc., are, I am sorry to say, the characteristics of the Saxon, and in the end will prove no patriotic attachment for our State.' 'The attraction of Saxon manners around Dresden and Leipsic is deceptive, and disappears upon close investigation; it can not stand the test of good morals. Our intentions of colonization can not be realized here. If the Prussians, from the Margraviate and from Silesia (my new schoolmaster is from Halberstadt) are *honored* and *paid*, I hope we shall soon find an abundance of good teachers, and be able to engage some also for this part of the country.' 'I have some young

people trained on my plan of making good teachers. For as we have seen for many years in the cathedral school of Halberstadt, nobody teaches after a method better than he who has found out its advantages in himself.' Basedow, in reference to this suggestion, adds: 'Nor should the method, except in your Rekahn and some schools near by, where you can exercise a personal superintendence, be introduced in other communes until a sufficient number of teachers have been trained, which can be done by two years practice in Rekahn' (January, 1773). Again Rochow writes to Zedlitz, in reference to the king's pressing any body into the service: 'I need not mention that such trained teachers must not, of necessity, on account of their size, be good soldiers.' As early as 1773, Rochow gives way to the following expressions on instruction in religion: 'Much more perfection could be obtained, by having taught outside of the school all that is Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic, which the clergyman can supply during a long preparation for confirmation; while in school, nothing should be taught but such a knowledge of God as can be derived from reading his works, and the general principles of Christian morality.' In December, of the same year: 'What punishments shall I devise for parents who, notwithstanding a free school, detain their children at home to work? My principle is: children belong to the State,—the State must provide for their education, and that they learn reading, writing, ciphering, and how to think correctly. The proper school period can not be replaced in after life.' He then makes propositions for the establishment of teachers' seminaries.

In 1774, Counselor Zedlitz pays a visit to Rochow's school, and Büsching the next year; Zedlitz writes to the latter: 'Rochow is too impatient because things do not progress as fast as he desires.' Zedlitz also made a report of his visit to the king, and spoke to Rochow of his intention to organize a teachers' seminary in Klosterbergen, complaining of the obstacles put in his way by the Chief Consistory. 'He who will improve the schools,' replies Rochow, 'must not be a schoolman but an honest statesman. There are no universal prescriptions for schools, no more than we have universal medicines.' Rochow describes the wants of country schools, and what he has done to relieve them. Zedlitz writes in 1775: 'Help me to some patience, and to means by which ecclesiastical inspectors and clergymen may become more active, or may be entirely withdrawn from the supervision of country schools.' In 1776, a difference of opinion sprang up between Zedlitz and Rochow. 'Especially, I think,' writes the former, 'that metaphysi-

cal education of the peasantry should be managed with caution, and never be recommended. Where schoolmasters have not such a good superintendent (as Rochow), they very often will go astray and do injury; they become pragmatical.' Hence this last favorite expression; after this doubts sprang up in the ministry, whether it would be generally beneficial, to let the common classes be made *sensible* (be educated). Rochow, in his reply, endeavors to refute these objections, and declares, as the final object of his labors and thoughts, to train good Christians, obedient subjects, and skillful farmers; and he is not insensible to an expression of Zedlitz, who, in an academical discourse, termed him a '*cosmopolitan enthusiast.*' The letters become shorter and less frequent, more formal and reserved; Rochow waits for the Minister of State to make inquiries; no direct communication comes from him any longer. His correspondence with other persons, however, increases, though it is not of a like importance. Afterward Zedlitz offers a position to Rochow, which the latter declines, and recommends, in the absence of other teachers, to the Minister the appointment of Dr. Bahrdt of Halle, as director of a seminary shortly to be established: 'I know you will smile; but would it not be better for Bahrdt, than to starve in Halle with wife and child?' The Minister replies August 7th, 1799: 'It is true Bahrdt would be a good principal of the seminary. But (1) he is married and has children; you know we do not want that in teachers; (2) the instruction in school should not be given over to the clergy, but neither should we intentionally offend them. They would believe themselves entitled to cry out, if we would confide the instruction of teachers to a man who is not strictly orthodox. I take it my duty not to regard the stings in the heel of superstition if I have to take my way right over the snake's body; but when I can pass around and yet reach my place, why should I cause the beast to hiss; it is only the devil's music.'

Only one volume of Rochow's correspondence has been published; and nothing more is known about his further intercourse. There are six letters of Rochow to Gleim, in one of which, after expressing his thanks for a copy of 'Halladat,' he says: 'Not in words of such value, but with similar feelings, I expect to return your favor, as I have just finished an enlarged second edition of the work which has for two years engaged my attention, but could not be finished without many experiments. Many of your excellent pieces contain consolation for the heterogeneous labors of the pro-

* Trendelenburg: Frederic the Great and Minister von Zedlitz. Berlin. 1859.

fession I have chosen, namely: by enlightening the people, (who, according to Isaiah [chap. ix., verse 11], without metaphor, "walk in darkness,") to lay a foundation for salutary reforms. Hitherto, an all-governing providence has blessed my weak endeavors beyond my expectation. This gives me confidence, and supports my failing courage, when I see my aim, its perfection, so far away from my work. But great and small powers must act in concert, if darkness is ever to be lifted from the nations. By all, and for all, abilities must be worked toward a general felicity; and while I attempt, from the numerous instances of truth, to select for the peasant what is most useful to his understanding, you raise yourself to the height of a great teacher and governor of mankind, and by the all-powerful strength of poetry, devoted to noble objects, you convert discord into harmony. Oh, that for all spiritual gifts there were general objects. I almost undertake to find such a plan in the exclamation of the angels: Glory to God on high, on earth peace and good will toward all men! A good work of genius aiming at this end testifies that its author, that he is in sympathy with the angels.'

March 13th, 1776, he sent to Gleim a copy of his work and requested him to state frankly his opinion: 'As undeserved and as humiliating is often to me the praise, which expresses too warmly friendship, yet your approval is a prize I have wished for. If I can obtain that, and from all a general opinion on my book, that it is useful, I am satisfied.'

Local School Reforms.

Beside this authorship and correspondence in the interest of public instruction generally, Rochow began a reform in the schools on his own estates, which before had only ordinary teachers, old and incompetent. When the old teacher at Rekahn died, in 1773, the place was offered to Henry J. Bruns, a pupil of the cathedral school at Halberstadt, who had been an inmate of Rochow's family for seven years, as musician and copyist, and had made himself familiar with Rochow's ideas, as well as increased his knowledge by aid of that nobleman's library, and afterward had become cantor and organist of St. John's church in Halberstadt. This excellent man, full of tenderness, amiability, and childlike disposition, became the instrument through which Rochow's principles of education were carried out for the next twelve years.*

Reforms in the other two schools, at Gettin and Krahne, were introduced in 1774. Rochow made to each of these schools a gift

* He died in 1794—forty-eight years old. Rochow had a monument placed in his garden, with this significant inscription: HE WAS A TEACHER.

of one hundred thalers. He commenced his improvements by first building new school-houses; the one at Rekahn, for that time, was an excellent building. All tuition fees were abolished, and the necessary books and other aids of instruction were furnished. The Reader (Rochow's *Kinderfreund*) was given to every child in the schools, of whom there were sixty to seventy, divided in two classes, under separate teachers. The smallest children of the lower class attended school but one hour daily during the first year; gradually their attendance was prolonged. Generally they were admitted at the age of six years, and promoted at the end of every school year. A vacation of two weeks occurred at harvest time, and a like one in the spring. An industrial school for girls was established in the hall of the castle, where a lady taught needle-work, knitting, etc. The period for attending school was fixed from six to fourteen years; during the last year the pupils were instructed in religion preparatory to their confirmation. After confirmation the child was permitted to withdraw from the school, but up to that age, his attendance was continuous.

The subjects of instruction were selected for these schools on Rochow's principle: 'No man can do any work without reason, *i.e*, he can not expect a regular result and success.' 'Right or wrong, acts or omissions, are decided by what every one thinks on right or wrong; in one word, whether he acts conscientiously.' 'Every thing in school must be understood; all new and difficult things must be explained orally and by conversation.'

In a circular addressed to his teachers, May 6, 1776, he expresses himself on religious instruction, describing, as its main object, 'to train the children to become sincere worshipers of God, who, by their deportment, prove that they belong to Christ, and desire to become subjects of his blessed kingdom for ever; next to train them into such men, skillful in every good work, because they know the road to heaven passes over this earth; that fidelity to the duties of life is a practice of Christianity, making easier the duties of religion, and causing the light to shine before the people in the usefulness and skill of daily labor.' He was of opinion that, by the largest possible cultivation of the mind, the knowledge of duty, and the practice of it, would be furthered. School education should aim to make children practical and useful men.

For progressive instruction in reading and in the subjects submitted to the pupils, Rochow wrote his 'Kinderfreund' in two parts, and proposed that they should be published by the government and be generally introduced in country schools. The manu-

script was for a long time before the school authorities, without any decision being made, when the author reclaimed it, and the first edition of the first part appeared in 1776, the second part in 1777, and the work attained great reputation. It was translated into French, Danish, Polish, and modified to suit the Catholic schools in the Rhine provinces, and passed through four editions.

When the author was introduced to King Frederic William III., the latter said: 'I learned to read from your '*Kinderfreund*.' Rochow must have known this before; for as early as 1785, he wrote: 'Hail to the young prince, who from this school book learns more than he can ordinarily of the condition of those, to increase whose happiness will be one day his duty.' And Frederic William III. seems to have remembered many important things from Rochow's Reader.

If it is remembered that the present authors of school readers only have to collect from the many noble materials existing in order to find excellent selections for their purpose, so that in our day it is almost hard to produce a bad reader, Rochow was not so favorably situated. In the first place, he found no good material on hand which he could employ as subjects of useful instruction for country scholars; the whole spirit of the same economy, and special employment being new, he was obliged to compose himself. In the second place, his book had to carry out consistently a purpose within distinct limits, and thus all his material had to be similar in character and each limited; and Rochow consequently was under the necessity of writing all himself. It is not easy to conceive the simple relations of ordinary rural life in their variety, significance, and importance, to render them easily understood in their original causes, to make attractive whatever is laudable, and create aversion to all evil, and to do this always in a childlike, noble, sensible, instructive, and, so to say, in an always novel manner, within the limits of the faculties of the young. In all this, Rochow had been eminently successful. The late School Counselor, O. Schulz, of Berlin, had not despised to learn from Rochow's Kinderfreund, when he composed his own very excellent Readers. More than 100,000 copies of the 'Kinderfreund' has been distributed; and in 1830, a new edition was published by Counselor Turk, at Brandenburg, under the title, 'The New Children's Friend.'

Educational Publications.

In addition to his Reader, Rochow published the following educational works:—1. *Manual of Catechetic Forms for Teachers.* First edition, 1783. Second edition, 1789. This book contains

material on four subjects, viz.: Object of Teaching, Means, Order and Method of Teaching; the author's opinion against the prevailing opinion, that education was not beneficial to the lower classes, and his aim to show that a true power of reason can be attained only by a genuine education. He maintains in the introduction: 'From the power of thinking, directed early and in a proper manner, come good principles, and from good principles issue good actions. Knowledge gives ability. He who can speak distinctly and intelligently, makes himself understood easily; he who knows language and is attentive, is able to understand; he who knows only that mankind is obliged, by their mutual relations, to live in love, and can enjoy happiness only as far as they love God and one another, can not be the enemy of mankind; and he who observes only the injurious tendencies of bad habits, will be inclined to guard against them. To do all this is, to enlighten and to cultivate.

2. '*Catechism of Sound Reason*, or an attempt to define important words, in their general signification, illustrated by examples for the purpose of a more just and more improving knowledge.' Berlin and Stettin: F. Nicolai, 1786. From this book the teachers of our day may learn how to abstract ideas, not only by definitions but also by examples. It contains in all, definitions of 67 words.

3. '*The Regulations of the Cathedral Chapter for the better Government and Organization of the Teachers' Seminary at Halberstadt*,' —first issued in 1789.

4. '*Corrections*.'—A collection of definitions, full of pedagogic suggestions, not intended for the school alone, but for the educated classes of his time, was issued in 1792. Two years afterward he published a second volume, in which he gives the fruits of his reflections on the most important ideas on politics and morals of his age.

5. In 1792, he translated Mirabeau's '*Discourse on National Education*.' He also wrote on *Schools for the Poor*; on *Abolition of Public Beggary*; on the *Credit System*; on *Government*; on the *Formation of National Character by Popular Schools*; on *German Law and Christian Principles*; on *A History of My Schools*.

These various writings gave him many friends, as well as some enemies, or at least, many opponents who would not agree to the success of his schools, which were visited by strangers so frequently that the work of the teachers was much disturbed. In Riemann's '*Description of the Schools at Rekahn*,' of 1798, we find: 'Mr. Rudolph, the clergyman, who assisted in the organization of the schools, expresses himself, twenty-five years afterward, thus: "The people have become more considerate; they more freely enter into conver-

sation, and are less timid than before. Their morals are much better than in other villages, though an outward demeanor and abstaining from excess is not yet become general."'

The greatest merit of Rochow's schools and efforts lies in this, that in the countries of Prussia, especially in many parts of Saxony, they imparted the first impulse to a reformation of the popular schools, which at that time were in a wretched condition. At present, the schools on the Rekahn estates are no better than elsewhere; but during the life of Rochow they shone as brilliant examples, and have carried the well deserved reputation of their founder to the present day. The proprietor of another large estate had scarcely seen the schools of Rochow, when he established a free school for the children of his tenants, which became a model school; after which other institutions in his neighborhood were formed. And this influence went beyond Germany. When Count Reventlow, from the island of Fünen, heard of Rochow's school, he caused three schools to be built in 1784, in which he introduced the *Kinderfreund* and the methods of Rekahn. More than any man of his time, he gave a rational aim and method to the popular school, and in thousands of schools scattered all over the German States, by means of his school books; and the teachers trained after his methods, helped to convert the peasant into an observing, thinking, self-governing man.

Von Rochow died in his own home May 16, 1805, at the age of seventy, and was buried in a new graveyard laid out by himself, and called *Rochow's Rest.* A monument is also dedicated to his memory in a grove near Halberstadt. He is one of the representative men of his age and country—one of those men who, if he did not lay the foundations, helped to build up a system of popular education for a great nation. He had the sagacity to see the identity of interests in the different classes of the same community. Born to the inheritance of a great estate, he expended his time and money, to make his dependents, and the common people every where, partakers of the civilization of his age.

I. PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

To Germany,* as a whole, as one people, and not to any particular state of Germany, as now recognized on the map of Europe, belongs the credit of first thoroughly organizing a system of public education under the administration of the civil power. Here, too, education first assumed the form and name of a science, and the art of teaching and training children was first taught systematically in seminaries established for this special purpose.

But not to Germany, or to any one people or any civil authority any where, but to the Christian Church, belongs the higher credit of first instituting the public school, or rather the parochial school, for the elementary education of the poor, which was the earliest form which this mighty element of modern society assumed. After the third century of the Christian era, whenever a Christian church was planted, or religious institutions established, there it was the aim of the higher ecclesiastical authorities to found, in some form, a school for the nurture of children and youth for the service of religion and duties of society. Passing by the ecclesiastical and catechetical schools, we find, as early as 529, the council of Vaison strongly recommending the establishment of village schools. In 800 a synod at Mayence ordered that the parochial priests should have

* Mr. W. E. Hickson, in his valuable pamphlet, entitled "*Dutch and German Schools*," published in London in 1840, well says:

"We must bear in mind that the German states, although under different governments, are not nations as distinct from, and independent of each other, as France and Spain, or as Russia and Great Britain. Each of the German states is influenced more or less by every other; the whole lying in close juxta-position, and being linked together by the bond of a common language and literature. The boundary line that separates Prussia from Hesse on one side, or from Saxony on another, is not more defined than that of a county or parish in England. A stone in a field, or a post painted with stripes, in a public road, informs the traveler that he is passing from one state into another, that these territorial divisions make no change in the great characteristics of the people: whatever the name of the state, or the color of the stripes, the people, with merely provincial differences, are the same: from the Baltic to the Adriatic, they are still Germans. The national spirit may always be gathered from the national songs, and in Germany the most popular are those which speak of all Germans as brothers, and all German states as belonging to one common country, as may be gathered from the following passage of a song of M. Arndt:—

"What country does a German claim?
His Fatherland; know'st thou its name?
Is it Bavaria,—Saxony?
An inland state, or on the sea?
There, on the Baltic's plains of sand?
Or mid the Alps of Switzerland?
Austria, the Adriatic shores?
Or where the Prussian eagle soars?
Or where hills covered by the vine,
Adorn the landscape of the Rhine?
Oh no, oh no, not there, alone,
The land, with pride, we call our own,
Not there. A German's heart or mind
Is to no narrow realm confined.
Where'er he hears his native tongue,
When hymns of praise to God are sung,
There is his Fatherland, and he
Has but one country—Germany!"

schools in the towns and villages, that the little children of all the faithful might learn letters from them; "let them receive and teach these with the utmost charity, that they themselves may shine as the stars for ever. Let them receive no remuneration from their scholars, unless what the parents through charity may voluntarily offer." A council at Rome, in 836, under Eugene II., ordained that there should be three kinds of schools established throughout Christendom; episcopal, parochial in towns and villages, and others wherever there could be found place and opportunity. In 836, Lothaire I. promulgated a decree to establish eight public schools in some of the principal cities of Italy, "in order that opportunity may be given to all, and that there may be no excuse drawn from poverty and the difficulty of repairing to remote places." The third council of Lateran, in 1179, says: "Since the Church of God, as a pious mother, is bound to provide that opportunity for learning should not be withdrawn from the poor, who are without help from patrimonial riches, be it ordained, that in every cathedral there should be a master to teach both clerks and poor scholars gratis." This decree was enlarged and again enforced by Innocent III. in the year 1215. Hence, in all colleges of canons, one bore the title of the scholastic canon. The council of Lyons, in 1215, decreed "that in all cathedral churches, and others provided with adequate revenues, there should be established a school and a teacher by the bishop and chapter, who should teach the clerks and other poor scholars gratis in grammar, and for this purpose a stipend should be assigned him."*

Such was the origin of the popular school, as now generally understood—every where the offspring, and companion of the Church; sharing with her, in large measure, the imperfections which attach to all new institutions and all human instrumentalities; encountering peculiar difficulties from the barbarism of the age and people through which it passed, and which it was its mission to enlighten; and every where crippled by insufficient endowments, unqualified teachers, and the absence of all text books, and necessary aids to instruction and illustration. The discovery of the art of printing, in 1440, and the consequent multiplication of books at prices which brought them more within reach of the great mass of the people; the study and use of the vernacular language by scholars and divines, and particularly its employment in the printing of the Bible, hymns, popular songs, school books, and in religious instruction generally; the recognition by the municipal authorities of cities, and at a later period by the higher civil power, of the right, duty and interest of the state, in connection with, or independent of the church, to provide liberally and efficiently for the education of all children and youth; and above all, the intense activity given to the human mind by the religious movement of Luther, in the early part of the sixteenth century; the assertion of the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the scriptures; the breaking up of existing ecclesiastical foundations, and the diversion of funds

* Digby's Mores Catholici.

from religious to educational purposes,—all these causes, combined with the general progress of society, co-operated to introduce an advantageous change in the organization, administration, instruction and discipline of the popular school. But the progress actually made from year to year, and century even to century, was slow, and after three hundred years of effort, there is much yet to be done even in those states and communities which have accomplished the most toward improving the outward organization and instrumentalities of the schools, and above all its internal life in the improved qualification and position of the teachers—for as is the teacher, so is the school. A brief reference to a few of the more prominent names in the history of popular education in Germany, and through Germany, of Modern Europe, is all that can be attempted at this time and in this connection. Among these names stands prominent that of Martin Luther.

In a letter to the Elector of Saxony, in the year 1526, Luther says:*

"Since we are all required, and especially the magistrates, above all other things, to educate the youth who are born and are growing up among us, and to train them up in the fear of God and in the ways of virtue, it is needful that we have schools and preachers and pastors. If the parents will not reform, they must go their way to ruin, but if the young are neglected, and left without education, it is the fault of the state; and the effect will be that the country will swarm with vile and lawless people, so that our safety, no less than the command of God requireth us to foresee and ward off the evil." He maintains in that letter that the government, "as the natural guardian of all the young," has the right to compel the people to support schools. "What is necessary to the well-being of a state, that should be supplied by those who enjoy the privilege of such state Now nothing is more necessary than the training of those who are to come after us and bear rule. If the people are too poor to pay the expense, and are already burdened with taxes, then the monastic funds, which were originally given for such purposes, are to be employed in that way to relieve the people." The cloisters were abandoned in many cases, and the difficult question, what was to be done with their funds, Luther settled in this judicious manner. How nearly did he approach to the policy now so extensively adopted in this country, of supporting schools partly by taxation and partly by funds appropriated for that purpose.

In 1524 he wrote a remarkable production, entitled "An Address to the Common Councils of all the Cities of Germany in behalf of Christian Schools," from which a few passages may here be extracted. After some introductory remarks, he comes directly to his point, and says to his countrymen collectively:

"I entreat you, in God's behalf and that of the poor youth, not to think so lightly of this matter as many do. It is a grave and serious thing, affecting the interest of the kingdom of Christ, and of all the world, that we apply ourselves to the work of aiding and instructing the young. . . . . . . If so much be expended every year in weapons of war, roads, dams, and countless other things of the sort for the safety and prosperity of a city; why should not we expend as much for the benefit of the poor, ignorant youth, to provide them with skillful teachers? God hath verily visited us Germans in mercy and given us a truly golden year. For we now have accomplished and learned young men, adorned with a knowledge of literature and art, who could be of great service if employed to teach the young. . . .

Even if the parents were qualified, and were also inclined to teach, they have so much else to do in their business and household affairs that they can not find the time to educate their children. Thus there is a necessity that public teach-

* The following extracts are taken from Dr. Sears' "*Life of Martin Luther*," published by the American Sunday School Union.

ers be provided. Otherwise each one would have to teach his own children, which would be for the common people too great a burden. Many a fine boy would be neglected on account of poverty; and many an orphan would suffer from the negligence of guardians. And those who have no children would not trouble themselves at all about the whole matter. Therefore it becometh rulers and magistrates to use the greatest care and diligence in respect to the education of the young.

The diligent and pious teacher who properly instructeth and traineth the young, can never be fully rewarded with money. If I were to leave my office as preacher, I would next chose that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys; for I know that, next to preaching, this is the greatest, best, and most useful vocation; and I am not quite sure which of the two is the better; for it is hard to reform old sinners, with whom the preacher has to do, while the young tree can be made to bend without breaking."

In 1527, a visitation was made of the churches and schools of the electorate of Saxony, in which more than thirty men were employed a whole year. The result in respect to education was, that the "Saxon school system," as it was called, was drawn up by the joint labors of Luther and Melancthon; and thus the foundation was laid for the magnificent organization of schools to which Germany owes so much of her present fame.

In a letter to Margrave George, of Bradenburg, July 18, 1529:—

"I will tell you what Melancthon and myself, upon mature consideration, think best to be done. First, we think the cloisters and foundations may continue to stand till their inmates die out. . . . . . Secondly, it would be exceedingly well to establish in one or two places in the principality a learned school, in which shall be taught, not only the Holy Scriptures, but law, and all the arts, from whence preachers, pastors, clerks, counselors, &c., may be taken for the whole principality. To this object should the income of the cloisters and other religious foundations be applied, so as to give an honorable support to learned men; two in theology, two in law, one in medicine, one in mathematics, and four or five for grammar, logic, rhetoric, &c. . . . . . Thirdly, in all the towns and villages, good schools for children should be established, from which those who are adapted to higher studies might be taken and trained up for the public."

Under these instructions and appeals a school law was adopted in Wirtemberg in 1559, and modified in 1565; in Saxony in 1560, and improved in 1580; in Hesse in 1565; and in Brandenberg, still earlier; which recognized and provided for the classification, inspection, and support of public schools on substantially the same plan which prevails to this day throughout Germany.

The pedagogical work of Luther—his labors to improve the method of instruction—were continued by Trotzendorf,* in Goldberg, from 1530 to 1556; by Sturm, in Strasbourg, from 1550 to 1589; by Neander, in Ilefeld, from 1570 to 1595, whose schools were all Normal Schools, in the original acceptation of the term, *pattern* or *model* schools, of their time. They were succeeded by Wolfgang Ratich, born at Wilster, in Holstein, in 1571; by Christopher Helwig, born near Frankfort, in 1581; and by Amos Comenius, born at Comna, in Moravia, in 1592; who all labored, by their writings, and by organizing schools and courses of instruction, to disseminate improved methods of teaching. Comenius was invited by an act of parliament in 1631, to visit England for the purpose of intro-

* Trotzendorf practiced the monitorial system of instruction two hundred and fifty years before Dr. Bell or Joseph Lancaster set up their claims for its discovery.

ducing his method into the public institutions of that country. But internal commotions interrupted and ultimately defeated his plans.

In 1618, the religious war—known as the *Thirty Years'* war—broke out in Germany, and for an entire generation swept over the land, wasting harvest fields, destroying cities, tearing fathers from the protection of their families, scattering teachers and schools, and arresting the progress of all spiritual and educational improvement. At the close of the war, and in some of the smaller states during its progress, the civil government began to take effectual steps to secure the attendance of children at school, by making it compulsory on parents, on penalty of fine and imprisonment for neglect, to send them during a certain age. This was first attempted in Gotha, in 1643; in Heildesheim, in 1663; and in Prussia, in 1669; and Calemberg, in 1681. About this period, two men appeared, Philip J. Spener, born in the Alsace in 1635, and Augustus Herman Franké, born at Lübeck in 1663; who, the first by the invention of the catechetic method, and the last, a pupil of the former, by the foundation of the orphan-house at Halle in 1696, were destined to introduce a new era in the history of education in Germany.

The history of the orphan-house at Halle, is a beautiful illustration of practical Christian charity, and the ever-extending results of educational labor. While pastor of Glaucha, a suburb of Halle, he was in the habit of distributing bread to the poor, with whose poverty and ignorance he was equally distressed. To relieve at once their physical and spiritual destitution, he invited old and young into his house, and while he distributed alms, he at the same time gave oral and catechetical instruction in the principles of the Christian faith. To benefit the orphan children still more, he took a few into his family in 1694, and to avail himself of the gifts of the charitable, he resorted to the following expedient, according to his biographer, Dr. Guerike:

"He caused a box to be fastened up in the parlor of the parsonage-house, and wrote over it, 'Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' (1 John iii. 17,) and underneath, 'Every one according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver,' (2 Cor. ix. 17.) This box, which was destined for the reception of the casual gifts of those who visited Franké, was fixed up at the commencement of 1695; and not in vain. The passage (2 Cor. ix. 8,) had fallen in his way, a short time before this circumstance, and now occurred the incident related in his letter to Schadé. 'This,' says he, 'served to show me, how God is able to make us abound in every good work.'

'After the poor's-box had been fixed up in my dwelling about a quarter of a year,' relates Franké, 'a certain person put, at one time, four dollars and sixteen groschen into it. On taking this sum into my hand, I exclaimed with great liberty of faith,—This is a considerable sum, with which something really good must be accomplished; I will commence a school with it for the poor. Without conferring, therefore, with flesh and blood, and acting under the impulse of faith, I made arrangement for the purchase of books to the amount of two dollars, and engaged a poor student to instruct the poor children for a couple of hours daily, promising to give him six groschen weekly for so doing, in the hope that God would meanwhile grant more; since in this manner a couple of dollars would be spent in eight weeks.'

Franké, who was ready to offer up whatever he had to the service of his neighbor, fixed upon the ante-chamber of his study, for the school-room of the

poor children, who began regularly to receive instruction at Easter, 1695. In this school-room, he caused a second box to be fixed up, with the inscription, 'For the expenses of the instruction of the children, needful books, &c.,' and underneath, 'He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth to the Lord; and that which he hath given, will he pay him again,' (Prov. xix. 17.)

At Whitsuntide, Franké was visited by some friends, who were much pleased at his efforts in behalf of the poor, to which they contributed a few dollars. Others also gave small donations, from time to time, to the school-box. Soon after Whitsuntide, when some of the townspeople saw how regularly the children of the poor received instruction, they became desirous of sending their children likewise to the same teacher, and offered to pay him weekly a groschen for each child; so that the teacher now received sixteen groschen weekly for a five-hours' daily instruction. The number of his scholars, that summer, amounted to between fifty and sixty, of which the poor, besides gratuitous instruction, also received alms, twice or thrice a-week, to incite them to attend school the more willingly. Donations in money, and linen, for shirts for the poor children, began now to arrive from other places.

About Whitsuntide of the same year, Franké laid also the first foundation for what was subsequently called the royal school. The widow of a nobleman desired him to send her a domestic tutor for her own, and one of her friend's children. He found no one who was sufficiently far advanced in his studies, and therefore proposed to the parents, to send their children to Halle, and that he would then provide for their education, by able teachers and guardians. The parents agreed to this plan; and a few months afterward, an additional number of youths were sent, and thus originated the seminary above mentioned, which, in 1709, consisted of an inspector, twenty-three teachers, and seventy-two scholars; and in 1711, by means of Franké's exertions, had a building appropriated exclusively to it.

In the summer of the same year, 1695, Franké unexpectedly and unsolicitedly received a very considerable contribution; for a person of rank wrote to him with the offer of five hundred dollars, for the purpose of distribution among the poor, and especially among the indigent students. This money was shortly afterward paid over to him. He then selected twenty poor students, whom he assisted with a weekly donation of four, eight, or twelve groschen; 'and this,' says he, 'was in reality the origin of the poor students' participating to the present hour, in the benefits of the orphan-house.'

In the autumn there was no longer sufficient room in the parsonage for the increasing number of scholars; he therefore hired a school-room of one of his neighbors, and a second in the beginning of the winter. He then divided the scholars into two classes, and provided a separate teacher for the children of the townspeople, and another for the children of the poor. Each teacher gave four hours instruction daily, and received a guilder weekly, besides lodging and firing gratis.

But Franké was soon made to see, that many a hopeful child was deprived, when out of school, of all the benefit he received in it. The idea therefore occurred to him, in the autumn of 1695, to undertake the entire charge and education of a limited number of children; 'and this,' says he, 'was the first incitement I felt, and the first idea of the erection of an orphan-house, even before I possessed the smallest funds for the purpose. On mentioning this plan to some of my friends, a pious individual felt induced to fund the sum of five hundred dollars for that purpose,—twenty-five dollars for the interest on which were to be paid over every Christmas, which has also been regularly received. On reflecting upon this instance of the divine bounty, I wished to seek out some poor orphan child, who might be supported by the yearly interest. On this, four fatherless and motherless children, all of the same family, were brought to me. I ventured, in confidence upon God, to receive the whole four; but as one of them was taken by some other good people, only three were left; but a fourth soon appeared in the place of the one that had been taken. I took therefore these four; placed them with religious people, and gave them weekly half a dollar for the bringing up of each. On this, it happened to me, as is generally the case, that when we venture to give a groschen to the poor in faith, we feel afterward no hesitation in venturing a dollar upon the same principle. For after having once begun in God's name, to receive a few poor orphans without any human prospect of certain assistance, (for the interest of the five hundred

dollars was not sufficient to feed and clothe a single one,) I boldly left it to the Lord to make up for whatever might be deficient. Hence the orphan-house was by no means commenced and founded upon any certain sum in hand, or on the assurances of persons of rank to take upon themselves the cost and charges, or upon any thing of a similar nature, as was subsequently reported, and as some were inclined to suppose; but solely and simply in reliance on the living God in heaven.

'The day after I had undertaken the charge of the four orphans above-mentioned, two more were added; the next day, another; two days afterward, a fourth, and one more after the lapse of a week. So that, on the 16th November, 1695, there were already nine, who were placed with pious people.' He fixed upon George Henry Neubauer, a student of divinity, to have the oversight of their education and their bringing up. 'Meanwhile,' continues he, 'the faithful God and Father of the fatherless, who is able to do abundantly above what we can ask or think, came so powerfully to my aid, that foolish reason could never have expected it. For he moved the hearts of those persons of rank, who had given me the five hundred dollars already mentioned, to present me with an additional sum of a thousand dollars in the beginning of the winter. And in the middle of the winter, another person of rank was incited to send me three hundred dollars to enable me to continue my attention to the poor. Another individual gave a hundred dollars, and others gave donations of smaller sums.'

Franké had hitherto distributed the money destined for the poor students weekly; but in 1696, the idea occurred to him, instead of a weekly allowance, to give them dinner gratuitously; 'in the firm confidence in God, that he would from time to time send such supplies, as to enable this arrangement to be continued.' By this he expected to be of greater service to the poor students; he could also, in this manner, become better acquainted with them, and possess a better insight into their life and conduct; and lastly, restrain the applications of the less needy, 'who would gladly have been more delicately fed.' Two open tables were therefore provided—each for twelve poor students; and that one thing might assist the other, he selected the teachers of the charity-school from them. This was the origin of the teachers' seminary, which afterward gradually arose out of it.

The schools of the children of the townspeople who paid a certain sum for their instruction, though inadequate to the expense, were separated from the school for the poor, at the request of the townspeople themselves; and in September, 1697, another school was added for those tradesmen's children who were instructed in the elements of superior science. About this time also, more classes were required in the orphan school, on account of the increased number of the pupils. The boys and girls received separate instruction, and when any of the former manifested abilities, they were again separated from the rest, and instructed in languages and the sciences by particular teachers. In May, 1699, Franké united this class of the orphan children with the class of the tradesmen's children, who likewise received superior instruction. These arrangements for imparting a more learned education, show us the rudiments from whence the Latin school or Gymnasium afterward developed itself in Franké's institutions, which in 1709 was attended by two hundred and fifty-six children, of whom sixty-four were orphans, divided into seven classes; and in 1730, by more than five hundred pupils.

At the time of his death, the Orphan House, or Hallische Waisenhaus, embraced all the institutions which now belong to it.

1. The *Orphan Asylum*, established in 1694, in which over 5,000 orphans had been educated, up to 1838, gratuitously. Such of the boys as manifest peculiar talent, are prepared for the university, and supported there.

2. The *Royal Pædagogium*, founded in 1696, for the education of children of rich and noble families. Up to 1839, 2,850 individuals had been educated in this boarding institution. The profits of this school are paid over to the orphan asylum.

3. The *Latin School*, established in 1697, for pupils from abroad, of less wealthy condition than the former, and for boys of the city of Halle.

4. The *German School*, for boys and girls whose parents do not wish to give them a classic education.

These several schools number from 3,000 to 4,000 pupils,* of every age, and in every study. Besides these schools there are other features in the institution.

5. The *Canstein Bible Press*, established in 1712, to furnish the Bible at a cheap rate. The profits on the sale of an edition are applied to diminish the expense of the next edition.

6. A *Library*, commenced by Franké by setting apart his own books for the use of his schools, and which now number 20,000 volumes.

7. An *Apothecary's Shop*, commenced by Franké as a medicine chest for the poor, and the profit of which, after furnishing the wants of the orphan-house, are applied to the support of the institution.

8. A *Book Establishment*, in which the classics, and school books, are published at a low price, not only for the institution, but for the trade generally.

9. A house for widows.

We have dwelt on the labors of Franké, because he proved his faith in God by his works, and because he was an educator in the largest and best sense of that designation.

According to his biographer, the first teachers' class was founded by Franké in 1697, by providing a table or free board for such poor students as stood in need of assistance, and selecting, a few years later, out of the whole number, twelve who exhibited the right basis of piety, knowledge, skill and desire for teaching, and constituting them his "Seminarium Præceptorum," Teachers' Seminary. These pupil teachers received separate instruction for two years, and obtained a practical knowledge of methods, in the classes of the several schools. For the assistance thus rendered they bound themselves to teach for three years in the institution after the close of their course. In 1704, according to Raumer, this plan was matured, and the supply of teachers for all the lower classes were drawn from this seminary. But besides the teachers trained in this branch of Franké's great establishment, hundreds of others, attracted by the success of his experiment, resorted to Halle, from all parts of Europe, to profit by the organization, spirit, and method of his various schools. Among the most distinguished of his pupils and disciples, may be named, Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the communities of United Brethren, or Moravians, in Herrnhut, in 1722; Steinmetz, who erected a Normal School in Klosterbergen, in 1730; Hecker, the founder of the first Real

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* It is interesting to a visitor to remark in the chief cities of Germany, during certain hours the silence of the streets, with their entire dsaertion by children, and the contrast of the change produced by the clock striking twelve. The road and footway then suddenly swarm with children, carrying books and slates, and returning from the studies of the morning. The most striking sight of the kiod we ever witnessed was at Halle, where, as we approached a large educational eetsblishment, called the "Hallieche Waisenhaus," the whole of its juveoile inmates, 3,000 in number, burst forth into the street, and filling up the entire roadway, formed an unbroken stream of a quarter of a mile in length.—*Hickson's Dutch and German Schools*

School in Berlin, to which a seminary for teachers was attached in 1748; Rambalt, who lectured in the Universities in Jena and Giessen in pedagogic, and reformed the schools in Hesse-Darmstadt; Felbiger, who reorganized the schools of Silesia, and afterward those of Austria;—these and others scarcely less distinguished, were among the most eminent and successful teachers of the day, and were known as the school of Pietists.

The educational school of Franké was followed by Basedow, (born at Hamburg, in 1723,) Campe, and Salzman, who acquired for themselves a European reputation by the Philanthropinum, founded by the former at Dessau, in 1781.

This institution gave its name to the school of educationists, known as Philanthropinic, and which prevails at this day in some sections of Germany. Its earliest development on the continent was made by Rousseau, in his "Emile," and by John Locke, in England, in his "Thoughts on Education." Its great aim was the formation of a practical character, and this was to be accomplished by following the indications of nature. The body, as well as the mind, was to be hardened and invigorated, and prepared to execute with energy the designs of the mind. The discipline of the family and school was softened by constant appeals to the best principles in the child's nature. Particular attention was paid to instruction in language, music, and the laws and objects of nature. Many of these principles became engrafted on to the teachers of Normal Schools, and through their pupils were introduced into the common schools.

About this time appeared Henry Pestalozzi, who followed in the track of the Philanthropinic School, and by his example and writings, diffused a new spirit among the schools of primary instruction, all over Europe. Although born in Switzerland, at Zurich, in 1746, and although his personal labors were confined to his native country, and their immediate influence was weakened by many defects of character, still his general views of education were so sound and just, that they are now adopted by teachers who never read a word of his life or writings, and by many who never heard of his name. When the Prussian government, in 1809, undertook systematically the work of improving the elementary schools, as a means of creating and diffusing a patriotic spirit among the people, the fame of Pestalozzi was at its height. To him and to his school, to his method and to his disciples, the attention of the best teachers in the kingdom was turned for guidance and aid. Several enthusiastic young teachers were sent to his institution at Yverdun, to study his methods and imbibe his spirit of devotion to the children of the poor. Through them, and others who went directly to Pestalozzi, these principles and methods were transplanted not only into various parts of Prussia, but also into the schools and seminaries of other states in Germany.

The schools of most of the teachers and educators, whose names have been introduced, were in reality Teachers' Seminaries, although not so designated by themselves or others. Their establishments were not simply schools for children, but were conducted to test and exemplify

principles and methods of education, and these were perpetuated and disseminated by means of books in which they were embodied, or of pupils and disciples who transplanted them into other places.

As has been already stated, on the authority of Franké's biographer, and of Schwartz, Raumer, and other writers on the history of education in Germany, the first regularly-organized Teachers' Seminary, or Normal School, (not *normal* in the sense in which the word was originally used, as a school of children so conducted as to be a *model* or *pattern* for teachers to imitate, but a *school of young men*, who had already passed through an elementary, or even a superior school, and who were preparing to be teachers, by making additional attainments, and acquiring a knowledge of the human mind, and the principles of education as a science, and of its methods as an art,) was established in Halle, in a part of Hanover, prior to 1704. About the same period, Steinmetz opened a class for teachers in the Abbey of Klosterberge, near Magdeburg, and which was continued by Resewitz, by whom the spirit and method of Franké and the pietists were transplanted into the north of Germany. In 1730, lectures on philology and the best methods of teaching the Latin, Greek and German languages, were common in the principal universities and higher schools. The first regularly-organized seminary for this purpose, was established at Gottingen, in 1738, and by its success led to the institution of a similar course of study and practice in Jena, Helle, Helmstadt, Heidelberg, Berlin, Munich, &c.

In 1735, the first seminary for primary school teachers was established in Prussia, at Stettin, in Pomerania. In 1748, Hecker, a pupil of Franké, and the founder of burgher, or what we should call high schools, established an institution for teachers of elementary schools, in Berlin. in which the king testified an interest, and enjoined, by an ordinance in 1752, that the country schools on the crown lands in New Mark and Pomerania should be supplied by pupil teachers from this institution who had learned the culture of silk and mulberries in Hecker's institution, with a view of carrying forward industrial instruction into that section of his kingdom. In 1757, Baron von Fürstenberg established a seminary for teachers at Munster, in Hanover. In 1767, the Canan von Rochow opened a school on his estate in Rekane, in Brandenburg, where, by lectures and practice, he prepared schoolmasters for country schools on his own and neighboring properties. To these schools teachers were sent from all parts of Germany, to be trained in the principles and practice of primary instruction. In 1770, Bishop Felbinger, organized a Normal (*model*) School in Vienna, with a course of lectures and practice for teachers, extending through four months; and about the same time the deacon Ferdinand Kindermann, or von Schulstein, as he was called by Maria Theresa, converted a school in Kaplitz, in Bohemia, into a Normal Institution. Between 1770 and 1800, as will be seen by the following Table, teachers' seminaries were introduced into nearly every German state, which, in all but three instances, were supported in whole or in part by the government.

As the demand for good teachers exceeded the supply furnished by these seminaries, private institutions have sprung up, some of which have attained a popularity equal to the public institutions. But in no state have such private schools been able to sustain themselves, until the government seminaries and the public school system had created a demand for well-qualified teachers. And in no state in Europe has the experiment of making seminaries for primary school teachers an appendage to a university, or a gymnasium, or any other school of an academic character, proved successful for any considerable period of time, or on an extensive scale.

At the beginning of the present century, there were about thirty teachers' seminaries in operation. The wars growing out of the French Revolution suspended for a time the movements in behalf of popular education, until the success of the new organization of schools in Prussia, commencing in 1809, arrested the attention of governments and individuals all over the continent, and has led, within the last quarter of a century, not only to the establishment of seminaries nearly sufficient to supply the annual demand for teachers, but to the more perfect organization of the whole system of public instruction.

The cardinal principles of the system of Primary Public Instruction as now organized in the German states, are,

First. The recognition on the part of the government of the right, duty and interest of every community, not only to co-operate with parents in the education of children, but to provide, as far as practicable, by efficient inducement and penalties, against the neglect of this first of parental obligations, in a single instance. The school obligation,—the duty of parents to send their children to school, or provide for their instruction at home,—was enforced by law in Saxe-Gotha, in 1643; in Saxony and Wirtemberg. in 1659; in Hildesheim in 1663; in Calemberg, in 1681; in Celle, in 1689; in Prussia, in 1717; and in every state of Germany, before the beginning of the present century. But it is only within the last thirty years, that government enactments have been made truly efficient by enlisting the habits and good will of the people on the side of duty. We must look to the generation of men now coming into active life for the fruits of this principle, universally recognized, and in most cases wisely enforced in every state, large and small, Catholic and Protestant, and having more or less of constitutional guaranties and forms.

Second. The establishment of a sufficient number of permanent schools of different grades, according to the population, in every neighborhood, with a suitable outfit of buildings, furniture, appendages and apparatus.

Third. The specific preparation of teachers, as far as practicable, for the particular grade of schools for which they are destined, with opportunities for professional employment and promotion through life.

Fourth. Provision on the part of the government to make the schools accessible to the poorest, not, except in comparatively a few instances,

and those in the most despotic governments, by making them free to the poor, but cheap to all.

Fifth. A system of inspection, variously organized, but constant, general, and responsible—reaching every locality, every school, every teacher, and pervading the whole state from the central government to the remotest district.

The success of the school systems of Germany is universally attributed by her own educators to the above features of her school law—especially those which relate to the teacher. These provisions respecting teachers may be summed up as follows:—

1. The recognition of the true dignity and importance of the office of teacher in a system of public instruction.

2. The establishment of a sufficient number of Teachers' Seminaries, or Normal Schools, to educate, in a special course of instruction and practice, all persons who apply or propose to teach in any public primary school, with aids to self and professional improvement through life.

3. A system of examination and inspection, by which incompetent persons are prevented from obtaining situations as teachers, or are excluded and degraded from the ranks of the profession, by unworthy or criminal conduct.

4. A system of promotion, by which faithful teachers can rise in a scale of lucrative and desirable situations.

5. Permanent employment through the year, and for life, with a social position and a compensation which compare favorably with the wages paid to educated labor in other departments of business.

6. Preparatory schools, in which those who wish eventually to become teachers, may test their natural qualities and adaptation for school teaching before applying for admission to a Normal School.

7. Frequent conferences and associations for mutual improvement, by an interchange of opinion and sharing the benefit of each others' experience.

8. Exemption from military service in time of peace, and recognition, in social and civil life, as public functionaries.

9. A pecuniary allowance when sick, and provision for years of infirmity and old age, and for their families in case of death.

10. Books and periodicals, by which the obscure teacher is made partaker in all the improvements of the most experienced and distinguished members of the profession in his own and other countries.

With this brief and rapid survey of the history and condition of Popular Education in Germany, we will now pass to a more particular description of primary schools in several states, with special reference to the organization and course of instruction of Normal Seminaries, and other means and agencies for the professional training of teachers. Before doing this, we publish a table, prepared from a variety of school documents, exhibiting the number and location of Normal Schools in Germany, with the testimony of some of our best educators as to the result of this Normal School system.

JOHANN MATTHIAS GESNER.*

[Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

JOHANN MATTHIAS GESNER was the son of a preacher, and born in 1691, at Roth, a village of Ansbach, in the Rezat. He early lost his father, but was well instructed after his death by his stepfather, Pastor Zuckermantel, and afterward sent to the gymnasium at Ansbach. Under the learned Pastor Köhler, he here acquired not only Latin and Greek, but also Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, and several modern languages.

In 1710, he went to the University of Jena, where he studied Hebrew more thoroughly under Danz, and attended the theological lectures of Buddeus, to whom he became much attached. This teacher had long entertained the wish that a great want in the university should be supplied. After their university studies, most of the theological students went into situations which required positive pedagogical knowledge and efficiency. Many became school officers, many tutors, and still others school inspectors. But in the university there was not the least pains taken to prepare the students, in any measure, for these duties. This want, Buddeus thought, could be best supplied by the erection of a pedagogical seminary. In the young Gesner he believed that he had found the right man to be placed at the head of such an institution. He therefore induced him to write the "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ*," which appeared in 1715, and were to serve as a compendium for the use of this seminary. All were astonished at the learning, sound judgment, and clearness of the author at twenty-four years.

Even in this work, Gesner's tendency to *polymathia* showed itself; for it contains many of the outlines of his later "*Isagoge in Eruditionem Universalem.*"

He fully discussed instruction in the ancient languages. It would be imagined that an experienced educator was speaking, upon hearing the acute rules which he sometimes gives for teachers.

In his remarks upon instruction in Hebrew and the modern languages, he gives evidence of his studies at Ansbach and Jena.

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* Materials.—1. "*J. A. Ernesti Narratio de J. M. Gesner ad D Ruhnkenium.*" 2. Gesner's Works; viz., "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ.*" Jena. 1715; "*Minor German Works,*" Göttingen, 1756; "*Opuscula Minora,*" Breslau, 1743; "*Primæ Lineæ Isagoges in Eruditionem Universalem. Accedunt prælectiones per J. N. Niclas.*" 2 vols; Leipzig, 1774.

He then passes to other studies, recommending especially the pure and mixed mathematics.

He did not, however, confine himself entirely to instruction, but considered all that lies within the province of pedagogy. Thus, he fully discusses the requisites of a teacher; not only as to knowledge and gifts for teaching, but also moral character. He further describes the scholar, and gives directions for examining, guiding, and managing him.

In short, this little book, for that time, completely fulfilled its purpose, as the compendium of pedagogical lectures at the university; and we can only wish for a similar work, equally as good, in our own times.

One design of the "*Institutiones*," however, failed; Gesner himself, that is, did not get the appointment of lecturer upon them at Jena; for he was shortly afterward invited to Weimar, as conrector and librarian. During his thirteen years' stay in this place, he was all the time increasing the universality of his knowledge by the most comprehensive studies, a work in which his place as librarian was of the greatest service to him. He was thus well fitted to be afterward of essential service to one of the greatest European libraries, that at Göttingen, and to facilitate its first youthful progress. From Weimar he went, in 1728, to Ansbach, as rector of the gymnasium there, and then again, in 1730, he became rector of the celebrated Thomas School, at Leipzig. This he found in a very low condition, both in respect to studies and discipline.

Jacob Thomasius* was rector of this school from 1676 to 1684. At the latter period,† he was opposed to the reading of the ancient classics in the school, and at last came out in a distinct hostility against them. Accordingly he almost entirely banished them from the school, and put in their place the reading-books and chrestomathies of modern Latinists; such as Muret, Buchanan's "*Psalterium*," Schœnæus' "*Terentius Christianus*," &c. Johann Heinrich Ernesti, who succeeded Thomasius and was rector for forty-five years, from 1684 to 1729, did not discontinue this practice. When Gesner came into Ernesti's place, and found that scarcely one or two classics were read in the school, he suspected the wisdom of the rule. He had previously distinctly defended the reading of the classics, excluding only those which taught openly godlessness and sin. On this point he had no scruples in Leipzig; but he considered whether such scholars as commonly learn Latin, only to understand their professional

* Father of the celebrated Christian Thomasius.

† "The Thomas School, at Leipzig. A centennial, by G. Stallbaum, Ph. D., and rector of the school. 1839."

text-books, should not read those text-books at once; the theological students the symbolic books and Hutterus; the jurists the "*Institutiones*," &c. But in a man of so thoroughly classical an education, an error so truly unnatural to him* could prevail only for a moment, in regard to the nobler studies of youth. He soon bethought himself, and introduced anew a study of the classics. Gesner at the same time made provision for a suitable pursuit of real studies, especially of mathematics; which were taught, from 1731, by Johann Heinrich Winkler, well known as a natural philosopher.

The Thomas School was celebrated for its long-established music department, which was at one time under the management of the most skillful masters, such as Sethus Calvisius, Hermann Schein, and Kühnau. The most distinguished of all its masters, however, was that one whom Gesner found in the place at his entrance into the school; namely, the immortal cantor, Johann Sebastian Bach, for whom he entertained a great respect.†

I have mentioned that, at Gesner's coming to Leipzig, he found not only the classic studies, but the discipline, of the Thomas School, in the lowest state. There was among the pupils an universal and disgraceful indolence. They had one habit in particular, of pretending to be sick, in order to get the better diet which was provided for sickness, and to have vacations for months together. The medicines which were given them, they threw away. Thus the expenditures for medicine and the care of the sick increased, until it might have been believed that the institution was not a school, but a hospital. Gesner put an end to this practice in this way: When the scholar told him he was sick, he visited him at once, inquired in a friendly way what he wanted, and said: "It does not yet appear clearly what the disease is; until it does, you must eat only the simplest food, and stay in bed." A watcher was then appointed for the sick man, to see that he complied strictly with this direction. By far the greater part of them, quite restored by fasting and weariness, recovered in one or two days; and over the few who were really sick, and who were obliged to remain so, Gesner exercised fatherly care.

In 1733, there appeared the "*Laws of the Thomas School*," drawn up by him, which related mostly to the discipline of the scholars. "It is incredible," says Ernesti, "how useful Gesner was to the school; not merely by organizing a better administration, and fixing it fast and steadily by the new laws, but by teaching in a manner then new

* Later educators could be named, to whom this error was natural—and is now.

† In a note upon Quintilian, 1, 12, 3. Gesner says: "I believe the greatest admirer of antiquity would confess that many Orpheuses and twenty Arions are all included in Bach alone, and in any one else like him, if there be any such."

to us, and exceedingly beautiful." * In the next year, 1734, Gesner left Leipzig, having received an invitation to the new university at Göttingen. He was there professor of eloquence and poetry, and also librarian. He was also made director of the philological seminary, and inspector of all the Hanoverian schools; two important pedagogical offices, for which the experience which he had gathered in his three rectorates had well fitted him. The views which, under the influence of Buddeus, he had advanced in Jena, in 1715, he now, twenty-three years afterward, in 1738, introduced in the seminary of Göttingen. This was intended for giving to young theologians a theoretical and practical training for the business of teaching. For his lectures upon the whole of pedagogy, he took, as a basis, his "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ.*" Besides their philological studies, the pupils of the seminary studied also pure and mixed mathematics, natural sciences, and geography. They practiced teaching in the city school of Göttingen. The most important of Gesner's lectures are in his "*Isagoge in Eruditionem Universalem;*" a scientific encyclopedia. We have these lectures in the form in which they were written down by a learned hearer, Niclas. When Niclas laid his manuscript before Gesner, the latter said: "I recognize myself in them; print them."

In 1740, a German society was formed in Göttingen, of which Gesner was chosen president. Afterward, in 1751, was founded the Göttingen society of sciences; at the head of the historical and philological section of which Gesner was placed. He afterward became president of the society.

Notwithstanding the many offices which required so much of his activity, he wrote works extraordinary in number and value. Two of them I have already mentioned. To these must be added many excellent editions of the classics; as, for instance, Livy, Quintilian, Horace, the writers on agriculture, &c., and also his celebrated "*Thesaurus.*"† Many of his single Latin treatises, inscriptions, addresses, prefaces, &c., have been published, under the title "*Gesneri Opuscula Minora,*" besides a similar collection of German compositions, called "*Gesner's Minor German Works.*"

In the "*Isagoge,*" and in these collected Latin and German writings, is to be found a treasure of pedagogical experience and opinions. "May these instructions," says Gesner, in the preface to his German writings, "based upon an experience of more than forty years, and the often repeated consideration of them, have a good influence upon

* Ernesti's opinion is the more important, as he was Gesner's successor in the rectorate of the school.

† Ernesti calls the "*Thesaurus*" "a very great and most laborious and erudite work, sufficient alone to secure the immortality and perennial glory of his name."

practical teaching." The teaching and learning of the ancient languages continues to have an especial attraction for him, as earlier, when he wrote the "*Institutiones.*" In this department his views were entirely opposed to the usual ones, especially in regard to the grammars used in schools. "These were originally," he says,* "intended for facilitating the study of languages; but, latterly, very learned grammars have appeared, which are as unfit for teaching the rudiments of grammar, as the most subtly and skillfully made lancet, for cutting bread." "Children," he says further, "should not be martyred with the unintelligent learning by rote of rules and exceptions, and thus be made to lose the taste for study, in the beginning, and perhaps forever." Languages were made before grammar; men spoke correctly before they thought of the art of speaking. Also, he says, "It is a hundred times easier to learn a language by use and practice, without the grammar, than from the grammar, without use and practice." "The latter is absolutely impossible." In particular, it is not necessary to make the boys learn Latin rules for the gender of words, &c.; it is better for them to learn a phrase or a sentence, in which the rule appears. For our knowledge every where proceeds, not from general abstract rules, but from single examples.

He then speaks against the general overvaluation of grammatical knowledge. "It is among the most common faults of Latin instruction," he says, "to reprove harshly, to punish or to ridicule, for any fault in the scholar's grammar, as if he had sinned against the laws of God and man." † "Moreover," he continues, "those who need to understand Latin, in order that they may be enabled to read books in it, are very seldom in a position to need a grammatical oracle; and even there would be twenty or thirty to one, who would be in need of the ability to write, and particularly to write in an accurate manner. ‡ These views of Gesner were so entirely opposite to those of the day, that he was attacked on account of them from many directions, but mostly under a misunderstanding. "I reject grammar," he replied to his opponents, "only for youth, as hurting them more than helping them. But, for grown persons, it is in the highest degree necessary."

Here we must mention Gesner's valuable preface to his edition of Livy, in which he speaks of the two different methods of reading the

* See his German Works, p. 256. And see p. 296, for a description of the bad methods of teaching language which were usual in the schools.

† In like manner he says ("*Institut.*," 81,) "It would have been better to speak barbarously, and think piously, than to express an evil mind even in the most elegant words. With this sentiment, Augustine agrees entirely. See his "*Confessions*," 1, 18.

‡ Gesner discusses the question for what, and to what extent, a knowledge of Latin is necessary, in the "*Isagoge*," 1, 114, &c.

classics; the rapid, and the slow.* Here, likewise, he sets himself in opposition to the usual customs of the schools. He admits, it is true, that it is a good method to read, in the beginning, some book of a reasonable size, or at least some part of it, very thoroughly, for the sake both of obtaining certainty of knowledge, and also so as to learn, as it were by example, what is a thorough understanding of the classics. But he goes on to declare himself most distinctly against the entire dominion of the method of slow reading in the schools, which has become degenerated, because in the course of the explanation of one author, the most heterogeneous things are lugged in. Thus, pupils sometimes read for years together in one book of Cicero's Letters, or the "*De Officiis*," divide one play of Terence, or one book of Cæsar, into so many little parts that even an extraordinary memory can not retain them all.

After this he goes on to describe and recommend the more rapid method, that of reading in course; in which the scholar endeavors, with his whole soul and individual attention, to fix in his mind whatever author he is reading, and to understand him only, and enjoy his beauties. He relates that, when he has read Terence in this manner to his scholars, they have sat with open mouths, silent, with eyes, ears, and minds occupied, laughing even, and thus betraying their pleasure by their gestures. But when he read the Phœnissæ of Euripides in the slow way, with the same scholars, they sat, it is true, with open mouths, but it was because they were silently gaping or sleeping.

Gesner, as we have said, was among the first who undertook earnestly to bring to pass the adaptation of the gymnasiums not only to such scholars as were to pursue a learned occupation, but for those who were not, also; and thus, that in them real studies should be more practiced.

While he was thus laboring, earnestly, wisely, and practically, for the improvement of schools, he had also at heart, during the twenty-seven years of his professorship, the good of the university. This appears in the academical prospectuses, which, as professor of eloquence, it was his business to write. It will appear from them, he says, "How strenuously it has been endeavored to keep in order the youth of the university, who have a good title to a noble freedom, by means not having the shape of strict laws, which belong to the common unreasoning crowd, but that of a fatherly and friendly

* This edition of Livy appeared in Leipzig, in 1735. The preface is reprinted in the "*Opuscula*," 7, 289.

Ernesti entirely agrees with Gesner on the point in question, and says that he followed his method in explaining the classics in the Thomas School.

address, and thus to preserve them from the dangers into which so many fall by a misuse of freedom." He expresses himself in a clear and noble manner in "Considerations upon the friends of students;" "All teachers in the higher institutions of learning are, by their station and duty, the intended and, as it were, the born friends of the students;" and it is their duty to seek the good of the students, without regard to their own profit. For this reason, those who do not conceal the faults of the students, must expose themselves to the danger of awakening displeasure by their admonitions. He prays God "to keep the fathers of the university in this, the only right state of feeling toward those intrusted to them," and to preserve the university free from "harmful students'-friends," and "hypocrites."

There are indications in the "*Isagoge*," of the frequency and plainness with which he attacked his hearers in his lectures. He there complains, for example, that while the sciences have increased, the students have lost in industry. When he studied in Jena, lectures were given as early as five in the morning; while later, the professor set the hour at seven, and even then got scarcely a hearer. "Formerly," he says, "the students listened to lectures all the day, now they spend two hours over their coffee; while the *friseur* is coming, the curling-tongs are heating, and the hair frizzling, hours pass away. To study after four or five in the evening is thought by many a degrading requisition." In the programme for the summer lectures for 1743, Gesner recommends very earnestly to the students a persevering attendance upon the lectures. The more skillful the teacher, he says, the more close the connection of lectures, so that by as much as the latter are based upon the former, and they all constitute one whole, so much the more injurious is frequent absence to the student. And again, he advises his hearers to be attentive during their lectures, as this stimulates and increases the zeal of the teacher. "If there be any thing pleasant in my books," says Martial, "my hearers have occasioned it." This is owing to the happy influence of men's minds upon each other; and in like manner a bad influence is exerted. "One gaper," he continues, "makes the rest gape. Nothing is more wearisome than to instruct, when most of the hearers are sleepy. Quintilian says, 'as it is the duty of the teacher to teach, so it is of the scholar to be desirous of learning.'"

We have seen that Gesner sought and followed new methods for schools; it should be also mentioned that he opposed an academical custom; that of the use of Latin in the lectures. Let us now pass to other points of distinction between him and most of the philological pedagogues of his age.

The chief of them is this; that he repeatedly recommended real studies. Studies in languages, he said, should never be disjoined from those in things. This separation of things, which are by their nature intimately joined together, is a real evil. By reason of it, youth learn so many names, without one idea of the things which are named. For the purpose of elementary instruction, such books should be used as will furnish also real knowledge. He liked, accordingly, the works of Comenius, especially the "*Orbis Pictus*." As president of the German society of Göttingen, a place which would scarcely have been offered to any other philologist of his times, he esteemed those schools fortunate whose instructors, by sympathy with that society, have acquired "a love for the mother tongue, neglected in so many ways, and the ability to express themselves well in it." This facility is to be attained, not by rules, but by making translations from the masterpieces of the ancient classics.

Among real studies, Gesner gave a high place to the natural sciences, in which such great advances have been made of late years. He himself, while rector in the Thomas School, attended the lectures of Hausen, upon experimental physics. The boys, he says, ought certainly to study drawing; and we have seen how high a value he set upon mathematical studies, especially astronomy. "God," he says, "has so connected them with the heavens, that it is only by the observation of them that we can see where and at what time we are living." He recognizes geography as the vestibule, basis, and light of history, especially of that of the mother country.

Gesner thus showed himself to be a man who united, with the most thorough knowledge and love of antiquity, a correct appreciation of real studies; and who sought new methods of teaching, when he was convinced of the faults of the old. No one can imagine that for this reason he is to be classed with Basedow. In addition, I may here give one extract from the "*Isagoge*," which shows clearly how he differed from most of the reformers of the eighteenth century in his most fundamental plans. He says: "The beginnings of all sciences must be believed.* This is a very important rule, especially at the present day, when even little children are, from an early age, instructed by their teachers to believe nothing. As soon as they begin to show one spark of understanding, and wisdom, they are spoken to of opinions. And since we are by nature only too much inclined to see every thing for ourselves, and to receive nothing by simple belief, but to wish to discover the truth for ourselves, the boys

* In another place he quotes Aristotle's remark, that "it is necessary to believe what is learned."

too soon get the idea that that only is true which we understand from our natural senses; and this has the evil consequence that they are willing to believe nothing, will not learn what is necessary, and are unwilling to obey their teachers. Man can not by himself gain the first elements of learning; he must receive them from others, and what they teach him he must believe. If the boy should begin to dispute about why one letter is called A and another B, and especially if he demands reasons for it, he could ask questions for years without learning any thing; and, moreover, it would not be possible to answer him. Very often no account can be given of the first elements of things. For instance, let a pupil ask, why are such and such things called point, line, surface? And let him take nothing by belief until the reason of it is given, and he will learn nothing to eternity. I know this by experience. I have often seen, in good families, boys so precocious as to ask questions all day. But the German proverb was true of them—that a fool can ask a thousand times more questions than a wise man can answer. I do not mean by this that the utterances of the teacher are to be considered as oracles, from whose sayings there is to be no variation; but only this, that as long as we are pupils, we must take things by belief. Afterward only, when our understanding is ripened, and we have become independent, may we prove what we have learned."

In Gesner we have thus become acquainted with a man distinguished for thorough learning, clear understanding, pedagogical wisdom, and gifts for teaching; and unweariedly active and conscientious in his official duties. Ernesti, who lived in close connection with him for many years, describes him as exceedingly religious, resigned to the will of God, and thus of like demeanor both in good and evil days, and as a loving father and friend. After a long and active life, his end drew near. When the physicians announced to him his approaching death, he answered: "What is to be settled between me and God, I have not put off to this time." He departed in a peaceful and Christian manner, August 3rd, 1761.

JOHANN AUGUST ERNESTI.

[Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

Johann August Ernesti was born in 1707, at Tennstädt, a small town of Thuringia, where his father was pastor. He received his first instruction in the school of Tennstädt, and, in his sixteenth year, he was placed in the princes' school of Schulpforte. Here he distinguished himself by his important acquisitions, especially in Greek.

In his twentieth year he entered the University of Wittemberg, where Wolf's philosophy was in the hight of fashion; and afterward went to Leipzig, where he attended the lectures of Gottsched on German eloquence, and of Hausen upon mathematics.

When twenty-three, he was, upon the recommendation of Gesner, employed as private tutor, by Counselor of Appeals Stiglitz, the same to whom the epistle upon the study of the ancients, prefixed to his edition of Cicero, is addressed. Stiglitz was superior (*antistes*) of the Thomas School; it was by his influence that Gesner had been appointed rector, and it was he also who procured the appointment of Ernesti, when only twenty-four, as conrector, and afterward, at the departure of Gesner, in 1734, as rector. Ernesti, at the same time, read lectures at the university, upon polite learning. At a subsequent period, he gave up his rectorship, and devoted his whole time to the university, giving his attention especially to theology.

He died in 1781, at Leipzig, aged seventy-four.

From Ernesti's own expressions, he would seem to have taken Gesner for his model in teaching. The latter induced him to publish, in 1734, the "*Initia Doctrinæ Solidioris*," a work which passed through repeated editions, and was brought into use as a school-book in various countries, as Saxony and Hanover, for instance. In this book, Ernesti aimed to give his instructions in as good Latin as possible; although, as appears by comparing the earlier and later editions,* he continued to labor for the improvement of its style, and to approach nearer and nearer to his ideal of Ciceronian Latin. In the preface, he relates that, as a preparatory discipline for this work, he read the best Latin writers of the golden age, and, where this would not serve,

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* The very first period of the book will serve as an example. In the edition of 1734, it reads, "*Cum ad libellum hunc scribendum adjiceremus animum, facile prævidebamus, fore ut hoc consilium nostrum in multas multorum reprehensiones incurreret.*" Instead of *facile prævidebamus*, the edition of 1750 has *non parum suspicabamur*.

those of the silver age, repeatedly over. Thus, he says, he believes that he has succeeded in not admitting any thing into his book which was not heard in ancient Latium.* Only from necessity has he here and there used an unclassical expression.

From this saying of *Nihil veteri Latio inauditum*, it might naturally be concluded that the book would contain nothing which had not been heard in ancient Latium. And this conclusion would be, for the greater part of the book, correct. It treats, first, of arithmetic and geometry; then come the elements of philosophy, in this order: 1st, metaphysics, psychology, ontology, natural theology; 2nd, dialectics; 3rd, natural law, and ethics; 4th, politics; 5th, physics. In conclusion, come the elements of rhetoric. This table of contents reminds us of the cyclus of Melancthon's text-books; of his dialectics, rhetoric, physics, psychology, and ethics. All acquainted with the subject will readily believe that Ernesti's book would not be adapted to our present gymnasiums. The mathematical part may appear to us scanty; but when we consider that, by the Prussian school ordinances of the year 1735, one year after the appearance of the "*Initia*," no knowledge of mathematics whatever was required of those graduating from the gymnasiums, we shall retract that opinion.

Philosophical subjects are handled at length in about four hundred and fifty pages. The fact that Christianity is here completely ignored, while, nevertheless, so many things must come up which have been known to the pupils by means of their catechetical studies, must be set down as an entire error. If, according to Picus of Mirandola, philosophy seeks truth, theology finds it, and religion possesses it, it could not but be strange, to such as had possessed it from an early age, to be set to searching for that of which they were already in possession. It would be quite otherwise if the manual should contain a comparative description of the Greek and Roman theology by the side of the Christian, although gymnasium pupils are not old enough even for such a treatise.

It is quite mysterious how Ernesti should have inserted in his school-book such chapters as this: *De conjugii felicitate consequenda*, and *De cura subolis*. Of this latter chapter we must say a little more. In it Ernesti expresses views upon education, which agree in part with the earlier ones of Locke, and in part with the later ones of Rousseau. He discusses procreation, and the management of pregnant women; urges that the mother should herself nurse her children, and not give them into the charge of untrustworthy nurses; and he

* Still, Ernesti by no means belonged to those philologists who read the ancients only with the design of patching together a Latin style, by picking scraps out of them. Against that kind of reading he declared himself most decidedly, in his letter to Stiglitz.

refers to Gellius, for the like advice. Mothers, he says further, must not give their own children to nurses, but must themselves educate them; and, if they do this, they will be beloved by the children. If parents command or forbid any thing, they should give the reasons for it; for otherwise they are obeyed unwillingly, and would rather be led than driven. Parents should not require their children to be free from faults, and should not be alternately forgiving and unreasonably strict. Instruction should be such, not that the children shall believe blindly in any thing, but only in what is given them as the foundation of their belief; and they should make inquiries for the reasons of things. Thus they will be kept from credulity, superstition, and prejudices. Care should also be taken, not to fill their memories, like those of parrots, with empty or unintelligible words.

Ernesti recommends care in the choice of teachers, and in determining upon the future occupation of the children. They should early be taught a love of true honor, the right use of money, and truthfulness.

Such pedagogical rules as these would hardly be expected from the strict philologist of the old school. It is certain that the profound, universally learned Gesner, who had pursued freely so many lines of investigation, had the greatest influence upon Ernesti in this respect. What I have given from the writings of both these men, will be sufficient to show the reader what they were, and that although in general philologists of conservative character, yet they were not blind to the faults of antiquity, and sought and followed new ways; and, therefore, that they are entitled to a place between the adherents of the old pedagogy and the new. They can be compared only to Trotzendorf and Sturm on the one side, and to Locke and Rousseau on the other.

JOHANN GEORG HAMANN.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHANN GEORG HAMANN was born at Königsberg, August 27, 1730. His father was a respectable man, and "a much beloved practitioner, who preferred the family name of an Altstadt surgeon, to all the titles of honor, then so cheap." * He was born in Lusatia, and his wife, Hamann's mother, in Lübeck; they had another son, younger than Johann Georg. Hamann relates that both his parents were "enemies of idleness, and friends of divine and human order." † "They were not satisfied," he continues, "with the mere form of their duty and the ceremonial of education, which, to the shame of too many parents, suffices them in caring for their children; but they had our good for an object, and did as much for it as their circumstances and knowledge permitted. Our instructor had to give account to them of our industry and progress; and our home was a school, under the strict oversight, and with the example, of our parents. Lying, mischief, and stealing, were three capital offenses, which were not to be pardoned. We were rather educated at a profuse expense, than parsimoniously. But it is good economy and management in this matter which is the best policy."

Hamann received his first school instruction from a teacher who tried to teach him Latin without grammar.‡ From a second teacher he learned, as he relates, to translate a Latin author into German, without understanding either the language or the meaning of his author. "Thus," he says, "my Latin and Greek were mere collections of words; compositors' work; conjuring tricks; in which my memory overworked itself, and by means of which the other mental faculties became weakened, proper and healthful nourishment being wanting." By means of drilling, he made much progress in arithmetic; but such a knowledge of it is useless to children who "are made to acquire facility in it, without observation or understanding." "It is," continues Hamann, "as it is in music; where not the fingers only but chiefly the ear and the hearing, must be taught and exercised. One who has learned one piece, or a hundred, ever so fluently and correctly, without a feeling of the harmony, plays like a dancing

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* Hamann's Works, 7, 76, 161. † Ib., 1, 153. ‡ Ib., 156, &c.

bear in comparison even with the most miserable fiddler, who knows how to express his own ideas."

Although in this species of study it was Hamann's memory which was mostly put in requisition, he still complains that it was weakened by it. This is an experience well worth remembering; and warns us against pushing the exercises of single mental faculties to the point of wearing out.* "An edge too sharp gets notched."

Hamann makes valuable pedagogical observations upon his statement; for the reason that education "is so important a work;" and because he "feels in his heart a plain call from God to feed his lambs."

"An intelligent teacher," he says, "must enter his school in dependence upon God and himself, if he is to administer his office wisely. He must also imitate God, as he reveals himself in nature and in the Holy Scriptures, and in our own souls, through them both. Almighty God, to whom nothing costs any thing, is a most economical and patient God. The law of economy of time, in accordance with which he waits patiently for fruit to ripen, should be our pattern. It is of importance, not what, or how much, children or men know; but how they know it." "The means used for instructing children can not be simple enough. But they must, besides efficiency, possess the qualities of manifold and fruitful applicability and practicability."

"Learning foreign languages should be a help to the understanding of the mother tongue; and, although it may seem to be a mere exercise of memory, they should be made a preparation and training of all powers of the mind for higher, more important, more difficult, and even religious subjects."

Such and other observations were made by Hamann, at the age of eight and twenty, upon the education which he had received. He remarks, in concluding them, "Complete accomplishment, in the usual acceptation of the term, consists in remoteness from nature. How unnatural have fashions and customs made us, and how difficult would it be for us to return from the present time to the simplicity and innocence of ancient manners?"

Hamann was matriculated at Königsberg, in his sixteenth year, in 1746. He very soon, however, at the age of twenty-two, connected the occupations of the teacher with those of the student. In 1752, he became tutor in the family of a Baroness B., in Livonia, twelve miles from Riga. He describes the family.

Besides a boy nine years old, who looked very shy, awkward, and effeminate, there were a younger sister, and an orphan girl, whom the baroness was bringing up. My beginning in my new calling was difficult enough. I had to manage myself, my pupils, and an uncouth, coarse, and ignorant mother. I harnessed myself to the plough like a spirited horse; with great zeal, sincere intentions, little wisdom, and too much confidence in myself, and dependence upon human weaknesses, in consideration of the good which I was doing or was intending to do. We are naturally inclined to overestimate our own efforts, to expect their efficiency as an unavoidable matter of course, and to estimate the duties of others, and expect the performance of them, by the standard of our own opinions and preferences. The husbandman can not, from his careful husbandry alone, promise himself a hundred fold return. The land, the weather, the character of the seed, some small insect, all of which are things beyond the scope of his powers, have their part to play; and, above all, is the blessing of the divine oversight and government. I expected that my labors would be recognized by men; admired by them; and even that they would redound to their shame. Such are impure de-

* The fact reminds us of the unlimited memorizing of the schools of Jacotot and Ruthardt

sires; they pervert our efforts, and bring disgrace upon them. I wrote two letters to the baroness, upon the education of her son; which were intended to awaken her conscience.

One of these letters referred to has been preserved. Its contents are as follows:—

As I am no longer able to say any thing which makes an impression upon the baron, I feel my resources exhausted, and am in despair of doing him any good. I find myself, in teaching him Latin, under the daily necessity of repeating over again what I said on the first day of my instruction. I see before me a human body, which has eyes and ears, without using them; of whose mind we may well despair, since it is always occupied with childish and silly pursuits, and is thus useless for the slightest serious occupation. I shall not blame your grace, if you shall think this statement calumnious and false. It has cost me enough to find out its truth by hourly experience; and there have been occasions when I have lamented the future fate of the baron, much more than my own present lot. I have no desire that time and sad experience shall prove the truth of my expectations regarding him. I can pay attention neither to arithmetic, in which the baron is so little advanced that I have had to teach him to write and name the numerals, nor to French and other subordinate studies; for the greater the number of things which I undertake with him, the more inattentive does he become. One who can not read a language which is pronounced according to the sounds of its letters, is in no situation to learn another which is pronounced by rules, like the French. I therefore take upon myself the freedom of requesting of your grace some assistance in my work. It will be necessary to apply some compulsion to the baron, since he has not the good sense, or the natural inclination, of his own free choice, to prefer what is for his own honor and happiness. Conscientious parents bear in mind the account which they must one day render of the education of their children, to God and to the world. These young creatures have human souls; and we are not at liberty to change them into dolls, apes, parrots, or something still worse. I have taken occasion to set before your grace the feelings and views of a reasonable and tender mother, for the reason that I am convinced of the profound interest which you feel in the education of your only son. You will not do too much credit to your tutor, if you consider him a man who loves his duty more than he seeks to please.

"My letter was not understood," continues Hamann in his narrative, "and I had poured oil upon the fire." He gives a fuller account of this in the following letter to his father.

"On the 14th of this month, on Friday, when the baroness fasts, I received, after dinner, the following autograph letter from her, by the footman, a quarter of an hour after the young baron had come down, as pale as a corpse. I had eaten below.

Herr Hamann:*—As you have shown yourself altogether unfit for the instruction of children of condition, and as the low letter does not please me, in which you describe my son in so vulgar and disgraceful a manner, perhaps you could not judge of him otherwise than by your own pattern. I see in you only a statue hung round with a great many books, which by no means constitutes a good tutor; and, as you have written to me that you have sold your freedom and peace of mind for a number of years at too dear a rate, I will neither have your supposed skill nor your time paid for in my house; I need you no longer about my children; make ready to journey hence on Monday.

"The young baron had been sent for up stairs, just as I received my letter of dismission. The baroness was bathing; and I did not know

* This note is, in the German, extremely misspelled, mispunctuated, and vulgar in choice of words. These characteristics could not well be accurately given in the English.—(*Trans.*)

why the young baron did not come down. I therefore sent word to him to come. He came to me, crying, and made excuses for himself; he had repeatedly asked the baroness to permit him to come down, but she had forbidden him to see me again. He fell upon my neck, crying, and his affectionate demeanor affected me. I made the best use possible of my quarter of an hour with him; and explained to him all the sincerity and tenderness which I had used in teaching him. He embraced me closely, with tears. The baroness was told that her son was with me. She sent for him immediately, and forbid him anew to see me. He crept secretly through the garden to the window, knocked, and wished me good night, with a sorrow which was evidently sincere. On Saturday he wrote me two letters from his imprisonment, one of which I answered. On Monday I was about departing, and sent my servant to the baroness to request permission to take leave. He brought me back word that she desired to be excused, being occupied; and that she wished me all manner of good. I gave a nod to the baron, who was standing in one of the rooms above; he ran up to me, and I embraced him. After I had taken my seat in the carriage, he came to me again, and again fell upon my neck."

A few months afterward, Hamann obtained a second tutorship; in relation to which he says:—

In 1753, in the most beautiful season of the year, I went into Courland, to General W., whose wife was born Countess de K., and who had two sons. In this place I was the successor of two tutors, who had been employed together; of whom one was a windbag and vulgar, and the other a shallow-minded fellow. I found the two boys to be of a very different character from that of my baron. They needed much more discipline, watching, and keenness, and much more was to be hoped from them; as the eldest had great capacity, although I was never able to take as much pleasure in his natural tendencies, as in those of my first pupil. God granted me many favors in this household, both from parents and children, and, indeed, from all in the family. I presumed too much, also, upon my position, and made too great requisitions in return for my services. I became restless, impatient, and ill-tempered, to an extreme; and had much difficulty in staying out my year, at the end of which I went back to Riga, with much melancholy, ill-will, anger, and some disgrace.

After a little time, he undertook the same appointment again; but the last sickness of his mother called him back to Königsberg, in 1756.* From that city he went to Berlin, Lübeck, Amsterdam, and finally to London, where he remained from April 18th, 1757, to June 27th, 1758, as correspondent of a mercantile house at Riga. Here, by means of a foolish and dissipated course of life, he fell into a miserable and needy condition, both physical and mental. In these

* His correspondence with his two pupils and their subsequent tutor, G. E. Lindner, are of educational value. Hamann himself was, however, afterward not altogether satisfied with his own letters.

circumstances he applied himself to the reading of the Bible, and found himself wonderfully attracted, enlightened, encouraged, and even converted, by it. How profound its influence was upon him is shown by the deep feeling of the "*Biblical Observations of a Christian*," which he wrote in London at that time. From this time forward, the Holy Scriptures were, to him, an immovable foundation, the unconditional highest rule of his thoughts and actions, and of his whole life. "God," he said, "has made me a man fortified by the Bible." Toward the end of his stay in London, he wrote the "*Reflections upon the Course of my Life*;" a confession, written in bitter earnest, and concealing nothing.*

In 1758, Hamann's brother was appointed a teacher in the cathedral school at Riga. Hamann was concerned, and, as the sequel showed, with good reason, about his "indifference." "My brother," he wrote to his father, "has good reason to recognize his inefficiency, like Solomon; to see in himself a child, who knows neither his coming in nor his going out; and to ask for an obedient and understanding heart, that he may be able to feed with faithfulness, and govern with industry, the flock intrusted to him." Subsequently, he repeatedly encouraged, instructed, warned, and reproved his brother. When he was to deliver an address at an examination, he wrote to him as follows: "When it becomes your duty to speak at the examination, speak so that the children can understand you; and have more regard for the impression which you can make upon them, than for the approval of learned and witty dilettanti. You call your work a yoke. It is an excellent thing for a man to bear the yoke in his youth."

At another time he admonished him to perform, conscientiously, the duties of his office; and adds: "You are determined to be better than other people; and will not use the summer for the purpose for which it was given to men,—to behold and enjoy God's friendliness to them. What folly to write that so doing would be to be more inquisitive than God meant; especially when you are capable of understanding and applying that pleasure! In this way, every thing in you remains dead and unfruitful." Hamann's admonitions were, however, little regarded by his brother.

He wrote to him again: "You will not make use of what men put into your hand. Your scholars will always imitate you; they will

* From this work much of the above account is taken. It resembles Augustine's "*Confessions*," in grade and in character; and is, to a corresponding degree, fundamentally different from Rousseau's How entirely it was misunderstood by Hamann's most intimate friends, is shown by a letter from Hamann to J. G. Lindner. Eminent later writers, who have misjudged Hamann, should consider what he says to Lindner: "My '*Course of my Life*' can not be read hastily and superficially. Herr B. must live longer. and have different experiences, from his previous ones, before he can understand large portions of it."

never learn correctly, if you do not teach them correctly. You are as silent with me about your school matters as if they were state secrets. If you were well aware of the importance of your station, would not your pleasure in it, and ideas springing from it, show themselves in a hundred different ways,—in questions, remarks, observations?" Further on, he says: "If it is painful to you to pass your time in teaching, go to your class as a scholar, and look upon your young people as so many actual *collaboratores*, who are instructing you; go among them with a multitude of questions, and you will feel such an impatience of curiosity in the beginning of the lesson, and will carry away home with you such a multitude of scholar's reflections, as if you were comparing and examining the teachings of a whole crowd of teachers at once. He who will not learn from the children, will be unintelligent and mistaken in their conduct to them."

Hamann had recommended to his brother a Greek grammar, by Wagner. His brother answered that "it was otherwise very good, but somewhat too short, and a mere skeleton." To this Hamann replies: "A skeleton must necessarily be dry and uncomely to the eye, being deprived of blood, sinews, and muscles; but otherwise it would be a carcass. The spirit of the teacher must clothe and inspire these dry bones. Such is the office, in instruction, of the *viva vox;* which is the daughter of living knowledge, and not a mere *vox humana*, an organ-pipe. Profound views are not easy. They must be worked for and created."

All Hamann's admonitions were, however, in vain; in 1760 his brother gave up his place as teacher in Riga, and "from that time to 1778 lived at Königsberg, in empty leisure and even in foolishness."

From 1752 to 1787, Hamann lived almost entirely at Königsberg. During four years, 1759–1763, he was occupied in waiting upon his aged and sickly father. In 1767, he received an appoiutment as secretary and translator in the excise department; in 1777, became a warehouse inspector; and, in 1787, was put on the retired list.

From his marriage (a marriage of conscience,) he had four children; one son, Johann Michel, born in 1769, and three daughters. His children were the occasion of a new pedagogical epoch for him. Clear-minded and conscientious, and deceived by no foolish parental partialities, he was often made unhappy by reflecting upon the prospects of his children. "What a wonderfully poor specimen I am of a father," he writes to Herder, "can not be imagined. A real hen, that has hatched ducks' eggs." In 1776, he writes quite discouraged about himself. "My three children have cost their mother, although she is a pretty tough daughter of Adam, and myself, much real sorrow.

Yesterday my eldest daughter fell down the whole flight of stairs. The holy angels in heaven themselves could not take care of children; let alone educating them. God be praised, she was not injured. With my Hans Michel every thing goes crab fashion; the boy is forgetting his good intentions and his good manners. This is my greatest trouble; which causes me anguish and gray hairs; that I myself can do nothing for his education, and can devote so little means to it. I had, one Sunday, the horrid idea of packing him off, neck and heels, to the *Pontifex Maximus*, at Dessau.* That heat soon cooled; but the worm is still gnawing at my heart, in respect to what I shall do with the boy. I have little enough of family joys, though they are the only heaven upon earth; but family sorrows are, also, a real hell; at least they were so for David and the patriarchs. The Spirit of God and the Son of Man are the only schoolmasters for such things."

Herder encouraged his despairing friend. "With regard to the education of your Hans Michel," he wrote, "do not distress yourself; nothing will be gained by doing so. Have yet a little patience. I have just come back from seeing the *Pontifex Maximus*, in Dessau; and my own boy is growing up. But, if God will, he shall never see him nor have him. His whole establishment is a frightful thing to me; a hot-house, or rather a pen full of human geese. My brother-in-law, the forester, who was here lately, was telling me of a new method to raise oaks in ten years, as large as now grow in fifty or a hundred. By cutting off the tap-root of the young trees, it is said, the whole strength comes up above ground in stem and fruit. The whole secret of Basedow's plans, I believe, is such a one; and, since I know him personally, I would not give him a calf to instruct, much less a man. In short, my dear fellow, let your passion pass off; and wait, as a husbandman does, for the good fruits of the earth."†

But Hamann's solicitude for his children did not leave him. In 1782, six years afterward, he wrote, by way of consolation, to Reichardt, who had lost a son:—

"What abundance of care, vexation, and solicitude, do you escape! The greater the love of a father, the more mortal are his cares, and the more infernal his sorrows. The higher the endowments of our children, the greater the danger of their going astray and being

* Basedow, who was, in 1776, at the culmination of his fame.

† This excellent letter of Herder's is worth comparing with the great hopes which Kant and Oberlin conceived of the Philanthropinum. Hamann himself said of it, "Basedow's Philanthropinum is a most remarkable phenomenon. His laughable Programme to Cosmopolitans yesterday caused me much interest and much reflection. A revolution of mind, and of our earth, or, at least, of the smallest parts of it, seems to be in fermentation."

ruined, in a world which lies in sin; and no enemy is so dangerous as our own tenderness, which is blind in more than one sense; our idle vanity, in managing them as if they were creatures of our own; and our foolish assiduity to impress upon them I know not what ideal of our own likeness and name."*

Hamann saw quite clearly where the faults lay in his education of his son. His own peculiar and remarkable gift at learning languages and at reading books, led him astray into the attempt to "impress upon his son an ideal of his own likeness and name." In 1780, when the boy was eleven years old, he read Plato's Phædon with him; two years afterward, the Æneid, the Iliad, the Pentateuch, in the original, and the New Testament, for the sixth time; in his fourteenth year, the boy learned English, French, and Polish, and read Pindar.

In 1783, at the urgent entreaty of his friend, Privy Councilor Lindner, in Mittau, Hamann consented to take charge of his son, eighteen years old.

"His capacity, or want of it, for languages," he wrote to his father, "I have not examined, nor could I. After some trials of his candor and discretion, his assurance was sufficient, that he had, as yet, made no serious attack upon the learned languages." Afterward he says that young Lindner is to study drawing and mathematics, along with his own son. He is to study, with Hamann, Latin, Greek, if he has opportunity, French, English; and four other languages, when the occasion shall serve. After this a retrogression begins to appear. Hamann writes to his father, "We have this week been especially at work upon Latin, and next to that with French; in which departments, the otherwise strict routine of his training seems to have been departed from. In regard to style, as much care will be taken with reference to the fundamental principles and the genius of his mother tongue, as with any of the other languages. I am not in a condition to meddle with chrestomathies or school exercises; for all that I know about them is contained in this one line, '*Scribendi rectè sapere est et principium et fons.*'"

An uncle took the young man to a masquerade, and he found other diversions. Hamann wrote to his father that he would not take away his son's freedom, for that with his own children he used no compulsion, unless necessary. He adds: "Every thing depends upon modifying the tendencies of their characters, by imbuing them with fixed principles; not by means of mere exterior formalities."

* Hamann expresses himself in a more quiet manner, in a letter to Jacobi, in 1785. He says: "If my children will only grow up and prosper, I will willingly grow old and die and God gives me a full share of pleasure."

In the same letter he says: "Do not judge of your son's progress from his own letters; and if you have occasion to base any conclusion upon them, I beg you to communicate it candidly to me. A good builder does his underground work before the slightest evidence of it comes up into sight. The more he hastens to make a show with the visible part of his edifice, the less sufficient is the foundation of it."

"I know no other mode of proceeding," he continues, "than that which I have used with my own children, whose love is dearer to me than my paternal authority, and whose happiness is the only object which their parents can have for them."

In Hamann's subsequent letters, his hopes for the youth grow fainter and fainter. Latin is the principal pursuit, but he will not decline and conjugate handsomely. "Balls, concerts, the theater, are his element. Can it be expected of a young man that he will at once give up the subjects of his thoughts and wishes, and busy himself with their direct opposites?" The uncle already mentioned paid his expenses to the theater, and had "to be managed with discretion."

A younger sister of young Lindner had taken upon herself to write to him in the style of a governess; a proceeding which Hamann sharply reproved. He says: "To keep what is good within, and to show out what is bad,—to appear worse than we really are, and to be really better than we appear,—I hold to be a duty and an art." Lindner had expressed some feelings in regard to the tone of his son's letters. "These symptoms of frivolity," answered Hamann, "will pass off of themselves, when their source is improved; and must rather be encouraged and brought out, than repressed."

Thus stood the educational undertaking until Easter; but, on the Whitsun-Monday following, Hamann wrote to Lindner: "Neither requests nor inducements shall induce me to keep your son longer than this summer." "He lacked," he says, "the Whitsuntide gift of the mind, spontaneous effort." In another letter, he says of the youth: "Desires after fashion, plays, diversions of society, and the like occupations, have deprived him of all taste for thoroughness or science. On one hand he has no good impulses of his own; and, on the other, he has a precocious power of observing and imitating ordinary ways and methods of getting along. The depth of quiet water is soon sounded; and I must hasten to the end of my experiment."

He had thoughtfully and foreseeingly at first promised the father to make an experiment only. Why it succeeded so ill, the previous paragraphs have shown. But if it be asked whether Hamann himself was not in part to blame, it must be confessed that, from this

young man, who was deficient both in natural endowments and in good will, as from his own son, he demanded far too much. While he was not yet able to decline and conjugate in Latin, Hamann read with him the epistles of Horace, and would have instructed him at the same time in the elements of French, English, and Greek! We have already observed upon the causes which could lead so clear-minded a man into such an error. Comenius says, that a teacher either must not be too intellectual, or he must have learned patience. In this, he was thinking of Cicero's remark, that "In proportion as a man is of a quick and clear mind, just so much the more passionate and laborious will his teaching be; for any one, who sees that learned slowly which he himself learned quickly, is annoyed at it." But Comenius adds, that such a teacher should consider; that his office is, not to transform minds, but to inform them; that neither can he impart to the scholar, nor can the latter learn by himself, what has not been vouchsafed to him from above. These sensible remarks of Cicero and Comenius seem entirely applicable to Hamann.*

We have thus become acquainted with this distinguished man in the most various pedagogical relations; as he was brought up by his parents and teachers, as the tutor of a stranger's children; and, lastly, as the instructor of his own son, and of a ward. His letters to his brother have exhibited his views of the vocation and duties of a school-teacher.

Records remain, also, of Hamann's views on the education of his daughter. "In this single respect," (that of the education of children,) he wrote, "I have too little aid from my honored wife; being able to expect from her nothing more than good will." Thus the very basis of a girl's education was, of course, wanting; and, accordingly, we need not wonder that, in the year 1784, Hamann placed his eldest daughter at a boarding-school. "If she has the good qualities which her instructress attributes to her," he wrote, "she shall not become a woman of society, but shall fulfill her duties as a sister and daughter, so as to become fit for a good wife and house-mother. If she has talents for society and for teaching, her parents and brothers and sisters have the best right to the enjoyment of them." To this same oldest daughter he wrote, in 1787: "Fear God, my dear child, and do not forget your parents and brothers and sisters; just as I carry you all in my feelings and in my heart. Do not read from overcuriosity, but moderately. In the best gardens there are nettles, with which one may get stung. Accustom yourself, dear child,

* "I have worked like a horse," Hamann writes, "until Easter, to accomplish my object in the Latin," (with young Lindner;) and he proceeds to give an excellent description of Cicero's "laborious" teaching; which, at the same time, shows signs of the "passionate."

to read often in good books, rather than in those of harmful amusement." In a subsequent letter he says: "I am rejoiced, from the bottom of my soul, at your eagerness to labor in educating your younger sister. Be helpful also to your good old mother, and make her life comfortable by taking part in her domestic employments."

He seems, therefore, to have reached the end which he sought to attain, by means of the boarding institution.

Besides the pedagogical views above given, which were the natural outgrowth of Hamann's relations in life, there occur in his writings many valuable thoughts upon education and instruction; from which we here add a few:—

1. God is mighty in the weak. But those are not weak who, instead of seeing in themselves shepherds of living lambs, think themselves Pygmalions, great sculptors, whose loving hearts, if the gods will, can breathe the breath of life into their own work.

2. It is true, I deny roundly that there is as little use in wrestling and battling about in the world, as in being let entirely alone.

3. A fund of misanthropy, and rigid mental habits, can not succeed in a teacher, especially a public one. An enemy to men and a friend to this world, both are enemies to God

4. The worth of a human soul, whose loss or harm can not be compensated by gaining the whole world,—how little is the worth of such a soul understood by the delineator of Emile, blind as the son of the prophets (2d Kings, vi: 15–17.) Every school is a mountain of God, like Dothan, full of horses and chariots of fire, round about Elisha. Let us also open our eyes and see, lest we despise some of these little ones, since of such is the kingdom of heaven, and their angels in heaven do always see the face of the Father in heaven.

5. What ignorance is that of the worldly-wise, who dare to talk about education, without the very beginning of wisdom, fear, and divine unction!

To a teacher of worldly wisdom, who was about writing a Natural Philosophy for children, Hamann wrote:—

6. You are, in truth, a master in Israel, if you count it a little thing to transform yourself into a little child, in spite of your learning. Or have you more expectations from children, having found your grown-up hearers unable to keep up with you in endurance and celerity of thought? For, to the execution of your scheme, a great knowledge of children is requisite; which can not be acquired either in polite society nor in academical life.

The blinded heathen had a reverence for children, and certainly a baptized philosopher ought to know that something more is requisite in writing for children than the wit even of a Fontelle, and an amorous style of composition. What will petrify beautiful minds, and inspire mind into beautiful marble, is high treason to the innocence of children.

To prepare for one's self-praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, to participate in such a desire and ambition, is no vulgar occupation; it must be commenced, not by robbing birds of many-colored feathers, but with the voluntary putting off all superiority in age or wisdom, and the self-denial of all vanity. A philosophical book for children must appear as simple, foolish, and insipid, as a divine book for men. Examine yourself, whether you have the heart to be the author of a simple, foolish, insipid, Natural Philosophy. If you have, you are a philosopher for children.

The chief law of methods for children is this; to let one's self down to their weakness; to become their servant, where one would naturally choose to be their master; to follow them, where one would naturally lead them; to learn their language and their mind, where one would naturally constrain them to imitate

his own. This practical principle, it is, however, possible neither to understand nor to act fully up to, unless one has become fully absorbed in affection for children.

7. Without the law of complete freedom, man would be fit for no imitation, which is the basis of all education and receptivity; for, of all animals, man is the greatest pantomimist.

8. How much mental quickening have I enjoyed in the Swiss mason's hut of Leonard and Gertrude! How skillfully, in this affecting drama, is the *proton pseudos* of the apostles, of the new philosophy, in respect to legislation, discovered!

In the hut of Leonard and Gertrude, I found indications of a stricter philosophical and political system, than in Raynal's ten volumes of East and West Indian Tales.

The author of Leonard and Gertrude adapted his style entirely to the tone of national feeling. In spite of this fault, as admirers of purity and lucidity of style must find it, it undeniably contains passages of beauty, strength, and power, which one can not become tired of reading.

9. I think of education as I do of all other human instrumentalities, whose success depends wholly upon a blessing from above; I prefer a moderate use of it to a forced and excessive one.*

To Reichardt, whose son was dead, Hamann wrote:—

10. The giver of all pleasure is also the God of all consolation; and both have their source on high, from this fatherly and motherly heart. Man knows not, but God only, the best way and the best time. The best of all educational institutions for our whole race is this dear death; the best Philanthropinum is that spiritual world, full of innocent and perfect souls, that high institution of real virtuosos, and of the mothers of us all.

In a letter to Bucholtz, who had also lost a son, he wrote:—

The natural disproportions appearing upon the census-lists may perhaps have their deepest foundation in the political arithmetic of heaven; which is obliged to recruit itself from these innocent classes.†

"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," said the founder of the covenant of baptism, the living God; therefore they all live with him. The dead boy lives, not only in the feelings and hearts of those who have loved him and seen him, but his life on high will act like a magnet on us, to draw us toward the place and condition in which he is; whither he has gone as our forerunner, perhaps, to fulfill the duties of the first-born toward his brothers and sisters, as a protecting spirit and good angel, better than can be done by flesh and blood. Which of us knows for what the Father of Spirits may destine his "*animula, vagula, blandula?*" And are not his dispensations intended to cultivate in us some heavenly characteristics; to wean us from earthly pleasures, which are only transient food, and do not endure until a better life; and to accustom us to higher enjoyments?

Having thus collected some of Hamann's scattered thoughts upon education, to facilitate a judgment upon them collectively, I return to his usually uniform life. The society of eminent men, whom he met in Königsberg, especially Kant and Hippel, and a correspondence with others,—Herder, F. H. Jacobi, Moser, Klopstock, &c.,—enlivened and seasoned his simple and quiet existence.

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* Hamann's views are of great importance, upon the novelties introduced into German orthography, by Damm, (1773,) Klopstock, and Campe, (1778.) See his "*New Apology of the Letter H,*" and "*Two Mites added to the latest German Literature.*"

† Of the kingdom of heaven, he says, in a letter to Kraus, "Whose citizens are gathered more from the young, than from philosophers, noblemen, the powerful, or the men of the world. By means of the mortality of the young, it seems, also, that the population of the kingdom of heaven surpasses that of earthly realms; and with good reason."

A variety of causes brought him into troubled and difficult circumstances, until, in the end of the year 1784, Franz Bucholtz, lord of Welbergen, in Westphalia, by a very liberal donation, freed him entirelyfrom all want, and especially from all concern for the future of his children.

At Bucholtz's invitation, he set out, June 21st, 1787, with his son, for Westphalia, tarried for a season with F. H. Jacobi, at Pemplefort, and then at Welbergen and Munster, with Bucholtz. While here he received benefits from Prince Furstenberg and Princess Gallitzin. His letters, during the last months of this year and the first of next, repeatedly allude to his death. "He who has brought me so far, with so many signs and wonders," he writes, Nov. 14th, 1787, "will also bring me home to my real country, with peace and joy, Kyrie Eleison! and will enable me to look with displeasure upon every heaven and elysium on the earth." And again, on the 24th: "The nearer the night of my life approaches, the brighter becomes the morning star in my heart; not through the letter of nature, but through the spirit of the scriptures, to which I owe thanks more than to the former."

March 23d, 1788: "The more the outer man decays, the more the inner grows. The older and more helpless I become, the more restful, peaceful, and happy I am. God has given me an evening of rest, has unyoked me from the labor of public employment, for which I am as little fit as for intercourse with the world. Although it gives me a foretaste of heaven upon earth, yet this hidden treasure is not a reward for my own services and worth, but a grace, a gift from a higher hand, which I am bound to worship. It was needful for me, to purify and strengthen me."

On the 21st of June, 1788, he softly fell asleep. He was buried in the garden of the Princess Gallitzin.*

"It was not the fullness and grace of his learning, not power of understanding, not the wealth of his wit, which seems to me to have been the most valuable characteristic of this man, or his most desirable qualities for the present day; but his straightforwardness, openness, uprightness, and purity; his freedom from vanity and pretense; contented, like the lily of the valley, unseen to give out the fragrance of his wisdom, and living entirely in the spirit of the elevated sentiment which he repeated a little before his death: "It is the truth which makes us free, and not the imitation of it."†

* Compare Jacobi's letter to Lavater. F. H Jacobi's "*Correspondence*," 1, 482. The Princess Gallitzin intended to have engraved on his tombstone the text, 1 Corinthians, i: 23-25.

† This excellent description is by the editor of Hamann's Works, at the end of the preface to Part I.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER.

[Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer, for this Journal.]

Johann Gottfried von Herder* was born, August 25, 1744, in Mohrungen, a small town of East Prussia, where his father filled the offices of sexton and cantor. He was a conscientious and simple man, and his wife a pious and intelligent woman; and they lived, with their children,† a quiet and christian life, after the good old-fashioned way.

Herder received his school instruction from Grimm, the strict rector of the public school of Mohrungen; a man for whom he always entertained a great respect; and a pious minister confirmed him.

In 1760, Trescho, the deacon of Mohrungen, took Herder, then sixteen years old, into his house, but did not treat him in a friendly manner, keeping him very much shut up. One day, when Trescho had sent Herder to the bookseller, Kanter, in Königsberg, in charge of a manuscript, the youth left with it a poem by himself, "To Cyrus," without his name. Kanter had the poem printed with the other manuscript; this was in 1762, when Herder was seventeen and a half years old.

The surgeon of a Russian regiment, in winter-quarters at Mohrungen, became acquainted with Herder, became quite fond of him, and took him with him to Königsberg, to study surgery. But at the first dissection which he witnessed, he fainted away. This decided him to give up surgery, and on August 9th, 1762, he was matriculated as a theological student, after an examination which he passed with great credit.

He now studied, under Kant, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and mathematical and physical geography. At the same time he became acquainted with Hamann. They first met at the confessional, and afterward read Shakspeare together.

Herder's pecuniary condition was at this time very pinching; but it was improved in 1763, when, in his nineteenth year, he obtained a situation as teacher in the Frederic's College, which he filled with great conscientiousness. "I have to thank this teaching," he said after-

* This sketch is mostly from the "*Recollections of the Life of J. G. von Herder*," by his widow; which constitute, in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works, the 21st, 22d, and 23d parts in the division "Philosophy and History."

† Of two sons and three daughters, one son and one daughter died in their third year.

ward, "for the development of many ideas and their clear definition. Let any one, who desires to work out any study thoroughly, teach it."

In 1764, principally by Hamann's influence, Herder became assistant at the Cathedral School, in Riga. In a letter to Lindner, rector of the school, Hamann says of the young man, only twenty years of age, that he has "a respectable quantity of historical, philosophical, and æsthetic knowledge, and a great desire to cultivate the most promising field possible; and with a more than moderate experience in school management."

Three years afterward, in 1767, Herder received, in addition to his place in the school, an appointment as preacher. His teaching, in Riga, as in Königsberg, was exceedingly approved of. "His method of instruction," writes pastor Bergmann, one of his pupils, "was so excellent, and his intercourse with his scholars so pleasant, that they attended no lesson with more pleasure than those which were given by him."

In Riga he published, in 1767, his first work of importance, his "*Fragments of German Literature*," and, in 1768 and 1769, his "*Critical Forests*." In the Fragments, among other things, are some very correct and profound views on the undervaluation of the mother tongue, and the overvaluation of the Latin, which then gave tone and color to the schools. He also strives against the prevailing apish imitation in Latin style. Thought and expression, he says, must go together; it is so in the native language; and it is only in that that a man can write with originality. These works drew upon him, especially from Klotz, who has been immortalized by Lessing, the most violent attacks and insults, which annoyed him so much,* that, in the year 1769, he asked a dismission from his place, and took a journey to France with a friend. The purpose of this journey was "an acquaintance with the best institutions of education and learning in France, Holland, England, and Germany, and, at his return to Riga, the erection of an educational institution."†

On the voyage from Riga to Nantes, and in France, Herder kept a very interesting diary,‡ in which all the elements of his subsequent university may be seen fermenting together with youthful wildness. "All his various characteristics were heaving together in Titanic hope."§

* Hamann sharply reproved Herder for his "autorial susceptibility."

† Philos. and Hist. works, 20, 107.

‡ This diary is in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works; not entire, however, but "with the omission of some portions whose ideas are more fully presented in other parts of his works."(!) It is, however, given in full in "*Picture of von Herder's Life*," (*v. Herder's Lebensbild.*)

§ Gervinus. "*Later History of National Poetic Literature*," 1, 468, 485. Gervinus also says, "Except Göthe's "*Juvenile Letters*," we have nothing which expresses, so well as this diary, the Titanomachy of this period, its Promethean attack upon heaven."

In this diary he refers to a book which he thought of publishing, "for human and Christian training." "It would begin," he says, "with the knowledge of self; of the wise cultivation of body and soul; would explain the design and indispensableness of each member to body and soul, and the manifoldness which exists among them; and would then give rules and directions for all the development of body and soul, of which they are capable. To this point, Rousseau is a great teacher. But there follows a second part, relative to society; where Rousseau is quite unable to teach." He then goes on to set forth the contents of his intended work, and mentions the various topics of Christianity which it was to discuss.

In the course of the diary, he mentions his pedagogical ideal. He proposes to "change Rousseau's human savage, Emile, into a national Livonian child." "O, ye Locke and Rousseau!" he cries out, "and Clarke, and Franckè, and Hecker, and Ehler, and Büsching! I desire to rival you; I will read you, examine you, nationalize you."

After this, Herder gives the complete plan of a school; from which it appears how powerful an influence Rousseau exercised upon him. Thus, he opposes the tyranny of the Latin; and, on the other hand, most strenuously advocates real studies. "My method," he says, "makes practical minds, because it teaches words; or rather, inversely, it teaches things." "No school is good, where nothing is learned but Latin. I have tried to drive it away, by opening three completely independent real classes, in which the pupils study for humanity, and for their whole life." "There will be an everlasting contest between the Latin and the real schools. The latter will always teach too little Latin for an Ernesti, and the former too little knowledge of facts for the rest of the world."

Grammar, on this plan, should be taught, not in the Latin, but in the native language.

"Grammar," he says elsewhere, "must be learned from the language, and not the language from the grammar; style from speaking, and not speaking from an artificially formed style."

"After the mother tongue," again, "the French should follow, as it is the most universal and indispensable in Europe, and, according to our modes of thought, the most finished, and the most complete in beauty of style and tasteful expression. * * * It is the easiest and most uniform, by means of which to obtain a foretaste of philosophical grammar; the most orderly for matters of arithmetic, the understanding, and argument. Our state of society, also, requires that it should come immediately after our own language, before any other, even before Latin. I would even rather have men of learning know French than Latin."

These extracts show how thoroughly realistic were Herder's views at that time, even in respect to languages. He expressed them in a condensed form as follows:—"It should be a principal aim to give the boy living ideas of every thing which he sees, says, or enjoys; in order to give him a tangible place in a world of his own. * * * He will never wish to have been born in another world, as his head will not have been disordered by any other, and his first horizon would be his own." And he suddenly exclaims, "Oh, if I had myself ever taught through such a course, and still more, had I myself studied through it, and done so in the beginning, and had been educated in that manner! But as it is, nothing is left for me but a second education. I will study French, to learn to appreciate their Buffons and Nollets; and, above all, to investigate art, and nature, and human progress, and to become fully acquainted with them, . . . and to learn to know the real sources of books, so that when I possess them I may train myself according to them."

The genial young man of five and twenty, had all at once become aware of his condition of half learning. Trained up among books, the world of books appeared to him one of antitypes, and he was resolved to seek the original types answering to them,—and to seek them in France! In this state of reaction he overvalued what he lacked, and much undervalued what he possessed. But however strong was the French influence upon Herder at this time, it operated rather upon the exterior than upon the center of his mind. Untouched by the shallow deism of France, he recommended, most earnestly, in his school plan, Luther's Catechism. "This," he says, "must be thoroughly learned by heart, and be remembered ever after."

If this French influence had penetrated Herder deeply, his eyes would not so soon have been opened to the French and their language, as the sequel of his diary and his letters show that they were. He writes to Hamann, "I am yet at Nantes, where I live in a small but familiar circle, and am making myself acquainted with the French language, manners, and modes of thinking. I do not learn to like them, however; for the nearer I see them, the less I like them." And in a letter from Paris he says, "France can not completely satisfy; and I am heartily weary of it."

Rousseau himself must have appeared to him in an entirely different light, after his more complete acquaintance with the French.* "With Rousseau," he says, in his diary, "one must use every where

* He says: "One can not understand any French writer unless he understands the French nation."

paradoxes which corrupt and deceive him; which make old things appear new to him, little great, true false, and false true. No plain statement will suffice for him; all must be new, striking, wonderful. Thus what is beautiful is carried too far; truths are made too universal, and thus to cease being true. His sophistries must be detected; and we have to force ourselves back into our own world. But who can do this? Can every ordinary reader? Would not the labor be often greater than the gain to be made by it? And is not Rousseau thus unpractical, or harmful, by reason of this intellectual quality, in spite of his greatness?" And in another place he says,* "Voltaire is vain and impudent about himself, Rousseau proud and haughty; but both of them sought nothing so much as to distinguish themselves. The former always assumed that he had done it, and in controversy depended entirely on wit; the latter, upon intolerable and unheard of novelties and paradoxes. However strongly Rousseau may contend against the philosophers, it is still evident that he is not at all concerned for the justness, goodness, reason, or usefulness of his views, but for what is vast, extraordinary, new, or striking. Wherever he can, he is a sophist and a mere advocate; and, indeed, here is the reason that the French have so few philosophers, politicists, or historians; because these three classes of writers must deal with the truth only. But what is there which would not give Voltaire occasion for an attack, or Rousseau for a novelty?"

How cool and correct is this opinion of Herder, in his twenty-fifth year; and how soon had he recovered from his earlier overestimation of Rousseau! We shall be still more convinced of this when we see how efficiently he combated the evils of the Gallomania, and the extreme views of the Philanthropinists.

Tired of France, he left Paris in the beginning of 1770, and went into Holland to Eutin, and thence, as tutor to one of the princes of Holstein, to Strasburg, where he became acquainted with Göthe, five years his junior. Here he was appointed a consistorial councilor at Bückeburg, where he resided from 1771 to 1776. Having, while here, read Rousseau's "*Emile*" again, in 1771, he remarks upon it: "We must not praise it, but imitate it." Still, he expresses himself, five years later, in an extract, given in our sketch of Hamann, of a letter to the latter, entirely displeased with Basedow's Philanthropinum, which was modeled entirely after Rousseau. He afterward expressed deliberate and profound views of the same kind, in several

* What we have said indicates that Herder first wrote these opinions of Rousseau in France. He reached Nantes, July 5th, 1769; and in the following October he wrote to Hartknoch, that he had yet some writing to do in his diary, "with which I have," he adds, "been in arrears all the time on shipboard, and am so still."

addresses on educational subjects, with relation to the much praised new educational methods of the day; and contends against the "shallow and easy methods *in usum Delphinorum* of the present age." And he says, "He who pretends that there is light, or intelligibility, where there is none, is a juggler, and not a teacher." And he contends against those who advocate "a Leibnitzian and Newtonian philosophy for children," and who pretend that languages can be learned "without memory, pains, or grammar."

In another address, he remarks that "instead of the good old word 'school,' a fashion has been introduced of using new and more showy terms, such as 'Educational Institution,' and 'Philanthropinum;' and that much is said and much praise is heard of 'genius,' 'original genius,' which does every thing for itself, and has no need of any other instructor; and of wonderful self-development by one's own powers." "Such empty commendations of innate natural powers" have become in the highest degree harmful to youth; and "nature, so called," has been operative to the destruction of regulated, strict, and well-considered art." If the older schools were correct in principle, he says, "No one who knows what is a well-founded public temple of science, and what is good education, would become an advocate of one of these shrines of Diana, with which men do so many idolatries under green trees, with the fashionable methods of the day. Many of these playthings have already fully displayed their emptiness."

It is pleasant to see how the overflowing genius of the youth developed into the prudence of the man. This is shown in respect to the excessive praise of the French, which we have already mentioned; and with which no German reader, and no one who understands French and its relations with other languages, especially Latin, can fail to be displeased.

This displeasure will, however, be fully appeased upon reading, in Herder's "*Letters for the Advancement of Humanity*," written about a quarter of a century after the "*School Plan*,"* his remarkable attack upon the "Gallomania, or imitation of the French." In this he says:—

"This has inflicted upon us a much deeper wound.

"Since language is the organ of our mental faculties, and the chief means of our training and education, we can not be well taught

*The "*School Plan*" appeared in 1769; the "*Letters*" between 1793 and 1797. Herder's later satisfaction (1801,) at the spread and improvement of the French language, by means of the French Academy, and at its influence upon the other European languages, German especially, seems to have originated in his dislike to the "obscure German metaphysics, which scarcely understood itself," and to the "confused ideas and tangled periods" of its style. Gervinus compares this praise with Göthe's compliments to Voltaire's purity of style.

otherwise than in our native language. What is called a French education (a term actually in use,) in Germany, must of necessity pervert and injure German manners. This truth seems to me as clear as the sun at noon.

"By whom and for whom was French constructed? By Frenchmen, and for them. It expresses ideas and relations which occur in their world; in the course of their life; and expresses them as they are presented to the speakers by their local circumstances at the moment, and by their mental peculiarities at the moment. Without this area, the words must be half understood, or not at all, ill applied, or, where the subjects are wanting, altogether inapplicable, and thus uselessly learned. Since fashion rules in no language as despotically as in French; since no other language is so entirely a reflection of variableness, and of a changeable succession of shades of manners, significations, and relations; since no other language equals it in expressing delicate gradations of meaning, and in plays upon a color-piano of brilliant meteors and refractions of light; with these qualities, what can it be for the education of Germans, in their peculiar circumstances? Nothing,—or a will-o'-the-wisp. It leaves the mind empty of ideas, or gives it, in place of the truths and actualities of our own country, false expressions, erroneous terms, unnatural representations, and affectedness. Wrenched out of its proper place, such results must of necessity follow, if it were a language of angels. Neither is it going too far to say that, in those classes of our own nation, where it has been the vehicle of education, and still more where it has constituted the whole of education, it has distorted the understanding, laid waste hearts, and,—worst of all,—left the mind emptied of such qualities as are most essential to the enjoyment of pleasure in our race, in our circumstances, in our calling; and are these not the sweetest of pleasures?

"And yet, the whole value of a man, his usefulness in society, his happiness as a man and a citizen, depend upon this; that he understand thoroughly and clearly, and from his youth up, the world in which he lives, his employments and relations, and their means and purposes; that on these subjects he gain secure possession of ideas, sound in the strictest sense, and sincere and cheerful views; and that he train himself in them, unperverted, immovably, without any unnatural or false ideal in his mind, and without any squinting toward foreign manners and relations. One who has not attained to this, will find his ways of thinking distorted, and his heart uninterested in the situation in which he is placed; or, as it might better be represented, his heart will have been stolen from him in his youth, for his whole life, by a courtezan.

"What can be more valuable than a real world of real hearts and minds,—than a condition in which we know our own thoughts and feelings in their truest form, and express them to others in the truest and most natural way; in which others communicate to us in return their own thoughts and feelings; in short, where every bird sings as nature taught it to sing? If this light is extinguished, this flame quenched, this primeval bond between souls broken or weakened, then, instead of all this, nothing would be to be heard, but mere memorized, foreign, poverty-stricken phrases. What misery is that of everlasting superficiality and falsehood, and heart and soul dried up, hard and cold!"

In 1776, Herder left Bückeburg, having, by Göthe's influence, been appointed councilor of the high consistory at Weimar, where, twenty-five years later, he became president of that body.

Next to the duties of his ecclesiastical office, the improvement of the schools lay nearest his heart. In 1783, he drew up a new plan for the schools, and secured an increase of wages for the teachers. A teachers' seminary was founded, by his influence, in 1787. In the lower schools he endeavored to introduce the best and practical parts of the Pestalozzian method of instruction. He gave the clergy "the privilege of a thorough oversight of the country schools."

Herder refused to have his plan for the schools printed; "as," he said, "most such undertakings, if begun publicly, end miserably. For, in this matter, every thing depends upon practice, upon vigorous methods, and experiment. A faulty plan may be drawn up in half an hour; but it becomes a fetter in which a succeeding century walks lame."

His idea was, that "the lower classes of real schools should train useful citizens, and that the upper ones should form a scientific gymnasium for those intending to study."

He offered to give his assistance in establishing his scheme of organization; saying, "In my nineteenth year I began teaching in the highest class of an academical institution, and from that time to this I have never been free from the responsibilities of a teacher, or else of a school officer. Foreign countries, even Catholic ones, have consulted me in relation to their school organizations; and, without departing from the greatest modesty, I believe myself entitled to assert that I understand the subject."

Herder manifested, in every way, knowledge of schools, and skill in their management. In particular, he possessed, when of mature years, both the greatest respect for established institutions of value, and the readiest recognition of valuable novelties. He was consistent

in upholding the former, and in opposing raw and presumptuous reformers; but his conservatism did not make him blind to such improvements of value as now and then came up.

In a man of Herder's poetical and simple character, these sound and moderate views on education are truly wonderful. They are clearly expressed, among other places, in his plan for the teachers' seminary above mentioned. In this he says, "It is the single purpose of a teachers' seminary, to furnish to such young persons as devote themselves to educational pursuits, by instruction and proper practice, in whatever is necessary or truly useful for their future vocation, without ostentation, or any of the pedagogical fantasies of the day; for the greatest skill as a teacher is to be acquired only by method and practice."

Herder was also interested in favor of a theological seminary. In respect to it, he considered that "the first seeds of such institutions must be sowed in silence; for that, as old records show, what is begun with a great noise, commonly comes to an end very quietly." The same wise humility appears again here; which knows that the blessing comes from above, but that presumption is fatal to grace.

In his opinion respecting a theological seminary, he says: "What the clinic does for physicians, and the *formularium practicum* for jurists, must be done for theologians by a seminary for those intending to be clergymen; an institution, for the establishment of which our universities seem, under present circumstances, to be, for many reasons, unfit. Learned and experienced clergymen only are the proper men to do it."

He advised young clergymen, as Luther had done, to endeavor to obtain practice in teaching, especially public teaching. "I consider it," he said, "as a piece of good fortune, that in my youth I was under the necessity of teaching. I know that what I learned by it I could with difficulty have obtained, if at all, even by eternal reading and hearing. Ministers who have been good school teachers, if they have not remained in the business too long, are very soon distinguishable for orderliness, science, and real practical knowledge."

He wrote also a very instructive "*Plan for the employment of three academical years, for a young theologian.*" In this, he advised such a young man not to enter the university too early; and recommends him to study geography and natural history. "The knowledge of our place of abode," he says, "of its creatures and formation, is indispensable to him whom God intends to preach." He advises students to practice taking notes during their studies; as being a means of "better distinguishing and digesting their thoughts." He warns

them against being hypercritical in reading the Bible. "The New Testament," he says, "should be read in a religious, simple, and plain meaning, as the Apostles wrote it, and the first Christians read it."

"The students ought not to pursue refinements too far in their studies; should read rather good books than bad ones; and should not attempt to explain every thing, to the last iota; but should rest contented with the general internal consistency, purity, power, and beauty of the word of God in itself."

This plan of study for a young theologian is annexed to the "*Letters to Theophron*," which are addressed to a young man who has completed his academical studies in theology. The author praises Theophron's affection for his teachers, and his freedom from foolish pride and silly arrogance. He, however, proceeds to find fault with him, "because his mode of reading the Bible is perverted and profane; because he can not drop the critical spirit; and the word of God becomes, under his critical process, like a squeezed lemon." And he adds: "Obtain for yourself a heart inclined to overcome all obliquities of judgment, to level hill and valley, and again to attain to that right-mindedness which was a happiness of your youth, and without which we can never be happy."

Herder's "*Report upon the education of young clergymen at the university*,"* is of great value in relation to theological studies. The occasion which called out this report was a most lamentable one. Numbers of young theologians, at the close of their academical term, were found utterly unfit for the ministry. The question was asked, whether it was not going to be necessary to educate those preparing for the ministry, in schools set apart for them. Herder opposed this plan, and, together with a full exposition of the existing evil, advised how it could be remedied, without laying aside the received course of study.

He begins by seeking the source of the difficulty, not in the department of theology, but in that of philosophy; which is especially to blame for perverting the minds of the students beforehand, and thus unfitting them for their subsequent theological studies. This is the worse, as "the young people come too young and immature to the university;" immature in understanding, judgment, and character, and thus given over to every intellectual and moral temptation. Herder's principal remedy is, to lengthen the school course one year, and to establish a "select class" in each gymnasium, "in which the youths may learn to conduct themselves as academical students."

* Drawn up from the only two, unfortunately, which remain, of the reports on similar subjects, which the author wrote during the last six years of his life.

"In this way the prolongation of their stay in the school would not become a hardship to them, and their entrance into the university will not turn their heads." On this plan, academical lectures would be avoided on subjects which can be thoroughly learned only in schools; as these would be attended to in this select class.

In conclusion, we will glance at the excellent addresses which Herder delivered while *Ephorus* of the Weimar Gymnasium, mostly at examinations.

In two of these, he advocates strict order and discipline in schools, though the period was one of the greatest laxity of morals. If such discipline is wanting, if the teacher is not entirely master in his class, and possessed of entire control of his scholars, his occupation becomes an infernal torture, such as that of Sisyphus and the Danaides. But, on the other hand, the teacher should not forget the rule, *Maxima reverentia puero debetur.* In a third address, he discusses methods of study; and adds, that in some departments (*e. g.*, in natural history,) these methods have been improved as the studies have advanced. He then proceeds to oppose the feeble and enfeebling newly-discovered methods for easing study.

One address is upon written school exercises. Among others, he earnestly recommends translations from the classics, as accurate as possible without unpleasant closeness; and assiduous reading, in which the pupil must be assisted by the teacher. "Very eminent men," he says, "have educated themselves without a teacher, but it would be unfortunate for any one to undertake to gain all his acquirements without a teacher; and the consequence would often be that he would be distinguished only for mental deformity." "A good school is a community of bees, who fly about and gather honey; an indolent one, a collection of beasts of burden, who go just where they are driven, and do not, all their lives, take possession even of what is laid upon them."

In the address on schools as physical gymnasia, he discusses the development of innate faculties by practice. As included in this, he mentions exercises in bodily accomplishments and susceptibilities. All such exercises, he says, must be steadily followed, and interchanged with each other; and a noble emulation, the "good Eris" of Hesiod, must preside over them. In regard to such exercises, the schools are far better situated than the universities, which undervalue all exercise.

Two addresses consider what place the fine arts should occupy in the schools. "Woe to a time," says Herder, "which calls that beautiful which is easy; and that agreeable which is attained with facility."

The ancients knew nothing of the "fine" arts, as opposed to the profound or the useful.

The Latin terms "*literæ humaniores*," "*studia humanitatis*," happily expressed the correct idea of the fine arts. To the ancients the term "beautiful" was "an actual part of a clear, accurate, intelligible, expressive proposition; not a mere verbal finery." "All sciences lose their best part when the beautiful,—that is, that quality by which they develop humanity,—is taken away from them; and that this is a quality which each of them, after its kind, can have and should have, that no science should be barbarian or inhuman, that even the most abstract pursuits have their attraction, their beauty,"—these are propositions which follow of themselves.

"On the use of schools." This is directed against pseudo-philanthropic reformers who contemn all tradition, which, meanwhile, is handed down to us principally by means of the schools. "The whole human race is certainly one school, continued on through all centuries; and a new-born child, suddenly removed from this school, broken out from this chain of instruction, and set upon a desert island, would be, with all his natural faculties, a miserable beast, even ten times more miserable than the beasts."

"The spirit of our age tends more to destroy than to build. To fell a tree costs only a few strokes; but to make it grow up, requires years, or centuries."

Herder then turns to ignorant teachers. "It is an established fact, that an ignorant or visionary man can teach nothing correctly; that one who desires to teach, must himself have learned; that is, must have acquired clear and correct ideas, and a lucid, easy, and practicable method. This is the reason why all half-learned men are so strenuous against true modes of instruction. I believe we should all agree that the arguments of such persons would be very suspicious. * * * The older we grow, or at least the more mature our judgment becomes, the better does he see that no measures should be kept with such geniuses, with their peculiar enthusiasms, with their eloquence upon subjects of which they are ignorant, with their activity in occupations which they do not understand; and, for my part, I experience a horror when I hear, read, or see the preaching, or orations, or operations of these geniuses. What we learn it is, that we understand."*

Every thing which Herder says here seems perfectly clear of itself. And yet Jacotot, whose system has, at a later date, gained so much reputation, says that his "universal instruction appeals to no one who does not feel himself competent to teach his son what he does not

* In his obituary address upon Heinze, the late rector at Weimar, Herder praised him as "a master who would not teach at all what he only half understood."

himself understand. * * * He appeals to his own experience; since he taught Dutch and Russian without understanding them, and music, of which he never knew any thing."*

"School," says Herder further, "is a place in which we learn a science, a language, an art, or a trade, thoroughly and by rules; where we practice those rules, and make ourselves familiar with them; where our faults are explained to us from their bottom, and remedied in the easiest way possible. * * * Thus it appears of itself that a teacher must understand the subject which he teaches; and that accordingly I can learn it from him, and can do so much more easily than from myself, who know nothing of it." "It is certainly a recommendation of a man to say 'he is educated;' but a *rips-raps*, who has no training in any school, lacks steadiness and precision in his work."

The same address contains striking remarks upon the heuristic or inventive method, which had been pushed to the extremest caricature, especially by Jacotot. Herder ridicules the undertaking to find out, for one's self, sciences, rules, arts, which the mind is to bring out for us,—or which the wind is to blow to us." It is more than we are able to do, to learn the necessary studies in the slowest manner.

"*On the introduction of improvements in schools*, 1786." In this address he complains that the public take little interest in the schools, and regard them so little. He opposes the idea that, even in the gymnasium, reference should be had to the future social destiny of the scholar; and contends that a general mental development should rather be sought.

"*On the preference of public or private schools*, 1790." Herder makes no defense of the "pure good Latin schools." In practice, he was instrumental in removing the objection that the scholars were ranked every where by their standing in Latin, and that other studies were pursued merely as subordinate; for he was prominent in the introduction of the new arrangement, according to which the pupils received a name and rank from their proficiency in Latin, but were set higher or lower in each other section, according to their proficiency in that. Thus the scholars of a particular Latin class might have different places at different lessons.

Although, in some of his addresses, Herder appears as a firm partisan of established good measures, and as decidedly conservative, still, in that last quoted, he recommends, with equal earnestness, an innovation, that is the uniting of the class system and the classification by studies. Latin, as anciently established, is, it is true, to hold the first rank in the schools; but other studies are made to assume a rank and importance of their own; and are to appear to the scholars, no longer as unimportant adjuncts to the Latin, but as independent pursuits, requiring earnest study.

* Jacotot's "*Universal Instruction*," explained by Dr Hoffman. p. 22.

In several other addresses, as in his youth, Herder is an advocate of realism in the schools; of an enlightened realism however, not of one which can only stimulate pride. In an address, in 1798, "*On the progress of a school in the course of time*," he says that he would not comply with the demands of the times in what is extravagant, but so far as they are true and useful. He had learned, to full conviction, that the times very correctly required of scholars, training in understanding, speaking and writing their native language, in natural science, mathematics, and geography. His address "*On the agreeableness, usefulness, and necessity of Geography*," is full of love of the study. He says that "he pursued it with the extremest pleasure in the best years of his life, and taught it to others with as much pleasure." He considers geography, in connection with natural history, as the basis of general history. The fresh enthusiasm which characterizes this address is the same which appears in his "*Ideas upon the History of Humanity*," the first part of which was published in 1784, the year of the delivery of this address.

In a second address, "*On true progress in schools*," he expresses himself strongly against "old, empty, dry customs." "Every teacher," he says, "must have his own customs, must himself have fashioned them, and that intelligently, or he will accomplish nothing." This is most strongly opposed to the antiquated custom which prescribed that men must move only in the footsteps of their predecessors.

The address "*On the genius of a school*" is very able, and very characteristic of Herder. This genius is, in his view, "a personification of the purity and nobility of human nature;" a personification of humanity. A comparison is very interesting, of this address with another, entitled "*Schools as the laboratories of God's spirit, the Holy Ghost.*" What are the relations between the "genius of a school," and the Holy Ghost, and its operations?

I shall concluded here, referring the reader to Herder's works. It was not my design to give an exhaustive account of him, but only such an one as might instruct the teachers of our times; who, in their overestimate of the present day, may easily undervalue the profound, truthful, and fruitful views of preceding great men.

We have sketched Herder's life until he came to Weimar, in 1776. We have seen how deeply he was interested in schools, seminaries, and the education of ministers and teachers; and how he labored for them, in thought and in action. In this course of active exertion he persevered steadily and hopefully, although it often appeared as if his labor was vain, until his death, which took place December 18th, 1803, at the age of fifty-nine years four months.

FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF was born in 1759, at Hainrode, a village not far from Nordhausen; where his father was school-master and organist. Before the boy could well speak or walk, his father tried to teach him Latin and German. At two years old, long before he could read or write, he knew many Latin words. From his mother, he inherited a pleasant expression, and a love of music.

In 1765, his father removed to Nordhausen. His son, at the age of six, entered the third class of the gymnasium there, and, in his eleventh year, was placed in the first. Fabricius was rector at first, and was followed by Hake, a very able man, who had much influence upon Wolf, but, unfortunately, died after a rectorate of only nine months, in 1771. Under his successor, Alberti, the gymnasium declined. Wolf, at fifteen, detected this man's ignorance in a lesson; and, at a public examination, showed that he had dictated difficult questions and answers to the scholars, in order to a good appearance before the spectators. After this, Wolf attended the gymnasium but little, but studied the classics by himself with great zeal; being bountifully furnished with books by two preachers and a physician in Nordhausen, and especially by Collaborator Leopold in Ilefeld. He also learned, under music-director Frankenstein, as much of English, French, Italian, and Spanish, as his instructor knew himself.

In his sixteenth year, his father placed him with Schroeter, the well-known organist at Nordhausen. Although the young man had studied the organ and clavier with eagerness, he had no wish to devote himself entirely to music. For this reason, Schroeter tormented him with mathematical demonstrations. "I never liked these," he said, "for I observed that the better mathematician a man was, so much the more unfit was he for the best of other studies."

In 1777, he entered the University of Göttingen, where, contrary to all usage, he matriculated as student in philology. Heyne remarked as much to him, to which he answered, "There are, at most, four or six good professorships of philology in the German universities; and one of these I propose to obtain." He was not close in attendance on the lectures; but most zealously pursued his own

studies, with the help of the library. He did not even enter Heyne's philological seminary; but read lectures, himself, to sixteen hearers, on Xenophon and Demosthenes.

On Heyne's recommendation, he was, at the age of twenty, appointed, in 1779, collaborater in the Pædagogium at Ilefeld; and, two years afterward, was unanimously chosen rector at Osterode, after having read a brilliant probationary dissertation on an ode of Horace, and two chapters of Thucydides.*

In 1779, Fredric II. of Prussia, by a cabinet order to his minister, Zedlitz, gave an impulse to the study of the Greek and Roman classics, which occasioned the publication of new editions of them. Wolf was thus induced to publish, in 1782, Plato's "*Symposium;*" and the reputation of this book was the occasion of the invitation† which he received to fill Trapp's place, at Halle, whither he went, in 1783.

Wolf's appointment specifies that he shall "act as professor of philosophy, and in particular of pedagogy, according to his official duty; shall yearly deliver an instructive free course of public lectures upon the art of education; in regard to the pedagogical instruction within the Teachers' Seminary, he must spend as much time as possible in the practical direction of it; and, to this end, must often instruct in the boarding-school, in the presence of the seminary pupils; and must himself have the oversight of the boarding-school."

Trapp seems to have received nearly the same instructions from the minister; but there was as much difference between his conceited operations under them and the remarkable efficiency of Wolf's, that there was between his superficiality and the thorough learning and genius of Wolf.

Not, however, that Wolf found affairs to his mind at his entrance

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* While at Osterode he married, and had one son and three daughters. The son died early, and he was divorced in 1802.

† The Prussian minister, von Zedlitz, was an enthusiastic believer in Basedow's pedagogical views and undertakings. This fact was the reason of his inviting Trapp, the teacher at the Philanthropinum at Dessau, to Halle; and of his establishing there a professorship of pedagogy, expressly for him. The new professor was (at the same time,) placed in charge of an educational institution, in which boys were taught, and teachers were trained also.

Trapp was a thorough follower of Basedow, as his "*Attempt at a System of Pedagogy*" shows. This book contains a conceited, shallow, and narrow course of reasoning upon religion, philosophy, and learning; an exaltation of what is vulgar, and a vulgar contempt for what is noble. For example, "the learning of foreign languages is one of the greatest evils which afflict the schools, especially in Germany; and which hinder the progress of men to perfection and happiness." "It is inquired, how many languages, and what, should the teacher learn? Would to God that he was expected to learn none but his own! If education were placed upon the best possible footing, both Latin and French would be banished from Germany."

In 1783, Trapp resigned his appointment, to take charge of an educational institution at Hamburg; and the official successor of this ignorant opponent of classical studies, was the greatest philologist of his age, F. A. Wolf.

upon the professorship at Halle. The reverse was the case. So low a spirit prevailed among the students, that they desired nothing more than to be trained for the course of life which they intended to pursue. They usually reduced the required three years of the academical course to two; so that they had time only for the most indispensable collegiate studies.* Thus it occurred that Wolf found no encouragement at all for his philological lectures. He was quite discouraged from lecturing on logic and metaphysics, when encouraging letters reached him from Biester and Zedlitz. The latter said that Wolf must "help to remove the one reproach under which Halle had labored; that no philologists had been trained there." And, he continued, "The public will soon do me the justice to confess that I, also, have done what I could to this end, since I have employed for the purpose a man of knowledge, learning, taste, and zeal; and, as far as was in my power, have rewarded him. This confession to my honor, I am certain you will wring from the public."

A liking for liberal studies gradually grew up among the students. The philological seminary, established by Wolf's means, in 1787, was chiefly instrumental to this end. Up to this time, teachers had usually been chosen from among the theological students. Wolf endeavored, on the contrary, to build up a class of teachers distinct from the preachers; and, at the same time, to oppose the contempt for classical studies which had been promoted by the philanthropists; in his own words, "to raise up again the steadily failing taste for thorough classical learning." The seminarists not only received theoretical training, but had the opportunity for practice in teaching. The boarding-school was, throughout, organized like that at Göttingen.

Wolf's address to the seminarists, at the opening of his philological seminary, is worthy of attention. He says that he has always labored for the good of the pupils, without any ulterior views. "If," he continued, "I had had the usual collateral views, I should invariably have directed my instructions rather to the ears than to the understanding. I am, however, conscious that I have never aimed to attract a multitude of hearers, but only to dispense thorough knowledge; that is, to have hearers, though few, well-trained and desirous of learning. This makes my pleasure the greater, to see that a love of classical learning is actually increasing in our university. Four years ago, I should have been much perplexed to find twelve members of such an institution as this; while I have now had the true pleasure of being

* Life of Wolf, by Körte, I, 122. Wolf repeatedly describes students of this kind. For instance. "Such are fortunate if they find a teacher who will chew every thing for them;" and, in another place, "Be convinced that no one ever taught usefully, who had not beforehand learned well at school."

able to select the present large number of industrious members from a still greater one of candidates."

Wolf might well say that he was free from "the usual collateral views." A man who would give up the rector's salary of seven hundred thalers, at Osterode, and decline the invitation to Gera, where one thousand thalers was promised him, and would accept, instead, the professorship at Halle, with its income of three hundred thalers, must, truly, have been governed by some nobler motive than that of gaining money. He sought honorable success, as a teacher; and was no fool with tinkling bells, to direct his instructions rather to the ears than to the minds of his hearers. He had too much capacity, genius, and learning, to be capable of such arts; a wealthy man does not practice counterfeiting.

With every year, his success, and the number of his hearers, increased. Among these, the writer of this account had the good fortune to be one. At the first of Wolf's lectures, which he attended in 1798, the room was crowded; and the same was the case, in 1803 and 1804, with all the lectures which he attended.

If Wolf, at his entrance upon his professorship at Halle, was forced to make bitter complaints of the vulgar mercenariness of the students, which looked no further than to the procurement of means to earn their bread, his subsequent view of his numerous audience, of whom but a small part were philologistst, was sufficient to convince him that he had conquered in the contest with this ignoble feeling, and that a noble aspiration after truly universal acquirements was awakened among the students. How well he understood how to stimulate this zeal, those who never had the good fortune to be his pupils can learn, from the many academical programmes which he has collected in his miscellaneous works. In the first, he starts from Seneca's proposition, "He who is every where is nowhere," and utters a warning against studying, superficially, too many subjects, without becoming thoroughly acquainted with any of them. In the second, he discusses the contrast between the ancient Greek method of instructing by dialogue, and the present one of lecturing from the chair. In order that the students might, to some extent, enjoy the advantages of the ancient method, examinations and disputations were established. "Do not be afraid of these names," he adds; "these exercises will be of great service to you, not only by developing your facility in language, but your opinions. In a third, Wolf graphically portrays a good teacher. Above all things, he must teach what is true, and do it thoroughly. There must, however, be a second qualification. "You will perhaps, my fellow laborers," he continues, "think

what this is. I have not so low an opinion of your intelligence as to believe that you will imagine that it is sweet words, action, or lively gesticulation. Such meretricious attractions are for the theater, not for the place of instruction; for speeches intended to excite the passions of the multitude, not for a learned discourse intended to teach youths wisdom. Some action is, nevertheless, appropriate even to such a discourse; but moderate and uniform. * * * This second requisite is not so much an outward means of adding to the excellence of the discourse, as something bound closely up with the instruction itself. I mean a mode of teaching appropriate to each subject, which shall display it in an order which shall bring all its parts distinctly out; shall put each in the right place; and in intelligible, pure, clear, appropriate, and, where proper, witty language; such as belongs to educated men."* Every discourse should also be suited to the intellectual capacities of its hearers; and, as some of these are strong, and some are weak, the teacher may, perhaps, adopt a mean, in style, as for a class between these two. Having said so much of the requisites of teachers, he proceeds to consider what should be demanded of the hearers. "Of you, fellow-laborers," he says, "on the other hand, it will be required that you bring to your new instruction (moral) ears which have been well-trained in school to the apprehension of that medium style of instruction, which is, however, such as is appropriate to the university." In a fourth programme, Wolf defends the custom of lecturing from the chair; which must be an art; and must vary much with the qualities of its subjects and hearers. The more learned the professor, the more valuable will be his teaching; and the more will educated hearers give consideration to what he says, and the manner in which he says it. The most learned men have proceeded from the schools of those who merely read from manuscript sheets; while others, in spite of their beautiful delivery, have been but little esteemed among intelligent and learned people.

I would gladly give fuller accounts of these programmes; but these extracts will exemplify the free, clear, and vivid style in which Wolf addressed the students. Some of his academical writings discuss false readings, which have occasioned teachers useless exertions. He usually cites earlier explanations; shows them to be distorted and faulty; and then, in some remarkably simple way, loosens the knot. Even to read these philological programmes enables one to imagine Wolf's oral interpretation of the classics must have enchained his audience.

* He says, in another programme, "The language of lectures should be familiar, changing as subjects vary, but nowhere like a book."

Although, during the first ten years of his labors at Halle, his efforts, both oral and written, had been confined within a narrow sphere, he began about the year 1795 to have a European reputation. In this year appeared his "*Prolegomena to Homer;*" a small work, but which gained a reputation unprecedented in philology, although the greatest minds were at variance even with themselves as to its conclusions. These were, that the Iliad and Odyssey are not by the same author, but that each of them consists of various separate rhapsodies, by different rhapsodists; and that these were put in connection with each other by the *diaskeausts* of the time of the Pisistratidæ, and by later critics.

There was no disagreement in the opinion that Wolf had pursued his undertaking with the greatest acuteness, and with eminent learning, whatever differences may have existed as to his conclusions. Wilhelm von Humboldt, G. Hermann, the two Schlegels, and other celebrated men, supported him. Ruhnken wrote to him, "I have read your Prolegomena more than once, enchained both by the wealth of your distinguished learning and by the acuteness of your historical criticism. In regard to your argument against the antiquity of writing, it is with me as it was with him who read Plato's Phædon. While I am reading the book, I agree with you; but when I lay the book down, the whole demonstration escapes with it." And Boissonade pronounced a similar opinion.

Voss was opposed to Wolf's views, as was Schiller, very strongly. Wieland said, also arguing against him, "The Wolfian method of criticism is very flattering to us poor backward votaries of epic poetry; for, according to it, the ancient singer loses, all at once, his divine splendor, and becomes as one of us." A *naive* simplicity, which reverses the sentiment of John the Baptist, and makes it read "I must increase, and he must decrease."

Göthe's earlier views seem to have agreed entirely with Wieland's, but to arise from a nobler motive. I refer to the well known verses:

> "First, to the health of the man who at last has relieved us of Homer,
> Boldly, and thus he summons us to a higher career.
> For who will contend with the gods, or who with one of them even?
> But to be one, though the last, of the Homeridæ, is grand."

Göthe afterward, however, wrote, referring to his earlier opinion, that he was "more than ever convinced of the unity and indivisibility of the Iliad."

Such an excitement was stirred up among great intellects by the Prolegomena. They have also brought up some very important questions.

With this work began a democratic strife against the aristocracy of the intellectual world. Homeridæ or Homer, is a question often discussed, in the course of it, in reference to the greatest works of antiquity.

Herder's "*Voices of the Nations*," and "*Views of Poetry*," had testified, as Göthe remarks, "that poetry is a gift to the world and to nations, and not the private inheritance of a few refined and educated men."

And Wolf says "Every poetical age consists of one generation and one man. Each such age is but one mind, one soul. And they differ only by the difference of their circumstances."

Who will not rejoice that poetry, instead of being the prerogative of a few highly-gifted men, while all others are deprived of it, is a gift to the people? And above the multitude of the poets stand Sophocles, Dante, Shakspeare, Camoens (Cervantes?) and Göthe, like lofty palms and cedars above the underbrush. But does not Homer rank with them? Or are the Homeridæ princes among the poets of the nations?

A second respect in which Prolegomena constitute an epoch is, the boldness with which Wolf attacked the belief of a thousand years, that one man, Homer, wrote the Iliad and the Odyssey; with which he termed this belief an error, in spite of Plato and Aristotle. By this he inaugurated a style of criticism, which no longer recognized authority, but took pleasure in boldly summoning all before its bar, even the holiest. Especially did Wolf exert this influence upon biblical criticism.* "Holy or profane writers," he says, "are all one to me. Secondary considerations do not make me timid, and I am not inclined to affect timidity. The demonstration, which will not be long delayed, that the Pentateuch is made up of dissimilar portions belonging to different ages, and dates back not further than to a period a little after Solomon—such a demonstration I should put forth without any horror."

Yet Wolf complimented himself as "having preserved himself equally free from credulity and doubt;† and combated the error that the higher criticism could only destroy.

* Körte's "*Life*," 1.319; and same, 1. 28; where Körte says that, even while a scholar, Wolf had arrived at the remarkable conclusion that, through the ignorance of his teachers, he had learned every thing falsely and pervertedly. "He had even begun to distrust his father. * * In short, he thought it not impossible that, so far as historical truth was concerned, a set of idle tales had been made up and told the scholars." His weak rector, whose ignorance and falsehood he had discovered, caused him these doubts; which were a remarkable premonition of the skepticism and criticism of his later years.

† Körte, 2, 223; where it is stated that the aged Wieland also rejoiced at the Prolegomena, for the reason that the turn of the Bible would "come after that of this idol."

In Wolf's lecture-room stood only one bust, that of Lessing; and, among his colleagues, his connection was closest with Semler. We can readily see what drew him to these two men; and directly he promoted the objects which the former had led in seeking.

Wolf's attacks upon authorities which it had been supposed could not even be attempted, naturally had a great influence upon his hearers. Although mature age easily inclines to take part for what is established, and is displeased at any thing unusual and new, and which is strongly opposed to what is ancient; yet the young are, on the other hand, delighted to shake off all obligation and authority, and to set themselves up above their predecessors. There was, however, one thing which damped the sometimes excessive vigor of Wolf's scholars. The strange attacks which he made, without any notice, were not made merely for pleasure; this would have stimulated youthful minds to similar attacks; but they were the results of the great and comprehensive labors of a man of genius. Thus, in this respect, Wolf awed his pupils, and made them modest; and yet he strengthened them to persevering activity, thorough searches for truth, and emphatic contempt for pretension.

It is well known what distinguished scholars came from Wolf's tuition. The ablest of them have repeatedly acknowledged their obligations to him. Böckh, for instance, dedicated his first work to him, and expressed to him heartfelt thanks. Wolf, he says, introduced him to a new scientific life; and was to him, in advice and admonition, a second father. Bekker has expressed the same heartfelt gratitude to Wolf, as has Heindorf, among his earlier pupils; and this feeling was entertained, not only by such distinguished philologists as came from his school, but by all the great number who had listened to him with a lively interest, and whom he had assisted by friendly advice, giving them access to books, or otherwise.

His efforts were, however, by no means restricted to the universities, but extended also to the gymnasia. He had, indeed, taught in two of them. While rector at Osteróde, he seems to have accomplished, in his short official career of two years, an incredible amount of good in the revival of the institution. The service, however, was far more extensive and important, which he did by educating in his seminary a great number of excellent gymnasium teachers. It was for these that he delivered the lectures on pedagogy, which have already been mentioned, which were especially enjoined upon him, and which were afterward printed. Director Föhlisch, of Wertheim, a worthy pupil of Wolf, first published them, and Körte afterward issued them again; adding many reports, letters, and fragments left by Wolf, of a

pedagogical character.* Before giving extracts of these books, I must remark that many of Wolf's opinions appear to contradict each other, although upon a close examination this variance disappears. Especially must care be taken, in reading him, to observe whether he is peaking of his own ideal, of a philologist for example, or whether he is only referring, with a sort of despairing resignation, to what is possible, or is actually accomplished, under existing circumstances. These ideals are found, as is natural, more frequently in his earlier writings; and the resignation in the later ones. I proceed to give an example. "Although," says Wolf, in a letter, "I so willingly conceived the hope that the study of the ancient languages could be begun with the Greek, and I thus had entertained a dream of a lofty elevation of the German national education, yet I have long ago awaked out of it, so far as regards our public schools. The whole tendency of our modern popular education works against it." Still more striking is what he says in an educational report of the year 1811: "All those might be excluded from the study of Greek, and still more from that of Hebrew, in whom is stirred up no especial pleasure in studying languages.† Learning Greek should be made a reward for distinguished industry in other studies, Latin particularly, rather than a matter of constraint or wearisome recommendations."

A second instance of apparent contradiction, is found in Wolf's views on writing and speaking Latin; to which we shall hereafter refer, in discussing instruction in Latin.

The educational report of 1811, above mentioned, is an extended revision of one which Wolfe had previously, in 1803, presented to the philosophical faculty of Halle. Its subject is, "*Fixation of Limits between Schools, Universities, and Institutions for Practical Instruction.*" Respecting the last named, Wolf remarks that men of business must be trained in business; but, he adds, every means should be used to prevent "any one from entering into practical occupations, without a thorough knowledge of those subjects, upon an application of which such occupations depend; since the contrary would cause the introduction of a mere routine, wholly unintelligent, and, although perhaps useful in some cases, on the whole entirely uncertain."

And again: "Education must begin to be scientific in the universities; in the schools it must be preparatory, elementary, and for general training." "Yet, in modern times, scientific instruction has

* F. A. Wolf's "*Consilia Scholastica*, upon education, schools, and universities. Collected from his literary remains, by W. Körte. Quedlinburg & Leipzig. Becker. 1835."

† Wolf here excepts those intending to study theology.

been introduced into the schools, to the no small injury of youth. * * * The daily increasing superficiality and multitude of studies in the schools should be opposed by all possible means. In schools, set lessons in Greek and Roman literature, the theory of the fine arts, and the like, are altogether superfluous and harmful. * * * It would be much better for the scholar to know nothing at all of such subjects, than to suppose himself master of them, and to be capable of deceiving even intelligent people for a quarter of an hour, by means of possessing a few insignificant, unseasonable preliminary ideas. Whatever pertains to the memory and the imagination, is the province of the school; while the university deals with what concerns the higher intellectual powers. The pupil should bring to the university only knowledge, and practiced skill in study. And since the transition to the scientific methods of study, proper to the university, can not be made at one leap, the higher classes of the schools should gradually assimilate to it; without, however, anticipating it, either in subject-matter or form."

What a clear view is this of the constitution and relations of the school and the university! how lucid the insight into the natural course of education for the young! how wise is Wolf's advice, and how well calculated to cure the evils which, since he wrote, have so fearfully increased! It is not only the scholars, however, who desire to anticipate the university, and play the student, in the gymnasium; but there are as many teachers who would much rather deliver to their pupils brilliant lectures from the chair, sometimes upon subjects wholly without the province of the school, than moderately and understandingly to train them in the indispensable knowledge and skill in study, for which the scholar's capacity is suited. This is the originating cause of a certain decrepit indifference and insusceptibility in many students. Unseasonable luxuries destroy the sound appetite which a healthy stomach feels at meal-time.

Wolf formed very just opinions on all school-plans, even his own, in respect to practicability and detail. To a rector, to whom he sent some plans, he wrote: "I hope that you and your young assistants will understand these plans—which are not sent as patterns—in the spirit in which I drew them up; and make all the use of them which you can and will. For in every other occupation, and in the school as well, every thing depends on those two auxiliary verbs. Without them, complaints are useless; and it is a most unworthy destruction of stationery, to undertake to operate among your subordinates with paper stimulants and ordinances."

Wolf's opinions were valuable, moreover, not only within the sphere

of his own profession, but on many subjects which would have been supposed far out of his line. But could any subject be reckoned out of the sphere of so great a genius, so classically learned, and so experienced?

We may properly quote such portions of his "*Consilia*" as display his clear views and judicious tact, in opposing some pedagogical absurdities. "Children do nothing well, but what they do willingly. Hence it follows, that all their studies should be so managed as to be pursued willingly. And it is still better to contrive that they shall willingly do whatever they must do."

"Poetry promotes good education more than any thing else; and, in respect to it, no distinction in the rank of the scholars must be observed. Up to the seventh or eighth year, poetry should be the chief occupation. For during this period its influence is most valuable, and likewise the higher beauties of prose are not felt. The same is true of a whole nation; the transition to prose is very difficult."

(Study of language.) "The feelings must go first; and, when they are excited, ideas follow. And this feeling must, in the end, be constituted a rule." "Up to the fourteenth year, forms must be kept quite out of sight. The reasoning faculties should at first not be put into requisition at all; reasoning weakens the memory." "Examples should always go with—even before—principles and rules. The boy must first learn to feel what is witty or acute, and to imitate it; and, at a later period only (scarcely while in school,) what is the real essence of such things."

"In pedagogy, scientific study should be distinguished from artistic; that is, the distinction should be maintained between the teacher and the artist."

"The ancients reasoned less, and did more. Therefore it is that they were more acute, and had less need of a text-book in their hands."

"Only an extraordinary love for the employment, for the young, and a desire based upon a true and profound religious feeling, to labor for the next generation, can make endurable the inexpressible laboriousness of the teacher's vocation. The teacher ought not to reckon upon payment, scarcely upon appreciation."

(From "*General Instructions to a Learned Educator in Germany.*") "Have some love for all the studies which you pursue, and for the youths intrusted to your care; but, if the two objects come into competition, love the latter most." "Always be well; and understand how to go hungry patiently, when necessary." "Require no respect from men, and no gratitude; and do not value the approbation of those who misjudge you."

"It is better often to repeat expressions once well-chosen, and to impress them thoroughly upon the memory, than to select others at random; which often causes the precise point in question to be lost sight of. Only, the questions used in the repetition of what is already learned, must be varied many ways."*

"Every scientifically capable man is naturally fitted for some one particular science, in pursuing which, he insensibly considers the others along with it; but as a strict examination passes upon each of them, many students distress themselves, merely for the examination, with matters useless to them, and thereby waste much time, which they could better employ in their own pursuit."

Wolf repeatedly expresses himself against the foolishness usual at examinations, and in formal opinions and testimonies of all kinds. "These opinions," he says, "are commonly nothing but a specious wishy-washy of modish expressions; mere exercises in style, by the teachers, in which the poor men torment themselves to say the same thing a hundred different ways every year and every day." Wolf declares that he, himself, never made the acquirements demanded of graduates before they can receive the mark "absolutely skilled;" and he does not believe he could find a full dozen of such "absolutely skilled" men in Berlin. And, notwithstanding these requirements from the scholars, he complains that, "every five years, young people come to the university with less training, although it may be rich with various disorderly knowledge—in a kind of splendid misery."

He speaks again, with earnestness, against unmeasured praise or blame at the graduating school-examinations. "The well-prepared," he says, "will grow lazy, too see their superiority so proclaimed; and the ill-prepared receive a frightful brand. Many a one has taken more pains for his "*immaturus*," than another for his certificate of maturity; while his natural endowments receive no acknowledgment; which gives young people false ideas of human worth."

I must, though unwillingly, stop here, and refer the reader to the "*Consilia Scholastica*" itself.

I shall add a few remarks upon the later years of Wolf's life. Unfortunately, they contain little that is pleasant. The unhappy battle of Jena was the fatal crisis of his life. On the 17th of October, 1806, the French took Halle. Napoleon, enraged with the university, dissolved it. Göthe wrote to Wolf an encouraging letter, and advised him to substitute written teaching for oral; to write books.

In the next year, 1807, he went to Berlin, and did not return to Halle, even when the university was re-established there. Thus

* Compare Luther's preface to the smaller catechism.

ended the period of his distinguished academical efficiency. In Berlin, he met with much kindness. His old friend, Wilhelm von Humboldt, especially, in his influential place as minister, made every effort to place Wolf in circumstances where he could exercise his brilliant gifts. But it was as if his life was forever thrown out of its course. A restless and discontented impulse had taken possession of him; no employment suited him. He insulted, in various ways, the friends who had always valued him so highly; and even his most grateful scholars; and thus arose most unpleasant collisions, and literary feuds. Although he published many things of value, yet most of them were the results of his previous labors;* although, to this statement, his excellent translation of the "*Clouds*" of Aristophanes is an exception.

The strongest part of Wolf's existence and efficiency, his great talent for teaching, was paralyzed. In Berlin, perhaps by his own fault, he found few hearers; which deeply mortified him, by the comparison with the successful and enthusiastic efforts of his earlier years. He described himself as "never desiring to be an author, but only to teach;" "who had long been accustomed to the charm of watching the visible growth of his thoughts before attentive hearers; and in the quiet reaction upon himself, which daily and hourly supplies to his mind an intellectual stimulus which the seat before the empty walls, and the senseless paper, as easily quench."

From Berlin, Wolf made various journeys. In 1816, he visited once more the residences of his youth—Hainrode, Nordhausen, and Göttingen. On his sixty-fifth birthday, in 1823, he began an autobiography. It commences with these words: "Here, great Being who rulest the world, and controlest the fate even of the most insignificant, I turn to thee, with sincere thanks for the many unmistakable tokens of thy grace, by which my life has been made happy, honorable, and useful. Oh, how unworthy do I feel myself of thy goodness!" And, further on, "I feel my mental powers still vivid enough, but my body will no longer keep up with them. I am so weary of living."

On the 14th of April, 1824, already sick, he set out on his last journey. He went, by Strasburg and Lyons, in the heat of June and July, without allowing himself any rest, to Marseilles, where he arrived, exceedingly weary, on the 16th of July, and died on the 8th of August.

* Including his "*View of the Science of Antiquity*," in the first volume of the "*Museum of the Sciences of Antiquity*," which he published in 1807 and 1808, together with Buttmann. This was made up from his previously often-repeated lectures on the "Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Studies of the Ancients."

CHRISTIAN GOTTLOB HEYNE.

MEMOIR.

Christian Gottlob Heyne was born at Chemnitz, in Upper Saxony, in 1729, the eldest of a poor weaver's family, poor almost to the verge of starvation. The story of his struggles with poverty, and other difficulties to obtain an education, as told by himself, is painfully interesting.

It was in the extreme penury that I was born and brought up. The earliest companion of my childhood was Want; and my first impressions came from the tears of my mother, who had not bread for her children. How often have I seen her on Saturday-nights wringing her hands and weeping, when she had come back with what the hard toil, nay often the sleepless nights, of her husband had produced, and could find none to buy it! Sometimes a fresh attempt was made through me or my sister: I had to return to the purchasers with the same piece of ware, to see whether we could not possibly get rid of it. In that quarter there is a class of so-called merchants, who, however, are in fact nothing more than forestallers, that buy up the linen made by the poorer people at the lowest price, and endeavor to sell it in other districts at the highest. Often have I seen one or other of these petty tyrants, with all the pride of a satrap, throw back the piece of goods offered him, or imperiously cut off some trifle from the price and wages required for it. Necessity constrained the poorer to sell the sweat of his brow at a *groschen* or two less, and again to make good the deficit by starving. It was the view of such things that awakened the first sparks of indignation in my young heart. The show of pomp and plenty among these purse-proud people, who fed themselves on the extorted crumbs of so many hundreds, far from dazzling me into respect or fear, filled me with rage against them. The first time I heard of tyrannicide at school, there rose vividly before me the project to become a Brutus on all those oppressors of the poor, who had so often cast my father and mother into straits: and here, for the first time, was an instance of a truth which I have since had frequent occasion to observe, that if the unhappy man, armed with feeling of his wrongs and a certain strength of soul, does not risk the utmost and become an open criminal, it is merely the beneficent result of those circumstances in which Providence has placed him, thereby fettering his activity, and guarding him from such destructive attempts. That the oppressing part of mankind should be secured against the oppressed was, in the plan of inscrutable Wisdom, a most important element of the present system of things.

My good parents did what they could, and sent me to a child's-school in the suburbs. I obtained the praise of learning very fast, and being very fond of it. My schoolmaster had two sons, lately returned from Leipzic; a couple of

depraved fellows, who took all pains to lead me astray; and, as I resisted, kept me for a long time, by threats and mistreatment of all sorts, extremely miserable. So early as my tenth year, to raise the money for my school wages, I had given lessons to a neighbor's child, a little girl, in reading and writing. As the common school-course could take me no farther, the point now was to get a private hour and proceed into Latin. But for that purpose a *guter groschen* weekly was required; this my parents had not to give. Many a day I carried this grief about with me: however, I had a godfather, who was in easy circumstances, a baker, and my mother's half-brother. One Saturday I was sent to this man to fetch a loaf. With wet eyes I entered his house, and chanced to find my godfather himself there. Being questioned why I was crying, I tried to answer, but a whole stream of tears broke loose, and scarcely could I make the cause of my sorrow intelligible. My magnanimous godfather offered to pay the weekly *groschen* out of his own pocket; and only this condition was imposed on me, that I should come to him every Sunday, and repeat what part of the Gospel I had learned by heart. This latter arrangement had one good effect for me,—it exercised my memory, and I learned to recite without bashfulness.

Drunk with joy, I started off with my loaf; tossing it up time after time into the air, and barefoot as I was, I capered aloft after it. But hereupon my loaf fell into a puddle. This misfortune again brought me a little to reason. My mother heartily rejoiced at the good news; my father was less content. Thus passed a couple of years; and my schoolmaster intimated, what I myseif had long known, that I could not learn more from him.

My father could not but be anxious to have a grown-up son for an assistant in his labor, and looked upon my repugnance to it with great dislike. I again longed to get into the grammar-school of the town; but for this all means were wanting. Where was a *gulden* of quarterly fees, where were books and a blue cloak to be come at? How wistfully my look often hung on the walls of the school when I passed it!

A clergyman of the suburbs was my second godfather; his name was Sebastian Seydel; my schoolmaster, who likewise belonged to his congregation, had told him of me. I was sent for, and after a short examination, he promised me that I should go to the town-school; he himself would bear the charges. Who can express my happiness, as I then felt it! I was dispatched to the first teacher; examined, and placed with approbation in the second class. Weakly from the first, pressed down with sorrow and want, without any cheerful enjoyment of childhood or youth, I was still of very small stature; my class-fellows judged by externals, and had a very slight opinion of me. Scarcely, by various proofs of diligence and by the praises I received, could I get so far that they tolerated my being put beside them.

And certainly my diligence was not a little hampered! Of his promise, the clergyman, indeed, kept so much, that he paid my quarterly fees, provided me with a coarse cloak, and gave me some useless volumes that were lying on his shelves; but to furnish me with school-books he could not resolve. I thus found myself under the necessity of borrowing a class-fellow's books, and daily copying a part of them before the lesson. On the other hand, the honest man would have some hand himself in my instruction, and gave me from time to time some hours in Latin. In his youth he had learned to make Latin verses:

scarcely was *Erasmus de Civilitate Morum* got over, when I too must take to verse-making; all this before I had read any authors, or could possibly possess any store of words. The man was withal passionate and rigorous; in every point repulsive; with a moderate income he was accused of avarice; he had the stiffness and self-will of an old bachelor, and at the same time the vanity of aiming to be a good Latinist, and, what was more, a Latin verse-maker, and consequently a literary clergyman. These qualities of his all contributed to overload my youth, and nip away in the bud every enjoyment of its pleasures.

There chanced to be a school-examination held, at which the Superintendent, as chief school-inspector, was present. This man, Dr. Theodore Krüger, a theologian of some learning for his time, all at once interrupted the rector, who was teaching *ex cathedra*, and put the question: Who among the scholars could tell him what might be made *per anagramma* from the word *Austria?* This whim had arisen from the circumstance that the first Silesian war was just begun; and some such anagram, reckoned very happy, had appeared in a newspaper. No one of us knew so much as what an anagram was; even the rector looked quite perplexed. As none answered, the latter began to give us a description of anagrams in general. I set myself to work, and sprang forth with my discovery: *Vastari!* This was something different from the newspaper one: so much the greater was our Superintendent's admiration; and the more, as the successful aspirant was a little boy, on the lowest bench of the *secunda*. He growled out his applause to me; but at the same time set the whole school about my ears, as he stoutly upbraided them with being beaten by an *infimus*.

Enough: this pedantic adventure gave the first impulse to the development of my powers. I began to take some credit to myself, and in spite of all the oppression and contempt in which I had languished, to resolve on struggling forward. This first struggle was in truth ineffectual enough; was soon regarded as a piece of pride and conceitedness; it brought on me a thousand humiliations and disquietudes; at times it might degenerate on my part into defiance. Nevertheless, it kept me at the stretch of my diligence, ill-guided as it was, and withdrew me from the company of my class-fellows, among whom, as among children of low birth and bad nature could not fail to be the case, the utmost coarseness and boorishness of every sort prevailed. The plan of these schools does not include any general inspection, but limits itself to mere intellectual instruction.

Upwards, however, I still strove. A feeling of honor, a wish for something better, an effort to work myself out of this abasement, incessantly attended me; but without direction as it was, it led me rather to sullenness, misanthropy and clownishness.

At length a place opened for me, where some training in these points lay within my reach. One of our senators took his mother-in-law home to live with him; she had still two children with her, a son and a daughter, both about my own age. For the son private lessons were wanted; and happily I was chosen for the purpose.

As these private lessons brought me in a *gulden* monthly, I now began to defend myself a little against the grumbling of my parents. Hitherto I had been in the habit of doing work occasionally, that I might not be told how I was eating their bread for nothing; clothes, and oil for my lamp, I had earned

by teaching in the house: these things I could not relinquish; and thus my condition was in some degree improved. On the other hand, I had now opportunity of seeing persons of better education. I gained the good will of the family; so that besides the lesson-hours, I generally lived there. Such society afforded me some culture, extended my conceptions and opinions, and also polished a little the rudeness of my exterior.'

Hard fortune followed him to the University. He was left on the road with two *guldens*, and arrived at Leipsic to study such things as were accessible to him without fee. His second godfather, Sebastian Seydel, from time to time sent him a small pittance with sour admonitions, but many days together he had no regular meal, and oftentimes not three half-pence for a loaf at midday. "One good heart alone I found, and that in the servant girl of the house where I lodged. She laid out money for my necessities, seeing me in such pitiful want. What sustained me was not ambition—not any youthful dream of one day taking my place among the learned. My chief strength lay in my determination to rise from this degradation, and to know the worst which was before me." Even with an offer of a tutorship which would take him away from the university, he still determined to pursue his object at Leipsic. By dint of excessive endeavors he got admittance to Ernesti's lectures, and there first learned what interpretation of the classics meant, and what was better, by his attention, gained the good will of the professor, who got him occasional employment as private tutor, or as clerk for some of the professors. Drawn to Dresden in 1752, by the expectation of some appointment from Count Brühl, whose favorable attention had been attracted by a long Latin Epicedium, prepared in the sorrow of his heart for the preacher of the French chapel, who had befriended him in some bitter strait, and which was printed by the family of the deceased—he experienced two years more of hard study, unremunerative labor in translations for the booksellers, sharing a garret with another student not quite so poor, and sleeping on the floor, with folios for his pillow.

In the autumn of 1753 he obtained the post of under clerk in the Brühl library, with a salary of one hundred *thalers* ($70), and here at last he entered on the career, in which, after a protracted apprenticeship, he achieved reputation, peace, and competence. In 1754 he prepared an edition of Tibullus, which was printed the next year; and in 1756 appeared the first edition of his Enchiridion of Epictetus. But in 1757 the Brühl library, with its 70,000 volumes, was destroyed by the Prussian army in its assaults on Dresden, and Heyne was glad to accept a tutorship in the family of Herr von

Schönberg. Here he gained by his intercourse with refined people, made the acquaintance of Theresa Weiss, his future wife, and resided a year with his pupil at Wittenberg University, studying in his own behoof, philosophy and German history. But this opportunity was all extinguished by the operations of the war, which reduced the University buildings to rubbish, the family of his pupil to great distress, and drove him back to Dresden, out of which, in the terrible vicissitudes of war, he was again driven by Prussian cannon, which catastrophe he describes as follows:

The Prussians advanced meanwhile, and on the 18th of July (1760) the bombardment of Dresden began. Several nights I passed, in company with others, in a tavern, and the days in my room; so that I could hear the balls from the battery, as they flew through the streets, whizzing past my windows. An indifference to danger and to life took such possession of me, that on the last morning of the siege, I went early to bed, and, amid the frightfullest crashing of bombs and grenades, fell fast asleep of fatigue, and lay sound till midday. On awaking, I huddled-on my clothes, and ran down stairs, but found the whole house deserted. I had returned to my room, considering what I was to do, whither, at all events, I was to take my chest, when, with a tremendous crash, a bomb came down in the court of the house; did not, indeed, set fire to it, but on all sides shattered every thing to pieces. The thought, that where one bomb fell, more would soon follow, gave me wings; I darted down stairs, found the house-door locked, ran to and fro; at last got entrance into one of the under-rooms, and sprang through the window into the street.

Empty as the street where I lived had been, I found the principal thoroughfares crowded with fugitives. Amidst the whistling of balls, I ran along the Schlossgasse towards the Elbe-Bridge, and so forward to the Neustadt, out of which the Prussians had now been forced to retreat. Glad that I had leave to rest any where, I passed one part of the night on the floor of an empty house; the other, witnessing the frightful light of flying bombs, and a burning city.

At break of day, a little postern was opened by the Austrian guard, to let the fugitives get out of the walls. The captain, in his insolence, called the people Lutheran dogs, and with the nickname gave each of us a stroke as we passed through the gate.

A better day dawned at last; on the recommendation of the best classical scholar in the Netherlands, Prof. Rheuken, of Leyden (who had been invited to fill the place), he was appointed to the chair in Göttingen, made vacant by the death of Gessner. Here on an official income of 800 *thalers* (increased in the course of time to 1,200), he labored for fifty years, lecturing from two to three times a day in his own subjects, conducting three times a week a Seminarium (out of which issued 135 professors), acting as chief librarian, making frequent contributions to the Royal Society of Science, editing the Gazette of Learning, and bringing out from year to year elaborate editions of Virgil (six editions from 1767 to 1803), Pliny (two 1790, 1811), Pindar (1774, 1797, 1789), Homer in eight volumes, in 1862, and an abridged edition in two volumes in 1804, besides carrying on an extensive correspondence with scholars in all parts of Europe. He died in 1812, full of years (83), and crowned with all a scholar's honors.

FREDERICK II. AND HIS SCHOOL REFORMS.

EDUCATION.*

FREDERICK THE SECOND of the name, King of Prussia, and distinguished as *the Great*, was born in the palace in Berlin, Jan. 24, 1712—the son of Frederick I. and the Princess Sophia-Dorothea, daughter of George I. of Great Britain. To the diverse elements in his domestic training and education may be traced the distinguishing features of his character and career. The earliest agency in his primal education—the influence which surrounded his early childhood was mainly French, in consequence of his governess for the first seven years of his life being the Madame de Roucoulles, 'the Edict of Nantes,' French lady, who, five-and-twenty years before, as Madame de Montbail, had taken similar charge of Friedrich Wilhelm. And her ways and methods must have been conciliatory and quasi maternal, for both her royal pupils entertained and expressed in various ways a grateful and honest affection for her and hers. Under this daily teaching and influence, his manners, early religious notions and speech, became French, after the type of his governess. Mingling or contracting with the working of this French element, was the rough German element of his father's stern speech, economies, and authority, and of the military talk, inventions, and movements generally of the Field Marshal, Prince Duhan, and other Prussian soldiers and ministers about the King. At the age of seven the young Crown-Prince was taken out of the hands and influences of governesses and women, and placed under the tutors and sub-tutors of sterner stuff, tried and found faithful to the King in the famous Stralsund siege.

Duhan de Jandun, the young French gentleman who had escaped from grammar lessons to the trenches, he is the practical teacher. Lieutenant-General Graf Fink von Finkenstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel von Kalkstein, they are Head Tutor (*Oberhofmeister*) and Sub-Tutor; military men both, who had been in many wars besides Stralsund. By these three he waa assiduously educated, subordinate schoolmasters working under them when needful in auch branches as the paternal judgment would admit, the paternal object and theirs being to infuse useful knowledge, reject useless, and wind up the whole into a military finish. These appointments, made at different precise dates, took effect, all of them, in the year 1719.

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* Carlyle's *History of Frederick II.*—Abridged.

Duhan, independently of his experience in the trenches, appears to have been an accomplished, ingenious, and conscientious man, who did credit to Friedrich Wilhelm's judgment, and to whom Friedrich professed himself much indebted in after life. Their progress in some of the technical branches, as we shall perceive, was indisputably unsatisfactory; but the mind of the boy seems to have been opened by this Duhan to a lively, and, in some sort, genial perception of things round him; of the strange, confusedly opulent Universe he had got into; and of the noble and supreme function which Intelligence holds there, supreme in Art as in Nature, beyond all other functions whatsoever. Duhan was now turned of thirty: a cheerful, amiable Frenchman; poor, though of good birth and acquirements; originally from Champagne. Friedrich loved him very much, always considered him his spiritual father, and to the end of Duhan's life, twenty years hence, was eager to do him any good in his power; anxious always to repair for poor Duhan the great sorrows he came to on his account, as we shall see.

Of Graf Fink von Finkenstein, who has had military experiences of all kinds and all degrees, from marching as prisioner into France, 'wounded and without his hat,' to fighting at Malplaquet, at Blenheim, even at Steenkirk, as well as Stralsund—who is now in his sixtieth year, and seems to have been a gentleman of rather high, solemn manners, and, indeed, of undeniable perfections—of this supreme Count Fink we learn almost nothing farther in the Books except that his little pupil did not dislike him either; the little pupil took not unkindly to Fink, welcoming any benignant human ray across these lofty gravities of the *Oberhofmeister;* went often to his house in Berlin, and made acquaintance with two young Finks about his own age whom he found there, and who became important to him, especially the younger of them, in the course of the future. This Pupil, it may be said, is creditably known for his attachment to his teachers and others, an attached and attaching little boy.

Of Kalkstein, a rational, experienced, and earnest kind of man, though as yet but young, it is certain also that the little Fritz loved him; and futhermore, that the Great Friedrich was grateful to him, and had a high esteem of his integrity and sense. 'My master, Kalkstein,' used to be his designation of him when the name chanced to be mentioned in after times. They continued together, with various passages of mutual history, for forty years afterward, till Kalkstein's death.

How these Fink-Kalkstein functionaries proceeded in the great task they had got—very great task had they known what pupil had fallen to them—is not directly recorded for us with any sequence or distinctness. We infer only that every thing went by inflexible routine, not asking at all *what* pupil, nor much whether it would suit any pupil. Duhan, with the tendencies we have seen in him, who is willing to soften the inflexible when possible, and to 'guide Nature' by a rather loose rein, was probably a genial element in the otherwise strict affair. Fritz had one unspeakable advantage, rare among princes, and even among peasants in these ruined ages, that of *not* being taught, or in general not, by the kind called 'Hypocrites, and even Sincere Hypocrites,' fatalest species of the class *Hypocrite.* We perceive he was lessoned all along, not by enchanted Phantasms of that dangerous sort, breathing mendacity of mind, unconsciously, out of every look, but by real Men, who believed from the heart outward, and were daily doing what they taught. To which unspeakable advantage we add a second, like-

wise considerable: that his masters, though rigorous, were not unlovable to him; that his affections, at least, were kept alive; that whatever of seed (or of chaff and hail, as was likelier) fell on his mind had *sunshine* to help in dealing with it.

[The following summary of the father's directions to his son's tutors, with Carlyle's interjected elucidation, contains some excellent hints, and throws light on the character of the father, and the stern regimen under which the great Captain of the age was trained to the endurance and obedience which he exacted of others.]

1. 'Must impress my son with a proper love and fear of God, as the foundation and sole pillar of our temporal and eternal welfare. No false religions, or sects of Atheist, Arian (Arrian), Socinian, or whatever name the poisonous things have, which can so easily corrupt a young mind, are to be even named in his hearing; on the other hand, a proper abhorrence (*Abscheu*) of Papistry, and insight into its baselessness and nonsensicality (*Ungrund und Absurdität*) is to be communicated to him.' Papistry, which is false enough, like the others, but impossible to be ignored like them, mention that, and give him due abhorrence for it; for we are Protestants to the bone in this country, and can not stand *Absurdität*, least of all hypocritically religious ditto. But the grand thing will be 'to impress on him the true religion, which consists essentially in this, that Christ died for all men,' and generally, that the Almighty's justice is eternal and omnipresent, 'which consideration is the only means of keeping a sovereign person (*sauveraine Macht*), or one freed from human penalties, in the right way.'

2. 'He is to learn no Latin;' observe that, however it may surprise you. What has a living German man and King of the eighteenth *Sæculum* to do with the dead old Heathen Latins, Romans, and the lingo *they* spoke their fraction of sense and nonsense in? Frightful how the young years of the European generations have been wasted for ten centuries back, and the Thinkers of the world have become mere walking Sacks of Marine stores—'*Gelehrten*, Learned,' as they call themselves—and gone *lost* to the world in that manner as a set of confiscated Pedants, babbling about said Heathens, and *their* extinct lingo, and fraction of sense and nonsense for the thousand years last past—Heathen Latins, Romans, who perhaps were no great things of Heathen after all, if well seen into. I have heard judges say they were *in*ferior in real worth and grist, to German home-growths we have had, if the confiscated Pedants could have discerned it. At any rate, they are dead, buried deep these two thousand years, well out of our way, and nonsense enough of our own left to keep sweeping into corners. Silence about their lingo and them to this new Crown-Prince! 'Let the Prince learn French and German, so as to write and speak 'with brevity and propriety' in these two languages, which may be useful to him in life. That will suffice for languages, provided he have any thing effectually rational to say in them. For the rest,

3. 'Let him learn Arithmetic, Mathematics, Artillery, Economy to the very bottom, and, in short, useful knowledge generally; useless ditto not at all: 'History in particular; Ancient History only slightly (*nur überhin*), but the History of the last Hundred and fifty Years to the exactest pitch. The *Jus Naturale* and *Jus Gentium*,' by the way of hand-lamp to History, 'he must be completely master of, as also of Geography, whatever is remarkable in each Country; and in Histories, most especially the History of the House of Brandenberg, where he will find domestic examples, which are always of more force than foreign; and along with Prussian History, chiefly that of the Countries which have been connected with it, as England, Brunswick, Hessen, and the others; and in reading of wise History-books there must be considerations made (*sollen beym Lesen kluger Historiarum Betrachtungen gemacht werden*) upon the causes of the events.' Surely, O King!

4. 'With increasing years, you will more and more, to a most especial degree,

go upon Fortification'—mark you! 'the Formation of a Camp and other War-Sciences—that the Prince may, from youth upward, be trained to act as Officer and General, and to seek all his glory in the soldier profession.' This is whither it must all tend. You, Finkenstein and Kalkstein, 'have both of you, in the highest measure, to make it your care to infuse into my Son' (*einzurprägen*, stamp into him) 'a true love for the Soldier business, and to impress on him that, as there is nothing in the world which can bring a Prince renown and honor like the sword, so he would be a despised creature before all men if he did not love it, and seek his sole glory (*die einzige Gloria*) therein;' which is an extreme statement of the case, showing how much we have it at heart.

Military Science and Practice.

Of the sciences relating to war, the future captain had much both of theory and practice. Before he was eight years old, 'there had been instituted for express behoof of little Fritz, a miniature soldier company above a hundred strong, which grew afterward to be near three hundred, and, indeed, rose to be a permanent Institution by degrees, called *Compagnie der Kronprinzlichen Kadetten* (Company of Crown-Prince Cadets). A hundred and ten boys about his own age, sons of noble families, had been selected from the three Military Schools then extant, as a kind of tiny regiment for him, where, if he was by no means commander all at once, he might learn his exercise in fellowship with others. Czar Peter, it is likely, took a glance of this tiny regiment just getting into rank and file there, which would remind the Czar of his own young days. An experienced Lieutenant-Colonel was appointed to command in chief. A certain handy and correct young fellow, Rentzel by name, about seventeen, who already knew his fugling to a hair's breadth, was drill master, and exercised them all, Fritz especially, with due strictness, till, in the course of time and attainments, Fritz could himself take the head charge, which he did in a year or two; a little soldier thenceforth, properly strict, though of small dimensions, in tight blue bit of coat and cocked hat, miniature image of Papa (it is fondly hoped and expected), resembling him as a sixpence does a half crown. In 1721 the assiduous Papa set up a "little arsenal" for him "in the Orange Hall of the Palace;" there let him, with perhaps a chosen comrade or two, mount batteries, fire exceedingly small brass ordnance, his Engineer Teacher, one Major von Senning, limping about (on cork leg), and superintending, if needful.

'Rentzel, it is known, proved an excellent drill sergeant; had good talents every way, and was a man of probity and sense. He played beautifully on the flute too, and had a cheerful, conversible turn, which naturally recommended him still farther to Fritz, and awoke or encouraged, among other faculties, the musical faculty in the little boy. Rentzel continued about him or in sight of him through

life, advancing gradually, not too fast, according to real merit and service (Colonel in 1759), and never did discredit to the choice Friedrich Wilhelm had made of him. Of Senning, too, Engineer-Major von Senning, who gave Fritz his lessons in Mathematics, Fortification, and the kindred branches, the like or better can be said. He was of graver years; had lost a leg in the Marlborough Campaigns, poor gentleman, but had abundant sense, native worth, and cheery rational talk in him, so that he, too, could never be parted with by Friedrich, but was kept on hand to the last, a permanent and variously serviceable acquisition.

'Thus, at least, is the military education of our Crown-Prince cared for. And we are to fancy the little fellow, from his tenth year or earlier, going about in miniature soldier figure for most part —in strict Spartan-Brandenburg costume of body as of mind—costume little flattering to his own private taste for finery, yet by no means unwholesome to him, as he came afterward to know. In October, 1723, it is on record, when George I. came to visit his son-in-law and daughter at Berlin, his Britannic Majesty, looking out from his new quarters on the morrow, saw Fritzchen "drilling his Cadet Company," a very pretty little phenomenon—drilling, with clear voice, military sharpness, and the precision of clock-work, on the Esplanade (*Lustgarten*) there; and doubtless the Britannic Majesty gave some grunt of acquiescence, perhaps even a smile, rare on that square, heavy-laden countenance of his.

Of riding masters, fencing masters, swimming masters, much less of dancing masters (celebrated Graun 'on the organ,' with Psalm tunes), we can not speak; but the reader may be satisfied they were all there, good of their kind, and pushing on at a fair rate. Nor is there any lack any where of paternal supervision to our young apprentice. From an early age Papa took the Crown-Prince with him on his annual reviews. From utmost Memel on the Russian border down to Wesel on the French, all Prussia, in every nook of it, garrison, marching-regiment, board of management, is rigorously reviewed by Majesty once a year. There travels little military Fritz beside the military Majesty, amid the generals and official persons, in their hardy Spartan manner, and learns to look into every thing like a Rhadamanthine Argus, and how the eye of the master, more than all other appliances, fattens the cattle.

On his hunts, too, Papa took him; for Papa was a famous hunter when at Wusterhausen in the season: hot Beagle-chase, hot Stag-hunt, your chief game deer; huge 'Force-hunt' (*Par-force-Jagd*,

the woods all beaten, and your wild beasts driven into straights and caudine forks for you); Boar-hunting (*Sauhetze*, 'sow-baiting,' as the Germans call it), partridge-shooting, fox and wolf-hunting —on all grand expeditions of such sort little Fritz shall ride with Papa and party. Rough, furious riding; now on swift steed, now at places on *Wurstwagen*—*Wurstwagen*, 'Sausage-car,' so called, most Spartan of vehicles, a mere *stuffed pole* or 'sausage' with wheels to it, on which you sit astride, a dozen or so of you, and career, regardless of the summer heat and sandy dust, of the winter's frost storms and muddy rain. All this the little Crown-Prince is bound to do, but likes it less and less, some of us are sorry to observe! In fact, he could not take to hunting at all, or find the least of permanent satisfaction in shooting partridges and baiting sows, 'with such an expenditure of industry and such damage to the seed fields,' he would sometimes alledge in extenuation. In later years he had been known to retire into some glade of the thickets, and hold a little Flute-Hautbois Concert with his musical comrades while the sows were getting baited; or he would converse with Mamma and her Ladies, if her Majesty chanced to be there in a day for open driving, which things by no means increase his favor with Papa, a sworn hater of 'effeminate practices.'

He was 'nourished on beer-soup,' as we said before. Frugality, activity, exactitude, were lessons daily and hourly brought home to him in every thing he did and saw. His very sleep was stingily meted out to him: 'Too much sleep stupefies a fellow,' Friedrich Wilhelm was wont to say; so that the very doctors had to interfere in this matter for little Fritz. Frugal enough, hardy enough; urged in every way to look with indifference on hardship, and take a Spartan view of life.

Money allowance completely his own he does not seem to have had till he was seventeen. Exiguous pocket-money, counted in *groschen* (English *pence*, or hardly more), only his Kalkstein and Finkenstein could grant as they saw good; about eighteen pence in the month to start with, as would appear.

Intellectual Culture.

But with regard to our little Crown-Prince's intellectual culture, there is another document, specially from Papa's hand, which, if we can redact, adjust, and abridge it, as in the former case, may be worth the reader's notice, and elucidate some things for him. It is of date Wusterhausen, 3d September, 1721, little Fritz now in his tenth year, and out there, with his Duhans and Finkenstein, while Papa is rusticating for a few weeks. The essential title is,

To Head-Governor von Finkenstein, Sub-Governor von Kalkstein, Preceptor Jacques Egide Duhan de Jaudun, and others whom it may concern: Regulations for schooling at Wusterhausen, 3d September, 1721, in greatly abridged form.

Sunday. 'On Sunday he is to rise at 7, and, as soon as he has got his slippers on, shall kneel down at his bedside, and pray to God, so as all in the room may hear it' (that there be no deception or short measure palmed upon us) 'in these words: "Lord God, bless Father, I thank thee from my heart that thou hast so graciously preserved me through this night. Fit me for what thy holy will is, and grant that I do nothing this day, nor all the days of my life, which can divide me from thee. For the Lord Jesus my Redeemer's sake. Amen." After which the Lord's Prayer; then rapidly and vigorously (*geschwinde und hurtig*) wash himself clean, dress, and powder, and comb himself:' we forget to say that, while they are combing and queuing him, he breakfasts, with brevity, on tea. 'Prayer, with washing, breakfast, and the rest, to be done pointedly within fifteen minutes,' that is, at a quarter past 7.

'This finished, all his domestics and Duhan shall come in and do family worship (*das grosse Gebet zu halten*): Prayer on their knees, Duhan withal to read a chapter of the Bible, and sing some proper Psalm or Hymn' (as practiced in well regulated families); 'it will then be a quarter to 8. All the domestics then withdraw again, and Duhan now reads with my Son the Gospel of the Sunday, expounds it a little, adducing the main points of Christianity;' 'questioning from Noltenius's Catechism' (which Fritz knows by heart): 'it will then be 9 o'clock.

'At 9 he brings my Son down to me, who goes to Church, and dines along with me' (dinner at the stroke of Noon); 'the rest of the day is then his own' (Fritz's and Duhan's). 'At half past 9 in the evening he shall come and bid me good night; shall then directly go to his room; very rapidly (*sehr geschwind*) get off his clothes, wash his hands' (get into some tiny dressing-gown or *cassaquin*, no doubt), 'and so soon as that is done, Duhan makes a prayer on his knees, and sings a hymn, all the servants being again there; instantly after which my Son shall get into bed—shall be *in* bed at half past 10;' and fall asleep how soon, your Majesty? This is very strict work.

Monday. 'On Monday, as on all week days, he is to be called at 6, and so soon as called he is to rise; you are to stand to him (*anhalten*) that he do not loiter or turn in bed, but briskly and at once get up, and say his prayers the same as on Sunday morning. This done, he shall as rapidly as he can get on his shoes and spatterdashes, also wash his face and hands, but not with soap; farther, shall put on his *cassaquin*' (short dressing-gown), 'have his hair combed out and queued, but not powdered. While getting combed and queued, he shall at the same time take breakfast of tea, so that both jobs go on at once, and all this shall be ended before half past 6.' Then enter Duhan and the domestics with worship, Bible, Hymn, all as on Sunday; this is done by 7, and the servants go again.

'From 7 till 9 Duhan takes him on History; at 9 comes Noltenius' (a sublime Clerical Gentleman from Berlin) with the 'Christian Religion, till a quarter to 11. Then Fritz rapidly (*geschwind*) washes his face with water, hands with soap and water; clean shirt; powders, and puts on his coat; about 11 comes to the King; stays with the king till 2,' perhaps promenading a little; dining always at Noon, after which his Majesty is apt to be slumberous, and light amusements are over.

'Directly at 2 he goes back to his room. Duhan is there, ready; takes him upon the Maps and Geography from 2 to 3, giving account' (gradually) 'of all the European Kingdoms; their strength and weakness; size, riches, and poverty of their towns. From 3 to 4, Duhan treats of Morality (*soll die Moral tractiren*). From 4 to 5, Duhan shall write German letters with him, and see that he gets a good *stylum*' (which he never in the least did). 'About 5, Fritz shall wash his hands, and go to the King; ride out; divert himself, in the air and not in his room, and do what he likes, if it is not against God.'

There, then, is a Sunday, and there is one week day, which latter may serve for all the other five, though they are strictly specified in the royal monograph,

and every hour of them marked out: How, and at what points of time, besides this of *History*, of *Morality*, and *Writing in German*, of Maps and *Geography*, with the strength and weakness of Kingdoms, you are to take up *Arithmetic* more than once; *Writing of French Letters*, so as to acquire a good *stylum*, in what nook you may intercalate 'a little getting by heart of something in order to strengthen the memory;' how, instead of Noltenius, Panzendorf (another sublime Reverend Gentleman from Berlin, who comes out express) gives the clerical drill on Tuesday morning; with which two onslaughts, of an hour and a half each, the Clerical Gentlemen seem to withdraw for the week, and we hear no more of them till Monday and Tuesday come round again.

On Wednesday we are happy to observe a liberal slice of holiday come in. After half past 9, having done his *History*, and 'got something by heart to strengthen the memory' (very little, it is to be feared), 'Fritz shall rapidly dress himself and come to the King; and the rest of the day belongs to little Fritz (*gehört vor Fritzchen*).' On Saturday there is some fair chance of half-holiday.

'*Saturday*, forenoon till half past 10, come History, Writing, and Ciphering, especially repetition of what was done through the week, and in *Morality* as well' (adds the rapid Majesty), 'to see whether he has profited; and General Graf von Finkenstein, with Colonel von Kalkstein, shall be present during this. If Fritz has profited, the afternoon shall be his own; if he has not profited, he shall, from 2 to 6, repeat and learn rightly what he has forgotten on the past days.' And so the laboring week winds itself up. Here, however, is one general rule, which can not be too much imprersed upon you, with which we conclude:

'In undressing and dressing, you must accustom him to get out of and into his clothes as fast as is humanly possible (*hurtig so viel als menschenmöglich ist*). You will also look that he learn to put on and off his clothes himself, without help from others, and that he be clean and neat, and not so dirty (*nicht so schmutzig*).' 'Not so dirty,' that is my last word; and here is my sign-manual.

'FRIEDRICH WILHELM.'

His sister Wilhelmina, in her *Mémoires*, says her brother was 'slow' in learning; we may presume she means idle, volatile, not always prompt in fixing his attention to what did not interest him. Herr von Loen testifies:—

'The Crown-Prince manifests in this tender age' (his seventh year) 'an uncommon capacity, nay, we may say something quite extraordinary (*etwas ganz Ausserordentliches*). He is a most alert and vivacious Prince; he has fine and sprightly manners, and shows a certain kindly sociality, and so affectionate a disposition that all things may be hoped of him. The French Lady who' (under Roucoulles) 'has had charge of his learning hitherto can not speak of him without enthusiasm. "*C'est esprit angélique* (A little angel)," she is wont to say. He takes up and learns whatever is put before him with the greatest facility.'

For the rest, that Friedrich Wilhelm's intentions and Rhadamanthine regulations in regard to him were fulfilled in every point, we will by no means affirm. Rules of such exceeding preciseness, if grounded here and there only on the *sic volo*, how could they be always kept, except on the surface and to the eye merely? The good Duhan, diligent to open his pupil's mind and give Nature fair play, had practically found it inexpedient to tie him too rigorously to the arbitrary formal departments, where no natural curiosity, but only order from without, urges the ingenious pupil. What maximum strictness in school-drill there can have been we may infer

from one thing, were there no other—the ingenious pupil's mode of *spelling.* Fritz learned to write a fine, free-flowing, rapid, and legible business-hand; 'Arithmetic,' too, 'Geography,' and many other Useful Knowledges that had some geniality of character or attractiveness in practice, were among his acquisitions; much, very much he learned in the course of his life; but to *spell*, much more to punctuate, and subdue the higher mysteries of Grammar to himself, was always an unachievable perfection.

The things ordered with such rigorous minuteness, if but arbitrary things, were apt to be neglected; the things forbidden, especially in the like case, were apt to become doubly tempting. It appears the prohibition of Latin gave rise to several attempts on the part of Friedrich to attain that desirable language. Secret lessons, not from Duhan, but no doubt with Duhan's connivance, were from time to time undertaken with this view. Once, it is recorded, the vigilant Friedrich Wilhelm, going his rounds, came upon Fritz and one of his preceptors (not Duhan, but a subaltern) actually engaged in this illicit employment. Friedrich was wont to relate this anecdote in after life. They had Latin books, dictionaries, grammars on the table—all the contraband apparatus—busy with it there, like a pair of coiners taken in the fact. Among other books was a copy of the Golden Bull of Kaiser Karl IV.—*Aurea Bulla*, from the little golden *bullets* or pellets hung to it—by which sublime document, as perhaps we hinted long ago, certain so-called Fundamental Constitutions, or at least formalities and solemn practices, method of election, rule of precedence, and the like, of the Holy Roman Empire, had at last been settled on a sure footing by that busy little Kaiser some three hundred and fifty years before—a document venerable almost next to the Bible in Friedrich Wilhelm's loyal eyes. 'What is this? What are you venturing upon here?' exclaims Paternal Vigilance, in an astonished, dangerous tone. '*Ihro Majestate, ich explicire dem Prinzen Auream Bullam,*' exclaimed the trembling pedagogue: 'Your Majesty, I am explaining *Aurea Bulla* (Golden Bull) to the Prince.' 'Dog, I will Golden Bull you!' said his Majesty, flourishing his ratan, '*Ich will dich, Schurke, be-auream-bullam!*' which sent the terrified wretch off at the top of his speed, and ended the Latin for that time. Friedrich's Latin could never come to much under these impediments, but he retained some smatterings of it in mature life, and was rather fond of producing his classical scraps, often in an altogether mouldy, and, indeed, hitherto inexplicable condition.

The worst fruit of these contraband operations was that they involved the boy in clandestine practices, secret disobediences, apt to be found out from time to time, and tended to alienate his father from him, of which sad mutual humor we already find traces in that early Wusterhausen Document: 'Not to be so dirty,' says the reproving father. And the boy does not take to hunting at all; likes verses, story books, flute playing better; seems to be of effeminate tendencies, an *effeminirter Kerl;* affects French modes, combs out his hair like a cockatoo, the foolish French fop, instead of conforming to the army regulation, which prescribes close cropping and a club.

And so, unexpectedly, Friedrich Wilhelm has commanded these bright locks, as contrary to military fashion, of which Fritz has now unworthily the honor of being a specimen, to be ruthlessly shorn away. Inexorable! The *Hof-Chirurgus* (Court-Surgeon, of the nature of Barber-Surgeon), with scissors and comb is here, ruthless father standing by: Crop him, my jolly Barber, close down to the accurate standard—soaped club instead of flowing locks; we suffer no exceptions in this military department: I stand here till it is done. Poor Fritz, they say, had tears in his eyes; but what help in tears? The judicious Chirurgus, however, proved merciful. The judicious Chirurgus struck in as if nothing loth, snack, snack, and made a great show of clipping. Friedrich Wilhelm took a newspaper till the job were done. The judicious barber, still making a great show of work, combed back rather than cut off these Apollo locks, did Fritz accurately into soaped club to the cursory eye, but left him capable of shaking out his chevelure again on occasion, to the lasting gratitude of Fritz.

Teaching Religion not a Success.

On the whole a youth needs good assimilating power if he is to grow in this world. Noltenius and Panzendorf, for instance, were busy 'teaching Friedrich religion.' Rather a strange operation this, too, if we were to look into it. We will not look too closely. Another pair of excellent, most solemn drill sergeants, in clerical black serge; they also are busy instilling dark doctrines into the bright young boy, but do not seem at any time to have made too deep an impression on him. May we not say that in matter of religion, too, Friedrich was but ill-bested? Enlightened Edict of Nantes Protestantism, a cross between Bayle and Calvin, that was but indifferent babe's milk to the little creature. Nor could Noltenius's Catechism and ponderous drill exercise in orthodox theology much inspire a clear soul with pieties and tendencies to soar Heavenward.

Noltenius's *Catechism*, or ghostly Drill manual for Fritz, at least the Catechism he had plied Wilhelmina with, which no doubt was the same, is still extant—a very abstruse piece, orthodox Lutheran-Calvanist, all proved from Scripture—giving what account it can of this unfathomable Universe to the young mind. To modern Prussians it by no means shines as the indubitablest Theory of the Universe. Indignant modern Prussians produce excerpts from it of an abstruse nature, and endeavor to deduce therefrom some of Friedrich's aberrations in matters of religion, which became notorious enough by and by. Alas! I fear it would not have been easy, even for the modern Prussian, to produce a perfect Catechism for the use of Friedrich. This Universe still continues a little abstruse.

And there is another deeper thing to be remarked: the notion of 'teaching' religion in the way of drill exercise, which is a very strange notion, though a common one, and not peculiar to Noltenius and Friedrich Wilhelm. Piety to God, the nobleness that inspires a human soul to struggle Heavenward, can not be 'taught' by the most exquisite catechisms, or the most industrious preachings and drillings. No; alas! no. Only by far other methods—chiefly by silent, continual Example, silently waiting for the favorable mood and moment, and aided then by a kind of miracle, well enough named 'the grace of God,' can that sacred contagion pass from soul into soul. How much beyond whole libraries of orthodox Theology is sometimes the mute action, the unconscious look of a father, of a mother, who *had* in them 'Devoutness, pious Nobleness!' in whom the young soul, not unobservant, though not consciously observing, came at length to recognize it, to read it in this irrefragable manner—a seed planted thenceforth in the center of his holiest affections forevermore!

Noltenius wore black serge, kept the corners of his mouth well down, and had written a Catechism of repute; but I know not that Noltenius carried much seed of living piety about with him: much affection from or for young Fritz he could not well carry. On the whole, it is a bad outlook on the religious side, and except in apprenticeship to the rugged and as yet repulsive honesties of Friedrich Wilhelm, I see no good element in it. Bayle-Calvin, with Noltenius and Catechims of repute—there is no 'religion' to be had for a little Fritz out of all that.

Alienation of Father and Son.

Those vivacities of young Fritz, his taste for music, finery, those furtive excursions into the domain of Latin and forbidden things,

were distasteful and incomprehensible to Friedrich Wilhelm. Where can such things end?

The beginnings of this sad discrepancy are traceable from Friedrich's sixth or seventh year: 'Not so dirty, boy!' And there could be no lack of growth in the mutual ill-humor while the boy himself continued growing, enlarging in bulk and in activity of his own. And so the silent divulsion—silent on Fritz's part, exploding loud enough now and then on his father's part—goes steadily on, splitting ever wider, new offenses ever superadding themselves, till at last the rugged father has grown to hate the son, and longs, with sorrowful indignation, that it were possible to make August Wilhelm Crown-Prince in his stead. This Fritz ought to fashion himself according to his fathers's pattern, a well-meant, honest pattern, and he does not. Alas! your Majesty, it can not be. It is the new generation come, which can not live quite as the old one did—a perennial controversy in human life, coeval with the genealogies of men. This little boy should have been the excellent paternal Majesty's exact counterpart, resembling him at all points, 'as a little sixpence does a big half crown;' but we perceive he can not. This is a new coin, with a stamp of his own: a surprising *Friedrich d'or* this, and may prove a good piece yet, but will never be the half crown your Majesty requires.

Such incurable discrepancies have risen in the Berlin Palace—fountains of bitterness, flowing ever wider, till they made life all bitter for son and for father, necessitating the proud son to hypocrisies toward his terrible father which were very foreign to the proud youth had there been any other resource. But there was none now or afterward. Even when the young man, driven to reflection and insight by intolerable miseries, had begun to recognize the worth of his surly Rhadamanthine Father, and the intrinsic wisdom of much that he had meant with him, the father hardly ever could, or could only by fits, completely recognize the son's worth.

That is all along a sad element of Friedrich's education, out of which there might have come incalculable damage to the young man, had his natural assimilative powers to extract benefit from all things been less considerable. As it was, he gained self-help from it—gained reticence, the power to keep his own counsel, and did not let the hypocrisy take hold of him, or be other than a hateful, compulsory masquerade. At an uncommonly early age, he stands before us accomplished in endurance, for one thing, a very bright young Stoic of his sort, silently prepared for the injustices of men

and things; and as for the masquerade, let us hope it was essentially foreign even to the skin of the man. The reader will judge as he goes on. '*Je n' ai jamais trompé personne durant ma vie*, I never deceived any body during my life, still less will I deceive posterity,' writes Friedrich when his head was grown very gray.

He did learn 'Arithmetic,' 'Geography,' and the other useful knowledges that were indispensable to him. He knows History extensively, though rather the Roman, French, and general European as the French have taught it him, than that of 'Hessen, Brunswick, England,' or even the 'Electoral and Royal House of Brandenburg,' which Papa had recommended. He read History, where he could find it readable, to the end of his life, and had early begun reading it, immensely eager to learn in his little head what strange things had been and were in this strange Planet he was come into.

We notice with pleasure a lively taste for facts in the little boy, which continued to be the taste of the man, in an eminent degree. Fictions he also knows—an eager, extensive reader of what is called Poetry, Literature, and himself a performer in that province by and by; but it is observable how much of Realism there always is in his Literature—how close, here as elsewhere, he always hangs on the practical truth of things—how Fiction itself is either an expository illustrative garment of Fact, or else is of no value to him. Romantic readers of his Literature are much disappointed in consequence, and pronounce it bad Literature; and, sure enough, in several senses it is not good.

However it may go with Literature, and satisfaction to readers of romantic appetites, this young soul promises to become a successful Worker one day, and to *do* something under the Sun; for work is of an extremely unfictitious nature, and no man can roof his house with clouds and moonshine so as to turn the rain from him.

It is also to be noted that his style of French, though he spelled it so ill, and never had the least mastery of punctuation, has real merit—rapidity, easy vivacity, perfect clearness, here and there a certain quaint expressiveness; on the whole, he had learned the Art of Speech from those old French governesses, in those old and new French books of his. We can also say of his Literature, of what he hastily wrote in mature life, that it has much more worth, even as Literature, than the common romantic appetite assigns to it. A vein of distinct sense and good interior articulation is never wanting in that thin-flowing utterance. The true is well riddled out from amid the false; the important and essential are alone given us, the unimportant and superfluous honestly thrown away.

Results of his Teachers' Work.

That Friedrich's Course of Education did on the whole prosper, in spite of every drawback, is known to all men. He came out of it a man of clear and ever improving intelligence; equipped with knowledge, true in essentials, if not punctiliously exact, upon all manner of practical and speculative things, to a degree not only unexampled among modern Sovereign Princes so called, but such as to distinguish him even among the studious class; nay, many 'Men of Letters' have made a reputation for themselves with but a fraction of the real knowledge concerning men and things, past and present, which Friedrich was possessed of. Already, at the time when action came to be demanded of him, he was what we must call a well informed and cultivated man, which character he never ceased to merit more and more; and as for the action and the actions, we shall see whether he was fit for these or not.

One point of supreme importance in his Education was all along made sure of by the mere presence and presidence of Friedrich Wilhelm in the business: that there was an inflexible law of discipline every where active in it; that there was a Spartan rigor, frugality, veracity, inculcated upon him. 'Economy he is to study to the bottom;' and not only so, but, in another sense of the word, he is to practice economy; and does, or else suffers for not doing it. Economic of his time first of all: generally every other noble economy will follow out of that, if a man once understand and practice that. Here was a truly valuable foundation laid; and as for the rest, Nature, in spite of shot rubbish, had to do what she could in the rest. Among the confused hurtful elements of his schooling, was the salutary and potent one of its being an apprenticeship to Friedrich Wilhelm.

Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, did not set up for a Pestalozzi, and the plan of education for his son is open to manifold objections. Nevertheless, as schoolmasters go, I much prefer him to most others we have at present. This wild man had discerned, with his rugged natural intelligence (not wasted away in the idle element of speaking and of being spoken to, but kept wholesomely silent for most part), that human education is not, and can not be, a thing of *vocables;* that it is a thing of earnest facts; of capabilities developed, of habits established, of dispositions well dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed; a laborious separating of the character into two *firmaments;* shutting down the subterranean, well down and deep; an earth and waters, and what lies under them; then your everlasting azure sky and immeasurable depths of ether hanging overhead. To make of the human soul a Cosmos, so far as possible, that was Friedrich Wilhelm's dumb notion, not to leave the human soul a mere Chaos; how much less a Singing or eloquently Spouting Chaos, which is ten times worse than a Chaos left *mute,* confessedly chaotic and not cosmic! To develop the man into *doing* something, and withal into doing it as the Universe and the Eternal Laws require—which is but another name for really doing and not merely seeming to do it—that was Friedrich Wilhelm's dumb notion; and it was, I can assure you, very far from being a foolish one, though there was no Latin in it, and much of Prussian pipe-clay.

FREDERICK II. ascended the throne June, 1740, and in October of that year, issued an order, which was followed by others of similar import in 1741 and 1743, to provide for the support of village schools wherever established. In 1748 he assisted Hecker to develop the Real School in Berlin, and caused a Seminary for Teachers to be attached—in which he required all schoolmasters employed on the crown lands to be educated. In 1753 he made the system of instruction in the Kermark the example and models for other portions of the monarchy. In August, 1763, he issued his General School Regulations, and two years later, those for the Catholic Schools of Silesia.

GENERAL SCHOOL REGULATIONS, AUGUST 12, 1763.

We FREDERIC, *by the grace of God, King, etc.:*

WHEREAS, to our great displeasure, we have perceived that schools and the instruction of youth in the country have come to be greatly neglected, and that by the inexperience of many sacristans (*custos**) and schoolmasters, the young people grow up in stupidity and ignorance, it is our well considered and serious pleasure, that instruction in the country, throughout all our provinces, should be placed on a better footing, and be better organized than heretofore. For, as we earnestly strive for the true welfare of our country, and of all classes of people; now that quiet and general peace have been restored, we find it necessary and wholesome to have a good foundation laid in the schools by a rational and Christian education of the young for the fear of God and other useful ends. Therefore, by the power of our own highest motive, of our care and paternal disposition for the best good of all our subjects, we command hereby, all governors, consistories and other collegiates of our country; that they shall, on their part, contribute all they can, with affection and zeal, to maintain the following GENERAL SCHOOL REGULATIONS, and in future to arrange all things in accordance with the law to the end that ignorance, so injurious and unbecoming to Christianity, may be prevented and lessened, and the coming time may train and educate in the schools more enlightened and virtuous subjects.

SECTION 1. First, it is our pleasure that all our subjects, parents, guardians or masters, whose duty it is to educate the young, shall send their children to school, and those confided to their care, boys and girls, if not sooner, certainly when they reach the age of five years; and shall continue regularly to do so, and require them to go to school until they are thirteen or fourteen years old, and know not only what is necessary of Christianity, fluent reading and writing, but can give answer in everything which they learn from the school books, prescribed and approved by our consistory.

§ 2. Masters to whom children in Prussia, by custom are bound to render work for certain years, are seriously advised not to withdraw such children from school until they can read well, and have laid a good foundation in Christian knowledge; also made a beginning in writing, and can present a certificate from the minister and school master to this effect to the school-visitors. Parents and guardians ought much more to consider it their bounden duty that their children and wards receive sufficient instruction in the necessary branches.

§ 3. If children, by their own aptitude or by the care of the teacher are sufficiently advanced in the common studies before they attain their thirteenth or fourteenth year, even then the parents or guardians are not at liberty to retain them at home, but can do so only when the superintendents or inspectors, after a notice from the minister and a testimonial of the schoolmaster, that the pupil has acquired a sufficient knowledge, have issued a regular dismissal based on the above testimonial. Still such children must attend the Repetition School, not only on Sundays, at the minister's, but also on week-days at the schoolmaster's.

§ 4. As in many towns, parents do not send their children to school in summer, on the plea that they have to guard the cattle; our magistrates and judges in the districts containing towns and communes, shall see that a special shepherd is engaged, rather than allow the children to be kept from school. Whereas, as in

* NOTE.—Custos, or German "Küster," is the name by which the sacristan or custodian of the Church was designated; from among these persons many were taken as teachers, or rather the first teachers combined the office of custodian with their duties in the school.

our Westphalia counties, in the Wisher-land, in the old Margraviate and other parts, the houses are scattered far apart, and the cattle cannot well be driven into one place to be guarded, one child after the other, if there are several in a family or neighborhood, shall alternately, every day, attend to the herds; or the innkeepers and inhabitants of such towns shall make other arrangements by which each child can go to school at least three days of the week, that it may not forget in summer what it learned in winter. In many cases it could be organized that the children form two divisions, one of which could be in school during the three first days of a week, and the other during the three last days.

§ 5. In order to regulate definitely the summer and winter schools, we decree that winter schools must be held on all the six days of the week, from 8 to 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and from 1 to 4 o'clock in the afternoon, except Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. The winter school must be continued from Michaelmas to the Easter-days. But the summer schools shall be open only in the forenoon or, if necessary by the location of the place, during three hours every week-day, when the ministers can best decide at what hour to commence. No vacations are to be given, not even during harvest time; the schools shall be kept in the prescribed manner, with this distinction, that in summer each lesson is to be of half an hour's duration, and in winter of a full hour.

And since it has not remained unknown to us, that in many places the magistrates and patrons of nobility have taken great pains that schools might be kept winter and summer in the fore and afternoon, we will, by this decree, not at all abolish an arrangement so praiseworthy, but allow the example of Christian care for the interests of the children, to serve as an example to others.

§ 6. On Sundays, beside the lesson of the catechism or repetition school by the minister given in the Church, the schoolmaster shall give in the school a recapitulary lesson to the unmarried people of the township. They shall there practise reading and writing. Reading should be from the New Testament or some other edifying book, and as an exercise in writing, the young people should write some passages, or the epistle, or Gospel of the day. In towns where the schoolmaster is not likewise sexton, and not obliged to travel through the parish with the clergyman, he shall be bound to sing with the children in Church, either morning or afternoons, to hear them recite the catechism and address to them easy questions on the order of salvation. If a sacristan or schoolmaster has no experience in catechising, the minister should write down for him the questions he must ask, that in this manner, together with their children, the people may be edified and improved in scriptural knowledge.

§ 7. In regard to tuition fee, every child, until it can read, shall pay in winter six pennies, after it can read, nine pennies, and when it can write and read, one groschen a week. For the months of summer, however, they shall pay only two-thirds of this fee, so that those who paid six pennies in winter, after his proportion shall pay four; those who paid nine pennies shall pay six, and those who paid one groschen will pay eight pennies. If, in any place the schoolmaster has been paid better, he must continue to receive the customary fees.

§ 8. Parents too poor to pay the tuition fee for their children, and orphan children who cannot pay, must petition the magistrate, patron, minister or church-council for an allowance from any funds of the church or town at their disposal, that the schoolmaster may get his income, and teach the children of the poor and rich with equal diligence and fidelity.

§ 9. In furtherance of this object, there shall be delivered in every town of the country and in the cities, on St. Michael's Sunday of every year, a school discourse, in which a topic, chosen with discretion, from the subjects of christian education and edification of youth, in harmony with the Gospel of the day, or based on another suitable text from the Old or New Testament, shall be expounded to the people. After this discourse, and an earnest exhortation from the minister, a collection will be taken in aid of country schools, and especially for the purchase of school-books for the poor children in village schools; and in the manner customary to the place; they shall also collect voluntary contributions, which, together with the regular quarterly collections, shall be forwarded to the consistory of the province to be applied to the purchase of books.

§ 10. Having made good and sufficient provision for the instruction of the young, all parents, guardians, and others, having children to educate, who act contrary to this ordinance, by withholding them from school, shall still be

obliged to pay the common school-fee for the term; and guardians shall not be permitted to charge the money thus paid to the account of their wards. And if, after earnest exhortation of the minister, they do not send their children regularly to school, then the magistrate of the town, in the last resort, shall direct execution against them. It is made the duty of the school-visitors to impose on such parents as have not made their children attend school regularly, a fine of sixteen groschen, to be paid into the school-treasury.

We therefore command all officers and magistrates to ascertain without delay, after receiving notice from the schoolmaster, of the non-attendance of any child, from the parent or guardian of the same the cause of such absence, and if it is for other reason than sickness, they shall employ proper legal means to secure that child's attendance.

§ 11. To this end, and to enable him the better to control the matter, the schoolmaster shall receive, from the register of the church or the town in which they are engaged, a list of all children of school age, that they may know who are due to the school; and the teacher shall also keep a monthly register, in which the children are enrolled as follows: (1) By their name and surname; (2) their age; (3) the names of their parents; (4) their residence; (5) the date when they enter school; (6) the lessons they study; (7) the degree of their diligence or negligence; (8) their abilities of mind; (9) their morals and conduct; (10) the day when they leave school.

This register, which no child should be suffered to read, is sent to the school-visitor before his annual inspection, and inspected by the minister during his weekly visits that he may know the delinquent children, and exhort them to greater diligence, and speak with their parents in this regard.

This register is ruled with lines for every day of the month, on which the teacher can enter his remarks, and check those who are absent with or without permission or excuse. This will incite children to diligence, and remind parents, who send their children irregularly and say, "our children have gone so many years to school, and yet learned nothing," that the fault is not with the school or the teacher, but with themselves.

§ 12. Since the chief requisite in a good school is a competent and faithful teacher, it is our gracious and earnest will, that one and all, who have the right of appointment, shall take heed to bring only well qualified persons into office as teachers and sacristans. A schoolmaster should not only possess the necessary attainments and skill in instruction, but should be an example to the children, and not tear down by his daily life what he builds up by his teaching. He should therefore strive after godliness, and guard against everything which might give offence or temptation to parents or children. Above all things, he should endeavor to obtain a correct knowledge of God and of Christ, thereby laying a foundation to honest life and true christianity, and feeling that they are entrusted with their office from God, as followers of the Saviour, and in it have an opportunity, by diligence and good example, not only to render the children happy in the present life, but also to prepare them for eternal blessedness.

§ 13. Though we intend to leave undiminished the privileges of the nobility and other patrons to select and appoint their sacristans and teachers, yet our superintendents, inspectors and the clergy must see that no incompetent, unsuitable, nor reckless and wicked person is employed or continued in office. Especially should those be removed who are addicted to drink or theft, who excite dissensions in the commune, or give scandal. If they are addicted to such vices before their engagement they are unfit for the office; and the patrons should be required to present another person, of good repute, to the examiners. But if these vices crop out after they are in office, it must not only be noted on the annual report of conduct, but be directly communicated to our consistory, that they may be saved further vexation, and the incumbent be suspended without delay and brought to trial before the proper tribunal. All teachers are forbidden to keep tavern, to sell beer or wine, to engage in any other occupation by which their labor may be hindered or the children lured by their example into habits of idleness and dissipation, such as the hanging round taverns or making music at dinners and balls, which is prohibited under high fine and punishment.

§ 14. No sacristan or teacher can be installed into office before his qualifications, ascertained by actual examination, are certified to by the Inspector. No clergyman can admit any person to such position in church or school who does not produce said certificate of a successful examination.

With regard to our country schools in towns and villages on our own domains, we repeat our former directions, that no person shall be engaged as custos or school teacher unless he has been a member of the Teachers' Seminary at Berlin, and understands the cultivation of silk, as well as the excellent method of instruction pursued in the German schools of Trinity Church. And those teachers who have received from Chief Counsellor and Pastor Hecker a certificate of qualification, may be elected to a vacancy after giving a trial lesson in singing in the church and in teaching the children in school in presence of the inspector, or of the clergyman and some citizens of the town. Whenever a vacancy occurs, the clergyman must give notice to the inspector, mentioning the specific salary and circumstances of the position, who reports to the chief consistory, waiting for the presentation of a candidate from the Teachers' Seminary; if none such is presented, then, with the assistance of the clergyman, he must find a proper person and send him to Berlin for examination and trial lessons. Should he not be found qualified, he may be permitted to attend the seminary at his own expense, until he has obtained the certificate of qualification; and failing that, another candidate must be proposed.

§ 15. No person shall assume to teach in any school of the country, village, or town, who has not regularly obtained a license to teach; and all schools, whether kept by man or woman, not duly authorized, are entirely prohibited. But parents of wealth may, as heretofore, engage private teachers for their children, provided that the children of others who cannot yet be taught the higher branches, are not induced to withdraw from the regular school in order to share the private elementary instruction.

§ 16. As a schoolmaster is not permitted to employ his pupils for his own work during school hours, neither shall he attend to his trade or other business during such hours, or entrust his wife with the duties of the school-room; though he may employ her or another person to assist when the school is too large for his personal instruction. If for any cause he neglects to teach the prescribed hours, the clergyman shall remind him of his duty; and, in case of persistent neglect, notice must be sent to the inspector that such irregularities may be corrected or punished.

§ 17. The daily work of the school should begin with prayer to the Giver of all good gifts, that He will send His divine blessing on their work, and give them a heart full of tenderness and sincerity towards the children entrusted to their care, that they may do willingly and without passion all that is incumbent upon them as teachers; being always reminded that they can have no influence over children, nor win their hearts without the divine assistance of Jesus, the friend of children, and of His holy spirit. During the instructions they should devoutly pray that they may not only keep their minds composed, but that God will bless their work, and to planting and watering graciously give His increase.

Teachers should also devise various means to win the confidence of young pupils, especially of the bashful and slow, and to render their task easy. To this end, they should make themselves familiar with the third part of the "*Berlin School-book*," by which all the elementary branches are successfully taught.

§. 18. As much depends on a good plan of organization, it is ordered that three hours in the forenoon (from 8 to 11) and three in the afternoon (from 1 to 4 o'clock) shall be the school time, unless the minister and town council find it more suitable to begin earlier or close later in the day, provided six hours each day in summer and winter are devoted to instruction.

§. 19. The order of school shall be thus:

In the first hour of the morning they will—

First. Sing a hymn, the words being slowly pronounced by the schoolmaster, and sung by the children after him. Every month, but one hymn, designated by the clergyman, and not too long or unfamiliar, shall be learned and sung, in order that the old and young may remember the words and tune by frequent repetition. While singing, the teacher must see that all participate, and no child should be permitted to hold open the hymnbook and sing from it, but all should be required to follow him.

Second. After the hymn, a prayer shall be offered, either by the master, or one of the pupils may be allowed to read slowly and distinctly a prescribed prayer, while the rest join in silence. Then all should directly offer up a common prayer, learned by heart; and after the reading of the psalm for the month by one of the

pupils, the devotional exercise should close with the Lord's prayer. Any tardy children must wait at the door until prayer is ended, in order not to disturb the others.

Third. After prayer such a portion of the catechism is explained that in every six weeks the book is gone through. In this exercise the following method should be adopted: The portion to be interpreted must be read by the children until it is familiar to most of them. Then the words and their meaning are explained, by questions and answers, and verified by passages from the Scriptures; and finally the children should be told how to apply the truth of what they hear to practical life. For little children Luther's smaller catechism should be used; for the more advanced the clergyman and schoolmaster should use the larger catechism with interpretations.

During the remaining hours of the morning, exercises in reading, spelling, and the A B C should follow according to the proficiency of the pupils.

(1.) In the first half hour the advanced pupils read a chapter from the Old or New Testament, sometimes together, sometimes a certain portion of the class, alternating with a single pupil, as the teacher may designate to keep the order and attention of all alive.

(2.) The next half hour is devoted to spelling, either by the entire class in concert or each child alone. Sometimes a word is written on the "tafel," (*black-board,*) which all are required to spell and pronounce. During this lesson with the younger pupils the older are practised in finding passages of Scripture or hymns in the hymnbook; or they commit to memory verses and the names of Biblical books in their succession, that they may become ready in consulting the Scriptures.

(3.) The next hour is devoted to the A B C classes, with copying on their tablets one or two letters from the larger tablet, the teacher often calling them to name the letters, or show them on their slates, while he is hearing an advanced class spell, or attending to their writing, which last is in this wise:

(1.) The larger children write during the first half of the third hour, when their work is inspected and corrected in the next half hour. That no child may be neglected, the teacher keeps a list of the scholars, who present their copy-books in succession, and he continues the next day where he left off. In this manner every child will have his book returned and corrected several times each week.

Here it should be remarked, that the left side of the copy-book should be written and corrected first, and the scholar should re-write the same exercise on the right-hand page, free of the errors pointed out by the teacher.

(2.) While the larger pupils are writing, the spelling class is to be exercised and made familiar with the rules of reading, and the powers of letters. While the larger scholars have their copies corrected, the spelling class may now and then recite their Bible-verse for the week. Towards the end of the third morning-hour, the whole school is called to prayer, after which the teacher reads the psalm or part of the hymn designated for the season, and then the pupils are quietly dismissed. The master looks to their behavior in going home, that carelessness and wickedness may not dissipate the instructions of the morning.

During the first hour of the afternoon the whole school is occupied with the teacher, and after singing some verses and reading a psalm, they are taught biblical history and the "Manual for the instruction of children in country-schools."*

The second hour of the afternoon, the classes alternately learn portions of the catechism. This may be done after the method shown in the third part of the Berlin Reader, by writing down the first letters, or in the following manner:

(1.) The teacher reads repeatedly, slowly and distinctly, the portion which the children are to commit, while the pupils follow in the open book mentally. Then the children read the exercises in concert, while the middle and spelling class listen.

(2.) After this is done, the teacher reads aloud from comma to comma, while the children repeat until they know it by heart; then he proceeds with the next paragraph in the same manner, explaining the Bible phraseology of the catechism, which the children learn together. As regards the interpretation of Luther's

* See Memoir of Frederica Eberhard von Rochow.

catechism, the larger children will learn that by frequent repetition; the middle class, and the small pupils meanwhile listening attentively. After the first class has in concert repeated the lesson a few times, the teacher indicates the individuals to recite the lesson from memory, and thus he satisfies himself as to their mastery of it.

(3.) Finally each class recites its weekly Bible-verse, varying in length according to the age of the pupils. In this manner children generally learn the portions of the catechism and Christian Doctrine in their proper connection, together with their Bible-verses, a psalm and a hymn every month.

The next half hour, the larger children attend to reading, the middle class to spelling, and the lower class to their letters, as in the morning.

During the third and last hour of the afternoon, the first class shall write and cypher; while the middle class continue their spelling, and the little children their A, B, C.

On Saturday, instead of the catechism in the first hour of the morning, the children will repeat the Bible-verses, psalms and hymns they have learned, of which the teacher keeps a memorandum. Then, from week to week, he relates to them a history from the Old or New Testament, explains the same and shows its application to life and conduct. For the older children he may use the Biblical chart, to aid them in more perfectly understanding the Holy Scriptures. After this they shall read the gospel or the epistle for the next Sunday. Next they write on their slate, of which the teacher corrects the orthography. At the conclusion of the school, the children shall be earnestly exhorted to behave well on Sunday; to be quiet and devotional at church; to listen and treasure up the word of God for their salvation.

The schoolmaster, during all the hours above designated, must be constantly with the children, and never be absent from school one hour, much less one day, without the knowledge of the pastor and the permission of his superiors, in which case he must in time provide another person to teach the school, that the young may not be neglected.

In large cities, and villages, where there is more than one class-room, it shall be reported by the inspectors and clergymen to our provincial consistory, which will regulate the order of lessons and method of instruction according to the conditions of the place.

§ 20. As the country has hitherto been deluged with all sorts of school-books, especially with interpretations of the catechism, and so-called "orders of salvation," because every preacher selects the books after his own pleasure, or writes some himself and has them printed, by which children, especially if the parents change their residence, are much confused, it is our will, that henceforth no other books, than such as have been approved by our consistory, shall be used in any country-schools over which we have the right of patron. These books include, according to the wants of the country, the New Testament, the book called "Exercise in Prayer," in which not only are the contents of each book in the Bible, but the main subject of each chapter is framed into a prayer, to assist the young in expressing their invocations in the words of divine truths. Also the Halle or Berlin Bible, both of which agree in their divisions into paragraphs and pages; next the small and large Catechism of Luther; the Index of the books of the Bible; the Christian Doctrines in their connection; the Berlin Spelling-book and Reader; the General Attributes of God, of the world and man; and the Little Book for children in the country, on all sorts of necessary and useful things.

§ 21. Each class must not only have the same books, but the clergyman and teacher must see that every child has his own book, so that two pupils need not look over the same book. Children, whose books are furnished from the funds of the church or the commune, are not allowed to take them home, but will deliver them to the master, at the close of the lessons, who will take charge of them as the property of the school.

§ 22. Discipline should be administered with discretion, and the sin and vices of selfishness, obstinacy, lying, calling bad names, disobedience, wrath, the habit of quarrelling and fighting must be rebuked, corrected and punished, yet always with discretion and after previous inquiry into the circumstances of each act. In punishing the young the teacher must abstain from all unbecoming passion, harsh language, and exhibit a paternal calmness and moderation, so that

children may not be spoiled by excessive tenderness, or made timid by excessive severity. When, from the enormity of the offence, or for example, it becomes necessary to punish severely, the teacher shall first consult the clergyman, who shall thoroughly investigate the case, advise impartially, so that parents shall not interfere in the affairs of the school.

§ 23. Before church service on Sundays and holidays, the parents shall be required to send their children to the schoolmaster, that they may walk to church in proper order and be under good supervision while there. He must take them quietly and orderly out of church, after the service; and while in church must occupy a special seat, near the children, that he may note down the absent, and have an eye on those present, that they behave modestly, and join in singing with becoming devotion, without whispering or playing during the sermon, respecting which they should be interrogated on the following day. It is also the duty of the schoolmaster to watch the conduct of the boys who assist at funerals, that they walk reverently two and two, while those who can, join in singing the funeral hymns; and on all public occasions, they should behave modestly, and be courteous in their manners, words and actions.

§ 24. In all other affairs of the school, the teacher must avail himself of the advice and suggestions of the clergyman, as his superior officer, and by his school-regulation the teachers are so directed. Of all that regards their office they must, on demand, give an account, and accept directions in reference to the prescribed method and discipline, because we have confidence in our ministers and bind it on their consciences that in their towns they will earnestly endeavor to abolish all abuses and defects, and improve the condition of the schools. In case however one or the other of the schoolmasters should neglect the duties of his office, after he is engaged, and be found unreliable, the pastor's duty will be, earnestly to remind him of his duty, with kindness once or twice, and if he still continues in his negligence, to apply for a remedy to the nearest justice: at the same time to inform the Superintendent or Inspector, and if their warning is not heeded, make a report to the consistory, that, according to the circumstances, they may decree a suspension or removal.

§ 25. Especially is it our pleasure, that clergymen in villages and towns shall visit the schools of their place, generally twice a week, sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the afternoon, and shall not only take the information of the sacristans or schoolmaster, but themselves examine the children in the catechism and question them after other schoolbooks. They shall hold a monthly conference with the schoolteachers *in matre*, and designate to them the portion of the catechism, the hymn, the psalm and Bible-verses which the children shall learn during the next month. Then he instructs them how to observe the principal divisions of the sermon and how to examine the children; he also points out the defects in their instruction in school, their method, discipline, and gives them other information, that the schoolteachers may fulfil their duties. If a clergyman, against our expectation, should be careless in his visits to the schools, or in the performance of the other duties enjoined upon him in these regulations, and not labor earnestly to effect an exact observance of this law on the part of custos and teachers, he shall if convicted of the non-fulfilment of these instructions, be suspended *cum effectu*, for a time, or, as the case may be, removed from office: because the care for the instruction of the young and the supervision thereof, belong to the most important duties of the ministry, as we always desire them to be considered.

§ 26. The Superintendents and Inspectors of every district are hereby commanded, in the most expressive manner, annually to inspect every country-school in their jurisdiction, and with due attention to inquire into the condition of the schools, and examine whether parents and school authorities have held their children to regular attendance at school or have been negligent; whether the clergymen have done their duty in the observance of these regulations, by visiting the schools and superintending the teacher; especially whether the schoolmaster has the ability required or is not competent, and whatever else is in need of improvement. About all this the said Superintendents and Inspectors shall remit a dutiful report, every year, to our High Consistory in this city, for further examination and disposition. We command that this be done without fail, not only in regard to public schools in the country, in villages or cities, but also

where the nobility have the *Jus Patronatus*, that incompetent schoolmasters may be known to the consistory and they take measures to diminish ignorance and immorality among the young. At the same time those children, who have made good progress in school, shall be introduced to the school-visitors at the examination, and afterwards be admitted to the weekly instruction in the catechism at the house of the pastor, where they shall be made thoroughly acquainted with Christianity.

In general we here confirm and renew all wholesome laws, published in former times, especially, that no clergyman shall admit to confirmation and the sacrament, any children not of his commune, nor those unable to read, or who are ignorant of the fundamental principles of evangelical religion.

ORDINANCE RESPECTING CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SILESIA—1765.

We, FREDERIC, *by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.,*

Make known hereby that, as in our paternal care for the welfare of our faithful subjects, we were led to issue the order of August 12, 1763, for the better organization of the ill-managed country schools. we have thought proper to proclaim a similar order in regard to our Roman Catholic subjects of Silesia and the county of Glatz, for the organization of the common elementary schools in towns and villages. That we may make our Roman Catholic subjects more useful citizens, we hereby ordain :

1. To strike at the source of all poor instruction, no schoolmaster, or by whatever name teachers in cities and villages may be designated, shall be anywhere engaged if he cannot prove, in the manner described below, that, with skill in singing and playing the organ sufficient to perform the services in the Church, he has acquired the art of instructing the young in the German language, after the manner approved by Catholic school authorities.

2. And that every one who desires to be employed in schools may have the opportunity for learning all that is needed by a good teacher, we have thought it best to establish here and there certain schools, in which not only the young will have the best instruction, but where adults, also, may be taught how to teach and manage youth. For this purpose we have selected the following schools : for Lower Silesia, the school of the Breslau Cathedral *ad St. Joannem*, the school of the second Cistercians at the convents of Leubus, Grussau, and the Augustines of Sagan ; for upper Silesia, the school in the city of Ratibor and of the Cistercians at the convent of Rauden ; and for the county of Glatz, the school of the city of Habelschwerdt.

3. We command that the above-named schools, which are to serve as seminaries for future teachers, shall not only be constantly provided with skillful teachers, but each shall also have a well-informed director, who shall devote himself to maintaining and improving the condition of his school, and especially to training and instructing those who are preparing to teach. The director must observe the following:

4. He should aim at having everything in his school taught and learned thoroughly, and in reference to the needs of common life, which will be further described below. He should show the teachers how to give their pupils the reasons for everything, that they may obtain an understanding thereof, and become themselves able, on being questioned, to give these reasons. His object should not be to load the memory of the pupil, but to enlighten and train his mind.

5. And, since the method in which the first teachers of the above-named schools were instructed is such that, by retaining it, all those advantages may be reached, it is our will that it should be introduced everywhere, especially the essential part of the method of letters, tables, questions, and answers, as well as the books written for this purpose.

6. The directors should not omit to employ such other advantages as they or others may discover in connection with this popular mode of teaching ; and to this end they should correspond among themselves, and read the best works on schools and education. That such writings may become known to them, we commend the publisher of the privileged Breslau literary periodical to notice and criticise such books and treaties 'as are new or reprinted.

7. With regard to those who frequent such schools in order to become skillful teachers, the directors must not only observe the above, but also require them,

after their lessons in matters pertaining to schools, and the use of school books and tables, to be present when the regular teachers instruct the children. They must also, as soon as they are capable, be required to teach certain classes under the eye of the teachers, that the latter may correct them when they do not proceed in a right manner. The director and teachers of the seminary should take pains to point out all such helps as will facilitate and lessen the labors of the teacher, without injury to thoroughness of instruction, and without employing any means that would cause aversion on the part of the pupil. The director should make the *præparandi* acquainted with all the duties of their future profession, and inspire them with a delight in fulfilling them. Especially should he impress them with the importance of their office, and how much depends upon it, as good or evil instruction tends to form useful or bad subjects of the State.

8. He should diligently inquire as to what progress the *præparandi* have made, and how far they have acquired a knowledge of teaching; especially at the time when they are about to leave he should have an eye on their morals and conduct, endeavor to improve them, and remark on their deportment in the certificates to be given them.

9. Such certificate the candidate shall present at the vicar's office in Breslau, or to the deacon in Glatz, or to the vicars in other dioceses; or, if not trained in the principal seminary at Breslau, or in that of Glatz, he shall present it first to the director of the Cathedral school, and then to the director of the seminary, that he may be examined by them, to discover if he actually possesses the skill which the testimonial ascribes to him. If he does not give satisfactory evidence of this, or fails to acquire a better preparation in the seminaries at the Cathedral of Breslau, or in that in the district of Glatz, his certificate shall be of no avail.

10. All candidates of theology shall acquire in the principal seminary at Breslau that knowledge of teaching necessary in order to exercise a proper superintendence over schools, in conformity with these regulations. The director will give them such instruction and note their progress in a certificate, by which the students may satisfy their directing minister in Silesia that they have learned the method, whenever they request permission to take orders, or ask for an ecclesiastical benefice.

11. As to school teachers who apply for position in those parts of the State where the Polish language is spoken, the directors of the seminaries in Upper and Lower Silesia should examine the candidates as to their knowledge of German; whether they are able to teach that language to the children; and if not, they must learn it before they will be permitted to take charge of a school. They must also understand the Polish language sufficiently to use the school books in both languages which have been prepared for the schools of Upper Silesia.

12. Since we have thus made ample provision for school teachers to become skilled in the administration of their office, it is our will, also, that the places where no teachers are to be procured shall henceforth not be without them. In towns which have no teachers, and are farther than a quarter of a mile from the nearest school, it would be impracticable to send children to school in winter. Therefore, wherever hitherto towns have depended upon a school at a distance of one half or three quarters of a mile, we command our Council of War and Domains to determine, through the administrator of the district, who, to this end, shall take the advice of the highest clergy in the district where teachers should be located, how much the State and the commune must contribute to his support, and what measures are necessary to erect school-houses.

13. It is well known how much children are hindered in their studies and become distracted when, in the room in which the school is kept, the wife and children and frequently even the relatives of the schoolmaster, work at their trade or domestic duties. In order to remove this evil, the school room must be separated from the living room, in all new school-houses erected in cities and villages, and shall be convenient, well lighted, and large enough to accommodate all the children. In cities where schools have several teachers, a separate room must be constructed for every teacher, which shall not be used for any other than school purposes. These schools are to be erected at the expense of the commune, if it is mainly Catholic, with concurrence of the proprietors, without distinction of religion; because it is important to masters of every denomination that sub-

ordinates be made useful through the training of the school; and all necessary furniture, blackboards, inkstands, and books for children of destitute parents they shall furnish also.

14. In places where the salary of a teacher is so small that he cannot subsist on it, our Council of War and Domains shall see that the proprietors and Catholic subjects raise a sufficient support for him and pay it promptly. In places where the number of Catholic inhabitants is very small, and consequently a living salary for the teacher cannot be made up without oppressing the people, we will permit the teacher to practice a trade for his better subsistence, like that of a tailor or stocking weaver; but he shall not be permitted to work in the school room or during school hours. Any traffic in beer or liquor, or attendance at fairs with music, shall not be included in the lawful trades of a teacher. Experience shows that the first distracts a teacher and entices him from his duties; and by music and taverns the best schoolmasters are ruined, and reduced to drinking and idleness.

15. Therefore all teachers are forbidden to keep a tavern, or to wait on weddings and other occasions; and we permit them to labor in any trade that will be no hindrance to the work of teaching.

16. With the same intent, of guarding schools against interruptions, we release teachers from the customary duty of carrying the messages from the archbishop to the neighboring clergy, and we command that such should be done in future by other messengers from the commune, since these messages generally concern our war orders.

17. The instructions published at the beginning of this year by our Department of War and Domain in Breslau for school teachers in villages, which define the hours of school and all that belongs to it, must be observed by all teachers. We here refer to it, and command that these instructions be followed in every particular.

18. In regard to primary schools in cities, for which no regulations have yet been issued, we ordain the following: First, there shall be no difference between winter or summer, as far as the schools are concerned; because, in cities, the causes which prevent country people from sending their children to school do not generally exist. Therefore the schools must be open throughout the year from eight to eleven in the morning, and from one to three in the afternoon.

19. As schools in large cities have frequently two or three teachers, we ordain that one of them—he who writes the best hand—shall teach the smaller children in the first elements; the others the more advanced pupils.

20. Instruction to beginners includes: 1st, the letters, spelling, and simple reading. The letters must be learned in a month; and since, in cities, new children are coming in every month, the course is to be repeated. Every month the children should spell the six different classes of syllables in the spelling book; in the third month the children, who began with the letters the first month, should commence to read, but the difficult words must still be spelled and the rules be inquired into. Every month they must go over the tables belonging to the subject, as they are found in the school books for children. 2d, in writing, the teacher should first acquaint the pupils with the rules of penmanship after the printed instructions, and they should then practise them until they have a correct German current handwriting, and can also write Latin letters according to the rules contained in the above instructions. He should go over the tables of calligraphy every month, taking the general principles during the first two weeks and the current letters; in the third week, the Latin and current handwriting; and, in the fourth week whatever is necessary to write words and sentences. In correcting, he should not omit to point at the tables, and proceed after the instructions printed on the same. 3d, in arithmetic he must likewise proceed after the tables on the five simple operations prepared for the Silesian schools; also in the rule of three with simple numbers, and he must endeavor to bring the children to do quick cyphering. During the first month he is to finish the table of enumeration, and the children should know how to pronounce and write any given number of not above eight or nine figures. Addition and multiplication should be completed in two months, and the remaining three months of the semi-annual term given to subtraction and division and recapitulating the other operations.

21. The children thus prepared are to be further instructed by the second teacher. When they are able to read the larger tables with fluency, they should be taught how to pronounce correctly the French words which occur frequently in German papers. In writing, the teacher should show them the law style and *fractura*, and the current letters which they learned from the first teacher need not conform to his own handwriting, and he need not make copies for them, but should cause them to copy select portions from books or other useful matters, he seeing that all they write is in agreement with the rules given in the tables of calligraphy. He should instruct them in orthography, not only by copying, but by dictating to them from time to time, in order that the pupils acquire a fluency in writing, and also to see how far they apply the rules of orthography. He should teach the older scholars to write compositions of various kinds, especially letters and forms which occur most frequently in common life. He should observe the mistakes in the use of language, in the modifications or combinations of words, for which purpose he should use Gottsched's grammar. In arithmetic the pupils should learn the four operations in simple numbers and with fractions, the rule of three in all its applications, and the Italian practice, if any desire it. Oftentimes, especially to those who are about to leave the school and gain a living by the pen, the teacher should give them various bills and accounts, and show them how to draw these up correctly, and what must be done in revising accounts.

22. If, as in almost all large cities, the school has a third teacher, he should instruct in the first elements of the French and Latin languages, in general and special history, in understanding and using a map, in studying geography from tables printed for this purpose, and in finding places on the map by means of the *Lexicorum*. We shall also, in order to give the young an idea of those things which render a State prosperous and the subjects contented, cause to be published a short text-book, containing the most useful knowledge of physics and some preliminary knowledge of the objects which are of importance in arts, trades, and manufactures. The duty of making the contents of such a book known to youth belongs, also, in larger cities, to the third teacher.

Though these are the branches taught by the second and third teacher, as named above and more in detail in Appendix A, yet it has not been defined, as was done in the duties of the lowest teacher, how much each shall accomplish in a fixed time. Since this, as well as what each shall teach, depends on the condition of the place and the skill of the teachers, we will leave it to be determined by the clergyman of the place, with the approbation of his school inspector, who may also, for instruction in music, select a teacher whom they consider best adapted. But a programme should describe what, by whom, and at which hour this or that is to be taught, and when to review a subject again, in order to stimulate the teacher to advance the young, and to give children who commence their studies an opportunity to learn all by a set time from the beginning and thoroughly.

23. That there may be no want of persons skilled in teaching, the directors of seminaries must endeavor gradually to train the best scholars for these duties; and in changing teachers, try to engage persons who understand these branches, and are able to teach them.

24. At the end of this we have added sub. A, a table in which the time is exactly given when to pursue each lesson above named, and also as to how to proceed in cities where there are two teachers only, that the children may learn a little more than reading, writing, and cyphering. We have therefore caused to be added, from the instructions already given for the organization of village schools, sub. B., the order of time, which is to be punctually observed by the schoolmaster of the Roman Catholic faith in our duchy of Silesia and the sovereign county of Glatz.

25. All these regulations, intended for the welfare of our faithful subjects, will create but little effect if, as has been the case heretofore, the schools are empty, where it is left to the will of the parents to send their children to school or not. We ordain, therefore, by this present, that all children in cities and villages, without distinction, whether the parents are able to pay for tuition or not, shall be sent to school as soon as they complete their sixth year, and shall attend the same until they are thirteen years old.

26. Parents and guardians who retain their children at home against this order shall, unless notoriously known as unable, pay double the tuition fee to the school teacher; the guardians from their own means, without any right of charging it to their wards' account; this to be levied by the justice of the court of the district; and the poor, who cannot pay this forfeiture, shall be compelled to two days' work for the commune, without pay, for every week they neglect to send their children to school. Children of less than eight years must attend school in summer and winter; in summer only in the forenoon.

27. As regards older children, whom the parents need for guarding the cattle and for other farm work, we permit that such, because the young now learn faster and more thoroughly by the new method introduced, be free from school from St. George's day to St. Martin's.

28. They shall be required, however, during this time, to attend the instructions in Christianity every Sunday afternoon, and after that to participate for two hours in the lessons in reading and writing given in school; which lessons the teachers shall give under direction of the pastor, that they may become useful to the young. Those, also, who have left school, and are not yet twenty years of age, must attend these lessons, though they may be in service on a domain or with a farmer, for their employers are bound to send them to school at such time, that they may recapitulate what they learned before, and prevent the utter lack of necessary knowledge. The schoolmaster shall keep a list of all persons who attend this repetition school, note their presence and absence, and inform the pastor of the latter. Such list is to be made after formula F, and the teacher shall present it, together with his semi-annual report, to the clergyman, who again transmits the same to the bishop and to the school inspector, whose duty it is to report the number of those who have attended and who have absented themselves from the repetition school.

29. The best means of bringing all children into school is the keeping of an exact list. The schoolmasters in the country shall be obliged to make such a list from the records of baptism, after the form published with the former instructions, and to this end should make careful inquiries about the children brought in from other towns. This cannot be difficult, and thus they can keep a complete register of all the children of school age.

30. There may be more difficulties in cities, on account of the many new comers from other places, and we therefore command that every owner of a house, fifteen days before St. Michael's and fifteen days before St. George's day, make a written return to the magistrate of the place, giving the number of his house, the names and ages of the children, together with the name and occupation of the parents, and the magistrate shall transmit the same to the clergyman for the completion of the school register.

31. Inhabitants of cities, who have the means, are still at liberty to engage family tutors for their children, but these tutors are not permitted to teach children of other families than those of the house in which they are engaged, in order not to diminish the number at the common city school. In general, all irregular schools are suppressed, and the magistrates should not permit any to be kept; and all parents, who cannot keep a tutor for the family, must send their children to the city school under penalty of the above forfeits.

32. Children, who desire to follow professional studies, provided they are qualified according to these amended regulations, need not have reached the thirteenth year, but may at an earlier age enter the school of the Jesuits, if they have presented themselves before the bishop or inspector of the district and received a written certificate in regard to their knowledge of reading, writing, letter-writing, the four rules in arithmetic and the fractions, and the different applications of the rule of three. This examination is also binding on all children who have been taught by tutors at home, when they intend to enter the school of the Jesuits, and also when the bishop and school inspector come to inspect the public schools in their district.

33. Tutors shall not be engaged by any family unless they prove, by a testimonial from the director of a seminary, that they have practised the art of teaching, or have proved their qualification before the pastor and teacher of the place; and in the latter case, they must have a certificate from the clergyman. Since

there is no want of opportunity for tutors to qualify themselves, and since the public interest demands that children should not be neglected in private instruction, as is frequently the case, we command all who engage tutors to observe this provision.

34. Children in villages, who often possess the ability to learn what is required in village schools before their thirteenth year, may leave school before this age, if the parents or guardians obtain a written certificate from the clergy and the inspector.

35. That children may not be kept from school, masters, in places where obligatory service is rendered, shall have no power to compel the young of either sex to work on their farms until they have completed their thirteenth year; yet those of eight years of age may tend the flocks in summer, if they attend the repetition schools on Sunday.

36. If farmers hire the children of poor people before their thirteenth year, they are required to send them to school, between St. Andrew's and Easter, every day, in the forenoon or afternoon, and pay half tuition fees for them to the schoolmaster. If they neglect to send such children to school they shall pay, as a forfeit, the full tuition fee, and double that if they remain disobedient, or the justice may decree other punishment. Schoolmasters shall charge for such children only half tuition fees.

37. The instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic remains the same in the village schools; but in cities where children have hitherto been instructed free of charge, they shall continue to enjoy the same advantages in reading, writing, and arithmetic; also in music and Latin, whenever such was customary, and shall pay nothing if the schoolmasters can make their subsistence without this. But for all other branches which, according to this regulation, are taught by skilful teachers, we command all school inspectors to fix the fees to be paid the teachers, according to the condition of the place, at not above six groschen per month and scholar. The other tuition fees in cities remain as heretofore.

38. For the benefit of children of destitute parents, who are not able to pay for instruction, nor to buy the necessary books and papers, we command that twice every year, on the first Sunday after Three Kings, and on the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, the clergy shall take a collection in their churches, and impress on the people the duty of charity to the poor. Separate money boxes shall be put up for each school, and the congregation be informed for which school each is designated.

39. The moneys collected shall be given to the court of the town, which, by the advice of the clergyman, shall first pay for books and paper, and then the tuition fee to the schoolmaster for these poor scholars. These amounts must be accounted for separately in the accounts of the commune, and if any more is necessary to defray all dues, the communal treasury, where the parish is entirely Catholic, or the individual Catholics in towns where there are other confessions, shall pay the balance. In cities, the disposition of these moneys is left with the clergy and the aldermen. Expenditures and receipts must constitute a separate chapter in the church accounts.

40. The pastor and aldermen of cities, the justices in towns, who have the best knowledge of the community, must judge what children need such benefice, and parents are not allowed to excuse themselves from the duty of paying the schoolmaster in order to procure necessaries for their family until their incompetency has been acknowledged, and their names put on the list of the poor. Such list is to be given to the teacher, that he may know what parents are excused from paying for instruction.

41. The children should not be allowed to take home the books provided in this manner, but they must be left in the school. The teacher should number them, and, at the close of school, put them in a book closet, and have a regular inventory of them, as well as of other furniture and utensils, and must not permit any to be carried away. The Sagan school, which has the privilege of publishing school books, gives every tenth copy for the benefit of the poor, and teachers who want school books should never order less than nine, so as to have the tenth copy gratis for the use of poor children.

42. It is unnecessary here further to describe how a teacher should conduct

himself in his office, since the new schoolmasters have been instructed on these points in the seminaries, and the elder ones are required to acquaint themselves with their duties from the former regulation. But we command them especially to give diligent attention to the prescribed regulations, and the semi-annual abstracts thereof, for which purpose are appended formulas C and D.

43. It is the duty of the clergyman to see that the young of his parish are well taught in school. We therefore command earnestly all clergymen in cities and villages to take care that these regulations are faithfully observed.

44. Clergymen who, on account of age or professional engagements, have been provided with one or more chaplains, may transfer the care over the schools to one of them, but they shall be responsible for their delegate.

45. At least once every two weeks the clergyman or his chaplain shall visit every school during school hours, of which the teacher shall make a note in his register, by placing a V, for visitation, on that day.

46. The clergyman, during his visitation, shall observe: *a*, whether the prescribed school-hours are kept; *b*, whether the improved method is practised; *c*, whether the catalogue and list is in order; *d*, whether punishments are too severe; *e*, whether the school utensils and books are well kept; *f*, whether the school room is clean, and used for no other than school purposes, those cases excepted where no other room is provided for the teacher.

47. In regard to the children, the clergyman should see—*a*, whether all persons, who, according to law, should attend the day school, or Sunday and repetition school, are regular in their attendance; *b*, whether the scholars are divided into classes on the basis of their abilities as well as age; *c*, whether they are benefitted by the instructions and have made progress; *d*, whether the teacher advances them too rapidly before they have well learned the preceding lessons; *e*, whether the teacher employs children at his private work during school hours, and excuses them on this account from learning their lessons.

48. The clergyman shall also see whether the school-house and furniture are in good condition, and whether a copy of the school regulations and everything necessary has been provided; and if not, he should notify the magistrate, the nobleman, or the justice; also expostulate with parents who neglect to send their children, and endeavor to remove all defects and impediments as much as is in his power; and where he cannot remedy them himself, he should notify the bishop and the school inspector. He should preserve the monthly statements of the teacher, and prepare an abstract of them, which he should be able to present to the bishop or school visitor.

49. He should remonstrate with the teacher for his faults, but not in presence of the children, only when alone, and endeavor to instruct him in those matters wherein he is deficient. He must never employ him for other purposes during school hours, especially not in his own interest. When ministerial duties, like the visitation of the sick, call him away, he must not take the schoolmaster along; but may take one of the larger boys. He should also exhort his people on the advantages of instruction, before taking up the collections for school purposes.

50. We will not prescribe what religious instruction clergymen, and others who take their place, shall impart to the young. We direct them to the instructions from the Vicar General of the diocese of Breslau. However, we command them to explain to our subjects, besides the duties they owe to God, to their fellow-men and to themselves, that they owe also allegiance, fidelity, and obedience, and an unwavering submission to us, as their sovereign, and to the magistrates we have appointed. We remind them that it is not enough to say a few general words on this subject to them; they must also be enlightened on these duties, and acknowledge them from motives of religion as well as of reason, and from their youth be ready to fulfil them.

51. In order to render as permanent as possible this reform of schools, which lies near our heart, we cannot be satisfied with committing the care of schools to the clergy only. We find it necessary that our bureau of War and Domain, the bureau of the Episcopal Vicariate, and the dioceses in our Silesian and Glatz districts, as well as all special school inspectors, give all due attention to this subject, so important to the State.

52. The head priests we command to visit all schools within their district during the week of Lent. This is the most convenient time in the country, because the children, attending school only in winter, will have then had three months' instruction, and, consequently, the visitation will show whether they have learned anything. If the visitation were held after Easter, or in the fall, many children would have left school at the first period, and at the other period many would not yet be in attendance, and no accurate opinion of the school could be formed.

53. The visiting head priest must observe, in his visitation, all that has before been said in regard to the duties of the clergy, and especially he should note the following:

54. He should receive from the clergyman the monthly school register and the abstract made from it; compare it with the list of the children belonging to school, and see if all have attended the school. He should inquire into the causes of the children's absence, and whether the clergyman has taken proper steps to bring them in; if their non-attendance is owing to the carelessness of parents or guardians, he must summon them before him, remonstrate with them on their disobedience of law, and if necessary, remind the magistrates of their duty to levy the fines, or if the nobleman is at home he may tell him. To the latter he must also report if children of school age are in his service without being sent to school.

55. During the school visitation, he should be present at a lesson given by the teacher, in order to see and to hear whether he teaches after the prescribed method; he should examine the children separately, to find whether they have profited by the instructions, and have really advanced as far as the register says. Some members of the court and some deputies from the commune should also be present at this visitation, and should be summoned in the notice of visitation.

56. The register must show that the weekly visits, prescribed to the clergyman, have been made, and also whether the same is zealous and active for the interest of the school, or cares little for it; the visitor, by skilful questions, may inform himself of this from the schoolmaster or the scholar, so that he will not be deceived by false reports.

57. He should also ask respectable people in the commune whether the school hours are kept and the teacher does not abridge the time, or is prevented by various causes from teaching in school.

58. He should inquire into the conduct of the schoolmaster towards the children in school, and especially towards the clergyman or chaplain, when they remonstrate with him in the interest of schools, and if necessary, exhort and reprimand him, and the same he should do with the clergyman if circumstances require. He should ascertain from him the cause of the want of progress of a school, and what suggestions he has made for improvement.

59. He should also see and inquire whether the school-house is in a good condition and provided with all necessary furniture, and whether the teacher receives his salary and pay; he should endeavor to remove all those defects which the clergyman cannot remedy.

60. And of all this he should make a record, from which to draw up a report to the school inspector, as well as to see, at the next visitation, whether the defects at the preceding one have been remedied.

61. After the visitation, and within two weeks from Easter, he is to render a report to the school inspector, including the abstract of the school register, and state how far his instructions have been followed, and especially what defects he had not power to remove. A similar report must be transmitted by him about the middle of October, which contains what the clergyman has reported since the last visitation.

62. The Vicariate General shall appoint clergymen as inspectors of schools; also, for the Vicariates of other dioceses, persons well informed on educational subjects and the method now popular in Silesia, or such persons as will acquaint themselves with it. Each should have a certain district. Their duties are these:

63. *a.* They must obtain information on the condition of schools, personally or by circular.

64. *b.* For the school at their own place, they should have their teachers learn

the essential part of the new method, unless they are too old, or endeavor to engage a teacher who is familiar with methodical instruction, and knows how to organize a school. As soon as they have succeeded in this, they shall—

65. *c.* Send for one or two of the most active and skilful school teachers from each archipresbytery of their inspection, that they may learn the necessary and important part of the method, namely: the method of spelling; of teaching in classes; the use of school books and tables; the preparation and keeping of catalogues and school lists. When they have learned this, they should return and organize their schools, and the school inspector should see that they do so.

66. *d.* Request every head priest to send successively all other teachers, particularly during the summer, to the one who has acquired the popular method; and he should instruct the others as he himself was taught in the school at the inspector's place.

67. *e.* That the head priests themselves may become acquainted with all that belongs to a good school, and which they cannot learn from these regulations, the above-named instruction, or from other books, the inspectors shall inform them of it.

68. *f.* They are also required to make visitations of schools after the head priests, to see how far their reports are reliable, and examine the schools in the same manner as described above.

69. *g.* Their duty is also to labor for the removal of all impediments and defects which the head priests could not remove; if they cannot succeed in this, they should make note of it in their reports. These reports they are to send twice a year to the office of the Vicariate General, and those, who belong to outside dioceses, to the vicar or deacons, always within one month after Easter or St. Michael's, and add thereto, if necessary, their own suggestions and the abstract from the head priests' reports.

70. *h.* They are required to publish and execute all laws and changes in laws relating to schools.

71. The office of the Vicariate General, and the vicars and deacons of outside dioceses, must make a semi-annual report on the condition of schools, from the reports of school inspectors, to our royal Council of War and Domain, namely: at the end of May and at the end of November, and inform in regard to—

72. 1st. All neglect of these general school regulations, by magistrates, landholders, or subjects, which cannot be reached by the head priests and inspectors; 2d, impediments of any kind; 3d, when school houses are out of repair, or the teachers are not paid; 4th, important observations and discoveries which may serve to a better arrangement of the school system; 5th, clergymen and teachers who distinguish themselves by their zeal and diligence in promoting education, that we may remove them to better benefices within our patronage; 6th, incorrigible schoolmasters in our domain or villages, that they may be removed from office.

73. We command our Council of War and Domain to see that all defects brought to their notice are remedied; all obstacles removed; all incorrigible teachers expelled and good ones put in their places; that all zealous school inspectors, directors of seminaries, clergymen and chaplains, who deserve reward for their exertions in the cause of education, are provided with better benefices whenever vacancies occur, and thus others may be encouraged to like zeal. To the Episcopal Vicariate General, the vicars and deacons of outside dioceses, to the magistrates, landholders, and to all our subjects, clergy or laity, whom these regulations concern, especially to all Roman Catholic school inspectors, head priests, directors of seminaries, clergymen, ch[illegible]ins and schoolmasters, do we command, in the most serious manner, u[illegible]r disfavor and of due punishment, to superintend with all atten[illegible]t of these regulations to their full extent, and the duties m[illegible] on each and all.

Given at Potsdam, the 3d day of No[illegible]

FREDERIC.

The School Reforms and Extension, inaugurated by Frederick II. in his adoption of the Real School of Hecker, and converting the same into a Seminary for Teachers; his recognition of Teaching as an Art, in which apprenticeship should be served under experienced masters; and his careful organization of Elementary Schools in Silesia, are facts of immense significance in the History of Public Instruction. Their direct influence on the school systems of the United States, and of Austria, are easily traced. [*Barnard's Nor. Schools.*]

FROM LETTERS ON SILESIA, WRITTEN IN THE YEARS 1800 AND 1801.*

LETTER XLII.—*Schools and Seminaries for the Instruction of Youth in Silesia—System of Education established by Frederick II. upon the recommendation of Felbiger.*

BERLIN, *March 7th*, 1801.

I HAVE promised in this letter to give you some account of the institutions in the province of Silesia for the education of youth. The university at Breslau and the academy of nobles at Liegnitz I need not mention, having noticed them in my letters at the time when we visited those places. Besides these, there are what we call grammar schools, where Latin is taught in almost every town of the province, and usually in connection with some church or convent. But the arrangements and regulations of the trivial schools, as they are here called—schools destined for that elementary instruction which ought to be diffused over the whole mass of the people—particularly deserve your attention, because you may, perhaps, as a native of New England, entertain the prejudice, that your own country is the only spot on earth where this object is rightly managed, and where the arts of reading and writing are accomplishments almost universally possessed.

Probably no country in Europe could so strongly contest our preëminence in this respect as Germany, and she, for this honorable distinction, is indebted principally to Frederick II.; to the zeal with which he pursued the purpose of spreading useful knowledge among all classes of his subjects, and to the influence of his example and of his success even beyond the limits of his own dominions. To enter upon this topic, with the details of which it is susceptible, might, perhaps, not amuse you, and would lead me too far from my subject, I shall, therefore, confine myself to the measures he adopted and the system he introduced in this particular into Silesia.

At the time of his conquest education had seldom been made an object of the concern of governments, and Silesia, like the rest of Europe, was but wretchedly provided either with schools or teachers. In the small towns and villages the schoolmasters were so poorly paid, that they

* First published in consecutive numbers of the Port Folio, Philadelphia, in 1803, and collected and republished in a volume of 387 pages, in London in 1804. The letter on the School System of Silesia was copied, with commendation as an example to the English Government, in the Edinburgh Review for October, 1804, and in the London Quarterly Journal of Education for January, 1831.

could not subsist without practicing some other trade besides their occupation as instructors, and they usually united the character of the village fiddler with that of the village schoolmaster. Even of these there were so few, that the children of the peasants in general, throughout the province, were left untaught. This was epecially the case in Upper Silesia. Frederick issued an ordinance, that a school should be kept in every village, and that a competent subsistence should be provided for the schoolmaster, by the joint contribution of the lord of the village and of the tenants themselves. The superintendence of the schools was prescribed as the duty of the clergy.

But in order that this ordinance might have its due execution, it was necessary to form the teachers themselves properly qualified to give useful instruction. This was effected by the persevering intelligence and zeal of a man by the name of Felbiger, an Augustine monk, belonging to a convent at Sagan; a man, says a Silesian historian, whom a great part of Germany must thank for a revolution, not less important, though of slower progress and milder character, than that which, two centuries and a half earlier, was accomplished by another monk of the same order—by Luther.

Felbiger, after spending some years at Berlin to obtain a perfect knowledge of the best method of instruction practiced in the schools there, returned to Sagan, and made the convent to which he belonged a seminary for young ecclesiastics and candidates as schoolmasters to acquire the knowledge of the improved mode of teaching. Several other institutions of the same kind were, in due time, established at Breslau, Glatz, and other places, upon his principles, and conducted by persons whom he had formed. To defray the expenses necessary for the support of these seminaries, a fund is raised, consisting of one quarter's salary, which every Catholic curate is obliged to pay upon being first settled in a parsonage.

With each of these seminaries are connected certain schools, where the young candidates for the clerical or teaching office are obliged to attend and observe the practice of the method, the theory of which they learn at the seminaries themselves. The clergy are required, no less than the teachers, to go through this process, because the superintendence over the teachers is intrusted to them. No young man can be admitted to either of the offices without an attestation of his qualification from one of the seminaries.

After all these preparatory measures had been carried into effect, an ordinance was published in the year 1765 prescribing the mode of teaching as adopted in the seminaries, and the manner in which the clergy should superintend the efficacious establishment of the system. The regulations of this ordinance prove the earnestness with which the king of Prussia labored to spread the benefits of useful knowledge among his subjects. The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon objects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load

the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding; to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson so that the children themselves may be able to explain it upon examination. The candidates for school-keeping must give specimens of their ability, by teaching at one of the schools connected with the seminary, in the presence of the professors at the seminary, that they may remark and correct any thing defective in the candidate's method. If one school suffices for more than one village, neither of them must be more than half a German mile distant from it in the flat country, nor more than a quarter of a mile in the mountainous parts. The school tax must be paid by the lord and tenants without distinction of religions. In the towns the school must be kept the whole year round. It is expected that one month shall suffice to make a child know the letters of the alphabet; that in two it shall be able to join them; and in three to read. The boys must all be sent to school, from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school tax or not. For the poor, the school money must be raised by collections. Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double school tax, for which the guardians shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine weekly the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually, by the deans of the districts, of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the schoolmasters, the state of the buildings, and of attendance by the children, made to the office of the vicar-general, who must transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices. From these, orders are issued to the respective landraths to correct the abuses and supply the deficiencies indicated in the reports. This system was at first prepared only for the Catholic schools; but it was afterwards adopted, for the most part, by most of the Lutheran consistories. Its truly respectable author, Felbiger, was, in the sequel, with the consent of Frederick, invited to Vienna by the Empress Maria Theresa, and her son Joseph II., who appointed him director of the normal schools or seminaries in all the Austrian dominions. His regulations have been introduced and are acted upon in almost all the Catholic countries of Germany.

In Silesia they had at first many old prejudices to contend with. The indolence of the Catholic clergy was averse to the new and troublesome duty imposed on them. Their zeal was alarmed at the danger arising from this dispersion of light to the stability of their church. They considered alike the spirit of innovation and the spirit of inquiry as their natural enemies. Besides this, the system still meets resistance from the penurious parsimony and stubborn love of darkness prevailing in some parts of the province. Many villages neglect the support of their schools; many individuals, upon false pretexts, forbear sending their children to school for the sake of saving the tax. The compulsive measures and the

penalties prescribed by the ordinance are used seldom and with reluctance. The benevolent design has not been accomplished to the full extent of which it was susceptible; but as far as it has been accomplished its operation has been a blessing. That its effects have been very extensive is not to be doubted, when we compare the number of schools throughout the province in the year 1752 when they amounted only to one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, with that in the year 1798 when they were more than three thousand five hundred. The consequences of a more general diffusion of knowledge are attested by many other facts equally clear. Before the seven years' war, there had scarcely ever been more than one periodical journal or gazette published in the province at one time. There are now no less than seventeen newspapers and magazines which appear by the day, the week, the month, or the quarter, many of them upon subjects generally useful, and containing valuable information and instruction for the people. At the former period there were but three booksellers, and all these at Breslau. There are now six in that capital, and seven dispersed about in the other cities. The number of printing-presses and of bookbinders has increased in the same proportion.

Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Watts, has bestowed a just and exalted encomium upon him for not disdaining to descend from the pride of genius and the dignity of science to write for the wants and the capacities of children. "Every man acquainted," says he, "with the common principles of human actions, will look with veneration on the writer, who is at one time combating Locke, and at another time making a catechism for children in their fourth year." But how much greater still is the tribute of admiration irresistibly drawn from us, when we behold an absolute monarch, the greatest general of his age, eminent as a writer in the highest departments of literature, descending, in a manner, to teach the alphabet to the children of his kingdom; bestowing his care, his persevering assiduity, his influence and his power, in diffusing plain and useful knowledge among his subjects; in opening to their minds the first and most important pages of the book of science; in filling the whole atmosphere they breathed with that intellectual fragrance which had before been imprisoned in the vials of learning, or inclosed within the gardens of wealth! Immortal Frederick! when seated on the throne of Prussia, with kneeling millions at thy feet, thou wast only a king. On the fields of Leuthen, of Zorndorf, of Rosbach, of so many other scenes of human blood and anguish, thou wast only a hero. Even in thy rare and glorious converse with the muses and with science, thou wast only a philosopher, an historian, a poet; but in this generous ardor, this active and enlightened zeal for the education of thy people, thou wast truly great—the father of thy country—the benefactor of mankind.

Yours, &c.

MARIA THERESA AND HER SCHOOL REFORMS.

MEMOIR.

Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, and Empress of Germany, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., was born at Vienna in 1717, and in 1736 married Duke Charles Stephen of Lorraine, who became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1737. On the death of her father, in October, 1740, she ascended the throne of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, and in the month following declared her husband joint ruler. She found the kingdom exhausted, her people dissatisfied, the treasury empty, the army reduced, and within a year the princes of Europe had shown themselves eager to avenge real or fancied wrongs, and assert claims which, if sound, would have reduced her sovereignty to the shadow of a name. Before her first son was born the greatest captain of the age had seized on Silesia, the largest and wealthiest province of her dominion; and the armies of France, Bavaria, Spain, and Prussia, in various quarters proved too strong for her forces, and within a year of her coronation, her capital was summoned to surrender. In her necessities she summoned a diet at Presburg, and in Hungarian dress, with the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and girt with the kingly sword, she, with her child in her arms, appeared before the assembly and committed the darkened fortunes of her family and throne to her faithful Hungarians. The age of chivalry was not gone, the magnates of the land exclaimed—*moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa;* troops were furnished, and the tide of disaster was turned; and with varying fortunes, but, on the whole, her foreign and domestic administration, both in peace and war, will compare favorably with the record of any other sovereign of her time. Her husband was chosen Emperor, and crowned October 4, 1745, Maria Theresa being the first to exclaim from the balcony, 'Long live the Emperor Francis I.;' and on his death, in 1765, her son, the Archduke Joseph, who had been chosen King of Rome in 1764, was declared emperor, with the title of Joseph II.—sharing with the mother the government of the hereditary possessions. She died Nov. 29, 1780.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

With the wars and domestic administration of Maria Theresa we have nothing to do; but her school reforms deserve a fuller notice, in the history of modern national education, than the brief record we can now give. Frederic II. of Prussia avowedly recognized her superior sagacity in making special instruction tributary to the public service, by copying in his war school at Berlin the studies and practical training which she had already introduced into the education of the young officers of her armies.

Special Training of Officers.

The earliest scientific school in Europe was opened at Vienna in 1747–8, a year or more in advance of the first French school of engineering at Mezières, and three years before the military school at Paris in 1751, and the artillery school at La Fère in 1756. Frederic's *Ritter Academie* dates from 1764. 'My fire is quenched,' writes the latter at the close of the Seven Years' War, 'but I am devoting my utmost care to the instruction of my officers in the art of war, and they will be obliged to give reasons for all they do. My plan will not answer with every one; still out of the whole body we shall certainly form some men and officers who will not merely have their patent as generals to show, but some capacity for the office as well.' He had seen the military school founded by Maria Theresa, and in his 'History of My Time' this great military authority observes: 'In order to neglect nothing bearing on the state of the army, the Empress founded near Vienna (at Wiener Neustadt) a college where young nobles were instructed in the whole art of war. She drew to it distinguished professors of geometry, fortification, geography, and history, who formed able pupils, and made it a complete nursery for the army. By means of her care, the military service attained in that country a degree of perfection which it had never reached under the Emperors of the House of Austria; and a woman thus carried out designs worthy of a great man.'

HIGHER EDUCATION.

As soon as her attention ceased to be engaged by the pressing necessities of war, Maria Theresa took up several educational measures which had been inaugurated by a commission appointed by her father in 1735, in the universities, and which brought them

* A fuller treatment of the progressive development of public instruction in the Empire of Austria, including the measures of Maria Therese, will be found in Bernard's *National Education—German States.*

more under government control. Dissatisfied with the divergent influences of several modes of training in the different provinces, and of the want of unity of plan, her first efforts were directed to introducing a similar course of study into all schools of the same grade, wherever situated; and she required, as early as 1747, that greater attention should be given to history, Greek, and mathematics, as well as to the German language, in the gymnasium, and that ethics, political economy, and applied mathematics should receive attention in special courses of the most advanced classes. In 1752 the schools of secondary instruction were subjected to a semi-annual inspection, and reports of the examinations were made to the government; in 1760 a State Board of Studies was instituted, with subordinate boards in the several provinces to revise and regulate the text-books, and supervise the course and methods of instruction. With most of this class of schools under the immediate charge of different religious orders, which were in rivalry and often in collision with each other, the progress of reform was slow down to 1772, when the opposition to the Jesuits within the church assumed such proportions that the order was abrogated by a Papal bull, and their extensive possessions were appropriated by the government as an educational fund for the support of the gymnasiums.

THE PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOL.

The principal field of Maria Theresa's governmental activity was the public primary school in which little had been done beyond the most beggarly elements, and mainly, so far as attempted at all, in connection with the parish church. At the close of the Seven Years' War, the Empress took the matter in hand on a memorial of Count Firmian, Archbishop of Passau, and through the activity of Joseph Messmer, rector of St. Stephens, and as such, director of the civic schools of Vienna. The former, in 1769, printed a memorial on 'The Usefulness of Schools to the State and Religion,' and the latter, in 1770, 'Humble Thoughts on the Improvement of the German (Common) Schools of the City and Suburbs of Vienna,' urging modifications in the subjects and methods of study, and to this end the establishment of a central Normal (in this case a *model*) School, under the charge of a special commission. These promptly met the approval of the Empress, whose attention had already been called to the subject, and who had already issued a decree in reference to an attempt of the clergy of Carinthia, that the management of popular schools belonged to the state.

In 1770 two Boards of Education were instituted, one for Upper

and the other for Lower Austria, and a central Normal School was instituted at Vienna. Over one of the Boards was placed Count Firmian as president; and to the Normal School, Messmer, who had already been tutor in the imperial family, and was familiar with the methods, charts, maps, and other appliances of Felbiger, was appointed principal. This school was opened January 2, 1771, with four classes, each under a special teacher, after the organization of the Sagan school. The upper class was composed of pupil-teachers, and were instructed and trained by the principal, Messmer. The classes were visited by teachers and clergymen from different provinces, and through them the improved classification and methods spread from city to city, and the way was prepared for the reception of the new ordinance which had been announced for all the states of the empire.

General School Law—1774.

The germ of the General School Law, issued in the name of the Empress in December, 1774, was in the memorial of the Bishop of Passau, in 1769, and was elaborated by Count de Pergen for the consideration of the Empress in 1770. The plan rested on three fundamental ideas: (1.) The duty of the sovereign authority to inaugurate a system of public popular schools, to make both sexes good christians, and industrious, intelligent and obedient subjects in the different orders of society. (2.) The state should assume the complete and exclusive supervision and control of schools and education, including the training and examination of teachers, the inspection of schools, even those which are domestic, and the prohibition of all foreign instruction. (3.) The right of instruction should be taken from religious corporations which had shown themselves incompetent to meet the expectations of parents and the demands of modern society. These ideas were in advance of the age and the country, and the Empress went no further than to express her purpose to modify the existing system and institutions, and make advances in the direction indicated. The suppression of the order of Jesuits in 1772, and some disturbance in the central Normal School, made the introduction of new measures immediately necessary and practicable. Under the presidency of Kressler, and with the personal attention of the Empress, the State Board of Education took into consideration a general plan of studies drawn up by Martini, in which the superior and secondary schools relied directly on the programme of the primary schools completed, which programme secured to every subject, according to his rank and calling,

the necessary instruction, under teachers legally qualified and trained, in a complete and practical course of studies. To secure a satisfactory organization, the Empress summoned Felbiger from Silesia, at the close of 1773 or in the beginning of 1774, who was at once charged with the oversight of the central Normal School, and the preparation of a general school ordinance for the entire empire, which was issued in the name of the Empress, October 6, 1774. This act extended in its operations to the whole empire—the old hereditary states, Bohemia, and the recent accessions of territory and people in Galicia, and embraced many features in anticipation of our modern systems of national popular education. It recognizes the necessity of education for both sexes to the prosperity of nations, provides for instruction beyond reading and learning the catechism, in the elements of history, geography, especially of their own country, domestic economy, and the history of arts and trades—enforces on parents the duty of sending their children from the age of six years, until they begin to work at a trade, and provides for the special education of teachers, and their examination, as well as for the inspection and annual examination of the schools.

The law of 1774 is so much in advance of contemporary legislation, in this or any other county, except the two Regulations of 1763 and 1765, of Frederick II. already noticed, that we shall give it entire. The term *Normal* as applied to the highest grade of schools created by this act, is the earliest use of the word, and probably suggested the name to the French School of 1794.

Special Technical Schools.

In 1745, the Empress authorized the first university lectures on experimental physics, and in 1757, on mechanics; in 1763 she permitted the Piorists to give instruction in book-keeping; and in 1770 a Commercial Academy was established in Vienna, after a plan drawn up by Wolf of Baden, on her invitation. This academy from time to time was expanded, till it grew into the Polytechnic Institute of Vienna, one of the best in Europe for all mechanical and commercial industries. Under her enlightened administration the Mining School at Schemnitz was opened in 1763, and in 1794 it had attained such reputation, that Fourcroy, in his speech in the French National Assembly, advocating the erection at Paris of a Central School of Science, preparatory for the public service, referred to it, as a model for imitation.

Out of the germs of institutions planted during the reign of Maria Theresa, has grown up a system of public instruction in Vienna, not surpassed in any great city in the world.

GERARD VAN SWEITEN.

In the reforms in the Austrian High School, inaugurated by Maria Theresa, Gerard Van Sweiten took an active part. This eminent physician was born in Leyden in 1700, and after pursuing his preliminary studies at Louvain, he returned to his native city. Here it was his good fortune to attract the attention of Boerhaave, who became his friend and patron. His love of study was unbounded, and his application so great as to threaten his health, until the good counsels of his distinguished teacher restrained his ardor. Besides a profound and systematic study of his own profession, he found time to push his acquirements in other fields, and when he attained his doctor's degree at the age of twenty-five, he was regarded as one of the *savans* of Europe. He began a course of lectures at the University of Leyden which were attended by unprecedented numbers. His success, however, did not fail to excite jealousy; and after a time his enemies made the fact of his being a Catholic a pretext for his removal. He devoted himself at once to his 'Commentaries on the Aphorisms of Boerhaave,' the chief literary work by which he is known, until the Empress Maria Theresa invited him to Vienna, where, in 1745, he became first physician to the Empress, and a baron of the empire.

He immediately distinguished himself by his activity in his new field. He reformed the study of medicine at the University, and lectured himself until new and more important duties forced him to desist, but not until he had seen his place worthily filled. It was at his instigation that the clinical school was established which was the model of the now famous schools in France and the north of Germany, and it was also owing to him that the Empress rebuilt the University. He was also Imperial Librarian and Director-General of Medical Affairs in Austria, and in 1760 became a member of the State Board of Studies, in which he was associated with Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna.

As Imperial Librarian he was instrumental in making the library accessible to every one. A senseless rule had been inforced which forbade any one from making notes of what they read there. He not only abolished this, but offered every facility to those who wished to avail themselves of the great treasures contained in the library by arranging and cataloguing its contents.

As a member of the Board of Studies, he was influential in introducing into the University lectures on experimental physics, and in developing realistic studies, especially those which related to agriculture and commerce in special schools at Prague and Vienna.

GENERAL LAW FOR THE SCHOOLS OF AUSTRIA.

(December 6th, 1774)

MARIA THERESA, *etc.*

Having nothing more at heart than the true welfare of the countries which God has confided to us, and having always attentively considered whatever might contribute to this end, we have observed that the education of both sexes, the basis of the real happiness of nations, requires our especial care. This very important object has so much the more attracted our attention, inasmuch as the future destiny of man, the genius and thought of entire nations, depend mainly on the good instruction and right training of children from their tenderest years. Such an object, however, can never be attained if the darkness of ignorance is not dispelled by well regulated instruction and education, so that every individual can acquire knowledge according to his ability and condition. These necessary ends, the utility of which is generally acknowledged, we desire to reach by the following regulation for all schools in our kingdoms and hereditary states:

1. *Creation of a School-commission in every State of the Monarchy.*

In each State of the monarchy shall be formed a school-commission, composed of two or three counselors of the government, one under-delegate, and a secretary, associated with the inspector-general of normal schools.

This commission is charged with the supervision of all school interests, school-officers as well as school material, and they shall assure themselves that the method prescribed by ordinance is employed..........Frequent reports on the condition of schools must be rendered.

2. *Grades of schools, and where they are to be situated.*

Schools are of three classes: Normal schools, Principal schools (superior primary schools,) and Trivial schools, (primary.)

There shall be one normal (pattern or model) school in each province. All other establishments must conform to this school. The corps of teachers shall consist of a director and four or five teachers, one of whom shall be a catechist.

Every capital of a canton must possess a Principal school.

Finally, shall be established Trivial schools in all the small cities or boroughs in the country, and in all villages where exists a parish or a filial church, distant from the centre.

3. *Rules for the establishment of schools.*

It is not intended to establish new schools every where, but to improve existing schools. In future no teacher shall be admitted, unless he knows the prescribed method of teaching, and has been found capable, on examination before the teachers of the Normal school.

The right of keeping school or teaching the young shall continue to all laymen and ecclesiastics, who at present are engaged in the profession of teachers; but they must, as soon as possible, make themselves familiar with the new method, and conform to the principles of this ordinance.

New schools shall be created only where none exist, and only as many as are necessary; also in those places where the young are too numerous for the existing schools to accommodate all, or for the teachers to bestow the necessary care upon them. When the insufficiency is proved to exist, new schools must be erected, or the old ones repaired, as appears necessary, at the expense of the communes, who draw direct profit therefrom, unless the nobility, who have the advantage of drawing from these schools employees of good character, take upon themselves the expenses, or other means are devised.

The school-commission is charged with stating the real wants, and to determine what portion of the expenses each party shall contribute.

4. *Rules for the construction of School-houses.*

When it is necessary to build school-houses, or to repair the old buildings, care must be taken to have as many distinct class-rooms as there will be teach-

ers to give lessons at the same hour, since it is not possible that two or more persons teach at the same time and in the same place.

And as it is necessary that the attention of children should not be distracted by the domestic affairs of the teachers, the school-rooms must not be used for any other purposes than those of the school, and must, even in villages, be separated from the teacher's dwelling.

There shall be not only a sufficient number of rooms, but they shall be well lighted, and the Principal schools shall have a convenient room for examinations; each room must be well provided with benches, tables, blackboards, writing-desks, and other necessary utensils, also a locked case for the books.

5. *Branches of Instruction in each of the three classes of Schools.*

NORMAL SCHOOL.—*A.* RELIGION.—Instruction in religion is to be given:

1st. From the catechism specially introduced by the bishop of the diocese, or from the Vienna catechism for normal schools, approved by the bishops.

2d. In a systematic manner, for which purpose the Reader is arranged.

3d. As history, that the pupils may learn under what circumstances and in what periods the divine revelations took place; what lessons man should draw from them, relative to his own conduct, etc.

4th. By means of interpretation of passages in the Reader, which treat of the principles of morality and the condition of man.

B. READING.—Reading, writing, and orthography; arithmetic and its application; and, in general, all that can contribute to inspire a well regulated conduct, and be conducive to good manners.

C. LANGUAGE AND SCIENCE.—Subjects which serve to prepare pupils for the study of Latin, or those who intend to pursue the career of political economy, and especially those who will devote themselves to agriculture and the arts and trades, should be introduced. The mother language should be taught by exercises in composition; and the pupils should obtain a sufficient knowledge of Latin to be able to begin the *humanitas*, to learn surgery and pharmacy, or to take up the profession of a writer. The best principles of economy, and especially of domestic economy, should be taught; also the history of arts and trades, as well as natural history, within the limits of utility and necessity. Also the elements of history and geography, especially of their own country; also the principles of surveying and mechanics; drawing by means of compass, ruler, and instruments.

D. METHODS OF INSTRUCTION.—Those who aspire to the profession of teaching, shall be specially made to know, and have explained, what are the duties and qualifications of a good teacher; the methods and practical means by which order and discipline are maintained in classes; how the school registers must be kept, and in what manner they should question the pupils in an examination; finally, what is required of public and of private teachers.

Principal Schools.—The programme of the Principal schools comprises the subjects indicated under A and B, and, as much as possible, those under C, as the number and ability of the teachers and the time prescribed permit.

Trivial Schools.—The subjects of instruction in the schools of small cities, boroughs and villages, are:

(*a*,) Religion and its history; morals drawn from the Bible and reading.

(*b*,) Reading printed and written type; current handwriting; the four rules of arithmetic, with the rule of simple proportions.

(*c*,) In the country a little book is to be used, which has been written to form "an honest citizen," and teach him thrift aud management.

6. *Who shall teach the different branches of Instruction.*

Ecclesiastics alone may teach the Christian doctrine. The Normal and Principal schools have a professor specially charged with giving every day, at least one hour, lessons on the catechism, on sacred history and morality, and explaining the epistles and gospels. It shall be the duty of the vicar to catechise twice, or at least once a week, in the Trivial schools. If the vicars are not sufficient to teach religion in the schools of small towns, burghs, and of the country, friars may be appointed, with approval of the bishops, by the superiors of the neighboring convents. The schoolmasters shall be present during the lessons in the catechism, and pay good attention, that they may be able to

repeat to the children the explanations which have been made. If the vicar or clergyman is prevented, the teachers themselves shall be obliged to question the children on what they have learned by heart, for instance, on verses from the Holy Scriptures, etc., or on what they have studied in the Reader relative to religion. Other subjects can be taught by laymen or ecclesiastics, provided they have passed their examination. The teachers of the Principal schools consist of the director and four or five assistant teachers.

7. *School-books.*

In order to have instruction uniform, the books and charts to be used in school are prescribed, and the necessary regulations will be issued, to guide the teachers in the duties obligatory upon them. None but the prescribed books shall be used in school; but teachers, who desire to perfect their own education, may procure other books treating on the subjects taught in the school.

8. *Of the manner of Teaching.*

Instruction must be given simultaneously to all pupils of the same class. The teacher should take special care that all pupils read together, He will punctually conform to the directions given in the books on method, and aim less at crowding the memory of children than at developing their mind by clear and precise explanations. He should accustom the children to express themselves with facility and exactitude on things which have been explained to them.

9. *Division of classes.*

All the children, though of different ages and sex, who are to learn the same branches, should be in one class. Each class to comprise three divisions: a superior, intermediate, and inferior division.

10. *Of school-hours.*

In Winter, the hours of school shall be from 8 to 11 in the morning; in the Summer, in the country, from 7 to 10; from 2 to 4 P. M. during the year.

In cities, the course of the first term shall commence on the 3d of November, and finish on Palm Sunday eve; the course of the second term to begin on the second Monday after Easter Sunday, and last to St. Michael's day.

In the country, the schools begin on the first of December, and remain open to the end of March. In these are received the children between nine and thirteen years of age, because most may be called to aid their parents during the Summer season, and this is the reason that they are not obliged to frequent school at other periods. The course of the second term begins on Monday after Easter week, and terminates on St. Michael's day. During the season of harvest, instruction is suspended for all children above eight years; but continues for the children between six and eight years.

As children, poorly clothed, can not always come to school in Winter, on account of the bad roads and the rigor of the season, they shall not be forced; yet their parents or guardians are free to send the young children to school in Winter as well as in Summer. Teachers will select a special hour to instruct such children, in order not to interrupt or delay the lessons given to other pupils.

11. *The time to be devoted to each subject.*

All subjects must be thoroughly and suitably explained within the time fixed for the duration of each course. Pupils who have not dexterity for writing, or aptitude for other branches, may double one or more courses.

12. *Duty of School-attendance.*

In cities, all children of both sexes, for whom parents or guardians can not or will not take a special teacher, must, without exception, attend the public schools from the age of six years until they are sufficiently instructed to choose a trade or profession. As they hardly attain this degree of instruction before the age of twelve years, we shall see with satisfaction, if parents send them to school during six or seven years, and permit them to attend even longer.

Children who desire to enter a Latin school before their twelfth year, must submit to a public examination, and obtain a certificate from the school-inspector that they possess the required knowledge.

Where distinct schools exist, girls shall be taught separately, and they shall

be instructed also in sewing, and all work suitable for their sex. If no distinct schools are organized, the girls shall attend the mixed school, but seated on separate benches.

13. *Duty of parents and guardians to send children to school.*

As the education and instruction of youth has a very great influence on the general well-being, we will not let the good success of our maternal care, in this regard, be endangered by the carelessness of parents or guardians. Consequently we ordain, that they send their children to school at the proper age, or have them instructed at home. We recommend to magistrates and superiors to watch over the execution of this ordinance, to reprimand, and if necessary, to enforce obedience on the part of parents or guardians who neglect this duty.

After the necessary measures shall have been taken to train capable teachers in the Normal schools, no person shall be permitted to follow the work of teaching, if he possesses no certificate of ability, signed by the authorities of a Normal or Principal school, and for the want of such certificate he shall be excluded from the profession.

14. *Work or other necessity shall not dispense from school attendance.*

That the service of orphans may not be an obstacle to their instruction, it shall not be lawful for magistrates to put them out to service before their thirteenth year; or at least those who have not reached that age must be permitted to attend school in Winter. Other persons, who take into their service orphans below thirteen years of age, will be obliged to send them to school morning and afternoon, and if they are not insolvent, they shall pay half tuition fees for them.

15. *Of repetition schools, (schools for adults.)*

In the country, as well as in cities, the young people who have ceased to belong to primary schools, and particularly those who are apprentices, must, especially in Summer, on Sundays after divine service, if possible, congregate at the common school, where, for two hours, the teacher will recapitulate with them, under the inspection of the curate or vicar. They shall attend these exercises till they are twenty years old. First, they will read the epistle or gospel of the day; then have an exercise in reading, writing, arithmetic, that they may revise the knowledge acquired at school. For these repetitions, passages will be selected from standard works, treating on religion, morality, and all subjects that tend to cultivate honest principles and domestic and simple tastes. The young should be frequently questioned on various important themes.

The obligation of apprentices to take part in these repetitions shall be such, that their apprenticeship can not be declared ended, until they have obtained from the school-inspector a certificate, stating that they have fruitfully attended the repetition-school, after making good progress in religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the ordinary course.

16. *Of keeping a school-register, to mark the industry and progress of pupils.*

With the two-fold object of knowing whether all the children of school age attend school, and whether the want of progress in pupils must be ascribed to their frequent absence, different registers shall be kept.

In cities, the magistrates, twice every year, at Easter and St. Michael's, shall revise the list of children of school age, that is, of those who have attained their sixth year. Each time the list will be communicated to the school-teacher, that he may know which children are obliged to frequent the school.

In the country, if the teacher is also sacristan, he can himself ascertain, from the baptismal register, the age of every child in the place, and know what children are of school age.

This will also enable him to control the assertions of parents, who often attempt to escape the obligation of sending their children to school.

That the object may be reached, each teacher shall keep an alphabetical register, in which he will inscribe the names of children from the list, indicating their age, the dates of their admittance and promotion from one class to another. He will also note the absence of each pupil. At the commencement or end of the register, the number of lessons which the teacher has given during the month, and the subjects taught, should also be entered. This register can

be advantageously consulted in the examinations, especially to know who absent themselves.

A second register relates to the degree of application and progress. It should be examined every month. Every day, after prayer, in the morning as well as in the evening, the teacher must assure himself of the presence of the pupils; for this purpose it will suffice to read their names from the catalogue, marking those present with a line, the late-comers by a dot, and leaving blank the space for the absent. As this register will distinguish the idlers from the diligent, it should be kept with exactitude, justice, and good order. If by a sentiment of animosity, or by negligence, the teacher fails to do his duty in this respect, he shall be punished as the case may require. Every teacher shall transmit, one week after vacation, an abstract from this register to the school-inspector.

17. *Ordinary inspectors charged with examining the condition of schools.*

In order that the present regulation shall be observed, the authorities shall appoint in every village some special inspectors, whose reports, addressed to the Commission of Studies, shall contain their names. In the Normal and Principal schools the director has the superintendence; moreover, a citizen of the place, a friend of education, shall be nominated by the magistrate, to watch the progress of the schools, and to assure himself that the regulations are faithfully carried out. This inspector will keep account of the children that are diligent, and of those who are not regular in their attendance. He shall state whether the teacher proves zealous or negligent, or conforms to the ordinance. The inspectors should not make their visits at stated periods, but whenever they think proper, without notifying the teachers.

In cities, burghs, or the country, the curate of the parish shall be appointed inspector, one of the magistracy and a prudent man from the inhabitants of the commune. They shall conform to what has been ordained in regard to the inspectors in larger cities. Every inspector addresses a report to the Inspector-General of Normal Schools, on the condition of the schools in his jurisdiction.

18. *Nomination of Inspector-Generals.*

The School-Commissions shall elect as Inspector-Generals only persons perfectly capable. A certain district will be assigned to each Inspector-General, in which to make his visits and institute schools. These Inspectors shall make themselves acquainted with the deficiencies of schools; examine the children in presence of the teacher, and receive the reports of the local inspectors, rendered at Easter and St. Michael's. These reports the Inspector-Generals forward to the government, which refers them to the School-Commission. They add an abstract of their observations, as well as their remarks on the following objects:

1. In what place and point do magistrates, gentry, and inhabitants, act against the ordinance.
2. What are the obstacles to the success of schools.
3. In what places are school-buildings not in order, or need repair; how are the school-servants salaried.
4. What measures should be taken to improve instruction.
5. What curates, vicars, catechisers, and schoolmasters have distinguished themselves by diligence and zeal in teaching, and deserve to be rewarded.
6. What teachers neglect their duty and should be punished; or are incorrigible, and should consequently be discharged.

19. *The manner of introducing reform into education.*

Immediately after the next Summer season, schools shall be every where established, and the instruction of teachers be promptly provided for.

20. *Obligation of ecclesiastical candidates and applicants for the monastic state.*

As it is of great importance that ecclesiastics should have a perfect knowledge of the new plans for schools, that they may be able to practice the prescribed methods, their duty being chiefly to give religious instruction and to watch the progress of the schools in the country, we ordain hereby, by virtue of our legislative power, that no priest shall be proposed for a parish, unless he has provided himself with a certificate from the catechist of the *præparanden* (those

who prepare for admission to a clerical seminary,) stating that he is sufficiently acquainted with the method of instruction.

It is our will that in future, when schools are once established, no laymen shall be admitted into a convent, unless they understand the theory of instruction, and produce a certificate from one of the Normal Schools.

We rely with confidence on the zeal of bishops and curates, in behalf of the interests of religion, and on the regard they have for us, that they will seek to improve education; and diligently aid in the execution of our orders.

21. *Prohibition to Teachers to keep a tavern.*

Though we are well disposed to permit teachers in the country the exercise of an honest trade, provided it does not form an obstacle to their special duties, yet we order and ordain hereby, that no teacher who receives a sufficient salary and enjoys an honest subsistence, shall keep a tavern, under pain of removal.

Neither can we permit school teachers to make music or play at a fair, wedding, or other occasion, in taverns or similar houses. This in future they are strictly forbidden to do, likewise, under pain of removal. We also forbid curates to be accompanied by the teacher in their visits to the sick; they should address themselves to other persons.

22. *Examinations and rewards.*

Every year, in the various schools, shall be held an examination on all subjects of instruction during that year, in order to ascertain the progress of the scholars.

In cities, this examination shall take place in presence of the deputies of the magistrate, and in the country, in presence of the curate, some of the gentry, and some aldermen.

Every pupil can show his degree of knowledge. The public also shall be admitted, and may question the scholars within the limits of matters contained in the class-books.

In cities it becomes a duty to examine whether young people, who desire to enter the Latin Colleges, and to devote themselves to the study of science, have the required attainments. Also it should be ascertained whether the parents approve the sending of their sons to gymnasiums. If, as a result of the examination, it is shown that idle scholars have not attained the necessary instruction, the inspectors may oblige them to continue to attend the school.

After the examination, the foundation and other benefices existing shall be distributed to the most deserving scholars, to encourage them and to stimulate the zeal of others. For this should be chosen: 1, scholars who have given convincing proofs of their progress; 2, those who surpass others in good conduct.

23. *Reports on the condition of schools.*

[This paragraph only repeats the directions of §§ 17 and 18, concerning the preparation and transmission of semi-annual reports]

24. *The zeal of inspectors and teachers is the basis of promotion.*

Notwithstanding it is the duty of all to fulfill, to the fullest extent, the obligations of the office intrusted to them, we are disposed to promote to better places those who distinguish themselves by their zeal and successful teaching.

We wish school-teachers and all who teach in cities to take rank immediately after the magistrates; in the country, after the aldermen, so that during solemnities they have a right to a position before other persons.

Ecclesiastics, who give instruction in the catechism, or those who prove their zeal for schools, shall have the preference not only in the benefices belonging to our patronage, but in all benefices, of ecclesiastical or lay patronage, it being our expectation that the patrons will second our views, and work with us for the general welfare. We also hope that all will appreciate the maternal care with which we have begun to regulate the principles of education and general instruction of youth. We ordain that all regencies and governments, subordinate to us, shall execute in the provinces and follow faithfully all regulations prescribed. We command likewise all superior ecclesiastics, and, in general, all superior civil officers, magistrates, noblemen and their employees, schoolmasters, and all our faithful subjects, to conform to the spirit and intent of this ordinance.

Given in our capital and residence, city of Vienna, December 6, 1774.

J. I. VON FELBIGER.

Johann Ignaz von Felbiger was born January 6, 1724, at Grossglogau in Silesia, of Catholic parents, studied theology at Breslau, in 1746 entered the princely foundation of "Regular Canons of the Order of St. Augustine of the Lateran Congregation of our Dear Lady," at Sagan in Silesia, in 1758 became arch-priest of the circle of Sagan, and soon afterwards abbot and prelate of the same.

In this office he had the oversight of the churches and schools of the town, and of a number of villages belonging to it; and his attention was thus directed to the condition of the Catholic school system generally, which the Austrian government had suffered to sink in the charge of the priests and especially of the Jesuits, into a most miserable condition of inactivity and indifference. Parochial common schools were very few, mostly in the towns, and of a very low grade, insomuch that many Catholic parents sent their children to Protestant schools.

Felbiger's first distinct efforts to improve the Catholic schools of Sagan were made about 1761, and were much facilitated by the passage of Silesia under the Prussian dominion, at the peace of Dresden in 1745. But finding himself hopelessly obstructed, for the time, by the incapacity of the teachers, he became readily interested in the efforts then making for the improvement of the schools throughout Prussia, and especially in the annual reports of the Berlin Real School, founded by Hecker in 1739, and with which a teachers' seminary was connected in 1748. In 1763, he visited this school, strictly incognito, and acquainted himself with its scope, organization and methods, and in particular with the "Tabular and Literal Method" of J. F. Hahn, whose systematized mechanical character was well adapted to his views as a partizan of the Jesuit principles of education. On his return from Berlin he at once commenced an active course of labors for the extension and improvement of the common schools; sending young men quietly at his own expense to Berlin for training as teachers; repeating his own visits there; founding normal schools at Sagan, Leubus, Grüssau and Rauden, and afterwards at Breslau, Ratibor and Habelschwerdt; himself laboring as a teacher, issuing a series of school-books and catechisms from a printing estab-

ishment of his own, providing for increased salaries to teachers, and generally laboring for a well-regulated school system.

The attention of the Prussian government was attracted by the efforts of Felbiger, and it gladly seized the opportunity of placing so zealous and capable a person at the head of the new school organization for the Catholic portions of the kingdom. In their place he drew up and put into operation the "School Regulations for Roman Catholics in the Duchy of Silesia and County of Glatz," of 3 Nov., 1765; a code which affords a good view of his principles of education.* The improvements introduced by Felbiger consisted in promoting better preparation of teachers, the substitution of subjects connected with actual life for mere memorizing, previously used, the introduction of simultaneous instruction, in order to accelerate the progress of the children and to interest them, and in the introduction of tables and other similar systematized collections of matter intended to be learned, as a mode of causing uniformity in subjects and methods of teaching, where previously each teacher had followed his own methods or suggestions. The leading feature in these improvements was the simultaneous method. The tables were a mode of "presenting whatever is to be learned, before the eye, in such an arrangement that the pupil can see whatever is to be learned about any one subject, and also the order in which the parts of such material follow each other." There were two kinds of these; one in which a scheme of stems and branches with braces was used, and another, in which by using the initials of each line, the chief and subordinate divisions of the subject were to be remembered. They were used in the catechism, writing, reading and arithmetic, and included in part definitions and systematized presentations of subjects, in part statements of rules. They were to be written on the black board by the teacher, and memorized by the pupils, proper explanations being given. The second kind were used with the "literal method" already mentioned; by writing the initials on the black-board, and making the children repeat them, as well as the words to which they belonged, until they could repeat the words alone.

In the course of the reorganization of the Austrian government under Maria Theresa, the school system assumed a place as an important object of governmental activity, and was as such taken out of the exclusive control of the clergy. A central school department was organized in 1770, and a normal school established at Vienna. In 1773 the Jesuit order was extinguished, and the comprehensive

* See Neigebaur, "*Common School System of Prussia*, (*Volksschulwesen in den Preussischen Staaten.*)"

reformatory plans of the government more fully put in operation. The Prussian government, at the express request of the empress, gave Felbiger permission to enter the Austrian service, and he was appointed "General Director of the School System of the Austrian States," in 1764.

The reforms which he introduced in this new sphere of activity, consisted in the introduction of the features of his system into the three grades of schools that were now established, the use of prescribed text-books and tables, the regulation of summer and winter terms, a systematic division by classes, a very detailed plan of normal lessons, and a thorough official inspection over the system, which it was attempted to render fixed even to stiffness. Felbiger's plans, at first introduced only into Vienna and Austria proper, were received with increasing favor, and were soon extended into the other hereditary states of the empire. Their influence was in fact apparent throughout the whole of Catholic Germany, in an increased interest in the schools.

Felbiger's labors in Austria were too short. In 1778, when the war of the Bavarian succession threatened to break out, he received orders from Friedrich II. either to return to Silesia, or to resign his abbacy at Sagan. Desirous of protecting his favorite enterprise against its adversaries, he chose the latter, and received a compensatory appointment and income from the empress. But after the accession (in 1780) of Joseph II., he was no longer supported by government, and was finally ordered to retire to his deanery at Presburg, and to restrict his attention to the improvement of the Hungarian schools. Here he died, May 17th, 1788.

FERDINAND KINDERMANN.

FERDINAND KINDERMANN, whose great services to popular education from 1771 to 1801, in Bohemia, were recognized by the Empress Theresa in conferring on him the title of Von Schulstein (school stone), and nominating him, in 1779, Bishop of Leitmeritz, was born in 1740 at Koenigswalde, near Schluckenau, and educated at the University of Prague. While a student he heard lectures on the Art of Education by Prof. Seibt, which so impressed him that when he became pastor of a church at Kaplitz, in South Bohemia, he included the education of youth and the improvement of schools in his clerical duties; and there was no more pressing demand on the paternal care of the church and the government throughout the whole of this province, which had been swept by ravages of the Thirty Years' War, and rent by relentless religious dissensions and persecutions. At the close of the Seven Years' War it was estimated that not one in twenty of the children in Bohemia were in school of any kind, or were in villages where the facilities of school organization existed. The condition of the schools was deplorable. Kindermann, in speaking of the schools of his parish at Kaplitz, in 1771, writes: 'The children, big and little, old and young, were assembled in the schoolroom—without regulation—passing in and out without reference to the wishes of the teacher—some eating their bread, and others complaining that they had none—a few reciting, some learning their lessons, and all doing in their own way what each thought best—the schoolmaster incapable of stopping the hubbub, and creating order out of the confusion. The methods of instruction were purely mechanical—confined to the repetition of words without meaning for the intellect, or emotion for the heart. The whole of the religious instruction was the literal repetition of the answers dictated to the questions of the Catechism.'

To fit himself for his work of school reform, Kindermann resorted to Sagan, and put himself under the training of Felbiger; and on his return, he writes 'my first day was spent in the parish school, and the second with the teacher and class of pupils in my own room, instructing now the teacher how to teach, and then the scholars

how to learn a lesson in the Catechism.' Within a month the pupils learned the whole Catechism understandingly, which formerly occupied the whole year, without any thorough understanding of the words committed to memory. His work prospered, and the school soon became the teachers and the pupils delight, and the admiration of parents and the community. Its fame went abroad into the other villages, and his methods were followed by other teachers, till it became a *normal school,* under his direction and that of his curate, Simon Kudler, in whose heart he had kindled a similar zeal. In his whole movement he was guided by great discretion and unostentatious industry—avoiding all promises and all display, in which he differed from Felbiger, who was more demonstrative and exacting—making much of outward organization, mechanical methods and illustrations, and frequent exhibitions of results. While Kindermann pushed his improved methods into every study, he carefully drew attention only to his penmanship, which people generally could appreciate, and to the vocal music, which parents were delighted to have their children excel in. His better methods in every study gradually became the habits not only of his own village schools, but of a wide circle of schools whose teachers resorted to Kaplitz for information and training.

When Maria Theresa, in 1774, had decided on a general reorganization of the popular schools, and called Felbiger as director to the central Normal Institute for Teachers in Vienna, she placed Kindermann at the head of a School Commission for Bohemia, and Professor of Pedagogy in the Gymnasium of Minor Prague; subsequently he was made director of the training course in the Real School at Prague, founded by Amand Schindler, in 1776. Kindermann opened his course by an oration on 'the influence of the Lower Schools on Public Life and Education generally.' In a circular entitled 'Incentives to the Public Examinations of the Scholars in the Imperial Normal School of Little Prague,' he gave publicity to the school ordinances of Maria Theresa, and included an account of all the important improvements introduced into different parts of Bohemia, drawn from the reports of district inspectors, school directors, and official examiners.

As early as 1777 Kindermann had sent out five hundred teachers trained in his new methods, into as many schools, situated in cities, on the domains of the nobility, and in connection with religious establishments—each of which became a model for the schools of a still wider section, and the center of direct influence on the people.

One peculiarity of the training system of Kindermann was the

organic union of mental activity and the industrial element in both the normal and the popular school. Not only were teachers familiarized with practical subjects and with methods which dealt with realities instead of words, and called for the frequent use of the blackboard and visible illustrations, but they were trained to some handicraft with the special object of communicating the same to the children of peasants, whose habits of industry had been broken up by continuous military service, and the destruction of harvests by moving troops and armies. The value of habits of diligence, perseverance, neatness and thrift was constantly inculcated and demonstrated practically. Pupil teachers were taught at Kaplitz and Prague how to occupy a portion of their own time, and that of their older pupils, in and out of school hours in such in-door industries as knitting, sewing, wool-carding and spinning, and out-door work as kitchen gardening, tree culture, and raising silk-worms. And the reasons assigned by Kindermann for this new curriculum was to protect society against beggary, vice, and crime, and promote the welfare of the peasant class.

That his efforts in this direction were followed by the happiest results, the increased prosperity of the peasant classes in Bohemia, and the speedy adoption, in some form, of the industrial feature of his plan in other states is ample proof.

The further history of his work is absorbed in the general history of educational reform in the Austrian Empire. He lived a quiet though active life, preferring to work unostentatiously in smaller circles than to win fame as a great reformer—and his published works, besides those already named, are '*Report on the School at Kaplitz*,' '*Thoughts on the means of disseminating the Religious Instruction of the Improved Common Schools among Adults, with two prize themes : One for an instructive text-book for the people, and one for a condensed Explanation of Religious Customs and Ceremonies.*'

The honors bestowed upon him by his sovereign show the estimation in which his services were held, and at the same time prove the spirit with which Maria Theresa undertook the work of reform. Shortly after his removal from Kaplitz to Prague, he was made Dean of the Collegiate Church of All Saints and given the Abbey of Petur, in Hungary, *in commendam*, and at the same time raised to the Equestrian rank with the title of Von Schulstein. In 1779 he was made Provost of the Church of Maria Schein, near Teplitz, and nominated Bishop of Leitmeritz, which dignity he held at the time of his death in 1801.

RECENT SCHOOL LEGISLATION OF AUSTRIA.

I.

LAW RESPECTING COMMON SCHOOLS.

[Issued by the Emperor Francis Joseph, with the agreement of both Houses of the Imperial Diet, May 14, 1869.]

A.—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY OR COMMON SCHOOLS.

I.—AIM AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

§ 1. The common school (*volksschule*) has in view the religious and moral education of the children, and aims at developing their intellect, and imparting such knowledge as is necessary to make them good men and citizens.

§ 2. Any common school that is supported or assisted by the state, the province, or the municipality, is a public school, and as such accessible to all youth, without difference of creed.

All other schools are private institutions.

1.—*Common elementary Schools.*

§ 3. In every elementary common school (*allgemeine volksschule*) at least the following subjects shall be taught: Religion, language, arithmetic, the most necessary elements of natural philosophy, geography and history, with particular regard to the country and its constitution, writing, geometrical forms, singing, and gymnastics. Girls shall also be instructed in needlework and housekeeping.

The extent to which these subjects shall be taught, and additional branches, depends on the grade of the school and the number of teachers.

§ 4. The plans of instruction for these schools, as well as all the other organization, will be determined by the Minister of Education, on the recommendation of the provincial school boards.

§ 5. Religious instruction is cared for and superintended by the respective church boards.

The number of lessons in religion will be fixed in the plan of instruction.

The distribution of the subjects for each year's course will be fixed by the church boards.

Both the teachers of religion and the clerical boards must observe the school laws, and the orders of the school boards made in pursuance thereof.

All directions by the clerical board shall be made known to the principal of the school (§ 12) through the district school superintendent. Such directions as are incompatible with the general school order shall not be communicated.

In places without a clergyman who can regularly give religious instruction, the teacher may be obliged, with the consent of the clerical board, to take part in teaching the children of his creed, in accordance with the directions given by the school boards.

If any of the denominations should omit to care for religious instruction, the provincial school board, after hearing those who are interested, will make the needed arrangements.

§ 6. The language used for instruction, and whether a second language shall be taught or not, is determined, within the limits drawn by the laws, by the provincial school board, (*landes schulbehörde.*)*

§ 7. The subjects to be taught shall be allotted to the *eight years* during which every child must attend school in a way that each year, if possible, may constitute a *grade.* The division of the children into sections or classes depends on the

* School board of the country; meaning not Austria, but the various countries, as Bohemia, Tyrol, Austria Proper, &c., called by the translator provinces.

number of children and teachers. Whether a separation of boys and girls shall be made is left to the decision of the local school committee and the district school superintendent.

§ 8. A list of admissible text-books will be approved by the Minister of Education, after hearing the provincial school boards.

The district school superintendent chooses from among the admissible text-books, after hearing the teachers' conference of the district.

§ 9. The number of weekly lessons (lesson hours) in the different years' courses is set down in the plan of instruction, (§ 4.)

In the (*fabrik schulen*) factory schools, (§ 60,) instruction shall embrace at least twelve hours a week, and these hours shall be only between 7 A. M. and 6 P. M., with exception of the noon hour.

§ 10. To meet the special wants of particular localities, institutions for little children, who are not yet bound, and allowed to go to school, (less than six years old,) or special courses for an agricultural or industrial education, may be joined to the school.

§ 11. The number of teachers in any school depends on the number of children in attendance.

If the attendance in three successive years reach the average number of 80, positively a second teacher shall be provided; if the number of 160, a third teacher must be employed, and so on in proportion.

The number of teachers once employed in a school cannot be lowered unless by consent of the provincial school board, and then only if, in five successive years, the above average number has not been reached.

The legislature of the province has the right to lower the above maximum of children to be taught by one teacher.

§ 12. The responsible conductor (*leiter*) of a school is the teacher, and where several are employed, the head master or principal teacher, (*oberlehrer*.)

§ 13. If a school has two or three teachers, one of them may be an under master or assistant, (*unterlehrer*.)

If there be four or five, two of them may be assistants.

With a greater number of teachers, the third part of them may be under masters.

§ 14. The §§ 3—13 apply also to schools for girls, and to the employment of female teachers and assistants.

With more than one teacher, the head governess of the school is called *oberlehrerin*.

§ 15. The female teachers and assistants of girls' schools must, as a rule, give instruction in needlework and housekeeping, (*haushaltungs-kunde*,) for which a special section shall be arranged.

Where the girls' school is in charge of male teachers, a special female teacher must be employed for this instruction.

Where separate schools for girls do not exist, the girls shall have their work-schools (*arbeits-schulen*) for that purpose separate, or in connection with the common school.

§ 16. Whether female teachers shall be employed in the lower classes of the common school, also for the education of boys, is left to the legislature of the respective province.

2.—*Burgher School.*

§ 17. The burgher school aims at giving all those who attend no secondary school (*mittelschule*) an education going beyond the limits of the common elementary school, (*allgemeine volksschule*.)

The subjects of instruction are religion, language and composition, history and geography, natural history and philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, book-keeping, free-hand and geometrical drawing, caligraphy, singing, gymnastics, with the addition, for girls, of needlework and housekeeping.

In the non-German burgher schools, opportunity shall be given of learning German.

With the consent of the provincial school board, also one living language may be taught in a burgher school, without being obligatory.

§ 18. Those who support the school may organize the common elementary school in a way to serve at the same time the end of a burgher school. In this case the school shall consist of eight classes.

An independent burgher school of three classes may be established, which shall follow the fifth year's course of a common school.

§ 19. The §§ 4—8 and 10—14 apply also to the burgher school, except the following points:

1. The separation of boys and girls, in a burgher school of three classes, must take place throughout; in one of eight classes, in the three highest courses.
2. If practicable, special teachers of religion shall be employed.
3. The conference of teachers chooses from the admissible text-books; they may also apply to the provincial school board for new readers and text-books.
4. The responsible conductor of the school is called *director*.

II.—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

§ 20. Parents or their substitutes are not permitted to leave their children or wards without the instruction prescribed for the public elementary schools.

§ 21. The obligation to attend school begins with the sixth year completed, and lasts until the fourteenth year completed. The children leave school only when they have acquired the indispensable knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

At the end of a school year, such children as will complete the fourteenth year of age in the next six months, and have completely mastered the subjects of the elementary school, may be permitted by the district school superintendent to leave school, if there be important reasons for doing so.

§ 22. The children are admitted only at the commencement of the school year, except when parents move to the place in the mean time.

The district school superintendent, and, in urgent cases, the local committee, may admit children exceptionally during the course of the school year.

§ 23. Children may be relieved from the obligation to attend the common school for a longer or shorter period, viz: boys who attend a higher school; children who suffer from a mental or a severe corporeal infirmity; finally, such as are instructed at home or in a private school. In the last case, the parents or their substitutes are responsible that at least the instruction prescribed for the public school is imparted to their children in a satisfactory manner. If there be a doubt in this regard, the district school inspector is obliged to convince himself whether the doubt be well grounded or not. The parents must submit to the measures taken for that purpose.

§ 24. Parents or their substitutes, as well as the owners of factories and industrial establishments, are responsible for the attendance of the children, and may be compelled by coercive measures to their duty in this regard. The particulars will be fixed by the legislature of the province.

§ 25. Parents and their substitutes must provide their children with the necessary books and other implements of instruction.

III.—EDUCATION AND QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS.

§ 26. Teachers are trained in seminaries separate for the two sexes.

§ 27. For the practical education of the teacher pupils, each seminary has joined with it a *school of practice*, (*übungs-und musterschule*,) and in seminaries for female teachers also a "*kindergarten*," (a children's garden or infant school.)

For teaching and practising agricultural work, a suitable lot of land in the neighborhood shall be joined to each seminary for male teachers.

§ 28. The course embraces *four* years.

§ 29. In the seminaries for male teachers are taught religion; pedagogy, with its history and auxiliary sciences; grammar, composition, and history of literature; mathematics, (arithmetic, algebra, and geometry;) natural history, (zoology, botany, and mineralogy;) natural philosophy and elements of chemistry; geography and history; agriculture, with special regard to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and to the breeding of silkworms and bees; the constitution of the country, caligraphy, free-hand and geometrical drawing, music, and gymnastics. The pupils must be made acquainted, wherever there may be an opportunity, with the method of instructing blind and deaf mute children, and also with the organization of a well-managed *kindergarten*, (infant school.)

§ 30. In the seminaries for female teachers are taught religion; pedagogy and its history; grammar, composition, and history of literature; geography and history; arithmetic; natural history and philosophy; caligraphy, drawing, sing-

ing, and housekeeping. The pupils must also be made acquainted, whenever there is an opportunity, with the organization of a well-managed *kindergarten.*

Teachers of female industries are trained either in the seminaries or in separate courses.

§ 31. The language of instruction is determined by the Minister of Education, on the recommendation of the provincial school board, so far as the law of the province does not fix it otherwise.

Where it should be desirable for teachers to know also a second language of the country, the pupils shall have opportunity to acquire the same, to enable them eventually to teach it.

§ 32. For admission to the first year's course, the fifteenth year completed, bodily fitness, moral integrity, and suitable education are required.

This education is tested by a severe examination, which in general embraces the subjects taught in an under real school or an under gymnasium, except foreign languages.

The public seminaries are accessible to all, without difference of creed.

§ 33. The number of pupils in one year's course shall not exceed 40.

§ 34. The teacher pupils having finished their four years' course shall be subjected to a rigid examination, in the presence of a deputy of the provincial school board, in all the subjects taught in the seminary, and if they pass the same satisfactorily, they shall receive a certificate of maturity, (*zeugniss der reife.*)

§ 35. Teachers employed in the seminary are the principal, (*director,*) who is at the same time head master of the school of practice; two to four head teachers, (*hauptlehrer;*) the teachers of religion, and the needed assistants, who are all nominated by the Minister of Education, after hearing the provincial school board.

Teachers of the school of practice are bound to assist in training the teacher pupils.

§ 36. The salaries are fixed: of principals, 1,200 to 1,800 florins; of teachers, 1,000 to 1,200*fl.*, with an addition of 100*fl.* every five years, until the twentieth year of service.

The principals in Vienna and Trieste receive, moreover, free lodgings, or 300*fl.*, and teachers 150*fl.* a year each.

§ 37. Instruction in the seminaries is gratuitous. Poor and talented pupils may receive stipends, but must oblige themselves to teach in a public school at least for six years.

§ 38. The certificate of graduation (§ 34) qualifies only for an employment as under master or assistant.

For a definitive appointment a certificate of qualification is requisite, to be gained by a second examination after an experience of at least two years.

For this examination special committees will be established by the Minister of Education, to be composed of principals and teachers in seminaries, school inspectors, and able teachers of common schools. Deputies of clerical boards will assist to examine the candidates in religion.

The certificate acquired by this examination sets forth the qualification for teaching either in elementary and burgher schools, or only in the former.

§ 39 This examination may be repeated if the first trial was not successful, but not oftener, unless authorized, on proposal of the committee, by the Minister of Education.

§ 40. Such candidates as have passed this examination, but have since then, for more than three years, not been employed in a public school, (§ 2,) have to pass the examination once more before this definitive appointment. In special cases, the Minister of Education may dispense with this.

§ 41. Such young men as have not made the full course in a public seminary, if 19 years old, may be examined in a seminary for acquiring the certificate of maturity. (§§ 34 and 38, al. 1.)

§ 42. For a more comprehensive education of teachers, special teachers' courses (*pedagogical seminaries*) shall be established in the universities or technical high schools, (polytechnical schools.)

The particulars will be prescribed by the Minister of Education.

IV.—PROFESSIONAL IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS.

§ 43. The pedagogical and scientific (literary) improvement of teachers shall be furthered by means of educational journals, libraries for teachers, periodical conferences for teachers, and special courses for professional improvement.

§ 44. In each school district, a library for teachers shall be established. Its administration will be entrusted to a committee chosen by the district conference.

§ 45. A conference of teachers shall be held in each school district at least once a year, and conducted by the school superintendent of the district. They shall deliberate and debate on school affairs, particularly on subjects taught in the common schools, on methods, means of instruction, discipline, etc. All teachers of the common schools and of the teachers' seminary in the district are obliged to take part. Teachers of private schools are at liberty to attend.

§ 46. In every province, deputies of the district conference will assemble every third year in conference, (*landesconferenzen,*) with the school superintendent of the province as chairman.

§ 47. Special courses for the professional improvement of teachers (*fortbildungs-curse*) will be held in the seminaries, generally during the autumn vacation. Teachers, if summoned by the school board of the province, must attend.

V.—LEGAL SITUATION OF TEACHERS.

§ 48. Service in public schools is a public office, (*öffentlichesamt,*) and accessible to all Austrian citizens without difference of creed.

To be employed as teacher or under master, besides the Austrian citizenship, evidence of qualification is required. (§ 38.)

Those are excluded who by a penal verdict have lost their eligibility to the common council of their village or town.

§ 49. To fill vacant places provisorily and for a limited time is the province of the district school superintendent; in the teachers' seminary and their schools of practice, that of the provincial board.

§ 50. Principals, teachers and under masters in public schools are definitely appointed by the provincial school board, with the concurrence of those who support the school. This concurrence consists in the right either of proposing (*vorschlagen*) or of presenting (*ernennen*) candidates.

The particulars respecting appointments and promotions will be fixed by the legislature of the province. The appointment of "presented" teachers, (see al. 2,) who have the requisites, (§ 48,) cannot be refused, unless they can be charged with such moral deficiencies or such actions as would cause the removal of a teacher already appointed.

§ 51. The number of lessons which a teacher may be obliged to give depends on the wants of the respective school. But for any time exceeding thirty lesson hours a week, the teachers must receive additional compensation.

§ 52. What sidework shall be incompatible with the office of teacher will be determined by the legislature of the province.

§ 53. Teachers who do not give satisfaction, and who, having been referred to the special course for improvement, (§ 47,) are by the body of teachers in that seminary declared not qualified to continue their profession, may be compelled by the provincial school board to pass once more the second examination. (§ 38 al. 2.) If the result be not satisfactory, the right gained by the former examination will be lost, and the provincial school board shall determine whether he may be henceforth employed as under master, or removed entirely.

Under masters, who have not made the second examination (§ 38, al. 2) within the first five years of their practical service, after they got the certificate of maturity, and such as are not permitted to repeat their second examination, (§ 39,) must surrender their certificate of maturity and retire from the service.

§ 54. Improper deportment of teachers is followed by disciplinary measures, which do not exempt from an eventual penal prosecution.

§ 55. The amount and mode of drawing the legal income shall be regulated by the legislature of the province in the following principles:

1. The minimum shall not be reduced by any school community, and shall be so adjusted, that teachers and under masters can be free from interruption by work, and can devote their whole strength to their profession, and that the former will be able to support a family respectably.

2. Teachers must receive their salary directly from the school committee, and shall not be charged with collecting it.

3. The school committees shall see that the salary is paid regularly and punctually.

§ 56. All definitively appointed teachers and such under masters as have the cer-

tificate of qualification, (§ 38, al. 2,) and their widows and orphans, are entitled to receive a *pension*, and in this regard must be treated like civil state officers. In determining his period, the time which a teacher after the second examination has spent in a provisory employment at a public school shall be counted.

§ 57. For defraying these expenses for superannuated teachers or their widows, pension funds shall be established in each province by the contributions of teachers, of communities, and of the province, and also by assigning to these funds appropriate revenues. These funds shall be administered by the provincial school board. Communities caring independently and suitably for the pensioning of their teachers shall be free from the obligation of contributing to the common pension fund. The legislature of the province will determine the particulars.

§ 58. Teachers paid by the state receive, themselves and their families, the legal pensions from the state funds.

VI.—ESTABLISHING OF SCHOOLS.

§ 59. The obligation to establish schools shall be regulated by the provincial legislature, on the principle that a school, under any circumstances, must be established in every locality where, in a circuit of one hour's walk, on an average of five years, more than forty children can be found who have now to attend a school more distant than one hour's walk.

§ 60. For children in factories and other manufacturing establishments who may be prevented from attending the common school, the proprietors of such factories, &c., shall establish, either by themselves or in connection with other manufacturers, separate schools of the same grade as the public schools.

§ 61. Where and by what means burgher schools shall be established will be determined by the legislature of the province.

VII.—DEFRAYING OF EXPENSES.

§ 62. The common schools needed are provided for by the school communities, which must regard the legal obligations of private persons and corporations.

How far the districts shall participate in supporting them will be decided by the legislature of the province.

§ 63. Every school shall have such school rooms as the instruction and health of the pupils require.

Special laws of the respective provinces will regulate the building and maintenance of the school-house, as well as the lodgings needed for the teacher.

Every school shall have a gymnastic ground, and in villages, as far as possible, a garden for the teacher, and facilities for agricultural experiments. The expenses of the same shall be provided for by the legislature of the province.

§ 64. It is left to the legislatures to establish provincial or district school funds for such expenses of the common schools as are not met by special resources. In this connection, the respective legislatures will decide whether the paying of school money and the rights of presenting teachers (§ 50, al. 2) shall be continued or not.

§ 65. Parents who have their children instructed at home or in a private school are exempt from paying tuition fees, but not from other legal contributions for the common school.

§ 66. So far as the means of the school community in each district respectively will not suffice to cover the expenses of the school, the province shall pay.

The "*normalschul fond*," with their actual capital, and with all private obligations, shall be devoted exclusively to the purposes of common schools. The civil authority of the province (*landes-ausschuss*) will be charged with the administration, and the school board of the province with disposing of the income, on the basis of a preliminary settlement by the legislature.

Those provinces which have hitherto received from the state assistance to their school fund shall receive the same, to the average amount granted 1866—1868, from general state funds to the respective "*normalschul fond*."

In estimating that amount, all sums must be deducted which were paid formerly for purposes henceforth to be provided for immediately by the state. (§§ 58 and 67.)

§ 67. The expenses for teachers' seminaries and their schools of practice, and the "stipends" mentioned in § 37, as well as the higher courses for teachers, (§ 42,) will be paid by the state.

When the school of practice is at the same time a common school, the state, on sharing the nomination of teachers, will contribute to supporting the same, but the amount in each case shall be settled by special agreement.

The courses for the improvement of teachers (§ 47) will be at the expense of the state.

B.—PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

§ 68. Private seminaries for male or female teachers cannot be established but on the following conditions:

1. Statutes and plans of instruction, as well as any change of the same, must be sanctioned by the Minister of Education.

2. Only such persons shall be principals or teachers as are fully qualified to instruct teacher pupils. For this purpose, at least a certificate is required that the teacher is entitled to teach in burgher schools, and has taught in public schools at least for three years. Exceptions can be allowed only by the Minister of Education, if the qualification be proved otherwise. On the same conditions, such seminaries in which the pupils have board and lodgings may be established.

§ 69. Private seminaries may receive from the Minister of Education the right of giving valid certificates, (like the public ones,) on the further condition that the organization does not essentially differ from that in public seminaries, that the principals and teachers are sanctioned by the provincial school board, and that the final examination has been held in presence of a deputy from that board, without whose consent a certificate of maturity cannot be given.

§ 70. Private schools for children of school age, and private institutions in which such children have board and lodging, may be established on the following conditions:

1. Principals and teachers must procure evidence of those qualifications which are required from teachers of public schools of the same grade. Exceptions may be allowed by the Minister of Education, if the requisite qualification be otherwise shown.

2. Their moral conduct must be unobjectionable.

3. The plan of instruction must answer at least the claims made upon a public school of the same grade.

4. The whole arrangement must be such that no injury to the children's health may be feared.

5. Any change of teachers, of the plan of lessons, and of the school-rooms, must be made known to the school boards before being attempted.

For opening such schools the consent of the provincial school board is needed, which cannot be denied whenever the conditions 1—4 are fulfilled.

§ 71. The private schools are subject to the supervision of the state. Their principals are responsible to the school authorities for the orderly and regular state of the schools.

§ 72. Private schools may get from the Minister of Education the right of giving certificates, valid throughout the state, if their organization and the aim be equal to those of public schools of the same grade.

If such a private school satisfies the educational wants in a community, the latter may be released from the obligation to found a new school.

Such private schools lose this said right when they answer no longer the demands for a public school.

§ 73. Private schools where the laws are not observed, or where moral deficiencies become evident, shall be closed by the provincial school board.

FINAL DIRECTIONS.

§ 74. The determinations of competence [of boards, &c.] contained in this law shall be applied but where the same have not been fixed already by the legislature of the province. The regulation of June 25, 1867, concerning a provincial school council for the kingdom of Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Krakow is not altered by this law.

§ 75. In regard to the particular circumstances in Dalmatia, Galicia, Krakow, Krain, Bukowina, Istria, and Görz, it shall be left to their legislatures to admit a departure from the principles set down in §§ 21, 22, 28, and 38.

§ 76. The present law, so far as new provincial laws will be needed, shall be brought into operation at the same time with those laws, but in all other respects with the beginning of the new school year following the publication of this law.

§ 77. Beginning from that time, all other laws and ordinances, so far as they are at variance with this law or replaced by it, shall be null and void.

§ 78. The Minister of Education is charged with carrying out this law, and with issuing all requisite ordinances and instructions.

II.

LAW RESPECTING THE INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS, AND THE CHURCH.

[Promulgated May 26, 1868.]

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§ 1. The supreme inspection of all instruction and education belongs to the state, and is executed by boards and officers appointed according to law.

§ 2. Without detriment to this right of inspection, the conducting and immediate inspection of religious instruction and religious exercises in the primary and secondary schools (*volks-und mittelschulen*) remain with the respective church or denomination.

§ 3. All schools and educational institutions, founded or supported wholly or entirely by the state, by a province, or by municipalities, are accessible to all citizens of the state, without regard to creed.

§ 4. All denominations are at liberty to found, and to support at their own expense, schools for the instruction of youth of their respective creeds. They are, however, subject to the school laws, and cannot be acknowledged as public schools unless they comply with all the legal conditions of such schools.

§ 5. The schools and educational establishments for any one denomination may be attended by members of any other denomination.

§ 6. All citizens of the state who possess the legal qualifications may be teachers in the schools defined in § 3.

Teachers of religion must have been declared qualified by their respective clerical board.

In other schools (§ 4) this point is decided by the statutes of foundation. The choice of private teachers is not limited by any regard to the religious creed.

§ 7. The text-books used in primary and secondary schools, as well as in teachers' seminaries, require only the consent of the boards called into existence by this law.

Text-books for religious instruction cannot receive that consent unless they have been declared admissible by the respective clerical board.

§ 8. The revenues of the "*normalschulfonds*," of the "*studienfond*," and of all other funds for educational purposes, shall be applied without regard to denominations, so far as they are not proved to be founded for the adherents of a particular creed.

§ 9. The state exercises the supreme administration and inspection of all education through the Minister of Education.

§ 10. For the administration and inspection of all educational affairs, other than of the common schools and teachers' seminaries, in each province shall be established—

a—a *provincial school board*, (council,) as the highest school board of the respective province, (*landes-schulrath;*)

b—a *district school board* for each school district, (*bezirks-schulrath;*)*

c—a *local school committee* for each school community, (*orts-schulrath.*)

The division into school districts is made by the provincial legislature.

§ 11. The functions of the previous clerical and secular school boards is hereby transferred to the boards mentioned in § 10, except what is determined in § 2.

§ 12. The provincial school board shall consist of the Governor or Vice-Governor, as chairman, of members of the provincial government, of deputies of the civil authority of the province, (*landes-ausschuss,*) of clergymen selected from the different denominations in the province, and of professional educators.

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* In the school law of 1869 generally the word "*bezirks-schulaufsicht*" is used, which the translator thought best to render by "district school superintendent," taking "*inspector*" for "inspection," as "Minister" for "*Ministerium.*"

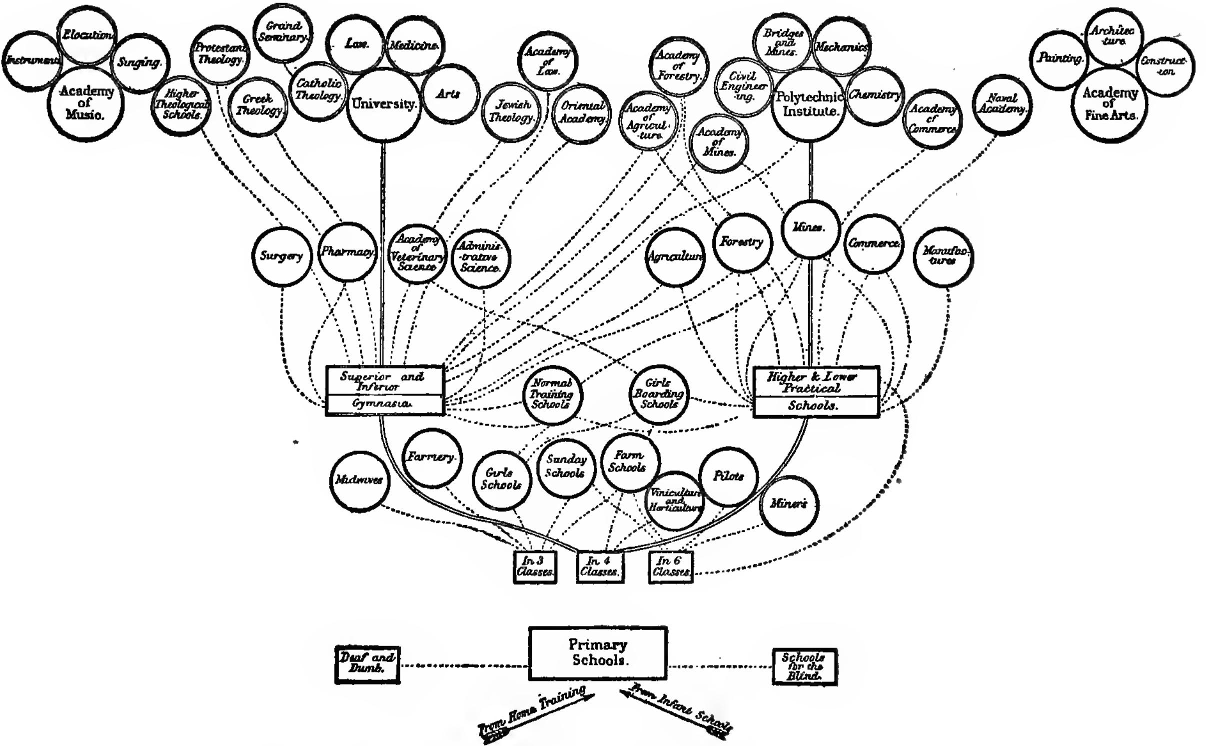
§ 13. The legislature of the province shall fix the particulars concerning the composition and organization of the provincial, district, and local school councils; then the limits of their operation; finally, the particulars regarding the transition from the previous school boards to the present school councils. A provincial law will determine whether and how far deputies from important school communities may exceptionally enter the provincial school board.

§ 14. Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 come into operation the same day on which this law is published, and all former laws and ordinances at variance with these provisions shall be abolished henceforth. The regulation of June 25, 1867, sanctioned by the Emperor, concerning a provincial school council in Galicia and Krakow, is not altered by this law.

§ 15. My Minister of Education is charged with bringing this law into operation.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

HASNER.



AUSTRIA—ARRANGEMENT AND CONNECTION OF STUDIES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF VIENNA.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN GERMANY.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND STATISTICS.

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In every German State, the supervision, and in most States the direction of all institutions of an educational character, is exercised by the Government, generally through a responsible Minister—acting with the coöperation of a central council, and a provincial corps of inspectors. In every State there are, at least, three degrees of instruction. provided for by special legislation and aided by governmental appropriations.

I. ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

The system of public elementary instruction in Germany did not originate in any one State, and is not the growth of any one period. In its primitive form, it is as old as the Christian Church, whose officers are still recognized in the administration of the public school in nearly every German State, although the present movement everywhere is to separate the school from all *ex-officio* ecclesiastical authority.

The cardinal features of the system are:

First. The right and duty of the State, through municipal and parental coöperation, to establish at least one elementary school within walking distance of every child of the legal school age, and to authorize and aid educational institutions of a higher and special character, adapted to the wishes and wants of different localities.

Second. The recognition and enforcement of the obligation, on the part of parents, to secure the regular elementary instruction of every child between the ages of 6 and 14 years, in some school, public or private.

Third. The special preparation of teachers, as far as practicable, for each grade of school, with opportunities for professional improvement and promotion, and the guaranty of a living salary, including pecuniary aid when sick, infirm, or aged, and for their families in case of death.

Fourth. Subjects of instruction, selected in reference to their being immediately and permanently useful as knowledge, and so arranged as to aid the natural development of the faculties.

Fifth. A system of inspection, variously organized, but intelligent, frequent, constant and responsible, reaching every school and every teacher, and pervading the whole system, by which parents and the government are assured that the aim of the law is realized in respect to the qualifications of teachers, and the health and profitable labor of the pupils.

With this system of universal, scientific and thorough elementary instruction, carried on sufficiently long to have molded the habits of families and communities, the following statistics, studied in connection with the subjects and methods of education, are significant.

The political and territorial distribution of the German States as defined and settled by the Treaty of Vienna, and the establishment of the German Confederation in 1815, continued until 1866. On that organization as it existed from 1856 to 1866, the following account of the system and statistics of Public Instruction in the several States of Germany is based. In consequence of the Schleswig and Holstein difficulty, and the war of 1866, six of the thirty-nine States recognized by the Confederation of 1815 became extinct. Austria was excluded from Germany, Luxemburg was dissevered from its old political relations, the sovereign States of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfort were annexed to Prussia. Of the remainder, twenty-one States north of the River Maine, and part of Hesse-Darmstadt, formed, under the leadership of Prussia, the North German Confederation; while four States, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and the larger portion of Hesse-Darmstadt were designated by the collective name of South German States. Leichtenstein has no organic connection with either of the above distribution of States, although in statistical tables it is generally classed with South Germany. These changes have not disturbed essentially the systems of public instruction even in the States which have become provinces of Prussia, and the statistical results under the new territorial and political organization have not yet been published.

Although the public schools of the different German States are designated by different names, the principles on which they are organized and classified, and the aims and methods of administration are so nearly alike, as to admit of uniform treatment. We shall, therefore, review the entire field of public instruction in each State, and in the whole of Germany, under the following heads, so far as our material will enable us to do so:

I. *Primary or Elementary Schools*—meaning thereby not the lowest grade of city schools, as classified and designated generally in this country, but the Common Schools, the District Schools,—the main reliance of all the rural and a vast majority of the urban population of each State.

II. *Secondary or High Schools*—which, under various names, have existed in the several German States from the earliest dawn of Christian civilization, and are now developed into a system of elementary and higher instruction, which, in its aims and methods for the purposes designed, is worthy of the profound study of the statesmen and educators of this country.

III. *Universities or Superior Schools*—which, resting on the firm basis of the Gymnasia and other institutions of secondary instruction, have received a development not now attained in any other country.

IV. *Special Schools*—designed to meet the wants of particular classes of the community, or prepare for the different professions, occupations, and services of the State.

V. *Supplementary Schools, Societies, and other agencies* for the supply of educational deficiencies, and the investigation and advancement of education, science, and art.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN GERMANY.

TABLE I.—*Elementary Schools in Germany as constituted in* 1865.

Country.	Area in English sq. miles.	Population.	Elementary schools.			Teachers' seminaries and normal schools.	
			Schools.	Scholars.	Teachers.	Schools.	Scholars.
1. Anhalt	869	193, 646	283	31, 200	362	2	72
2. Austria, (German Provinces).	124, 116	20, 602, 736	14, 587	1, 656, 939	24, 700	80	2, 209
3. Austria, (non-German Provinces)	103, 118	13, 830, 154	14, 642	1, 084, 478	33, 524	35	957
4. Baden	5, 851	1, 428, 090	2, 228	200, 000	25, 000	3	170
5. Bavaria	29, 347	4, 807, 440	7, 113	946, 275	8, 937	10	518
6. Brunswick	1, 526	292, 708	420	45, 700	661	3	73
7. Hanover	14, 846	1, 888, 070	3, 584	281, 348	3, 812	11	361
8. Hesse-Cassel	4, 430	745, 063	1, 300	126, 000	1, 163	4	191
9. Hesse-Darmstadt	2, 866	816, 902	1, 756	155, 568	1, 382	2	129
10. Holstein-Leuenburg	3, 630	604, 123	1, 177	105, 446	1, 370	2	97
11. Lichtenstein	64	7, 150	26	2, 000	35	....	......
12. Lippe-Detmold	445	111, 336	108	2, 200	171	1	19
13. Lippe-Schaumburg	212	31, 382	38	4, 026	40	1	19
14. Luxemburg	1, 228	206, 140	526	24, 868	492	1	35
15. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	4, 834	552, 612	1, 334	69, 000	1, 517	1	19
16. Mecklenburg-Strelitz	997	99, 060	231	13, 000	250	1	19
17. Nassau	1, 802	465, 636	716	72, 296	1, 059	2	146
18. Oldenburg	2, 417	314, 416	490	43, 174	630	2	208
19. Prussia	107, 757	19, 269, 563	25, 656	2, 825, 322	[illegible], 157	60	3, 800
20. Reuss-Greitz	148	43, 924	96	8, 850	105	1	35
21. Reuss-Schleitz	297	86, 472	118	11, 564	130	1	51
22. Saxony	6, 777	2, 343, 994	2, 016	400, 229	[illegible], 865	13	1, 300
23. Saxe-Altenburg	509	141, 839	180	21, 798	190	1	32
24. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	816	164, 527	230	22, 609	355	3	90
25. Saxe-Meiningen	933	178, 065	285	29, 250	406	1	52
26. Saxe-Weimar	1, 421	280, 201	678	50, 000	700	2	154
27. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	340	73, 752	145	14, 210	181	2	18
28. Schwarzburg-Sondersheusen	318	66, 189	118	11, 564	147	1	16
29. Waldeck	466	59, 143	128	10, 681	200	....	......
30. Wurtemberg	7, 675	1, 747, 328	2, 481	230, 000	2, 778	3	246
31. Free Cities: Bremen	106	104, 091	42	7, 165	168	1	45
32. Frankfort	43	87, 518	18	6, 940	72	1	40
33. Hamburg	148	229, 941	132	19, 825	[illegible]	1	56
34. Lubeck	127	50, 614	16	4, 800	64	....	......

The general aims and different degrees of elementary instruction in the several States of Germany are substantially the same, although the classification and nomenclature of the schools, and the importance attached to different studies and methods will be found to differ on close examination.

The attendance of children in the different grades of elementary schools is governed by their future destination—whether for the learned professions, the higher industrial occupations, or for the common walks of life.

I. Primary Schools.—These are divided into the *common* or peoples' schools, and the *burgher* schools. The *common* schools—the main reliance of all the rural and a vast majority of the city population, proposes the development of the human faculties, though those branches of knowledge which are indispensable to every person, both of town and country, and are distributed into four equal periods of two years each, as follows:

1. First period—two years, between the ages of six and eight. Four principal subjects:—viz., (1) Logical exercises, consisting of oral instruction, in the exercise of the faculties of observation and expression. This branch includes religious instruction and singing by ear. (2) Elements of reading. (3) Elements of writing. (4) Elements of arithmetic.

2. Second period—two years, from eight to ten years of age. Seven chief subjects:—viz., (1) Reading. (2) Writing. (3) Religious and moral lessons, select Bible histories. (4) German grammar. (5) Arithmetic. (6) Elements of geometry. (7) Elements of music, singing by notes.

3. Third period—two years, from ten to twelve years of age. Eight principal subjects:—viz., (1) Lessons in reading and elocution. (2) Ornamental writing, preparatory to drawing. (3) Religious instruction in the connected Bible history. (4) German grammar and analysis. (5) Elements of natural history and science, technical science, geography and history. (6) Arithmetic, including fractions and proportion. (7) Geometry, theory of magnitudes and proportion. (8) Singing, and science of vocal and instrumental music.

4. Fourth period—two years, from twelve to fourteen years of age. Six chief subjects:—(1) Religion and morals. (2) General geography and history, with special regard to civilization, agriculture, mechanical arts, manufactures, &c. (3) German language, exercises in composition. (4) Application of arithmetic and mathematics to the business of life, including elements of surveying and civil engineering. (5) Elements of drawing. (6) Science of music, singing.

The *Burgher School* provides for an extension of all these studies, and particularly of the German and modern languages, physics and natural history, the geography, history and industries of Prussia, drawing, singing and gymnastics.

II. Supplementary (*Fortbildungs*) and Special Schools and Classes.

(1.) *Evening classes*, twice a week, where young persons, who have completed their fourteenth year, may continue their studies.

(2.) *Sunday classes* which young persons, who have completed their primary school course, and do not proceed to a secondary school, are required to attend.

(3.) *Industrial classes*, in which girls are instructed in sewing, knitting, hemming, darning, skirt-making, stitching, &c.

(4.) *Factory schools* for children employed in any manual occupation, before the completion of their twelfth year.

(5.) *Technical schools*, in towns, established by the local authorities, and supported by the State. Atteudance at these is voluntary, but a master may not prevent his apprentice from attending them The number of lessons is six per week; comprising free-hand drawing, arithmetic, geometry, special kinds of drawing, œconomics, natural sciences, mechanics and modeling.

(6.) *Infant Schools and Kindergarten*, mostly after Fröbel's plan.

(7.) *Rescue Institutes, Reform Schools, and Orphan Homes*, after Wichern's plan.

3. TEACHERS AND THEIR QUALIFICATIONS.

From the foregoing account of public elementary instruction in the several States of Germany, it appears, that in each, the smallest, as well as the largest, in those with the most liberal as well as those with the most arbitrary administration, provision is made for the professional training and improvement of teachers. The institutions in which this training is given, are organized and conducted with special reference to the work to be done by the teachers in the schools, the pupils are composed of candidates for teaching as a profession, and efforts are made to test their natural aptitude for the work before they enter the institutions, and by frequent examinations to get rid of those on whom this professional training will be lost, and at the same time, to ascertain the class and department of instruction in which each will excel. After leaving the institutions the appointment to a position is strictly guarded, and every precaution is taken to protect the incumbents of office against the danger of a monotonous occupation and to surround them with aids to self and professional improvement through life. Books and periodicals, frequent conferences and associations by which the young and obscure teacher is made partaker in all the improvements of the most experienced and eminent members of the profession, living or dead, in his own and other countries, are provided in every State. Exemption from military service in time of peace, legal recognition as members of the civil service, permanent employment, a residence with a garden, or its equivalent, pecuniary allowance when sick, and provision for years of infirmity and old age, and for their families in case of death, give to the profession of teaching in Germany a respect which does not attach to it in any other country. To illustrate these points more in detail than could be done in our account of the system of any one State, we present in the following Table the number and location of the Teachers Seminaries in the different German States, together with the legal provision made in the most advanced State, for the education, improvement and support of teachers, with the results of this policy, as set forth by disinterested and competent observers from other countries.

We think a disastrous blow has been struck at the profession of elementary teaching by limiting the attainments and aspirations of its members to the standard fixed by Prussia in the regulations of the Ministry of Public Instruction October 1, 1854, which have been generally adopted in other German States.

This whole subject of the professional training of teachers, for higher as well as elementary schools, for the infant as well as the reform school, will be treated in detail in "*Normal Schools, or Institutions, Classes and Agencies for the professional Training of Teachers for schools of different grades and kinds*," which will be issued in 1872.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS FOR TEACHING.

ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' SEMINARIES.

Location.	Date when established.	Religious denomination.*	Sex of pupils.	Professors.	Pupils.	Graduates, 1869.
ANHALT:						
Bernburg	......	P.	M.	6	27	......
Cöthen	......	P.	M.	7	45	......
Total	......	2	......	13	72	......
AUSTRIA, (German Provinces:)						
Budweis	1848	C.	M.	9	109	......
Brünn	1832	C.	M.	......	......	......
Eger	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Görz	......	C.	M.	13	30	......
Graz	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Innsbruck	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Kornenburg	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Klagenfurt	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Königgrütz	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Laibach	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Leitmeritz	......	C.	M.	10	89	......
Linz	......	C.	M.	9	......	......
Marburg	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Olmütz	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Pilsen	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Prague	......	C.	M.	......	16	......
Do	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Do	......	C.	M.	13	70	......
Do	......	C.	F.	7	39	......
Do	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Do	......	C.	F.	......	......	......
Do	......	C.	F.	......	......	......
Salzburg	1812	C.	M.	......	23	......
St. Pölten	1864	C.	M.	......	32	......
Teschen	1777	C.	M.	......	50	......
Trient	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Trieste	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Troppau	......	C.	M.	......	......	......
Vienna	1775	C.	M.	......	......	......
Total†	......	29	......	......	......	......
AUSTRIA: Galicia, 8 seminaries	......	......	......	......	239	......
Bukowina, 3 seminaries	......	......	......	......	49	......
Dalmatia, 1 seminary	......	......	......	......	14	......
Hungary, 27 seminaries	......	......	......	......	843	......
Croatia and Slavonia, 3 seminaries	......	......	......	......	71	......
Transylvania, 2 seminaries	......	......	......	......	29	......
Total (in 112 seminaries)	......	......	......	......	......	......
BADEN:						
Ettlingen	1788	C.	M.	4	71	29
Carlsruhe	1824	P.	M.	8	61	......
Meersburg	1839	C.	M.	......	58	......
Total	......	3	......	......	190	......

* The letter P denotes the Protestant sect; C, Catholic; J, Jewish; S, Simultaneous.

† Besides the foregoing, there are a number of smaller seminaries, which, added to those here given, make a total of 68 seminaries in German Austria.

ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' SEMINARIES—Continued.

Location.	Date when established.	Religious denomination.	Sex of pupils.	Professors.	Pupils.	Graduates, 1869.
BAVARIA:						
Altdorf	1824	P.	M.	8	103	53
Bamberg	1806	C.	M.	......	....	......
Eichstädt	1834	C.	M.	......	....	......
Freising	1812	C.	M.	9	78	33
Kaiserslautern	1818	P.	M.	8	101	43
Lauingen	1823	C.	M.	......	....	......
Schwabach	1843	P.	M.	9	93	53
Speier	1839	C.	M.	5	56	26
Straubing	1823	C.	M.	10	90	37
Würzburg	1771	C.	M.	11	108	51
Total	....	10	.....	......	....	......
BRUNSWICK:						
Brunswick	....	P.	M.	5	20	......
Do	1868	P.	F.	3	9	......
Wolfenbüttel	1754	P.	M.	6	44	......
Total	....	3	.....	.....	73	.....
HANNOVER:						
Alfeld	1813	P.	M.	5	65	......
Aurich	1852	P.	M.	5	26	......
Hannover	1751	P.	M.	10	58	......
Do	1856	P.	F.	9	28	8
Do	1848	J.	M.	11	17	15
Hildesheim	1838	C.	M.	4	12	......
Lüneburg	1851	P.	M.	4	40	40
Neuenhaus	1851	P.	M.	2	15	......
Osnabrück	1824	P.	M.	5	27	6
Do	1838	C.	M.	5	28	31
Stade	1822	P	M.	11	60	......
Total	....	11	......	......	....	......
HESSE-CASSEL:						
Cassel	....	J.	M.	4	6	3
Fulda	1805	C.	M.	5	53	9
Homberg	1783	P.	M.	7	62	......
Schlüchtern	1805	P.	M.	6	70	22
Total	....	4	.....	.....	191	......
HESSE-DARMSTADT:						
Bensheim	1804	C.	M.	7	37	10
Friedberg	1817	P.	M.	10	92	55
Total	....	2	......	.....	129	......
LIPPE-DETMOLD:						
Detmold	1789	P.	M.	9	19	5
Total	....	1	......	.....	19	......
LIPPE-SCHAUMBURG:						
Bückeburg	1783	P.	M.	4	9	......
Total	....	1	.....	.....	9	.....
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN:						
Neukloster	1782	P.	M.	14	....	.....
Total	....	1	......	......	....	......

ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' SEMINARIES—Continued.

Location.	Date when established.	Religious denomination.	Sex of pupils.	Professors.	Pupils.	Graduates, 1869.
MECKLENBURG-STRELITZ:						
Mirow	1820	P.	M.	3	19	.....
Total	....	1	.....	.....	19	.....
NASSAU:						
Montabaur	....	C.	M.	5	60	.....
Usingen	1851	P.	M.	6	86	26
Total	....	2	.....	.....	146	.....
OLDENBURG:						
Oldenburg	1808	P.	M.	7	79	23
Vechta	1860	C.	M.	3	29	.....
Total	....	2	.....	.....	208	.....
PRUSSIA, (including Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig:)						
Aix-la-Chapelle	....	C.	F.	.....	....	.....
Alt-Döbern	1819	P.	M.	5	69	32
Angerburg	1829	P.	M.	5	84	25
Beront	1866	C.	M.	5	60	.....
Berlin	1831	P.	M.	9	60	.....
Do	1832	P.	M.	8	36	.....
Do	1859	P.	M	.....	....	.....
Do	1811	P.	F.	10	46	.....
Do	....	P.	F.	10	22	.....
Do	....	P.	F.	.....	....	.....
Do	1859	J.	M.	11	30	11
Bartin	....	P.	M.	.....	....	.....
Barby	1823	P.	M.	6	79	27
Breslau	1765	C.	M.	8	89	30
Do	1863	C.	F.	.....	....	.....
Braunsberg	1811	C.	M.	2	53	.....
Bromburg	1820	P.	F.	6	45	15
Do	1842	P.	F.	.....	....	.....
Do	1866	P.	M.	.....	....	.....
Boppard	1868	C.	M.	4	24	.....
Brühl	1823	C.	M.	7	100	.....
Bunzlau	1816	P.	M.	7	76	27
Büren	1825	C.	M.	7	75	25
Bütow	1859	P.	M.	7	51	26
Cammin	1838	P.	M	5	44	25
Coblenz	....	C.	F.	.....	....	.....
Cologne	....	C.	M	.....	30	.....
Cöpenick	1748	P.	M.	6	100	31
Cöslin	1816	P.	M.	5	59	22
Crenzburg	1858	P.	M.	6	46	11
Dramburg	1867	P.	M.	3	25	.....
Drossen	1864	P.	M.	6	80	30
Droyssig	1852	P.	F.	13	....	32
Düsseldorf	....	P.	F.	.....	....	.....
Düsselthal	....	P.	M.	.....	28	.....
Eckernförde, (in Schleswig)	1857	P.	M.	8	59	17
Eisleben	1826	P.	M.	6	46	.....
Elberfeld	1845	P.	F.	.....	6	.....
Do	....	P.	F.	.....	....	2
Elsterwerda	1857	P.	M.	5	60	20
Erfurt	1820	P.	M.	8	70	21
Exin	1865	C.	M.	6	37	12
Eylau	1774	P.	M.	6	85	27
Frankfurt-on-the-Oder	....	P.	F.	.....	....	.....
Franzburg	1791	P.	M.	6	62	.....
Friedland	1864	P.	M.	5	76	25

ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' SEMINARIES—Continued.

Location.	Date when established.	Religious denomination.	Sex of pupils.	Professors.	Pupils.	Graduates, 1869.
PRUSSIA—Continued.						
Friedrichshoff	1866	P.	M.	3	30	9
Gingst	1867	P.	M.	2	10	......
Görlitz	1851	P.	F.	......	....	......
Do	....	P.	F.	......	....	4
Grendenz	1816	C.	M.	5	67	19
Grandenz	1849	P.	F.	9	30	9
Halberstedt	1778	P.	M.	5	66	......
Heiligenstadt	1836	C.	M.	5	36	......
Hilchenbach	1806	P.	M.	6	72	......
Insterburg	1854	P.	F.	......	....	......
Käisersworth	....	P.	F.	9	60	......
Karnlene	1811	P.	M.	6	87	......
Kempen	1840	C.	M.	5	100	50
Do	....	C.	M.	......	....	......
Kozmin	1865	P.	M.	6	58	16
Kyritz	1866	P.	M.	6	71	25
Königsberg	1701	P.	M.	10	78	......
Do	1853	P.	F.	4	61	17
Do	....	P.	F.	......	12	......
Landsberg	1854	P.	F.	......	....	......
Langenhorst	1830	C.	M.	5	49	......
Lebbin	....	P.	M.	......	....	......
Liebenthal	1863	C.	M.	5	76	22
Liegnitz	....	P.	F.	......	....	......
Marienburg	1813	P.	M.	5	78	......
Do	1823	P.	F.	......	....	......
M·mel	1836	P.	F.	......	....	......
Münster	1832	C.	F.	6	30	14
Münsterberg	1847	P.	M.	6	80	25
Münstereifel	....	C.	F.	......	....	......
Mörs	1820	P.	M.	4	50	25
Neuwied	1819	P.	M.	5	72	......
Neuzelle	1817	P.	M.	6	95	31
Ober-Glogan	1802	C.	M.	7	86	28
Oranienburg	1861	P.	M.	7	90	32
Osterburg	1821	P.	M.	5	62	20
Paderhorn	1832	C.	F.	3	22	22
Paradies	1836	C.	M.	6	49	18
Perleberg	....	P.	F.	5	13	1
Petershagen	1831	P.	M.	6	60	......
Pilchowitz	1867	C.	M.	4	46	......
Plathe	....	P.	M.	......	....	......
Pölitz	1811	P.	M.	7	75	25
Posen	1840	S.	F.	12	43	15
Do	1804	C.	M.	7	52	14
Potsdam	1860	P.	F.	......	....	......
Preiskrotscham	1849	C.	M.	6	75	32
Pyritz	1827	P.	M.	5	20	......
Ratzeburg, (in Lauenburg)	....	P.	M.	2	18	......
Reichenbach	1858	P.	M.	6	71	25
Segeberg, (in Holstein)	1781	P.	M.	7	79	26
Soest	1806	P.	M.	6	72	......
Stettin	....	P.	F.	5	17	......
Steinau	1849	P.	M.	9	82	27
Thorn	1820	P.	F.	......	....	......
Tondern, (in Schleswig)	1787	P.	M.	11	90	42
Traben	....	P.	M.	......	....	......
Do	....	C.	M.	......	....	......
Trarbach	....	P.	M.	3	....	18
Treves	....	C.	M.	......	....	......
Weissenfels	1784	P.	M.	9	75	20
Wesel	1852	P.	F.	......	....	......
Total	....	*104	......	......	....	......

* 72 male and 32 female seminaries.

ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' SEMINARIES—Continued.

Location.	Date when established.	Religious denomination.	Sex of pupils.	Professors.	Pupils.	Graduates, 1869.
REUSS-GREITZ:						
Greitz	1793	P.	M.	6	35	10
Total	......	1	......	......	35	......
REUSS-SCHLEIZ:						
Schleiz	1820	P.	M.	7	51	7
Total	......	1	......	......	51	......
SAXE-ALTENBURG:						
Altenburg	......	P.	M.	......	......	......
Total	......	1	......	......	......	......
SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA:						
Coburg	......	P.	M.	......	......	......
Gotha	1780	P.	M.	9	58	14
Gotha	......	P.	F.	6	30	......
Total	......	3	......	......	......	......
SAXE-MEININGEN:						
Hildburghausen	1795	P.	M.	11	58	16
Total	......	1	......	......	58	......
SAXE-WEIMAR:						
Eisenach	1783	P.	M.	9	65	7
Weimar	1726	P.	M.	......	89	......
Total	......	2	......	......	154	......
SAXONY:						
Annaberg	1842	P.	M.	11	156	23
Borna	1863	P.	M.	......	......	......
Bautzen	1817	P.	M.	12	126	18
Do	1851	C.	M.	......	......	......
Callenberg	1856	P.	F.	10	65	19
Dresden, (Royal Seminary)	1785	P.	M.	9	134	......
Dresden, (Fletcher Seminary)	1825	P.	M.	8	118	16
Grimma	......	P.	M.	10	116	19
Do	1855	P.	M.	4	30	10
Nossen	1856	P.	M.	7	126	20
Plauen	......	P.	M.	10	156	......
Waldenburg	......	P.	M.	8	83	......
Total	......	12	......	......	......	......
SCHWARZBURG-RUDOLSTADT:						
Rudolstadt	1747	P.	M.	12	......	......
Frankenhausen	......	P.	M.	6	......	......
Total	......	2	......	......	......	......
SCHWARZBURG-SONDERHOUSEN:						
Sondershausen	1844	P.	M.	7	16	9
Total	......	1	......	......	16	......
WURTEMBURG:						
Esslingen	1811	P.	M.	8	75	......
Gmünd	1824	C.	M.	7	94	......
Nürtingen	1843	P.	M.	8	77	......
Total	......	3	......	......	246	......

That the art of teaching, as now practiced in the primary schools of Prussia, was but imperfectly understood by her schoolmasters only a quarter of a century ago, and that a knowledge of good methods was diffused throughout the kingdom only by the well directed efforts of the government, sustained by the self-denying and persevering labors of school officers and educators, in various directions, is evident from the following note appended to Prof. Stowe's address on Normal Schools and Teachers' Seminaries. The noble sentiment of Dinter, quoted by Prof. Stowe at the opening of his address, "I promised God, that I I would look upon every Prussian peasant child as a being who could complain of me before God, if I did not provide for him the best education, as a man and a Christian, which it was possible for me to provide," shows the spirit with which some of the school officers of Prussia have acted. We append a brief notice of this excellent man, and model school officer, together with many excellent suggestions by other eminent teachers and officers from other sections of Germany.

PRUSSIAN SCHOOLS, A FEW YEARS AGO.

The following questions and answers are from Dr. Julius's testimony, before the Committee of the British House of Commons, in 1834, respecting the Prussian School System.

"Do you remember, from your own knowledge, what the character and attainments of the schoolmasters were previous to the year 1819?"

"I do not recollect; but I know they were very badly composed of non-commissioned officers, organists, and half-drunken people. It has not risen like a fountain at once. Since 1770, there has been much done in Prussia, and throughout Germany, for promoting a proper education of teachers, and by them of children."

"In your own observation has there been any very marked improvement in the character and attainments of schoolmasters, owing to the pains taken to which you have referred?"

"A very decided improvement."

Dinter, in his autobiography, gives some surprising specimens of gross incapacity in teachers, even subsequent to 1819. The following anecdotes are from that interesting work, *Dinters Leben von ihm selbst beschrieben.*

In the examination of a school in East Prussia, which was taught by a subaltern officer dismissed from the army, the teacher gave Dinter a specimen of his skill in the illustration of Scripture narrative. The passage was Luke vii., the miracle of raising the widow's son at Nain. "See, children (says the teacher), Nain was a great city, a beautiful city; but even in such a great, beautiful city there lived people who must die. *They brought the dead youth out.* See, chil dren, it was the same then as it is now—dead people couldn't go alone—they had to be carried. *He that was dead began to speak.* This was a sure sign that he was alive again, for if he had continued dead he couldn't have spoken a word."

In a letter to the King, a dismissed schoolmaster complained that the district was indebted to him 200705 dollars. Dinter supposed the man must be insane, and wrote to the physician of the place to inquire. The physician replied that the poor man was not insane, but only ignorant of the numeration table, writing 200 70 5 instead of 275. Dinter subjoins, "By the help of God, the King, and good men, very much has now been done to make things better."

In examining candidates for the school-teacher's office, Dinter asked one where the Kingdom of Prussia was situated. He replied, that he believed it was somewhere in the southern part of India. He asked another the cause of the ignis-fatuus, commonly called Jack-with-the-lantern. He said they were specters made by the devil. Another being asked why he wished to become a school-teacher, replied, that he must *get a living somehow.*

A military man of great influence once urged Dinter to recommend a disabled soldier, in whom he was interested, as a school-teacher. "I will do so," says Dinter, "if he sustains the requisite examination." "O," says the Colonel, "he doesn't know much about school-teaching, but he is a good, moral, steady man, and I hope you will recommend him to oblige me." *D.*—O yes, Colonel, to oblige you, if you in your turn will do me a favor. *Col.*—What is that? *D.*—Get me appointed drum-major in your regiment. True, I can neither beat a drum, nor play a fife; but I am a good, moral, steady man as ever lived.

A rich landholder once said to him, "Why do you wish the peasant children to be educated? it will only make them unruly and disobedient." Dinter replied, "If the masters are wise, and the laws good, the more intelligent the people, the better they will obey."

Dinter complained that the military system of Prussia was a great hinderance to the schools. A nobleman replied that the young men enjoyed the protection of the government, and were thereby bound to defend it by arms. Dinter asked if every stick of timber in a house ought first to be used in a fire-engine, because the house was protected by the engine? or whether it would be good policy to cut down all the trees of an orchard to build a fence with, to keep the hogs from eating the fruit?

SCHOOL-COUNSELOR DINTER.

Gustavus Frederick Dinter was born at a village near Leipsic, in 1760. He first distinguished himself as principal of a Teachers' Seminary in Saxony, whence he was invited by the Prussian government to the station of School-Counselor for Eastern Prussia. He resides at Konigsberg, and about ninety days in the year he spends in visiting the schools of his province, and is incessantly employed nearly thirteen hours a day for the rest of his time, in the active duties of his office; and that he may devote himself the more exclusively to his work, he lives unmarried. He complains that his laborious occupation prevents his writing as much as he wishes for the public, yet, in addition to his official duties, he lectures several times a week, during term-time, in the University at Konigsberg, and always has in his house a number of indigent boys, whose education he superintends, and, though poor himself, gives them board and clothing. He has made it a rule to spend every Wednesday afternoon, and, if possible, one whole day in the week besides, in writing for the press; and thus, by making the best use of every moment of time, though he was nearly forty years old before his career as an author commenced, he has contrived to publish more than sixty original works, some of them extending to several volumes, and all of them popular. Of one book, a school catechism, fifty thousand copies were sold previous to 1830; and of his large work, the School-Teacher's Bible, in 9 volumes 8vo, thirty thousand copies were sold in less than ten years.

He is often interrupted by persons who are attracted by his fame, or desire his advice; and while conversing with his visitors, that no time may be lost, he employs himself in knitting; and thus not only supplies himself with stockings and mittens, suited to that cold climate, but always has some to give away to indigent students and other poor people. His disinterestedness is quite equal to his activity, and of the income of his publications, he devotes annually nearly five hundred dollars to benevolent purposes. Unweariedly industrious, and rigidly economical as he is, he lays up nothing for himself. He says, "I am one of those happy ones, who, when the question is put to them, 'Lack ye any thing?' (Luke xxii. 35), can answer with joy, 'Lord, nothing.' To have more than one can use is superfluity; and I do not see how this can make any one happy. People often laugh at me, because I will not incur the expense of drinking wine, and because I do not wear richer clothing, and live in a more costly style. Laugh away, good people; the poor boys, also, whose education I pay for, and for whom, besides, I can spare a few dollars for Christmas gifts, and new-year's presents, they have their laugh too."

Toward the close of his autobiography, he says respecting the King of Prussia, "I live happily under Frederick William; he has just given me one hundred

and thirty thousand dollars to build churches with in destitute places; he has established a new Teachers Seminary for my poor Polanders, and he has so fulfilled my every wish for the good of posterity, that I can myself hope to live to see the time when there shall be no schoolmaster in Prussia more poorly paid than a common laborer. He has never hesitated, during the whole term of my office, to grant me any reasonable request for the helping forward of the school-system. God bless him! I am with all my heart a Prussian. And now, my friends, when ye hear that old Dinter is dead, say, 'May he rest in peace; he was a laborious, good-hearted, religious man; he was a Christian.'"

A few such men in the United States would effect a wonderful change in the general tone of our educational efforts.

EXAMINATIONS FOR THE OFFICE OF TEACHER

In Prussia, the Government not only provides every facility for the professional education of all the teachers of her public schools, but prohibits any person from teaching as master or assistant, in any public school, who does not hold a certificate of fitness obtained by passing the examinations instituted by itself. These examinations are two. The first is for the position as assistant, and the second as principal.

I. The *first* examination takes place when the candidate has completed his seminary course, and is called *Entlassungsprufung*. It is conducted by the director and teachers of the seminary, each in his own branch, and superintended by the school committee of the province, assisted by the councilor of the department.

The certificates are of three grades, or degrees of merit: No. 1. "Very well qualified." No. 2. "Well qualified." No. 3. "Sufficiently qualified." As this classification is of great consequence to the future prospects of the candidates, the greatest care is taken to fix exactly the amount of performance which shall entitle the candidates to each of the grades respectively.

The subjects of examination are: 1. Religion. 2. German language. 3. Art of School-keeping. 4. Knowledge of our Country. 5. Arithmetic and Geometry. 6. Natural Knowledge. 7. Writing. 8. Drawing. 9. Singing and Theory of Music. 10. Organs.

The performance of the candidates under each of these heads is valued as "very good," "good," "sufficient;" and upon the aggregate of these separate valuations the grade of his certificates depends. No candidate can obtain a certificate No. 1, who has not obtained a "very good" in at least the three subjects, religion, German language, and arithmetic. Possessing the certificate of a first examination, the candidate can accept any appointment as assistant; and any time within three years, he is at liberty to throw up his place and quit the profession, by refunding the whole cost of his training in the seminary.

II. The *second* examination takes place at the end of the third, and before the expiration of five years from the time of passing the first examination. The assistant teacher must not wait to receive notice, but at the time and place appointed, with his first certificate in hand, must pre-

sent himself to the board of examiners, of which the departmental councilor is president. The examination turns wholly upon professional skill, and such subjects as the candidate was marked defective in, in his former examination. It is more a review of conduct than a test of attainment. So far as it is oral, it is dialogic; and each examiner follows out his own topic.

The examinations are both oral and written, and are not public, although the superintendent and any of the clergy of the department have a right to be present, and strangers may be introduced by the president.

III. Besides these two official examinations, which are obligatory, the trustees, or school board of particular schools or localities are authorized to institute further examinations, or to select from a number of candidates applying for a situation.

PROFESSIONAL IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS.

After the teacher has pursued his seminary course, and passed his first and second examinations, he must improve such opportunities as are provided for extending his practical knowledge.

I. There are a series of periodical meetings, systematically arranged and constituted, which the public teacher must attend:

1. *Parochial Conference*—for all the elementary teachers of a parish, held once a month in the winter season, and presided over by the pastor of the parish.

2. *District Conference*—for the teachers of several neighboring parishes, combined into districts, held every two months in the summer season—under the presidency of a pastor nominated by the superintendent.

3. *Circle Conference*—for all the teachers of a circle, held twice a year, by the superintendent.

4. *Departmental Conference*—held once a year, under the presidency of the *schulrath* of the department.

5. *The Seminary Conference*—held annually for all the teachers, who live within six miles of a seminary, under the presidency of the director. Besides the other purposes of the conference, this meeting is intended to keep alive the connection between the schools and the seminary. And the same object is sought, by assigning to the director the duty of inspecting a certain number of schools in the department every year.

II. There are *Book Societies* or Unions, to which subscriptions are compulsory, and on the list of yearly purchases are placed at least a certain number of professional periodicals and treatises.

III. *Repetition Courses* are established in connection with several of the Normal Schools, for teachers who wish to return to develop and strengthen their training.

II. SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.

Secondary Instruction in Germany is not a continuation of the instruction of the elementary schools, but exists independent of it, and forms part of the system of superior instruction. By degrees the Burgher School, the highest grade of the primary system, is being merged into the *Real-schulen*, or *Real gymnasia*, the lowest grade of the secondary system, and thus prepares pupils for the special schools of agriculture, building, engineering, and other departments of practical life. But as yet, preparation for the universities can only be made in the Gymnasium.

Admission.—The pupils are not admitted into a gymnasium, or other establishment for secondary education, under ten years of age; and the following qualifications are required:—(1) Facility in reading, correct spelling, and the rudiments of grammar; (2) Writing from dictation; (3) Readiness in the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, and acquaintance with the properties of numbers and simpler parts of fractions; (4) Elements of geography (Europe in particular); (5) Narrative parts of the Old Testament, and the life of Christ; (6) Elementary notions of form (drawing).

Studies.—The subjects of instruction in the gymnasium:—(1) Singing and music; (2) Gymnastics; (3) Calligraphy and drawing; (4) Religion and Biblical history; (5) Arithmetic; (6) Mathematics—applied mechanics, and statics in the higher classes; (7) Geography, ancient and modern; (8) German language, historical grammar; (9) German literature, ancient and modern; (10) Rhetoric; (11) Latin (Tacitus and Cicero in the higher classes); (12) Greek (Xenophon, Plato, &c., in the higher classes); (13) French or English (in some gymnasia, both optional, in some English is voluntary; obligatory in others); (14) Hebrew (optional, except for future theological students); (15) Natural History; (16) History, ancient and modern; (17) Philosophy—logic, anthropology, psychology.

Terms and Examination.—The scholastic year is divided into two terms, at the close of each of which there is an examination. At the end of the second half, the examinations for passing them from one class to another are held under supervision of a government inspector. The six classes should, in the ordinary way, be passed through in nine years. Thus a pupil entering at ten would leave the gymnasium and enter the university at nineteen.

Final, or Leaving Examination.—Before proceeding from the gymnasium to the university, an examination must be undergone, called *Abiturienten*, or *Examination of Maturity.* Those who have received their education in a private school must pass the same examination before being admitted to the university, and to professional life. In their case, this examination is, in some States, to be undergone before inspectors of the Supreme Council; in Prussia, in any gymnasium they may select. The candidates are to be examined separately, and are required to produce the certificates of their masters as to moral conduct and proficiency.

The conduct of this examination is in the hands of the Committee of the Gymnasium, consisting of the head master, the teachers of the higher classes, one or two members of the clergy or authorities of the place, and in Prussia a member of the Provincial Consistory, in Baden the Mayor, elected by universal suffrage. In Prussia, the member of the Provincial Consistory presides, but his appointment must be approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The clerical delegate must be approved by the Consistory of the Province. Besides the above, members of the Supreme Council of Education have the practical direction of the examination. In Prussia, there is moreover a Royal Commission, appointed by the Ministry, and consisting of professors of universities or secondary schools, who attend the examination as inspectors. The teachers of the gymnasium and the local authorities of the school are also present at the oral examination, which, in certain States, takes place in public.

The examination is both oral and by writing, and comprises the following

subjects:—German, Latin, Greek, French or English, Hebrew (obligatory for future students of theology only), Religion, General History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Natural History, and the elements of Mental Philosophy. The following is an abstract of the regulations in Prussia for the final examination:

Written Examination.—The subjects of the written examination are selected by the Commissary of the Government, who is present, from a list furnished by the director and head-master of the gymnasium. *They must be such as have not been specially treated in the class-room,* though not beyond the range of instruction of the pupils. The written exercises embrace the following:—(1) A German prose composition; (2) A Latin composition, and so-called *extempore* exercise, in which the master speaks or reads in German to the pupil, who must write down the same in Latin; (3) Translation from a Greek author, *which has not been read in the school course,* as well as from Latin into Greek; (4) Translation from German into a modern language; (5) The solution of two questions in Geometry, and of two in analysis, within the limits of the course in those subjects. Candidates may also, if they please, be examined beyond the requirements for passing. Those who intend to apply themselves to theology or philology have to translate a portion of one of the historical books of the Old Testament, or a Psalm, into Latin, adding a grammatical analysis. The examination extends over four days.

Oral Examination.—The subjects of the oral examination are the following: —(1) General grammar and prosody of the German language, the chief epochs of natural history and literature, and the national classics; (2) Translation and analysis of extracts from Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Virgil and Horace; parts of the examination are conducted in Latin; (3) Translation and analysis of Greek prose, and of portions of Homer, with questions on Greek grammar, history, arts, and mythology; (4) Translation from French or English classics, with conversation; (5) Questions on Christian doctrines, dogmas, or morals, church history, and the Bible; (6) Arithmetic, the simpler parts of algebra and geometry, logarithms, and plane trigonometry; (7) History and geography, ancient (especially Greek and Roman) and modern history, and geography (physical, mathematical, and political); (8) Natural history, classification; (9) Those portions of physics which can be treated by elementary mathematics; (10) The elements of moral philosophy, psychology and logic. The future theological student has also to translate and analyze a portion of one of the historical books of the Old Testament.

Certificate of Final Examination.—After the examination, the commission that has conducted it proceeds, on a comparison of notes taken during its course by the different members (each member having a vote), to a selection of those students who may be deemed qualified to receive a certificate called a certificate of maturity (*Maturitätszeugniss.*) Those who have not satisfied the examiners are remanded to their class, but may again present themselves, after an interval of six months, for another trial, unless they are judged entirely unfit to pursue a literary career. The certificate of maturity is indispensable for matriculation in either of the faculties of theology, law, medicine or philosophy, in one of the national universities, for admission to the examination for an academical degree, to compete for one of the bursaries at the universities, or to the government examination, by which alone he can be appointed to an office in State or Church, or to practice as a medical man or lawyer.

Teachers of Gymnasium.—The teachers of the gymnasium must all have attended a university, in which they enter one of the philological or pædagogical seminaries attached to the universities. To qualify for the different masterships in a gymnasium in Prussia, the following special examinations have to be passed—(1) The general government examination, *pro facultate docendi,* on leaving the university; (2) For a special post; (3) For every step of promotion; (4) For a rectorship.

Statistics.—According to the following Tables, compiled from Dr. Wiese's Report on the High Schools of Prussia, (*Berlin,* 1869,) and the School Kalendar of Dr. Mushacké for 1869, there were for all the German population, (72,233,147,) 947 institutions for Secondary Education, with 12,469 teachers and 213,976 students. The number and grade of these institutions for the principal German States will be seen in the Tables which follow.

TABLE II.—*Secondary Schools in the North German Union, the South German States, and the Austrian monarchy, January 1, 1869.

Name of the State.	Gymnasia.†			Progymnasia.			Real-schools of 1st class.			Real-schools of 2d class.			Higher burgher schools.			Total.		
	Number.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Number.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Number.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Number.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Number.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
1. Prussia	197	2,908	54,366	25	180	2,364	64	971	19,422	14	196	3,430	¶69	549	9,500	368	4,740	88,949
2. Saxony	11	233	2,783				6	109	2,057							16	312	4,840
3. Saxe-Weimar	3	39	572				1	112	230	1	6	88	3	35	1,517	8	92	2,427
4. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	2	35	732	1	11	227	1	12	232				1	27	1,254	5	85	2,435
5. Saxe-Meiningen	2	24	310				1	9	154	1	10	139				4	43	600
6. Saxe-Altenburg	1	12	174	1	7	147							1	11	191	3	30	512
7. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1	16	160							1	4	33				2	29	193
8. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	2	22	238				2	19	344				1	24	620	5	65	1,202
0. Reuss-Greiz							1	15	143				1	11	647	2	26	790
10. Reuss-Schleiz	2	26	388				1	20	365							3	46	653
11. Anhalt	4	77	1,077										2	26	421	6	103	1,498
12. Brunswick	6	84	1,307	1	11	132										7	95	1,439
13. Mecklenburg-Strelitz	3	28	583							2	9	197	1	7	566	6	44	1,346
14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	5	75	1,580							7	62	1,509	2	16	385	14	153	3,474
15. Oldenburg	4	47	644	1	10	65							7	44	1,066	12	101	4,775
16. Lippe-Detmold	2	24	321													2	24	321
17. Schaumburg-Lippe	1	12	190													1	12	190
18. Waldeck	1	11	124										3	20	540	4	31	664
19. Bremen	1	15	217	1	12	282				3	660	35				5	62	1,159
20. Hamburg‡	2	21	232				1	26	258							3	47	499
21. Lubeck	1	9	214				1	12	42				2	17	348	4	38	604
Total North German Union	233	3,686	66,612	30	231	3,217	79	1,205	23,555	29	947	5,430	55	525	12,282	484	6,856	115,868
1. Hesse-Darmstadt	6	88	1,082				10	103	1,887							16	152	2,969
2. Bavaria	29	613	7,558				6	51	246				§52	248	2,083	87	912	9,887
3. Würtemberg	7	168	2,278	‖6	38	574	8	92	1,989							21	298	4,841
4. Baden	6	67	569	‖7	117	2,037							**29	215	3,228	42	399	5,834
5. Liechtenstein																		
Total South German States	48	936	11,487	13	155	2,611	24	246	4,122				78	440	5,023	166	1,761	23,531
Austria, (German Provinces)	97	1,532	32,076				6	64	1,081	48	597	10,547				151	2,193	43,704
Austria, (Hungary)	132	1,335	26,722				1	9	57	23	315	4,094				156	1,659	30,873
Total Austrian monarchy	229	2,867	58,798				7	73	1,138	71	912	14,641				307	3,852	74,577
Grand total	490	10,592	183,709	43	386	5,828	110	1,524	28,865	.00	1,859	20,071	133	965	17,305	957	12,469	213,976

TABLE III.—*Statistics of Superior (university) Education*

THE UNIVERSITIES OF GERMANY, INCLUDING THOSE OF AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND—WINTER SEMESTER, 1869.

LOCATION.	Date of foundation.	TEACHERS.						STUDENTS.								
		Regular professors.	Extraordinary professors.	Honorary professors.	Private teachers.	Teachers of languages, exercises.	Total of all kinds.	Theology. Catholic.	Theology. Protestant.	Law and finance.	Medicine and pharmacy.	Philosophy and philology.	Total. Matriculated.	Total. Not matriculated.	Total number.	Number belonging to other states.
Basle, Switzerland	1460	30	12	....	15	3	60	....	55	11	34	21	121	....	1	27
Berlin, Prussia	1809	54	54	3	59	7	177	....	337	652	441	828	2, 258	1, 245	3, 593	470
Bern, Switzerland	1834	28	7	3	28	1	67	....	22	65	139	46	234	39	273	15
Bonn, Prussia	1818	27	11	....	18	4	60	208	46	173	201	247	875	34	909	75
Breslau, Prussia	1702	44	14	1	....	11	70[2]	135	67	160	186	332	880	63	943	40
Erlangen, Bavaria	1743	32	10	....	3	....	45	....	202	69	98	30	399	....	399	113
Freiburg, Baden	1454	31	11	....	7	3	52	135	....	53	51	43	282	9	291	33
Giessen, Hesse-Darmstadt	1837	30	10	1	17[8]	3	61	....	25	82	95	99	301	18	319	20
Gottingen, Hanover	1737	53	24	....	26	9	112	....	150	166	153	225	794	1	795	215
Gratz, Austria	1585	35	5	8[4]	11	4	63	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	567	....
Greifswalde, Prussia	1456	33	7	....	12	3	55	....	33	19	239	100	391	34	425	21
Halle, Prussia	1694	40	16	1	19	6	82	....	314	53	120	351	838	30	868	126
Heidelberg, Baden	1386	39	27	2	29	14	111	....	63	277	70	149	559	93	652	163
Jena, Saxe-Weimar	1548	25	14	8	13	6	66	....	92	83	61	136	372	24	396	172
Innspruck, Austria	1677	37	4	1[5]	....	4	46[6]	210	....	119	77[7]	135	541	....	541	....
Kiel, Holstein	1665	29	6	....	....	....	35	....	52	20	60	24	156	5	161[5]	28
Konigsberg, Prussia	1544	38	7	....	21	3	69	....	77	85	114	166	440	18	458	18
Leipsic, Saxony	1409	45	45	4	24	4	122	....	366	383	203	222	1, 374	63	1, 437	593
Marburg, Hesse-Cassel	1527	39	6	....	14	6	65	....	69	22	128	110	329	16	345	25
Munich, Bavaria	1472	63	13	11	25	5	117	116	....	528	336	357	1, 337	....	1, 337	213
Munster, Prussia	1826	13	8	..	....	...	21	232	....	....	....	204	436	8	444	26
Prague, Austria	1348	48	20		....	4	72[9]	....	....	....	....	....	1, 442	....	1, 442	....
Rostock, Mecklenberg	1419	25	2	1	6	3	37	....	39	66	42	18	165	....	165	....
Tubingen, Wurtemburg	1477	42	17	2[10]	8	6	75	101	231	71	128	85	777	8	785	238
Vienna, Austria	1365	64	35	....	....	10	169[13]	....	....	....	....	62[11]	3, 430	....	3, 430[14]	....
Wurtzburg, Bavaria	1582	42	8	....	10	3	63	77	....	141	315	118[12]	650	....	650	244
Zurich, Switzerland	1832	29	9	....	....	....	38	....	51	20	134	36	241	22	263[15]	63

III. SUPERIOR AND PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTION.

Superior instruction is given either in the Universities, or in Polytechnic schools of the highest grade. The latter are usually classed and will be described with Special Schools.

The high standard of University instruction is maintained (1) by the *Certificate of Maturity*—the evidence of having completed in a satisfactory manner the eight years' course of a Gymnasium; and (2) by the government examination of all candidates for employment in any department of the public service, or who aspire to practice as a lawyer or physician, pastor, or teacher—to be admitted to which, the candidate must produce certificates of having attended a University for at least three years. The examinations are conducted by government commissions, composed of scientific and practical men. The following summary is specially applicable to Prussia, but generally, to all the German States.

(1.) *Jurisprudence.*—To obtain a license to practice as a solicitor or barrister, or to fill a State appointment in the Civil Service, the candidate must have attended at a University, for the space of three and a half years, the lectures on the following subjects:—Roman Law, German and French Civil Law; Statute Law and Common Law of Prussia; Civil and Criminal Law and Procedure; International Law; German State History and History of German Law; Canon Law; Philosophy of Law; Feudal Law; Civil Bar-practice, and the Art of Reporting; Forensic Medicine; and National Economy. Besides the above, he must attend three courses, at his choice, in the faculty of Arts and Sciences.

The State examination is both written and oral. The former comprehends all the above-named branches; and the *Corpus juris civilis Romani* is the only book allowed him for reference. The oral examination is on Roman Law, the Common Law of Baden, Criminal Law and Civil Pleadings, and National Economy. The examination commission is appointed jointly by the Ministries of Justice, and Home Affairs, and consists usually of "Ministerial Councilors."

This is the first stage. The candidate, who has passed this examination, is called *Rechtspraktikant;* has now to serve for *two* years in district courts, in courts of justice of different grades, and in government offices; and after having thus gained the necessary practice in these departments, he is admitted to the second practical examination, before another commission of lawyers. This second examination embraces—Constitutional Law of the State, Common Law, Criminal Law and Procedure, the Rules observed in Civil Pleadings. This is a written examination, followed by an oral exposition of some subject relating to judicial administration, the conduct of a prosecution or defense. The candidate has placed in his hands, a week previous to his discourse, the documents with which the latter is to deal. An oral examination on the above subjects accompanies the practical test. The candidate is now called *Referendarius,* and can accept a public appointment, or practice as a solicitor or barrister.

(2.) *Finance.*—The students in this department are called *Cameralisten,* and are all destined for the public service. It comprehends public debt, taxes, administration of public property, mines, &c. They are obliged to attend, during three years and a half, lectures at a University on the following subjects:—Mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, geometry, plane trigonometry, elements of applied geometry, and mechanics, actuarial and other calculations); Zoölogy; Botany; Geognosy; Physics; Chemistry; Agriculture; Care of Forests; Mining; Technology; Commercial Science; National Economy; Finance (theoretical and practical); Police Regulations; Public Right. Besides the above course, the student must attend, during the first two years, one philological, philosophical, or historical course of lectures, and is expected to continue the study of modern languages.

The State examination takes place under the direction of the Ministry of Finance: it is conducted by councilors of this department, and by specially appointed examiners, and is both written and oral. The written examination

embraces all the branches just enumerated; the oral examination, only such as are deemed appropriate for the special appointment aimed at by the candidate.

(3.) *Protestant Theology.*—The students of Protestant Theology must reside at the University for about two and a half years, and attend the following course:—Introduction to the Old and New Testament; Exegesis of the same; History of the Church and Dogmas; Dogmatics and Morals; Homiletics and Catechetics.

The student must then pass examination before the director of the theological seminary connected with the University and special commissioners. The successful candidates are admitted into the theological seminary in Wittenberg, and attend in the latter, as in the University, the following gratuitous lectures, and receive, besides, a bursary (*i. e.*, free board and lodging). The course of lectures extends over twelve months, and comprises:—Instruction in preaching and catechising; Liturgics; Pastoral Doctrine (comprising primary education); Church Law; Practical Exposition of the Old and New Testaments; Practice in discussion and argument.

The student now presents himself for the State examination, the first test being the delivery of a sermon. This examination consists of two parts, a preliminary and a principal one. The preliminary examination includes the following subjects:—Oral translation and explanation of Roman and Greek authors; Latin composition; Translation from Hebrew and exposition; General History; Mathematics and Physics. The principal examination includes:—Church History; Hermeneutics, criticism and exegesis; Dogmatics; Morals; Homiletics; Catechetics; Philosophy (logic, psychology, anthropology, philosophy of religion, practical philosophy). Having passed this examination, the candidate must first serve two years as a curate, before he can be appointed a pastor.

(4.) *Roman Catholic Theology.*—Students of the Roman Catholic faculty in Germany must have already passed their examination of "maturity" before State commissioners. The law prescribes a residence of three years at the University. The number and kind of theological lectures to be attended by the student is appointed by the bishop; the Roman Catholic clergy and the government being at all times engaged in a vigorous contest for supremacy. But the State requires that a student of Roman Catholic theology shall have received a general literary education before he is admitted to any office in his church; all church appointments in Germany being subject to the approval of the secular government. Besides the theoretical lectures, attendance on the courses of Latin, Greek, philosophy and history is enjoined; and the State prescribes also a general literary examination, common both for Protestant and Roman Catholic candidates of theology, in the following subjects:—Latin Composition; Explanation of easier Greek authors; History of Philosophy: General History and German History; History of German Literature; Constitution and Administrative Law.

(5.) *Instructors in Secondary Schools.*—Teachers in a gymnasium or *Höhere Bürgerschule*, must, in addition to a theoretical examination, after two years' practice, also pass a practical one. There are two classes of teachers—viz., (1) philological, and (2) mathematical and scientific. Both classes must spend three years at a university. The mathematical and scientific teacher may also, after two years' university study, attend in the third year a Polytechnic school. The *Philological Students* have to attend the following lectures:—Archæology; Grammar and Prosody; Roman and Greek authors, six at least; Roman and Greek antiquities, history and literature; Arithmetic; Physics; Pædagogy. Besides these lectures, the students are to read accurately the following authors:—Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Horace, Cæsar, Xenophon, Virgil, Livy, Cicero, Tacitus, and others.

At Berlin, Breslau, Stettin, Halle, and Magdeburg, there is a pedagogical seminary, in which candidates can attend exercises during two years. There is also a historical seminary for special students and teachers of history at Berlin, Bonn and Königsberg.

The *Mathematical and Scientific Students and Teachers* attend the following lectures:—Arithmetic, Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry and Mechanics, Differential and Integral Calculus, Surveying, &c., Physics, Chemistry, Zoölogy, Botany. Besides these professional lectures, they are obliged to attend, at their option, three philological and historical courses. Both the philological and the mathematical and

scientific candidates have first to pass a common examination; subsequently each of the two classes has special examinations.

The special examination for philologists consists again of three grades:—(1) *Formal*examen, (2) *Real*examen, and (3) *Fach*examen, in History, German, French, and English or Philosophy, according to choice. Optional subjects: Mathematics, Natural History, French, English, Hebrew. All is accurately prescribed in detail.

The special examination for mathematical and scientific candidates is of three grades: (1) Mathematics, (2) Natural Sciences, (3) Optional examination in certain branches. All details minutely prescribed. The Commission of Examiners is appointed by the minister in coöperation with the Supreme Council of Education.

To the universities of Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Griefswald, Königsberg and Munster, a philological seminary is attached, consisting of two sections, a lower and an upper. The lower is devoted to exercises in writing and speaking Latin, to Greek composition and current reading of authors. The upper seminary is devoted to practice in the interpretation of Latin authors, in methodical and pædagogical exposition, philological and critical exercises.

(6.) *Medicine.*—The medical student must attend the university for four years. His course of studies is divided into two parts, the preliminary and the purely medical. At the end of two years, he is admitted to his preliminary examination (fee 40 florins.) The preliminary course includes the following obligatory lectures:—Botany, Zoölogy, Mineralogy, Geognosy, Physics, Chemistry (theoretical and practical,) Anatomy with dissections, Physiology, and three subjects, at his option, in the faculty of Philosophy and Art.

Having passed the preliminary examination, the medical student has to attend, during the remaining two years of his university course, the following lectures: — General and special Pathology and Therapeutics, Comparative, Pathological; and Chirurgical Anatomy; Opthalmics; Chirurgy, with exercises in operations, application of machines, and dressing; Obstetrics, Pharmacy, Materia Medica, Public Hygiene, Diseases of domestic animals, History of Medicine.

Besides these lectures, the student must attend a clinical course in Medicine, Chirurgery and Obstetrics, and obstetrical clinics, and practice under the direction of the professor. Having thus gone through the prescribed course, he is admitted to the chief examination (fee, sixty florins.) The examination is both oral and written—in the examination hall, in the dissecting-room, and at the sick-bed. The license to practice is not granted until the candidate has passed his examination in medicine, in surgery, and in midwifery; and not for one of these branches only.

II. List of Lectures in the Faculty of Arts.

Prague, 1366.†

Lecture	Honorarium. Groschen.	Months.
Metaphysics,*	8	6
Physics,*		9
On the heavens,*	5	4
Generation,*	3	2
Sense and sensation,*		
Memory and recollection,*		
Sleep and waking,*		
Length and shortness of life,*		
Vegetables,*		
Ethics and Physics,*		9
Politics and Physics,*		6
Rhetoric and Physics,*		9
Œconomics,*		
Boethius de consolatiooe,	4	3
The old logic,	8	4
Prior (ethics ?)*	4	4
Posterior (ethics ?)*	3	3
Topics,*	4	4
Treatise of Peter Hispanus,	2	3
Material Sphere,	1	1½
Algoriem,		¾
Theory of the planets,	2	1½
Six books of Euclid,	3	6
Almagest,	1fl	12
Almanach,	10	6
Priscian (major),	2	2
De Græcismo,	6	6
Poetria nova,	2	3
Labyrinth,	1	1½
Boetius on the discipline of schools,		
Doctrinale, 2d part,		

Erfurt, 1449.‡

Lecture	Months.
Physics,	3
On the soul,	3
On heavens and earth,	3
On meteors,	3
Lesser natoral philosophy,*	2
Ethics,	3
Politics,	6
Œconomics,	1
Metaphysics,	6
Euclid,	6
Theory of the planets,	1½
Music,	1
Art of metrical composition,	1
Perspective,	3
Material sphere,	1½
Old logic,	3½
Prior (ethics ?)	3½
Posterior (ethics ?)	3½
Topics,	4
Elenchi,*	2
Peter Hispanus,	3
Suppositions, amplifications, restrictions, and appellations,	2
Consequences,	1
Biligam ?	1
Obligatory and insoluble propositions,	1
Priscian (minor),	3
Donatus,	1
Alexander, part 1st (Doctrinale),	1
Same, part 2,	1
Same, part 3,	1
Boetios on the consolations of philosophy,	1
Loyca Heysbri,	4
Poetria,	2
Computus,	1
Algorism,	1
Labyrinth,	2

Ingolstadt, 1472.§

Lecture	Honorarium. Groschen.
Lesser logic, and exercises,	
Old logic, and exercises,	24
Elenchi	3
Obligatory propositions,	1
Physics, and exercises,	
Material sphere,	3
Euclid, 1st book,	1
Algorism, integers,	1
Some book on rhetoric,	1
Alexander, 1st part (Doctrinale),	3
Same, 2d part,	3
Prior (ethics ?) exercises,	10
(The preceding examined on for baccalaureate; the following for the master's degree.)	
Ethics,	
Metaphysics,	9
On meteors,	11
On generation and corruption,	3
On heavens and earth,	6
Lesser natural philosophy,	3
Theory of the planets,	3
Common arithmetic,	2
Topics,	6
On the soul,	11
Posterior (ethics ?)	3

Vienna, 1389.‖

Lecture	Honorarium. Groschen.
Physics,	3
Metaphysics,	9
Heavens and earth,	5
On generation and corruption,	3
On meteors,	5
On the soul,	5
Lesser natural philosophy,	3
Ethics,	12
Politics,	10
Œconomics,	2
Boetius on the consolations of philosophy,	5
Euclid, 5 books,	6
Theory of the planets,	4
Perspective,	5
Bragwardinus on proportionate lengths,	3
On breadth of forms,	2
Albertus Magnus' summary of nat. phil.,	4
Old logic,	5
Peter Hispanus,	3
Prior (ethics ?)	3

† From "*Monumenta Universitatis Pragensis*," i. 1, 76. I give these lists as in the original sources, with their characteristic errors.

‡ Motschmann, i.

§ Mederer, iv. 93.

‖ Zeisl, 138. This list is headed, "We now assign the books ordinarily to be read, with the fees of the same, which no master may presume to augment." These fees will sufficiently indicate those for the other ordinary lectures.

COURSES OF LECTURES FOR WINTER TERM OF 1865–6.

I. FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

Full Professors.

1. Special Dogmatics, 6 hours a week.
2. Theology of new Testament and Life of Christ, 5 h.
3. God's Kingdom till the Coming of Christ, 1 h.
4. Introd. to books of old Test., 5 h.
5. Explanation of the Psalms, 5 h.
6. Life of Christ and Critical Hist. of the Gospels, 2 h.
7. Hist. Church of the Reformation, 6 h.
8. Exercises in Catechization and Preaching, 2 h.
9. The same, 2 h.
10. Practical Theology, 5 h.
11. The Creeds, 1 h.
12. Symbolical Theol., and Introd. to Criticism of New Test., 5 h.

Assistant Professors.

13. The book of Judges, 1 h.
14. The book of Genesis, 5 h.
15. Life and Doctrine of St. Paul, 1 h.
16. The Epistle to the Romans, 5 h.
17. Circle of Knowl. and Method., 2 h.
18. Church History, part 1, 5 h.
19. Archæol. and Patristic Study, 1 h.
20. Homiletics, theoret. and pract., 2 h.
21. Biblical History, 4 h.
22. Dogmatics, 1 h.
23. The book of Isaiah, 6 h.
24. Introd. to books of Old Test., 5 h.

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25. The book of Genesis, 5 h.
26. Prophetical Inspiration, 2 h.
27. The book of Isaiah, 5 h.
28. History of Jewish Worship, 2 h.
29. The book of Isaiah, 5 h.
30. Chaldaic and Syriac Grammar, 2 h.
31. 3 of St. Paul's Epist. explained, 2 h.
32. Hist. of the Christian Dogmas, 5 h.
33. Symbolical Theology, 1 h.
34. Dogmatical Passages in Old and New Testament explained, 5 h.
35. Church History, part 1, 5 h.
36. History of Christian Dogmas, 5 h.

II. FACULTY OF LAW.

Full Professors.

1. Psychology of Crimes, 1 h.
2. Natural Law, Philos. of Law, 4 h.
3. Criminal Law, 4 h.
4. Criminal Procedure, 2 h.
5. Law of Nations, 2 h.
6. Private German Law, Commercial Law, 5 h.
7. Practical Exercises, 1 h.
8. The Pandects, 1 h.
9. Practical Law of the Pandects, 6 h.
10. History of English Law, 1 h.
11. Roman Law of Inheritance, 2 h.
12. Com. and Pruss. Civil Process, 4 h.
13. Germ. and Pruss. Public Law, 4 h.
14. Canon Law, 4 h.
15. Prussian Law, 1 h.
16. Methodology of Law, 3 h.
17. Prussian Civil Law, 4 h.
18. Hist. German Empire and Germ. Law, 4 h.
19. Hist. Provincial Estates in Germ., 3 h.
20. Fourth b'k of Gaius explained, 2 h.
21. History of Roman Law, 5 h.
22. Instit. and Antiq. of Ro. Law, 5 h.

Assistant Professors.

23. History and actual state of the German Confederation, 3 h.
24. Common Law of Prussia, 4 h.
25. French Civil Law, 4 h.
26. Cath. and Prot. Law of Marriage, 1 h.
27. Prussian Civil Law, 4 h.
28. Cath. and Prot. Canon Law, 4 h.
29. Ecclesiastical and Canon Law, 4 h.
30. Pract. of Eccle. and Can. Law, 1 h.
31. Capital Punishment, 1. h.
32. Com. and Pruss. Crim. Law, 4 h.
33. French Criminal Procedure, 2 h.
34. German Public Law, Rights of Sovereigns, 2 h.
35. Law of Nations, 3 h.
36. Pract. Exerc. on Crim. Law, 1 h.

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37. Prussian Law, 1 h.
38. History of Roman Law, 1 h.
39. Instit. and Antiq. of Ro. Law, 4 h.
40. Prussian Civil Law, 4 h.
41. Feudal Law, 1 h.
42. Private German Law, 4 h.
43. Commercial Law, Maritime Law, and Law of Exchange, 4 h.
44. Hist. of Ro. Law in Germany, 1 h.
45. History of the Empire, and of German Law, 4 h.
46. Prussian Law of Succession, 1 h.
47. Practical Exerc. on the Jurisprudence of the Pandects, 1 h.
48. Instit. and Antiq. of Roman Law, 5 h.
49. Relations between Church and State, 1 h.
50. Ecclesiastical and Marriage Law, 4 h.
51. German Pub. Law, Private Rights of Sovereigns, 2 h.
52. Prussian Public Law, 3 h.
53. Prac. Exer. on Pub. and Can. Law, 1 h.
54. Private Justice among Roms., 2 h.

55. Roman Law of Succession, 3 h.
56. Modern Law of Exchange in Germany, 1 h. [Germany, 4 h.
57. Private Law and Feudal Law in
58. Com. and Marit. Law in Ger., 4 h.
59. *Speculum Saxonicum* explain., 2 h.
60. Hist. of the Empire and of German Law, 4 h. [the Digests, 1 h.
61. Interpretation of the Solutions in
62. Methodology of Law, 3 h.

III. FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

Full Professors.

1. On certain Discoveries of the Naturalists, 1 h.
2. Experimental Physiology, 5 h.
3. Practical Exerc. in Experimental Physiol. 1 h. [Microscope, 1 h.
4. Comparative Physiology with the
5. General History of Medicine, 1 h.
6. Pathology and Therapeutics, 3 h.
7. Clinical Medicine, 6 h. [5 h.
8. Diseases of the Nervous System,
9. Medical Practice, 6 h.
10. History of Popular Maladies, 1 h.
11. General History of Medicine, 3 h.
12. Pathology and Therapeutics, 5 h.
13. Hernia, 2 h.
14. General and Special Surgery, 4 h.
15. Clinical Surgery and Clinical Ophthalmics, Clinical Surgery, 5 h.
16. Experiments in Surgery and Anatomy. [thalmics, 6 h.
17. Clinical Surgery and Clinical Oph-
18. Midwifery, 4 h.
19. Clinical Midwifery, 6 h.
20. Pract. Exercises in Midwifery, 1 h.
21. Excitant Drugs in Medicine, 2 h.
22. *Materia Medica*, 6 h.
23. Osteology, 1 h. [Marrow, 1 h.
24. Anatomy of the Brain and Spinal
25. General Anatomy, 6 h.
26. Structure of the Human Body, with the Microscope, 1 h. [24 h.
27. Practical Exercises in Anatomy,
28. Methodology of Medicine, 2 h.
29. General Pathology and Therapeutics, and their History, 4 h. [6 h.
30. *Materia Medica*, with Experiments,
31. Pathological Anatomy, 4 h.
32. Practical Course of Anatomy and Pathology, with Microscope, 6 h.
33. Practical Course of Pathological Osteology, 6 h.

Assistant Professors.

34. Spectacles, 1 h.
35. Ophthalmology, 2 h.
36. The same, 2 h.
37. Clinical Ophthalmics, 6 h.
38. Practical Course of Ophthalmics, with Experiments, 1 h.
39. General Surgery, 6 h.
40. Surg. Operations on Dead Bodies.
41. Diseases of Children, 6 h.
42. Errors of Modern Medicine, 1 h.
43. Hygiene, 1 h. [Diseases of Eye, 4 h.
44. Theory and Pract. of Treatment of
45. Anat. of the Organs of Sense, 1 h.
46. Osteology and Syndesmology of the Human Body, 3 h.
47. Public Hygiene, 1 h.
48. Legal Medicine, 3 h.
49. Medico-legal Dissection, 6 h.
50. The Nerves, 2 h. [Nerves, 6 h.
51. Clinical Study of Diseases of the
52. Toxicology, 2 h.
53. Legal Medicine, 3 h.
54. Medico-legal Dissection, 6 h.
55. Pathology and Therapeutics, 1 h.
56. Auscultation, 4 h.
57. Clinical Lectures on Auscultation and Percussion, 6 h.
58. Wounds, 1 h.
59. Fractures and Dislocations, 2 h.
60. Application of Bandages, 3 h.

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61. Diseases of the Teeth and Mouth, 2 h. [Cure, with Experiments, 6 h.
62. Diseases of the Teeth and their
63. Surgical and Ophthalmological Experiments.
64. Drawing up of Prescriptions, 2 h.
65. Special Patholo. and Therap., 6 h.
66. Venereal Diseases, 2 h.
67. Cutaneous Diseases, 2 h.
68. Clinical lectures on Diseases of Children, 2 h.
69. Diseases of the Ear, 1 h.
70. Moral Responsibility, 1 h. [1 h.
71. Pathology of Venereal Diseases,
72. Surgery, 6 h.
73. Legal Medicine, 2 h.
74. Diseases of Women, 2 h. [4 h.
75. Theory and Practice of Midwifery,
76. Baths and Thermal Waters, 2 h.
77. Drawing up of Preecriptions, 3 h.
78. Physiologi. Effects of Gasses, 3 h.
79. Toxicology, 3 h.
80. Going over previous Lectures in Physiology and Osteology, 1 h.
81. Theory and Practice of Midwifery, 4 h.
82. Operations in Midwifery, 1 h.
83. Clinical Study of Cutaneous and Venereal Diseases, 3 h.
84. Use of the Laryngoscope, 1 h.
85. Diseases of the Heart, 1 h.
86. Percussion, Auscultation, &c., 3 h.

87. Auscultation, Percussion, and use of the Laryngoscope, 4 h.
88. General and Special Surgery.
89. Physiol. of Animal Generation, 1 h.
90. Physiology of the Nerves and Muscles, 4 h.
91. Hernia, 1 h.
92. Puncture with experiments, 1 h.
93. Hereditary vices, 1 h.
94. General and Special Surgery, 4 h.
95. Auscultation, Percussion, &c., 1 h.
96. Diagnostics, 2 h.
97. Use of Electricity in Medicine, 1 h.
98. Experimental Physiology, 2 h.
99. Going over previous lectures on different points of Physiology, 1 h.
100. Ophthalmology, 3 h.
101. Use of the Ophthalmoscope, 1 h.
102. Diagnostics of abnormal states of the Eye, 1 h. [4 h.
103. Theory and Practice of Midwifery,
104. Operations in Midwifery, 1 h.
105. Thermal Waters, 2 h.
106. Going over previous lectures on Pharmacology, 1 h.
107. Position of the *Viscera* in the Human Body, 1 h.
108. The Laryngoscope, 1 h.
109. The Laryngoscope, Auscultation, Inhalations, &c., 1 h.
110. Cure of Insanity; the Diseases of the Brain, 2 h.

IV. FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Full Professors.

1. Æschines *in Ctesiphontem*, 2 h.
2. Palæontology, 5 h.
3. Greek Antiquities, 6 h.
4. Botany, 1 h.
5. Special Botany, 4 h.
6. *Cryptogama, &c.*, 1 h.
7. Meteorology, 1 h.
8. Experimental Physics, 4 h.
9. Grecian History, 4 h. [5 h.
10. Modern Hist., from 1780 to 1815,
11. Archæology, 2 h.
12. Greek Mythology, 1 h.
13. National Economy, 4 h.
14. Science of Finance, 4 h.
15. The *Persæ* of Æschylus, 4 h. [4 h.
16. The *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus,
17. Politics and Polit. Economy, 1 h.
18. Principles of Polit. Economy, 4 h.
19. Logic and Metaphysics, 4 h. [4 h.
20. Polit. Econ.; Theory of Finance,
21. Organic Chemistry, 1 h.
22. Experimental Chemistry, 3 h.
23. The Speeches of Lysias, 2 h.
24. The Homeric Poems, and particularly the *Odyssey*, 4 h.
25. Surfaces of the Fourth Order, 1 h.
26. Analytical Mechanics, 4 h.
27. History of Egypt, 1 h.
28. Grammar of Hieroglyphics, 3 h.
29. Explanation of Egyptian Monuments, 1 h.
30. Physical Experiments, 1 h. [1 h.
31. The 41st book of Livy, and onward,
32. Latin Inscriptions, 4 h.
33. Monuments of the Ancient German Language explained, 1 h.
34. History of the Ancient Poetry of Germany, 4 h.
35. The *Germany* of Tacitus, 4 h. [3 h.
36. Analysis of Determinate Numbers,
37. General and Special Geology, 6 h.
38. Zoötomy, 4 h.
39. Historical Exercises, 1 h.
40. Modern History of England and of her Parliament, 4 h.
41. History of Politics, 1 h.
42. The Syriac Language, 1 h. [1 h.
43. Gramm. of the Semitic Languages,
44. Explanation of the Psalms, 5 h.
45. Principles of Arabic Grammar, 3 h.
46. Comparison of Persian with Sanscrit, 1 h.
47. Crystallography, 1 h.
48. Mineralogy, 6 h. [*mach. Eth.*, 2 h.
49. The sixth book of Aristotle's *Nico-*
50. Psychology, 4 h.
51. History of Philosophy, 5 h.
52. Theory of Analyti. Functions, 6 h,
53. Algebraical Equations, 6 h.

Assistant Professors.

54. Hist. of Modern Philosophy, 2 h.
55. Logic, 4 h. [17th cent., 4 h.
56. General History of Philosophy in
57. Theory of Determinants, 2 h.
58. Algebra, 4 h.
59. Differential Calculus, 4 h.
60. Physical Geography, and History of the Mediterranean, 3 h.
61. Simple Drugs examined with the Microscope, 1 h.
62. Botany of Medical Plants, 6 h.
63. Pharmacognosy, 4 h. [1 h.
64. Certain Arabic Authors explained,
65. Arabic Grammar, 3 h.
66. The book of Genesis, 5 h. [3 h.
67. Theory of Geographi. Phenomena,
68. Analytical Mechanics, 1 h.
69. History of Astronomy, 2 h.
70. Theory of the Motion of Planets and Comets, 4 h.
71. Exercises in Archæology, 1 h.
72. History of Greek Sculpture, 3 h.
73. National Economy, 4 h.
74. The *Epidicus* of Plautus, 2 h.

75. Roman Antiquities, 4 h.
76. History of Greek Philosophy, 2 h.
77. Æsthetics, 2 h.
78. Select Epistles of Cicero, 1 h.
79. Philological Exercises, 1 h.
80. Greek Mythology, 3 h.
81. Exercises in Palæography, 1 h.
82. Latin Palæography, 1 h.
83. National History of Glumaceous Plants, 1 h.
84. Systems of Medical Plants, 6 h.
85. Exerc. in Anat. and Physiol., 4 h.
86. Ancient Geography, 3 h.
87. Botany, Diseases of Plants, 4 h.
88. Agronomical Science, 1 h.
89. Historical Exercises, 1 h.
90. Hist. of Germany, 4 h. [Sing., 2 h.
91. Art of Singing, especially Church
92. Musical Composition, 4 h.
93. Pedagogy, 2 h.
94. The *Nibelungen*, 6 h. [scripts, 1 h.
95. Exercises in deciphering Manu-
96. Logic; Encyclopædia of Philosophical Sciences, 4 h.
97. History of Philosophy, 4 h.
98. History of the New World, 2 h.
99. Geog. and Ethnog. of Europe, 4 h.
100. The Chaldee Language, 1 h.
101. History of the Armenians, 3 h.
102. General History of Physics since Galileo, 2 h.
103. Theory of Electricity, 1 h.
104. Physics applied to Mathematics, Acoustics, 4 h.
105. Chemical Metallurgy, 3 h.
106. Principles of Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis, 1 h.
107. Experimental Chemistry, 6 h.
108. Pharmacy, 3 h.
109. Chemical Experiments, 8 h. *daily*.
110. Turkish Language, 3 h. [1 h.
111. Principles of National Psychology,
112. Philoso. of Lang.; General Grammar, 4 h. [Languages, 4 h.
113. Character of the Indo-Germanic
114. Universal Hist. of the Arts, 5 h.
115. The *Sacontala* of Calidâsa, 2 h.
116. Sanscrit Grammar, 3 h.
117. Zend or Pâli Grammar, 2 h.
118. The Rigveda or the Atharvaveda explained, 1 h. [1 h.
119. Course of Sanscrit, Zend, or Pâli,
120. The Dramatic Art, 1 h. [3 h.
121. Psychology and Anthropology,

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122. Experimental Organic Chem., 4 h.
123. Experiments in Organic Chem., 6 h
124. Schleiermacher, 1 h.
125. Logic, and Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences, 4 h.
126. The Limits between Poetry and Philosophy, 1 h. [Henry Carey.
127. The American Politic. Economist,
128. Logic and Metaphysics.
129. Political Economy.
130. History of Modern Civilization.
131. Agronomical Zoölogy, 3 h.
132. Entomology, 3 h.
133. The Koran, 2 h.
134. The Semitic Dialects, 1 h.
135. Differential Calculus, 4 h.
136. Analytical Geometry, 4 h.
137. The Bhagvatgita, 1 h.
138. Panini's Sanscrit Grammar, 3 h.
139. Hindustani or Pâli Grammar, 2 h.
140. Indian Philosophy, 1 h.
141. The Satires of Juvenal, 2 h. [4 h.
142. Syntax of the Latin Language,
143. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 1 h.
144. Rhetoric and Rhetor. Exerc., 2 h.
145. Aristotle, and the Natural Philosophy of the Ancients, 4 h.
146. Hist. of German Universities, 1 h.
147. Syst. of Mod. Phil. since Kant, 1 h.
148. Experimental Chemistry, 6 h.
149. The Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes, 1 h.
150. The Epistles of Horace, 4 h.
151. Physics applied to Mathematics, Acoustics, Optics, &c., 3 h.
152. General Geology.
153. Natural History of *Entozoa*, 1 h.
154. General Zoölogy.
155. The Climate of Italy, 1 h.
156. Medical Climatology, 2 h. [1 h.
157. Conversational Lect. on Chemistry,
158. History of Chemistry, 1 h.
159. Qualitative and Quantitative part of Analytical Chemistry, 3 h.
160. Medico-Legal Chemistry, 3 h.
161. Chemical Experiments, 8 h. *daily*.
162. Theory of Irriga. and Drainage, 1 h.
163. Principles of Agriculture, 3 h.
164. Management of Cattle, 3 h.
165. Book-keeping, 1 h.

Readers (for Modern Languages.)

166. Lects. in Italian on Ital. Lit., 2 h.
167. Ital. Grammar, 2 h. [guages, 2 h.
168. Lects. on Italian and French Lan-
169. German Short-hand, 2 h.
170. German, English, French, and Italian Short-hand, 2 h.
171. Lects. in Polish on Persian Grammar and the Zend Language, 2 h.
172. Turkish Lang.; *Kirk Vezir* read, 3 h
173. Practical Lectures on the Persian and Turkish Languages, 2 h.
174. Lects. in English on English Lit. down to the 16th century, 1 h.
175. Lects. on English Language, 2 h.

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES FOR WINTER TERM, 1872–3.*

I. THEOLOGY. 1. *Full Professors.*

Fr. Delitsch—Biblical Theology of the O. T. (4 h.); Interpretation of the Minor Prophets (4 h.); Grammar of Biblical Chaldee (2 h.); *Hebraicum* (1 h.)
Kahnis—History of Dogma (6 h.); Eccles. Hist. of the Later Middle Ages (2 h.); Symbolic (4 h.); Practical Exercises of Theol. Soc'y (3 h.)
Luthardt—Dogmatics (6 h.); Interpret. of St. John's Gospel (4 h.); Introd. to Dogmatics (2 h.); Exercises of the Soc'y for Dogmatics (2 h.)
Lechler—Church History since Gregory VII. (6 h.); Interpretation of Ep. of St. Peter (2 h.); Practical Exerc. in Church History (2 h.)
Fricke—Life of Christ accord. to Four Gospels, with Prefatory Criticism of the Gospels (4 h.); Interpret. of the Messianic Proph. of O. T. (3 h.); Interpret. of Paul to Galatians (2 h.); Soc'y for Exegesis of O. T. and N. T. (2 h.)
Tischendorf—Interpret. of Epistle to Romans (4 h.); Interpret. of the Parenetic Parts of Ep. to Romans (2 h.)
Baur—Practical Theology (1 h.); German Lit. from Klopstock to Present Day, in its Relations to Religion and the Church (3 h.); Exercises of Homiletic *Seminar* (2 h.)
Hofmann—Practical Theology (6 h.); Evangelical Pedagogic and its History (4 h.); Exerc. of *Seminar* for Catechetic and Pedagogic.
Hölemann—Interpret. of Job (4 h.); Soc'y for Exegesis of O. T. and N. T. Disputations, etc., in Latin (2 h.)

2. *Assistant-Professors.*

W. Schmidt—Interpret. of I. and II. Corinth. (4 h.); Hermeneutics of N. T. (2 h.); for Catechetic (2 h.)
Cl. Brockhaus—Archæology of Christian Art (2 h.)

3. *Privatdocenten.*

Schürer—Life and Teachings of St. Paul (2 h.)
Joh. Delitsch—History of the Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ (2 h.)

II. JURISPRUDENCE. 1. *Full Professors.*

Müller—Common and Statute Law of Saxony (10 h.); *Practicum* for Saxon Law (2 h.); *Exegeticum* (2 h.)
Wächter—Pandects (10 h.); Theory of Possession (2 h.)
Hänel—Sources of the Rom. Law (2 h.): Crim. Procedure accord. to R. L. (2 h.)
Osterloh—Civil Procedure accord. to Comm. Law of Germany and Saxony (10 h.); *Practicum* in Procedure (2 h.); *Relatorium* (2 h.)
Heinze—German Crim. Law (7 h.); History and System of Legal Philos. (4 h.); Internat. Law (2 h.); *Seminar* for Crim. Law Practice (2 h.)
A. Schmidt—Pandects (12 h.); Institutes and Hist. of Rom. Law (6 h.)
Friedberg—Hist. of German Law (4 h.); German Const. Law (4 h.); Commercial Law (3 h.)
Kuntze—History of Rom. Law (6 h.); Commercial Law (incl. Insurance) (4 h.); Exegesis of Passages from Digest (2 h.)
Stobbe—German Common Law, excl. of Commercial Law (7 h.); Eccles. Law (4 h.); Exercises in Germ. Law (2 h.)
Schletter—Crim. Procedure accord. to Comm. Law of Germany and Saxony (4 h.); Law relating to Public Officials (4 h.)

2. *Assistant-Professors.*

Weiske—Mining Law.
Höck—History of German Const. Law (6 h.); Commercial Law (6 h.); Obligations, accord. to Germ. Law (2 h.)
Götz—Commercial Law (2 h.); Property Law (2 h.)
Voigt—Institutes and Hist. of Rom. Law (10 h.); Encyclopaedy of Law (3 h.)
Nissen—*Practicum* for Civil Procedure (2 h.); for Crim. Procedure (3 h.)
Lueder—Criminal Law (7 h.); Agricult. Law (3 h.)

* From Hart's *German Universities*. The figures in ( ) denote the number of hours per week.

III. MEDICINE. 1. *Full Professors.*

Radius—Pharmacy (4 h.); Public and Private Hygiene (2 h.)
Weber—Organs of Hearing in the Amphibia (3 h.)
Wunderlich—Med. Clinic (9 h.); Pathol. and Therap. of Acute Constit. Dis. (4 h.)
Credé—Gynecological and Obstetrical Clinic (7 h.); Practical Exercises in Obstetrics, with Manikin (4 h.); Obstetrical Demonstrations (2 h.)
Wagner—Spec. Pathol. Anatomy (7½ h.); Pathologic-histological Exercises (5 h.); Exerc. in Pathol. Institute (4 h. daily); Medical Polyclinic (5 h.)
Ludwig—Physiol. of Organs of Sensation and Locomotion (5 h.); Physiol. Consultat. (2 h.); Exercises in Physiol. for Advanced Students.
Thiersch—Surgical Clinic (9 h.); Surgery (4 h.)
Coccius—Ophthalm. Clinic (6 h.); Pathol. Optics (2 h.); Inter. Inflam. of Eye (2 h.)
His—Systemat. Human Anat. (10 h.); Dissecting (8 h. daily.)
Braune—Army Practice (2 h.); Operations (4 h.); Dissecting (for those attending Clinics) (4 h. daily); Topograph. Anatomy (2 h.)
Czermak—Introduction to Physiology (Public Lecture.)

2. *Assistant-Professors.*

Bock—Diagnostic Phenomenology.
Sonnenkalb—*Practicum* for those entering State Service (3 h.); Medical Jurisprudence (4 h.)
Carus—Comparat. Anatomy of Vertebrates (4 h.); Comparat. Osteology (2 h.); Comparat. Anat. and Physiol. of Domest. Animals (4 h.)
Germann—Diseases of Women (2 h.)
Hennig—*Examinatorium* in Obstetrics (6 h.); Pediatric Clinic (2 h.)
Reclam—Med. Jurispr. (2 h.); Alimentary Substances (2 h.); Exercises in Hygienic Investigations (2 h.)
Merkel—Physiol. of Human Voice (principally for Philologists) (2 h.); Laryngiatric Polyclinic (3 h.)
B. Schmidt—Surgical Polyclinic (6 h.); Vivisection (2 h.); Hernia (1 h.)
Thomas—Exercises in Physical Diagnosis (2 h.); Polyclinic (3 h.)
Schwalbe—Use of Microscope (1 h.); Anat. of Brain and Spine (2 h.); Exercises with Microscope (courses of 6 h. each.)

3. *Privatdocenten.*

Meissner—Obstetrics with Reference to Jurispru. (2 h.); Pract. Exerc. in Obst.
Haake—Exerc. in Obstetrics, with Manikin (3 h.); Intra-uterine Therapeut. (1 h.)
Naumann—Pharmaco-dynamics (2 h.); Medical Baths.
Hagen—Otiatric Polyclinic (12 h.); Laryngoscopy, Pharyngoscopy, and Rhinoscopy (2 h.); Galvanism Applied to the Ear (2 h.)
Wendt—Polyclinic for Diseases of Ear (9 h.)
Friedlander—Constitut. Diseases (4 h.)
Kormann—*Examinatorium* for Obstetrics (courses of 36 h. each.)
Wenzel—*Repetitorium* for Human Anat. (6 h.); Anat. for Non-med. Students (2 h.)
Siegel—Public Hygiene (2 h.); Medical Jurisprud. (2 h.)
Heubner—Clinical Propædeutics (3 h.); Special Pathology and Therap. (6 h.); Electro-diagnosis and Electro-therapeut. (2 h.)
Hüfner—Physiol. Chemistry (2 h.): Analysis of Animal Tissues and Humors.
L. Fürst—Diseases of Children (2 h.); Propædeutics of Obstetrics (1 h.); Pediatric Polyclinic (3 h.)

IV. PHILOSOPHY. 1. *Full Professors.*

Overbeck—Greek Mythology in Art (5 h.); Explanation of Select Spec. of Antique Art (3 h.); Exerc. of Archæol. Soc'y.
Drobisch—Pyschology (5 h.); Outlines of Perception (3 h.)
Fechner—The Interrelations of Body and Soul (2 h.)
Fleischer—Interpret. of the Koran (2 h.); Introd. to Study of Mod. Arabic Periodicals (2 h.); Interpret of the Behâristan of Djâmî (2 h.); Turkish Syntax (2 h.); Exerc. of the Arabic Soc'y.
Roscher—Polit. Econ. (4 h.); Finance (3 h.); Nat. Econ. and Statistics (2 h.)
Brockhaus—Interpretation of Epic Passages in the Râmâyana (2 h.); Interpret. of Select Hymns from the Rigveda (4 h.)

Wuttke—Hist. of French Revol. (4 h.); Histor. *Seminar*; Exam. of Essays, and Review of Sources for Hist. of Saxon Dynasty (3 h.)
Hankel—Magnetism, Electr., Heat (6 h.); Terrestrial Magnetism (2 h.)
Zarncke—Grammar and Lit. Hist. of Old Norse (4 h.); Interpret. of Nibelungenlied (6 h.); Exerc. of Germanistic Soc'y.
Ahrens—Logic (4 h.); Fundam. Doctr. of Ethics (2 h.); Theories of State and Administr. (4 h.); Exerc. of Soc'y for Study of Government.
Curtius—Greek Grammar (4 h.); Grammat. Soc'y (2 h.); Exerc. of Philol. *Seminar* in Interpret. of Odyssey, etc. (2 h.)
Masius—Hist. of Pedagogic (4 h.); Schools and School Regul. of 16th and 17th Cent. (1 h.); Pedag. *Seminar* (2 h.)
Ebert—Introd. to Compar. Philol. of Romance Lang. (3 h.); Provenzal Gram. and Interpret. of Bartsch's Chrest. Prov. (2 h.)
Ritschl—Greek and Roman Metres, Hist. of Greek Lyric Poetry (4 h.); Interpret. of Æschylus (in Latin), in Philol. *Seminar* (2 h.); Interpret. of Terence, and Lat. Disput. in Philol. Soc'y (2 h.)
Kolbe—Organic Chemistry (4 h.); Laborat. Practice (7 h. daily.)
G. Voigt—History of German Empire from Charlemagne down to Downfall of the Hohenstaufen (4 h.); Age of Luther and Charles V. (2 h.); Histor. Soc'y.
Scheibner—Functions of the Ellipse (5 h.); Differ. and Integral Calc. (4 h.)
Schenk—Botan. Physiol. (3 h.); Fossil Plants (2 h.); Laborat. Practice.
Bruhns—Comets and Determ. of Courses (3 h.); Spher. Trig. and Progr. in Applic. to Astron. (2 h.)
Neumann—Electrodynamics (4 h.); Discuss. of Mathem. Exerc. (1 h.)
Leuckhart—Compar. Anat. (6 h.); Zoölogy of Vertebrates and Origin of Species (4 h.); Labor. Practice (daily.)
Blomeyer—Agricul. (4 h.); Plants of Commerce (2 h.); Law of Farming (1 h.)
Zirkel—Chem. Geology (1 h.); Mineralogy (6 h.); Laborat. Practice.
Wiedemann—Inorgan. Chem. (6 h.); Laborat. Practice.
Lange—Legal Antiq. of Greece (4 h.); *Seminar*, Interpret. of Epistles of Horace, Lat. Disputat. (2 h.); Roman Archæol. Soc'y (2 h.)
Peschel—Physical Geography (4 h.)
Zöllner—Astron. Physics (4 h.); Principles of Perception in their Relations to Nat. Sciences (2 h.)
Krehl—Encyclopædy of Semitic Philol. (4 h.); Interptet. of Arnold's Arabic Chrestom. (2 h.)
Strümpell—Logic (4 h.); Problems of Relig. Phil. (2 h.); Pedagog. Exercises.

2. *Assistant-Professors.*

Nobbe—Odes of Horace (2 h.); Lat. Disputat. (2 h.)
Marbach—Geom. and Trigonom. (4 h.)
Jacobi—Agriculture (2 h.); *Cameralia* (1 h.); Discuss. of Geogr. and Topograph Nomenclature (1 h.)
Wenck—Hist. of Germany from Westphalian Peace to Accession of Frederick the Great (4 h.); Hist. of Germany from Accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg to End of 14th Cent. (2 h.)
Fritzsche—Frogs of Aristophanes (2 h.); Latin Style (2 h.); Greek Soc'y (Aristotle's Metaphysics); Lat. and Greek Disputat.
Hermann—Introd. to Phil. and Logic (4 h.); Æsthetics (4 h.); Criticism of Leading Mod. Systems of Philosophy (2 h.)
Knop—Agricul. Chem. (4 h.); Labor. Practice.
Minckwitz—Origin and Development of German Lyric Poetry (2 h.); Origin of Homer. Poems (2 h.)
Ziller—Pyschology (4 h.); Phil. of Religion (2 h.); Pedagog. *Seminar*.
Eckstein—Odes of Horace explained in Latin (3 h.); Pedagog. *Seminar*.
Brandes—Hist. of Central Europe in Reformation (2 h.); Hist. of France (2 h.); Germanistic Soc'y (1 h.)
Biedermann—German Hist. (1806–1871) (2 h.); Hist. of Germ. Lit. in 18th and 19th Cent. (4 h.); Nature and Hist. of Drama (2 h.)
Hirzel—Pharmacy of Inorganic Preparat. (2 h.)
Seydel—Hist. of Mod. Philos. (4 h.); Relations of Philos. and Religion, especially since Kant (2 h.); Philosoph. Soc'y.

Pöckert—Saxon Hist. (2 h.); German Hist. since Westphalian Peace (2 h.)
Birnbaum—Cattle Raising (3 h.); Administr. of Estates (5 h.); Import. Questions of the Day (2 h.)
Hildebrand—Germ. Lit. of the 18th Cent. (4 h.); Interpretation of M. H. G. poem *Meier Helmbrecht* (2 h.)
Knapp—Labor Question in England, France, Germany (4 h.); Pract. Exerc. in Statistics (2 h.)
Lipsius—Thucydides, Bk II. (4 h.); Exerc. of Greek Archæol. Soc'y (2 h.)
Ebers—Old Egypt. Grammar (3 h.); Interpret. of Passages in Genesis and Exodus relating to Egypt (2 h.)
Leskein—Gram. of Church Slavonic (4 h.); Hist of Serbic-Croatic Lang. (2 h.)
Credner—General Geology (5 h.); Labor. Practice (2 h.)
Stohmann—Chem. Technology (3 h.)
Mayer—Analyt. Geom (4 h.); Mathem. Exerc. (1 h.)
Zürn—Anatomy of the Horse (2 h.); Veterinary Surgery (4 h.); Hygiene of Domestic Animals (1 h.)

3. *Privatdocenten.*

Weiske—Meteorology (2 h.)
O. Delitsch—Methodology of Geogr. Instruc. (2 h.); *Relatorium* in Geog. (2 h.)
Paul—Mus. Art of Greek Drama (2 h.); Harmonics of Mod. Music, etc. (2 h.)
Frank—Natural History of Fungi (2 h.); Seeds in Agriculture (2 h.)
Mühll—Theory of Elasticity (4 h.); Potential and Conic Functions (2 h.). Mathem. Exerc.
Loth—Persian (2 h.); Encyclopaedy of Arabic (2 h.)
Carstanjen—Analyt. Chem. (4 h.)
Schuchardt—Span. Grammar (3 h.); Ariosto (1 h.)
Englemann—Planetary Orbits (2 h.); Mechanical Quadrature (1 h.)
Nitsche—Nat. Hist. and Palâeontol. of Molluscs (2 h.); Developm't of Invertebrates (2 h.)
Philippi—Thucydides (3 h.); Hist. of Athens (1 h.)
Hirzel—Hist. of Greek Philos. (4 h.); Interpret. of Plato's Phaedrus; Pract. Exerc. in Aristotle's Ethics.
Sachsse—Gen. Agricult. Chem. (4 h.); *Repetitorium* for Analyt. Chem. (1 h.)
Luerssen—Morphology, Physiology of Algae, Fungi, etc. (3 h.)
Schuster—Hist. of Greek Phil. down to Aristotle; Interpret. of Plato's Gorgias.
Fürst—(since deceased) Isaiah (3 h.); Pirke-Aboth (1 h.)
Langer—Gen. Theory of Music (2 h.); Varieties of Musical Composit. (2 h.)

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1873.

Leipsic is one of the few universities that have property of their own.

Corporate Income.

1. From buildings and rents (shops in the city)	57,811
2. From Endowments and the Faculty Fiscus	36,942
3. Matriculation and other Fees	8,100
Thalers	102,853

Expenditures.

1. Sinking Fund		15,904
2. Expenses in carrying out terms of special bequests		672
3. Salaries of Employés		18,618
4. Salaries of Professors,		
Theological Faculty	18,180	
Legal	28,308	
Medical	27,896	
Philosophical	83,479	
		157,863
5. Apparatus of Instruction (Laboratory, Library, etc.)		99,773
6. General Expenses, Printing, Pensions, etc.		9,582
7. Student Stipends		2,270
8. At the disposal of the Ministry (Contingent Fund)		10,000
Thalers		314,682

State Appropriation.

Deducting the 102 853 of corporate income, there is an annual deficit of 211,829 thalers, met by appropriations from the state treasury.

Table IV.—*Special and Professional Schools in Germany as constituted in* 1866.

State.	Area in English sq. miles.	Population.	Agriculture.	Architecture.	Blind.	Commerce.	Deaf-mutes.	Fine arts.	Forestry.	Military.	Mining.	Music.	Nautical.	Polytechnic.	Surgery special.	Technical.	Veterinary surgery.
1. Anhalt	869	193, 646	1	......	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
2. Austria, (German Provinces)	124, 116	20, 602, 736	13	1	14	10	11	1	2	13	5	3	6	2	6	4	2
3. Austria, (non-German Provinces)	103, 118	13, 830, 154	4	......	2	1	2	......	4	2	3	......	2	1	2	1	......
4. Baden	5, 851	1, 428, 090	2	......	1	......	1	1	......	2	......	......	......	1	......	44	1
5. Bavaria	29, 347	4, 807, 440	4	1	3	2	10	1	1	......	......	11	......	3	......	29	1
6. Brunswick	1, 526	292, 708	1	......	1	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	1	......	3	......
7. Hanover	14, 846	1, 888, 070	1	......	1	3	1	......	1	......	1	......	3	1	......	......	......
8. Hesse-Cassel	4, 430	745, 063	1	......	......	......	......	1	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	1	......
9. Hesse Darmstadt	2, 866	816, 902	2	......	1	1	2	......	1	1	......	......	......	1	......	......	1
10. Holstein-Lauenburg	3, 630	604, 123	......	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
11. Lichtenstein	64	7, 150	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
12. Lippe-Detmold	445	111, 336	......	......	......	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
13. Lippe-Schaumburg	212	31, 382	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
14. Luxemburg	1, 228	206, 140	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
15. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	4, 834	552, 612	1	......	1	1	1	......	......	1	......	......	3	1	......	40	1
16. Mecklenburg-Strelitz	997	99, 060	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	6	......
17. Nassau	1, 802	465, 636	1	......	......	1	1	......	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	27	......
18. Oldenburg	2, 417	314, 416	1	......	......	......	1	......	......	1	......	......	1	......	......	1	......
19. Prussia	107, 757	19, 269, 563	34	6	10	6	26	3	4	31	9	7	5	2	......	295	1
20. Reuss-Greitz	148	43, 924	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
21. Reuss-Schleitz	297	86, 472	......	......	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
22. Saxony	6, 777	2, 343, 994	3	5	2	4	2	2	1	1	3	2	......	2	......	7	1
23. Saxe-Altenburg	509	141, 839	2	......	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
24. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	816	164, 527	1	......	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	1	......	......	......	3	......
25. Saxe-Meiningen	933	178, 065	1	......	......	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	1	......
26. Saxe-Weimar	1, 421	280, 201	1	2	1	1	1	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
27 Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	340	73, 752	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
28. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	318	66, 189	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
29. Waldeck	466	59, 143	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
30. Wurtemberg	7, 675	1, 747, 328	6	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	......	......	......	2	2	......	1
21. Free Cities: Bremen	106	104, 091	......	......	1	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
32. Frankfort	43	87, 518	......	......	......	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
33. Hamburg	148	229, 941	......	......	1	......	1	......	......	......	......	......	2	......	......	......	......
34. Lubeck	127	50, 614	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	1	......

TABLE V.—*Secondary, Superior, and Special Schools in 33 principal towns in Germany,* 1868.

Town.	Country.	Population.	HIGHER BURGHER SCHOOLS.			HIGHER GIRLS' SCHOOLS.			REAL-SCHOOLS.			GYMNASIA.			UNIVERSITIES.		Special schools.
			Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Schools	Teachers.	Scholars.	Professors.	Students.	
Aix-la-Chapelle	Prussia	63, 811				1			1	17	297	2	32	727			8
Augsburg	Bavaria	49, 332										2	51	551			4
Berlin	Prussia	632, 395	1	13	238	7	110	2, 800	7	191	3, 931	11	274	5, 215	193	3, 202	34
Bremen	Free City	70, 692							1	17	451	1	15	217			5
Breslau	Prussia	163, 919				3	63	1, 106	2	50	1, 408	4	94	2, 959	90	920	7
Brünn	Austria	58, 809							1	12	320	2	12	300			5
Brunswick	Brunswick	45, 450				2	42	585	1	15	320	1	24	354			11
Cassel	Hesse-Cassel	40, 228				1	27	919	2	40	800	1	28	476			6
Carlsruhe	Baden	30, 555	1	17	380	1	14	311				1	23	615			9
Chemnitz	Saxony	54, 827							1	20	395	1	6	31			6
Cologne	Prussia	122, 162				5	50	708	1	23	601	3	68	1, 348			5
Darmstadt	Hesse-Darmstadt	28, 526				1	17	414	1	23	285	1	17	321			5
Dresden	Saxony	145, 728							2	35	733	2	46	570			16
Düsseldorf	Prussia	44, 297				1	13	220	1	21	566	1	25	486			4
Elberfeld	...do	62, 008				1	11	268	1	20	440	1	15	274			5
Frankfurt	Free City	92, 188	1	32	1, 021	2	18	202	3	67	1, 576	1	20	213			8
Grätz	Austria	63, 176							1	23	366	1	29	613	64	567	6
Halle	Prussia	45, 972				1	17	340	1	21	510	3	49	986	82	873	4
Hamburg	Free City	175, 683							1	16	258	2	32	416			8
Hanover	Hanover	79, 619				3	45	1, 346	1	27	702	1	28	710			12
Königsberg	Prussia	101, 507				3	40	605	2	36	928	3	60	1, 368	66	450	9
Leipzig	Saxony	85, 394							1	20	450	2	32	582	111	1, 227	9
Lübeck	Free City	27, 249	1	8	239				1	9	109	1	21	389			3
Magdeburg	Prussia	98, 494				1			1	29	785	1	25	554			4
Munich	Bavaria	167, 054				1			1	12	94	3	76	919	121	1, 236	15
Münster	Prussia	27, 773				1			1	17	262	1	34	675	26	480	3
Nüremberg	Bavaria	70, 492	1	5	90				1			1	22	472			10
Potsdam	Prussia	42, 266				2	27	665	1	12	300	1	17	360			6
Prague	Austria	142, 588							1	24	477	5	100	2, 210	94	1, 406	13
Rostock	Mecklenburg	26, 396										1	33	848	38	171	3
Stettin	Prussia	70, 899				3	37	961	1	25	881	1	27	709			6
Stuttgart	Würtemberg	69, 084							1	46	1, 100	1	49	779			11
Trieste	Austria	104, 707							1	12	263	2	35	451			3
Vienna	...do	514, 057							8	139	2, 560	7	152	2, 823	192	2, 722	22
Wiesbaden	Nassau	26, 177	1	17	474	1	13	315	1	12	100	1	17	305			2

NATIONAL EDUCATION:—An Account of Public Schools and other Institutions of General Education in different Countries. Part I. The German States.

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SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION: an Account of Systems, Institutions, and Courses of Instruction in the Principles of Science applied to the Arts of Peace and War in different Countries.

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PESTALOZZI AND PESTALOZZIANISM:—Memoir, and Educational Principles, Methods, and Influence of John Henry Pestalozzi, and Biographical Sketches of several of his Assistants and Disciples; together with Selections from his Publications. In Two Parts. By HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.

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