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I. THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

ORIGINAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

Issued as a Circular in May, 1855, and published in August following, with the first number, and again with a Postscript in January, 1856.

In the great educational movement now going forward on this Continent, and especially throughout all the states in which the English language prevails, there has seemed for many years to the undersigned to exist, if not a demand, at least the want, not only of an American association of the friends of universal education, but of a series of publications, which should, on the one hand, embody the matured views and varied experience of wise statesmen, educators and teachers in perfecting the organization, administration, instruction and discipline of schools, of every grade, through a succession of years, under widely varying circumstances of government, society and religion; and on the other, should harmonize conflicting views, expose real deficiencies, excite to prudent and efficient action, and serve as a medium of free and frequent communication between the friends of education, in every portion of the great field.

In furtherance of these objects, a *Plan of Central Agency for the increase and diffusion* of knowledge on this subject was submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Education, at its annual meeting in Washington in 1854. One feature of this plan was the publication of a Journal and Library of Education; the former to be issued in monthly or quarterly numbers, to embrace the current educational intelligence of the world, and the discussion of topics of immediate and pressing interest;—the latter to consist of a series of independent treatises, each devoted to the development of an important subject, or department, and embodying the reflections and experience of many minds, and the working and results of many institutions; and the whole, when complete, to constitute an Encyclopedia of Education. The plan was referred to a committee—considered and approved; and the Standing Committee were authorized to carry it into execution as far and as fast as the funds of the Association should admit. In the absence of any funds belonging to the Association, and of any pledge of pecuniary coöperation, on the part of

individuals, the Committee have not taken any steps to establish a central agency for the advancement of the objects for which the association was instituted, or felt authorized to provide for any publication beyond the proceedings of its last annual meeting. Under these circumstances, the undersigned has undertaken on his own responsibility, to carry out the original plan submitted by him, so far as relates to the publication both of the Journal, and the Library—relying on the annual subscription of individuals in different states, and interested in different allotments of the great field, who desire to be posted up in the current intelligence and discussion of schools and education, to meet the current expenses of the former; and on special contributions in aid of the latter, by persons or institutions interested in particular treatises, as their preparation shall be from time to time advanced and announced.

The First Number of the American Journal of Education will be issued in August, on terms which will be set forth by the publisher. As it will be devoted exclusively to the proceedings of the American Association for 1854, it will not present the usual variety and arrangement of topics, which will characterize the succeeding numbers.

The first treatise or volume of the Library of Education will be published in the course of 1856, under the following title, "NATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES; or *Contributions to the History and Improvement of Common or Public Schools, and other means of Popular Education in the several States*," on terms which will be hereafter announced.

HARTFORD, CONN., May, 1855.

HENRY BARNARD.

P. S. After much of the copy for this Number of the American Journal of Education was in type, a conference was held with the Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., in reference to the plan of an Educational Journal contemplated by him under the title of The American College Review and Educational Journal, which has led to the combination of our respective plans, and a joint editorship of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND COLLEGE REVIEW.

NOTE TO NEW EDITION.—The agreement for the joint proprietorship and editorship of the American Journal of Education and College Review, having been dissolved by mutual consent and for mutual convenience, the undersigned has resumed the publication of the American Journal of Education on his original plan. A portion of the material intended for the first volume of the American Library of Education, will be published in the American Journal of Education.

Dr. PETERS will continue the publication of an educational periodical to which he has given the joint name. H. B.

HARTFORD, January 7, 1856.

JOURNAL OF THE FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION.

The American Association for the advancement of education convened at the Smithsonian Institution, in the city of Washington, December 26th, 1854, and was called to order by the retiring president, Prof. Joseph Henry.

The sessions of the Association were opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, of New Jersey.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Prof. Henry stated that on account of the prevalence of the cholera, the standing committee took the responsibility of altering the time of the annual meeting of the Association, for the present year, from the first Tuesday of August to the last Tuesday of December.

Bishop Potter moved the appointment of a committee on credentials, and a committee to audit the accounts of the treasurer.

The chair appointed, on the auditing committee,

Hon. H. Barnard, *of Conn.*,
Z. Richards, *of Washington.*

On the committee on credentials,

Alfred Greenleaf, *of Brooklyn*,
Solomon Jenner, *of New York.*

The organization of the Association having been completed, the retiring president, with a few appropriate remarks, introduced the president elect, Prof. A. D. Bache, to the Association. Prof. Bache addressed the Association, on taking the chair.

Communications were received from the President of the United States, and W. W. Corcoran, Esq., inviting the members of the Association to visit them at some time during its sessions. The invitations were accepted, and the thanks of the Association tendered to these gentlemen for their courtesy.

On motion of Z. Richards; Resolved, That the hours of meeting each day be as follows: the first session from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M, and the evening session from 6½ to 9 P. M.

Prof. Henry submitted a communication from Mr. A. S. Colton, of Maryland, which was read, and referred to the standing committee.

On motion of Mr. J. Whitehead, Mr. Alfred Greenleaf was appointed an assistant secretary.

Hon. H. Barnard, of Conn. introduced the subject of appointing a general agent,* to devote his whole time and energies to the advancement of the purposes of the Association, and after remarks by Prof. Proudfit, Mr. Greenleaf, and Bishop Potter, on motion of Mr. Whitehead, a committee was raised, to consider and report upon the subject under discussion during the present session.

---

*See Appendix IX.

The chair appointed on this committee,

HON. H. BARNARD, *of Conn.*,
RT. REV. BISHOP POTTER, *of Penn.*,
PROF. JOSEPH HENRY, *of Washington*,
JOHN WHITEHEAD, *of New Jersey*.

The standing committee proposed the names of the following gentlemen, for permanent membership.

REV. R. L. STANTON, D. D., *Washington*,
JARED REID, JR., *Newport*, *R. I.*,
DAVID COLE, *Trenton*, *N. J.*,
REV. JOHN PROUDFIT, D. D., *New Brunswick*, *N. J.*,
PROF. ELIAS LOOMIS, *New York city*.

The committee also proposed the following gentlemen as associate members.

O. C. WIGHT, *Washington*,
J. M. WATSON, *New York*,
ALEXANDER DIMITRY, *Louisiana*.

Prof. Bache having invited the association to visit the office of the United States Coast Survey,* on motion of S. M. Hamill; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be presented to Prof. Bache, for his kind invitation, and that the Association accept it, at such hour as he may name.

The hour of half-past one having been named by Prof. Bache, on motion of R. L. Cooke, it was Resolved, That the rules be suspended, in order to accept of the invitation of Prof. Bache, and that we now adjourn until the evening session.†

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the president at 7 o'clock.

The gentlemen nominated in the morning session were unanimously elected members of the Association.

The Association was then addressed by Prof. Loomis, of the University of the city of New York, on the heavenly bodies occupying the space between the planets Mars and Jupiter.

After the address, Bishop Potter, from the committee appointed at the morning session, reported the following resolution as the result of their deliberations.

Resolved, That the standing committee be instructed to consider, with power to act, whether some means can not be devised, by the appointment of a general agent, or otherwise, to give greater efficiency to the operations of this Association, and, more especially, to secure to it and to the world, the results of the inquiries some time since instituted by a member of this Association, at the instance of one department of the general government, in regard to the present state and past history† of education in the United States.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Whitehead, from the standing committee, reported an order of exercises for the second day's session, as follows:

1st. Discussion of the subject of classical education.

2d. A paper by Prof. J. S. Hart, of Philadelphia, on the connection of the English language with the Teutonic, and other Indo-European languages.

3d. During the evening, Prof. Hart's description of the high school recently erected in the city of Philadelphia.

Association adjourned.

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* See Appendix V. † See Appendix IX. B.

SECOND DAY. DECEMBER 27.

The Association met at 10 o'clock; the president in the chair.

The session was opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter.

The standing committee proposed the following gentlemen as permanent members.

Prof. James Nooney, *San Francisco*,
J. Sidney Swift, *Springplace*, *Ga.*,

As associate members:

R. W. Bushnell, *Washington*,
J. E. Thompson, *Washington*.

On recommendation of the standing committee, Wm. P. Ross and Judge John Thorn, of the Cherokee Nation, were elected corresponding members of the Association.

Bishop Potter gave notice of an intention to offer an amendment to the constitution, in reference to the time for the annual meetings of the Association.

The Association proceeded to a consideration of the order of the day,—the discussion* of the subject of classical education. The discussion was opened by the reading of a paper† by David Cole, of New Jersey. At the close of Mr. Cole's remarks, the hour for the presentation of Prof. Hart's paper having arrived, on motion of Mr. Whitehead, the order of exercises was suspended for half an hour, to enable the members to express their views upon the subject under discussion.

Remarks were made by Alfred Greenleaf, S. Jenner, Bishop Potter, and Z. Richards, until the hour appropriated for the discussion had expired, when, on motion of Bishop Potter, the further discussion of the subject of classical education was postponed to 6½ o'clock P. M.

Prof. Hart read a paper‡ on the connection of the English language with the Teutonic, and other Indo-European languages.

On motion of Mr. Hamill; Resolved, That the papers read by Mr. Cole and Prof. Hart be requested from their authors, for publication, under the direction of the standing committee.

The adoption of the resolution was preceded by remarks‖ from Bishop Potter, Mr. Dimitry, Prof. Proudfit, Prof. Hart, Mr. Hamill, Mr. Whitehead, Prof. Bache, Mr. Barnard, Prof. Henry, Dr. Stanton and A. Greenleaf.

The hour of 3 o'clock having arrived, the Association adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the president at 6½ o'clock.

The gentlemen proposed for membership, at the morning session, were unanimously elected.

The standing committee proposed as a permanent member:

Silas L. Loomis, *Washington*.

And as associate members:

Samuel Kelley, *Washington*,
A. F. Harvey, *Washington*.

The resumption of the discussion of the subject of classical education having been announced as the order of exercises for the first hour, remarks were made by Mr. Richards, Bishop Potter, Mr. Cole and Prof. Proudfit. The hour for the presentation of Prof. Hart's report upon the Philadelphia high school having ar-

* See Appendix III. b. † See Appendix III. ‡ See Appendix II. ‖ See Appendix II. b.

rived, on motion, the further discussion of the subject was postponed until to-morrow morning.

Prof. Hart then entered into a detailed account of the construction of the high school recently erected in the city of Philadelphia, with numerous illustrations drawn on a large scale by pupils of the school.* The reading the paper was followed by† remarks from Prof. Bache, Dr. Lainbut, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Barnard, and others.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Prof. Hart for his address.

Association adjourned.

THIRD DAY. DECEMBER 28.

The Association met at 10 o'clock, and, in the absence of the president, was called to order by Bishop Potter, upon whose motion Prof. Proudfit took the chair.

The minutes of the last day's sessions were read and approved.

The gentlemen nominated by the standing committee were elected members of the Association.

Mr. Whitehead, of New Jersey, moved that the city of New York be designated as the next place of meeting of the Association.

On motion of Bishop Potter, the resolution was laid upon the table for the present, in order to take up previously the amendment of the constitution, proposed during the second day's session. It was then Resolved; That the article of the constitution which designates the second Tuesday of August as the time for the annual meeting of the Association, be so amended as to leave the time for each annual meeting to be determined at its discretion, at the preceding meeting.

Mr. Whitehead's resolution was taken up, and after considerable discussion was passed, designating the city of New York as the place for holding the next annual meeting, at the request of the Standing Committee.

Hon. H. Barnard, of Connecticut, addressed the Association, giving an account of the Educational Exhibition held in London, in 1854, under the auspices of the Society of Arts, and the recent educational movements of Great Britain, generally.

On motion of R. L. Cooke; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Mr. Barnard for his address, and that he be requested to prepare an abstract of his remarks, to be published in the proceedings of the Association.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the standing committee be instructed to consider, and report specifically at the next annual meeting, upon the important suggestions made by Dr. Barnard, in his report of his late educational tour in Great Britain, respecting the expediency of establishing, in connection with the Association, a national museum or depository for books, globes, charts, models, &c. of school apparatus—also, a national educational journal—also, a system of educational exchanges—also, a plan for a series of educational tracts, adapted for circulation throughout the United States—and the employment by the Association of a permanent agent.

The Association took a recess of 10 minutes.

At the expiration of the recess, the standing committee reported, as a permanent member, the name of

PROF. W. L. BROWN, *Athens, Ga.*,

and as associate member,

PROF. JOSEPH J. WHITE, *of Lexington, Va.*

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* See Appendix IV. † See Appendix IV. b.

Bishop Potter, from the standing committee reported the names of the following gentlemen as officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

President, Hon. H. Barnard, *of Conn.*,
Corresponding Secretary, P. P. Morris, *of Penn.*,
Recording Secretary, R. L. Cooke, *of New Jersey*,
Treasurer, John Whitehead, *of New Jersey.*
Standing Committee, John Proudfit, *New Brunswick, N. J.*,
" E. C. Benedict, *New York city*,
" Joseph McKeen, *New York city*,
" Zalmon Richards, *Washington city*,
" J. D. Philbrick, *New Britain, Conn.*,
" E. R. Potter, *Kingston, R. I.*

The gentlemen nominated by the standing committee were unanimously elected.

After considerable discussion, it was Resolved; That the next annual meeting commence on the last Tuesday, 28th of August, 1855, at 10 o'clock A. M.

On motion; Resolved, That, as contingencies may arise which will render it expedient to alter, ei[illegible]e time or the place of the next annual meeting, the standing committee [illegible]powered to make such alteration.

The Association adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association was called to order by the president.

The gentlemen nominated during the morning session were elected members.

The standing committee nominated as a permanent member:

George J. Abbott, *of Washington city*,

and as an associate member:

R. T. Taylor, *of Washington city.*

A communication from the Young Men's Christian Association was read, inviting the members of the Association to visit their library and reading-room. The invitation was accepted, and thanks tendered to the Young Men's Association for the courtesy extended.

Mr. Barnard, from the auditing committee, reported that they had examined the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer, and found them correct. The balance remaining in the treasury is $59.62.

At the request of the Association, Mr. Barnard continued his remarks in reference to recent educational movements in Great Britain, especially as to Reformatory Schools, Schools of Industry, Government Schools of Practical Science, &c.

Prof. Joseph Henry, as the retiring president, delivered the annual address before the Association, on the philosophy of education.†

On motion of Dr. Barnard, remarks on the topics suggested by the address of Prof. Henry were made the order of the day for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. Cole, of New Jersey, offered the following resolution: Resolved, That this Association regards the acquisition of the Latin and Greek languages as necessary to thorough, accurate, and comprehensive scholarship, and would sincerely deprecate the abandonment of classical studies in the academies, high schools and colleges of the United States.

Bishop Potter offered the following resolution as a substitute for the above, which was adopted by Mr. Cole.

Resolved; That, regarding the Latin and Greek languages as most valuable in-

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† See Appendix I

struments of a high culture, this Association would earnestly deprecate the exclusion or discouragement of classical studies in the academies, high schools and colleges of the United States.

After remarks by Mr. Richards, Bishop Potter, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Barnard, Dr. Proudfit, Mr. Hamill, Prof. Bache and Dr. Lambert, the resolution was passed, unanimously.

Association adjourned.

FOURTH DAY. DECEMBER 29.

The Association was called to order by the president, and its session was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Dashiell.

The minutes of the last day's sessions were read and approved.

The gentlemen nominated last evening were elected members.

The standing committee nominated as a permanent member :

S. Y. Atlee, *of Washington city.*

Bishop Potter, from the standing committee, reported the names of the following gentlemen as a local committee :

Rev. Dr. Isaac Ferris, *University of New York,*
Hon. Chas. King, *President Columbia College,*
H. Webster, LL. D., *Free Academy,*
Prof. E. Loomis, *University of New York,*
Rev. G. D. Abbott, *New York,*
Peter Cooper, Esq., *New York,*
Hon. S. S. Randall, *Superintendent Public Schools,*
Hon. Joseph McKeen, *Ass't. Sup't. Public Schools,*
J. N. McElligott, LL. D.,
Albert Gilbert, Esq., *Clerk Board of Education.*
J. W. Buckley, *Sup't. Pub. Schools, Williamsburg,*
Alfred Greenleaf, *Brooklyn,*
Hon. Cyrus Smith, *Brooklyn,*
Solomon Jenner, *New York.*

Remarks upon the address of the retiring president were announced as the order of the day.

Remarks were made by Mr. Barnard, Dr. Lambert, Prof. Henry, Bishop Potter, Dr. Proudfit, Prof. Bache, Mr. Hamill and Mr. Wight.

On motion of Prof. Proudfit, the thanks of the Association were tendered to Prof. Henry for his address.

The president called Prof. Proudfit to the chair.

A paper on mental and moral discipline was read by Z. Richards, of Washington City.*

The Association took a recess of five minutes.

At the close of the recess, the president resumed the chair, and the nominees of the morning were elected members of the Association.

On motion of John Whitehead, Mr. John Ross, of the Cherokee Nation, was elected a corresponding member of the Association.

Mr. Wm. P. Ross made some interesting statements in regard to the state of education among the Cherokees.†

Dr. Stanton offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the standing committee, to whom was yesterday referred the

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* See Appendix VI. † See Appendix VIII.

several subjects suggested by the address of Dr. Barnard, on the state of education in Europe, with instructions to report at the next annual meeting, be, and they are hereby fully authorized to carry out any or all the objects contemplated in reference of the subject to the committee, as soon as, in their judgment, the requisite funds and the proper person or persons can be obtained for the work.

The resolution was adopted.

The following is an outline of the "Plan for 'the increase and diffusion of knowledge,' of education, and especially of popular education, and measures for its improvement through the Smithsonian Institution, or the American Association for the Advancement of Education," prepared by Mr. Barnard.

The Institution [or Association] to appoint a secretary or agent; with a salary, and to furnish a room for an office and depository of educational documents and apparatus.

Agenda by the secretary or agent:

1. To devote himself exclusively to the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" on the subject of education, and especially of the condition and means of improving popular education, and particularly

2. To answer all personal or written inquiries on the subject, and collect and make available for use, information as to all advances made in the theory and practice of education in any one state or country.

3. To attend, as far as may be consistent with other requisitions on his time, and without charge to the funds of the Institution, [or Association] Educational Conventions of a national and state character, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information.

4. To edit a publication, to be entitled the American Journal and Library of Education, on the plan set forth in the accompanying paper.*

5. To collect

(*a*) Plans and models of school-houses and furniture.

(*b*) Specimens of maps and other material aids of education.

(*c*) Educational reports and documents from other states and countries.

6. To institute a system of educational exchange between literary institutions in this and other countries.

7. To make arrangements, and effect, if practicable, at least one meeting or conference of the friends of educational improvement in Washington [or elsewhere] every year.

8. To submit annually a report in which shall be given a summary of the progress of education, in each state, and as far as practicable, in every country.

On motion of S. Y. Atlee; it was Resolved, That a select committee be appointed to consider the expediency of rendering the study of constitutional law one of the rudimental exercises in public schools; said committee to report thereon to the Association, at its next annual meeting.

The president appointed Mr. Atlee on this committee.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the following subjects be referred by the president, at his earliest convenience, to committees or individuals as he may elect, to be reported upon at the next annual meeting.

1st. The uses and best methods of classical instruction.

2d. Moral education in schools.

3d. The relations of the schools and the family.

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* See Appendix IX. A.

4th. Family training.

5th. Relations of common schools and colleges.

6th. What improvements could be introduced into our college systems, considered, (1st,) as to their interior arrangements, and (2d,) as to the relations of the several colleges with each other?

7th. A university proper—national or otherwise.

8th. What features of the university systems of different countries of Europe can be advantageously transferred to this country?

On motion; Resolved, That this Association has seen with much satisfaction the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, in his late report to the President of the United States, to devote a portion of the public property within the city of Washington exclusively to the purposes of education therein; and also the efforts made in Congress for the passage of bills to appropriate portions of the public domain, or the proceeds thereof, to the establishment and support of public schools in all the states; and it entertains the strongest convictions that the interests of popular education will be greatly advanced by the establishment, in connection with one of the departments of government, a depository for the collection and exchange of works on education, and the various instrumentalities of instruction.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the standing committee be requested to prepare a programme of exercises for the next annual meeting, and publish the same as widely, and at as early a day as possible.*

Mr. S. M. Hamill, of New Jersey, read a paper on discipline.†

On motion; Resolved, That the papers read by Messrs. Richards and Hamill be requested for publication, under the direction of the standing committee, and that the discussions growing out of them be deferred to the next annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. Whitehead; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to the regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for the gratuitous use of their rooms, and to the various officers of the Institution for their attendance upon the Association during its session. Prof. Henry responded to the resolution in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution.

On motion of R. L. Cooke; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Prof. Bache for the interest that he has manifested in the objects of the Association, and for the able manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.

The president having appropriately responded to the foregoing resolution, and alluded to the pleasure he enjoyed in looking back to his experience as a teacher, declared the Association adjourned, to meet in the city of New York, on the last Tuesday in August, 1855.

R. L. COOKE, Secretary.

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* See Appendix X. † See Appendix VII.

17.

CLASSIFIED INDEX

TO

BARNARD'S AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

VOLUMES I. TO XVI.

Barnard's

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS.

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II. Individual Views and Special Systems of Education.

III. Studies and Methods of Teaching; School Organization and Government.

IV. Teachers and their Training; Normal and Model Schools; Teachers' Institutes.

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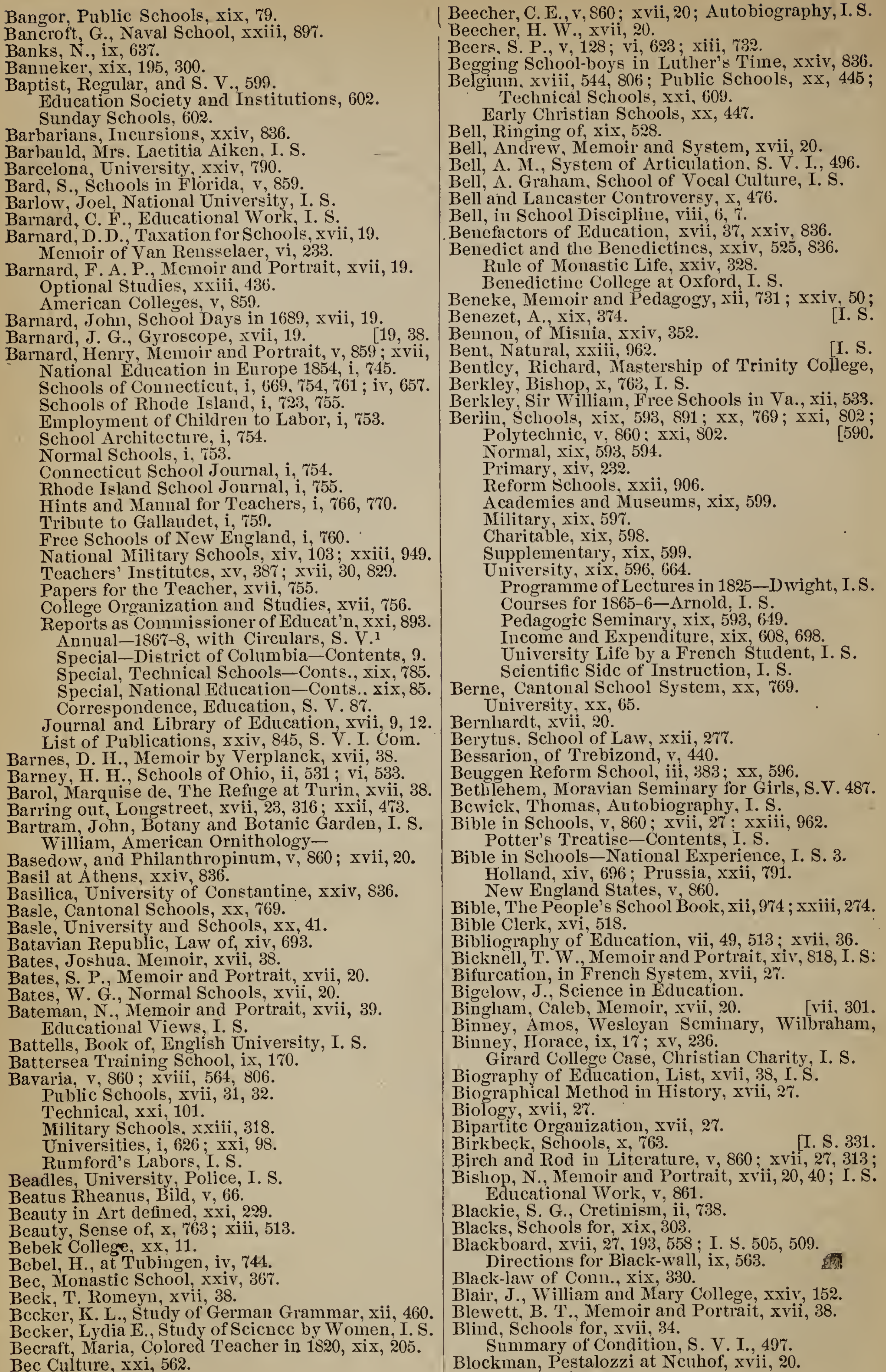

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TO THE

FIRST FIVE VOLUMES

OF

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SCHOOLS AS THEY WERE SIXTY YEARS AGO.

To understand the real progress which has been made in the organization, administration, and instruction of institutions of learning in this country, and at the same time to appreciate the importance of many agencies and means of popular education besides schools, books, and teachers, we must, as far as we can, look into the schools themselves, as they were fifty and sixty years ago, and realize the difficulties and deficiences under which some of the noblest characters of our history were developed. As a contribution to our knowledge of these difficulties and deficiences in our schools, we bring together the testimony of several eminent men who were pupils or teachers in these schools, and who assisted in various ways in achieving their improvement.

LETTER FROM NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D.

New Haven, March 10th, 1840.

Mr. Barnard: *Dear Sir*—You desire me to give you some information as to the mode of instruction in common schools when I was young, or before the Revolution. I believe you to be better acquainted with the methods of managing common schools, at the present time, than I am; and I am not able to institute a very exact comparison between the old modes and the present. From what I know of the present schools in the country, I believe the principal difference between the schools of former times and at present consists in the books and instruments used in the modern schools.

When I was young, the books used were chiefly or wholly Dilworth's Spelling Books, the Psalter, Testament, and Bible. No geography was studied before the publication of Dr. Morse's small books on that subject, about the year 1786 or 1787. No history was read, as far as my knowledge extends, for there was no abridged history of the United States. Except the books above mentioned, no book for reading was used before the publication of the Third Part of my Institute, in 1785. In some of the early editions of that book, I introduced short notices of the geography and history of the United States, and these led to more enlarged descriptions of the country. In 1788, at the request of Dr. Morse, I wrote an account of the transactions in the United States, after the Revolution; which account fills nearly twenty pages in the first volume of his octavo editions.

Before the Revolution, and for some years after, no slates were used in common schools: all writing and the operations in arithmetic were on paper. The teacher wrote the copies and gave the sums in arithmetic; few or none of the

pupils having any books as a guide. Such was the condition of the schools in which I received my early education.

The introduction of my Spelling Book, first published in 1783, produced a great change in the department of spelling; and, from the information I can gain, spelling was taught with more care and accuracy for twenty years or more after that period, than it has been since the introduction of multiplied books and studies.*

No English grammar was generally taught in common schools when I was young, except that in Dilworth, and that to no good purpose. In short, the instruction in schools was very imperfect, in every branch; and if I am not misinformed, it is so to this day, in many branches. Indeed there is danger of running from one extreme to another, and instead of having too few books in our schools, we shall have too many.

I am, sir, with much respect, your friend and obedient servant,

N. WEBSTER.

Dr. Webster in an essay published in a New York paper in 1788, "On the Education of Youth in America," and in another essay published in Hartford, Ct., in 1790, "On Property, Government, Education, Religion, Agriculture, etc., in the United States,"† while setting forth some of the cardinal doctrines of American education as now held, throws light on the condition of schools and colleges in different parts of the country at that date.

The first error that I would mention is a too general attention to the dead languages, with a neglect of our own. * * * This neglect is so general that there is scarcely an institution to be found in the country where the English tongue is taught regularly from its elements to its pure and regular construction in prose and verse. Perhaps in most schools boys are taught the definition of the parts of speech, and a few hard names which they do not understand, and which the teacher seldom attempts to explain: this is called learning grammar. * * * The principles of any science afford pleasure to the student who comprehends them. In order to render the study of language agreeable, the distinctions between words should be illustrated by the difference in visible objects. Examples should be presented to the senses which are the inlets of all our knowledge.

Another error which is frequent in America, is that a master undertakes to teach many different branches in the same school. In new settlements, where the people are poor, and live in scattered situations, the practice is often unavoidable. But in populous towns it must be considered as a defective plan of education. For suppose the teacher to be equally master of all the branches which he attempts to teach, which seldom happens, yet his attention must be distracted with a multiplicity of objects, and consequently painful to himself, and not useful to to his pupils. Add to this the continual interruptions which

---

* The general use of my Spelling Book in the United States has had a most extensive effect in correcting the pronunciation of words, and giving uniformity to the language. Of this change, the present generation can have a very imperfect idea.

† These essays were afterwards collected with others in a volume entitled "A Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings, etc." By Noah Webster, Jr. Boston: 1790.

the students of one branch suffer from those of another, which must retard the progress of the whole school. It is a much more eligible plan to appropriate an apartment to each branch of education, with a teacher who makes that branch his sole employment. * * * Indeed what is now called a liberal education disqualifies a man for business. Habits are formed in youth and by practice; and as business is in some measure mechanical, every person should be exercised in his employment in an early period of life, that his habits may be formed by the time his apprenticeship expires. An education in a university interferes with the forming of these habits, and perhaps forms opposite habits; the mind may contract a fondness for ease, for pleasure, or for books, which no efforts can overcome. An academic education, which should furnish the youth with some ideas of men and things, and leave time for an apprenticeship before the age of twenty-one years, would be the most eligible for young men who are designed for active employments.

* * * * * *

But the principal defect in our plan of education in America is the want of good teachers in the academies and common schools. By good teachers I mean men of unblemished reputation, and possessed of abilities competent to their station. That a man should be master of what he undertakes to teach is a point that will not be disputed; and yet it is certain that abilities are often dispensed with, either through inattention or fear of expense. To those who employ ignorant men to instruct their children, let me say, it is better for youth to have no education than to have a bad one; for it is more difficult to eradicate habits than to impress new ideas. The tender shrub is easily bent to any figure; but the tree which has acquired its full growth resists all impressions. Yet abilities are not the sole requisites. The instructors of youth ought, of all men, to be the most prudent, accomplished, agreeable, and respectable. What avail a man's parts, if, while he is "the wisest and brightest," he is the "meanest of mankind?" The pernicious effects of bad example on the minds of youth will probably be acknowledged; but, with a view to improvement, it is indispensably necessary that the teachers should possess good breeding and agreeable manners. In order to give full effect to instructions it is requisite that they should proceed from a man who is loved and respected. But a low-bred clown or morose tyrant can command neither love nor respect; and that pupil who has no motive for application to books but the fear of the rod, will not make a scholar.

From a strange inversion of the order of nature, the cause of which it is not necessary to unfold, the most important business in civil society, is, in many parts of America, committed to the most worthless characters. The education of youth, an employment of more consequence than making laws and preaching the gospel, because it lays the foundation on which both law and gospel rest for success; this education is sunk to a level with the most menial services. In most instances we find the higher seminaries of learning intrusted to men of good characters, and possessed of the moral virtues and social affections. But many of our inferior schools, which, so far as the heart is concerned, are as important as colleges, are kept by men of no breeding, and many of them, by men infamous for the most detestable vices. Will this be denied? will it be denied, that before the war, it was a frequent practice for gentlemen to purchase convicts, who had been transported for their crimes, and employ them as private tutors in their families?

Gracious Heavens! Must the wretches, who have forfeited their lives, and been pronounced unworthy to be inhabitants of a *foreign* country, be intrusted with the education, the morals, the character of *American* youth?

Will it be denied that many of the instructors of youth, whose examples and precepts should form their minds for good men and useful citizens, are often found to sleep away, in school, the fumes of a debauch, and to stun the ears of their pupils with frequent blasphemy? It is idle to suppress such truths; nay, more, it is wicked. The practice of employing low and vicious characters to direct the studies of youth, is, in a high degree, criminal; it is destructive of the order and peace of society; it is treason against morals, and of course, against government; it ought to be arraigned before the tribunal of reason, and condemned by all intelligent beings. The practice is so exceedingly absurd, that it is surprising it could have ever prevailed among rational people. Parents wish their children to be *well bred*, yet place them under the care of *clowns.* They wish to secure their hearts from *vicious principles* and *habits*, yet commit them to the care of men of the most *profligate lives.* They wish to have their children taught *obedience* and *respect* for superiors, yet give them a master that both parents and children *despise.* A practice so glaringly absurd and irrational has no name in any language! Parents themselves will not associate with the men whose company they *oblige* their children to keep, even in that most important period, when habits are forming for life.*

Our legislators frame laws for the suppression of vice and immorality; our divines thunder from the pulpit the terrors of infinite wrath against the vices that stain the characters of men. And do laws and preaching effect a reformation of manners? Experience would not give a very favorable answer to this inquiry. The reason is obvious; the attempts are directed to the wrong objects. Laws can only check the public effects of vicious principles; but can never reach the principles themselves; and preaching is not very intelligible to people till they arrive at an age when their principles are rooted, or their habits firmly established. An attempt to eradicate old habits, is as absurd, as to lop off the branches of a huge oak, in order to root it out of a rich soil. The most that such clipping will effect, is to prevent a further growth.

The only practicable method to reform mankind, is to begin with children; to banish, if possible, from their company, every low bred, drunken, immoral character. Virtue and vice will not grow together in a great degree, but they will grow where they are planted, and when one has taken root, it is not easily supplanted by the other. The great art of correcting mankind, therefore, consists in prepossessing the mind with good principles.

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* The practice of employing low characters in schools is not novel—Ascham, Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, gives us the following account of the practice in his time. 'Pity it is that commonly more care is had; yea, and that among very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse, than a cunning man for their children. They say, nay, in word; but they do so, in deed. For to one they will give a stipend of two hundred crowns, and loth to offer the other two hundred shillings. God, that sitteth in the Heaven, laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should: for he suffereth them to have *tame* and *well ordered horses;* but *wild* and *unfortunate children;* and therefore in the end they find more pleasure in their horse, than comfort in their child.'

This is *old language*, but the facts are *modern truths.* The barbarous Gothic practice has survived all the attacks of common sense, and in many parts of America, a gentleman's groom is on a level with his schoolmaster, in point of reputation. But hear another authority for the practice —'As the case now stands, those of the first quality pay their *tutors* but little above half so much as they do their *footmen.*'—*Guardian*, No. 94.

For this reason society requires that the education of youth should be watched with the most scrupulous attention. Education, in a great measure, forms the moral characters of men, and morals are the basis of government. Education should therefore be the first care of a legislature; not merely the institution of schools, but the furnishing of them with the best men for teachers. A good system of education should be the first article in the code of political regulations; for it is much easier to introduce and establish an effectual system for preserving morals, than to correct, by penal statutes, the ill effects of a bad system. I am so fully persuaded of this, that I shall almost adore that great man, who shall change our practice and opinions, and make it respectable for the first and best men to superintend the education of youth.

Another defect in our schools, which, since the revolution, is become inexcusable, is the want of proper books.* The collections which are now used consist of essays that respect foreign and ancient nations. The minds of youth are perpetually led to the history of Greece and Rome or to Great Britain; boys are constantly repeating the declamations of Demosthenes and Cicero, or debates upon some political question in the British Parliament. These are excellent specimens of good sense, polished style, and perfect oratory; but they are not interesting to children. They can not be very useful, except to young men who want them as models of reasoning and eloquence, in the pulpit or at the bar.

But every child in America should be acquainted with his own country. He should read books that furnish him with ideas that will be useful to him in life and practice. As soon as he opens his lips, he should rehearse the history of his own country; he should lisp the praise of liberty, and of those illustrious heroes and statesmen who have wrought a revolution in her favor.

A selection of essays, respecting the settlement and geography of America; the history of the late revolution, and of the most remarkable characters and events that distinguished it, and a compendium of the principles of the federal and provincial governments, should be the principal school book in the United States. These are interesting objects to every man; they call home the minds of youth and fix them upon the interests of their own country, and they assist in forming attachments to it, as well as in enlarging the understanding.

In several States we find laws passed, establishing provision for colleges and academies, where people of property may educate their sons; but no provision is made for instructing the poorer rank of people, even in reading and writing. Yet in these same States, every citizen who is worth a few shillings annually, is entitled to vote for legislators. This appears to me a most glaring solecism in government. The constitutions are *republican*, and the laws of education are *monarchial*. The *former* extend civil rights to every honest industrious man; the *latter* deprive a large proportion of the citizens of a most valuable privilege.

In our American republics, where governments are in the hands of the people, knowledge should be universally diffused by means of public schools. Of such consequence is it to society, that the people who make laws should be well informed, that I conceive no legislature can be justified in neglecting proper establishments for this purpose.

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* This want the author very judiciously for himself, and wisely for the country, set himself to the work of supplying.

' 'Tis monstrous indeed that men of the best estates and families are more solicitous about the tutelage of a favorite *dog* or *horse*, than of their *heirs male*.'—*Guardian*, No. 94.

When I speak of a diffusion of knowledge, I do not mean merely a knowledge of spelling-books and the New Testament. An acquaintance with ethics, and with the general principles of law, commerce, money, and government, is necessary for the yeomanry of a republican state. This acquaintance they might obtain by means of books calculated for schools, and read by the children, during the winter months, and by the circulation of public papers.

'In Rome it was the common exercise of boys at school to learn the laws of the twelve tables by heart, as they did their poets and classic authors.' What an excellent practice this in a free government!

How superficial must be that learning which is acquired in four years! Severe experience has taught me the errors and defects of what is called a liberal education. I could not read the best Greek and Roman authors while in college, without neglecting the established classical studies; and after I left college, I found time only to dip into books that every scholar should be master of; a circumstance that fills me with the deepest regret.

In the year 1805, the territory of the United States was divided, for purposes of local government, into seventeen States, and into districts subject to the direct legislation of Congress. Of the condition of education in these States at that period, we have a comprehensive survey by Noah Webster, in his Account of the United States, prepared by him for the use of schools, and printed at Hartford, in 1806. We extract under each State, the paragraphs devoted to *the State of Learning*, following the same order of the author.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Of the State of Learning.—An old law of the colony (1719), directed every town, containing one hundred families, to provide a grammar school; in which also was to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. This law was not well executed. Since the revolution, a law of the state has directed the maintenance of schools in the several towns under certain penalties. There are also social libraries in some towns; and newspapers circulate in almost all parts of the state.

Of the Academies.—At Exeter an academy, founded by John Phillips, Esq., and called after his name, was incorporated in 1781. At Atkinson, an academy founded by Nathaniel Peabody, Esq., was incorporated in 1790. Academies are also founded at Amherst, Charlestown and Concord.

Of Dartmouth College.—At Hanover, in Grafton county, is a college founded by Dr. Wheelock in 1769, with a special view to the instruction of young Indians. Although this object has in a great measure failed, the institution is prosperous and highly useful. The number of students is seldom less than one hundred and fifty; its funds, consisting of new lands, are increasing in value; its library and apparatus are tolerably complete; its situation is pleasant and advantageous. It takes its name from a principal benefactor, the Earl of Dartmouth.

VERMONT.

Of the State of Learning.—Learning receives from the people of Vermont all the encouragement that can be expected from an agricultural people in a new settlement. Schools for common educa-

tion are planted in every part of the state; and two colleges are established, one at Middlebury, the other at Burlington, in which are taught classical learning, and the higher branches of mathematics, philosophy, and other sciences.

MAINE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Of the State of Learning and Religion.—The laws of Massachusetts direct that a school shall be kept in each town, and lands are retained, as public lots, for the support of schools and the gospel ministry. These beneficial institutions are enjoyed in the old settlements; but a great part of the district, being lately settled, is not well supplied with schools.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Of the State of Learning.—In Massachusetts the principal institutions for science are the University of Cambridge, and the college at Williamstown. The university of Cambridge was founded in 1638—it is well endowed—is furnished with professors of the several sciences—a large library and apparatus—and contains usually from one hundred and forty to two hundred students. Williams college, in Williamstown, founded in 1793, is in a thriving state. Academies are established in various parts of the state, in which are taught the liberal sciences, as well as the languages. The laws of the state require a school to be kept in every town, having fifty householders, and a grammar school in every town having two hundred families. And although the laws are not rigidly obeyed, still most of the children in the state have access to a school.

RHODE ISLAND.

Of the State of Learning.—There is a college at Providence, founded by the Baptists, containing forty-eight rooms for students, and eight rooms for public uses. It has a library of near three thousand volumes—and an apparatus for experiments in philosophy. It is furnished with a president and suitable instructors for the students who are usually about fifty in number. In the large towns, and in some others, there are private schools for teaching the common branches of learning.

CONNECTICUT.

Of the State of Learning.—Soon after the settlement of Connecticut, the General Court passed laws directing schools to be kept in every village, and providing funds to encourage them. Every town or village containing a certain number of families, was directed to maintain a school, and empowered to draw from the treasury of the state, a sum equal to one five-hundredth part of the amount of the property of the town, as assessed in the grand list. By means of this provision, common schools have been kept in all parts of the state, and every person is taught to read, write, and keep accounts. By the sale of the western reserve in 1795, still more liberal and permanent funds were provided for the support of

schools. In winters the larger children are instructed by men; in summer, small children attend the schools, and are taught by women; in general the instructors are selected from persons of good families and reputation.

Of Yale College.—Yale College, so called, from a principal benefactor, was founded in the year 1700 at Killingworth, but fixed at New Haven in 1716. It consists of three colleges, each containing thirty-two rooms, a chapel and museum—has a library of about two thousand volumes, and a philosophical apparatus. Its funds are ample, and from thirty to fifty students are annually graduated at the public commencement in September. It is under the direction of trustees, consisting of eleven clergymen and eight laymen. The vacancies among the clerical members are supplied by the board of trustees. The lay members are the governor, lieutenant-governor, and six senior members of the council of the state, or upper house.

Of Academies and Grammar Schools.—By law, a grammar school may be established in any town in the state, by a vote of the inhabitants in legal meeting; and many academies are established and maintained by private funds. In these are taught not only the primary branches of learning, but geography, grammar, the languages, and higher branches of mathematics. There are also academies for young ladies, in which are taught the additional branches of needle-work, drawing, and embroidery. Among the academies of the first reputation are, one in Plainfield, and the Bacon academy in Colchester, whose funds amount to about thirty-five thousand dollars. The most distinguished schools for young ladies are, Union school in New Haven, and one in Litchfield.

NEW YORK.

Of the State of Learning.—A college was founded in the city of New York in 1754, and incorporated by charter from the king. After the revolution, the legislature instituted a university consisting of a number of regents, whose powers extend to the superintendence of colleges, academies and schools, throughout the state. They are authorized to found colleges and academies, confer degrees, visit all seminaries of learning, and make regulations for their government.

Of Columbia and Union Colleges.—By the act of the Legislature in 1787, founding the university of the state, the college in New York received the name of *Columbia*, and all the privileges and powers, derived from its charter, were confirmed. It is under the government of twenty-four trustees, and has considerable funds. Its instructors are a president and professors of the principal sciences. The building is of stone, three stories high, and containing forty-eight apartments. The college is furnished with a chapel, a library, museum, and philosophical apparatus. Union college was founded at Schenectady in 1795, and is in a prosperous condition.

Of Academies and Schools.—Several respectable academies are established in different parts of the state, in which are taught the

learned languages, geography, grammar, and mathematics. Until since the revolution, common schools received no encouragement from the public treasury, or the laws. But in 1795, a law of the state appropriated a large sum of money for erecting school-houses, and paying teachers, the beneficial effects of which are visible. Hitherto, however, the instruction of the laboring people in the first rudiments of learning, has not been general.

NEW JERSEY.

Of the State of Learning.—The education of youth in New Jersey depends on the voluntary contributions of individuals, and therefore is neglected by some classes of the people. In the more populous towns and villages are academies and schools of high reputation. The college at Princeton, called Nassau Hall, is a seminary of distinguished reputation, and from thirty to forty students are annually graduated at the public commencement.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Of the State of Learning.—In Pennsylvania is one university, the seat of which is Philadelphia; a college at Carlisle, and another at Lancaster. There are numerous academies and schools in Philadelphia and other large towns. The legislature have reserved sixty thousand acres of land as a fund for supporting public schools. The Moravian academies at Bethlehem and Nazareth, are noted for strict discipline and morals.

DELAWARE.

Of the Schools.—There are private schools in this state, and especially in Wilmington. In 1796, the legislature passed an act for creating a fund for the support of public schools. There is no college in the state, but an academy at Newark, a few miles from Wilmington.

MARYLAND.

Of the Literary Institutions.—The principal institutions for the education of youth are, Washington academy, in Somerset county, instituted in 1779, Washington college at Chester, founded in 1782, St. Johns college at Annapolis, founded in 1784, a college at Georgetown, instituted by the Catholics, and Cokesbury college in Harford County, instituted by the methodists in 1785. There are private schools in many places; and private tutors in families; and many young men are sent for their education either to Europe, or one of the colleges in the northern states.

VIRGINIA.

Seminaries of Learning.—The college in Williamsburg was founded during the reign of William and Mary, and called by their names. It was endowed by them with twenty thousand acres of land, and the proceeds of a duty of one penny on the pound of tobacco exported—with a duty on skins and furs exported, and liquors imported. It is under the government of twenty visitors,

a president and professors in the most important branches of science. There is also a college in the county of Prince Edward, and academies in the principal towns, as well as numerous schools in other parts of the state.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Of the State of Learning.—In 1789 the legislature passed an act incorporating a number of persons as trustees of a university to be established, and funds were supplied for the purpose of erecting buildings. There is an academy of Warrenton, and a few others in the state; but the education of all classes of people is not general. In 1803, however, the legislature passed an act for the establishment of public schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Of the Seminaries of Learning.—Gentlemen of property have been accustomed to send their sons and daughters to England for an education. Some of them send their sons to one of the colleges in the northern states. There are several institutions in the States called colleges and academies—a college in Charleston, one at Winnsborough, in Camden district, one at Cambridge, and one at Beaufort, with considerable funds. There are several academies and schools in Charleston, Beaufort, and other parts of the state. The *South Carolina College* was incorporated in 1801, with an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for erecting buildings in Columbia, and six thousand dollars yearly to maintain instructors.

GEORGIA.

Of the Literary Institutions.—The legislature of Georgia have founded and endowed a college at Louisville. There are also some schools in the state. A law of the state has incorporated a number of literary gentlemen, for the purpose of establishing and superintending seminaries of learning—fifty thousand acres of land are appropriated for funds, for this university—and a sum of money in each county for maintaining an academy. The funds destined by Mr. Whitfield to maintain an orphan house, and by him bequeathed to the countess of Huntingdon, in trust, are vested in commissioners to support a college called by her name.

KENTUCKY.

Of the State of Learning.—Provision has been made by law for founding and maintaining a college, and schools are established in different parts of the state.

TENNESSEE.

Of Learning.—Several schools are established in this state, and by law, provision is made for three colleges. There is also a society for promoting useful knowledge.

[No mention is made of the state of learning in Ohio, and the Territories of Mississippi, Indiana, Michigan, and Louisiana.]

Foreign Education—Home Travel. (Essay, 1788.)

Our honor as an independent nation is concerned in the establishment of literary institutions, adequate to all our own purposes; without sending our youth abroad, or depending on other nations for books and instructors. It is very little to the reputation of America to have it said abroad, that after the heroic achievements of the late war, these independent people are obliged to send to Europe for men and books to teach their children A B C.

But in another point of view, a foreign education is directly opposite to our political interests, and ought to be discountenanced, if not prohibited.

Every person of common observation will grant, that most men prefer the manners and the government of that country where they were educated. Let ten American youths be sent, each to a different European kingdom, and live there from the age of twelve to twenty, and each will give the preference to the country where he has resided.

The period from twelve to twenty is the most important in life. The impressions made before that period are commonly effaced; those that are made during that period *always* remain for many years, and *generally* through life.

Ninety-nine persons of a hundred who pass that period in England or France, will prefer the people, their manners, their laws, and their government, to those of their native country. Such attachments are injurious, both to the happiness of the men, and to the political interests of their own country. As to private happiness, it is universally known how much pain a man suffers by a change of habits in living. The customs of Europe are and ought to be different from ours; but when a man has been bred in one country, his attachments to its manners make them, in a great measure, necessary to his happiness. On changing his residence, he must therefore break his former habits, which is always a painful sacrifice; or the discordance between the manners of his own country, and his habits, must give him incessant uneasiness; or he must introduce, into a circle of his friends, the manners in which he was educated. These consequences may follow, and the last, which is inevitable, is a public injury. The refinement of manners in every country should keep pace exactly with the increase of its wealth; and perhaps the greatest evil America now feels is, an improvement of taste and manners which its wealth can not support.

A foreign education is the very source of this evil; it gives young gentlemen of fortune a relish for manners and amusements which are not suited to this country; which, however, when introduced by this class of people, will always become fashionable.

But a corruption of manners is not the sole objection to a foreign education: An attachment to a *foreign* government, or rather a want of attachment to our *own*, is the natural effect of a residence abroad during the period of youth. It is recorded of one of the Greek cities, that in a treaty with their conquerors, it was required that they should give a certain number of *male children* as hostages for the fulfillment of their engagements. The Greeks absolutely refused, on the principle that these children would imbibe the ideas and embrace the manners of foreigners, or lose their love for their own country: but they offered the same number of *old* men without hesitation. This anecdote is full of good sense. A man should always form his habits and attachments in the country where he is to reside for life. When these habits are formed, young men may travel without danger of losing their patriotism. A boy who lives in England

form twelve to twenty, will be an *Englishman* in his manners and his feelings; but let him remain at home until he is twenty, and form his attachments, he may then be several years abroad, and still be an *American.** There may be exceptions to this observation; but living examples prove the truth of the general principle here advanced, respecting the influence of habit.

It may be said that foreign universities furnish much better opportunities of improvement in the sciences than the American. This may be true, and yet it will not justify the practice of sending young lads from their own country. There are some branches of science which may be studied to much greater advantage in Europe than in America, particularly chemistry. When these are to be acquired, young gentlemen ought to spare no pains to attend the best professors. It may, therefore, be useful, in some cases, for students to cross the Atlantic to *complete* a course of studies; but it is not necessary for them to go early in life, nor to continue a long time. Such instances need not be frequent even now; and the necessity for them will diminish in proportion to the future advancement of literature in America.

A tour through the United States ought to be considered as a necessary part of a liberal education. Instead of sending young gentlemen to Europe to view curiosities and learn vices and follies, let them spend twelve or eighteen months in examining the local situation of the different States; the rivers, the soil, the population, the improvements and commercial advantages of the whole; with an attention to the spirit and manners of the inhabitants, their laws, local customs, and institutions. Such a tour should at least precede a tour to Europe; for nothing can be more ridiculous than a man traveling in a foreign country for information, when he can give no account of his own. When, therefore, young gentlemen have finished an academic education, let them travel through America, and afterward to Enrope, if their time and fortunes will permit. But if they can not make a tour through both, that in America is certainly to be preferred; for the people of America, with all their information, are yet extremely ignorant of the geography, policy, and manners of their neighboring States. Except a few gentlemen whose public employments in the army and in Congress, have extended their knowledge of America, the people in this country, even of the higher classes, have not so correct information respecting the United States, as they have respecting England or France. Such ignorance is not only disgraceful, but is materially prejudicial to our political friendships and federal operations.

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* Cicero was twenty-eight years old when he left Italy to travel in Greece and Asia. 'He did not stir abroad,' says Dr Middleton, 'till he had completed his education at home; for nothing can be more pernicious to a nation than the necessity of a foreign one.'—*Life of Cicero, vol. I. p.* 48.

Dr. Moore makes a remark precisely in point. Speaking of a foreign education, proposed by a certain Lord, who objected to the public schools in England, he says, 'I have attended to his Lordship's objections, and after due consideration, and weighing every circumstance, I remain of opinion, that no country but Great Britain is proper for the education of a British subject, who proposes to pass his life in his own country The most important point, in my mind, to be secured in the education of a young man of rank of our country, is to make him an Englishman; and this can be done no where so effectually as in England.' See his *View of Society and Manners*, &c., vol. i., page 197, where the reader will find many judicious remarks upon this subject. The following are too pertinent to be omitted:—'It is is thought, that by an early foreign education all ridiculous English prejudices will be avoided. This may be true; but other prejudices, perhaps as ridiculous, and much more detrimental, will be formed. The first can not be attended with many inconveniencies; the second may render the young people unhappy in their own country when they return, and disagreeable to their countrymen all the rest of their lives.'

NOAH WEBSTER—ESSAY PRINTED IN 1788.*

In a system of education, to embrace every part of the community, the female sex claim no inconsiderable share of our attention.

The women in America (to their honor it is mentioned) are not generally above the care of educating their own children. Their own education should therefore enable them to implant in the tender mind, such sentiments of virtue, propriety, and dignity, as are suited to the freedom of our governments. Children should be treated as children, but as children that are, in a future time, to be men and women. By treating them as if they were always to remain children, we very often see their childishness adhere to them, even in middle life. The silly language called *baby talk*, in which most persons are initiated in infancy, often breaks out in discourse, at the age of forty, and makes a man appear very ridiculous. In the same manner, vulgar, obscene, and illiberal ideas, imbibed in a nursery or a kitchen, often give a tincture to the conduct through life. In order to prevent every evil bias, the ladies, whose province it is to direct the inclinations of children on their first appearance, and to choose their nurses, should be possessed, not only of amiable manners, but of just sentiments and enlarged understandings.

But the influence of women in forming the dispositions of youth, is not the sole reason why their education should be particularly guarded; their influence in controlling the manners of a nation, is another powerful reason. Women, once abandoned, may be instrumental in corrupting society; but such is the delicacy of the sex, and such the restraints which custom imposes upon them, that they are generally the last to be corrupted. There are innumerable instances of men, who have been restrained from a vicious life, and even of very abandoned men, who have been reclaimed, by their attachment to ladies of virtue. A fondness for the company and conversation of ladies of character, may be considered as a young man's best security against the attractives of a dissipated life. A man who is attached to *good* company, seldom frequents that which is *bad*. Hence, society requires that females should be well educated, and extend their influence as far as possible over the other sex.

But a distinction is to be made between a *good* education and a *showy* one; for an education, merely superficial, is a proof of corruption of taste, and has a mischievous influence on manners. The education of females, like that of males, should be adapted to the the government, and correspond with the stage of society.

* '*On the Education of Youths in America*'—Reprinted in *Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings*. By Noah Webster, Jr., Attorney at Law. Boston: 1790.

In all nations, a *good* education is that which renders the ladies correct in their manners, respectable in their families, and agreeable in society. That education is always *wrong*, which raises a woman above the duties of her station.

In America, female education should have for its object what is *useful*. Young ladies should be taught to speak and write their own language with purity and elegance; an article in which they are often deficient. The French language is not necessary for ladies. In some cases it is convenient, but, in general, it may be considered as an article of luxury. As an accomplishment, it may be studied by those whose attention is not employed about more important concerns.

Some knowledge of arithmetic is necessary for every lady. Geography should never be neglected. Belles Letters learning seems to correspond with the dispositions of most females. A taste for Poetry and fine writing should be cultivated; for we expect the most delicate sentiments from the pens of that sex, which is possessed of the finest feelings.

A course of reading can hardly be prescribed for all ladies. But it should be remarked, that this sex can not be too well acquainted with the writers upon human life and manners. The Spectator should fill the first place in every lady's library. Other volumes of periodical papers, though inferior to the Spectator, should be read; and some of the best histories.

With respect to novels, so much admired by the young, and so generally condemned by the old, what shall I say? Perhaps it may be said with truth, that some of them are useful, many of them pernicious, and most of them trifling. A hundred volumes of modern novels may be read, without acquiring a new idea. Some of them contain entertaining stories, and where the descriptions are drawn from nature, and from characters and events in themselves innocent, the perusal of them may be harmless.

In the large towns in America, music, drawing, and dancing, constitute a part of female education. They, however, hold a subordinate rank; for my fair friends will pardon me, when I declare, that no man ever marries a woman for her performance on a harpsichord, or her figure in a minuet. However ambitious a woman may be to command admiration *abroad*, her real merit is only known at *home*. Admiration is useless, when it is not supported by domestic worth, but real honor and permanent esteem, are always secured by those who preside over their own families with dignity.

SCHOOLS AS THEY WERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

SEVENTY YEARS AGO IN BOSTON, MASS.

REMINISCENCES OF HENRY K. OLIVER.*

A SHORT distance above Milk street, in Boston,—and a less distance above the old 'Province House,' the former residence of the royal governors of Massachusetts, 'in good old Colony times, when we were under the king,'—on Marlborough street, now called Washington, stood my father's house, to and from the barn of which, in the rear, I daily drove my father's cow from Boston Common through Bromfield's lane, now promoted to the rank of a street;—an easy matter in those days of Boston's smallness, but to-day a hopeless impracticability.

A, B, C, School.

In the year 1805, or thereabouts, being then something under five years of age, I was first placed under educational influence, consigned to the care of one Mr. Hayslop, who, with his wife and widowed daughter, one Mrs. Hurley, kept school in an old building, long since demolished, standing on the northerly corner of Franklin and Washington streets. Well do I recall its looks, the old time-stained wall of wood, its old door, its old stairway, up which our little feet bore us to the old school-room, on the second floor, where ruled and feruled the good old master, for he was both old and good, with his gentle helpmeets,—worthy people,—very poor, but most respectable folk, who had seen better days, and whom old friends patronized for old friendship's sake, and to save them from deeper want. Ah! gentle old gentleman, the days of the years of whose life, were you now living, had been like Jacob's, an hundred and thirty years,—with your old square-toed shoes, and ponderous buckles thereon, your old gray stockings, your old tabby-velvet breeches and knee-buckles, with their silvery shine, your vest of exaggerated length, your ruffled shirt, your seedy old coat, reaching clear down to your shriveled shanks, with ample girth and pockets

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* ''Tis More than Sixty Years Since;' or, 'How I was Educated from Six to Fourteen.' Address before the American Institute of Instruction—published in the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting at Fitchburg, Mass., for 1871.

deep and vast, your neatly ironed stock, and powdered wig:—long since have you reached a home in that blest place where bad boys cease to trouble and the schoolmaster is at rest, at this late day,—

'To dumb forgetfulness a prey,'—

save possibly in the dim memory of some youngling of your guidance, like myself, surviving the little group that daily clustered about your knees. By him was I taught my A, B, C, D, E, F, G, my a, b, abs, and my e, b, ebs, after the old, old way,—praised because ancestral,—the old gentleman holding an old book in his old hand, and pointing, with an old pin, to the old letters on the old page, and making each of us chicks repeat their several names, till we could tell them at sight, though we did not know what it was all for. We must have been a bright set, excellent of memory, for by this excellent old method, and with the excellent old books of the old times, and the excellent old teacher, and our own excellent young wits, we were not more than four or five weeks in acquiring complete knowledge of the twenty-six arbitrary marks constituting the English Alphabet. To be sure, I learnt the names, family and Christian, of all my fellow scholars, and they were quite a host, in a week; but that was, as it were, naturally,—by instinct, as Falstaff knew the true prince,—while to learn the letters, must only be done after the good old fashion of the ancestral teaching, the teachers of those days holding faithfully to the first line of Pope's couplet:—

'Be not the first by whom the new is tried,'

And wholly ignoring the second,—

'Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.'

Dame School.

From this school I was removed to another, Madam Tileston's, in Hanover, below Salem street, of the same general character, where I was taught elementary reading and spelling, after the same ancestral fashion;—that is, I received about twenty minutes of instruction each half day, and as school was kept three hundred and sixty minutes daily, I had the privilege of forty minutes' worth of teaching, and three hundred and twenty minutes' worth of sitting still, (if I could), which I could not,—playing, whispering, and general waste of time, though occasionally a picture book relieved the dreary monotony.

My nervous temperament, dislike of confinement at busy nothingness, want of affection for books,—slates then we had none,—love of mischief, and general habit of fidgetiness, often entitled me to Madam Tileston's customary punishment of sundry smart taps on

the head, with the middle finger of her right hand;—said finger being armed, for its own defense, with a large and rough steel thimble. Once trapping me in some naughtiness, she pinned me fast to the cushion of her chair, and following the principle of retaliation, I impaled her by her dress, to the same substance; so that when, shortly after, she arose and moved, it was a triplicate transit; and the three-fold firm of Tileston, Cushion, & Oliver, changed its base. Both of these teachers taught as well as they knew how,—and that was as well as the times in which they lived and worked permitted them to know. Nobody taught any better, as far as I have learnt. Nor was there any thing like the philosophy of teaching known or thought of, so far as I can now judge on retrospection, by any teacher into whose hands I fell.

General State of Schools.

The subject of education excited then comparatively little interest. The public mind had not been then roused to its present wakefulness. Horace Mann was but a lad. State Boards of Education were not created till very many years afterward. Teachers' Institutes, and Teachers' Associations, and Normal Schools, had not yet approached near enough to existence, to become subject of prophecy, hope, or even thought. May none of these, through any cause, slight their great duties.

There were no schools systematically graded; there were no blackboards; there were no globes, nor other ordinary school apparatus in schools I attended. I never saw a full-sized map, nor illustrative picture of any sort suspended against the school walls. There were no Warren Colburn's nor Walton's Arithmetics and Algebras; and the method of teaching the science of numbers was utterly unscientific. I shall never forget the ineffable mystery that enshrouded in Egyptian darkness, the 'Rule of Compound Proportion,' in that marvel of obscurity called 'Walch's Arithmetic.' This mystery involved the method of so arranging the *five* given terms of a problem, as to get, by a slate-pencil process, the *sixth*, or unknown term. I was told by the *rule* to arrange these five in a certain order according as *more* required *more*, or *less* required *less*, or as *more* required *less*, or *less* required *more*, and then to multiply some of the terms, and divide their product by the product of the rest of the terms, and I would get the answer. To my unmathematical brain, it was a muddle that nothing cleared up till I got hold of Warren Colburn's peerless book. Geography was studied but sparingly, and from very defective books, and mostly without

maps. School-houses, school-rooms, and school furniture, were all at the lowest point of inconvenience, and I regret to say, that many years passed away before substantial improvements were tolerated. And even now, there are too many instances of continued and immovable conservatism in these matters. Children were huddled together in small, close, unventilated apartments, regardless of both health and comfort, and of those proper surroundings of seclusion and stillness, that render study a success, and successful teaching practicable.

With the single exception of Phillips Academy at Andover, every school that I attended was in a noisy neighborhood, and looked out upon crowded thoroughfares; though to be sure there was no shrieking steam whistles, nor thundering locomotives, with trains of linked uproar long drawn out, stunning and deafening your ears with their rattling larums. The outlying premises were narrow, noisy, and nasty; for in the cities ample play-grounds could not be granted,—real estate being too valuable. Nor were recitation rooms attached to the general school-room. In this room we sat, we studied, or idled, or we recited, or were flogged, as the case might be. So that between the processes of keeping order, watching the boys, hearing lessons, and answering questions, mending pens, and setting copies, and all that, the master had his hands and his head full of work. It is a wonder that any of them lived a twelvemonth outside the walls of an insane asylum.

Corporal chastisement was in full tide of successful experiment. Of the eight different teachers under whose care I fell before I entered college, but one of them possessed any bowels of mercy. He hit me, but in a single instance, and that was for the crime of having left my leg a little out in the passageway between the desks. This was done with a stoutish piece of rattan, though the flogging instruments mostly in use were the cowhide and the ferule, the latter an instrument now, I believe, extinct, and the name of which was, I suppose, derived from the Latin word '*ferulus*'—*a little wild beast*—as indicative of the savage ferocity with which it was applied to your hands, and elsewhere. To the fact of the existence of these implements of torture, and of their frequent and indiscriminate use, I can testify, without mental reservation, before any justice duly authorized to administer an oath.

Though vividly recollecting very many school incidents, there are some matters of which I have no remembrance whatever. I do not remember that my powers of perception or observation were

ever awakened, or drawn out, or cultivated. I do not remember that my attention was ever called to the consideration of any object, great or small, in the great world into which I had been born, or in the little world by which I was surrounded. I saw the great Solar Eclipse in the forenoon of June 16th, 1806,—when my father's hens went to roost in the barn, and the cows on Boston Common gathered at the gate to start for home,—'*sed non uberibus plenis*,—but nobody ever told me by what means that great and unwonted obscurity came to pass,—ere the sun had reached high noon,—or how it was that the sun of that day twice left the earth in darkness. As I groped my way in the gloom of this eclipse, so I groped my way through the dingy cloudiness of my early and late school life; and this most pitiful and pitiless omission and neglect, affected all my future studies; and, in fact, much of my after life;—for my mind became, in later years, not a little inquisitive, and I longed to know more of the things about me, and their causes and origin,—the why and the wherefore of things; and had my perceptive faculties been properly educated, my strivings after knowledge had begun earlier, and had been vastly more productive.

You will, therefore, see that object-teaching, now most wisely considered to be of the very highest importance, was then not only ignored, but was not even thought of; object-teaching, that comprises within its grasp all of the infinitesimal that the microscope can reveal, and all of the infinite that the telescope can discover from out of the vast fields of measureless space.

Grammar School—Master Pemberton.

Reaching the age of nine years, it was deemed to be time for me to commence my '*Singulariter Nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc*,' and this I did under that most worthy and venerable gentleman, Master Ebenezer Pemberton, [LL. D., New Jersey College, Princeton, 1765], who taught a few pupils at his private school, on the corner of Short (Kingston) and Pond (Bedford) streets. The book first placed in my hands was the Latin grammar of Dr. Alexander Adam, a very learned classical scholar, of Edinburgh, who succeeded in compiling a very good grammar of its class, and a book of Roman Antiquities, rigidly correct and extensive in statistical details, but as dry and dusty as the deserts of Egypt.

Now this grammar had a very great fame, and was a big thing for so little a fellow. It was to be committed to memory, from '*title*' to '*finis*,' before my littleness was to know what it was all for, or my puny intellect made to comprehend that such was the

approved and time-honored method of acquiring all languages, *ex cepting my own. That* I had measurably mastered by a totally different process; and so, I suppose, did Adam and Eve, and vast number of their descendants, up to the time when some long headed and sharp witted genius had originated the idea, that in attaining a language, nature's methods were all wrong; that theory must precede practice, and that learners must toil through all the gloomy bewilderments of the 'art of speaking and writing correctly,'—as grammar is usually defined,—before being permitted to put a single principle detailed therein into practical illustration; paradigms and rules, forms and formulas, were all to be securely clinched into the memory, as prerequisite work to the entrance upon any of the actualities of the language unraveled.

But such was the then method of teaching;—a method derived from the English schools, and by them from monkish ages, and yet in use in these schools,—the ancestral method, 'having smart relish of the saltness of time,' and therefore the true method to be applied to all languages, excepting one's own mother tongue, as I have just said; which same mother tongue, when it had to be taught by Latin mothers to Latin boys and girls, was, doubtless, taught pretty much as English mothers teach English to English boys and girls.

So then, month after month, with an Abrahamic faith in Master Pemberton's assurance that it was all *right*, literally 'going it blind,' I toiled on, forenoons and afternoons of dreary monotony, through the muddling unintelligibilities of this joyless book, with its fearful array of rules and exceptions for nouns, adjectives, and verbs, its rules of syntax, and their multitudinous exceptions and blurry examples, from the most lucid Latin authors, at last reaching, with joy unspeakable, the fifty-second and last rule,—the 'Ultima Thule' of the *Ablative Absolute*,—wherein I was taught that this ablative was called *absolute*, on account of its independence of any other word, although, says illustration No. 5, it is really governed by a preposition not inserted in the text; so that, after all, it is not quite absolute, but is under some covert prepositional sway, itself a despotic monarch, controlled by a prime minister behind the curtain.

This grim and melancholy work was only relieved by an occasional lesson in spelling, from a now fossilized dictionary by one Mr. Perry, and a weekly exercise in declamation.

Our master was an admirable reader and speaker, with a clear, rich, and full voice, and much grace in gesture. The several pieces

we spoke, he first declaimed himself, and then we followed in imitation; and it was pleasant to see how entirely he ignored all the artificial rules for gesticulation laid down, with illustrative diagram, in a well known book of those days, called 'Scott's Lessons,' which was the standard work for schools in the department of elocution. Scott told us, that on commencing a declamation, after the proper customary bending of the body forward at an angle of 45 degrees, by way of salutation to the audience, the speaker must first poise himself carefully upon his right leg, stretch out his right arm and hand at an angle of 45 degrees from the body, and then utter his first sentence. This done, he must poise himself with equal care upon his left leg, and give utterance to his second sentence, with his left arm and hand extended at a similar angle of 45 degrees from his body, and so go on, *vice versa*, right and left leg, right and left arm, at 45 degrees,—no more and no less,—to the end of the speech, like the vibrating beam of an elocutionary steam-engine. Speech done, the legs were to be brought decorously together, heels and toes out 45 degrees, arms and hands dropped to the side, and the body and head gracefully inclined toward the audience, at an angle of 45 degrees.

Prospect at the Age of Ten Years.

Thus toiling on, I reached the age of ten years, and all I knew, was how to read pretty well, how to write and spell pretty ill, how to declaim pretty well, and the orthography, etymology, and syntax of Dr. Adam's Latin grammar pretty ill. I could sing by rote, a good many Psalm tunes, and a few Anthems taught me by my mother and the chorister of the Park street church, Mr. Duren, where I sang treble with the girls, not dreading Jack Falstaff's fate of 'spoiling my voice a singing of anthems.'

Of geography and arithmetic I literally knew nothing, and less than nothing of the grammar of my own language; though, thanks to the accuracy with which my father and mother spoke English, I spoke what I did speak, accurately and without vulgarisms; and I therefore argue, that inasmuch as actual experiment has proved that a child, by the time he is ten years of age, may have acquired a good degree of practical skill in speaking three or four modern languages, by simply hearing them spoken at home, say, one by father, one by mother, one by nurse, one by tutor, and so on,—such being nature's method, there must be something unnatural in our mode of learning Latin and Greek, inasmuch as long years are spent before any thing like mastery over them is achieved sufficient to enable

one to even write them correctly; and as to speaking them, I never knew any body in this country who could do it, excepting that on Commencement Days, at our colleges, the presidents, on conferring the degrees upon graduating classes, give utterance to certain long used and therefore well known Latin phrases, such as, (addressing the Overseers or Trustees), '*Presento vobis hosce juvenes quos scio idoneos esse ad recipiendum primum gradum in artibus. Placetne ut recipiant?*'

How is it on continental Europe? A gentleman from Edinburgh who received his early education in Florence, went, recently, to Utrecht, in Holland, with letters of introduction to the medical professors of the College. Passing with one of them through the hospital, the professor, out of compliment to the visitor, dropped his own language, and for an hour and a half, made all his remarks upon the several cases in Latin; the students took their notes with ease, and the visitor readily followed him, although his Latin studies at Florence had been discontinued at a much earlier period, than when scholars leave school in England to go to the University.

Is this, or can this be done by professors here, or even in England? or can it be brought about by our or their methods of teaching Latin?

I frankly declare that I can not, with my own personal experience and observation, or from inquiries of very many educators and educated, be made to believe that the acquisition in memory of paradigms and rules, of observations and exceptions, without practical appliance of them, as the student progresses day by day, and page by page, to be either philosophical or sensible, or even justifiable, in view of the claims of learners.

You may give pupils a knowledge of forms and of rules, but you will give them neither understanding nor wisdom in the language. All these things must be made intelligible by the intelligent and adroit teacher, whose power and control over the language, and whose methods therein with his pupils, reduce them readily to practice, and make them the manifest fruit of the genius of such language. 'The ease and readiness of the accomplished and sagacious master are infectious,' says the author of 'Ecce Homo'; 'and the pupil as he looks on (or listens, we may add), conceives a new hope, a new self-reliance, and seems already to touch the goal which before seemed removed to a hopeless distance. In this practical mode, the pupil gains a tutor, instead of a text-book,—a leader instead of a master, and when he learns *what* to do, he learns, at the same

time, *how* to do it, and receives encouragement in attempting it.' In the methods and work of such a master there are both conscience and high morality, and the sense of conscious duty apparent in him, awakens a sense of conscious duty in the pupil. Each of them is excited to enthusiasm, and each of them re-enforces the other in his work. In fact, good teaching is good morals; and it is well said by the same author, that there is no moral influence in the world, excepting that occasionally exerted by great men, comparable to that of a good teacher; and there is no position in which a man's merits, considered as moral levers, have so much purchase; and yet, the social position of the schoolmaster, though better here than in England, does not accord with the true dignity of his calling, and is, and has always been, practically held to be below those of the three so-called learned professions, while his emoluments are kept down to the lowest point, with the exception only of those who teach the ornamentals of music and dancing. If you desire to grow passably rich before you grow old, become a dancing master, for the culture of the heels generally pays better than the culture of the head.

Phillips Academy—Boston Latin School.

The gerund-grinding method of which I have spoken was pursued, also, at Phillips Academy, at Andover, and at the Boston Latin School, both of which I subsequently attended, between 1811 and 1814, when I entered college. From my Latin grammar, I proceeded to some of the Colloquies of Corderius, a book now forgotten, though not by me. Thence I went to Virgil, Cicero, and Sallust; translating, parsing, and scanning, with unmitigated drill, but with no more knowledge imparted of Roman history, Roman life and manners, aud the genius of the Latin language, than was imparted to me of the manners and customs and language of the Choctaws.

Mingled with those hardships was an occasional translating from English into Latin, from a book called 'Clarke's Introduction to the making of Latin,'—and some pretty bad Latin I made out of it; and a sort of rather doubtful alleviation derived from committing to memory in the same dreadful manner, of that famous old book called the 'Gloucester Greek Grammar.' Nine dreary and weary months of tedious memorizing, did I spend at this fearful and exhausting job,—hating Greek, loathing the place of my constraint, and with no enrapturing love of those who taught it with a book in one hand and a cowhide in the other,—men, who, in the severity

of their professional bearing, seemed to lose all the gentle amenities of their better natures; some of them like unto him described by Carlyle in 'Sartor Resartus,'—'down-bent, broken-hearted, underfoot,—(and he might have added, underpaid,) martyrs, as others of that guild were wont to be,'—and tied down to an adamantean homogeneity of pedagogical canon, with little, if any, knowledge of boys' human nature, cramming into us countless irksome vocables and melancholy forms, littering the roots of our brains with etymological compost, and calling it a fostering of the growth of mind. 'They knew syntax enough, and of the human soul this much,—that it had a faculty called memory, which could be acted on through the muscular integument, by lively application of the tiltillating birch rods and sorrow breeding cowhides.'

It is said, and has been believed, that the appearance of comets presages the coming of direful calamities to the human race. Not delaying to argue the point, I will simply say, that the remarkable and huge comet of 1811, preceded my entrance upon the melancholy and grim campaign of the alpha, beta, gamma, delta of Greek,—of its verbs in ῶ, and its verbs μι, its verbs anomalous, barytone, and contract,—its duals, middles, aorists, and paulo-post-futures,—with all the then to me attendant horrors of this inscrutable Greek Grammar; nine weary and dreary months, and then there was placed in my hands a book compiled by Prof. Dalzell, of Edinburgh, called the 'Collectanea Græca Minora,' on the 2d and 3d pages of which was a preface written in Latin, the reading and translation of which I venture to say, not one boy in ten thousand of those who used the book, ever attempted. I did not until the 18th day of the month of June, 1866—more than half a century after I first saw it, when I read the announcement, that by the help of the dictionary, and the notes at the end of said book, any scholar of ordinary diligence, and who has thoroughly learnt the inflections of the Greek nouns, and the conjugations of the Greek verbs,—there being five of the former with a crowd of irregularities, and about a dozen of the latter with a crowd of irregularities, and an exuberant quantity of rules with a crowd of observations and exceptions,—any boy of ordinary diligence, unless he be, unhappily for himself and the master, of a very stupid quality, will be able, quite readily, to get on with the contents of the book.

Now, like the said preface, all these notes, and all the meanings of the words in the dictionary, were in the Latin language; so that this unstupid learner, of ordinary diligence, had the pleasant task

before him of first translating the Greek into Latin, and then translating this Latin into English. The Greek Lexicon then in general use, that of Schrevelius, also rendered all the Greek words into Latin, wherefrom it will be seen that the study of Latin must, of necessity, precede the study of Greek, although good arguments are not wanting for reversing this process.

It is a matter of justifiable pride to our country, that it had the honor of reckoning among the many learned men it has produced, the authors of the first issue, either in England or this country, of a Greek Lexicon with English renderings. I refer to the late Hon. John Pickering, and the late Dr. Daniel Oliver, both of Salem, the memory of each of whom should be held in grateful honor by all classical students. But think for a moment, of the double load, a lad fitting for college in those days, had to carry, and the double chance of error in working out his translation, while striving after the exact shade of the meaning of a word in English, itself first shaded off by touches of a Latin brush.

In England and Scotland it was, perhaps yet is, worse; for there the unhappy urchins had to commit to memory their Greek grammar all written in Latin. As, says the author of 'Day-Dreams of a Schoolmaster,' for five dreary years this process went on with me. Every day, I committed to memory some page or half page of this sacred, but unintelligible book. I revised it and re-revised it again and again. To lisp its contents seemed as natural as respiration; (and he might have added as perspiration,—for it undoubtedly produced it,)—contents which no one of us seemed called upon to understand at the time, and to which, in their Latin forms, no one, to my knowledge, was ever afterward referred.

And the grand result of all this expenditure of time and labor at the schools of England and Scotland, seems to culminate in enabling a very select few of the pupils to work up Latin or Greek poetry, to spread the ideas of English poets over Latin and Greek hexameters and pentameters or alcaics. It matters not whether the pupil's bent were language or science; prose or poetry, verses, more or fewer, of some sort, he must get up. It is the universal thing. Nothing short of it will satisfy the classical demand in that market. That is the desired haven toward which the educational bark of these schools, steers her constant way.

The writer just quoted, speaks of a description of sunset, a lucky hit, which he kept on hand as a staple article of Latin poetry. Using it as prelude to an ode on Lucretia, it gained him at school

a prize of books. Using it a second time, as prelude to another ode, on the Moors in Spain, it gained at Cambridge (Eng.) a gold medal; and he declares that he could, with ease, work it up as prelude to an ode, say, on the 'Exhibition of all Nations.'

This, then, seems to be the great end and aim of classical education in England and Scotland,—to train up a very small proportion of scholars to such a knowledge of Latin and Greek as will enable them, with the help of the 'Gradus ad Parnassum,' to work out what, by a solemnly facetious custom, is called poetry, Latin or Greek. Not but what there may be among it, the fruit of some one of poetic temperament, some good poetry. Vinny Bourne, an usher of Westminster School, between 1730 and 1747, produced some, scarcely inferior to any thing in Ovid or Tibullus. But it was at the expense of almost all other knowledge; and Cowper, one of his pupils, says of him, that he was so indolent and good-natured, that he lost more than he gained by him, and such a sloven, that he seemed to trust to his genius as a cloak to every thing that could disgust you in his person. But England is the unyielding home of intensest conservatism. She always cherishes the exceptional and the anomalous, and her great endowed schools are supremely exceptional and anomalous, as the educational world now stands. It is well known that a large number of the eminent men of the kingdom,—eminent in theoretic and practical science, in general literature, in politics and the arts,—are not graduates of her colleges. Of her public schools, the nurseries of her colleges, Howard Staunton says, in his admirable book thereon, that they furnish neither the best moral training, nor the best mental discipline, not the most substantial mental enrichment; they do not form the most accomplished scholars, nor the most heroic, exalted, and disinterested men; and that 'the highest merit claimed for them by their warmest and most discerning friends, is, that they are the theaters of athletic manners, and the training places of a gallant and generous spirit for the English gentleman.'

If this be true, it contributes to gentlemanliness, that the aristocratic element be most sedulously cultivated and tenderly cared for, and that flogging and fagging to an extent that outrages decency, morality, and all sense and feeling, should be sacredly kept alive; and although both are condemned by able thinkers and writers on educational matters, yet, says Staunton, 'from dread that England should be ruined, were ancient traditions and customs permitted to perish, the administrators of her public schools as passionately fight

for flogging, as if it were a kind of sacrament to be added to the other seven.' And fagging, that most savage and capricious style of boy-bullying on the one part, and of mingled terror and anguish on the other, abominable, execrable, and monstrous in wrong as it is, is not yet wholly abandoned.

Present impressions of School Training as it was.

Looking back upon it, under present light, I consider my training and that of my comrades, as a continuous series of blunders; a good many of them on our part, and a good many more and greater, on the part of our teachers; though I ought to say, that they taught according to the system, or the no-system, of their day; though as to any thing like a distinct system, or as to any distinct carrying out of a fixed purpose, founded on the philosophy of teaching, and tending to produce a definite mental status, and sure scholarly result, I can not testify of its existence. But I can testify that I have very dim recollections of any attempts to awaken a love of learning, or to incite and increase such love, whenever, being innate in any boy, it happened to crop out. The highest motive, and most permanently held out, with its portentous instruments kept in full view, was to be the best scholar under the fear of punishment. So far as I remember, my ante-collegiate instructors, with but two exceptions, and I am not sure but that is one too many, were gentlemen of the whack-back school, who, with the whip, 'mend the gross mistakes of nature, and put new life into dull matter,' One of them was a wholesale dealer in tortuous leather and torturing blows, whose image, whenever

> 'Fond memory brings the light
> Of those sad days before me'—

is that of a stalwart man of six feet in his stockings,—with the sweet poet of Mantua in his left hand, and a twisted thong in the other,—or, as I might illustrate him macaronically,—

> Leather strap one hand holds, Virgil tenet altera dulcem;
> Omnis et infelix errans feels licks from his cowhide;

he striding across the floor of the Boston Latin School, say about Anno Domino 1812 (my brother, N. K. G. Oliver, H. C., 1809, being usher), to give some luckless blunderer, over back and shoulder-blade, sundry savage wales from fearful sweep of his tremendous right arm.* I once narrowly escaped such fate myself, when, on

* ——— 'Memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare,' ——— *Horace.*

Recalling what, when but a little chap,
Dread ——— taught me, with a stinging rap.

the principle of the frequent similarity in sound between Latin and English words, and believing in 'similia similibus,' I gave 'Buffalo,' as the English of the Latin word 'Bufo,' when it simply means a squatty toad. Could any ordinary brain have perpetrated so ludicrous a blunder? and how the wrath of the master was changed into a roar of laughter, which even now rings in my ears, and which occupied him so long and titillated him so deliciously, that I, rushing on with the translation of the passage, to my unutterable joy, escaped the common penalty.

What I have given is a picture of school life in my boyhood. The method of work of both pupil and master was, in all schools, essentially the same. We had a lesson assigned to us to be studied and learnt, with grammar and dictionary, as chart and compass, and often helmsmen too. Questions of the master, who heard all recita tions in the general school-room, midst all its murmurings and noises, we had the privilege of asking, if we did not carry the thing to an unreasonable or vexatious extent of inquisitiveness. There was only one recitation each half day, at which you were expected to present yourself, 'knowing all about your lesson,' as the phrase was. And 'knowing *all* about' fifty to one hundred lines of Virgil, and two to three pages of Cicero and Sallust, or an equal quantity of Greek, was about an impossibility under the existing methods of study and teaching, and probably meant much less than the same words under the interpretation of modern teachers and methods. The phrase would, very likely, dwindle down into 'very little about it;' for beyond the processes of translating and parsing, giving a rule in the latter process often only mechanically, and the scanning of the simpler lines of Virgil,—and that generally mechanically, and with the help of a musical ear,—almost nothing was done.

I have no recollection of receiving adequate, or even inadequate instruction, in ancient geography or in Roman or Grecian antiquities, until after my admission to college, and then it was very indifferent, uninteresting, and unprofitable in either of them.

Our questions about points difficult to us, were often repelled by the command of the master to go to grammar and dictionary, or by some more emphatic phrases, in which the words 'idler,' 'blockhead,' 'dolt,' or 'blunderhead,' held prominent place, as though

So Domitius Marcus, whom Ovid mentions, says of this same Orbilius, who was a Teacher at Rome, in the time of Cicero,—

'Si quos Orbilius ferulâ, scuticâque cedidit;'

All whom Orbilius thrashed with ferule and with rod.

This was at the Old Latin School in School street.

such words, so given, were animating encouragement, or quickening allurement to the unlucky scholar to press forward into the Elysian fields of classical learning, or to drink more and more deeply of the Pierian spring. A lad might be pardoned for an unwillingness to go forward, since he might ask if he got such gibes in his early and simpler Latin, what amount of scurrility might he not have to encounter in his later and tougher. And, as though if a lad were a 'blockhead,' and a 'dolt,' and a 'stupid,' it were his own fault that he was created with so small an amount of brain, and he was therefore blameworthy in not becoming, with proper speed, a classical Solomon.*

Rebuke for idleness—nay, in extreme cases, strong remedies for persistence therein, may be justifiable, if milder means of cure fail. But no boy's, nor no man's dullness, was ever sharpened by the grindstone of abusive words. And neither man nor boy was ever incited to more faithful work by a 'fillip on his brain pan,' or a philippic against his brain. Shakspeare well says:—

> 'Let those that do teach young babes,
> Do it with gentle means and easy tasks.'

Are there not babes in intellect, as well as in bodily size?

Taught and trained and disciplined, and educated,—if this word can with propriety be applied to such a method of dealing with a young intellect,—I reached at last the end of the business, the goal and aim of this driving, in being declared fit to be presented for college, and this was at the end of five years of such mental drudgery as I have described. I was offered by my brother, then a private teacher. The examination for admission in those days (1814), was not excessively rigid, and I passed in with a crowd of some ninety others. It is not part of this discursive address to speak of the methods of teaching in use then at College. In general they did not materially differ from those of our ante-collegiate training, barring the flogging.

An extract from that most delightful book, 'The Day Dreams of a Schoolmaster,' will be a better conclusion than any I can originate. 'O, shoolmasters, remember evermore the exceeding dignity of your calling,—not the holiest of callings, but running near and parallel to the holiest. The lawyer's wits are sharpened, and his moral sense not seldom blunted, by a life-long familiarity with ignorance, chicanery, and crime. The physician, in the exercise of a more

* There is no fault to be more carefully and resolutely avoided by teachers than the habit, too frequently indulged in, of satire, raillery, and reproach, of vituperating and taunting a pupil because of lack of just that gift which Omnipotence alone can bestow, but yet may have seen fit to withhold.

beneficent craft, is saddened continually by the spectacle of human weakness, and human pain. You have usually to deal with fresh and unpolluted natures. You are dressers in a moral and mental vineyard. You are under-shepherds of the Lord's lambs, and are to lead them into green pastures and by the side of refreshing streams.'—Throw into all your work the poetry of a pure and holy motive.

Then, in the coming days, when you are fast asleep under the green grass, they will not speak lightly of you over their festal fruit and wines,—or in their chatty reminiscences of youth, mimicking your ways, your words, and your accent, and retailing dull, insipid, boy-pleasantries. Enlightened by the experience of parentage, they will see with a clearer remembrance, your firmness in dealing with their moral faults, and your patience in dealing with their intellectual weakness. And calling to mind the old school-room, they will say, 'Ah, it was good for us to have been there. For, unknown to us, were made therein three tabernacles,—one for us, and one for our schoolmaster, and one for Him who is the friend of all children and the master of all schoolmasters.'

Henry Kemble Oliver was born November 24, 1800, at North Beverly—a descendant in the seventh generation of Thomas Oliver, of Boston, (1602) and son of Rev. Daniel Oliver, who graduated at Dartmouth College 1785, and was Minister of the Parish of North Beverly from 1787 to 1800, when he removed to Boston, where he resided till his death in 1840. Fitted for college at the Boston Latin School and Phillips Academy, Andover, he spent two years at Harvard College, and his junior and senior years at Dartmouth, where he graduated in 1818, and *ad euendem* same year in Harvard. From 1819 to 1827, he taught in the Salem Latin School; from 1827 to 1830, in the English High School of the same place; and from 1830 to 1844, a private school—at first for boys, and in the latter period for girls. In 1844, he held the office of Adjutant General of the State; and in 1848, was selected as resident agent of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, a large establishment of fifty thousand spindles and eleven hundred operatives in the then new city of Lawrence. Here he resided twelve years, serving on its School Committees, as its Mayor, and representing the city in the Constitutional Convention of 1853, and in the House of Representatives. In 1860, he was chosen Treasurer of the State, and served out the entire period of five years, the legal limitation of that office. In 1866 and '67, he acted as an agent of the State Board of Education, having in previous years aided Messrs. Mann and Boutwell, its secretaries, at Teachers' Institutes and Associations. In 1867 and '68, he was appointed by Gov. Bullock to the duty of looking into the social and educational condition of factory children throughout the State; and in 1869, he was selected by Gov. Claflin, as Chief of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, and as such made four annual Reports on the Industrial, Social, Educational, and Sanitary condition,—the earnings and cost of living of the laboring classes of Massachusetts.

HOME AND SCHOOL LIFE AS THEY WERE.

Ninth Article.

REMINISCENCES OF BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, LL.D. 1779–1802.

Benjamin Silliman, LL.D., for fifty years, from 1801 to 1851, connected with Yale College as Tutor and Professor, and more than any officer of the College for that period the representative of its science and social power before the country, was born away from the family mansion at Holland Hill, now in the town of Trumbull, about two miles from the village of Fairfield, August 8, 1779. His grandfather, Ebenezer Silliman, was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1727, a lawyer of large practice, and a Judge of the Superior Court of the Colony, and member of the Governor's Council. His son, Gold Selleck Silliman, the father of Prof. Silliman, graduated at Yale College in 1752, was a successful practitioner at the bar, held the office of Prosecuting Attorney for the county, and during the War of the Revolution served as Colonel of Cavalry, and held the rank of Brigadier-General, charged with the defence of the south-western frontier of Connecticut. On the mother's side, his ancestral line went back to the *Mayflower*, to a daughter of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins. His mother was Mary Fish, the daughter of Rev. Joseph Fish, a graduate of Harvard College, and for fifty years pastor of a church in North Stonington, Connecticut. She was married to General Silliman in 1775—having been previously married in 1758 to Rev. John Noyes, son of the pastor of the First Church of New Haven, who died in 1767; and in 1804 she was married the third time to Dr. John Dickinson of Middletown, who died in 1811. She died in 1818. Her children entertained for her a most warm and reverential affection.

The son's reminiscences of his childhood were tinctured by the story of his father's capture, Sabbath morning, May 1, 1779, between the hours of twelve and one, by a detachment of the British force in New York, landing at Black Rock Harbor in Fairfield; by the retreat of the family from their old home to the interior; and by the alarms which pervaded every household on account of actual and threatened devastations of their towns and residences. Few sections experienced the bitter trials and sufferings of actual war more than the town of Fairfield in 1779.*

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* The devastations committed by order of Gen. Tryon, on the 8th of July, 1779, in Fairfield alone, included 85 dwellings, 2 churches, the County Court-House, 15 stores, 15 shops, and 55 barns,—the entire village of Fairfield, reducing the inhabitants to great suffering and many bitter privations.

HOME AND SCHOOL TRAINING.—1779-1802.

My father's manners were those of a dignified gentleman of the old school, softened by a benignant amenity and affability which made his society attractive in an uncommon degree; and being a man of great intelligence and large intercourse with his fellow-men, he was an object of great respect and confidence. He had high conversational powers, enjoyed society exceedingly, took great satisfaction in female society, and held woman in high regard. He taught us, his sons, to be very attentive and respectful to ladies, and always to give them the preference. I have, at the distance of seventy-two years, the most distinct recollection of his person and manners.

He was a decidedly religious man, but had no austerity or bigotry. The family prayers were punctually attended, as far as practicable, by all the circle—negro domestics as well as hired white people. He was not willing that any member of his family should miss the opportunity for religious influence, or that any of his household should be absent from public worship on the Sabbath, although in a large family it was not easy to send all to church, especially as there were little negro children to be taken care of, and we lived two miles from the town. As, however, we had usually half a dozen horses and two chaises, we were tolerably provided for; and the horses under the saddle sometimes carried two—a female riding on a pillion or a blanket, behind a man or a lad. My brother and I were sometimes instructed to take each of us one of the daughters of our clergyman—the Rev. Mr. Eliot—who had more girls than horses; and we were at an age when the jeers of our school-fellows made this a rather embarrassing duty. At our Sabbath evening prayers there was always a hymn sung, and as the members of the family were most of them good singers, this addition to the usual service was very interesting. . . .

The Sabbath was considered as beginning on Saturday evening at sunset, and ending on the next evening at the same hour. All farm-work and other labors, as far as possible, were adapted accordingly. Family visits and calls of particular friends were, however, interchanged on Sabbath evening, and the children were indulged in moderate play with the setting sun and the appearance of the first stars.

My mother was very attentive to our manners. We were taught to be very respectful, especially to older persons and to ladies. If we received a book or anything else from her hand, a look of acknowledgment was expected, with a slight inclination of the head, which she returned. In a word, she wished to form our manners to a standard at once respectful and polite. We must not interrupt any one who was speaking, and never speak in a rude, unmannerly way. We were taught always to give place at a door or gate to another person, especially if older. Of course all profaneness and levity on religious subjects, and all coarse and indelicate language, were prohibited. The family manners in those early times were superior in some respects to those which are often observed at the present day. The blunt reply to a parent, without the addition of *sir* or *ma'am* to *yes* and *no*, was then unknown, except among rude and unpolished people. The change is not an improvement. The omission of terms of reverence and respect tends toward the loss, or at least the weakness of the sentiment itself. Reverence towards parents and others superior in age, position, or character, enables us the more readily to manifest and feel reverence for our Creator and Redeemer. As to my mother, in the course of long experience I do not remember to have seen a finer example of dignity and self-respect, combining a kind and winning manner and a graceful courtesy with the charms of a cheerful temper and a cultivated mind, which made her society acceptable in the most refined and polished circles. Her

delightful piety, adding the charm of sincerity and benevolence both to her action and conversation, attracted the wise and the good, and won the thoughtless to consideration. It is a great blessing to have had such a mother. I loved and honored her in life, and her memory is precious.

Early Religious Training.

For our early religious training we were indebted chiefly to our mother. She taught us prayers and hymns, and every morning heard us read in the Bible and other religious books adapted to our age. In mild weather we usually resorted to the parlor-chamber, the best chamber in the house, which was also reserved for our guests. Here, while our mother combed the hair and adjusted the dress of one, the other read or recited passages of Scripture or hymns and sacred poetry. Our mother also gave us the best advice and instructions from her own lips. These opportunities were precious, and were repeated in other places of retirement, as was convenient. I still possess the large folio Bible which was my father's—London edition of 1759—one hundred and three years old. It was printed on beautiful paper, with a clear, good type, and was fully illustrated by engravings of Bible scenes, and by maps and plans. In the settlement of my father's estate, this Bible went out of the family and was carelessly used. A few years ago I bought it back and had it put in order; the text is all perfect; the prints and maps are all preserved; and those works of art which were the admiration of us children, now in my old age bring back very interesting reminiscences, and always of our blessed mother. Our father, as I have said, was a decidedly religious man, without austerity, and was a strict observer of the Sabbath, and of all the laws of morals and religion. Although he was much engrossed by public and private duties, and therefore left our religious training chiefly to our mother, his daily life shed a holy influence over the family. Thus we breathed in a religious atmosphere, and our sentiments and manners were influenced and formed by a Christian standard of thought and action.

The Assembly's Catechism was in those days taught, not only in the schools, but was recited by question and answer in the families of religious people, especially of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations. It is indeed a very able summary, and may be read with advantage by mature minds; but it is not easy for children to comprehend the doctrines or to master the language. Still it should not be discarded; it has been an important educator, although all its views are not adopted in this age. It is also an interesting historical document, illustrating the religious character of the century that succeeded next after that of the Reformation. On Sabbath afternoon, the public service being concluded, we, my brother and myself, with the younger servants, who were negroes—the children of the older servants—stood up in a line, and recited as much as we could of the catechism (the Assembly's was the one we generally rehearsed). With the plainer parts we did tolerably well, and could repeat the commandments; but we found it difficult to remember, and perhaps still more difficult to understand, the complex illustration of the commandments. I well recollect the restlessness of the colored children, and all were glad when this exercise was finished. Still, an impression of solemnity was left on the mind, and I find that catechism still deeply lodged in my memory and engraven in my religious temperament.

The writings of that excellent Christian instructor and charming poet, Dr. Watts, were ever delightful to my brother and myself. His catechism, both the longer and the shorter, were quite intelligible to our young minds, and to recite them was a pleasant employment. There was also in them a kindness and gentleness that attracted us; they seemed like the voice of an affectionate

Christian parent, or of the Saviour himself. The hymns for children were lovely; some of them remain among the permanent stores of my memory, and ever bring up to my mind refreshing visions of the days of childhood.

School for Reading and Spelling.

It is my recollection that the elements of English reading were taught us by our mother at home along with our religious instruction.

I am not quite certain as to priority of time, but it is my impression that our first school for reading and spelling was in a small school-house on the hill in the road to Fairfield town. It was not over a quarter of a mile from our house, and was situated upon a basis of granite rock, with loose masses and cliffs of the same rock on the descending hill; and upon and around these masses we children played in the recess from school, unconscious that these loose rocks, as well as the firm ledges of granite (a name then unknown to me), were historical records of the planet. . . . .

The discipline of our almost infant school was parental and not severe discipline. The rod was rarely or never used; but milder methods were employed. On one occasion our *ma'am*—for that was her familiar title—detected a little girl and a little boy in whispering and playing. The punishment was, that a double yoke of limber branches of willow was adjusted to the necks of the offenders, and they were required to walk home as yoke-fellows. The little girl, not at all abashed, addressed her shrinking companion by epithets of endearment; he was compelled to bear the sly titter of his school-fellows —a punishment not soon forgotten.

Familiarity with Natural Scenery and Phenomena.

There was a fine fishing-ground at some distance from the shore, and the long clams standing erect in the sand afforded the requisite bait. Fishes also for the seine flowed with the refluent waves into the narrow inlets in great numbers, especially at the head of Black Rock Harbor, among which the striped bass were the most esteemed; and sea-fowl flitted across the spit or bar which ran out almost a mile from Fairfield Beach, and at low water appeared a naked, rocky reef, resembling an artificial breakwater. We boys loved to wander, when the tide was out, on the hard flats, which were so firm that the human foot made hardly any impression, and they were hardly marked by the iron shoes of a horse, resounding to his tread.

One afternoon, as Mr. Fowler—who was our first male teacher—did not arrive with his usual punctuality, a rumor was circulated among us that he was not coming, and that we were then to have a holiday. "*Quod volumus facile credimus*," and away we went under the leadership of some master-spirit down the narrow lane to Fairfield Beach. Smooth shells and polished pebbles decorated the beach, and there were numerous islets of hard sand peering above the waves, but soon to be submerged again with the returning tide. To one and another of these islets we wandered, wading through the shallow channels by which they were surrounded. Like thoughtless children, as we were, we did not heed the rising tide until the channel became filled and the water too deep for most of us to pass with safety; and few of us could swim. By the exertions of the taller and stronger boys, however, the shorter and feebler were helped over the strait, and glad were we to be once more on *terra firma*. It was a moment of danger. The claim of a holiday proved to be a blunder, or a story fabricated for the occasion; and the next day the matter was inquired into, and some punishments were inflicted; but I believe the boys of Holland Hill escaped what we all deserved. Indeed, I do not remember that the ferule was ever applied to my hand, or the rod to my back.

Living in a situation perfectly rural, on elevated ground overlooking the country for many leagues; having before us Long Island Sound, a beautiful strait perhaps twenty miles in average breadth,—a strait often adorned by the white canvas of sailing vessels, occasionally fretted by winds and storms into waves which adorned the blue bosom of the deep with snowy crests and ridges —in such a situation, we had only to open our eyes in a clear atmosphere to be charmed with the scenery of this beautiful world, as here presented to our view. A love of natural scenery thus took early possession of our young minds, and with it were associated all the attractions of the farm, of the forest, and the waters—the beauty and the melody of birds, and the activity and instinct of animals. In a word, we were by birth, by education, and choice, country boys: and we honored our rural origin by adopting the amusements and varieties of exercise which belong peculiarly to the country.

[Mr. Silliman prepared for college under the tuition of his pastor, Rev. Andrew Eliot. During the occupation of Boston by the British, a number of families had left that place and taken refuge in Fairfield. Among them was the family of Rev. Andrew Eliot (Sen.), D.D., a patriotic and faithful minister, who himself remained in Boston in the discharge of his appropriate duties. Some of the persons who thus resorted to Fairfield found a permanent home there; and among them the younger Mr. Andrew Eliot, who became pastor of the church by ordination, June 21, 1774.]

Mr. Eliot was a thorough scholar, and was so fully imbued with classical zeal that he was not always patient of our slow progress. He, however, devoted himself with great zeal and fidelity to our instruction in all good learning that was adapted to our age and destination, and carried us safely through. He was most faithful during the more than two years that we were his private pupils—and his only pupils, except his own children. . . . . Mr. Eliot took great delight in reading aloud to us from the Æneid. Being excited and animated both by the poetry and the story, he evidently enjoyed the subject, and would fain have imparted to us a portion of his own enthusiasm. Virgil's works were pleasant to me, even from this early period; and after I became sufficiently familiar with the language and the structure both of the grammar and the verse, they were to me an agreeable study.

We did not find the Orations of Cicero equally captivating as the epic verse of Virgil. The beautiful allusions to natural scenery and physical facts and events, which abound in the writings of Virgil, had little place in forensic pleadings and popular appeals. It was also more difficult for boys at our age to resolve at a glance the sometimes long and involved sentences and sections of the Orations of Cicero. Still, we diligently worked our way through them.

[Mr. Silliman makes frequent reference to the pleasant society of Fairfield as one of the valuable elements in his education. Of Judge Jonathan Sturges, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, he adds: "With a fine person, he had the superior manners of that day—dignity softened by a kind and winning courtesy, with the stamp of benevolence. He is pictured on my memory, and the reminiscence is very agreeable—a recollection of my early youth. Judge Sturges had a large family, sons and daughters; the sons were gentlemen in sentiments and manners, and the daughters refined ladies, partaking of the blended traits of both parents. They were all amiable and intelligent and pleasant; some of them were beautiful. It was a delightful family circle." Dr. Dwight, "whose brilliant talents, pulpit eloquence, and Academy for youth of both sexes, gave celebrity to Greenfield Hill, where he was minister, was a frequent visitor, always on Saturday afternoon, at Mr. Jonathan Burr's. His conversation was equally entertaining and instructive, a feast for both mind and heart."]

College Life—1792 *to* 1796.

Mr. Silliman entered Yale College in 1792, the youngest of his class save one. During the first three years of his college life the institution was under the presidency of Dr. Ezra Stiles. He was probably the most learned man of his time in America. In theology he was a diligent student of the Fathers and the Rabbies in the original tongues; but such was his avidity for all sorts of knowledge, that he made himself equally conversant with history, mathematics, and the physical sciences. Mr. Silliman being of the younger classes, seldom came into near contact with the President, and the chief impression which Dr. Stiles produced on him was that of awe for his station and for his uncommon acquirements. He retained a vivid recollection of occasionally walking through the long yard that fronted the President's house, hat in hand, according to the old etiquette (which Dr. Stiles strictly enforced), to present an excuse, or obtain leave to be temporarily absent. Once, in his Freshman year, oblivious of the rule, he gave a kick to a stray football in the college yard, for which misdemeanor he was instantly fined a sixpence by the President, who happened to be an eye witness. This, it is believed, was the only instance in which he exposed himself to penalty or censure during his college course. Though only thirteen years old when he came to college, he was somewhat grave for his years, and his thoughtful temper disinclined him to coarse or mischievous sports. The purity of his character was sullied by no gross or unworthy act.

The accession of Dr. Dwight to the presidency at the beginning of his Senior year made an epoch in Mr. Silliman's college career.* This eminent man seems to have cast a spell over him from the first. The vigorous and animated discussions of Dr. Dwight, in the lecture-room and the pulpit, opened to his admiring pupil a new world of thought. Through life, Dr. Dwight stood before his mind as a model of human greatness.

His diary, kept during this period, gives us glimpses of the college as it was:

1795.—*Aug.* 13. Studied in the forenoon, and wrote all the afternoon; in the evening went to Brothers in Unity Society; returned to my rooms with Bishop, Robbins, and Tucker. We dressed Robbins in the *beau mode*, but making a little too much noise, Mr. Linsly came up to still us. Nevertheless, we finished the trausformation of Robbins, and he strutted around college with considerable dignity. We raised the electrical kite this day, but the air was too near an equilibrium to afford any of the fluid. Mr. Day (afterward President Day) called upon us in the forenoon on his return from Greenfield, and informed us that Dr. Dwight was dismissed, and that he (Mr. Day) was to take his school.

Oct. 31. I studied as usual, and attended recitation. Our recitations are now becoming very interesting, by the useful and entertaining instruction which is communicated in them by the President. He is very truly a great man, and it is very rare that so many excellent natural and acquired endowments are to be found in one person.

Nov. 4. Mr. Meigs heard the class recite at noon, as Dr. Dwight is out of town. Although Mr. Meigs is a very sensible man, and very well calculated for the office which (as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy) he now fills, still it is very easy to make a contrast between him and the President; but I am doubtful whether the comparison is not a false one, because the President is one of those characters which we very seldom meet with in the world, and who form its greatest ornaments.

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* Under date of September 8, 1775, Mr. Silliman enters as follows: "Dr. Dwight was to have been inducted in o the office of President at ten A. M., but through some misfortune was not, and it was postponed until six P. M., when I attended in the chapel, which was filled with clergymen, students, &c. The ceremony was begun by an anthem; then a Latin oration and address to the President-elect, by Mr. Williams. The President then made a Latin oration and addresses to the corporation, and the whole was concluded by an anthem called 'The Heavenly Vision' The first act of power exercised by the new President was—'*cantatur anthema.*' I then went to supper and then to college, to see the illumination and fireworks; the illumination was partial, as well as the fireworks; but the music was very good."

SCIENCE IN YALE COLLEGE—1800.

In the first century of Yale College, a single room was appropriated to apparatus in physics. It was in the old college, second loft, northeast corner, now No. 56. It was papered on the walls; the floor was sanded, and the window-shutters were always kept closed except when visitors or students were introduced. There was an air of mystery about the room, and we entered it with awe, increasing to admiration after we had seen something of the apparatus and the experiments. There was an air-pump, an electrical machine of the cylinder form, a whirling table, a telescope of medium size, and some of smaller dimensions; a quadrant, a set of models for illustrating the mechanical powers, a condensing fountain with *jets d'eau*, a theodolite, and a magic lantern—the wonder of Freshmen. These were the principal instruments; they were of considerable value; they served to impart valuable information, and to enlarge the students' knowledge of the material world. We should not now undervalue the mental culture, and certainly the discipline, of the first century in Yale College. In relation to the early condition of the country, the means of education were commensurate with the demands of the community, and great and wise and good and useful men were trained in Yale College in those times, many of whom have left their mark on the passing age in which they lived.

During my novitiate, chemistry was scarcely ever named. I well remember when I received my earliest impressions in relation to chemistry. Professor Josiah Meigs—1794 to 1801—delivered lectures on natural philosophy from the pulpit of the College Chapel. He was a gentleman of great intelligence, and had read Chaptal, Lavoisier, and other chemical writers of the French school. From these, and perhaps other sources, he occasionally introduced chemical facts and principles in common with those of natural philosophy. I heard from him (Æt. 15 and 16) that water contains a great amount of heat which does not make the water any hotter to the touch or to the thermometer; that this heat comes out of the water when it freezes, and still the freezing water is not warmed by the escaping heat, except when the water has been cooled below the freezing-point before freezing; then, when it actually freezes, the temperature rises to 32°; and that all this heat must be reabsorbed by the ice when it melts, and then becomes latent, as if it were extinguished, but is again to escape when the ice melts anew. This appeared to me very surprising; and still more astonishing did it appear that boiling water cannot be made any hotter by urging the fire. My curiosity being awakened, I opened an encyclopedia, and there read that balloons were inflated by an inflammable gas obtained from water; and I looked with intense interest at the figures representing the apparatus, by means of which steam, made to pass through an ignited gun-barrel, came out inflammable gas at the other end of the tube. These and similar things created in my youthful mind a vivid curiosity to know more of the science to which they appertained. Little did I then imagine that Providence held this duty and pleasure in reserve for me.

President Dwight and the New Professorship of Chemistry.

President Dwight, if his vigorous mind at the meridian age of forty-three was not overrunning, like that of Dr. Stiles, with every variety of curious lore, included in his wide range of vision all the great branches of human knowledge. A divine, a poet, a rhetorician, a scholar, and a high-bred gentleman, he, when physical science did not sway the universal mind as now, still saw with a telescopic view both its intrinsic importance and its practical relations to the wants of man and to the progress of human society. Chemistry early attracted his attention, and although he had never been personally con-

versant with the science, it was apparent from his remarks that he understood its nature and its position among the physical sciences. I was, on an early occasion, much impressed with the correctness of his views, when I accidentally overheard him on the door-steps of the Laboratory replying to a lady, a stranger, who asked him, "Pray, sir, what is chemistry?" To her he correctly and forcibly enunciated its nature and object.

President Dwight had been in office but three years before he procured the passage of the following resolution, which is taken from the record of the doings of the President and Fellows of Yale College at their regular meeting, Sept. 12, 1798:

"*Voted*, That a Professorship of Chemistry and Natural History be instituted in this College as soon as the funds shall be sufficiently productive to support it."

From the doings of the same, Sept. 7, 1802, four years later:

"*Whereas*, in Sept., 1798, it was voted by this Board that a Professorship of Chemistry and Natural History be instituted in this College as soon as the funds shall be sufficiently productive to support it; and it now appearing that the funds are adequate to the object,

"*Voted*, That a Professorship of Chemistry and Natural History be, and it is hereby, instituted in this College.

"*Voted*, That it is expedient to elect, for a Professor of Chemistry and Natural History, some person of competent talents, giving him such time to give his answer whether he will accept such appointment or not as he may desire, and as may be agreed on between him and the Corporation.

"The Corporation being led to the choice of a Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in this College, on the provisions of the foregoing vote, Benjamin Silliman, Esq., was declared chosen."

The President had before dissuaded my acceptance of a proposal made to me, through some of my college friends in Georgia, to take charge of the important and flourishing academy at Sunbury in Liberty County, not far from Savannah. As this county was settled by a Puritan population—emigrants from the colony of Old Plymouth and Dorchester—its people retained the institutions and habits of their Northern friends; and those persons from Liberty County whom I had known contributed to confirm my favorable impressions. My Southern friends represented to me that a liberal income, enjoyed for a few years, would aid me in passing into the practice of law in Georgia, and thus I might obtain an establishment in a country where the profession commanded more ample rewards than at the North.

"I advise you not to go to Georgia. I would not voluntarily, unless under the influence of some commanding moral duty, go to live in a country where slavery is established; you must encounter, moreover, the dangers of the climate, and may die of a fever within two years. I have still other reasons which I will now proceed to state to you." He then proceeded to say that the corporation of the College had, several years before, at his recommendation, passed a vote or resolution to establish a Professorship of Chemistry and Natural History as soon as the funds would admit of it. The time, he said, had now arrived when the College could safely carry the resolution into effect. He said, however, that it was at present impossible to find among us a man properly qualified to discharge the duties of the office. He remarked, moreover, that a foreigner, with his peculiar habits and prejudices, would not feel and act in unison with us, and that however able he might be in point of science, he would not understand our college system, and might therefore not act in harmony with his colleagues.

He saw no way but to select a young man worthy of confidence, and allow

him time, opportunity, and pecuniary aid to enable him to acquire the requisite science and skill, and wait for him until he should be prepared to begin. He decidedly preferred one of our own young men born and trained among us, and possessed of our habits and sympathies.

The President then did me the honor to propose that I should consent to have my name presented to the Corporation, giving me at the same time the assurance of his cordial support, and of his belief that the appointment would be made. I was then approaching twenty-two years of age—still a youth, or only entering on early manhood. I was startled and almost oppressed by the proposal. A profession—that of the law—in the study of which I was already far advanced, was to be abandoned, and a new profession was to be acquired, preceded by a course of study and of preparation too, in a direction in which in Connecticut there was no precedent.

The good President perceived both my surprise and my embarrassment, and with his usual kindness and resource proceeded to remark to this effect: "I could not propose to you a course of life and of effort which would promise more usefulness or more reputation. The profession of law does not need you; it is already full, and many eminent men adorn our courts of justice; you may also be obliged to cherish a hope long deferred, before success would crown your efforts in that profession, although, if successful, you may become richer by the law than you can by science. In the profession which I proffer to you there will be no rival here. The field will be all your own. The study will be full of interest and gratification, and the presentation which you will be able to make of it to the college classes and the public will afford much instruction and delight. Our country, as regards the physical sciences, is rich in unexplored treasures, and by aiding in their development you will perform an important public service, and connect your name with the rising reputation of our native land. Time will be allowed to make every necessary preparation; and when you enter upon your duties, you will speak to those to whom the subject will be new. You will advance in the knowledge of your profession more rapidly than your pupils can follow you, and will be always ahead of your audience."

Thus encouraged by remarks so forcibly put and so kindly suggested, I expressed my earnest and most respectful thanks for the honor and advantages so unexpectedly offered to me, and asked for a few weeks for consideration and for consultation with my nearest friends.

Chemical Studies in Philadelphia.

[After due reflection and consultation the appointment was accepted, and Mr. Silliman at once resorted to Philadelphia, which at that time presented more advantages than any other place in the country. He attended the lectures of Dr. James Woodhouse in the Medical School, and profited by the same, although there were great deficiencies in both his lectures and his demonstrations.]

The deficiencies of Dr. Woodhouse's courses were, in a considerable degree, made up in a manner which I could not have anticipated. I have already mentioned that Robert Hare was a fellow-boarder and companion at Mrs. Smith's. He was a genial, kind-hearted man, one year younger than myself, and was already a proficient in chemistry upon the scale of that period; and being informed of my object in coming to Philadelphia, he kindly entered into my views and extended to me his friendship and assistance. A small working laboratory was conceded to us by the indulgence of our hostess, Mrs. Smith, and we made use of a spare cellar-kitchen, in which we worked together in

our hours of leisure from other pursuits. Mr. Hare had, one year before, perfected his beautiful invention of the oxy-hydrogen blow-pipe, and had presented the instrument to the Chemical Society of Philadelphia. His mind was much occupied with the subject, and he enlisted me into his service. We worked much in making oxygen and hydrogen gases, burning them at a common orifice to produce the intense heat of the instrument. Hare was desirous of making it still more intense by deriving a pure oxygen from chlorate of potassa, then called oxy-muriate of potassa. Chemists were then ignorant of the fact that, by mixing a little oxide of manganese with the chlorate, the oxygen can be evolved by the heat of a lamp applied to a glass retort. Hare thought it necessary to use stone retorts with a furnace heat; the retorts were purchased by me at a dollar each, and, as they were usually broken in the experiment, the research was rather costly; but my friend furnished experience, and, as I was daily acquiring it, I was rewarded, both for labor and expense, by the brilliant results of our experiments. Hare's apparatus was ingenious, but unsafe as regards the storage of the gases. Novice as I was, I ventured to suggest to my more experienced friend that by some accident or blunder the gases—near neighbors as they were in their contiguous apartments—might become mingled, when, on lighting them at the orifice, an explosion would follow. I was afterwards informed, although not by Hare, that this accident actually happened to him, although with no other mischief than a copious shower-bath from the expulsion of the water. Many years afterwards, Professor Hitchcock at Amherst, from the same cause, met with an explosion which gave him a great shock, and for a time greatly impaired his hearing.

After my return to New Haven, I contrived a mode of separating these gases so effectually that they could not become mixed. Eventually I employed separate gasometers, one to contain the oxygen and the other the hydrogen, and during forty years that they were in use no accident ever happened. During the second course in Philadelphia (Winter of 1803–4) I commenced writing lectures on heat and other general topics of chemistry, with reference to the commencement of my labors of instruction in Yale College. I enjoyed the important assistance of the lectures of the distinguished Dr. Black of Edinburgh, then recently published by his pupil and friend, Dr. Robinson. This book was to me a mine of riches. The first edition of Thomson's Chemistry, in four volumes, had then just appeared, and I took hold of it with avidity and with profit.

[During the two courses at Philadelphia he attended an introductory lecture of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a course of Anatomy by Dr. Caspar Wistar, and a private course on Zoology by Dr. Barton. "This I attended in the evening, and was entertained and instructed. After the course had advanced far enough to make illustrations from specimens instructive, our Professor one evening remarked to us that it would be desirable to visit Peale's Museum, which was rich in preserved specimens of animals, birds, reptiles, &c. The week being filled with lectures, Dr. Barton proposed that we should go, by special permission of Mr. Peale, on Sunday, as that was a day of leisure, and then we should not be interfered with by the usual visiting company. The proposition was no sooner made than it was adopted by general silent consent. With some hesitancy I rose, and in the most respectful terms stated that I regretted to interfere with

the wishes or convenience of the Professor and the class, but that for myself I had other occupations on the day proposed, and if that were to be the time, I must lose the instruction. After a moment's pause, the Professor named Saturday afternoon, which was adopted. A few days after, when passing Market street, I met a Dr. Parish, a young Quaker physician, who caught me by the hand, and said: 'Friend Silliman, I was glad to hear that thee had objected to visiting Peale's Museum on first day, when it was proposed by Dr. Barton.' First day is not sacred time with the Quakers, but they generally hold meetings on that day, and partake, to a degree, of the general reverence for the Sabbath entertained in most Christian countries."|

On my return to New Haven in March, 1803, I resumed the instruction of a class in the ordinary routine of college studies. I had previously, in conjunction with my respected colleague and friend, Rev. Ebenezer Grant Marsh, carried a class through the three years from 1799 to 1802. In the fourth year the class passed into the hands of the President, and was graduated in 1803. I ought to have been released from all other duties of instruction, that I might devote my time entirely to professional study; but the College was poor, and it was necessary to economize in the labor of the officers, as well as in all other ways. Still, I found time to perform some experiments, and to construct apparatus which would be available in my future labors. I devoted as much time as possible to scientific studies, and was thus the better prepared to resume my residence in Philadelphia during the next Winter.

I early attained an introduction to Dr. John Maclean, the resident Professor of Chemistry at Princeton, who favored me with a list of books for the promotion of my studies. Among these were Chaptal's, Lavoisier's, and Fourcroy's Chemistry, Scheel's Essays, Bergman's Works, Kirwan's Mineralogy, &c. I also passed a few days with Dr. Maclean in my different transits to and from Philadelphia, and obtained from him a general insight into my future occupation; inspected his library and apparatus, and obtained his advice regarding many things. Dr. Maclean was a man of brilliant mind, with all the acumen of his native Scotland; and a sprinkling of wit gave variety to his conversation. I regard him as my earliest master of chemistry, and Princeton as my first starting point in that pursuit; although I had not an opportunity to attend any lectures there.

First Course of Lectures in Chemistry—1804.

In a public room, hired for college purposes, in Mr. Tuttle's building on Chapel street, nearly opposite to the South College, I met the Senior Class, and read to them an introductory lecture on the history and progress, nature and objects, of chemistry. I was then twenty-four years old, and in August of that year I was twenty-five. I continued to lecture, and I believe in the same room, until the Senior Class retired in July, preparatory to their Commencement in September. My first efforts were received with favor, and the class which I then addressed contained men who were afterwards distinguished in life. Among them were John C. Calhoun, S. C.; Rev. John Chester; Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely; Bishop Gadsden; John Preston, Hampton, Miss.; Judge Hinman, Conn.; Dr. Lansing, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. McEwen; Rev. John Marsh; Rev. John Pierpont, poet; Rev. Dr. Tyler, and others. On the 4th of April, 1804, I commenced a course of duty as a lecturer and professor, in which I was sustained during fifty-one years; and now, by God's blessing, I am still in good health and power, sixty-five and a half years from my entrance into Yale College; sixty-one and a half years from graduating; fifty-eight and a half

years from being appointed tutor; and fifty-six and a half years from my appointment as Professor.

The First Laboratory—Apparatus—Lectures.

In 1802 the Corporation of Yale College erected the building which has ever since been known as the Lyceum. Its position is between the old South Middle and the North Middle College. I understood that a deep excavation under the west end of the building was intended for a laboratory. This building was erected before my appointment, and soon after President Dwight had confidentially offered the Professorship of Chemistry to me. I could, therefore, before my appointment, only look on with suppressed curiosity as to the structure and progress and destination of the edifice, as I was not at liberty to speak. It was understood that the main object was for a library-room, and for suitable apartments for the recitations of the classes, and for study-rooms for two of the professors. I was not consulted as to the laboratory, nor could I have been, openly, before my appointment, nor afterwards with advantage, until I had acquired some knowledge of chemistry. Still, after the prospect of my appointment had been opened to me by President Dwight, I cast anxious glances into that deep excavation, not exactly comprehending how it could be rendered available for the purposes of science; but my lips were as yet sealed in silence.

An English architect, Mr. Bonner, had established himself in New Haven, and had acquired a deserved reputation for knowledge, talent, and taste in his profession. He was charged with the erection of the Lyceum; but, having no particular knowledge of a laboratory, he placed it almost under ground. On my return from Philadelphia, in the Spring of 1803, I found that a groined arch of boards had been constructed over the entire subterranean room. It rose from stone pillars of nearly half of the height of the room, erected in each of the four corners and on the middle of the opposite sides. The effect was, therefore, by the curves of the arches, to cut off the light, more or less, from all the windows—one-third, or half, or even two-thirds in some of them. At once I saw that it would never answer, and I made my appeal to the Corporation at their next meeting. I invited them to visit the room, to which there was no practicable access except through a hole or scuttle in the roof of the arch. A ladder was therefore raised from below, or let down from above, and, Crusoe-like, the grave and reverend gentlemen of the Corporation descended, as Robinson did into his den, and arrived safely on the floor. President Dwight, Rev. Dr. Ely, Hon. James Hillhouse, and his venerable father, then fourscore or more, and others—members of the College Senate—found themselves in a gloomy cavern, fifteen or sixteen feet below the surface of the ground, into which, especially as there was as yet no trench excavated around the outside of the building, little more light glimmered than just enough to make the darkness visible.

To see was to be convinced. I had no difficulty in persuading the gentlemen that the model arch of boards must be entirely knocked away, the stone pillars removed, and the space opened freely to the roof of the room, which should be finished square up to the ceiling, like any other large room. It was indeed to be regretted that several hundred dollars had been worse than thrown away upon the preposterous arch. How did it happen? I suppose that Mr. Bonner, an able civil architect, as I have already said, had received only some vague impressions of chemistry—perhaps a confused and terrific dream of alchemy, with its black arts, its explosions, and its weird-like mysteries. He appears, therefore, to have imagined that the deeper down in mother earth the dangerous chemists could be buried, so much the better; and perhaps he thought that a strong arch would keep the detonations under, although, as an architect and

engineer, he would of course know that the arch, when pressed from above, grows stronger until it is crushed; but, struck from below, its resistance is feeble, and it may more easily collapse with a crash.

I lost no time in having the model arch removed, and the room finished as if there had been no arch. I caused also a wide trench to be excavated outside, all around the room, and the earth-banks to be sustained by the masonry of stone walls whitened, so that a cheerful light was thus reflected into a large and lofty room, whose windows were now free to the external radiance of the atmosphere and the solar beams from the west.

Still the place was a very unfortunate one, to which, had I been seasonably informed, I should have objected decidedly. When I stood on the floor of the room, my head was still six feet below the surface of the ground, and of course the room was very damp; all articles of iron were rapidly rusted, and all preparations that attracted water became moist or even deliquesced.

I devoted the Spring and early weeks of the Summer to the finishing and arrangement of my half subterranean working and lecture room. There was no remedy; the College was not able to construct another, and I was afraid of alarming them with the prospect of expenses which I was well aware must be considerable, and would be annual and always recurring. There was therefore no way but to make the best of a faulty location. The room was now paved with flag-stones; a false floor of boards was constructed, rising from the lowest level as high as the sill of the outer door, and thus affording an elevation—an inclined plane—sufficient to prevent the vision of the rear from being obstructed by the front rows of hearers. A gallery was erected on the side of the room opposite to the windows, access being made from the front of the tower or steeple through the intervening cellar, over a paved walk. Tables were established on the floor of the laboratory, in a line with a large hydro-pneumatic cistern or gas-tub, and a marble cistern for a mercurial bath. The small collection of apparatus which I had got together was duly arranged, and things began to look like work. Arrangements were made for furnaces, and for the introduction of water from a neighboring well. The tables were covered with green cloth; the stone floor was sprinkled with white beach-sand; the walls and ceiling were white-washed; the backs and writing-tables of the benches, and the front and end of the gallery, were painted of a light lead color; and the glass of the windows being washed clean, the laboratory now made a very decent and rather inviting appearance, like the offices, store-rooms, and kitchens that are seen almost underground in cities.

During fifteen of the best years of my life, from the age of twenty-five to forty, I was a diligent worker in this deep-seated laboratory, and I will mention further on how I finally emerged. This room had the advantage of a more agreeable temperature than if it had been on the surface of the ground.

In October, 1804, the new laboratory received the class that were to graduate in September, 1805. Here, again, were those who in after-life became men of renown. Among them were Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, friend of the deaf mutes; Edward Hooker, an able classical instructor; Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D.; Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, D.D.; Dr. J. M. Scott McKnight, S. C.; Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D.; &c. The very limited apparatus was somewhat extended and embellished by several chemical instruments, which I found in a closet in the old philosophical chamber, and which, as I understood, had been brought out from London, in the time of President Stiles, by the late President Ebenezer Fitch. This gentleman was graduated in Yale College in 1777; was a tutor in it from 1780 to 1783; went into trade with Henry Daggett, Esq., in New Haven, and their concerns led him to England, where he obtained the apparatus named above. There were several very beautiful gas-flasks, with

sigmoid tubes ground into them. There was also a Nooth's machine for impregnating water with carbonic acid gas, and a collection of glass tubes. I used also some of the glass bells from the philosophical apparatus; and, as my audience were novices, probably the appearance of the apparatus was respectable. I recollected, also, a remark which I heard Dr. Priestley make, namely, that with Florence flasks (cleaned by sand and ashes) and plenty of glass tubes, vials, bottles, and corks, a tapering iron rod to be heated and used as cork-borer, and a few live coals with which to bend the tubes, a good variety of apparatus might be fitted up. Some gun-barrels also, he said, would be of much service; and I had brought from Philadelphia an old blacksmith's furnace, which served for the heating of the iron tubes. He said, moreover, that sand and bran (coarse Indian meal is better), with soap, would make the hands clean, and that there was no sin in dirt.

At that time there were very few chemical instruments of glass to be obtained in this country. I had picked up a few glass retorts in Philadelphia, and I made application to Mr. Mather, a manufacturer of glass in East Hartford, a few years later, to make some for me. On stating my wish, he said he had never seen a retort, but if I would send him one as a pattern, he did not doubt he could make them. I had a retort the neck or tube of which was broken off near the ball—but as no portion was missing, and the two parts exactly fitted each other, I sent this retort and its neck in a box, never dreaming that there could be any blunder. In due time, however, my dozen of green glass retorts, of East Hartford manufacture, arrived, carefully boxed and all sound, except that they were all cracked off in the neck exactly where the pattern was fractured; and broken neck and ball lay in state like decapitated kings in their coffins. This more than Chinese imitation affords a curious illustration of the state of the manufacture of chemical glass at that time in this country, or rather in Connecticut; the same blunder would probably not have been made in Philadelphia or Boston.

As far as I could judge, the impression on my pupils of the institution and on the public was favorable. The experiments were prepared with great care, and a failure was a very rare occurrence. Although manuscripts fully written out lay before me, I soon began to speak without reading, and found my own feeling freer and easier, and the audience more interested. I always, however, prepared the matter of the lecture thoroughly, and therefore avoided embarrassment in the delivery. Even with my immature and limited acquirements I was encouraged to proceed by recollecting other remarks which I heard from Dr. Priestley. Being complimented upon his numerous discoveries, he replied to this effect:—"I subjected whatever came to hand to the action of fire or various chemical agents, and the result was often fortunate in presenting some new discovery. In teaching I have always found that the best way to learn is to teach, when you will be sure to study your subject well, and I could always keep ahead of my pupils. Thus while I was teacher, I was still more a learner."

Impressions of the Lectures and the Lecturer—College Life about 1800.

Rev. John Marsh, D.D., writes in 1865:

My first acquaintance with Prof. Silliman was in 1797, when I was nine years of age. That year he came to Wethersfield, Conn., the place of my birth, to teach our private, or, as it was called, Grammar school. My father, the pastor of the Congregational Church, anxious for the mental improvement of the youth of his charge, had succeeded in establishing such a school, placing in it as its first teacher the afterwards famous Dr. Azel Backus. At his graduation, Mr. Silliman was recommended for the place, though his youthfulness was considered a serious objection. The school numbered about forty, and some of the young ladies in it were already highly cultivated and older than himself. I was one of the youngest in the school; but being devoted, as

most ministers' sons were, to a college life, I began with him my Latin grammar and went nearly through it for the first time. But the next year I was transferred to the school of Dr. Backus, at Bethlehem, where I remained two years; when, under the inspirations of two such teachers, I was able in September, 1800, at the age of *twelve* (unfortunately), to tread the halls of Yale. During his residence and instructions at Wethersfield, Mr. Silliman was as marked for the elegance and courteousness of his manners and his efficiency in all the business that was committed to his trust, as at any period of his life; and it has ever been conceded that he did much in perpetuating and even increasing among the young that refinement of manners for which the place had ever been signal. Mr. Silliman was succeeded in the school by Professor Kingsley, a gentleman in most respects the opposite—so timid and bashful, that he could scarce appear in family circles or look a scholar in the face, and yet found to be such a scholar himself as to inspire with fear all who came to recite a lesson. He too was invaluable in his place.

On coming to New Haven, I found Mr. Silliman associated with Mr. (afterwards President) Day, Mr. Davis, Mr. Kingsley, and my brother, Ebenezer Grant Marsh, in the Tutor's office (there were then no Professors but Mr. Meigs); and rooming as I did with my brother, I often saw those lovely men there freely unbending amid the cares and labors of office; and never were there more congenial spirits, or men more worthy of their stations. No wonder that Dr. Dwight loved them, and conceived the thought of establishing them as Professors for life. When Mr. Silliman returned from his first Winter in Philadelphia, and commenced lecturing on chemistry, our class rushed to the lecture-room with great eagerness to see and hear, and we considered ourselves as peculiarly fortunate in being born at so late a period, and as already wiser than all who had gone before us. What much impressed us, and made us feel that this was a new science, was to see Dr. Dwight, with whom we supposed was all wisdom and all knowledge, come regularly to the lectures, take a seat on the same floor with the scholars (that he might see the experiments), and drink in with great *gusto* all the truths which were developed.

Rev. Noah Porter, D.D., of Farmington, writes in 1865:

I had my first impressions of Mr. Silliman in the old chapel at the beginning of my Freshman year, in the fall of 1799—a fair and portly young man, having his thick and long hair clubbed behind (*à la mode* George Washington), closely following President Dwight as they passed up the middle aisle for evening prayers, and taking his seat in the large square pew at the right of the pulpit. After prayers, the call from the President—*sedete omnes*—brought us all upon our seats, when Mr. Silliman, at a signal from the President, rose and read a written formula declaring his assent to the Westminster Catechism and the Saybrook Platform. So he was inducted into the Tutorship. The other tutors that year were Messrs. Day, Davis, Denison, and Marsh. Messrs. Silliman and Marsh were the tutors of the Freshmen, and the division to which I belonged was assigned to the former, and the entire course of instruction for the first three years was given us by him alone; for, although we were called together with the rest of the college, in a few instances—Wednesday afternoon in the chapel, to hear a lecture by Professor Josiah Meigs in his department—the latter was removed, soon after I joined college, to the University in Georgia; and all our lessons, till we came under the instruction of President Dwight, were recited to Mr. Silliman. I am, perhaps, in consequence more indebted to him than to any other man for such early education as I received; and certainly there are few men for whom I have ever since entertained higher esteem or veneration. The class did not consider him a profound scholar, but we admired him as an accomplished gentleman; we respected him as a man of great sense and quick apprehension, and we exceedingly loved him as a teacher devotedly kind and faithful. Having scarcely passed his boyhood when he entered college, he could not be supposed to have thoroughly mastered the whole course; and having never reviewed, as I suppose, in his mature years, he probably—as indeed some of us supposed at the time was the case—was obliged to devote almost as much time and labor to his preparation for the recitation room as his pupils themselves; but I do not remember that we ever found him wanting, or caught him stumbling, though my old friend Aaron Dutton sometimes said, "Benny blushed as he was trying to help ——— floundering in the mire of a problem which he was unprepared to solve."

But the course of college learning at that time—do you know how meagre it was? As though we had come fresh from the common school, we were put back into our grammar, geography, and the common learning, and kept in them a great part of the first two years, so that at their close we had scarcely advanced farther than is now requisite for admission. And then what poor

barren things our grammars, lexicons, and text-books then were, compared with such as are now furnished! And our teachers were as scantily furnished as our books, with stores of knowledge that are now prepared for the acquisition of the earnestly studious mind. I wonder that any of us came out men, or ever became such. And yet we were fully employed, and on such things as were put into our hands we were kept hard at work. Though we were perhaps half a year on Morse's two huge volumes of geography, we were required to recite the whole of them, and our memories, if no other faculties, were severely tasked.* We were required to review our studies again and again, and to be very exact in our recitation. Every mistake was marked, and the account, we were told, was preserved. And it may be less important, in the process of education, what is the subject of thought and study, than the thought itself, the habit of study, the power of concentrating the mind on whatever may come before it.

Rev. John Pierpont, D.D., the Poet and Preacher, in 1865 writes as follows of his impressions of Professor Silliman as a lecturer in 1804 and in 1829:

My first sight of Mr. Silliman was when, the day before Commencement, 1800, I, with other condidates for admission to college, with a very turbulent heart, took my seat in the old dining-hall for examination. I felt that it was —and very probably it was—the most eventful day of my life. The examiners were then the now venerable and saintly ex-President Day and Mr. Silliman, who, I then thought, was the *handsomest* man I had ever seen.

I was never in a class—academical—that enjoyed the advantage of Mr. Silliman's immediate instruction; he, if I remember aright, being connected with the Junior, when I was of the Freshman class.

As you remark, sir, I was of the class that first heard his lectures on chemistry, in the preparation of which he had spent some time. I do not recollect whether or not I went to his first lecture prepared to take notes of it. But I think I remember the introductory sentence of it, *defining* the science that was to be the subject of his course: "Chemistry is the science that treats of the changes that are effected in material bodies or substances by light, heat, and mixture."

My impression now is, that he did not read his lectures; so that his instructions were not etymologically lectures or readings, but free, fluent talks, prepared for evidently with care, and delivered in a style, as some would say, rather ornate for a strictly scientific discourse. Severe and sensitive critics might go so far as to say that there was in his style of lecturing a slight affectation of the exquisite; while others would say, "nay, but a very natural elegance."

In his demonstrative experiments he was always successful, and in all his manipulations there was uniformly a grace and nicety that was pleasant to those of us whose *ideality* had begun to be developed.

His elocution was distinct, sometimes rather too rapid for those of us who were slow of apprehension, but it seemed to go so fast because he feared there wouldn't be time enough for it all to get out—there was so much of it—before the clock would strike and shut the laggards in.

It was, I think, in 1829, that, at the request of the first association for a course of popular lectures in Boston, I called upon Mr. Silliman to solicit from him a course of lectures in that city. As to his manner in that course, I could see in it but little change. It seemed almost identical with what it was when I first heard him. His style of rhetoric was perhaps rather more severe, but his experiments were equally graceful, and, as of old, equally and always successful. What, under certain combinations and mixtures, he said would come to pass, always did come to pass. He was as a lecturer a true prophet, showing a full knowledge of his subject, and because of that knowledge able to predict the phenomena that would result from stated conditions.

Mr. Silliman's chemical lectures in Boston were eminently successful. In regard to his *manner* of lecturing when I just compared it with what it was when I first heard him, if I speak as I have done, of its almost perfect identity, thereby implying that he had not improved much between those periods, you, sir, ought not to be greatly surprised; for what great improvement could be rationally expected in 1829, in what was so nearly perfect a quarter of a century before?

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* The study of Geography was discontinued in 1825. Dr. Leonard Bacon, in speaking of his own college days, says: "I have a feeling remembrance of the two bulky volumes of Morse to this day—remembering well the bulk of the volumes, but too little what was in them?'

FOREIGN TRAVEL AND UNIVERSITY STUDIES.

The record by Dr. Fisher of Prof. Silliman's residence and travels abroad in 1805, exhibit the advantages of foreign travel as a part of a University education—to one already equipped with preliminary knowledge and mental discipline, with special objects of study and investigation in view, and letters of introduction to secure the inestimable pleasure and advantages of the society of men eminent in science, literature, and affairs. He thus writes in his Reminiscences of his decision and preparation for leaving:

In September, 1804, at a meeting of the President and Fellows of Yale College, it was voted to expend ten thousand dollars in Europe during the ensuing year, in the purchase of books for the library, and in the purchase also of philosophical and chemical apparatus. Symptoms of dysentery were coming upon me during the examination that preceded the Commencement, and I was hardly able to perform my duty. The disease made such progress that I was entirely unable to attend the public exercises of Commencement week, but was confined to my bed at Mrs. Twining's under medical treatment by Dr. Eli Ives. There I accidentally heard of the vote of the corporation, and immediately, I believe, a project occurred to me which I resolved to disclose as soon as I should be sufficiently recovered to walk abroad, fearful in the meantime that I might be anticipated.

President Dwight was at that time fifty-two years of age, and was in the full splendor of his exalted powers, physical and mental.

I called upon him at his house, and found him at leisure in the front parlor, and in a state of mind to receive suggestions favorably. After ascertaining from him that the report which I had heard of the appropriation of ten thousand dollars was true, I inquired in what manner the business would be transacted. He replied, probably through the house of Isaac Beers & Howe, the college booksellers, and by the agency of their correspondents in London. I then inquired on what terms. He replied, by paying them a commission of perhaps five per cent. I then added, "Why not, sir, send me to transact the business, allowing me the percentage and continuing my salary, which, if I were absent but six or eight months, would probably pay my expenses, and I should in the meantime have opportunity to improve in my profession." The plan was afterwards altered, and the time allotted was double of that originally proposed.

To this proposal he instantly replied with his characteristic decision and frankness, and spoke as follows: "I am very glad you have made the suggestion; the thought had never occurred to me; this will be the best possible arrangement, and it shall have my decided support; but the corporation of the college have adjourned and cannot now be consulted without calling a special meeting, which I think will not be necessary, as the Prudential Committee can arrange the business, and I have no doubt they will be willing to assume the responsibility. Step into a carriage, therefore, and drive to Repton" (now Huntington, fourteen miles from New Haven), "and consult the Rev. David Ely, D.D., a member of the corporation and of the Prudential Committee. Then go to Farmington, twenty-eight miles, and submit the matter to Gov. Treadwell, who is an *ex officio* member of both boards. You will thus have consulted the Committee, and the Rev. James Dana, D.D., the other member of the Prudential Committee, is here in town, and can be readily seen."

The proposal of President Dwight was immediately adopted and carried into effect. I was too much interested to make any delay, and hastened to

those excellent patrons and guardians of the college, explained to them the proposed plan, and had the happiness to find that it met their cordial approbation. I had now a prospect of gratifying the cherished desire of visiting Europe, and under auspices that would insure my favorable reception. This arrangement was adopted, it is to be observed, in the autumnal vacation. I entered, therefore, upon the labors of my course of chemistry already referred to, with a fresh stimulus for exertion, and was cheered through the Winter with prospects brightening on my view as the Spring drew near. As yet the plan was not spoken of except to a few friends; but I was making my arrangements to carry into execution the proposed undertaking.

The lectures were given at the rate of four in a week, which furnished a course of sufficient length—sixty lectures or more, including some notices of mineralogy. By the middle of March I had accomplished all that I proposed to do in that season, and was now ready to finish my final arrangements and to take my departure, which was fixed for the 22d of March, from New Haven for New York and Philadelphia, to obtain additional letters of introduction, to select a ship, and engage my passage for Liverpool, not expecting to return again to New Haven before sailing. Four years and eight months had elapsed from the time when President Dwight gave me the first confidential intimation of his views and plan, and three years and a half since my appointment. Chemistry was a favorite with Dr. Dwight, and he looked forward to its establishment with the connected sciences with a high and evident interest, which increased in strength as the department advanced towards active efficiency. The present was an epoch in any life. In my old expense books under the date of March 22, 1805, I find the following remark: "Here close my accounts in this town (New Haven), having paid every demand—being about to depart in the evening for Europe." If I had never returned, no one would have been a loser by me.

A letter to his brother, Mr. G. S. Silliman, dated Rye, Jan. 24,. 1805, presents his use of social opportunity, and his filial duty to his aged mother, and his lofty purposes in going abroad.

I left New Haven on Wednesday morning of last week with Dr. Dwight, and proceeded to New York, which we reached on Thursday at eleven o'clock A. M. We left it to-day at twelve o'clock. Our stay was therefore one week. This period I have spent very usefully and agreeably. I have met with very polite and friendly attention from people of the first respectability. I have secured letters of introduction to Scotland, England, Holland, and France; from Samuel M. Hopkins, Dr. Mason, the house of Murray & Son, Oliver Wolcott, Dr. Perkins, Col. Trumbull, and Mr. King. All these gentlemen offer me every information and assistance in their power. Mr. King will introduce me to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, to Sir Charles Blagden, late Secretary of it, &c. Col. Trumbull, in addition to letters, will give me in writing directions for travelling to advantage—particularly to enable me to make a respectable appearance with the least possible expense; for he remarked that he had visited Europe in circumstances very similar to mine, and therefore knew how to direct me. In company with Dr. Dwight and Mr. Rogers, I spent two hours one morning at Mr. King's. I was gratified to find in a man who had been so long conversant with Courts, and who had so long enjoyed the admiration of Europe and America, the utmost affability and a total freedom from formality and that repulsiveness so commonly mistaken for dignity. . . . .

While in New York I dined with Moses Rogers, in company with James Watson, Dr. Mason, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Gracie, Oliver Wolcott, &c. I dined

also with Wm. Woolsey, Lynde Catlin, Mr. Winthrop; breakfasted with Peter Radcliff, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Rogers, &c., &c. I must stop to-morrow night with brother John, and reach New Haven on Saturday evening. On Monday I shall go to Middletown to spend a day or two with our honored mother, and this will close the vacation. I must then give an assiduous application to the duties of my professorship and to my preparations till my departure.

In another letter to the same brother, dated Feb. 21, 1805:

Do not, I beseech you, lay it to heart that I cannot visit you. We should be obliged to part even then; and would it not be more painful than to make up our minds to it now? I trust firmly, cheerfully, and confidently in Heaven, that *we shall meet again.* I have not *one gloomy foreboding, one desponding thought* or *doubtful apprehension.* Do not think I want feeling. Most sensibly do I feel the idea that I must be separated for more than a year from those I love; but I will not give way to such feelings; my mind is made up, and I go, resolutely and cheerfully, to meet whatever is before me. I have also a firm confidence, under God, that I shall not be influenced by the infidelity or the splendid pleasures and gilded fopperies of the Old World. *Spare me not,* when I return, if you find that I have made a fool of myself. My mind is bent on acquiring professional science, a knowledge of mankind, that general information which shall give me pleasing resources for reflection and conversation, those polished manners which shall prove a perpetual letter of introduction, and that easy, elegant, and chastened style of speech which shall give a garnish to all the rest. I have not the vanity to believe I shall accomplish all this; but such are my objects.

A YEAR IN EUROPE.

The year which Mr. Silliman spent abroad was crowded with profitable and agreeable employments. In Liverpool, where he landed and first saw the English on their own island, he had the good fortune to form the acquaintance of Mr. Roscoe. After a visit to Manchester, he resorted to the Derbyshire mines, which he diligently explored. At Coventry he witnessed the confusion and riot of an English election. Pursuing his way to London, he took up his abode in that metropolis for several months, executing the commission with which he was charged by the College, prosecuting his scientific studies, and making himself acquainted with things and persons of note. In society he met the leading scientific men of the day, including Watt, and our countryman, Robert Fulton. In Parliament he had the opportunity to hear the celebrated statesmen Pitt, Castlereagh, Windham, Fox, and Sheridan. He saw Lord Nelson on the Strand, with a crowd at his heels, and afterwards witnessed his embarkation at Portsmouth, with the glittering decorations on his breast which soon after proved a mark for the fatal shot on the deck of the *Victory;* and he witnessed the mingled exultation and grief of the English people at the news of Trafalgar. He made an excursion to Cornwall, and a laborious examination of the mining operations in that region, besides excursions to Bath, Bristol, and other places in England. Passing over to Holland, he encountered the only serious disappointment attending his tour. It was during the period after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, when the tide of Napoleon's

wrath against England was at the highest point, and when the great army which soon after achieved the capitulation at Ulm and the victory of Austerlitz had suddenly marched from the northern coast of France, where they had long menaced the opposite shores with invasion. At Antwerp, Mr. Silliman and his travelling companion were stopped by the French police on suspicion of being spies—no other proof being alleged than the fact that they had come from England. To come from England, whatever might be the nationality of the traveller, was at that time considered an offence meriting the imperial displeasure. Though deprived of the privilege of seeing Paris and its men of science, Mr. Silliman embraced the opportunity to visit several of the principal cities of Holland. Returning to London, he saw Mrs. Siddons in the Covent Garden Theatre, in one of her favorite parts, the Grecian Daughter; he received the hospitalities of Mr. Thornton, member of parliament and friend of Wilberforce, and by that gentleman was introduced to the illustrious statesman, with whom he spent several hours most agreeably; and he was brought into personal intercourse with the distinguished scientific professors, Davy and Allen. Taking the University of Cambridge on his way, and passing through York and Newcastle, he arrived in Edinburgh in the latter part of November, 1805. He found everything to delight him in this ancient and beautiful city, and in the University, where he found the ablest instructors in the departments of study to which he was devoted. Here he remained until the following Spring, when he set sail from Greenock, and reached New York on the 27th of May.

Professor Silliman in 1856 sums up the results of his visit to Europe in 1805, thus:

I. *Relation to Business.* I was fortunate in my engagements. I met with faithful men, who executed my orders with zeal, punctuality, and fidelity. Every book and article arrived in safety. After examination of my vouchers I received a full discharge of my pecuniary responsibility and a vote of approbation. I was charged with many private commissions, all of which were executed with fidelity, the money duly accounted for, and I made no charge for services. I left home for Europe, and Europe for home, without having an unsatisfied demand. I kept a minute account of all my disbursements, and footed them up every Saturday night, and noted the ratio of my expenditures to means. I neither borrowed money, and had no excess. I kept within my means, and had not anticipated my salary.

II. *In Relation to Professional Improvement, &c.* If I had rested content with the standard then attained [in this country], the Chemistry of Yale College would have been comparatively an humble affair. In Mineralogy my opportunities had been very limited. As to Geology, the science did not exist among us, except in the minds of a very few individuals, and instruction was not attainable in any public institution. In Edinburgh there were learned and eloquent geologists and lecturers, and ardent successful explorers. Here my mind was enlightened, interested, and excited to efforts which through a half century were sustained and increased. Intellectual culture and enlargement of mind generally resulted, of course, from the opportunities which I enjoyed.

Popular Lectures on Chemistry.

[It is not often that a course of popular lectures is conducted under such favorable auspices, or is attended with such important results as was the first of the series inaugurated by Prof. Silliman, in May, 1808.]

Before I left New Haven a course of popular chemistry for ladies and gentlemen had been proposed by Mr. Timothy Dwight, Jr., the eldest son of President Dwight; and the proposal having been sanctioned by him and consented to by me, the class, to the number of about forty-five, had been secured without any effort on my part. The proposition was pleasing to me, as it placed me professionally in a new position, responsible indeed, but promising to secure additional favor for the science then so new in Yale College, and almost new indeed in this country. Having been before accredited in my public character by Governor Trumbull, and invited by him to his house, I learned with pleasure that his daughter, Miss Harriet Trumbull, would soon go to New Haven, and pass some weeks with the ladies of the family of the Hon. James Hillhouse. I thought it not intrusive, therefore, to invite her to attend on the professional course of lectures with the young ladies of the Hillhouse family; and having been before received into the confidence and friendship of Mr. Daniel Wadsworth, of Hartford, Miss Trumbull's brother-in-law, I ventured still further as his friend, to offer myself to show her those civilities which might be useful and agreeable during her stay in New Haven. This statement would hardly be appropriate to scientific reminiscence, were it not that the proposed course had, in New Haven, turned on female hinges, and as I had occasion afterwards to know, sentiment lubricated the joints. It was my province in the proposed course to explain the affinities of matter, and I had not advanced far in my pleasing duties before I discovered that moral affinities, also moving without my intervention, were playing an important part. To this I could not object, and it was certainly the most gratifying result of my labors that several happy unions grew incidentally out of those bright evening meetings. The happy parties enjoyed many genial years, although death has now broken all those harmonious bands asunder. This being my first attempt to explain science to a popular audience I endeavored to study simplicity and perspicuity; simplicity in the absence of all unnecessary technicality, and perspicuity by the choice of good Saxon words and by explaining all that would not be obviously intelligible to a good mind. The lectures, I have said, were given in the evening, and as the course was begun in the spring vacation, ladies were not embarrassed in coming to the college laboratory; and the precedent being once established, was easily continued into the summer term. The lectures were fully illustrated by experiments which were carefully prepared and successfully performed. On the whole, the course itself was a decided success, and I had no reason to regret that I had undertaken it. I have before had occasion to observe that Providence often leads us in ways that we know not, and to results which we are not aware of. This course was the opening of a series of labors performed many years afterwards, with popular audiences, often in large assemblies, and sometimes in distant cities—as I shall in due time have occasion to relate. It is also with grateful, although pensive recollections, that I mark this course as one of the most important crises of my life,—important to my professional reputation, and fruitful of the most signal blessings extending through many years, and I trust, connecting earth with heaven.

[Prof. Silliman was married to Miss Harriet Trumbull, Sept. 17, 1809, with whom he lived in sweet accord for forty years, until her

death, Jan. 18, 1850, aged sixty-six years, four months, and fourteen days, having been born Sept. 3, 1783.]

Gibbs Cabinet.

In the winter of 1809–10, Colonel Gibbs, on a journey, called on me in the evening, and, as usual when we met, the conversation turned on the cabinet, and I inquired: "Have you yet determined where you will open your collection?" To my great surprise he immediately replied: "I will open it here in Yale College, if you will fit up rooms for its reception." I rejoined: "Are you in earnest?" and he instantly responded: "I am." "May I then consult President Dwight and the college authorities on the subject?" "You may, as soon as you please."

I was thus suddenly called upon to think of and propose some feasible plan for the accommodation of this large cabinet. There was no building on the college ground fitted for its reception. I lost no time, however, in laying the subject before President Dwight. His enlarged mind warmly espoused the design, and without hesitation acceded to the plan which I suggested. The alleys or entries of the college halls divide them crosswise or transversely; and two rooms, with their bedchambers and closets, occupy the breadth of the building. I proposed to knock down all these divisions in the second floor, north end of South Middle, throw the entire space into one room, and thus establish a mineral gallery, lighted at both ends by two windows. The dimensions of the room thus prepared would be forty by eighteen feet. Colonel Gibbs having observed the premises, approved of the plan, and no time was lost in taking steps to carry it into effect. . . . While the work was in progress, the Rev. Dr. Ely, one of the most active and efficient members of the College Corporation and of the Prudential Committee, said to me, on inspecting the work: "Why, Domine" (his usual style in college matters), "Domine, is there not danger that with these physical attractions you will overtop the Latin and the Greek?" I replied: "Sir, let the literary gentlemen push and sustain their departments. It is my duty to give full effect to the sciences committed to my care." . . . Nothing had been before seen in this country which could, as regards mineralogy, be compared with this cabinet. It kindled the enthusiasm of the students, and excited the admiration of intelligent strangers. It was visited by many travellers, and New Haven was then a focus of travel between North and South. Railroads were unknown, and navigation by steam had hardly begun. The comparatively slow-moving coaches conveyed the passengers, who were generally willing to pass a little time in New Haven; and the cabinet of Colonel Gibbs afforded a powerful attraction, while it afforded also a high gratification. The liberal proprietor of the cabinet was himself highly gratified, both by the brilliant appearance of the collection, and by the admiration of the country, and especially by that of such men as the Hon. Josiah Quincy, the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, Hon. Daniel Webster, Col. David Humphreys, and other eminent individuals who were among the visitors. Trains of ladies graced this hall of science; and thus mute and animated nature acted in unison, in making the cabinet a delightful resort.

Independent Course on Geology and Mineralogy.

Hitherto the public instructions in mineralogy and geology—I mean those which were intended for the entire classes—had been given, as I have already stated, in the laboratory in connection with the chemical courses. The lectures to the private class on the Perkins cabinet had been given in my chamber. Being now furnished with ample means of illustration, I separated the lectures

on mineralogy and geology from the chemical course. The Perkins cabinet was brought over to the newly prepared rooms, that thus all the resources in the department might be in one place. The requisite fixtures of table and seats were also introduced; and as soon as practicable, I began to lecture in the new rooms, but I believe not fully until the next year, 1813. Thus the department became fully inaugurated, and I had the pleasure of seeing the progress from the small box of unlabelled minerals, carried to Philadelphia to be named by Dr. Seybert in 1802-3,—the triumphant progress from this humble beginning to the splendid cabinet of twelve thousand specimens by which I was now surrounded; and many more were contained in closets and in drawers.

Medical Institution in Yale College.

Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong of Hartford, then a member of the Corporation of the College, introduced, in 1806, a resolution for establishing a Medical Professor—such is the language of the resolution; doubtless it was intended as the leading step towards a Medical School—which actually took its origin from that resolution—in the College; and I had the honor of being named with him as a committee to examine and report, and to devise means for effecting the object. There was a general Medical Society for the State, and there were local societies for the counties, and to the last named belonged the duty of examining and licensing candidates for practice. At first there was jealousy of the College, which it was necessary to conciliate. I omit the mention of many intermediate steps, and come at once to the important measure,—the appointment of a committee of conference and consultation,—an equal number being appointed by the Medical Society and by the Corporation of the College. President Dwight was at the head of the college committee, of which I was a member. Dr. Woodward, the elder, led the medical committee, of which Dr. Eli Ives was a member. The joint committee met in my chamber in the Lyceum. The prejudices with which some of the medical men appeared to have come to the meeting were removed, and harmonious action ensued. . . . I pass over the various enactments of the Legislature, of the Corporation of the College, and of the Medical Society, which were necessary to authorize and organize the medical institution and to carry it into effect. In the end everything was harmoniously effected. A new stone building, erected by the Hon. James Hillhouse, was rented to accommodate the lectures, and after some years it was purchased. . . . The medical students attended the lectures in the college laboratory along with academical students, but with separate seats. The laboratory was enlarged for their accommodation. I gave them also distinct instruction on their own subjects, both by lectures and recitation. . . . The institution has been decidedly successful, as regards valuable instruction and the elevation of the medical profession in the State. As regards the number of students, it has been only moderately successful.

When the subject of the organization of the Medical College was under discussion in the Corporation, I was present and heard from the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich the following observations, succeeded by a distinct proposition. "The medical class," he remarked, "having a building devoted to their use, and many of them having their rooms there, they constitute in fact a peculiar family, and they ought to have a family constitution. There must, therefore, be prayers, as in the College proper." The proposition was accepted with little discussion, and without inquiring for my opinion. Not being a member of the Corporation, I could not volunteer in the discussion. I did not, however, believe it to be a wise measure, although proposed by a very wise and good man. A transient collection of students, most of them without previous

discipline, afforded but a small prospect of a reverent and attentive audience; but the attempt succeeded better than I expected, and some special religious meetings were held in the Medical College on Sabbath evenings. Commons were also instituted in the Medical College as a family; but the experiment was unfortunate. . . . Neither did the inhabiting of the building by the students produce a happy result. They were, in their habits, too familiar, sometimes noisy and rude, and of course the studious individuals were annoyed by their more restless companions. By degrees the entire building, except the wing, was relinquished in favor of the public purposes of the institution, and the attempt at sustaining a family condition was tacitly relinquished.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE.

Dr. Archibald Bruce of New York had, in 1810, instituted an American journal of mineralogy; it was ably conducted, and was most favorably received; but it lingered with long intervals between its four numbers, and stopped with one volume of two hundred and seventy pages. The declining health of Dr. Bruce, ending in apoplexy, rendered any prospect of the continuance of his *Journal* hopeless. His own life hung in doubt, and was actually ended the 22d of February, 1818, in the forty-first year of his age. Anticipating the death of Dr. Bruce, and it being certain that his *Journal* could never be revived by him, Colonel George Gibbs, in an accidental meeting on board the steamer Fulton on Long Island Sound, in 1817, urged upon me the duty of instituting a new Journal of Science; that we might not only secure the advantages already gained, but make advances of still more importance. After much consideration and mature advice, I reluctantly consented to make the attempt. It was not done, however, without showing due deference to Dr. Bruce. It was in the autumn of 1817 that I called upon him at his house and asked his opinion, which was given at once in favor of the effort, and moreover in approbation of the plan, which included the entire circle of the physical sciences and their applications. The first number appeared in July, 1818, and the Journal, under many discouragements and through some perils, has survived until this time, February 3, 1859, having already had a life of forty and a half years; and the labors of its editors and contributors are recorded in the seventy-sixth volume.

The *Journal* was often obliged to maintain a dubious struggle for existence; but, when it was most endangered, the friends of Mr. Silliman and the friends of science rallied to its support. This was particularly the case when a discreditable effort was made by an individual to destroy it and to supplant it by a rival publication. Mr. George Griswold, and other liberal-minded gentlemen of New York, came forward at that time with their generous patronage. A few years after the *Journal* was started, it was recommended to the public by Mr. Edward Everett in an article in the *North American Review* (for July, 1821), of which he was then the editor. He speaks of it as "a work which does honor to American science," and as "a vehicle of imparting to the world the scientific speculations and discoveries of our countrymen, which is held in honorable esteem by the philosophers of Europe."

Purchase of the Gibbs Cabinet for Yale College.

In May, 1825, I received a letter from Colonel Gibbs, in which he informed me that he inteded to sell his cabinet, but that he now offered to Yale College the right of preëmption. The price named was twenty thousand dollars, with a reasonable allowance of time to make the payments. We were startled, indeed, by his letter, and taken by surprise, although we had no right, as regards the liberal proprietor, to entertain any other sentiments than those of grateful acknowledgment for the long-continued loan of such a treasure. The

cabinet had rested with us from thirteen to fifteen years. From it the owner had derived no pecuniary advantage whatever; but he enjoyed the richer satisfaction of doing good to many hundreds of young people, of diffusing useful knowledge through the country, and elevating the reputation and dignity of science. I have already mentioned that he had, at his own expense, and without our knowledge, kept the cabinet insured. It is true that he derived from his liberality a rich reward of honor and esteem by the common verdict of his country, an honor more permanent than that of sanguinary success in war; for, while military heroes enjoyed only a transient fame, the name of Gibbs is enrolled for posthumous fame as long as science shall be cultivated and honored.

On myself as the head of the department rested of course the duty of making the first movement. I had able counsellors; President Day, the Hon. James Hillhouse, our Treasurer, and my brother Professors, were unanimous in the feeling that the Gibbs Cabinet, so long our pride and ornament, must not be removed from Yale College.

The Corporation was called together by the President. The meeting took place at Hartford on the 24th day of May; the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and six members of the Senate of the State, who are *ex officio* members of the Corporation, being already there in attendance on the Legislature then in session. The clerical members were summoned to meet them, and the subject was at once proposed for their consideration. They also were unanimous in the sentiment that the Gibbs Cabinet must be retained, and they approved of the measures already adopted in New Haven. The treasury of the College could not afford to make the purchase, and our only resource appeared to be to call again—as had always been done for the endowment of the College—upon the loyalty of our *alumni* and the liberality of the friends of science and of the College—a resource which had never failed in previous exigencies.

[The Cabinet was purchased, and afterwards increased by a collection of Mr. Robert Bakewell, whose geology he republished with additions of his own; also by a collection illustrating the tertiary and chalk formations of the basin of Paris, from Mr. Alexander Brongniart, and also by valuable contributions from William Maclure,* President of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science.]

Assistants Trained in Yale Laboratory.

In 1806 I made the first arrangement for regular aid in the manual service of my departments. Before I went to England, I depended on accidental assistance, by hiring one and another to do the work. But in the autumn of 1806, being at Wallingford, Mrs. Noyes recommended to me a lad of about twelve years of age, by name Foot, who soon after came to me at the College, and a sleeping-room was prepared for him in the attic of the Lyceum, in which building was my own chamber. He did the work of the laboratory as far as he was able. During the autumnal, winter, and spring seasons, after my return from England, in June, 1806, I had my breakfast and evening tea in my chamber—until October, 1809, when I had a better home—and this lad arranged everything satisfactorily for my comfort, while his own food was taken in the college hall. In the summer I boarded at Mr. Twining's, in the town. Foot grew in usefulness, as in stature and intelligence; he was studious and exemplary, and became a useful assistant in all my departments, but particularly in chemistry. He remained with me nine years, studied medicine

* Mr. Maclure, born in Scotland in 1763, amassed a fortune as a merchant in London, retired from business in 1798, and devoted himself to travel for scientific observation. He visited the United States first in 1782, and again in 1796; and practically took up his residence here after 1817.

and surgery, received a diploma from our medical institution, and after a short term of service in rural practice, he became surgeon in the army by the recommendation of the Professors addressed to Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War.

After the resignation of Dr. Foot in 1815, and until 1821, I had no regular trained assistant. The labor of the laboratory was performed by hired men, who lived in my family, serving there in all necessary domestic duties, including the garden and the barn, and at the College, as there was occasion. It may be well supposed that such persons would not be very adroit adepts in scientific employments. A few of them, however, having acquired some degree of skill, became very useful assistants, but others were clumsy, heavy-handed men, and the glass vessels suffered not a little in their hands. During this period, and at subsequent times also, I was aided by private pupils who worked in the laboratory for the sake of obtaining a knowledge of practical chemistry. Among the most distinguished of these were Prof. Denison Olmsted, Prof. George T. Bowen, and Prof. Edward Hitchcock—giving them the titles which they afterwards bore. Prof. Olmsted had been appointed to the chair of chemistry in the College of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; and with a view to render himself more fit for the duties of the office, he passed a year with me at the expense of his College, and became familiar with chemical manipulations and with the various duties of all my departments. When departing in the autumn of 1818, from New Haven, for his destination in North Carolina, Mr. Olmsted feelingly expressed to me his sense of the advantages which he had enjoyed in the course of preparatory labor and instruction through which he had passed, without which he said that he should not have dared to enter upon the duties of his station. In that station, during the seven or eight years of his professorship at Chapel Hill, he bestowed important advantage on the College there, and acquired deserved honor for himself. In addition to his duties of instruction and the necessary labor of preparing his experiments, he explored extensively and successfully the geology of North Carolina, whose territory is rich in valuable minerals, and in facts illustrative of geological theory, which were presented by him to the public in a small but valuable volume—an interesting early record of American Geology. He deposited, also, duplicate specimens in Yale College Cabinet. From my successive classes, and especially from my private pupils, I withheld no important fact with which my experience had made me acquainted, and I, in turn, invited a frank communication of their knowledge and of their objections to my views. With Horace I often said to them, "Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum." I had some way of succeeding in every department, but I was always happy to hear from them of a better way. From Chapel Hill, Professor Olmsted returned to Yale College in 1825, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philososphy, in place of Rev. Professor Matthew Rice Dutton, deceased.

Mr. George T. Bowen, of Providence, R. I., when a member of the Junior and Senior classes, in 1821-22, made application to me for admission to the laboratory, as a private pupil and assistant in the preparation of the experiments. As such an engagement might interfere with his duties as an undergraduate and a member of one of the College classes, I declined receiving him, unless he could obtain special leave from the President. So earnest was the young man in his application, that the indulgence was granted upon the express condition that he should perform all his college duties with fidelity. Under these conditions he came to the laboratory; and he proved himself a zealous, industrious, ingenious, and efficient pupil and assistant during the two years when he was with me. He performed several analyses, which are re-

corded in the fifth and eighth volumes of the *American Journal of Science*, and in the fifth volume he recorded the magnetic effects produced by the calorimotor of Dr. Hare. . . . After leaving New Haven, Mr. Bowen passed some time with Dr. Hare, in Philadelphia, both for the advantage of his instruction and from social considerations, as Mrs. Hare, who was a lady from Providence, was also his relative. He went also through a regular course of medical instruction in the University of Pennsylvania. From Philadelphia Mr. Bowen passed to Nashville, Tenn., as Professor of Chemistry in the University of Tennessee, where, under President Lindsley, he was associated with the eminent Dr. Troost. We had occasion to lament that only a brief course of duty was allotted to him. He died of consumption, in 1828, having a decided Christian hope. From his death-bed he sent me an aerolite that had fallen in Tennessee, at the same time that he sent me an affectionate farewell.

More than forty years ago—I believe in the year 1817—I received a box of minerals from a person, then unknown to me, who signed his name Edward Hitchcock, teacher of the Academy of Deerfield, Mass. He stated that he had collected these minerals from the rocks and mountains in the vicinity; and as he stated, moreover, that they were unknown to him, he desired me to name them and return them to him with the labels. I promptly complied with the request, and as the accompanying letter of Mr. Hitchcock was written with modest good sense, and indicated a love of knowledge, I invited him to send to me another box, and I promised him to return it with the information he desired. It came, and was attended to accordingly. The minerals were chiefly of the zeolite family—chabasie, analcine, mezotype, and agatized quartz, &c., being the usual companions of trap-rocks, such as are numerous in that region. I then invited Mr. Hitchcock to visit me in New Haven. The invitation was accepted, and for a series of years he was often here, and attended all the courses of lectures with more or less regularity. He discovered an amiable character and an ardent mind animated by the love of knowledge, and he engaged with great industry in the study of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology. The *Journal of Science and Arts* was instituted the next year, 1818, and Mr. Hitchcock appeared in the first volume. His communications have been numerous and important. I have found between fifty and sixty titles of his papers in the tables of contents and in the index; not a few of them are elaborate, and indicate much care and skill. His starting-point was with us, and we may regard him as a pupil of our scientific departments.

Rev. Sereno E. Dwight was with me when a youth, and worked with his characteristic zeal. Prof. Chester Dewey and Prof. Robert Hare both operated with me at different times in making potassium, and Dr. Hare in later periods in galvanism. Prof. Amos Eaton passed a winter here in preparation to become a lecturer, and he became a distinguished teacher. With the same view came Prof. William C. Fowler, although he did not follow the profession; and the same was true of Rev. Gamaliel Olds, a gentleman whose mind was more bent on metaphysics than physics. Prof. Avery, afterwards of Hamilton College, was much engaged as a student of chemistry, and so was Dr. and Prof. Edward Leffingwell, who was, moreover, a very useful assistant, although he could not distinguish colors. Prof. Vigus, of Alabama, observed and recorded everything, and carried his knowledge into the Southern academies. Prof. Ormond Beattie was an earnest student. Others resorted to the laboratory as amateurs—as Mr. Dill, of Indiana. Mr. George Spalding and Mr. John W. Parker studied and practised to become chemical manufacturers. There were doubtless others whose names do not occur to me, and which could be rallied from my old note-books—for it was very seldom that the laboratory was without extra students or observers of the operations.

[Prof. Silliman pays a feeling tribute to other assistants, Mr. Sherlock J. Andrews, son of Dr. Andrews of Wallingford, who, after working with him from 1821 to 1824, became an eminent lawyer at Cleveland, Ohio; to Benjamin Douglass Silliman; Dr. Burr Noyes; Prof. Charles Upham Shepard; Prof. Oliver Payson Hubbard, of Dartmouth College; Prof. J. D. Dana, and his son, Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., the former his successor in the department of Mineralogy and Geology, and the latter in that of Chemistry—his department being organized with two chairs in 1854. Other names occur in his reminiscences of his assistants or associates in his laboratory—Prof. Blake, Prof. T. Sterry Hunt, Prof. Charles H. Porter, Prof. John P. Norton, Prof. George J. Brush, and Prof. William H. Brewer—names since eminent in American science. In helping to train these and other teachers of science, and in giving dignity to scientific instruction generally in the college curriculum, Prof. Silliman deserves well of his country.

In 1830, Professor Silliman published in two volumes his "*Elements of Chemistry*," and in 1829 an edition of Bakewell's Geology. He had in 1807 edited an American edition of Dr. Henry's Elements of Chemistry. His own careful preparation for the accurate presentation of the sciences which he taught, as they were at the time established, precluded his making original investigations to any great extent, although his experiments in the alkalies and with the voltaic battery and blow-pipe were highly valuable.

It was due to Prof. Silliman's personal attention to Mr. Sheldon Clark's inquiries in pursuit of knowledge, that secured to Yale College the Clark Telescope and the Clark Professorship of Moral Philosophy.

Lectures Outside of College.

In 1831-2 and 1832-3, Prof. Silliman gave courses of lectures on Chemistry and Geology to the mechanics of New Haven in the Franklin Institute, an establishment which originated with Mr. James Brewster, a mechanic of the Franklin type, who did not rest in doing well everything relating to his own business (carriage building, which he developed into a great national industry), but who was a noble specimen of the public-spirited citizen—helping in every way the men in his employment, the entire body of working men, and the whole community in which he lived.

In 1834 (April and May) he delivered, by invitation, in Hartford a public course of lectures on Geology—which was the beginning of a course of scientific activity that extended to 1857, and which embraced Boston, Lowell,* Salem, Nantucket, Providence, New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, Natchez, St. Louis, and other large cities which he visited, but did not deliver courses of lectures on Geology or Chemistry. These visits and lectures enabled him to reach more of the leading minds of the country, than up to that time had been done by any scientific man—and to his personal influence during this period may be justly attributed the rapid development of science and of scientific institutions which has taken place in all parts of the country in the last twenty-five years.

In 1851, Prof. Silliman made a second visit to Europe, receiving everywhere the civilities of prominent scientific men, and many marks of esteem and respect from those most eminent in his own special departments of study. A journal of his travels, entitled "*A Visit to Europe in* 1851," was prepared on his return, and has gone through several editions.]

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* In Lowell, Prof. Silliman gave four courses of lectures in different years—his fourth course being more numerously attended than the first. In many of the cities named he delivered a course in both Geology and Chemistry.

Nervous Exhaustion—Renewed Health—Death.

[The death of his son Trumbull and of an infant daughter in 1819, and within three years, of two other infant children—anxiety, watching, and sorrow, added to his enthusiastic devotion to his professional duties, told seriously upon his health, and in the Autumn of 1822, repeated attacks of vertigo warned him of the necessity of seeking some relief. He resorted to West Point, as official visitor to the military school, and on his way back received the appalling intelligence of the wreck of the *Albion* and the loss of Alexander Metcalf Fisher, the brilliant young professor of Yale; subsequently he made excursions to Philadelphia, to Ballston and Saratoga, and in the following year to Washington. These and other journeys in 1823 and '24, were salutary, but he attributed his renewed vigor to a change of diet, which he thus describes:]

When my health began to fail in 1821 and 1822, I was under the common delusion that debility and functional derangement must be overcome by a moderate use of stimulants. I had used the oxide of bismuth as an anti-dyspeptic remedy, but with no serious benefit. The muscular system was enfeebled along with the digestive, the nervous power was thrown out of healthy action, an indescribable discomfort deprived me in a great degree of physical enjoyment and the mind became unequal to much intellectual effort. My spirits were, however, cheerful; and even when I was unable to sustain a conversation with a calling stranger, I still believed that I should recover, for my physicians, after careful examination, could find no proof of any organic disease, but only of functional derangement. I yielded for a time to the popular belief that good wine and cordials were the lever which would raise my depressed power; but the relief was only temporary; a flash of nervous excitement produced an illusive appearance of increased vigor with which the mind sympathized; the transient brightness was soon clouded again, and no permanent benefit followed; but often disturbed slumbers, with nocturnal spasms and undefined terrors in dreams, proved that all was wrong. No medical man informed me that I was pursuing a wrong course; but the same wise and good friend, to whom I have been already so much indebted, Mr. Daniel Wadsworth, convinced me, after much effort, that my best chance for recovery was to abandon all stimulants and adopt a very simple diet, and in such quantities, however moderate, as the stomach might be able to digest and assimilate. I took my resolution in 1823, in the lowest depression of health. I abandoned wine and every other stimulant, including, for the time, even coffee and tea. Tobacco had always been my abhorrence; and opium, except medically, when wounded, I had never used. With constant exercise abroad, I adopted a diet of boiled rice, bread and milk—the milk usually boiled and diluted with water—plain animal muscle in small quantity, varied by fowl and fish, avoiding rich gravies and pastry, and occasionally using soups and various farinaceous preparations. I persevered a year in this strict regimen, and after a few weeks my unpleasant symptoms abated, my strength gradually increased, and health, imperceptibly in its daily progress, but manifest in its results, stole upon me unawares.

I was then at the meridian of life, in my forty-fourth year; and in the almost thirty-six years that have elapsed since, I have resumed no stimulus which I then abandoned, except tea, and very rarely coffee. Tea is a cordial to me; "it cheers but not inebriates." Tea and water are my only constant drinks; milk I drink occasionally. I have not the smallest desire for wine of any kind, nor spirit, nor cider, nor beer; cold water is far more grateful than any of the drinks which I have named ever were. I never used them more than moderately, as they were formerly used in the most sober families. If

any person thinks that wine and brandy are useful to him, he cannot, at this day, have any assurance that they are not manufactured from whiskey, with many additions, and some of them noxious. Very little port wine has seen Portugal, or madeira wine Madeira, or champagne wine France; and if we would have pure wines, and avoid imposition, they must be manufactured at home from grapes or other fruits; and sugar and age are all that are needed to make them very good.

Some of my most arduous labors have been performed since my recovery. I have been able to travel extensively both at home and abroad; to lecture to popular audiences in many towns and cities—some of them far away; to write and publish books; to ascend the White Mountains of New Hampshire in 1837; to explore copper mines in the Blue Ridge of Virginia in 1856; twice to traverse the Atlantic and portions of the Mediterranean; and to ascend Mount Bolca, near Verona, Mount Vesuvius, and Mount Etna, at seventy-two years of age, in 1851. I record these facts, not with any feeling of vanity or pride, but with deep gratitude to God; and I am influenced more than all by the wish to warn my children, and my children's children, to obey God's physical as well as moral laws, and so remember, if they would enjoy health and long life, that they must not waste their physical powers upon extraneous indulgences, but must be satisfied with nutritious food, water, or watery fluids and milk for drink, regular and sufficient sleep, and a due regulation of all propensities, physical, moral, and intellectual. With a good conscience and a faithful discharge of duty, which will naturally result from the course which I have sketched, they will pass on agreeably and usefully through life, and may expect, under the influence of religious principles and the hopes which they inspire, to meet death without dismay.

[Prof. Silliman died November 25th, 1864—the day of the National Thanksgiving—without a struggle, in a moment, after a prayer for his country, for his family who were present, and his son who was absent, and after a few words of affectionate interest to his wife, his noble and gentle spirit passed from its earthly tenement. For many days before, it seemed to all that "heaven shone about him." The funeral took place on the 28th, from the Center Church, where for several hours his personal and family friends, and a continuous stream of citizens, passed to take their last look of his remarkably sweet and benevolent features. A Commemorative Discourse was pronounced by President Woolsey. Extracts from this discourse, and the tributes of eminent scientific men in all parts of the country, are included by Dr. Fisher in his "*Life of Benjamin Silliman, M.D., LL.D. Scribner & Co*: 1866;" from which (with permission of the editor and publisher) these Personal Reminiscences have been taken.

We close our notice of this faithful college officer, eminent scientist, and excellent man, with the following lines from Cowper—with which Prof. Fisher introduces his life:

> Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
> A man of letters, and of manners too!
> Of manners sweet as virtue always wears,
> When gay good-nature dresses her in smiles.
> He graced a college, in which order yet
> Was sacred; and was honor'd, loved, and wept,
> By more than one, themselves conspicuous there.

We append the just and touching tribute paid by Prof. Dana, his successor in the department of Geology, on the occasion of his inaugural discourse as Silliman Professor of Geology and Natural History in Yale College, on the 18th of February, 1856:]

[JAMES DWIGHT DANA, LL. D., was born at Utica, N. Y., Feb. 12, 1813; graduated at Yale College in 1833, giving special attention to the natural sciences and mathematics. For two years he was teacher of mathematics to midshipmen in the U. S. Navy; and in 1835, he became assistant to Prof. Silliman, and in 1837, published his Treatise on Mineralogy. In Aug., 1838, he sailed as Mineralogist and Geologist in U. S. exploring expedition to the Southern and Pacific oceans. From 1842 to 1844, he resided in Washington preparing various reports of the expedition, and pursuing his scientific studies. In 1844, he married Henrietta Frances Silliman, and took up his residence in New Haven. In 1846, he printed his 'Report on Zöophytes,' and in 1849, his 'Geology of the Pacific,' and in 1852–4, his 'Crustacea.' In 1850, he became assistant editor of the American Journal of Science, and in 1855, he became Silliman Professor of Natural History and Geology, opening his first course of lectures in Feb., 1856, with the following tribute to his predecessor:—]

"In entering upon the duties of this place, my thoughts turn rather to the past, than to the subject of the present hour. I feel that it is an honored place, honored by the labors of one who has been the guardian of American Science from its childhood; who here first opened to the country the wonderful records of Geology; whose words of eloquence and earnest truth, were but the overflow of a soul full of noble sentiments and warm sympathies, the whole throwing a peculiar charm over his learning, and rendering his name beloved as well as illustrious. Just fifty years since Professor Silliman took his station at the head of chemical and geological science in this college. Geology was then hardly known by name in the land out of these walls. Two years before, previous to his tour in Europe, the whole Cabinet of Yale was a half bushel of unlabeled stones. On visiting England, he found even in London no school, public or private, for geological instruction, and the science was not named in the English Universities. To the mines, quarries and cliffs of England, the crags of Scotland, and the meadows of Holland, he looked for knowledge, and from these and the teachings of Murray, Jameson, Hall, Hope, and Playfair, at Edinburgh, Professor Silliman returned, equipped for duty,—albeit a great duty,—that of laying the foundation, and creating almost out of nothing, a department not before recognized in any institution in America.

He began his work in 1806. The Science was without books—and too without system, except such as its few cultivators had each for himself in his conceptions. It was the age of the first beginnings of Geology, when Wernerians and Huttonians were arrayed in a contest. The disciples of Werner believed that all rocks had been deposited from aqueous solutions,—from a foul chaotic ocean that fermented and settled, and so produced the succession of strata. The disciples of Hutton had no faith in water, and would not take it even half and half with their more potent agency, but were for fire, and fire alone. Thus, as when the earth itself was evolved from chaos, fire and water were in violent conflict: and out of the conflict emerged the noble science.

Professor Silliman when at Edinburgh witnessed the strife, and while, as he says, his earliest predilections were for the more peaceful mode of rock making, these soon yielded to the accumulating evidence, and both views became combined in his mind in one harmonious whole. The science, thus evolved, grew with him and by him; for his own labors contributed to its extension. Every year was a year of expansion and onward development, and the grandeur of the opening views found in him a ready and appreciative response. Like nature herself, ever fresh and vigorous in the display of truth, bearing flowers as well as facts, full and glowing in his illustrations, and clear in his views and reasonings, he became a centre

of illumination for the Continent. The attraction of that light led his successor out of Oneida County, New York, to Yale; and I doubt not, if all should now speak that have been guided hither by the same influence, we should have a vast chorus of voices.

Geology from the first encountered opposition. Its very essence, indeed the very existence of the Science, involved the idea of Secondary causes in the progress of the creation of the world—whilst Moses had seemingly reduced each step of progress to a *fiat*, a word of command. The champions of the Bible seemed called upon, therefore, to defend it against scientific innovations: and they labored zealously and honestly, not knowing that Science may also be of God. Professor Silliman being an example of Christian character beyond reproach, personal attacks were not often made. But thousands of regrets that his influence was given over to the dissemination of error were privately, and sometimes publicly expressed. An equal interest was exhibited by the lecturer in the welfare of his opponents, and the progress of what he believed to be the truth; and with boldness and power he stood by both the Bible and the Science, until now there are few to question his faith.

And while the Science and truth have thus made progress here, through these labors of fifty years, the means of study in the Institution have no less increased. Instead of that half bushel of stones, which once went to Philadelphia for names, in a candle box, you see above the largest Mineral Cabinet in the country, which but for Professor Silliman, his attractions and his personal exertions together,—would never have been one of the glories of Old Yale. And there are also in the same Hall, large collections of Fossils of the Chalk, Wealden and Tertiary of England, which following the course of affection and admiration, came from Doctor Mantell to Professor Silliman, and now have their place with the other "Medals of Creation," there treasured along with similar collections from M. Alexander Brongniart of Paris. Thus the stream has been ever flowing, and this Institution has had the benefit,—a stream not solely of minerals and fossils, but also of pupils and friends.

Moreover, the American Journal of Science—now in its thirty-seventh year and seventieth volume—projected and long sustained solely by Professor Silliman, while ever distributing truth, has also been ever gathering honors, and is one of the laurels of Yale.

We rejoice that in laying aside his studies, after so many years of labor, there is still no abated vigor. Youth with him has been perpetual. Years *will* make some encroachments as they pass: yet Time, with some, seems to stand aloof when the inner Temple is guarded by a soul of genial sympathies and cheerful goodness. He retires as one whose right it is to throw the burden on others. Long may he be with us, to enjoy the good he has done, and cheer us by his noble and benign presence."

EDWARD EVERETT AMONG THE SCHOOL CHILDREN OF BOSTON.

At the School Festival held in Faneuil Hall, at the close of the Annual Examination of the Grammar Schools of Boston, in 1855, Hon. Edward Everett made the following beautiful address:—

"It was, Mr. Mayor, fifty-two years last April, since I began, at the age of nine years, to attend the reading and writing schools in North Bennet street. The reading school was under Master Little, (for "Young America" had not yet repudiated that title,) and the writing school was kept by Master Tilestone. Master Little, in spite of his name, was a giant in stature—six feet four, at least

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TEACHING ORDERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION—THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.*

The religious orders of the Catholic Church are generally grouped into four great divisions—the Monks, ranging from the fourth down to the thirteenth century; the Canons Regular, who follow the rule of Saint Augustine; the Friars, comprising nearly all the orders founded from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; and the Clerks Regular, such as the Jesuits, Barnabites, Clerks of Somascha, Theatins, and others instituted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Lazarists, or Fathers of the Mission, the Oratorians (Latin and French), the Eudistes, and the Sulpiciens, are, strictly speaking, not religious orders, but secular priests living in community, and following a certain rule.

I. In the group of Monks (originally μοναχός, solitary) we have the order of St. Basil (Archbishop of Cæsarea, born 329, and died 379), founded by him in Cappadocia, in Asia Minor, about the year 362. His rule has already been described.

The Benedictine order, founded by St. Benedict, in Italy, in 529, and from their habit (a loose gown of black stuff reaching down to their heels, with a cowl or hood of the same, and a scapular), sometimes called the black monks. The famous rule of this order has been already described. In the deviations from this rule, and the efforts to bring its avowed followers back, and beyond its original requirements, grew up various offshoots—the Cluniacs, Calmaldoli, Carthusians, Cistercians, Maurists, and others.

The Cluniacs was founded in 927, by Saint Odo, Abbot of Clunie, in the province of Burgundy, under whose efforts to increase the austerity of its members, several new houses were provided, which, with several of the ancient monasteries, were taken directly under the protection of the Pope, and made independent of the bishop. This offshoot of the Benedictine order was introduced into England in 1077, where it had twenty-seven priories and cells.

The Calmaldoli, uniting the cenobitic and eremetical life, and modifying the rule of St. Benedict by additional austerities, was

* Murphy's *Terra Incognita.* Chapter xxiv. The Ancient Religious Orders.

founded by Romuald, Abbot of Calmaldoli, near Arezzo, in Tuscany, in 1009.

The order of Vallis Umbrosa, founded in the diocese of Fiesoli, in Tuscany, by Abbot John Gualbert, in 1070, followed the Benedictine rule with new austerities.

The Carthusians were founded by Saint Bruno, in the desert of Chartreuse, ten miles from Grenoble, in 1085—the most austere of all the religious orders—the entire time being consecrated to fasting, silence, solitude, and prayer. It was confirmed by Alexander III. in 1164, and introduced into England in 1181—the Charter House (*Chartreuse*) school in London was formerly a monastery of this order.

The Cistercians, or Bernadines, was founded by Robut, Abbot of Molesme, in the forest of Cistercium, in the diocese of Chalons, about fifteen miles from Dijon, in 1098. It was greatly extended by the third abbot (Stephen Harding, an Englishman of high family and large estate), who gave to it the constitution of St. Benedict, the rule called Charitatis Chartæ, which was confirmed by Urban II. in 1107. In 1113 this house received as a novice Bernard, who afterwards became illustrious as the Abbot of Clairvaux. He was joined by thirty noblemen, including his four brothers. The most austere modification of this order was effected in the monastery of Le Trappe, founded by Rotrou, Comte du Perche, in 1142, on the confines of Normandy. This change was effected by John le Bouthillier de Rance, in 1664. These monks observe perpetual silence, never correspond with their friends, or notice visitors.

The order of Fontevrault was founded in 1099, by Robert of Arbrissel, at Poitou. It was composed of monks and nuns in separate houses, and was governed by an abbess-in-chief, who nominated the abbots of the houses of men. The first abbess was a near relative of the Duke of Brittany, and among her successors were fourteen princesses of the royal family of Bourbon. It was taken under the special protection of the Holy See in 1106.

The order of Grandmont was founded in 1120, in a deserted neighborhood of Limoges—the rule being made up of passages from the gospels, as the origin of all monastic rules, which prescribe strict poverty, obedience, and rigorous fasting.

The Celestines, founded at Mount Magella, near Perugia, by Peter Celestine (afterwards Pope), in 1274, observe the Benedictine habit, and rule in its primitive austerity.

II. The Canons Regular (from the Latin *regula*) live in community, take vows, follow the rule of St. Augustine, but with a discipline less severe than that of the monks. They wear a long black cassock and a white rochet, and over that a black cloak and hood. They wear their beards, and caps on their heads. There are communities of women of this institute called canonesses. In this group are included;

The Premonstratensians, founded by Norbert in the valley of Premontré, in the forest of Coucy, in the department of Asine, in 1121. They follow the rule of St. Augustine, and wear a white cassock and rochet, a long white cloak and white cap. They were called White Canons in England, where they were introduced in 1140.

The Gilbertines, founded by Gilbert at Sempringham in Lincolnshire, in 1150, for both sexes. The nuns followed the rule of St. Benedict; and the monks of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The founder had always at table a dish (called the plate of the Lord Jesus) on which he put the best of whatever was served up, for the poor.

The Hospitalers, or Knights of Malta, or of St. John, of Jerusalem, founded in 1043, by certain Italian merchants trading in the Levant, who built a house in Jerusalem for themselves and pilgrims to the holy places. In 1099 they became a military order, wearing a white cross or star, with eight points. To the three ordinary vows they then took a fourth, to defend pilgrims from the Saracens. They built a church to St. John the Baptist, and hospital for sick pilgrims in Jerusalem. After the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, they retired to Acre; thence in 1291, to Cyprus; in 1310, to Rhodes; and in 1530, to Malta.

The Knights Templar were instituted by seven gentlemen at Jerusalem in 1118. They wore a red cross, and became a powerful and wealthy order. For abuses, the order was suppressed by Pope Clement V. and the general council of Vienne in 1312.

The Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem were instituted by certain Germans at the siege of Acre, and were approved by Pope Celestine III., in 1192.

The Trinitarians, founded by Saint John of Matha, and Saint Felix of Valois, in 1198, to redeem christians from slavery under the Moors. The habit was white with a red blue cross, and were sometimes called red friars. In six centuries, 'from 1198 to 1787, nine hundred thousand christians captives were redeemed from slavery by this order, which at one time had 600 houses.'

The Order of Our Blessed Lady of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives was founded by Saint Peter Nolasco in 1223. He was born of a noble family in 1189, and inherited from his father a large estate. He followed the military profession, and becoming acquainted with the sufferings of the Christian captives under the Moors, he expended his whole estate on their redemption, and founded an order for the same purpose, whose rules and constitution were confirmed by the Pope (Gregory IX.) in 1235. The brothers who went out, two together, were called Ransomers. Peter was one of the first who went out, and gave himself in exchange.

III. The Friars, Brothers, or Religious Mendicants, comprise the orders founded from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. These are:

The Carmelites, so-called from Carmel, a mountain in Syria, on which dwelt Elias and Eliseus, received their rule from Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1209. This rule, chiefly founded on that of Saint Basil, was confirmed by Pope Honorius III., in 1224. It obliged the hermits to abide in their cells, day and night, in continuous prayer, unless they were otherwise lawfully employed; to observe perpetual abstinence from flesh meat, to fast from the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross till Easter, Sundays excepted; to perform manual labor, and to keep silence from Vespers till Tierce the next day. This rule was mitigated with the approval of Pope Innocent IV., in 1246. In 1229, the Carmelite monks were compelled, by the depredations of the Saracens, to leave Syria; and they settled in Cyprus, Sicily, England, France, and other countries. The order was introduced into England by Sir John de Vescy, baron of Alnwick, in Northumberland, and Richard Lord Gray of Codnor. Their first foundation was at Alnwick, and, in a short time, they were also established in Aylesford, London, Oxford, and other places. Saint Louis founded a convent of the order in Paris, in 1259, and this became the mother house of several others in France and Germany. But in no country has the order flourished so much as in England.

The Carmelites were introduced into Ireland also about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Dublin house of White Friars was founded in 1274. There were also houses at Leighlin bridge, Ardee, Thurles, Drogheda, Galway, and Kildare, established about the same period.

Saint Simon Stock, an Englishman of good family in Kent, was chosen sixth general of the order in a general chapter held at Ayles-

ford, in 1245. He greatly promoted the extension of the institute. At his request, its rule was confirmed by Pope Innocent IV., in 1245; and six years later the order was received bv the same pontiff under the special protection of the Holy See.

The Franciscans, or Friars Minor, founded by Saint Francis of Assisium, in 1209. This order was, in time, subdivided into Conventuals, and Observantins, or Friars of the Regular Observance—the former living in great convents, and, with the leave of their generals and the Popes, mitigating their rule, by admitting rents and foundations, and the latter dwelling in hermitages or in very poor houses. The principal Observantins are, those established by Saint Bernardin of Sienna, in 1419; the French Observantins, called Cordeliers, from the cord they wear round the waist; the Recollects, or Gray Friars, established by F. John of Guadalupe, in Spain, in 1500; the Capuchins, by F. Matthew de Baschi, in Tuscany, in 1525—now quite a distinct order; the barefooted Franciscans of Strictest Observance, instituted by Saint Peter of Alcantara, in 1555. The Conventuals and Observantins constitute the First Order of Saint Francis. The second Order of Saint Francis is that of the nuns called Poor Clares. The third Order, or Tertiaries, was originally instituted by Saint Francis, for lay people of both sexes, married or single, living in the world, who wish to lead pious lives, under certain rules, which do not bind under sin, and which are compatible with their secular duties. Lay associations of this kind are attached also to the Orders of the Dominicans, Carmelites, Austin Friars, Servites, and Minims. In the course of time, several of these lay Tertiaries, of both sexes, formed themselves into religious congregations, living in community and binding themselves by the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. They combine the active and contemplative life, and occupy themselves in extern works of charity. Thus, to the several orders, above mentioned, there are attached religious, as well as lay, Tertiaries. Such is the congregation of Dominican nuns, extensively established, in our day, by Mother Margaret in England.* The Franciscan habit is of coarse brown cloth,† with a cowl of the same, and a cord as a girdle. Over this, is a cloak when they go out. They first came to England in 1224, and had several houses there, as well as in Ireland, at the dissolution.

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* I refer my readers to the interesting 'Life of Mother Margaret, Foundress of the English Congregation of Saint Catherine of Sienna, of the Third Order of Saint Dominic,' by her religious children. London, Longmans, 1869.

† The Recollects or Spanish Franciscans wore a gray habit.

The Dominicans, or religious order of Friars Preachers, founded by Saint Dominic in 1215. His first convent was at Toulouse. The order was approved of by Pope Innocent III., in the Lateran Council, A.D., 1215, and its constitutions were confirmed by Honorius III., on December 26, 1216. The rule is based on that of Saint Augustine. At first the habit was that of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine; but, about the year 1219, it was changed to a white cassock and hood, over which, when they go abroad, is worn a black cloak and hood. They first came to England in 1221, their first house being at Oxford. At the dissolution, there were forty-three houses in England and several in Ireland.

The Austin Friars, or Hermits. This institute, which existed extensively in Africa, following the rule of Saint Augustine, was dispersed by the invasion of the Vandals in the fifth century. It was, however, reëstablished in Europe; and its scattered congregations were united in one religious order, under their general, Lanfranc, by Pope Alexander IV., in 1256. Its present rule was drawn up in 1287. The Reformed Austin Friars, discalceated or barefooted, and practicing great austerities, were instituted by Father Thomas of Jesus, in Portugal, in 1532. There were thirty-two houses of Austin Friars in England, at the dissolution, under Henry VIII. With this order may be grouped the Hermits of Saint Jerome, instituted by Saint Peter of Pisa, in 1355. They follow the rule of Saint Augustine.

The Servites, so-called because they profess to be servants of God, under the special patronage of the Blessed Virgin. This order was instituted by seven wealthy Florentine merchants, who renounced the world, in the year 1223, and retired to Mount Sennario, thirty miles from Florence, there to lead lives of prayer and mortification. They adopted the rule of Saint Augustine. Fifteen years afterward, they were joined by Saint Philip Beniti, or Benizi, a member of the noble family of that name in Florence; and through him the order was greatly amplified and extended. Of this, as of the Franciscan and other mendicant orders, there are three distinct subdivisions—the first order, of men; the second, of nuns; and the third, of Tertiaries. The nuns of the third order are called Mantellatæ, from a habit with short sleeves, which they wear, as suitable to their work of serving the sick. Saint Juliana Falconieri was an illustrious member of the third order, of which she was the first prioress. A daughter of one of the first families in Italy, and delicately nurtured, she devoted herself, for fifty years, to the nursing of the sick poor,

especially those afflicted by scorbutic ulcers, leprosy, and other loathsome diseases. She died in 1340, in the seventieth year of her age.

The Minims, founded by Saint Francis of Paula, in Calabria, in 1436. They are Franciscan Hermits, who follow a rule of great austerity, based on humility, penance, and charity. The founder begged of the Pope that his order might be called Minimi, that is, 'the least in the house of God.'

IV. The Clerks Regular are clergymen living by rule, and taking vows. These comprise:—

The Theatins, founded, in 1524, by Saint Cajetan of Thienna, and John Peter Caraffa, Archbishop of Theate, afterward Pope Paul IV. The order was named after Caraffa's diocese of Theate, the archbishop having been chosen first general of the order. Their object was to revive the spirit of holiness in the clergy and people.

The Clerks Regular of Somascha, founded by Saint Jerom Æmiliani in 1530, at Somascha, between Bergamo and Milan. This congregation was declared a religious order by Paul III., in 1540. It follows the rule of Saint Augustine. Its chief object is the training of young clergymen, and the instruction of youth.

The Clerks Regular of Saint Paul, founded in 1533, and called Barnabites, from their convent of Saint Barnabas at Milan.

The Clerks Regular of the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, instituted by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1540.*

The Clerks Regular, Minors, instituted in 1588.

The Clerks Regular, Assisting the Sick, founded in 1591, wear a red cross on their cassocks, and are thence called Cross-bearers.

The Clerks Regular of the Schola Pia, for the education of youth, founded by F. Joseph Cazalana, in 1617; erected into a religious order by Gregory XV. in 1621.

The Clerks Regular of the Mother of God instituted in 1628.

The Life of the Clerks Regular is about the same as that of the Canons Regular; save that the former are exempt from the silence, night-watchings, and fasts of the latter.

V. Religious Congregations embrace secular priests living in community, and following a rule. Such are the Oratorians founded in Italy by Saint Philip Neri in 1564; the French Oratorians instituted by Cardinal de Berulle in 1611; the Lazarists, or Fathers of the Mission, established by Saint Vincent de Paul in 1625, the Eudistes, instituted by Père Eudes at Caen, in 1643; as well as the Sulpiciens founded by M. Olier in Paris, in 1642.

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* For Constitution of this Order, *see* American Journal of Education, Vol. xiv., p. 455.

Reprint from vol. 24 pages 528—535. 9. V.

RULE OF ST. BENEDICT.

The Rule of St. Benedict opens with a preamble, in which the spirit and aim of his reform is set forth in a style peculiar to himself. The first words, *Ausculta, O fili!* generally appear on the book which the Italian painters put in the hands of the saint.

Listen, oh son! to the precepts of the Master, and incline to him the ear of thy heart; do not fear to receive the counsel of a good father and to fulfill it fully, that thy laborious obedience may lead thee back to Him from whom disobedience and weakness have alienated thee. To thee, whoever thou art, who renouncest thine own will to fight under the true King, the Lord Jesus Christ, and takest in hand the valiant and glorious weapons of obedience, are my words at this moment addressed.

And in the first place, in all the good thou undertakest, ask of Him, in earnest prayer, that he would bring it to a good end; that having condescended to reckon us among his children, he may never be grieved by our evil actions. Obey him always, by the help of his grace, in such a way that the irritated Father may not one day disinherit his children, and that also the terrible Master, enraged by our perverse deeds, may not give up his guilty servants to unending punishment because they would not follow him into glory.

Then, let us rise up in answer to that exhortation of Scripture which says to us, 'It is time for us to awake out of sleep.' And with eyes open to the light of God and attentive ears, let us listen to the daily cry of the Divine voice: 'Come, my son, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Work while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work.'

Now, the Lord, who seeks his servant in the midst of the people, still says to him, 'What man is he that desireth life and loveth many days, that he may see good?' When if, at that word, thou answereth, 'It is I,' the Lord will say to thee, 'If thou wouldst have life, keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good: seek peace, and pursue it.' And that being done, 'Then shall my eyes be upon you, and my ears shall be open to your cry. And, even before thou callest me, I shall say to thee, Here am I.'

What can be more sweet, O beloved brethren, than the voice of the Lord urging us thus? By this means the Lord, in his paternal love, shows us the way of life. Let us then gird our loins with faith and good works; and with our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel, let us follow upon his footsteps, that we may be worthy of seeing him who has called us to the kingdom. If we would find a place in the tabernacle of that kingdom, we must seek it by good works, without which none can enter there.

For let us inquire at the Lord with the prophet . . . . then listen to the answer he gives: . . . He who shall rest in the holy mountain of God is he who, being tempted by the devil, casts him and his council far from his heart, sets him at defiance, and, seizing the first offshoots of sin, like new-born children, breaks them to pieces at the feet of Christ. It shall be those who, faithful in the fear of the Lord, shall not exalt themselves because of their services, but who, remembering that they can do nothing of themselves, and that all the good that is in them is wrought by God, glorify the Lord and his works. . . .

The Lord waits continually to see us answer by our actions to his holy precepts. It is for the amendment of our sins that the days of our life are prolonged like a dream, since the Apostle says: 'Art thou ignorant that the patience of God leads thee to repentance?' And it is in his mercy that the Lord himself says: 'I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn to me and live.'

Having thus, my brethren, asked of the Lord who shall dwell in his tabernacle, we have heard the precepts prescribed to such a one. If we fulfill these conditions, we shall be heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Let us then prepare our hearts and bodies to fight under a holy obedience to these precepts; and if it is not always possible for nature to obey, let us ask the Lord that he would

deign to give us the succor of his grace. Would we avoid the pains of hell and attain eternal life while there is still time, while we are still in this mortal body, and while the light of this life is bestowed upon us for that purpose; let us run and strive so as to reap an eternal reward.

We must, then, form a school of divine servitude, in which, we trust, nothing too heavy or rigorous will be established. But if, in conformity with right and justice, we should exercise a little severity for the amendment of vices or the preservation of charity, beware of fleeing under the impulse of terror from the way of salvation, which can not but have a hard beginning. When a man has walked for some time in obedience and faith, his heart will expand, and he will run with the unspeakable sweetness of love in the way of God's commandments. May he grant that, never straying from the instruction of the Master, and persevering in his doctrine in the monastery until death, we may share by patience in the sufferings of Christ, and be worthy to share together his kingdom.

In this preamble Benedict insists on two principles, action or labor, and obedience, which underlie his entire superstructure, and give the clue to the seventy-two articles which compose the Rule of the Benedictine Order.

In order to banish indolence which he called the enemy of the soul, he regulated minutely every hour of the day according to the seasons, and ordained that after celebrating the praises of God seven times a day, seven hours should be given to manual labor, and two hours to reading. All must be done with moderation, having regard to the weak, and nothing must accrue to the individual profit or fame of the workman. All, the weak and the strong, the more and the less skillful, who do their best faithfully, must stand on a severe equality of self-negation.

Obedience was the most meritorious and essential spiritual discipline, by which the monk realized the sacrifice of self, and entered victor over earthly desires and passions into the liberty of the children of God. Submission must be prompt, perfect, and absolute. To be acceptable to God and easy to man, it must be practiced without reserve, without a murmur, calmly, and with good will. This passive and absolute obedience would have been intolerable, had it not been the result of a predetermination, after a sufficient trial of temper and strength, to accept its performance, and also sanctified and tempered by the nature and origin of the power. This power represented no selfish will. The abbot could not ordain any thing which is not in conformity to the law of God, and the authority which he exercised was limited by the necessity of consulting all the monks assembled in a council or chapter upon all important business; and even in small matters he can never act without the advice of the principal members. His permanent council is composed of deans, or elders chosen by the monks themselves, not by order of seniority, but for their merit, charged with

assisting the abbot, by sharing with him the weight of government. He can, with their advice, designate a prior, or provost, to act as his lieutenant. He is himself elected by all the monks of the monastery without any restriction on their choice among the members, whether old or new comers. Once elected, his authority ceases only with life, unless an evidently unworthy person receives the election, when the bishop of the diocese may intervene.

The absolute authority of the abbot, fixed in a rule which he can not modify or transgress, limited by the necessity of consulting either an elect number or the whole body of his subordinates upon all business, as well as by the mode of the election, in which the electors are all competent, all free, and all personally interested in the result—makes the chief in reality the servant of all those he commanded. In combination of authority, at once absolute, permanent, and elective, with the necessity of taking the advice of the whole community, and of acting solely in its interests, there was a principle, to which there was nothing analogous in past or existing legislation, which gave an irresistible force to the community, strong in the concentration of wills possessed by abnegation and concentrated towards one sole end, under a single hand, which was ruled and controlled in its turn by the spirit of self-sacrifice, already tested, and respected by a majority of the members, on whom and through him, that will was exerted.

The monastery, like a citadel always besieged, was to have within itself gardens, a mill, a bakery, and various workshops, in order that no necessity of material life should occasion the monks to leave its walls. A certain number of the Religious, whom the abbot judged worthy, might be raised to the priesthood for the spiritual service of the house, without ceasing on that account, to be subject to ordinary discipline. By slow degrees all monks were, in the privileges accorded to their orders from Rome, elevated from the lay condition to the title and standing of the Regular Clergy, in opposition to the Secular Clergy.

One monk was charged under the title of cellarer, with the administration of all the goods of the monastery, the distribution of food, the care of the hospital, and all the details of material life. To the poor and the stranger the most generous hospitality was enjoined—and were exercised without disturbing the solitude of the monks, or the silence of their cloisters. "Let every stranger be received," says the rule, "as if he were Christ himself; for it is Christ himself who shall one day say to us, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me not in.'"

There was no individual property in any member of the community, as well as no individual will, different from and independent of the whole. In the reciprocal tie of all its members by the solemn engagements of the vow, he forever relinquished all his possessions, either to his own family, or to the poor, or to the monastery itself—reserving nothing to himself, possessing nothing of his own, not even tablets, or a pen for writing.

The rule regulates the admission, tries the vocation, and binds the consciences of those who came to sacrifice their will and patrimony to God. It recognizes two classes of candidates—(1) Children confided in their youth by their parents to the monastery, or received by the charity of the monks, whose education is prescribed with minute solicitude. (2) Young men, and adults who came out of the world to enter the cloister. These were not admitted at once—the rules ordaining that they should be left out for four or five days to try their perseverance. If they persevered, they were introduced into the guest chamber, and at the end of several days into the *novitiate*. Here the novice was intrusted to the care of an old monk, who was charged faithfully to report the difficulties, humiliations, and discomforts in the hard path of monastic obedience, and if, at the end of two months, he was inclined to persevere, the entire rule was read to him, concluding in these words: 'Behold the law under which thou wouldst fight; if thou canst observe it enter; if thou canst not, depart in freedom?' Three times during the year of novitiate this trial was renewed, and when the year was expired, if the novice persevered, he was warned that shortly the power of leaving the monastery would be lost, and the rule which he had only accepted thus far after mature deliberation, would become binding. If he still adhered to his original purpose, he was introduced into the oratory in presence of all the community, where, before God and his saints, he promised *stability*, or perpetual residence, and also reformation of his morals, and obedience, under pains of eternal damnation. With a declaration of this written with his own hand, and placed upon the altar, he threw himself at the feet of each of the brethren, begging them to pray for him; and he was henceforth considered a member of the community.

Such was the general spirit and foundation of the rule of St. Benedict. The rule itself is composed of seventy-three chapters:—nine touch on the general duties of the abbot and the monks; thirteen upon worship and the divine services; twenty-nine upon discipline, faults, and penalties; ten upon internal administration of

the monastery; twelve upon various subjects, such as the reception of guests, the conduct of the brethren while traveling. Montalembert closes his notice of the Rule as follows:

Thirteen hundred years have passed since the hand of Benedict traced all those minute regulations, and nothing has been found more fit to strengthen the religious spirit and monastic life. The most admired and effectual reforms have scarcely had any other aim than to lead back the regular clergy to a code of which time has only confirmed the wisdom and increased the authority.

Among all these details of the rule, the scrupulous care which the legislator has taken to bind the Religious to the careful celebration of divine worship, according to the liturgical usage of the Roman church, is specially remarkable. They were to give themselves to prayer, chanted aloud by the community, first in the night, at vigils, which began about two in the morning and continued until dawn; then six times during the day—at prime, tierce, sexte, nones, vespers, and compline. The hundred and fifty psalms of David were divided among these seven services in such a manner that the whole psalter should be chanted every week; and this prayer in common was not to interrupt mental devotion, which, during the remaining time, was to be short and simple.

Then comes these noble rules of sobriety, which, as Bossuet says, take every thing superfluous from nature, and spare her all anxiety in respect to that which is necessary, and which are but a reproduction of the customs of the first Christians. To serve each other by turns in cooking and at the table; to eat, in silence, listening to the reading of some pious book, of two cooked dishes and one uncooked, with a pound of bread and a *hemine* of wine, whether they made two meals in the day or only one; to abstain from all flesh of quadrupeds; and to increase the number and severity of the fasts appointed by the Church. To have for clothing only a tunic, with a *cowl* for the choir, and a *scapulary* for work: this was nothing else than the hooded frock of the plowman and shepherds, borrowed from that of the slaves of pagan times, such as Columella has described. To sleep in one general dormitory; to sleep but little, and always in their clothes and shoes; and finally, to keep an almost continual silence during the whole day. Such were the minute and salutary regulations which authorized Benedict to declare that the life of a monk ought to be a perpetual Lent.

And there were other rules still better adapted to root out from the hearts of the Religious even the last allurements of pride, voluptuousness, and avarice. They could not receive either letter or present, even from their nearest relatives, without the permission of the abbot. In accepting the rule, they pledged themselves beforehand to bear patiently public and humiliating penances for the smallest faults, and even corporeal punishment, in case of murmuring or repetition of the offense, and this while still subject to temporary excommunication and final exclusion. But mercy appeared by the side of severity: the excluded brother who desired to return, promising amendment, was to be received anew, and three times in succession, before he was banished forever from the community.

However, in going back to the austerity of the ancient Fathers of the desert, Benedict does not hesitate to say, in the preamble of his rule, as has been seen, that he believed he had ordained nothing too hard or too difficult to be followed; and he ends by declaring that it was only a *little beginning*, a modest introduction to Christian perfection.

Such are the most remarkable features of this famous code, which has ruled so many souls for so many ages, and which although it has lost almost all its subjects, remains, notwithstanding, one of the most imposing monuments of Christian genius. Compared to the previous Oriental rules, its bears that seal of Roman wisdom, and that adaptation to Western customs, which has made it, according to the idea of Gregory the Great, a masterpiece of clearness and discretion, in which judges who are above all suspicion have not hesitated to recognize a character of good sense and gentleness, humanity and moderation, superior to every thing that could be found up to that time in either Roman or Barbarian laws, or in the habits of civil society.

When we reflect that all the other monastic systems, not only of the past, but even of the present day, are but modifications of this same rule, and that it emanated from the brain, and is the embodiment of the genius of the solitary hermit of Monte Cassino, we are lost in astonishment at the magnitude of the results which have sprung from so simple an origin. That St. Benedict had any presentiment of the future glory of his order, there is no sign in his rule or his life. He was a great and good man, and he produced that comprehensive rule simply for the guidance of his own immediate followers, without a thought beyond. But it was blessed, and grew, and prospered, mightily in the world. He has been called the Moses of a favored people; and the comparison is not inapt, for he led his order on up to the very borders of the promised country, and after his death, which, like that of Moses, took place within sight of their goal, they fought their way through the hostile wilds of barbarism, until those men who had conquered the ancient civilizations of Europe lay at their feet, bound in the fetters of spiritual subjection to the cross of Christ. The wild races of Scandinavia came pouring down upon Southern Europe in one vast march of extermination, slaying and destroying as they advanced, sending before them the terror of that doom which might be seen in the desolation which lay behind them; but they fell, vanquished by the power of the army of God, who sallied forth in turn to reconquer the world, and fighting not with the weapons of fire and sword, but, like Christian soldiers, girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, they subdued these wild races, who had crushed the conquerors of the earth, and rested not until they had stormed the stronghold, and planted the cross triumphantly upon the citadel of an ancient paganism. Time rolled on, and the gloom of a long age of darkness fell upon a world whose glory lay buried under Roman ruins. Science had gone, literature had vanished, art had flown, and men groped about in vain in that dense darkness for one ray of hope to cheer them in their sorrow. The castle of the powerful baron rose gloomily above them, and with spacious moat, dense walls, and battlemented towers, frowned ominously upon the world which lay abject at its feet. In slavery men were born, and in slavery they lived. They pandered to the licentiousness and violence of him who held their lives in his hands, and fed them only to fight and fall at his bidding. But far away from the castle there arose another building, massive, solid, and strong, not frowning with battlemented towers, nor isolated by broad moats; but with open gates, and a hearty welcome to all

comers, stood the monastery, where lay the hope of humanity, as in a safe asylum. Behind its walls was the church, and clustered around it the dwelling-places of those who had left the world, and devoted their lives to the service of that church, and the salvation of their souls. Far and near in its vicinity the land bore witness to assiduous culture and diligent care, bearing on its fertile bosom the harvest hope of those who had labored, which the heavens watered, the sun smiled upon, and the winds played over, until the heart of man rejoiced, and all nature was big with the promise of increase. This was the refuge to which religion and art had fled. In the quiet seclusion of its cloisters science labored at its problems and perpetuated its results, uncheered by applause and stimulated only by the pure love of the pursuit. Art toiled in the church, and whole generations of busy fingers worked patiently at the decoration of the temple of the Most High. The pale, thoughtful monk, upon whose brow genius had set her mark, wandered into the calm retirement of the library, threw back his cowl, buried himself in the study of philosophy, history, or divinity, and transferred his thoughts to vellum, which was to molder and waste in darkness and obscurity, like himself in his lonely monk's grave, and be read only when the spot where he labored should be a heap of ruins, and his very name a controversy among scholars.

We should never lose sight of this truth, that in this building, when the world was given up to violence and darkness, was garnered up the hope of humanity; and these men who dwelt there in contemplation and obscurity were its faithful guardians;—and this was more particularly the case with that great order whose foundation we have been examining. The Benedictines were the depositaries of learning and the arts; they gathered books together, and reproduced them in the silence of their cells, and they preserved in this way not only the volumes of sacred writ, but many of the works of classic lore. They started Gothic architecture—that matchless union of nature with art—they alone had the secrets of chemistry and medical science; they invented many colors; they were the first architects, artists, glass-stainers, carvers, and mosaic workers in medieval times. They were the original illuminators of manuscripts, and the first transcribers of books; in fine, they were the writers, thinkers, and workers of a dark age, who wrote for no applause, thought with no encouragement, and worked for no reward. Their power, too, waxed mighty; kings trembled before their denunciations of tyranny, and in the hour of danger fled to their altars for safety; and it was an English king who made

a pilgrimage to their shrines, and, prostrate at the feet of five Benedictine monks, bared his back, and submitted himself to be scourged as a penance for his crimes.

Nearly fourteen hundred years have rolled by since the great man who founded this noble order died; and he who in after years compiled the "Saxon Chronicle," has recorded it in a simple sentence, which, amongst the many records of that document, we may at least believe, and which will conclude the chapter—'This year St. Benedict the Abbot, father of all monks, went to heaven.'

OFFICERS OF A MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENT.

The head and ruler of the Benedictine Monastery was the abbot—and his election and installation were events of great moment, not only in the establishment, but to all the country round about. In its palmy days, he ranked as peer, and the monarch himself could not enter the gates without the abbot's permission. The next man in office to the abbot was the prior, who, in the absence of his superior, was invested with full powers; but on other occasions his jurisdiction was limited—in some monasteries he was assisted by sub-priors, in proportion to the size of the institution and number of its inmates. After the prior in rank came the precentor or chanter, an office only given to a monk who had been brought up in the monastery from a child. He had the supervision of the choral service, the writing out the tables of divine service for the monks, the correction of mistakes in chanting, which he led off from his place in the center of the choir; he distributed the robes at festivals, and arranged processions. The cellarer was intrusted with the food, drink, etc., of the monastery, also with the mazers or drinking cups of the monks, and all other vessels used in the cellar, kitchen, and refectory; he had to attend at the refectory table, and collect the spoons after dinner. The treasurer had charge of the documents, deeds and moneys belonging to the monastery; he received the rents, paid all the wages and expenses, and kept the accounts. The sacristan's duties were connected with the church; he had to attend to the altar, to carry a lantern before the priest, as he went from the altar to the lecturn, to cause the bell to be rung; he took charge of all the sacred vessels in use, prepared the host, the wine, and the altar bread. The almoner's duty was to provide the monks with mats or hassocks for their feet in the church, also matting in the chapter-house, cloisters, and dormitory stairs; he was to attend to the poor, and distribute alms amongst them, and in the winter, warm clothes and shoes. After the monks had retired from the refectory, it was his duty to go round and collect any drink left in the mazers to be given away to the poor. The kitchener was filled by a different monk every week, in turn, and he had to arrange what food was to be cooked, go round to the infirmary, visit the sick and provide for them, and superintend the labors of his assistants. The infirmarer had care of the sick; it was his office to administer to their wants, to give them their meals, to sprinkle holy water on their beds every night after the service of complin. A person was generally appointed to this duty who, in case of emergency, was competent to receive the confession of a sick man. The porter was generally a grave monk of mature age; he had an assistant to keep the gate when he delivered messages, or was compelled to leave his post. The chamberlain's business was to look after the beds, bedding, and shaving room, to attend to the dormitory windows, and to have the chambers swept, and the straw of the beds changed once every year, and under his supervision was the tailory, where clothes, etc, was made and repaired. There were other offices connected with the monastery, but these were the principal, and next to these came the monks who formed the convent with the lay brethren and novices.

We give brief notices of a few of the earlier Benedictine Abbeys.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY—PAST AND PRESENT.

INTRODUCTION.*

The monastic life, so commonly regarded in these later times as phantasy, was once a fact, a great universal fact; it was a fact for twelve or thirteen centuries; and when we remember that it extended its influence from the sunny heights of Palestine across Europe, to the wild, bleak shores of western Ireland; that it did more in the world for the formation and embellishment of modern civilization than all the governments and systems of life that accompanied it in its course; that the best portions of ancient literature, the materials of history, the secrets of art, are the pearls torn from its treasure house, we may form some idea of what a fact the monastic life must have been at one time. . . . When laws were badly administered, and the country often torn by internal contentions, and always subject to the violence of marauders, it was absolutely necessary that there should be some asylum for those thoughtful, retiring spirits who, unable or unwilling to take part in the turmoil of the times, were exposed to all its dangerous vicissitudes. In an age, too, when the country possessed no literature, the contemplative and the learned had no other means of existence than by retiring to the cloister, safe out of the reach of the jealous superstition of ignorance and the wanton barbarity of uncouth violence. The monastery then was the natural home of these beings—the deserted, the oppressed, the meek spirit who had been beaten in the world's conflict, the untimely born son of genius, the scholar, the devotee, all found a safe shelter and a genial abode behind the friendly walls of these cities of refuge. There, too, lay garnered up, as a priceless hoarding for future ages, the sacred oracles of Christianity, and the rescued treasures of ancient lore; there science labored at her mystic problems; and there poetry, painting, and music were developed and perpetuated; in fine, all that the world holds as most excellent, all that goes toward the foundation and adornment of modern society, treasured up in the monastery as in an ark, rode in safety over the dark floods of that mediæval deluge until the waters sub-

* Dublin University Magazine.—*Abridged.*

sided, and a new world appearing from its depths, violent hands were laid upon those costly treasures, which were torn from their hiding places and freely scattered abroad, whilst the representatives of those men who, in silence and with prayer, had amassed and cherished them, were branded as useless idlers, their homes broken up, and themselves dispersed, with no mercy for their errors and no gratitude for their labors, to seek the scanty charities of a hostile world. Beside being the cradle of art and science, the monastery was a great and most efficient engine for the dispensation of public charity. At its refectory kitchen the poor were always cheerfully welcomed, generously treated, and periodically relieved; in fine, the care of the poor was not only regarded as a solemn duty, but was undertaken with the most cheerful devotion and the most unremitting zeal.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

The foundation of the Abbey of Glastonbury is lost in the traditions and legends of the transition period of British history from Druidism to Christianity, some of them carrying back the date to Joseph of Arimathea, and others to Philip the Apostle, and a still larger number, fixing here the site of the first Christian chapel in England in an edifice of wattles and twigs, which was surrounded by a more substantial structure about the year 180. In the year 439 St. Patrick visited the holy spot, repaired the chapel, and organized the clergy into a monastic society, of which he became the first Abbot. In 530, St. David, Archbishop of Menevia, and uncle of King Arthur, added to the buildings, and here, according to Camden, the noble hero of the Britons found a peaceful grave. In 605, St. Augustine brought the establishment under the rule of St. Benedict; and twenty-four years later, Paulinus, Bishop of Rochester, enlarged and enriched the principal edifices. It was endowed by various kings and prelates with lands and privileges from time to time, until the numerous buildings occupied sixty acres, and the soil had become the burial places of the most eminent familes in the kingdom.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the ancient abbey of Glastonbury was in the plenitude of its magnificence and power. It had been the cynosure for the devotees of all nations, who, for nearly eleven centuries, flocked in crowds to its fane—to worship at its altars, to venerate its relics, to drink in health at its sacred well, and to gaze in rapt wonder at its holy thorn. And even now, in these later days, though time has wasted it, though fierce fanaticism has

played its cannon upon it, though ruthless vandalism in blind ignorance has despoiled many of its beauties, it still stands proud in its ruined grandeur, defiant alike of the ravages of decay, the devastation of the iconoclast, and the wantonness of the ignorant. Although not a single picture, but only an inventorial description, is extant of this largest abbey in the kingdom, yet, standing amidst its silent ruins, the imagination can form some faint idea of what it must have been when its aisles were vocal with the chant of its many-voiced choir, when gorgeous processions moved grandly through its cloisters, and when its altars, its chapels, its windows, its pillars, were all decorated with the myriad splendors of monastic art. Passing in at the great western entrance, through a lodge kept by a grave lay brother, we find ourselves in a little world, shut up by a high wall which swept round its domains, inclosing an area of more than sixty acres. The eye is arrested at once by a majestic pile of building, stretching itself out in the shape of an immense cross, from the center of whose transept there rises a high tower. The exterior of this building is profusely decorated with all the weird embellishments of mediæval art. There, in sculptured niche, stands the devout monarch, sceptered and crowned; the templar knight, who had fallen under an oriental sun fighting for the cross; the mitred abbot, with his crosier; the saint with his emblem; the martyr with his palm; scenes from Sacred Writ; the apostles; the evangelists; petrified allegories and sculptured story; and then, clustering around and intertwining itself with all these scenes and representations of the world of man, were ornamental devices culled from the world of nature. A splendid monument of the genius of those mediæval times whose mighty cathedrals stand before us now like massive poems or graven history, where men may read, as it were, from a sculptured page, the chivalrous doings of departed heroes, the long tale of the history of the Church—of her woes, her triumphs, her martyrs, and her saints—a deathless picture of actual existence, as though some heaven-sent spirit had come upon the earth, and with a magic stroke petrified into the graphic stillness of stone a whole world of life and living things. The length of the nave of this church, beginning from St. Joseph's chapel (which we shall presently notice, and which was an additional building) up to the cross, was 220 feet, the great tower was 40 feet in breadth, and the transepts on either side of it each 45 feet in length, the choir was 150 feet; its entire length from east to west was 420 feet; and if we add the appended St. Joseph's chapel, we have a range of building 530 feet in length.

Turning from the contemplation of this external grandeur, we come to a structure which forms the extreme west of the abbey—a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph of Arimathea. The entrance on the north is a masterpiece of art, being a portal consisting of four semicircular arches, receding and diminishing as they recede into the body of the wall, the four fasciæ profusely decorated with sculptured representations of personages and scenes, varied by running patterns of tendrils, leaves, and other natural objects. The first thing that strikes the attention upon entering is the beautiful triarial-mullioned window at the western extremity, with its semicircular head; opposite, at the eastern end, another, corresponding in size and decoration, throws its lights upon the altar. On both the north and south sides of the church are four uniform windows, rising loftily till their summits nearly touch the vaulting: underneath these are four sculptured arches, the paneling between them adorned with painted representations of the sun, moon, stars, and all the host of heaven; the flooring was a tesselated pavement of encaustic tiles, each bearing an heraldic device, or some allegorical or historical subject. Beneath this tesselated pavement is a spacious crypt, eighty-nine feet in length, twenty feet in width, and ten feet high, provided with an altar, and when used for service illuminated by lamps suspended from the ceiling. St. Joseph's chapel, however, with its softly-colored light, its glittering panels, its resplendent altars, and its elegant proportions, is a beautiful creation; but only a foretaste or a prelude of that full glare of splendor which bursts upon the view on ascending the flight of steps leading from its lower level up to the nave of the great abbey church itself, which was dedicated to St. Mary. Arrived at that point, the spectator gazes upon a long vista of some four hundred feet, including the nave and choir; passing up through the nave, which has a double line of arches, whose pillars are profusely sculptured, we come to the central point in the transept, where there are four magnificent Gothic arches, which for imposing grandeur could scarcely be equaled in the world, mounting up to the height of one hundred feet, upon which rested the great tower of the church. A portion of one of these arches still exists, and though broken retains its original grandeur.

In the transept running north and south from this point are four beautifully decorated chapels, St. Mary's, in the north aisle; St. Andrew's, in the south; Our Lady of Loretto's, on the north side of the nave; and at the south angle that of the Holy Sepulchre; another stood just behind the tower, dedicated to St. Edgar: in

each of these are altars richly adorned with glittering appointments, and beautiful glass windows, stained with the figures of their patron saints, the apostles, scriptural scenes or episodes from the hagiology of the Church; then, running in a straight line with the nave, completing the gigantic parallelograms, is the choir, where the divine office is daily performed. The body is divided into stalls and seats for the abbot, the officers, and monks. At the eastern extremity stands the high altar, with its profusion of decorative splendor, whilst over it is an immense stained-glass window, with semicircular top, which pours down upon the altar, and in fact bathes the whole choir, when viewed from a distance, in a sea of softened many-colored light. The flooring of the great church, like that of St. Joseph's, is composed of encaustic Norman tiles, inscribed with Scripture sentences, heraldic devices, and names of kings and benefactors. Underneath the great church is the crypt—a dark vault divided into three compartments by two rows of strong massive pillars, into which, having descended from the church, the spectator enters; the light of his torch is thrown back from a hundred different points, like the eyes of serpents glittering through the darkness, reflected from the bright gold and silver nails and decorations of the coffins that lie piled on all sides, and whose ominous shapes can be just faintly distinguished. This is the weird world, which exerts a mysterious influence over the hearts of the most thoughtless—the silent world of death in life; and piled up around are the remains of whole generations long extinct of races of canonized saints, pious kings, devout queens, mitred abbots, bishops, nobles who gave all their wealth to lie here, knights who braved the dangers of foreign climes, the power of the stealthy pestilence, and the scimitar of the wild Saracen, that they might one day come back and lay their bones in this holy spot. There were the gilded coffins of the re nowned abbots, whose names were a mighty power in the world when they lived, and whose thoughts are still read with delight by the votaries of another creed—the silver crosiers of bishops, the purple cloth of royalty, and the crimson of the noble—all slumbering and smoldering in the dense obscurity of the tomb, but flashing up to the light once more in a temporary brilliancy, like the last ball-room effort of some aged beauty—the aristocracy of death, the coquetry of human vanity, strong even in human corruption.

Amongst the denizens of this dark region are—King Arthur and his queen Guinever, Coel II., grandfather of Constantine the Great, Kentwyn, king of the West Saxons, Edmund I., Edgar and Iron-

sides, St. David of Wales, and St. Gildas, beside nine bishops, fifteen abbots, and many others of note. Reascending from this gloomy cavern to the glories of the great church, we wander among its aisles, and as we gaze upon the splendors of its choir, we reflect that in this gorgeous temple, embellished by every thing that art and science could contribute, and sanctified by the presence of its holy altar, with its consecrated host, its cherished receptable of saintly relics, and its sublime mysteries, did these devout men, seven times a day, for centuries, assemble for prayer and worship. As soon as the clock had tolled out the hour of midnight, when all the rest of the world was rocked in slumber, they arose, and flocked in silence to the church, where they remained in prayer and praise until the first faint streaks of dawn began to chase away the constellations of the night, and then, at stated intervals through the rest of the day, the appointed services were carried on, so that the greater portion of their lives was spent in this choir, whose very walls were vocal with psalmody and prayer. It was a grand offering to the Almighty of human work and human life. In that temple was gathered as a rich oblation every thing that the united labor of ages could create and collect; strong hands had dug out its foundations in the bowels of the earth, had hewn stubborn rocks into huge blocks, and piled them up high in the heavens, had fashioned them into pillars and arches, myriads of busy fingers had labored for ages at its decoration, until every column, every cornice, and every angle bore traces of patient toil; the painter, the sculptor, the poet, had all contributed to its embellishment, strength created it, genius beautified it, and the ever-ascending incense of human contrition, human adoration, and human prayer completed the gorgeous sacrifice which those devotees of mediæval times offered up in honor of him whose mysterious presence they venerated as the actual and real inhabitant of their holy of holies.

Retracing our steps once more to the nave, we turn to take one lingering glance at the scene: and here the full beauty and magnificence of the edifice bursts upon the view, the eye wanders through a perfect stony forest whose stately trees, taken at some moment when their tops, bending toward each other and interlacing themselves, had been petrified into the natural beauty of the Gothic arch; here and there were secluded spots where the prismatic light from painted windows danced about the pillars like straggling sunbeams through the thick foliage of a forest glade. The clusters of pillars resembled the gnarled bark of old forest trees, and the

grouped ornaments of their capitals were the points where the trunk itself spread off into limbs and branches; there were groves and labyrinths running far away into the interior of this sculptured wood, and towering high in the center were those four kings of the forest, whose tops met far up in the heavens—the true heart of the scene, from which every thing diverged, and with which every thing was in keeping. Then, as the spectator stands, lost in the grandeur of the spectacle, gazing in rapt wonder at the sky-painted ceiling, or at some fantastic gnarled head grinning at him from a shady nook, the passing whim of some mediæval brain—a faint sigh, as of a distant wind, steals along those stony glades, gradually increasing in volume, until presently the full, rich tones of the choir burst forth, the organ peals out its melodious thunder, and every arch and every pillar vibrates with undulations of harmonious sound, just as in the storm-shaken forest every mighty denizen bends his massive branches to the fierce tempest wind, and intones his deep response to the wild music of the storm. Before the power of that music-tempest every thing bowed, and as the strains of some Gregorian chant or the dirge-like melody of some penitential psalm filled the whole building with its pathos, every figure seemed to be invested with life, the mysterious harmony between the building and its uses was manifested, the painted figures on the windows appeared to join in the strain, a celestial chorus of apostles, martyrs, and saints; the statues in their niches threw back the melody; the figures reclining on the tombs seemed to raise their clasped hands in silent response to its power, as though moved in their stony slumber by a dream of solemn sounds; the grotesque figures on the pillars and in nooks and corners chanted the dissonant chords, which brought out more boldly the general harmony; every arch, with its entwined branches and sculptured foliage, shook with the stormy melody: all was instinct with sympathetic life, until, the fury of the tempest dying away in fitful gusts, the last breeze was wafted, the painted forms became dumb, the statues and images grew rigid, the foliage was still, all the sympathetic vitality faded away, and the sacred grove fell into its silent magnificence.

Attached to the great church were two offices—the sacristy and church treasury. In the former were kept the sacred vestments, chalices, etc., in use daily; and in the latter were kept all the valuables, such as sacred relics, jewels and plate not in use, with mitres, crosiers, cruces, and pectorals; there was also a confessional for those who wished to use it before going to the altar. The care of

these two offices was committed to a monk elected by the abbot, who was called the sacrist. Coming out of the church we arrive at the cloisters, a square place, surrounded by a corridor of pillars, and in the center of the inclosure was a flower garden—this was the place where the monks were accustomed to assemble at certain hours to walk up and down. In one of the alleys of the cloister stood the chapter-house, which, as it was the scene of the most important events in their monotonous lives, deserves a description. In this spot the abbots and officers of the monastery were elected, all the business of the house as a body was discussed, faults were openly confessed, openly reproved, and in some cases corporal punishment was awarded in the presence of the abbot and whole convent upon some incorrigible offender, so that, beside being an assembling room, it was a court of complaint and correction. One brother could accuse another openly, when the matter was gone into, and justice done. In all conventual institutions it was a weekly custom, and in some a daily one, to assemble in the chapter-house after one of the morning services (generally after primes), when a sentence from the rule was read, a psalm sung, and business attended to. It was also an envied burying place; and the reader, as he stood at his desk in the chapter-house of Glastonbury Abbey, stood over the body of Abbot Chinnock, who himself perfected its building, which was commenced in 1303 by Abbot Fromont.

In the interior, lit up by a magnificent stained-glass window, there were three rows of stone benches one above another. On the floor there was a reading desk and bench apart; in a platform raised above the other seats was the abbot's renowned elbow chair, which extraordinary piece of monastic workmanship excited so much curiosity at the great exhibition of 1851. In the middle of the hall was a platform called the Judgment, being the spot where corporal punishment, when necessary, was inflicted; and towering above all was a crucifix, to remind the brethren of the sufferings of Christ. In another alley of the cloisters stood the fratery, or apartment for the novices, which had its own refectory, common room, lavatory, and dormitory, and was governed by one of the priors. Ascending the staircase, we come to a gallery in which are the library, the wardrobe, the common house, and the common treasury. The library was the first in England, filled with choice and valuable books, which had been given to the monastery from time to time in its history by kings, scholars, and devotees of all classes; many also were transcribed by the monks. During the twelfth century,

although even then of great renown in the world, it was considerably augmented by Henricus Blessensis, or Henry of Blois (nephew of Henry I. and brother of Stephen), who was abbot. This royal scholar had more books transcribed during his abbacy than any of his predecessors. A list is still extant—'*De libris quos Henricus fecit transcribere*,' in which are to be found such works as Pliny '*De Naturali Historia*,' a book in great favor at that time; '*Originem super Epistolas Pauli ad Romanos*,' '*Vitas Cæsarum*,' '*Augustinum de Trinitate*,' etc.

Here, too, as in every monastic library in the kingdom, was that old favorite of conventual life, and still favorite with many a lonely student, '*Boethius de Consolatoine Philosophiæ*,' and many a great work from the grim solitude of a prison cell, cherished, too, as the link which connected the modern Latinists with those of the classic age. Housed up in that lonely corner of the island, the Glastonbury library was the storehouse of all the learning of the times; and as devotees bent their steps from all climes toward the Glastonbury relics and the Glastonbury shrine, so did the devotees of genius lovingly wander to the Glastonbury library.

But attached to the library was a department common to all Benedictine monasteries, where, during long centuries of ignorance, the materials of modern education were preserved and perpetuated; this office was called the scriptorium, or *domus antiquariorum.* Here were assembled for daily labor a class of monks selected for their superior scholarship and writing ability; they were divided into two classes, the *antiquarii* and the *librarii:* the former were occupied in making copies of valuable old books, and the latter were engaged in transcribing new ones, and works of an inferior order. The books they copied were the Scriptures, always in process of copying; missals, books for the service of the Church, works on theology, and any of the classics that fell into their hands. St. David, the patron saint of Wales, is said to have devoted much time to this work, and at the period of his death had begun to transcribe the gospel of St. John in letters of gold with his own hand. The instruments used in the work of the scriptorium were pens, chalk, pumice-stone for rubbing the parchment smooth; penknives, and knives for making erasures, an awl to make dots, a ruler and inkstand. The greatest care was taken by the transcriber, the writing was always beautifully clear, omissions were most scrupulously noted in the margins, and all interlineations were mentioned and acknowledged. In an old manuscript belonging to the Car-

melites, the scribe adds, 'I have signed it with the sign following, and made a certain interlineation which says "*redis*," and another which says "*ordinis*," and another which says "*ordini*," and another which says "*circa*."' So great was the care they took to preserve the text accurately, and free from interpolations. In these secluded studies sprang up that art, the most charming which the middle ages have handed down to us, the art of illumination, so vainly imitated by the artists of the present day, not from want of genius, but from want of something almost indescribable in the conception and execution, a tone and preservation of color, and especially of the gilding, which was essentially peculiar to the old monks, who must have possessed some secret both of combination and fixing of colors which has been lost with them. This elaborate illumination was devoted to religious books, psalms, missals, and prayer-books; in other works the first letters of chapters were beautifully illuminated, and other leading letters in a lesser degree. The scribe generally left spaces for these, as that was the duty of another; in the spaces were what were called 'leading letters,' written small to guide the illuminator; these guide letters may still be detected in some books. So great was the love of this art, that when printing displaced the labors of the scribe, it was customary for a long time to have the leading letters left blank for illumination. Such were the peculiar labors of the scriptorium, and to encourage those who dedicated their time to it, a special benediction was attached to the office, and posterity, when satirizing the monastic life, would do well to remember that the elegance of the satire may be traced back again to these labors, which are the materials for the education and refinement of modern thought; we got our Bible from them, we got our classics from them, and had not such ruthless vandalism been exercised by those over zealous men who effected their dispersion, it is more than probable that the learned world would not have had to lament over the lost Decades of Livy. It is the peculiarity of ignorance to be barbarous. There is very little difference between the feeling which prompted a Caliph Omar to burn the Alexandrian Library or a Totila to destroy the achievements of Roman art; and the feeling had only degenerated into the barbarity, without the bravery, when it revived again in the person of our arch-iconoclast, Cromwell, of church-devastating memory, who, however great his love of piety may have been, must have had a thorough hatred of architecture. The care of the library and the scriptorium was intrusted to the librarian.

The next department in the gallery was the lavatory, fitted up

with all the appliances for washing; and adjoining this room was one arranged for shaving, a duty to which the monks paid strict attention, more especially to preserve the tonsure. The next room was the wardrobe, where their articles of clothing and bedding were stored, and in an inner chamber was the tailory, where a number of lay brethren, with a vocation for that useful craft, were contiually at work, making and repairing the clothes of the community. These two rooms and the lavatory were in charge of the camerarius, or chamberlain. The last abbot who sat in the chair of Glastonbury was, as we shall see, elevated from this humble position to that princely dignity.

The common room was the next office, and this was fitted up with benches and tables for the general use of the monks; a fire was also kept burning in the winter, the only one allowed for general purposes. The last chamber in the corridor was the common treasury, a strong receptable for ready money belonging to the monastery, charters, registers, books, and accounts of the abbey, all stored up in iron chests. In addition to being the strong room of the abbey, it had another important use. In those uncertain times it was the custom for both nobles and gentry to send their deeds, family papers, and sometimes their plate and money, to the nearest monastery, where, by permission of the abbot, they were intrusted to the care of the treasurer for greater security; in the wildest hour, when the castle was given up to fire and sword, the abbey was always held in reverence; for, independently of its sacred character, it was endeared to the people by the free-handed charity of its almonry and refectory kitchen.

Retracing our steps along the corridor, and ascending another flight of stairs, we come to the dormitory, or dortoir, a large passage with cells on either side; each monk had a separate chamber, very small, in which there was a window, but no chimney, a narrow bedstead, furnished with a straw bed, a mattress, a bolster of straw, a coarse blanket, and a rug; by the bedstead was a prie-Dieu, or desk, with a crucifix upon it, to kneel at for the last and private devotions; another desk and table, with shelves and drawers for books and papers; in the middle was a cresset, or stone-lantern, with a lamp in it to give them light when they arose in the middle of the night to go to matins; this department also was under the care of the chamberlain. One more chamber was called the infirmary, where the sick were immediately removed, and treated with the greatest attention; this was in the charge of an officer called the infirmarius.

We now descend these two flights of stairs, issue from the cloisters, and, bending our steps to the south-west, we come to the great hall, or refectory, where the whole convent assembled at meals. At Glastonbury there were seven long tables, around which, and adjoining the walls, were benches for the monks. The table at the upper end was for the abbot, the priors, and other heads, the two next for the priests, the two next for such as were in orders, but not priests, and such as intended to enter into orders; the lower table on the right hand of the abbot was for such as were to take orders whom the other two middle tables could not hold, and the lower table on the left of the abbot was reserved for the lay brethren. In a convenient place was a pulpit, where one of the monks, at the appointment of the abbot, read portions of the Old and New Testament in Latin every day during dinner and supper. The routine of dinner, as indeed the routine of all their meals, was ordered by a system of etiquette as stringent as that which prevails in the poorest and smallest German court of the present day. The sub-prior, who generally presided at the table, or some one appointed by him, rang the bell; the monks, having previously performed their ablutions in the lavatory, then came into the great hall, and bowing to the high table, stood in their places till the sub-prior came, when they resumed their seats; a psalm was sung, and a short service followed by way of grace. The sub-prior then gave the benediction, and at the end they uncovered the food, the sub-prior beginning; the soup was then handed round, and the dinner proceeded; if any thing was wanted it was brought by the cellarer, or one of his assistants, who attended, when both the bringer and receiver bowed. As soon as the meal was finished the cellarer collected the spoons; and so stringent was the etiquette, that if the abbot dined with the household (which he did occasionally) he was compelled to carry the abbot's spoon in his right hand and the others in his left; when all was removed the sub-prior ordered the reading to conclude by a 'Tu autem,' and the reply of 'Dei gratias.' The reader then bowed, the remaining food was covered, the bell was rung, the monks arose, a verse of a psalm was sung, when they bowed and retired two by two, singing the 'Miserere.'

A little further toward the south stood the guest-house, where all visitors, from prince to peasant were received by the hospitaler with a kiss of peace, and entertained. They were allowed to stay two days and two nights; on the third day after dinner they were expected to depart, but if not convenient they could procure an

extension of their stay by application to the abbot. This hospitality, so generously accorded, was often abused by sons of donors and descendants of benefactors, who saddled themselves and their retinues upon the monasteries frequently, and for a period commensurate with the patience of the abbot; and to so great an extent did this evil grow that statutes were enacted to relieve the abbeys so oppressed. Not far from the refectory, toward the west, stood the abbot's private apartments, and still further to the west the great kitchen, which was one of the wonders of the day; its capacity may be imagined when we reflect that it had frequently to provide dinner for four or five hundred guests; but the arrangements and service of the kitchen deserve notice. Every monk had to serve as hebdomadary, or dispenser, whose duty it was to appoint what food was to be dressed and to keep the accounts for the week. Upon taking office, he was compelled to wash the feet of the brethren, and upon yielding it up to the new hebdomadary, he was obliged to see that all the utensils were clean. St. Benedict strictly enjoined this rule upon them, in order that, as Christ their Lord washed the feet of his disciples, they might wash each others' feet, and wait upon each others' wants. The Glastonbury kitchen is the only building which still remains entire; it was built wholly of stone, for the better security from fire; on the outside it is a four-square, and on the inside an eight-square figure; it had four hearths, was twenty feet in height to the roof, which ran up in a figure of eight triangles; from the top hung suspended a huge lantern.

Attached to the kitchen was the almonry, or eleemosynarium, where on Wednesdays and Fridays the poor people of Glastonbury and its neighborhood were liberally relieved. This duty was committed to a grave monk, who was called the almoner, or eleemosynarius, and who had to inquire after the poor and sick. No abbots in the kingdom were more liberal in the discharge of these two duties of their office, hospitality, and almsgiving, than the abbots of Glastonbury. It was not an unusual thing for them to entertain 500 guests at a sitting, some of whom were of the first rank in the country, and the loose charge of riotous feasting which has been thoughtlessly made against the monastic life by hostile historians becomes modified when we recollect that in that age there were scarcely any wayside inns in the country, and all men, when traveling, halted at the monastery and looked for refreshment and shelter as a matter of right; neither had that *glorious* system of union work-houses been thought of, and therefore the sick and the poor

fell at once to the care of the monastery, where they were cheerfully relieved and tenderly treated.

Last, but not least, was the department for boys—another little detached community, with its own school-room, dormitory, refectory, hall, etc. One of the monks presided over them. They were taught Christian doctrine, music, grammar, and, if any showed capacity, the subjects necessary for the university. They were maintained free, and had to officiate in the church as choristers; a system maintained almost to the letter up to the very present moment. William of Malmesbury records that in the churchyard of Glastonbury Abbey stood some very ancient pyramids close to the sarcophagus of King Arthur. The tallest was nearest the church, twenty-six feet in height, consisting of five stories, or courses; in the upper course was the figure of a bishop, in the second of a king, with this inscription—HER. SEXI. and BLISVVERH. In the third the names WEMCRESTE, BANTOMP, WENETHEGN. In the fourth—HATE, WVLFREDE, and EANFLEDE. In the fifth, and last, the figure of an abbot, with the following inscription—LOGVVOR, WESLIELAS and BREGDENE, SVVELVVES HVVINGENDES, and BERNE. The other pyramid was eighteen feet in height, and consisted of four stories, whereon were inscribed in large letters HEDDE Episcopus BREGORRED and BEORVALDE. William of Malmesbury could give no satisfactory solution to the meaning of these inscriptions beyond the suggestion that the word BREGDENE must have meant a place then called 'Brentacnolle,' which now exists under the name of Brent Knowle, and that BEORWALDE was Beorwald, the abbot after Hemigselus. He concludes his speculation, however, with the sentence—'Quid hæc significent non temere diffinio sed ex suspicione colligo eorum interius in cavatis lapidibus contineri ossa quorum exterius leguntur nomina.'

The man who ruled over this miniature world, with a state little short of royalty, was endowed with proportionate dignities; being a member of the upper house of convocation and a parliamentary baron, he sat robed and mitred amongst the peers of the country; in addition to his residence at the abbey he had four or five rural retreats at easy distances from it, with parks, gardens, fisheries, and every luxury; his household was a sort of court, where the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were sent to be trained and educated. When at home he royally entertained his 300 guests, and when he went abroad he was attended by a guard of 100 men. The rent-roll of the monastery has been computed to amount to more than

£300,000 per annum, which in these days would be equal to nearly half a million. Up to the year 1154, he ranked also as First Abbot of England, and took precedence of all others; but Adrian the Fourth, the only Englishman who ever ascended the papal chair, bestowed that honor upon the Abbot of St. Albans, where he had received his education. The church, and different offices which clustered round it, formed a kingdom, over which he ruled with absolute power.

This description of the buildings and adjuncts of the abbey may not be inaptly closed by giving a sketch of the outline of a monastic day, which will assist the reader to form an idea of the monastic life. At two in the morning the bell tolled for matins, when every monk arose, and, after performing his private devotions, hastened to the church, and took his seat. When all were assembled, fifteen psalms were sung, then came the nocturn, and more psalms; a short interval ensued, during which the chanter choir and those who needed it had permission to retire for a short time if they wished; then followed lauds, which were generally finished by six A.M, when the bell rang for prime; when this was finished, the monks continued reading till seven o'clock, when the bell was rung, and they returned to put on their day clothes. Afterward, the whole convent having performed their ablutions and broken their fast, proceeded again to the church, and the bell was rung for tierce at nine o'clock. After tierce came the morning mass, and as soon as that was over they marched in procession to the chapter-house for business and correction of faults. This ceremony over, the monks worked or read till sext, twelve A.M., which service concluded, they dined; then followed the hour's sleep in their clothes in the dormitory, unless any of them preferred reading. Nones commenced at three P.M., first vespers at four, then work or reading till second vespers at seven, afterward reading till collation; then came the service of complin, confession of sins, evening prayers, and retirement to rest about nine P.M.

That was the life pursued at Glastonbury Abbey, according to the Benedictine rule, from the time of its establishment there until the dissolution of the monastery, nearly ten centuries. With our modern training and predilections, it is a marvel to us that men could be found willing to submit to such a monotonous career—ten hours a day spent in the church, beginning in the middle of the night, winter and summer. And yet the monastery was always full. We read of no breaking up of institutions for want of devotees, and we

are driven to the conclusion that in the age when the monastic life was in its power and purity, these men could have been actuated by none other than the motive of a strong religious fervor—a fervor of which we in modern times have neither conception nor example. The operation of the influence of that life upon the history of these islands can only be contemplated by watching it in the various phases of its action upon the politics, literature, and art by which it was surrounded, and for that purpose we have selected the oldest and grandest specimen of English monasticism, so faintly described, the mother Church of our country, in whose career so brilliant, so varied, and so tragically ended, we hope to be able to show wherein was the glory, the weakness, and the ruin of the system, as it rose, flourished, and fell in England.

Present Condition.

This magnificent pile at one time covered sixty acres, but as most of the houses of Glastonbury, and a causeway across Sedgemoor have been constructed of its materials, the area of the ruins is now much diminished. The miraculous *Glastonbury Thorn*, which flowered on Christmas Day, believed by the common people to be the veritable staff, with which Joseph of Arimethea aided his steps from the Holy Land, was destroyed in Cromwell's time. The Chapel of St. Joseph, with its handsome crypt, with its slender shafts, zigzag mouldings, and roses, crescents, and stars in the spandrils still stands; St. Mary's Chapel, with its pointed windows, and elegant archways; the Abbot's kitchen, with its four fireplaces and lofty chimneys; the Tower of St. Michael, and an undistinguished mass of ruins clad with ivy, are the only remains of its grandeur.

The spirit which contented itself with desecrating temples, pulling down altars, tearing away paintings, and substituting nothing in their place, beyond bare walls, and hard seats—has passed away; and the religious sentiment of the world is again seeking expression in structures in which art and science are exhausting their resources to produce both strength and beauty, solidity and embellishment. But there seems no revival of monasticism in the form in which it flourished in Glastonbury.

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* The tree was introduced by the monks from Palestine, and slips from the parent stock were set out in gardens and nurseries round about Glastonbury, as well as in various parts of England and of the Continent.

EPISCOPAL SEMINARIES—COUNCIL OF TRENT.

INTRODUCTION.

SEMINARIES, as originally applied, and still generally, although not exclusively used, denote a class of institutions designed for the education of the clergy. It is among the cherished traditions of the Catholic Church that the Apostle John had about him a number of students whom he familiarly instructed in the doctrines and practices of the priesthood; and the earliest school instituted by the Church was for young men, under the roof and the special supervision of the bishop. To the oldest church, the Lateran, at Rome, an Episcopal seminary was attached, which continued in operation till the pontificate of Pope Leo X. Here was educated, as early as the year 310 of the Christian era, Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Vercelli, and subsequently several of the most eminent of the Roman pontiffs.* The very first decretal of known authenticity, that of Pope St. Liricius, in laying down the rules to be observed in promoting clerics to holy orders, indicates the existence of these seminaries in Episcopal households. The second Council of Toledo, in 531, passed several canons relative to 'the lectors instructed in the house of the church, under the eyes of the bishop, by him who shall be appointed over them,' and the age at which they may embrace the ecclesiastical state with their own free consent. By the fourth Council held at Toledo, in 633, all the bishops of Spain are required to establish seminaries in their cathedral cities, on the model of that of Seville, in which the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, and the liberal arts, were taught, as well as law and medicine. In the educational reform projected by Charlemagne (774–800), the Episcopal schools were restored to greater efficiency, and as preparatory and supplementary to them, grammar and public schools were instituted not only for ecclesiastics, but for every rank, class, and race. In these schools are the germs of the universities developed by individual masters, acting in the inspira-

* *Christian Schools and Scholars, or Sketches of Education from the Christian Era to the Council of Trent.* 2 Vols. Longman, Green & Co.

tions and traditions of the still older schools of Greece and Rome. To protect young ecclesiastics and students destined for the priesthood, who resorted to the lectures in the universities at the great centers of intellectual activity, colleges were founded in their neighborhood. These colleges, originally designed for the domestic life of students residing away from their natural guardians, grew by degrees into independent establishments, and practically, for a time, absorbed the best pupils of the seminaries—subjecting candidates for the ecclesiastical state to a license of life and instruction foreign to their future vocation. In the decay of these local institutions, the poor, who could not incur the expense of travel, were the principal sufferers, and in this condition of affairs was held the Council of Trent, in 1545.

In the statement of abuses which required redress, drawn up by a Commission of Cardinals and Ecclesiastics, eminent for integrity and learning, appointed by Pope Paul III., in 1537, preliminary to summoning a general Council, is the following paragraph :

> It is a great and pernicious abuse that in the public schools, especially of Italy, many philosophers teach impiety. Even in the churches most impious disputations are held, and if some are of a pious nature, yet in them sacred things are treated before the people in a most irreverent manner. We think, therefore, that it should be pointed out to the bishops, in those places where public schools exist, that they admonish those who deliver lectures not to teach impiety to the young, but to manifest to them the weakness of natural reason in questions appertaining to God, to the recent origin or eternity of the world, and the like, and that they rather lead them to piety. Also, that they permit not public disputations to be held on questions of this nature, nor even on theological subjects, which certainly in this way lose much in vulgar esteem; but let disputations be held in public on these matters, and let the public disputations be on other questions of physics. And the same thing ought to be enjoined on all other bishops, specially of great cities where disputations of this sort are wont to be held. And the same care should be employed about the printing of books, and all princes should be written to, warning them not to allow books of all sorts to be printed everywhere in their dominions. And the care of the matter should be committed to the ordinaries. And whereas it is now customary to read to boys in the schools the 'Colloquies' of Erasmus, in which there are many things which instil impiety into inexperienced minds, this book, and of others of a similar character, ought to be prohibited.

On this section the author of *Christian Schools* observes:

> This certainly is a most remarkable document. It proceeded not from a body of 'Scotists' and 'barbarians,' but from elegant Humanists, all of them university scholars, whilst some, like Alexander, had themselves occupied Professors' chairs. It will be observed that the evils which they point out in the existing system of education, and which they indicate as lying at the root of so many prevailing corruptions, are precisely those the growth of which we have been watching from the time when the universities replaced the episcopal and monastic schools. The whole weakness of the professorial system is here laid bare; its incitements to vanity, its tendency to substitute novelties that tickle the ears of a mixed audience for the teaching of solid truth; the system which had Berengarius and Abelard for its fittest representatives; which had already produced a goodly crop of heretics and false teachers, and which, while it extinguished the old ecclesiastical seminaries, supplied in place of them, nothing better for the training of the Christian priesthood, than universities

which in Italy, at least, had grown to be little else than academies of heathen philosophy. Such a grave and deliberate declaration, and from such authority, requires no commentary; it was a candid avowal from the choicest intellects of Christendom, that three centuries before, a false step had been taken, and a plain and solemn warning that if the evil results of that step were now to be remedied, it could only be by returning to the ancient paths.

It was precisely at this time that St. Ignatius and his companions first appeared in Rome, and submitted to the Holy See the plan for the foundation of their society. The education of youth is set forth in the Formula of Approval granted by Paul III. in 1540 as the first duty embraced by the new institute, and it is to be observed that the two patrons who most powerfully interested themselves in obtaining this approval were both of them members of the above-named commission, namely, Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, and the Dominican, Father Thomas Badia. Although the new society were not at once able to begin the establishment of colleges, yet the plan of those afterwards founded was gradually ripening in the sagacious mind of St. Ignatius, who looked to these institutions as calculated to oppose the surest bulwarks against the progress of heresy. The first regular college of the society was that established at Candia in 1546, through the zeal of St. Francis Borgia, third general of the society; and the regulations by which it was governed, and which were embodied in the constitutions, were extended to all the Jesuit colleges afterwards founded. The studies were to include theology, both positive and scholastic, as well as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy. The course of philosophy was to last three years, that of theology, four; and the Professors of Philosophy were enjoined to treat their subject in such a way as to dispose the mind for the study of theology, instead of setting up faith and reason in opposition to one another. The theology of St. Thomas, and the philosophy of Aristotle, were to be followed, except on those points where the teaching of the latter was opposed to the Catholic faith. Those points of metaphysics which involved questions depending for their demonstration on revealed truth, such as free-will, or the origin of evil, were not to be treated in the course of philosophy, but to be reserved for that of theology. No classical authors, whether Greek or Latin, wherein was to be found any thing contrary to good morals, were to be read in the classes until first corrected, and the students were subjected to rules of discipline which aimed at forming in them habits of solid piety. It is clear that colleges thus constituted were exactly fitted to carry out those reforms which Pole and his colleagues had suggested as being so urgently called for, and would effectually exclude the 'impious philosophy' which had been nurtured in the academies of Italy.

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

In the earlier sessions of the Council, the old canons requiring cathedrals to maintain a theologian and grammar master for the instruction of the younger clergy were confirmed, and laws were passed requiring all masters and doctors in the universities to engage by oath, at the beginning of each year to explain the Catholic faith according to the canons of the Council, and obliging visitors to institute the necessary corrections of discipline. But the main action of this Council was directed to restoring the seminary to its original position and purpose—as the school of the Bishop, where those who were 'to minister divine things should receive consecration early in the formation of a life passed away from worldly temptations, and where the law of the place should establish the habit of holiness.' It is embodied in the eighteenth chapter of the 27th session of Canons and Decrees, substantially as follows:

Every cathedral or metropolitan church is bound, according to its means, to maintain a certain number of youths belonging to the city or diocese in some suitable college, who shall then be trained for the ecclesiastical state. They are to be at least twelve years old, and chosen from those who give hopes of their being eventually fit for the priesthood. The Holy Council desires that a 'preference be given to the children of poor parents,' though the rich are not to be excluded. The college, which is to be 'a perpetual seminary for the service of God,' is entirely under the direction of the bishop, who is to be assisted by two canons chosen by himself. The students, on their entrance, are to wear the tonsure and ecclesiastical habit; to learn grammar, church music, the ecclesiastical computation, and the other liberal arts; but they are specially to apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and all that appertains to the right administration of the Sacraments. The bishop, or the visitors whom he appoints, are to watch over the maintenance of good discipline among them, and to take all proper means for the encouragement of piety and virtue. The seminary is to be maintained by a tax on all the benefices in the diocese. If in any province the dioceses are too poor each to maintain its own seminary, the Provincial synod may establish one attached to the metropolitan church for the general use of all churches of the diocese; or, again, if a diocese be very large and populous, the bishop may, if necessary, establish in it more than one seminary. It belongs to the bishop to appoint or remove the scholasticus, and no person is to be appointed who is not a doctor or licentiate in theology or canon law. The bishop also has the right of prescribing what studies are to be pursued by the seminarists, according as he may think proper.

So universal was the satisfaction caused by this decree, that many prelates hesitated not to declare, that if no other good were to result from the labors of the Council, this alone would compensate to them for all their fatigues and sacrifices. They regarded such a reform as was here provided, as the only efficacious means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, well knowing that in every state and government, as are the heads, so are the members, and that the character of a people depends on that of their teachers.

This policy was carried out promptly and thoroughly by Charles Borromeo, in the Archbishopric of Milan. For the clergy of his own province he founded six seminaries. The chief or greater seminary was attached to his Cathedral Church, and was intended to receive 150 of the most promising candidates, who went through a regular course of philosophy, theology, and canon law. A second seminary was included for youths of less ability, who were required to go through a course in moral theology, Scripture, the catechism of the Council of Trent, and the rubrics and ceremonies of the church. A third seminary in the city was designed for priests who, from any cause, needed to refresh their ecclesiastical spirit or acquire necessary learning. The three accommodated about 300 students. In three different deaneries were established three other seminaries, as nurseries to those at Milan—all dependent on the great seminary of St. John the Baptist, as their head.

* Charles Borromeo, Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan, was born at Arona in 1538, and canonized in 1610. In 1572 he founded the College of St. Fidelis, mainly for poor students; and in the year following another known as the College of Nobles, in which the aim was to combine solid piety, humane letters, and good manners. He had prepared by Cardinal Sylvius Antonianus, a manual for his professors. He also founded other colleges at Arona, Lucerne, and Fribourg, and a parochial school for elementary instruction in every parish, and Sunday schools for catechetical instruction in each church.

III. PLANS OF SCHOOL-HOUSES.

In determining the details of construction and arrangement for a school-house, due regard must, of course, be had to the varying circumstances of country and city, of a large and a small number of scholars, of schools of different grades, and of different systems of instruction.

1. In by far the largest number of country districts as they are now situated, there will be but one school-room, with a smaller room for recitations and other purposes needed. This must be arranged and fitted up for scholars of all ages, for the varying circumstances of a summer and of a winter school, and for other purposes, religious and secular, than those of a school, and in every particular of construction and arrangement, the closest economy of material and labor must be studied. A union of two or more districts for the purpose of maintaining in each a school for the younger children, and in the center of the associated districts a school for the older children of all or, what would be better, a consolidation of two or more districts into one, for these and all other school purposes, would do away with the almost insuperable difficulties which now exist in country districts, in the way of comfortable and attractive school-houses, as well as of thoroughly governed and instructed schools.

2. In small villages, or populous country districts, at least two school-rooms should be provided, and as there will be other places for public meetings of various kinds, each room should be appropriated and fitted up exclusively for the use of the younger or the older pupils. It is better, on many accounts, to have two schools on the same floor, than one above the other.

3. In large villages and cities, a better classification of the schools can be adopted, and, of course, more completeness can be given to the construction and arrangement of the buildings and rooms appropriated to each grade of schools. This classification should embrace at least three grades—viz. Primary, with an infant department; Secondary, or Grammar; Superior, or High Schools. In manufacturing villages, and in certain sections of large cities, regularly organized Infant Schools should be established and devoted mainly to the culture of the morals, manners, language and health of very young children.

4. The arrangement as to supervision, instruction and recitations, must have reference to the size of the school; the number of teachers and assistants; the general organization of the school, whether in one room for study, and separate class rooms for recitation, or the several classes in distinct rooms under appropriate teachers, each teacher having specified studies; and the method of instruction pursued, whether the mutual, simultaneous, or mixed.

Since the year 1830, and especially since 1838, much ingenuity has been expended by practical teachers and architects, in devising and perfecting plans of school-houses, with all the details of construction and fixtures, modified to suit the varied circumstances enumerated above, specimens of which, with explanations and descriptions, will be here given.

Plans of School-Houses with one School-room.

The largest number of school-houses which are erected with but one school-room, are intended for District, or for Primary Schools.

District School.

By a District School, in this connection, is understood a public school open to all the children of the district, of both sexes, and of the school age recognized by the practice of the district, or the regulations of the school committee of the town to which such district belongs. It is an unclassified school, and is taught in one apartment, by one teacher, usually without any assistance even from older pupils of the school. It varies in the character of its scholars, and its methods of instruction, from summer to winter, and from winter to summer. In summer, the younger children and classes in the elementary studies predominate, and in the winter the older pupils, and classes in the more advanced studies, whilst some of both extremes, as to age and studies, are to be found in both the winter and summer session of the district school. This variety of ages and studies, and consequent variety of classes, increased by the irregularity of attendance, is not only a serious hinderance to the proper arrangement, instruction and government of the school, but presents almost insuperable obstacles to the appropriate construction and furniture of the school-house, which is too often erected on the smallest possible scale of size and expense. A vast amount of physical suffering and discomfort to the pupils is the necessary result of crowding the older and younger pupils into a small apartment, without seats and furniture appropriate to either, and especially when no precaution has been taken to adapt the supply and arrangements of seats and desks according to the varying circumstances of the same school in winter and summer. In every district, or unclassified school, the school-room should be fitted up with seats and desks for the older and younger pupils, sufficient to accommodate the maximum attendance of each class of scholars at any season of the year. And if this cannot be effected, and only a sufficient number of seats can be secured to accommodate the highest number of both sexes in attendance at any one time, then in winter the seats and desks for the smaller children should be removed to the attic, and their place supplied by additional seats and desks for the older pupils; and in summer this arrangement should be reversed

Primary Schools.

By a Primary School, in our American School Systems, is understood, not generally an Elementary School, embracing a course of instruction for the great mass of the children of the community

under fourteen years of age—but specifically, that class or grade of schools which receive only the youngest pupils, and those least advanced in their studies.

Any scheme of school organization will be imperfect which does not include special arrangements for the systematic training and instruction of very young children, especially in all cities, manufacturing villages, and large neighborhoods. Among the population of such places, many parents are sure to be found, who, for want of intelligence or leisure, of constancy and patience, are unfitted to watch the first blossoming of the souls of their children, and to train them to good physical habits, virtuous impulses, and quick and accurate observations ; to cleanliness, obedience, openness, mutual kindliness, piety, and all the virtues which wise and far-seeing parents desire for their offspring. The general result of the home training of the children of such parents, is the neglect of all moral culture when such culture is most valuable ; and the acquisition of manners, personal habits, and language, which the best school training at a later period of life can with difficulty correct or eradicate. To meet the wants of this class of children, Halls of Refuge and Infant Schools were originally instituted by Oberlin, Owen, and Wilderspin, and now constitute under these names, or the names of Primary Schools, or Primary Departments, a most important branch of elementary education, whether sustained by individual charity, or as part of the organization of public instruction.

No one at all acquainted with the history of education in this country, can doubt that the establishment of the Primary School for children under six years of age, in Boston, in 1818, as a distinct grade of schools, with the modifications which it has since received there, and elsewhere, from the principles and methods of the Infant School system, has led to most important improvements in the quality and quantity of instruction in our public schools, and the sooner a Primary School properly organized, furnished and managed, can be established in every large neighborhood, and especially in the "infected districts" of cities and manufacturing villages, the more rapid and more thorough will be the progress of education.

Location, Yard, and Play Ground.

The site or location of a school-house should be quiet, retired, accessible, attractive, and in all respects healthy. To secure these conditions, no reasonable expense should be spared—for a house thus situated promotes in many ways the highest objects for which a school is instituted.

Noisy and dusty thoroughfares, and the vicinity of places of idle and vicious resort, as well as bleak plains, unsheltered hill tops, and stagnant marshes, should all be avoided, no matter how central, accessible, or cheap the land may be.

In a city or village, a rear lot, with access from two or more streets, will not only be more economical, quiet and safe, but will secure, at the same cost as a narrow front lot, the advantages of a spacious play ground, and admit of the adornments of flower plats, shrubbery, and trees.

In the country, and in small villages, there will be no difficulty, to a liberal and enlightened community or committee, in procuring a spacious lot, attractive from its choice of sun and shade, of trees and flowers, and commanding, in one or more directions, the cheap yet priceless educating influences of fine scenery.

In city or country, a site should be provided, large enough to admit of a yard in front of the building, either common to the whole school, or appropriated to greensward, flowers, and shrubbery, and two yards in the rear, one for each sex, properly graded, inclosed, and fitted up with apparatus for recreation and exercise in all states of the weather, and with privies, which a civilized people never forgets, and in respect to which the most perfect seclusion, neatness, and propriety should be enforced.

The extent to which facilities for gymnastic and calisthenic exercises shall be introduced into the play-ground, must be determined by the circumstances of the school, and mainly by the place which they are to occupy as part of the physical education of the pupils. For purposes of recreation, except in the simplest and cheapest form, and for very young children, and at all times under the direction and supervision of the teacher, who should be specially trained to superintend the exercises and amusements of the play ground, this apparatus has not much value. When pursued at all times, without system, without reference to age, or strength, or the purposes intended, without direction, from day to day for a whole term, the exercises become wearisome, the apparatus is abused, and serious accidents not unfrequently occur. But when gymnastics can be taught and practiced as a regular branch of education—when the more difficult fetes of activity, strength, and endurance, are attained by elementary trials of various sorts, graduated to the age and constitution of each pupil, and so alternated as to keep the interest constantly alive—when walking exercises in the field, or to remarkable places, and even ordinary spots, are occasionally substituted for the military drill, and running, leaping, vaulting, balancing, climbing, and lifting, in the gymnasium—when the incidental acquisition of the moral habits of cleanliness in person, neatness in dress, punctuality, promptitude, and obedience, is made a matter of even greater importance than the direct result of muscular development, an erect and graceful carriage, a firm and regular step, which are the direct objects of these exercises—then, they are truly valuable, and every facility for their introduction should be provided in the play ground. Whenever introduced, the machines and instruments should be constructed of the best material and by the best workmen, for life and limb must not be endangered to save expense in these respects.

The following cuts and description may be useful to an ingenious carpenter, who can not consult a systematic treatise on gymnastics.* The cut which follows, of a play-ground for an infant, or primary school, is copied from Wilderspin's Early Education. We should prefer to see a female teacher presiding over the scene.

* *See* Instructions in Gymnastics, containing a full description of more than eight hundred exercises, and illustrated by five hundred engravings, By J. E. D'Alfonce, late professor of Gymnastics in the Military School in St. Petersburgh, and in Paris. New York: George F. Nesbit & Co., Wall street. 1851.

PLAN FOR A VILLAGE SCHOOL.

The accompanying view and plan of a village or country school-house, intended to accommodate from seventy to eighty pupils, were furnished by H. Hudson Holley, architect, of New York, for Harper's *Bazar*. The cost of a building of this description in the neighborhood of New York is stated to range from $2,500 to $3,000, according to its finish; but in other localities, where labor and material are cheaper, a corresponding reduction might be made.

It is divided into boys' and girls' departments, occupying either side of the school-room, each having a separate entrance, with spacious vestibule, containing some twenty-five feet of wardrobe, sufficient to afford a separate locker, if desired, to every pupil. In the rear of the vestibules are water-closets, well lighted, and ventilated from below, causing a downward current of air, which effectually prevents the rising of any smells. These ventilators are connected with the large shaft shown at A.

The recitation-rooms have similar flues, all in connection with the smoke-flue from the furnace, the heat from which, by rarefying the air, causes a corresponding increase of draught. The school-room has its floor perforated in several places, from which there is a connection through air-ducts with the main ventilator. This effectually carries off the poisonous exhalations from the lungs, which would otherwise soon render the air unfit to breathe. There is also a ventilator in the school-room ceiling, the foul and heated air from which is discharged through the small cupola surmounting the roof. This also contains the bell, which is rung from the attic floor. This attic will be found useful in further protecting the school-rooms from both heat and cold. It is approached by an easy stair-case, located between the recitation-rooms. Underneath there are stairs leading to the cellar. Here the furnace and coal or wood-vaults are placed. We would especially recommend the use of a furnace, rather than the so-called gas-consuming stoves generally employed, both for convenience and for sanitary reasons. A stove in a room simply consumes the oxygen, while creating no circulation of air. A furnace, on the contrary, which is kept below, draws its air from without, warms it moderately, and introduces it fresh into the rooms above; and when with this is combined properly constructed ventilators in floor and ceiling, the foul air escapes exactly in proportion to the fresh air introduced.

When a furnace cannot be had, the following expedient may be employed: Build a close chamber in the cellar, about ten feet square, and in the center place an ordinary coal or wood stove. Then connect this chamber with the outer air by means of a flue about twelve by twenty-four inches, to admit a current of fresh air, which, when heated, rises to the floors above through registers, in the ordinary way.

Separate recitation-rooms will be found in rear of the teacher's desk. By means of these the school may be at any time taught as a graded school, with three classes reciting at a time. Even if the school is not

WARDROBE
BOYS W.C.
VESTIBULE
PORCH
WDE
WARDROBE
RECITATION ROOM 10:9" X 11:0"
PLATFORM
DESK
A
SCHOOL-ROOM 25:0" X 35:0"
RECITATION ROOM 10:9" X 11:0"
WDE
WARDROBE
GIRLS W.C.
VESTIBULE
PORCH
WARDROBE

graded, teachers will often find it to the advantage of all to hear classes in the recitation-rooms, leaving the school-room in charge of a monitor.

The exterior of this building is of a thoroughly simple, though somewhat novel character, the pitch of the roof being at an angle of about thirty degrees from the horizon. This, while sufficiently steep for shingles or slate, would, if of less pitch, require a metal covering. It will be found expedient, if slate is used, to have it laid on close boards, between which and the slate we would recommend the introduction of tarred felt, which not only has the advantage of warmth, but effectually prevents driving snows from penetrating the roof. When shingles are adopted it will be found best to fix them on lath of about one by two inches, at a sufficient distance apart to receive them, as shingles placed on close boarding are much more liable to decay. The exterior walls are covered with ordinary clapboards about as high as the attic floor, while above this vertical boards, about eight or nine inches in width, are employed, the ends being cut in an ornamental pattern, and the joints covered with moulded battens about one by two inches. These vertical sidings are sometimes called curtains, or aprons.

Heretofore our country school-houses have not only been of ill-conceived design and arrangement, but their coloring has been something painful to contemplate. Either white or red is usually employed, probably the most ill-assorted tints that could have been chosen. Would it not be better to have some of those warm, transparent hues, at once harmonious with the surrounding landscape and grateful to the eye? Little things like these, pleasing colors, architectural effects, well-balanced proportions, all aid in forming and refining the taste, and make the old school-house a pleasant memory in after years. Our children, living for the most part in plain homes, where nearly all is necessarily calculated for utility, and but little thought is ever given to æsthetics, need this force of contrast, and the school-house, instead of being the least attractive building in the village, should, by a higher taste, a more harmonious blending of form and color, lead these growing minds—unconsciously it may be—to a love and desire for higher things than their fathers knew.

There are many shades of color which might be suggested. We would propose for the clapboard or body color a warm drab, such as would be produced by mixing with a cup of strong coffee an equal proportion of rich cream. Then all the trimmings, such as cornices, window-casings, water-tables and string-courses, should be of a darker shade —such a tint as the coffee would have with only a small proportion of the cream added—sufficient to produce a striking contrast, which may be seen at a distance. The apron of vertical boards before described should be of a middle tint, produced by mingling in equal proportions the colors before mentioned. The battens should be of the trimming color. Colors, in these and many other shades, are now prepared in quantities by large dealers, thus insuring to consumers hues and tints which are uniform in quality.

We would here mention that iron finials are a cheap and very ornamental adjunct to a design. Wooden finials are good, if proper models

can be obtained; but, as some iron-founders have on hand very appropriate patterns, we think it safe at least to recommend their use.

The *location* of a school-building is a matter deserving of attention; perhaps some innovation upon time-honored custom may be advisable. It has never been clearly explained why a school-house should be placed on the edge of a swamp, or on the top of a steep hill, nor has any one satisfactorily proved the advantage of locating it immediately beside the village graveyard. We would therefore, with due respect, advise that these heretofore favorite locations be abandoned, and that the building be placed on level, dry ground, and that it be as near as possible to the center of the neighborhood from which the children come. Sufficient ground should be secured to insure forever good ventilation and light. The light and ventilation which are sufficient for a residence are entirely inadequate to a room containing from thirty to eighty children, each of whom must be able, on the darkest day, to read at his seat fine print, and to breathe fresh air without going out of doors for it. It is well to have some shade-trees near the building, though a location in the edge of a forest, where the sun seldom warms or dries the ground, should be avoided. Care should of course be taken that the building is not placed near cattle-pens, pig-sties, stables, or other places from which offensive odors and impure air are constantly escaping.

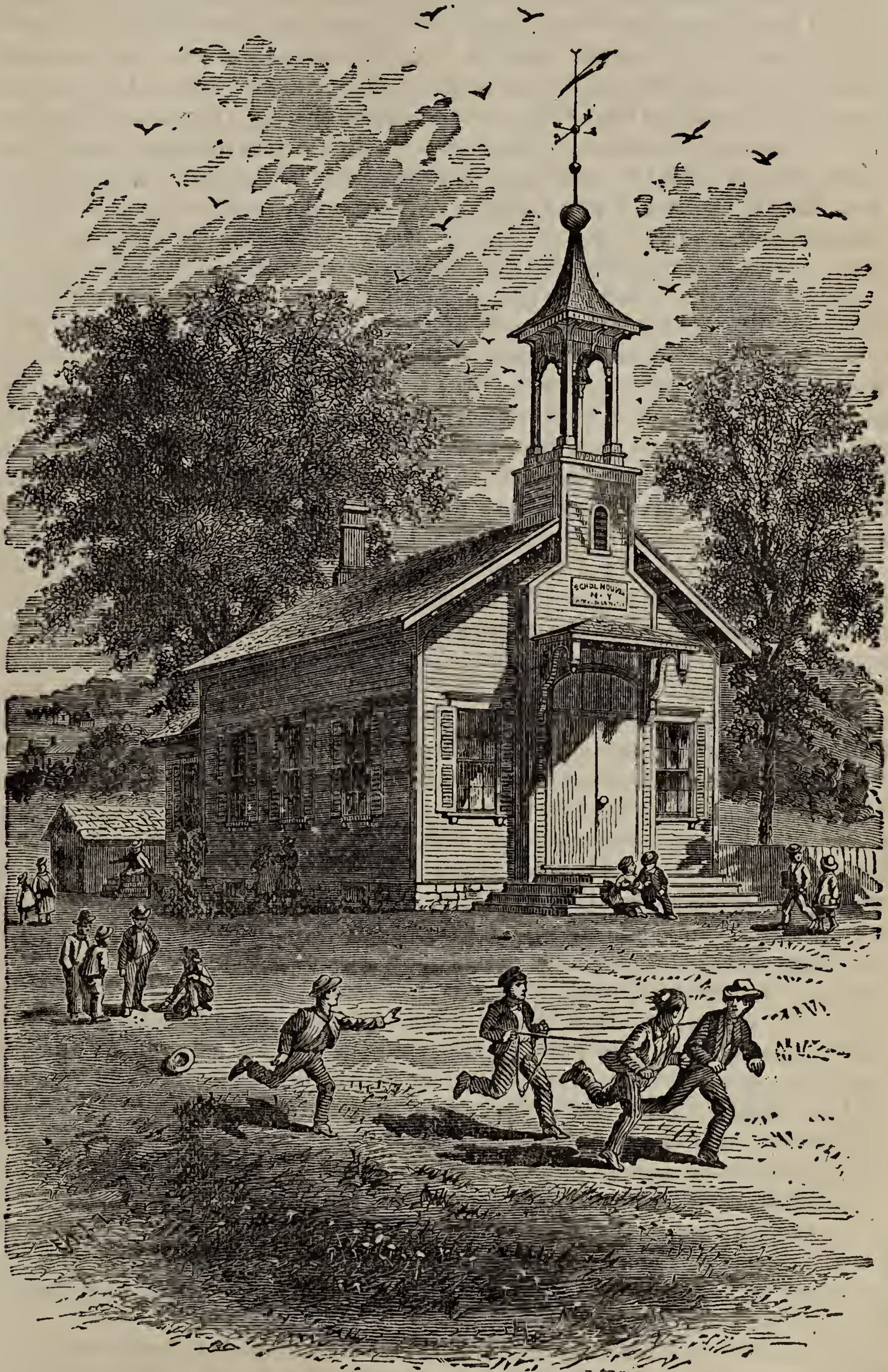
The *condition of the grounds about the building* will largely modify its appearance. A school-yard in which every blade of grass has been trampled down will spoil the effect of the most perfectly designed and painted building. The ground immediately adjoining the building, therefore, should be neatly grassed, and for as great a width as practicable. Paths, for ingress and egress, should be cut through this space. The play-ground should be in the rear, and should not be allowed to encroach on the grassed surface. The monotony of a level surface of grass might with advantage be broken by groups or single plants of flowering shrubs or of evergreens. In most parts of the United States the forests contain evergreens and ornamental trees, which may be had for the trouble of digging up and transplanting. Most of the pines, cedars, spruces, firs, hemlocks, magnolias, dogwoods, etc., are at some or all seasons of the year ornamental, and as such are placed, often at great cost, in the handsomest grounds in the country. Our forests also abound in ornamental vines and creepers, which may be used with effect to cover fences, foundation-walls, etc. A small contribution from the pupils would effect the purchase of a few bulbs, seeds and roots, while a few minutes of labor, subtracted from the school-hours of some of the "bad boys," would keep the whole in order, and would perhaps have on said boys a more salutary effect than would leafless twigs applied to uncongenial shoulders and palms.

[It must be a source of satisfaction to the Architect of the above Plan to see occasionally, as he passes through the Rural Districts, a school-house located so as to afford its inmates at least a choice of sun and shade in different seasons of the year and periods of the day, and from its surroundings and equipment to deserve less the name of a *Cemetery*, and more that of a Seminary of Learning.]

PLAN OF A RURAL DISTRICT SCHOOL-HOUSE.

Town of Genesee Falls, Wyoming County, N. Y.

As an illustration of the better class of country school-houses, we present to our readers plans of one recently erected.



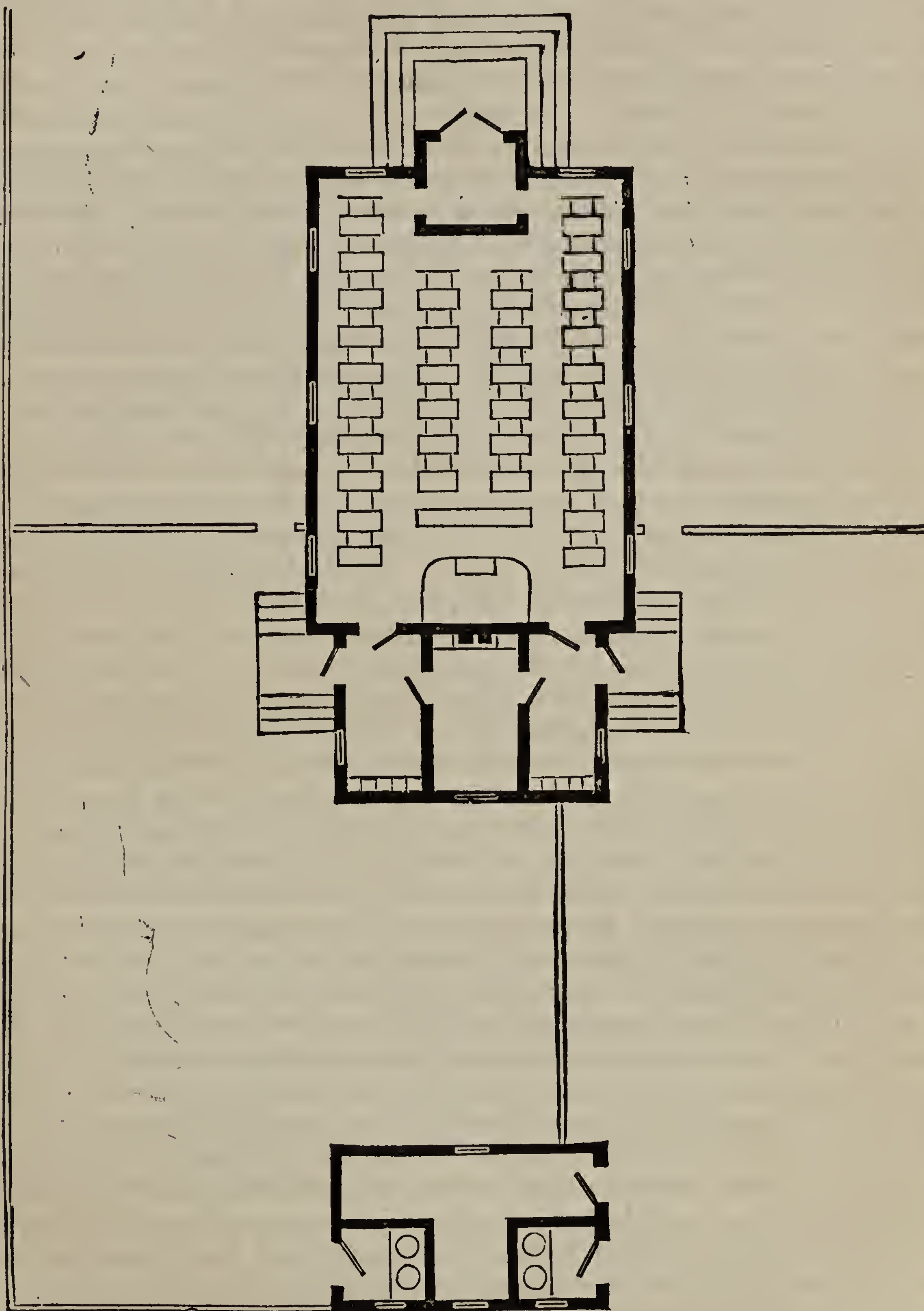
It is situated in the town of Genesee Falls, Wyoming County, New York, not far from the banks of the Genesee river, and about a mile from the famous high bridge at Portage, on the Erie Railroad below. The plan was designed by Mr. J. H. Selkirk, of Buffalo.

The site and ground contains about an acre in the form of a parallelogram, the shortest side being upon the road. The building itself stands about fifty feet from the road, and facing it. The soil is a gravelly loam, with good drainage; the situation airy, with delightful prospects about it. The ground is graded to a descent of one foot to twelve from the building in every direction to the distance of twenty feet. The house has three entrances; one a main entrance with double doors in front, intended to be used only when the edifice is occupied for public meetings or school exhibitions. It has an entrance in the wing on the left for boys and upon the right for girls. The latter before reaching the entrance door pass through a gate in a high board fence which extends from the building at right angles to the limit of the ground, and from thence encloses a small square play-ground exclusively for the girls, within which is a closet, the purpose of which is concealed by its being placed in the corner of a building used as a coal-house or wood-shed. In the opposite corner of the same building is placed the boys' closet, the access to which and the wood-shed are from the outside of the yard. This shed, containing these two closets, is placed directly back of the wing of the school-house at the distance of about thirty-three feet. The fence referred to—a tight board one, picketed and seven feet high—extends between the wing and the shed. The rail bars of this fence have boards placed diagonally above the rail, so that little feet cannot get upon them or climb over from the rear of the yard. Into this yard the boys are not expected to enter. It is embellished with flowers and creepers planted in beds upon its borders.

The bottom of the sills of the school-house are two and a half feet from the ground, affording ample space for lighting a basement play-room, to be used in stormy weather or when the ground is muddy. Such a provision avoids any necessity for using the school-room as a play-house—a liberty which should never be allowed. The basement may also be used for storing extra seats required to be used at public meetings and exhibitions, and for placing a small furnace for warming the building. The main building is 20x30 feet, the wing 10x17 feet. The entrance halls or vestibule in the wing are 5½ feet wide. They are each lighted by one window, and contain at the outer end cases of shelves standing on a five-inch base with twenty numbered spaces or pigeon holes, 12x14 square and 14 inches deep. The outer doors to the vestibules, as well as the front door to the building, open outwardly, thus saving space within the building, and affording readier egress in case of sudden alarm. The front doors swing against posts on the platform to prevent straining the hinges. The teacher's room occupying the space between the girls' and boys' hall is six feet wide. It is lighted by one window, and contains two closets which occupy the spaces between the chimney and the side walls. In these closets or cases which are shelved and secured by doors and lock and key, are kept the district library and experimental apparatus belonging to the school. The chimney which is built from the bottom of the basement below, passes up through this room against the outer wall of the main building, being entirely independent of it except that it passes through the cornice at the ridge. It contains two flues, one for fire and the other for ventilation of the school-room. It has two registers in the school-room, one at the base of the room and the other near the ceiling. The teacher's room is entered by a door on each side two feet four inches wide.

If occupied by a male teacher the door on the girls' side is kept locked, if a female teacher the opposite door is secured. The room is lighted by one window. It affords space for a small table or desk, a wash-stand and lounge. The ceilings in the wing are nine feet and in the school-room eleven and a half feet high. Each window contains twelve lights, ten inches by twelve. There

are eight windows in the main school-room, of twelve lights, each ten by fifteen inches, three on each side and two in front. All the sashes in the building are hung upon pulleys and balanced with weights. This is a feature which should be identified with every school-house, as better ventilation is secured by the facility with which windows are raised and lowered and adjusted to the precise needs of the time, by the slightest touch of the hand.



There are four rows of single desks—a greater number can be used. It is now universally conceded that single desks are better than double, as by their use better discipline is sustained and consequently greater proficiency in studies. Less interruption occurs where each scholar holds an isolated position. An industrious scholar placed beside an indolent one at the same desk, may lose the benefit of instruction during the whole term, by reason of his close proximity to a profitless and possibly mischief-making companion.

The walls of the school-room are wainscoted vertically two feet ten inches from the floor. A platform five feet eight inches by eight feet wide and two feet two inches high, is located between the two entrance doors of the school-room. Two feet two inches above the platform is placed the blackboard, filling the space between the two doors. It is five feet high, and made by gluing a coat of manilla paper upon the hard-finished plastered wall, and coating the manilla paper with ground slate made into a paste applied by means of a brush. A strip of moulding is secured against the rim of the blackboard over the paper to keep the outer edge of the paper from becoming detached from the plaster. The teacher's desk occupies the central position upon the platform. The space upon either side of the platform is occupied by a few chairs for visitors. The floor of the school-room is made of one and one-quarter stuff, and lined underneath with tarred roofing paper. The sides of the building are sheathed with one-inch hemlock boards, covered with a coating of tarred roofing paper under the clapboards. The attic joists above are covered with a double floor of common boards, between which is also laid a coating of tarred paper. As the attic has thorough ventilation the building is cool in summer and warm in winter. The using of tarred paper to complete the enclosing of the heated space in the building as has been done here, is but a trifling expense, and is strongly recommended. The inner doors of the building are panelled; all the outer doors are made of two thicknesses of narrow inch stuff battened. The double doors in front are two and a half feet wide and seven and a half feet high. The rear outside doors are two feet eight inches wide and of the same height. The platforms before the entrances are capacious, being six feet by eight, and rest upon chestnut posts set three feet in the ground. The steps have but seven inch rise. The advantage of having entrances as planned in this building is that the pupils face the school upon entering it, thus causing less interruption than where the entrance is at the back of the pupils already seated, who cannot be restrained at each opening of the door from turning to look at the incomer. By this arrangement also the pupil sits with his back to the two large windows in the end of the building, and gets the benefit of light over his shoulder. The side blinds may be closed so that on a bright day all the light may come from that direction and tempered agreeably to the eye. When the boys leave the school-house they enter at once upon their play-ground in the rear, away from the road, while the girls enter at once their private play-ground, and can use the conveniences connected therewith in that seclusion which the natural delicacy of the sex requires, and which should not only be observed but encouraged. The vestibules of these entrances, in case of school exhibitions and other public occasions, which are of frequent occurrence in an enterprising district, may be used for retiring rooms. The platform may be converted into a stage by the simple process of putting up curtains. The audience enters at such times by the main entrance of the building, which is thus found at once to possess the convenience of a concert hall of the city. Important also is the facility under this plan by which the building may be transformed into a place of public worship, with its vestibule and entrance the more cleanly from less frequent use.

This commodious little structure while having all the desirable features of a school-house, may be said to be in miniature an exhibition room, town-hall, and church. Its cost in the western part of New York may be set down in round figures at Fifteen Hundred ($1,500) Dollars. By judicious expenditure this may be made to include seats and desks, a small furnace for heating, a bell, and three coats of paint.

This building was erected and equipped at the sole expense of Hon. William P. Letchworth, of Buffalo, a member of the New York State Board of Charities.

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 was assiduously educated, subordinate schoolmasters working under them when needful in such 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.

* 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 The 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 devoloped, 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.

Reprinted from vol 24. pages 91-96. Q. V.

MARQUIS OF POMBAL.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, Marquis of Pombal, the great statesman and educator of Portugal, was born in 1693, in the reign of John V., who laid out 225,000*l.* on a chapel, measuring 17 feet by 12 feet, in the Church of St. Roque, and left his country at his death burdened with a debt of three millions sterling, "with a nominal navy and a nominal army, dismantled and abandoned fortresses, nominal lines of defense, nominal regiments of observation, and apparently on the brink of ruin." Long before Pombal came into power he appears to have contemplated this state of things with something of the resolute spirit of Chancellor Erskine, who, while yet a young lawyer, being checked in censure of some legal abuse by the remark, "It was the law before you were born," replied, "It is because I was not born that it is law, and I will alter it before I die." Accordingly, when at length the Portuguese reformer had power commensurate with his will, he unflinchingly devoted his energies to the uprooting of ancient prejudices and the establishment of beneficial changes.

Pombal entered the University of Coimbra in 1717, but quitted it in disgust at its "routine of unprofitable studies," and entered the army as a private, according to the custom of Portugal. Promoted to the rank of corporal he relinquished this nominal profession of arms, and devoted himself thenceforth to the study of history, politics, and legislation. While occupied with these more congenial pursuits he was presented by an uncle to Cardinal Motta, at that time high in favor with John V. The Cardinal's shrewd perception at once fixed on Pombal as one whose talents might be turned to account, and he strongly recommended him to the King. Dom John, however, beyond appointing him member of the Royal Academy of History, and expressing an anxiety that he should undertake the biographies of certain Portuguese monarchs, does not appear for some time to have further noticed him.

Having married in the interval Donna Theresa de Noronha, a widow, and niece of the Count dos Arcos, Pombal seems to have

seriously desired some active employment in the State; but he continued unemployed till the latter end of the year 1739, when by Cardinal Motta's recommendation he was sent to London as Minister. There he studied hard, in spite of ill-health, to acquaint himself with the history, constitution, and legislation of Great Britain, but remained ignorant of the English language; an odd fact, which the Conde da Carnota excuses by the remark that French was the language chiefly spoken at the court of George II., and that most of the best works then in vogue on politics or legislation were by French writers. In the course of his reading these authors, Sully became the model example of a Minister in the eyes of Pombal.

In 1745 he represented his government at Vienna, where he married the Countess Daun for his second wife. In 1750 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, and enjoyed the confidence of Dom Joseph, who, for 27 years, sustained his measures of political, religious, and educational reform. In the first year of his ministry he succeeded in restricting the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and prohibiting its private tortures and public executions, which had for so long a period disgraced the country. So early in his ministry as 1751 a decree regulating its practices was promulgated. By this decree it was enacted that no *auto-da-fé* was henceforward to be celebrated and no sentences were to be executed without the consent and approbation of government, which reserved for itself as a court of appeal the province of inquiry and examination, and of confirming or reversing the sentence.

In 1761 (Sept. 19), he secured the passage of a law by which all slaves arriving in Portugal and touching her soil were declared to be *ipso facto* free men; that other law of mercy which forbade at home the imprisonment of debtors who were *bona fide* unable to meet the demands of their creditors; and many other edicts, all emanating from the same spirit.

When the city of Lisbon was well-nigh destroyed by the earthquake on the morning of All Saints' Day, in 1755, and the conflagration which followed the falling of the roofs of the numerous churches on the millions of tapers which were burning in honor of the festival, the efforts of the Minister rose to the greatness and urgency of the occasion. "What is to be done," said the King, who happened to be at a country residence on that fatal day, "to meet this infliction of Divine justice?" "Bury the dead, and feed the living," said his intrepid Minister Pombal—and at once entered his carriage and drove to Lisbon, to share the danger and alleviate the calamities of the earthquake and fire; and for several days his

carriage was his head-quarters, where he issued over 200 regulations, which not only brought order out of chaos, but permanent improvement out of these terrible disasters. In an incredible short space of time two hundred decrees were promulgated respecting the maintenance of order, the lodging of the people, the distribution of provisions, and the burial of the dead. In these numerous decrees Pombal entered into the minutest details; and, such was the rapidity with which they were conceived and promulgated, that many were written in pencil on his kness, and without being copied, were hastily forwarded to their various destinations. The wounded were removed and their wounds dressed; the houseless were collected and lodged in temporary huts; provisions were brought from all quarters and distributed to the poor; monopolies of all kinds were forbidden; troops were drawn from the provinces to preserve order; idlers were forced to work; the dispersed nuns were reassembled; the ruins removed; the dead buried, and public worship restored.

Before the earthquake not a single regular street above the length of 100 yards existed. Now they were rebuilt handsome, solid, level, and well paved. A public garden was for the first time laid out. Sewers were constructed in the new streets. Rules for enforcing general cleanliness were likewise made. Much was done not only in the useful but the decorative line, and Lisbon rose from ruin in renewed beauty; but many of Pombal's plans were destined never to be carried out, and the one most regretted by the Portuguese—namely, the magnificent promenade which he designed to form on the shores of the lovely Tagus, from Santa Appallonia to Belem, a distance of about five miles, was never even commenced.

Pombal next turned his attention to the interests of agriculture as one of the chief sources of national prosperity, without exactly copying the spasmodic efforts of an ancient king (Dom Alfonso IV.), who enacted that the husbandman who neglected his lands should, for the first offense, forfeit his flocks, and if he persisted in careless or unskillful cultivation, should be hung. Stringent and compulsory edicts now rescued great tracts of soil from obstinate cultivation of the poorest sort of vines, and devoted them to corn and timber, while the importation of mulberry trees at the rate of 20,000 plants and upwards in successive years quadrupled the production of silk goods, and turned the attention of landholders to a new branch of industry.

It was through Pombal's judicious policy that the vine in the Upper Douro, and of which the "genuine old port" is made, was

rescued from a ruinous method of culture, and the vine from processes of deterioration, and its sale from the grasp of a monopoly, until the production rose to the highest demand in the foreign markets. His efforts, although crowned with success, involved the government in an insurrectionary movement in the district, and well-nigh caused a rupture with England, whose merchants had a monopoly of all the wines of this grape—a portion of the vintage being now brought into open market.

From the improvement of the soil and the agriculture, to the cultivation of the minds of the people, the transition was natural in this clear-sighted minister. His own son he sent to Rome, and afterwards to Vienna and Venice, to enjoy advantages he could not get at home; and at the same time, Pombal set agencies at work to relieve others from the necessities of sending their sons abroad for similar advantages. He determined that no Portuguese youth should have the excuse of want of opportunity, for not knowing how to write a decent letter in his vernacular, or be compelled to go to Venice and Genoa to obtain a commercial education. A School of Commerce was opened in Lisbon for those who wished to become clerks and enter the public offices; and a College (Royal Collegio dos Nobres) for the liberal education of the sons of the nobility. The laws and ordinances of this seminary were entirely framed by Pombal—so universal was his genius and so capable was he of perceiving and remedying every kind of evil that afflicted and depressed his country. As the old custom of conversing in Latin was still observed, to the utter destruction of good Latinity, he directed that the students should for the future converse either in Portuguese, French, Italian, or English, and *never in Latin*, as, he remarks, the familiar use of this dead language tends more *para os ensinar a barbarisar* than to facilitate the knowledge of it. With respect to modern languages, it was directed that all lessons, so far as that was practicable, should be given *viva voce*, without overwhelming the pupils with a multitude of useless rules; since living languages are more readily acquired by conversation and reading, than by elaborate grammars and abstruse philological works. "How far we are from following such valuable precepts," say the Conde da Carnota, "parents must have often felt, for it too frequently happens that, after their children have been ostensibly learning French for several years at an English school, they have come home as unable to converse in it as if they had never opened a French grammar. And from what does this arise, but from the inefficient system of teaching pursued at most places of instruction?"

The discipline of the University at Coimbra was also entirely remodeled. Two months only were allowed for vacation, instead of the long periods hitherto wasted under that name. Regular attendance at lectures and lessons was strictly insisted upon, unless illness or any other sufficient cause was pleaded. Fines were inflicted for the first and second absence, and confinement for the third. By these ordinances all idlers were compelled to take their names off the books, and in a short time the number of students fell from several thousands to 600 or 700.

In like manner, with a view to real progress, Pombal regulated the management of the Botanic Garden, ordering the curators to reduce the number of plants to those necessary for botanic studies, in order that the students might not be ignorant of this branch of medicine, as it is practiced with little expense in other Universities, and to remember that the garden was raised "for the study of boys, not the ostentation of princes."

In the same year the Royal Press was instituted, the superintendence of which was given to Nicolas Pagliarini, a Roman printer, who had been expatriated for printing anti-Jesuitical works. Previous to this period, such was the deplorable state of letters, that almost all Portuguese works were printed in foreign countries.

But Pombal's attention was not exclusively turned to the education of the higher classes. In the same year, November 6, 1772, he established in the Portuguese dominions no less than 887 professors and masters for the gratuitous instruction of all his Majesty's subjects, and, of these, 94 were appointed to the islands and colonies. Small taxes, under the name of "the literary subsidy," were laid on various articles of general consumption, in order to pay the salaries of these professors; and still further to prove his love for literature, and to show the exalted opinion he entertained of its influence upon mankind, and with the hope of elevating its professors both in their own estimation and in that of the people, Pombal determined that they should enjoy the various privileges attached to *nobreza*, or nobility, in Portugal, and so it was accordingly decreed. His biographer says, speaking of the pains he took to educate the people:—

He hoped by these means to lay the foundation on which, at a future period, the superstructure of a free government might be erected. He was well aware that, if popular governments are to be any thing but shadows, they must be based on popular knowledge. He felt that his country without the aid of education would be unfit for any of those forms of free government which, when the people are ignorant, too frequently confer absolute power on factions, who enjoy the good for which others have toiled. He perceived that the spirit of revolution was already abroad in his time, that its progress was slow but irre-

sistable, and he thereupon wished his countrymen to be prepared for its advent. With a presentiment of the evils that menaced his successors, he frequently exclaimed, "Os meus filhos ainda poderao viver descançados, mas ai dos meus netos." (Our children may live to end their days in peace, but God help our grandchildren.)

We can not in this place go into his financial, military and naval reforms. Suffice it to say, that he deprecated the policy of the government in retaining the working of all mines of gold and silver, which he designated "the fatal treasuries of princes," and which had compelled the king, reported to be one of the richest monarchs in Europe, at the beginning of his reign to borrow 400,-000 cruzados ($200,000), to meet the exigencies of his court. In less than five years, by encouraging different national industries, he did away with the annual deficit, and secured an annual surplus in the royal treasury. He found both the army and the navy, nominally strong, but actually weak and deteriorating—so weak that the Algerine corsairs were in the habit not only of making descents on the coast, and plundering the inhabitants, without danger of chastisement, but would from time to time shut in the merchant vessels in their principal ports, until a convoy could be dispatched to protect them. He enlarged the navy by sending to England for 300 shipwrights and their workmen to work in the dockyards and arsenals of Lisbon, and built new and strengthened the old fortifications at all the principal ports.

Each of the reformatory measures of Pombal, aroused implacable enemies among them who were profiting by ancient abuses, or who were too ignorant to appreciate alteranate beneficial results beyond temporary inconveniences. These all culminated on the death of the King, and his few remaining years were darkened by seeing many of his reforms obstructed and overthrown, his official and personal enemies raised to positions of honor and trust, and accusations of all kinds against his personal fidelity, and a commission was appointed to investigate all his pecuniary transactions.

Overcome at length by age and infirmity Pombal breathed his last in the midst of his family and relations on the 5th of May, 1682, and in the 83d year of his age. "Love and obedience," if not "troops of friends," accompanied his dying moments; his wife, his two daughters, and his son, the Count d' Oeyras, soothing that deathbed on which he exhibited the resignation of a philosopher and the steady faith of a Christian. His funeral was celebrated with the respect due to his rank, but the Bishop of Coimbra, for having assisted at it, was sharply reprimanded by the Governor of the province, and the priest who pronounced his funeral oration, having dared to deplore the ingratitude of Portugal towards the greatest of its Ministers, was confined in a convent in the Cape Verde Islands. When we add that the eulogistic epitaph which filial piety inscribed on his tomb was ordered by Government to be removed or erased, we have given the finishing touch to the picture of royal ingratitude towards one who had ceaselessly labored for the benefit of his country during a reign whose prosperity was mainly due to his single exertions.

SCHOOL PUNISHMENTS.

THE STRAP—ROD—FERULE—BIRCH.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*

It is is recorded of an old-fashioned schoolmaster that in the course of fifty years he administered to his pupils nearly half a million canings, and a hundred and twenty-four thousand proper floggings! This pedagogue, who in the days of Solomon would have been a man after that wise king's own heart, may be taken as the type of a class of teachers who flourished in 'the good old days'—rigid disciplinarians who never spared the rod nor spoiled the child. Happy school-boys of the present day have but a faint notion of those times, or of the severities undergone at school by their fathers and grandfathers.

Instruments and Agents.

The Romans, who carried the art of whipping to a high degree of perfection, had a number of recognized instruments for different offenses. Horace and Juvenal particularize three—namely, *scutica*, *ferula*, and *flagellum*. *Scutica* was a strap of leather or parchment, and *ferula* a rod or stick; both of these were employed as instruments of correction in schools, and, with several alterations and improvements, have been handed down to recent times. *Flagellum* was a whip or lash of leathern thongs or twisted cords tied to a wooden handle, and sharpened with knots, and sometimes with small bits of iron and lead. Some doubts exist as to the exact form of the *ferula* of ancient times—whether it was a rod, or switch, or strap; but the means of determining its more modern shape are not so scanty.

In the oak carvings of the cathedrals of the middle ages, the figure of a monkish schoolmaster, holding a rod ready to beat a boy on the breech, is quite frequent. The ferule of modern days was a more ingenious instrument, and was not used on the breech like the above mentioned, but only on the hand. It was made of wood, shaped somewhat like a small bat, and in many cases it was furnished with a small hole in the center of the broad part, which raised a blister on the delinquent's hand and made the punishment very sharp. Thirty years ago the spatula used by London schoolmasters was known amongst the boys as 'Jonathan.'

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* In some annotations on that classical production, Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*, as published in Barnard's American Journal of Education (III. 453), and gathered into the volume of *English Pedagogy*, First Series, we intimated our intention of resuming the subject of School Punishment in its various forms, and many abuses, as practiced in different countries. For this purpose we have gathered many illustrations from the traditions of schools, and the painful reminiscences of pupils whom we met. A recent English publication, entitled '*Flagellation and Flagellants—A History of the Rod in different Countries*. By Rev. W. M. Cooper, B. A. London: Hotten, Piccadilly,' contains so much material already gathered, that we conclude to make up a chapter at once with extracts, commending the volume itself to those who wish to know how cruel man may prove himself either as teacher or legislator.

The *ferula* in use at the school of Howgill some forty years ago, is described as being of wood, shaped like a battledore; and the common seals of the grammar schools of Tewkesbury and Camberwell display a formidable battledore in the hands of the master. Lately, there was at Amsterdam, in Holland, an exhibition of objects either belonging or having belonged to school management and discipline. Among the relics exhibited was a *ferula*, and the figure of a bird. The mode of application was this: the bird was thrown to the offender, who had to take it back to the schoolmaster in order to receive his destined share of slaps on the palm of the hand. In Gerard Dow's picture of the Schoolmaster in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the master holds an instrument of this kind in one hand. The blows of the wooden ferule were called *pandies* in some parts, and were so far objectionable that they were liable to wound and bruise the hand. There was another form of the ferule, a less objectionable but equally effective instrument. This was a broad leather strap, about ten inches long, the end being rounded, and between four and five inches broad. The other end was tapered to the breadth of an inch and a half, and fastened to a wooden handle. The leather was thick and hammered hard without losing its flexibility. It was used for striking the palm of the hand, and produced a smart tingling sensation.

Juvenal speaks of the Roman school-boys 'drawing back the hand from the *ferula*,' *manum ferulæ subdurimus*; and the modern school-boy practices a similar dodge by pulling down the cuff of his jacket over his hand to catch the blow of the *taws*. The *virga*, a switch rod, was another instrument of whipping employed among the Romans, and seems to have suggested the use of the birch, which has long been in operation in large public schools. Following the opinion of Solomon, that 'a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding,' and 'a whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back,' the punishment of the birch was in general inflicted on the bare posteriors of the offender. For the convenience of the flogger the delinquent was placed on a block or hoisted on the back of one of the older pupils (this last operation was called *horsing*), and there received his appointed punishment. The custom of *horsing* is of considerable antiquity, for a painting discovered at Pompeii, still preserved in the Royal Museum at Naples, represents one boy taken upon another boy's back, and suffering the infliction of a flogging. Another instance may be mentioned. The seal of the Louth Grammar School gives a representation of the punishment of the Rod, as applied to a school-boy in the time of Edward VI., accompanied by the inscription. 'Qvi: Parcit: Virge: odit: filiv:' 'He that spareth the Rod hateth his son.' In public schools there was an official whose duty it was to perform the operation of flagellation, and this custom has also been handed down from remote times. St. John, in his 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Greeks,' mentions that in the Spartan Republic 'regular floggers, as at our own great schools, always attended the inspectors of public instruction.' In France, the flagellator in a school was called *cuistre*, which originally signified a cook, and this arose from the fact that in the houses of the nobility, as well as in public schools, the people of the kitchen were supposed to possess peculiar abilities and facilities for performing flagellation.

Solomon has said, 'He that spareth the Rod hateth his son; but he that loves him chastises him betimes,' and the maxim has been considered indisputable in

all ages. Schoolmasters have regarded the Rod as absolutely indispensable in the education of the young. The first flogging schoolmaster that we meet with in our reading is Toilus, who used to whip Homer, and who, after performing that operation effectually, assumed the title of *Homeromastix*. This worthy man received no other reward for his enterprise than crucifixion, which he suffered by the orders of King Ptolemy. Horace calls his schoolmaster, who was fond of this discipline, 'the flogging Orbilius' (*plagosus Orbilius;*) Quintilian denounces the practice of whipping school-boys on account of its severity and its degrading tendency; and Plutarch, in his 'Treatise on Education,' says: 'I am of opinion that youth should be impelled to the pursuit of liberal and laudable studies by exhortations and discourses, certainly not by blows and stripes. These are methods of incitement far more suitable to slaves than to the free, on whom they can produce no other effect than to induce torpor of mind and disgust for exertion, from a recollection of the pain and insult of the inflictions endured.'

In German schools the Rod was at one time plied industriously: the operator was called the 'blue man.' Not only boys, but youths up to the age of eighteen or twenty years, were subjected to the Rod. Some professors preferred to inflict the punishment with their own hands; but in general it was inflicted by a man wearing a mask, and having his instrument concealed under a blue cloak (whence the name, the 'blue man,') in the passage before the school-room, and in the presence of the professor; and very few youths could boast, on leaving the gymnasium, of having never been under the care of the 'blue man.'

It is recorded of a Suabian schoolmaster that, during his fifty-one years' superintendence of a large school, he had given 911,500 canings, 121,000 floggings, 209,000 custodes, 136,000 tips with the ruler, 10,200 boxes on the ear, and 22,700 tasks by heart. It was further calculated that he had made 700 boys stand on peas, 6,000 kneel on a sharp edge of wood, 5,000 wear the fool's cap, and 1,700 hold the rod.

Ravisius Textor, who was rector of the University of Paris, in one of his epistles, writes thus concerning the treatment of boys:—'If they offend, if they are detected in falsehood, if they slip from the yoke, if they murmur against it, or complain in ever so little a degree, let them be severely whipt; and spare neither the scourge nor mitigate the punishment till the proud heart shall evidently be subdued, and they shall have become smoother than oil, and softer than a pumpkin. And if they endeavor by mollifying speeches to disarm the preceptor's anger, let all their words be given to the wind.'

In England, the school-boy has been, time out of mind, subject to the birch. In the middle ages, we read of children running to the shrines of saints, in the hope of there obtaining protection against the cruelty of their masters. A boy, in that hope, once clung to the tomb of St. Adrian, at Canterbury, and the master, notwithstanding the sanctity of the place, proceeded to inflict chastisement. The first and second strokes were allowed to be given with impunity, but the outraged saint stiffened the master's arm as he was about to inflict the third; and it was only when he had implored forgiveness of the boy, and the boy had interceded for him, that the use of his arm was restored! Another legend is related where the miracle was still more surprising:—An ill-used boy having fled, as usual, to the shrine, the master declared that not even although the

Saviour of mankind interfered would he escape punishment. Upon this a beautiful white dove is said to have alighted on the tomb, and, by bending its head and fluttering its wings, as if in the attitude of supplication, disarmed the schoolmaster's anger, and made him fall on his knees and beg forgiveness. St. Ermenilda was in the same way the patroness of the Ely school-boys. Some boys had fled to her shrine for protection, but the schoolmaster dragged them from their place of refuge, and flogged them to his heart's content (*usque ad animi satietatem verberat*). The following night the saint appeared to him, and completely paralyzed his limbs; and their use was not restored until his pupils had carried him to the shrine as a repentant sinner.

Tusser, in his rude rhymes, complains of the severity of the scholastic discipline in his day. He says—

> 'From Paul's I went to Eton, sent
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase;
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had,
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was.
> See, Udall, see the mercy of thee
> To me, poor lad!'

In those days it would appear that boys were flogged, not for any offense, or omission, or unwillingness, or incapacity to learn, but upon the abstract theory that they ought to be flogged. Erasmus bears witness that this was the principle upon which he was flogged. He was a favorite with his master, who had good hopes of his disposition and abilities, but flogged him to see how he could bear the pain, the result being that the Rod nearly spoiled the child: his health and spirits were broken by it, and he began to dislike his studies. He describes, without naming, another schoolmaster who was of a similar disposition. This is thought to be Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, who, although he delighted in children, and was a good man, thought no discipline could be too severe in his school; and whenever he dined there, one or two boys were served up to be flogged by way of dessert. On one of these flogging occasions, when Erasmus was present, he called up a meek gentle boy of ten years old, who had lately been earnestly commended to his care by a tender mother—ordered him to be flogged for some pretended fault, and saw him flogged till the victim was fainting under the scourge: 'not that he deserved this,' said the dean to Erasmus, while it was going on, 'but it was fit to humble him.'

Most of the schools of England have their stories of flogging, and of masters who were proficient in the art. To many of them the word's of Crabbe's schoolmaster were quite applicable—

> 'Students,' he said, 'like horses on the road,
> Must be well lash'd before they take the load;
> They may be willing for a time to run,
> But you must whip them ere the work be done:
> To tell a boy, that if he will improve
> His friends will praise him, and his parents love,
> Is doing nothing—he has not a doubt
> But they will love him, nay, applaud without;
> Let no fond sire a boy's ambition trust,
> To make him study, let him see he must.'

An amusing story is told of Richard Mulcaster, of Merchant Taylor's school.

'He beeinge one day whippinge a boy, his breeches beeinge doune, and he ready to inflict punishment uppon him, out of his insultinge humour, he stood pausinge a while over his breech; and there a merry conceit taking him, he sayd, "I aske ye banes of matrymony between this boy, his buttockes, of such a parish, on ye one side, and Lady Burch of ye parish, on the otherside; and if any man can shew any lawfull cause why y^{ey} should not be ioyned together, let y^m speake, for y^{is} is ye last time of askinge!" A good sturdy boy and of a quick conceyt stood up and sayd, "Master, I forbid ye banes!" The master takinge this in dudgeon sayd, "Yea, sirrah, and why so?" The boy answered, "Because all partyes are not agreed," whereat the master likinge that witty aunswer, spared the one's fault and the others p^esumption.' The same story is related of Dr. Busby of Westminister, whose name has passed into a proverb for scholastic severity. His rod, he used to say, was the sieve which sifted the wheat of scholarship from the chaff. It is related of him and one of his scholars, that during the doctor's absence from his study the boy found some plums in it, which he began to eat. First, however, he waggishly cried out, 'I publish the banns of matrimony between my mouth and these plums; if any here present know just cause or impediment why they should not be united, you are to declare it, or hereafter hold your peace.' The doctor having overheard the proclamation, determined to chastise for it, but said nothing till next morning; when, causing the boy to be brought up and disposed for punishment, he grasped the well-known instrument, and said, 'I publish the banns of matrimony between this rod and this boy; if any of you know just cause or impediment why they should not be united, you are to declare it.' The boy himself called out 'I forbid the banns.' 'For what cause?' inquired the doctor. 'Because,' said the boy, 'the parties are not agreed.' The doctor enjoyed the validity of the objection, and the boy escaped.

Some of Busby's successors were not far behind him in the severity of discipline. Dr. Vincent's rule nearly equaled 'Busby's awful reign.' Of him it is recorded that he was not satisfied with the regulation punishment, but boxed the boy's ears and pinched them in addition. Coleman protested against this, saying that a pedagogue was privileged to make a pupil red in the proper place, but had no right to squeeze him black and blue with his fingers. During Vincent's mastership the older boys started a periodical called *The Flagellant*, which so roused Vincent's wrath that he began an action against the publisher, and Southey, who wrote an article caricaturing the doctor, came forward and avowed the authorship, and had to leave the school in consequence.

The boys of Westminster once administered the 'discipline of the school' on Curll the bookseller. Pope mentions in one of his letters that Mr. Edmund Curll was exercised in a blanket and whipped at Westminster School by the boys. He had incurred the resentment of the Westminster scholars thus:—In 1716, Robert South, prebendary of Westminster School, died. At his funeral a Latin oration was pronounced over the body by Mr. John Barber, then captain of the King's Scholars, Westminster. Curll, by some means, obtained and printed a copy of the oration without the author's consent, and the boys determined to take vengeance. Under pretense of giving him a correct copy, they decoyed him into the Dean's yard, and what followed is stated by the *St. James' Post*:—'Being, on Thursday last, fortunately nabbed within the limits

of the Dean's Yard by the King's Scholars, there he met with a college salutation; for he was first presented with the ceremony of the blanket, in which, when the skeleton had been well shook, he was carried in triumph to the school: and, after receiving a grammatical construction for his false concords, he was reconducted to the Dean's Yard, and, on his knees asking pardon of the aforesaid Mr. Barber for his offense, he was kicked out of the yard and left to the huzzas of the rabble.' The incident was commemorated in a pamphlet entitled 'Neck or Nothing,' with the unfortunate Curll figuring prominently in a series of tableaux, first 'being presented with the ceremony of the blanket,' then stretched on a table undergoing a flagellation on the breech, and lastly, on his knees between two files of Westminster scholars, asking pardon of Mr. Barber.

The rod in use at Winchester School is not of birch, but is composed of four apple-tree twigs, set in a wooden handle, and provided by two juniors who hold the office of rod-makers under the orders of the Prefect of Hall. The invention of this instrument is ascribed to Dr. John Baker, who was warden of the school for thirty-three years, from 1454–87. The mode of application was specially prescribed. The delinquent knelt down to the block or bench, and two boys 'took him up'—that is, removed the shirt between the waistband of his trousers and his waistcoat—and then the master inflicted four cuts called a 'scrubbing,' or six cuts called a 'bibling,' on which occasion the Bible clerk introduced the victim. Queen Elizabeth visited Winchester in 1570. Her Majesty asked a young scholar if he had ever made acquaintance with the celebrated Winton Rod, and he replied, with more readiness than was to be expected, by an apt quotation from Virgil:—

> 'Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.'
>
> 'Great Queen, what you command me to relate
> Renews the sad remembrance of our fate.'—DRYDEN.

Shrewsbury School, about the beginning of the present century, was presided over by a great flogger, in the person of Dr. Butler. The whippings which he administered with his left hand are not yet forgotten. At this school there was a small room lighted by one narrow loophole, a receptacle for the flogging block and birch, where delinquents were confined. It was called the Blackhole, or sometimes 'Rowe's Hole,' from a youth who is said to have been a very regular occupant.

Dr. Parr deserves mention in the annals of school flagellation. He had a firm belief in the utility of the birch. At his school in Norwich there was usually a flogging levee before the classes were dismissed. His rod-maker was a man who had been sentenced to be hanged, but had been cut down and resuscitated by the surgeons; and from the hands of this amiable character, according to the account of a pupil, Parr 'used to receive the birches with a complacent expression of countenance.' Another pupil speaks feelingly of 'the lightning of his eye, the thunder of his voice, and the weight of his arm.' One of the under masters told him one day that a certain pupil appeared to show signs of genius. 'Say you so?' said Parr, 'then begin to flog him to-morrow morning.'

Flogging went on briskly at Rugby in Dr. James's time, about 1780; and there was, in addition, plenty of caning on the hand. During the mastership

of Dr. Wooll in 1813, a memorable scene occurred. One day the whole of the lower fourth class, except the boy who was up at lesson by the master's side, rushed out before the usual time. The matter was at once reported to the doctor, who sent notice that every boy in the form was to be flogged at three o'clock, before the third lesson commenced. A few minutes before that hour the rod-bearer made his appearance, and preparations for the doleful ceremony were soon made. Punctually at the time Dr. Wooll entered the class-room, and calling for the list, began with the head boy, and went regularly through the thirty-eight, including, unfortunately, the boy who had not run out with the rest. The whole thirty-eight were finished off in a quarter of an hour. The late Lord Lyttelton was being shown by Dr. Wooll the room at Rugby in which the flogging was usually inflicted. 'What motto would be appropriate?' asked the doctor. 'Great cry and little *wool*,' replied the other, looking at the diminutive form of the master.

The following note to a letter written by Mrs. Piozzi to Sir James Fellowes, from Bath, 30th March, 1819, is curious:—'I had met Mr. Wickens a few days before at Mrs. Piozzi's. As we were brother Rugbeans, the conversation took place about the mode of punishing the boys in Dr. James's time, when Mrs. Piozzi related the story of Vandyke, who, when a boy, first evinced his genius in a remarkable manner, by painting the exact likeness of the master upon the person of a school-fellow about to be flogged, which so astonished and amused the pedagogue that he burst out a laughing, and excused the boy the punishment that awaited him.'

An anecdote, illustrative of how boys took their birch long ago, is given in 'The Guide to Eton:'—Sir Henry B——n, some seventy years since (at which period collegers always held down boys who were being flogged), calmly looked up at his two supporters, who were still holding him down, instead of releasing him, though his flogging was over, and said, 'Gentlemen of the black robe, I believe the ceremony is over.'

Birching is a time honored practice at Eton. We say *is*, because, on the appointment of the last new head master, the Rev. Mr. Hornby, he was presented by the 'captain' of the school, in the name of his fellows, with an elegant birch rod, tied with a blue riband. The usual rod at Eton consisted of three long birchen twigs (no branches), bound with a string for about a quarter of their length, and a charge of half a guinea for birch was made in every boy's bill, whether he was flogged or not. Dr. Keate was among the most remarkable of the Eton floggers. He was celebrated for the celerity with which he dispatched those who were down in the 'bill' or flogging list. According to the Eton boys' code of propriety, there was not the least disgrace attached to a flogging; there might indeed be some reproach in never having tasted birch, to avoid which lads have been known to get themselves flogged on purpose. A few years ago, a youth of eighteen years of age was condemned to be flogged for smoking, but, acting on his father's orders, he refused to take his punishment, for which contumacy he was dismissed from the school. In the olden time, that ill-omened day, Friday, was the only flogging day at Eton.

Of Keate's flogging exploits one very good story is told. On one occasion when a confirmation was to be held for the school, each master was requested to make out a list of the candidates in his own form. A master wrote down

the names on the first piece of paper which came to hand, which happened unluckily to be one of the slips of well known size and shape, used as flogging bills, and sent up regularly with the names of delinquents for execution. The list being put into Keate's hands without explanation, he sent for the boys in the regular course, and, in spite of all protestations on their part, pointing to the master's signature to the fatal 'bill,' he flogged them all.

Another day, a culprit who was due for punishment could not be found, and the doctor who was kept waiting on the scene of action, but a namesake of the missing one happened to pass the door: he was at once seized by Keate's orders, and brought to the block as a vicarious sacrifice. Absence from roll-call was punished by flogging. Keate had imposed on one division an additional roll-call as a punishment. They held a consultation, and resolved that none of them should attend. The doctor came and found himself alone. He had just left a dinner party at his own house. He collected his assistants, and waited until the whole division was brought into his presence. He then went to work and flogged them all—about eighty—and returned to his guests as placid and agreeable as usual.

Only one instance is on record of a condemned culprit having escaped the birch of Dr. Keate. A boy who had got into trouble was looking forward to his first flogging with considerable nervousness. Some mischievous school-fellows recommended a preparation of gall-nuts as an infallible recipe for making the surface to which it was applied insensible to pain. The result was one of those cases better imagined than described. It was impossible for the boy to put in an appearance before the doctor in that state; and a strictly private conversation with his tutor ended in that gentleman's waiting upon Keate, in order to explain the impossibility of the impending operation being performed without great risk to the gravity of both head master and attendant collegers: a 'pœna' of some hundred lines was therefore accepted in commutation.

'Among the many good stories told of "Old Keate,"' says the *Saturday Review*, 'perhaps the best is that of the boy who called on him to take leave. "You seem to know me very well," said the great head master; "but I have no remembrance of ever having seen your face before." "You were better acquainted, sir, with my other end," was the unblushing reply.'

A similar anecdote has been versified as follows:

> An old Etonian once met Keate abroad,
> And seized his hand; but he was rather floored
> To see the Doctor seemed to know him *not*:
> 'Doctor,' quoth he, 'you've flogged me oft I wot;
> And yet it seems that me you've quite forgot.'
> 'E'en now,' says Keate, 'I can not guess your name—
> Boys' b——s are so very much the same.'

A hundred years since, and, indeed, up till within a quarter of a century ago, the punishments at Christ's Hospital were heavy and frequent. The monitors or heads of wards had a license to chastise their inferiors, which they used freely. Writing of them, Charles Lamb says: 'I have been called out of my bed, and *waked for the purpose*, in the coldest winter nights—and this not once, but night after night—in my shirt, to receive the discipline of a leathern thong, with eleven other sufferers, because it pleased my callow overseer, when there had been any talking heard after we were gone to bed, to make the six last

beds in the dormitory, where the youngest children slept, answerable for any offense they neither dared to commit nor had any power to hinder.' The King's boys, or those intended for the sea, who studied navigation under William Wales, had peculiarly hard lines of it; as, in order to inure them to the hardships of a sailor's life, Wales brought up his boys with Spartan severity, using the lash on every occasion, and dealing out his punishments with an unsparing hand. These chastisements were expected to be borne with patience, and the training, whatever might be its effects in after times, had the immediate result of rendering the youths hardy but brutal, and, as a consequence, mercilessly severe on their younger companions. They were the mortal terror of the young boys; but, at the same time, it must be confessed that they maintained the prowess of the school outside: the apprentices and butchers' boys of the neighborhood stood in considerable awe of their fighting powers. The formal punishment for runaways was, in the first instance, fetters. For a second offense the culprit was confined in a cell, large enough for him to lie at full length upon straw and a blanket, a glimmer of light being admitted through a small window. The confinement was solitary—the prisoner only seeing the porter who brought his bread and water, or the beadle who came twice a week to take him out for an airing and a whipping. A third attempt at flight was usually the last, because, the offender was, after certain formalities, expelled. The culprit, divested of the school uniform and clad in a penitential robe, was brought from his cell into the hall, where were assembled the whole of his school-fellows, the steward of the hospital, the beadle, who was the executioner, and, as befitting, was clad in state for the occasion; two of the governors were also present, to certify that the extreme rigor of the law was inflicted. The culprit being hoisted, was slowly flogged round the hall by the beadle, and then formally handed over to his friends, if he had any, or to his parish officer, who was stationed outside the gate.

In Scotland scholastic flagellation was carried to as great an extent as in England, only the instrument in use was more commonly 'the taws,' a long strap of tolerably stout leather, with the ends cut into stripes. The orders for the discipline of the school at the Kirk of Dundonald, in Ayreshire, for the year 1640, have been preserved, and they indicate the manner in which flagellation was to be performed. After the regulations for prayers, &c., the master is enjoined to teach his scholars good manners, 'how to carry themselves fashionably and courteously towards all'—superiors, inferiors, or equals. Then he was to appoint a clandestine censor, who should secretly acquaint the master with every thing that concerned the scholars, and 'according to the quality of the faults, the master shall inflict punishment, striking some on the hand with a birk wand or pair of taws, others on the hips as their faults deserve, but none at any time or in any case on the head or cheeks.' The master is further counseled to repress insolence, and enforce duty rather by a grave and authoritative manner than by strokes, yet he is by no means to neglect the Rod when it is needful.

The Rod was not always in Scotland administered in this serious mood. In the High School of Edinburgh, one of the masters, named Nicol, would occasionally have a dozen of culprits to whip at once, arranging them in a row for that purpose. When all was ready, he would send a polite message to his col-

league, Mr. Cruickshank, 'to come and hear his *organ*.' Cruickshank having responded to his summons, Mr. Nicol would proceed to inflict a rapid cursory flagellation up and down the row, producing a variety of notes from the patients. Mr. Cruickshank was sure to take an early opportunity to return the compliment, by inviting his friend to assist at a similar operation.

The master of a grammar school in the central district of Scotland, some ninety years ago, was a vigorous upholder of flagellation. This worthy, named Hacket, practiced all the varieties of flagellation then in vogue. Heavy applications of the taws to the hands of the offenders were the mildest operations. Many times the culprit was stretched on the table, held down with one hand, and thrashed with the other. Sometimes the boy was made to stride between two boards, while the master applied the rod behind. The dull boys were birched for their own demerits, and the bright lads suffered for the deficiencies of their fellows. Belonging to the former class was a boy, named Anderson, who had many a bitter taste of the birch to stimulate his faculties. His punishments were so many and unjust, that he conceived the most deadly sentiments of revenge against his master. He left the school, went to India, acquired a competency, and returned to spend his days in Scotland. During his long residence in India he never forgot his floggings at school, or his determination to be revenged on Hacket. On his arrival in Scotland he purchased a whip, traveled to the town where he had been educated, and having ordered dinner for two at an inn, sent a message to Hacket (who had retired from the profession) inviting him to dine with an old pupil. Old Hacket accepted the invitation, dressed himself in his best, and went to the inn. He was ushered into the room, where he saw a gentleman, who, as soon as he entered, locked the door. Then, taking down the whip, he introduced himself, and informed the astonished Hacket that he was now about to punish him for the many flagellations he had inflicted on him at school. So saying, he ordered him to strip and receive the punishment. Hacket's presence of mind did not desert him in such untoward circumstances. He acknowledged that perhaps he was a little too severe with his boys in old times, but if he was to be punished he would prefer having dinner first and the flogging afterwards. Anderson could not but assent to such a reasonable proposal, although inwardly resolving that the flogging should be none the lighter for the waiting. So they sat down to dinner, which proved excellent; and old Hacket's conversation was so fascinating and agreeable, that gradually Anderson found his purpose of revenge growing weaker. At last he gave up all thoughts of his whip and the intended flagellation. Hacket got home in perfect safety, for his host insisted upon escorting him to his own door.

Even at the present day the old-fashioned style of whipping boys and girls still prevails in some remote districts of Scotland; and forty years ago, 'houpsy doupsy' (being laid over the master's knee), as it was called, was practiced even in schools in Edinburgh. A present dignitary of the Scottish dissenting church, who, at the date indicated, was master of a small village school, regularly whipped his pupils, male and female, in the mode indicated, and he did so with the full knowledge of their parents. At one time he punished his scholars without removing their clothes, but finding that a lad had placed within his trousers a skin of soft leather with a view to lesson the pain of the 'skelping,' he ever after insisted upon laying on the taws after the orthodox mode. The boy who

had so imposed upon his master was immediately saluted by his school-fellows with the nickname of 'leather doup,' which has stuck to him ever since.

An old-fashioned Scottish dominie used to punish the boys of his school by fastening the culprit upon a desk at the door, and his clothes being removed, it was the rule for every one of his school-fellows to give him a skelp with the 'taws.' Another Scottish schoolmaster had an odd way of chastising his pupils: he made them take down, or up, their clothes, and caused them to sit upon a large block of marble that had been brought to the parish in order to be hewn into a statue of some local magnate. In some of the schools in Edinburgh 'horsing' was practiced—one boy being flogged on the back of another boy. In English schools 'horsing' was also prevalent.

The skins of eels, we are told, were in ancient times used in schools as whips to correct the pupils. In a fishing village near Edinburgh, the schoolmaster, forty years ago, used such skins with which to flog his pupils.

In a bill introduced in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Townsend, for the better protection of children, servants, and apprentices, it was provided that no schoolmaster, usher or tutor, having the charge of children under sixten years of age, should be allowed to inflict corporal punishment except by birch rod; and farther, that there should be no corporal punishment whatever for inattention or inaccuracy in their studies. The bill was withdrawn, in consequence of its being pointed out that 'the safe and efficient instrument of school discipline in Scotland, the taws, would be illegal, and since Scotch boys are not birched, no kind of corporal punishment would remain by which either scholastic or domestic discipline could be enforced.'

An eccentric Scottish nobleman who had, when a child, been frequently whipped at a dame's school which he attended, at a time when he had no expectation of being a man of title, insisted upon being flogged by his old schoolmistress, shortly after coming to his estate! For her 'kindness' on this occasion, it is said, he gave the old dame a present of one hundred pounds.

The Scotch theory and practice of corporal punishment has passed into the literature of our language in consequence of Dr. Samuel Johnson having given an elaborate opinion in defense of a master of a public school at Campbell-town, who had been suspended from his office on a charge of having used immoderate and cruel correction. On this charge Dr. Johnson observed:—'Correction in itself is not cruel; children, being not reasonable, can be governed only by fear. To impress this fear, is therefore one of the first duties of those who have the care of children. It is the duty of a parent, and has never been thought inconsistent with parental tenderness. It is the duty of a master, who is in the highest exaltation when he is a *loco parentis*. Yet, as good things become evil by excess, correction, by being immoderate, may become cruel. But when is correction immoderate? When it is more frequent or more severe than is required *ad monendum et docendum*, for reformation and instruction. No severity is cruel which obstinacy makes necessary; for the greatest cruelty would be to desist, and leave the scholar too careless for instruction, and too much hardened for reproof. The degrees of obstinacy in young minds are very different; as different must be the degrees of persevering severity. A stubborn scholar must be corrected until he is subdued. The discipline of a school is military. There must either be unbounded license or absolute authority. The master who pun-

ishes, not only consults the future happiness of him who is the immediate subject of correction, but he propagates obedience through the whole school, and establishes regularity by exemplary justice. The victorious obstinacy of a single boy would make his future endeavors of reformation or instruction totally ineffectual: obstinacy therefore must never be victorious. Yet it is well known, that there sometimes occurs a sullen and hardy resolution, that laughs at all common punishment, and bids defiance to all common degrees of pain. Correction must be proportioned to occasions. The flexible will be reformed by gentle discipline, and the refractory must be subdued by harsher methods. The degrees of scholastic, as of military punishment, no stated rules can ascertain. It must be enforced till it overpowers temptation; till stubbornness becomes flexible, and perverseness regular. Custom and reason have, indeed, set some bounds to scholastic penalties: the schoolmaster inflicts no capital punishments, nor enforces his edicts by either death or mutilation. The civil law has wisely determined, that a master who strikes at a scholar's eye shall be considered as criminal. But punishments, however severe, that produce no lasting evil, may be just and reasonable, because they may be necessary. Such have been the punishments used by the schoolmaster accused. No scholar has gone from him either blind or lame, or with any of his limbs or powers injured or impaired. They were irregular, and he punished them; they were obstinate, and he enforced his punishment. But, however provoked, he never exceeded the limits of moderation, for he inflicted nothing beyond present pain; and how much of that was required, no man is so little able to determine as those who have determined against him—the parents of the offenders. It has been said, that he used unprecedented and improper instruments of correction. Of this accusation the meaning is not very easy to be found. No instrument of correction is more proper than another, but as it is better adapted to produce present pain without lasting mischief. Whatever were his instruments, no lasting mischief has ensued; and therefore, however unusual, in hands so cautious they were proper. It has been objected, that he admits the charge of cruelty, by producing no evidence to confute. Let it be considered, that his scholars are either dispersed at large in the world or continue to inhabit the place in which they were bred. Those who are dispersed can not be found; those who remain are the sons of his persecutors, and are not likely to support a man to whom their fathers are enemies. If it be supposed that the enmity of their fathers proves the justice of the charge, it must be considered how often experience shows us, that men who are angry on one ground will accuse on another; with how little kindness in a town of low trade, a man who lives by learning is regarded; and how implicitly, where the inhabitants are not very rich, a rich man is hearkened to and followed. In a place like Campbell-town, it is easy for one of the principal inhabitants to make a party. It is easy for that party to heat themselves with imaginary grievances. It is easy for them to oppress a man poorer than themselves; and natural to assert the dignity of riches, by persisting in oppression."

Upon the same subject, Mr. Boswell also observed, "It is a very delicate matter to interfere between a master and his scholars; nor do I see how you can fix the degree of severity that a master may use." JOHNSON. "Why, sir, till you can fix the degree of obstinacy and negligence of the scholars, you can not fix the degree of severity of the master. Severity must be continued until obstinacy be subdued and negligence be cured."

REMINISCENCES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL LIFE.

DE QUINCEY AT BATH GRAMMAR SCHOOL.*

In my twelfth year it was that I first of all entered upon the arena of a great public school, viz., the Grammar School of Bath, over which at that time presided a most accomplished Etonian—Mr. (or was he as yet Doctor?) Morgan. If he was not, I am sure he ought to have been; and, with the reader's concurrence, will therefore create him a doctor on the spot. Every man has reason to rejoice who enjoys the advantage of a public training. I condemned, and *do* condemn, the practice of sending out into such stormy exposures those who are as yet too young, too dependent on female gentleness, and endowed with sensibilities originally too exquisite for such a warfare. But at nine or ten the masculine energies of the character are beginning to develop themselves; or, if not, no discipline will better aid in their development than the bracing intercourse of a great English classical school. Even the selfish are *there* forced into accommodating themselves to a public standard of generosity; and the effeminate into conforming to a rule of manliness. I was myself at two public schools, and I think with gratitude of the benefits which I reaped from both; as also I think with gratitude of that guardian in whose quiet household I learned Latin so effectually. But the small private schools, of which I had opportunities for gathering some brief experience—schools containing thirty to forty boys—were models of ignoble manners as regarded part of the juniors, and of favoritism as regarded the masters. No where is the sublimity of public justice so broadly exemplified as in an English public school on the old Edward the Sixth or Elizabethan foundation. There is not in the universe such an Areopagus for fair play, and abhorrence of all crooked ways, as an English mob, or one of the time-honored English 'foundation' schools.

[Young De Quincey's talent for making Latin verses was to him a source of disquiet and misery. He was paraded for distinction at the supreme tribunal of the school, and enjoyed a sunshine of approbation delightful to his heart.

* From Knight's '*Half Hours with Best Letter Writers and Autobiographers.*'

Dr. Morgan, the Head Master, was continually comparing the brilliancy of the verses of the boy of twelve years with those of the senior boys of seventeen or eighteen. He tells of the change which came over his condition with a truthfulness which speaks for itself. One of the young men, whom he naturally viewd with awe as his leaders, strolled up to him in the public playground. 'Delivering a blow on my shoulder, which was not intended to hurt me, but, as a mere formula of introduction, he asked me,—]

'What the devil I meant by bolting out of the course, and anoying other people in that manner? Were "other people" to have no rest for me and my verses, which, after all, were horribly bad?' There might have been some difficulty in returning an answer to this address, but none was required. I was briefly admonished to see that I wrote worse for the future, or else——At this *aposiopesis* I looked inquiringly at the speaker, and he filled up the chasm by saying, that he would 'annihilate' me. Could any person fail to be aghast at such a demand? I was to write worse than my own standard, which, by his account of my verses, must be difficult; and I was to write worse than himself, which might be impossible. My feelings revolted against so arrogant a demand, unless it had been far otherwise expressed; if death on the spot had awaited me, I could not have controlled myself; and, on the next occasion for sending up verses to the Head Master, so far from attending to the orders issued, I double shotted my guns: double applause descended on myself; but I remarked, with some awe, though not repenting of what I had done, that double confusion seemed to agitate the ranks of my enemies. Amongst them, loomed out in the distance my 'annihilating' friend, who shook his huge fist at me, but with something like a grim smile about his eyes. He took an early opportunity of paying his respects to me again, saying, 'You little devil, do you call this writing your worst?' 'No,' I replied; 'I call it writing my best.' The annihilator, as it turned out, was really a good-natured young man; but he was on the wing for Cambridge; and with the rest, or some of them, I continued to wage war for more than a year. And yet, for a word spoken with kindness, how readily I would have resigned (had it been altogether at my own choice to do so) the peacock's feather in my cap as the merest of baubles. Undoubtedly, praise sounded sweet in *my* ears also; but that was nothing by comparison with what stood on the other side. I detested distinctions that were connected with mortification to others; and, even if I could have got over *that*, the eternal feud fretted and tormented my nature. Love, that once in childhood had been so mere a necessity to me, *that* had long been a reflected ray from a departed sunset. But peace and freedom from strife, if love were

no longer possible (as so rarely it is in this world), was the clamorous necessity of my nature. To contend with somebody was still my fate; how to escape the contention I could not see; and yet, for itself, and for the deadly passions into which it forced me, I hated and loathed it more than death. It added to the distraction and internal feud of my mind, that I could not *altogether* condemn the upper boys. I was made a handle of humiliation to them. And, in the meantime, if I had an undeniable advantage in one solitary accomplishment, which is still a matter of accident, or sometimes of peculiar direction given to the taste, they, on the other hand, had a great advantage over me in the more elaborate difficulties of Greek, and of choral Greek poetry. I could not altogether wonder at their hatred of myself. Yet still, as they had chosen to adopt this mode of conflict with me, I did not feel that I had any choice but to resist. The contest was terminated for me by my removal from the school, in consequence of a very threatening illness affecting my head.

[De Quincey in several places in his Autobiographical Sketches expresses himself strongly in approbation of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England,—the establishment of which, by the noble munificence of English men and English women, he pronounces, a peculiar service to the cause of good letters. He protests against the limitations put by many persons on the word *grammar* as applied to this class of schools, as though their office was to teach *grammatica*, and not the culture of literature in its widest and most liberal extent. *A grammaticus* is what the French express by the word *litterateur*, and a grammar school is dedicated to liberal objects, and not to the special technical study of grammar only. The hardy athletic sports, and even the fagging of the great endowed schools, he regards as the discipline of superior manliness, generosity, and self-control. 'To box, and to box under the severest restraint of honorable laws, was in those days a mere necessity of school-boy life at *public* schools; and hence the superior manliness, generosity, and self-control of those generally who had benefited by such discipline—so systematically hostile to all meanness, pusillanimity, or indirectness. Cowper, in his "Tyrocinium," is far from doing justice to our great public schools. Himself disqualified, by delicacy of temperament, for reaping the benefits of such a warfare, and having suffered too much in his own Westminster experience, he could not judge them from an impartial station; but I, though ill enough adapted to an atmosphere so stormy, yet having tried both classes of schools, public and private, am compelled in mere conscience to give my vote (and if I had a thousand votes, to give *all* my votes) for the former.' And yet no one has characterized school-boy society in more scathing strokes—'so frivolous in the matter of its disputes; often so brutal in the manner; so childish, and yet so remote from simplicity; so foolishly careless, and yet so revoltingly selfish; dedicated ostensibly to learning, and yet beyond any section of human beings so conspicuously ignorant.' He felt this society at the endowed school at Manchester so intolerable at the age of sixteen, that he literally ran away from it, and kept away from all such schools evermore. His distaste had grown to such intensity, that after the bitter experience of nearly two years of self-exile from the home of his mother, and the society of his guardians, and the acquisition of the 'accursed habit of opium-eating,' he could not get reconciled to the higher school life of Oxford, which he first entered, 'with a view to its vast means of education,' or rather with a view to its vast advantages for study, in 1803. He gives, in his felicitous style, his introduction to the head of Christ Church College, and his choice of a college for residence.]

CAPEL LOFFT AT ETON.*

There is no place in the universe where one is sooner relieved of a superabundant cargo of self-conceit than one is at Eton. A day or two's experience taught me that my rustic accomplishments were by no means current coin among my new associates. With the simpletons of —— I had been a personage, during the latter months of my abode with them, of some importance; indeed, they had got a notion into their heads, how born or begotten there I know not, that I was a lord's son, a point whereon I was at no pains to disabuse their credulity. But here I was in a new element, a new world, and I felt that I had yet to learn all the ways and means of it. I remember well—would that I could forget it! it is a very thorn in my memory—that a few days after my initiation I took it into my head to turn sulky on being called upon to go through the process of answering the usual string of questions as to my name, tutor, dame, and divers other particulars. I turned sharply from my interrogator, and was in the act of going off. 'Come here, Sir.' I went on, and paid no attention to the summons. 'Do you hear me, Sir? Come here.' Still I persisted in my contumacy, and held on my path, as one beyond all control save that of his good will and pleasure. Presently, a short quick step behind me, then a rough gripe by the collar; hard upon that, such a twist and wrench as might have jerked every bone in my body out of its socket. I found myself screwed around so as to confront my captor. I looked up to him in an agony of fear and trembling, and there he was, his arm brandished against me, his fist clenched, and all the devil in his countenance. 'Don't you know, Sir, that I'm in the fifth form? Do you mean to say that you won't fag for me?' I meant nothing, I had no spirit either to mean or say any earthly thing—no more than the criminal has, when he is launched from the scaffold, and dangling at the rope's end. 'Oh! so you won't answer me? take that, and that, and that, you little rascal;' suiting the action to the word, and both to his own fiendishness, by thrusting me each time with his fist violently against a brick wall. I have dreamed repeatedly since of being in this boy's presence, and, if I had fancied that I was in the clutches of the devil, the dream would have been less horrible.

[The young Etonian relates with a fearful candor the uncontrollable impulse to revenge which suddenly came over him in the agony of his torture. The following scene is in the house of an Eton dame:]—

My disposition has been dragged through the dirt. Imagine a

* Author of 'Self-Formation.'

young chicken left to itself, in wet ground and weather, draggled, forlorn, and utterly discomfited. My spirit was like the flame of a candle burnt down into its socket, still, indeed, alight, and yet but precariously so; sweltering in its own impurity and noisomeness, and on the point of being extinguished by them, it would flare up, from time to time, on any sudden provocation, and then relapse into subsidence. An outbreak or two of that kind I well remember, and I thank heaven that I have no cause to remember it more painfully. A big bully was thrashing me unmercifully, for some real or pretended delinquency. He kept hammering at me, first with one fist and then another, as if determined to try how much he could effect toward driving me through the wainscot. There was a savage gloating sort of triumph in his countenance, like that of a boy who has hunted a mouse into a corner, and is just aiming the stroke that he feels must necessarily demolish it. Suddenly, in his scuffling, he threw down a heap of papers from a table close by, and stooped to replace them. At that moment my eye glanced on a long, solid, clasped penknife, that was lying there, and the devil in a flash of lightning suggested its use to me. Before, I had been as passive as any lamb; but the sight of such a ready instrument for glutting my vengeance seemed at once to turn my heart into a volcano. I got the knife into my grasp, and held it there between my body and the wall, awaiting, in the concentration of pure rage, the instant of his returning to the exercise that he loved so dearly. Happily, I was disappointed, and he was saved. The papers required some arrangement, and, before he had expedited them, his humor had lost something of its heat, and ceased to boil over on me. Otherwise, it was but another touch of his hand, and he might probably have gone—whither, who shall say?—but to his account, at all events, and full, almost to bursting, of his brutality. It may be a question for casuists to determine the amount of guilt that I incurred by this conception. What it may be in the balance of other judgments of course I know not, but, for myself, I can not say that it ever weighed very heavily upon my conscience.

But to speak seriously, the continuance of this same practice is a slur upon the fair fame of Eton. It is a speck on the diamond—aye, and I fear more than that—a spot, a flaw—but at worst only a superficial one, and of no very difficult riddance; clear but that away, and how bright is the effulgence—how incalculably enhanced is the estimation! In plain words, such a punishment as this is a moral degradation, both to the inflictor and to the patient; and if, in fact, it should not always so operate, it is only because the moral sense itself is abased and deadened by the frequency, the familiarity, of the infliction:—

> 'The spirit is subdued
> To that it lives in—like the dyer's hand.'

COWPER AT WESTMINSTER.

[Cowper, in a letter to the Rev. W. C. Unwin, to whom he dedicated his *Tyrocinium*, thus writes of Westminster:]—

He who can not look forward with comfort, must find what comfort he can in looking backward. Upon this principle, I the other day sent my imagination upon a trip thirty years behind me. She was very obedient, and very swift of foot, presently performed her journey, and at last set me down in the sixth form at Westminster. I fancied myself once more a school-boy, a period of life in which, if I had never tasted true happiness, I was at least equally unacquainted with its contrary. No manufacturer of waking dreams ever succeeded better in his employment than I do. I can weave such a piece of tapestry in a few minutes, as not only has all the charms of reality, but is embellished also with a variety of beauties which, though they never existed, are more captivating than any that ever did; accordingly, I was a school-boy in high favor with my master, received a silver groat for my exercise, and had the pleasure of seeing it sent from form to form, for the admiration of all who were able to understand it. Do you wish to see this highly applauded performance? It follows on the other side.

[But Cowper not only enjoyed the success of that emulation which may carry a boy of genius happily through the dreary tasks of a public school, but he also partook of the higher gratification of congenial friendships. Amongst his school-fellows he had three intimates of marked ability, in whose literary ambition he participated after they had all gone forth into the world. Coleman, Lloyd, and Churchill, were men of the town, and there was a time when Cowper did not shrink from such companionship. He has left, however, a testimony, true, indeed, in his case, but not always true, of the fleeting nature of such ties.]

Connections formed at school are said to be lasting, and often beneficial. There are two or three stories of this kind upon record, which would not be so constantly cited as they are, whenever this subject happens to be mentioned, if the chronicle that preserves their remembrance had many besides to boast of. For my own part, I found such friendships, though warm enough in their commencement, surprisingly liable to extinction; and of seven or eight, whom I had selected for intimates out of about three hundred, in ten years time not one was left me. The truth is, that there may be, and often is, an attachment of one boy to another, that looks very like a friendship; and while they are in circumstances that enable them mutually to oblige and to assist each other, promises well, and bids fair to be lasting. But they are no sooner separated from each other, by entering into the world at large, than other connections, and new employments, in which they no longer share together,

efface the remembrance of what passed in earlier days, and they become strangers to each other for ever. Add to this, that the *man* frequently differs so much from the *boy*,—his principles, manners, temper, and conduct, undergo so great an alteration,—that we no longer recognize in him our old playfellow, but find him utterly unworthy and unfit for the place he once held in our affections.

[The religious training which Cowper received at Westminster was probably as lax as at most other public schools. But to do justice, he says, to the place of his education, he must record the pains which Dr. Nicholas took to prepare the boys for confirmation. 'The old man acquitted himself of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance; and I believe most of us were struck by his manner, and affected by his exhortations. Then for the first time I attempted to pray in secret.' There must have been good instructors in that great school, for leading a student onward from Lilly's Grammar to a real knowledge of the great writers of antiquity. Of Lord Dartmouth, who interested himself in promoting the success of Cowper's Homer, he says, 'When his Lordship and I sat side by side on the sixth form at Westminster, we little thought that in process of time one of us was ordained to give a new translation of Homer; yet at that very time it seems I was laying the foundation of this superstructure.' But of all Cowper's recollections of Westminster, there is none more pleasing than that of Vincent Bourne, who, I fear, has passed into oblivion, in common with many very inferior writers of Latin verse in modern times:]—

I love the memory of Vinny Bourne. I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in *his* way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior to *him*. I love him, too, with a love of partiality, because he was usher of the fifth form at Westminster, when I passed through it. He was so good-natured, and so indolent, that I lost more than I got by him; for he made me as idle as himself. He was such a sloven, as if he had trusted to his genius as a cloak for every thing that could disgust you in his person; and indeed in his writings he has almost made amends for all. His humor is entirely original; he can speak of a magpie or a cat in terms so exquisitely appropriated to the character he draws, that one would suppose him animated by the spirit of the creature he describes. And with all this drollery there is a mixture of rational, and even religious, reflection at times: and always an air of pleasantry, good-nature, and humanity, that makes him, in my mind, one of the most amiable writers in the world. It is not common to meet with an author who can make you smile, and yet at nobody's expense; who is always entertaining, and yet always harmless; and who, though always elegant, and classical to a degree not always found even in the classics themselves, charms more by the simplicity and playfulness of his ideas, than by the neatness and purity of his verse; yet such was poor Vinny. I remember seeing the Duke of Richmond set fire to his greasy locks, and box his ears to put it out again.

COLERIDGE, LAMB, AND HUNT AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

In his '*Biographia Literaria*,' Coleridge thus describes the Head Master, Rev. James Bowyer:—

At school I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time a very severe master. He early molded my taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and again of Virgil to Ovid. He habituated me to compare Lucretius, (in such extracts as I then read,) Terence, and above all the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the so-called silver and brazen ages; but even with those of the Augustan era: and on grounds of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former, in the truth and nativeness, both of their thoughts and diction. At the same time that we were studying the Greek Tragic Poets, he made us read Shakspeare and Milton as lessons: and they were the lessons, too, which required most time and trouble to *bring up*, so as to escape his censure. I learnt from him, that poetry, even that of the loftiest, and, seemingly, that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive, causes. In the truly great poets, he would say, there is a reason assignable, not only for every word, but for the position of every word; and I well remember, that availing himself of the synonymes to the Homer of Didymus, he made us attempt to show, with regard to each, *why* it would not have answered the same purpose; and *wherein* consisted the peculiar fitness of the word in the original text.

In our own English compositions (at least for the last three years of our school education) he showed no mercy to phrase, metaphor, or image, unsupported by a sound sense, or where the same sense might have been conveyed with equal force and dignity in plainer words. Lute, harp, and lyre, muse, muses, and inspirations, Pegasus, Parnassus, and Hippocrene, were all an abomination to him. In fancy I can almost hear him now, exclaiming, '*Harp? Harp? Lyre? pen and ink, boy, you mean! Muse, boy, Muse? your nurse's daughter, you mean! Pierian Spring? Oh, aye! the cloister-pump, I suppose!*' Nay, certain introductions, similies, and examples, were placed by name on a list of interdiction. Among the similies, there was, I remember, that of the Manchineel fruit, as suiting equally well with too many subjects; in which, however, it yielded the palm at once to the example of Alexander and Clytus, which was equally good and apt, whatever might be the theme. Was it ambition? Alexander and Clytus! Flattery? Alexander and Clytus! Anger? Drunkenness? Pride? Friendship? Ingratitude? Late repentance? Still, still Alexander and Clytus! At length, the praises of agriculture having been exemplified in the sagacious observation, that had Alexander been holding the plow, he would not have run his friend Clytus through with a spear, this tried and serviceable old friend was banished by public edict in secula seculorum. I have sometimes ventured to think that a list of this kind, or an index expurgatorius of certain well known and ever returning phrases, both introductory and transitional, including the large assortment of modest egotisms and flattering illeisms, &c., &c., might be hung up in our law courts, and both houses of parliament, with great advantage to the public, as an important saving of national time, an incalculable relief to his Majesty's ministers, but, above all, as insuring the thanks of country attorneys and their clients who have private bills to carry through the house.

[To Coleridge is attributed the pious ejaculation when he heard that his old master was on his death-bed: 'Poor J. B.! may all his faults be forgiven; and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all head and no wings, with no *bottoms* to tempt or reproach his sublunary infirmities.']

Charles Lamb has drawn a different portrait of the same master:—

B. [Boyer] was a rabid pedant. His English style was crampt to barbarism. His Easter anthems (for his duty obliged him to those periodical flights) were grating as scrannel pipes. He would laugh, ay, and heartily, but then it must

be at Flaccus's quibble about Rex—or at the *tristis severitas in vultu*, or *inspicere in patinas*, of Terence—thin jests, which at their first broaching could hardly have had *vis* enough to move a Roman muscle. He had two wigs, both pedantic, but of different omen. The one serene, smiling, fresh powdered, betokening a mild day. The other, an old, discolored, unkempt, angry caxon, denoting frequent and bloody execution. Woe to the school when he made his morning appearance in his *passy*, or *passionate wig*. No comet expounded surer. J. B. had a heavy hand. I have known him double his knotty fist at a poor trembling child (the maternal milk hardly dry upon its lips) with a 'Sirrah, do you presume to set your wits at me?' Nothing was more common than to see him make a headlong entry into the school-room from his inner recess or library, and, with turbulent eye, singling out a lad, roar out, 'Od's my life, Sirrah,' (his favorite adjuration), 'I have a great mind to whip you,'—then, with as sudden a retracting impulse, fling back into his lair—and, after a cooling lapse of some minutes (during which all but the culprit had totally forgotten the context), drive headlong out again, piecing out his imperfect sense, as if it had been some Devil's Litany, with the expletory yell—'*and I* WILL, *too*.' In his gentler moods, when the *rabidus furor* was assuaged, he had resort to an ingenious method, peculiar, for what I have heard, to himself, of whipping the boy, and reading the debates at the same time; a paragraph, and a lash between; which in those times, when parliamentary oratory was most at a height and flourishing in these realms, was not calculated to impress the patient with a veneration for the diffuser graces of rhetoric.

Once, and but once, the uplifted rod was known to fall ineffectual from his hand, when droll squinting W., having been caught putting the inside of the master's desk to a use for which the architect had clearly not designed it, to justify himself, with great simplicity averred, that *he did not know that the thing had been forewarned*. This exquisite irrecognition of any law antecedent to the *oral* or *declaratory*, struck so irresistibly upon the fancy of all who heard it (the pedagogue himself not excepted), that remission was unavoidable.

LEIGH HUNT AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

Leigh Hunt was educated at Christ's Hospital, and in his autobiography bears just and discriminating testimouy to the value of the institution.

Perhaps there is not a foundation in the country so truly English, taking that word to mean what Englishmen wish it to mean;—something solid, unpretending, of good character, and free to all. More boys are to be found in it, who issue from a greater variety of ranks, than in any other school in the kingdom: and as it is the most various, so it is the largest, of all the free schools. Nobility do not go there except as boarders. Now and then a boy of a noble family may be met with, and he is reckoned an interloper, and against the charter; but the sons of poor gentry and London citizens abound; and with them, an equal share is given to the sons of tradesmen of the very humblest description, not omitting servants. I would not take my oath,—but I have a strong recollection, that in my time there were two boys, one of whom went up into the drawing-room to his father, the master of the house; and the other down into the kitchen to *his* father, the coachman. One thing, however, I know to be certain, and it is the noblest of all: namely, that the boys themselves (at least it was so in my time) had no sort of feeling of the difference of one another's ranks out of doors. The cleverest boy was the noblest, let his father be who he might. Christ's Hospital is a nursery of tradesmen, of merchants, of naval officers, of scholars; it has produced some of the greatest ornaments of their time; and the feeling among the boys themselves is, that it is a medium, between the patrician pretension of such schools as Eton and Westminster, and the plebeian submission of the charity schools. In point of University honors, it claims to be equal with the best; and though other schools can show a greater abundance of eminent names, I know not where many will be found who are a greater host in themselves.

TOM BROWN (THOMAS HUGHES, M. P.,) AT RUGBY.

[This charming volume of Thomas Hughes has done more to make Rugby known to teachers and scholars than all the Reports of Royal Commissioners, or Lives of Head Masters ever could.]

Tom Brown's First Sunday.

The chapel bell began to ring at a quarter to eleven, and Tom got in early and took his place in the lowest row, and watched all the other boys come in and take their places, filling row after row; and tried to construe the Greek text which was inscribed over the door with the slightest possible success, and wondered which of the masters, who walked down the chapel and took their seats in the exalted boxes at the end, would be his lord. And then came the closing of the doors, and the Doctor in his robes, and the service, which, however, didn't impress him much, for his feeling of wonder and curiosity was too strong. And the boy on one side of him was scratching his name on the oak paneling in front, and he couldn't help watching to see what the name was, and whether it was well scratched; and the boy on the other side went to sleep and kept falling against him; and on the whole, though many boys even in that part of the school were serious and attentive, the general atmosphere was by no means devotional; and when he got out into the close again, he didn't feel at all comfortable, or as if he had been to church.

But at afternoon chapel it was quite another thing. He had spent the time after dinner in writing home to his mother, and so was in a better frame of mind; and his first curiosity was over, and he could attend more to the service. As the hymn after the prayers was being sung, and the chapel was getting a little dark, he was beginning to feel that he had been really worshiping. And then came that event in his, as in every Rugby boy's life of that day—the first sermon from the Doctor.

More worthy pens than mine have described that scene. The oak pulpit standing out by itself above the school seats. The tall, gallant form, the kindling eye, the voice, now soft as the low notes of a flute, now clear and stirring as the call of the light infantry bugle, of him who stood there Sunday after Sunday, witnessing and pleading for his Lord, the King of righteousness and love and glory, with whose spirit he was filled, and in whose power he spoke. The long lines of young faces, rising tier above tier down the whole length of the chapel, from the little boy's who had just left his mother, to the young man who was going out next week into the

great world rejoicing in his strength. It was a great and solemn sight, and never more so than at this time of year, when the only lights in the chapel were in the pulpit and at the seats of the præpostors of the week, and the soft twilight stole over the rest of the chapel, deepening into darkness in the high gallery behind the organ.

But what was it after all which seized and held these three hundred boys, dragging them out of themselves, willing or unwilling, for twenty minutes, on Sunday afternoons? True, there always were boys scattered up and down the school, who in heart and head were worthy to hear and able to carry away the deepest and wisest words there spoken. But these were a minority always, generally a very small one, often so small a one as to be countable on the fingers of your hand. What was it that moved and held us, the rest of the three hundred reckless, childish boys, who feared the Doctor with all our heart, and very little besides in heaven or earth: who thought more of our sets in the school than of the Church of Christ, and put the traditions of Rugby and the public opinion of boys in our daily life above the laws of God? We couldn't enter into half that we heard; we hadn't the knowledge of our own hearts or the knowledge of one another; and little enough of the faith, hope, and love needed to that end. But we listened, as all boys in their better moods will listen (aye, and men too for the matter of that), to a man who we felt to be, with all his heart and soul and strength, striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another. And so, wearily and little by little, but surely and steadily on the whole, was brought home to the young boy, for the first time, the meaning of his life: that it was no fool's or sluggard's paradise into which he had wandered by chance, but a battle-field ordained from of old, where there are no spectators, but the youngest must take his side, and the stakes are life and death. And he who roused this consciousness in them, showed them at the same time, by every word he spoke in the pulpit, and by his whole daily life, how that battle was to be fought; and stood there before them their fellow-soldier and the captain of their band. The true sort of captain, too, for a boys' army, one who had no misgivings and gave no uncertain word of command, and, let who would yield or make truce, would fight the fight out (so every boy

felt) to the last gasp and the last drop of blood. Other sides of his character might take hold of and influence boys here and there, but it was this thoroughness and undaunted courage which more than any thing else won his way to the hearts of the great mass of those on whom he left his mark, and made them believe first in him, and then in his Master.

Tom Brown's First Run at Hare and Hounds.

Five minutes afterward, three small limping shivering figures steal along through the Doctor's garden, and into the house by the servants' entrance (all the other gates have been closed long since), where the first thing they light upon in the passage is old Thomas, ambling along; candle in one hand, and keys in the other.

He stops and examines their condition with a grim smile. 'Ah! East, Hall, and Brown, late for locking up. Must go up to the Doctor's study at once.'

'Well but, Thomas, mayn't we go and wash first? You can put down the time, you know.'

'Doctor's study d'rectly you come in—that's the orders,' replied old Thomas, motioning toward the stairs at the end of the passage which led up into the Doctor's house; and the boys turned ruefully down it, not cheered by the old verger's muttered remark, 'What a pickle they boys be in!' Thomas referred to their faces and habiliments, but they construed it as indicating the Doctor's state of mind. Upon the short flight of stairs they paused to hold counsel.

'Who'll go in first?' inquired Tadpole.

'You—you're the senior,' answered East.

'Catch me—look at the state I'm in,' rejoined Hall, showing the arms of his jacket. 'I must get behind you two.'

'Well, but look at me,' said East, indicating the mass of clay behind which he was standing; 'I'm worse than you, two to one; you might grow cabbages on my trowsers.'

'That's all down below, and you can keep your legs behind the sofa,' said Hall.

'Here, Brown, you're the show figure—you must lead.'

'But my face is all muddy,' argued Tom.

'Oh, we're all in one boat, for that matter; but come on, we're only making it worse, dawdling here.'

'Well, just give us a brush then,' said Tom; and they began trying to rub off the superfluous dirt from each other's jackets, but it was not dry enough, and the rubbing made it worse; so in despair they pushed through the swing door at the head of the stairs, and found themselves in the Doctor's hall.

'That's the library door,' said East, in a whisper, pushing Tom forward. The sound of merry voices and laughter came from within, and his first hesitating knock was unanswered. But at the second, the Doctor's voice said 'Come in,' and Tom turned the handle, and he, with the others behind him, sidled into the room.

The Doctor looked up from his task; he was working away with a great chisel at the bottom of a boy's sailing boat, the lines of which he was no doubt fashioning on the model of Nicias' galleys. Round him stood three or four children ; the candles burnt brightly on a large table at the further end, covered with books and papers, and a great fire threw a ruddy glow over the rest of the room. All looked so kindly, and homely, and comfortable, that the boys took heart in a moment, and Tom advanced from behind the shelter of the great sofa. The Doctor nodded to the children, who went out, casting curious and amused glances at the three young scarecrows.

'Well, my little fellows,' began the Doctor, drawing himself up with his back to the fire, the chisel in one hand, and his coat tails in the other, and his eyes twinkling as he looked them over; 'what makes you so late?'

'Please, Sir, we've been out Big-side Hare-and-hounds, and lost our way.'

'Hah ! you couldn't keep up, I suppose?'

'Well, Sir,' said East, stepping out, and not liking that the Doctor should think lightly of his running powers, 'we got round Barby all right, but then—'

'Why, what a state you're in, my boy !' interrupted the Doctor, as the pitiful condition of East's garments was fully revealed to him.

'That's the fall I got, Sir, in the road,' said East, looking down at himself; 'the Old Pig came by—'

'The what?' said the Doctor.

'The Oxford coach, Sir,' explained Hall.

'Hah ! yes, the Regulator,' said the Doctor.

'And I tumbled on my face, trying to get up behind,' went on East.

'You're not hurt, I hope?' said the Doctor.

'Oh no, Sir.'

'Well, now, run up stairs, all three of you, and get clean things on, and then tell the housekeeper to give you some tea. You're too young to try such long runs. Let Warner know I've seen you. Good night.'

[Such treatment under mere thoughtless violation of rules was sure to win the respect and love of pupils.]

LORD STOWELL—WILLIAM SCOTT.

William Scott, who rose from a very humble social parentage to the British peerage, and to the highest position he could attain in his own branch of the legal profession, was the eldest son of William and Jane Atkinson Scott, of Newcastle. He was born at his father's residence, in a narrow lane, or 'chare-foot,' and received his early education in the Royal Grammar or Hye School, founded by Thomas Hoosley, Mayor of Newcastle (1525 to 1533,) and after its incorporation by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, known as the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth. The charter declares that the intent of the Queen was 'for the instruction of youth from their tender years in the rudiments of the true Christian religion, and in learning and good manners.' The master, Mr. Moises, although he insisted on 'the holy habit of obedience' to his stern requisitions, backed by an unflinching application of the rod when unheeded, was ever held in grateful esteem by the two brothers when in the height of their professional and social success. Of his school and methods more will be said under Lord Eldon's reminiscences.

William Scott was matriculated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1761, where he remained after taking his master's degree (1764) as College Tutor, and Camden Reader of Ancient History* (1774) until 1779, when he took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, and was called to the bar in 1780, and admitted to the Faculty of Advocates at Doctors Commons. About the same time he was introduced to the Literary Club by Dr. Johnson, whose acquaintance he made when the latter was on his tour to the Hebrides. In 1788, he was appointed Judge in the Consistory Court, knighted, and made Privy Councilor. In 1798, he became Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, in which his decisions are received with all the deference paid to an acknowledged expounder of International Law. He represented Oxford in the House of Commons for twenty years, and was raised to the peerage by George IV., under the title of Baron Stowell of Stowell Park. He retired from the bench in 1828, and died in 1836.

Both the brothers acquired large estates—Lord Eldon left to his descendants £500,000; and his brother, who was content with 'the elegant simplicity of the Three per cents,' possessed property which, at the time of his death, yielded £12,000 per annum.

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* 'To these discourses,' Dr. Parr writes: 'which, when delivered before an academicai audience, captivated the young and interested the old—which are argumentative without formality, and brilliant without gaudiness—and in which the happiest selection of topics was united with the most luminous arrangement of matter—it can not be unsafe for me to pay the tribute of my praise, because every hearer was an admirer, and every admirer will be a witness.'

LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON—JOHN SCOTT.

John Scott, who rose to the woolsack by force of native talent, industry, and 'favoring circumstances,' and better known to his own age, and to history, as Lord Eldon, was born at Heworth (the country home of his mother), four miles from Newcastle, the residence of his parents, William* and Jane Atkinson Scott.

When William Scott was old enough to begin his education, his father sent him to a mistress's school to be taught to read. He very soon, however, stoutly refused to go, and told his father he would go to a master, but he would not be taught by any old woman living. He was then about four years old. Mr. Scott was pleased with the boy's spirit, and sent him to Mr. Warden, an approved master of that day, and long remembered in Newcastle by the name of Dominie Warden. John afterward received the rudiments of his education from the same instructor. His manner of teaching to read had this peculiarity, that instead of sounding each consonant with an auxiliary vowel, as B be, F ef, K ka, and so forth, he confined the expression of each consonant to its own almost mute sound, as B, F, or K. This mode of *muffling* the consonants is said to have been very successful with the learners.

At suitable ages, the three young Scotts were sent to the Royal Grammar School, then called the Head School, and anciently the Hye School, founded by Thomas Horsley, Mayor of Newcastle, in the years 1525 and 1533—'to be free for any within or without that town.' He left lands for its maintenance, and the corporation of the town, in whom he vested the patronage, added a stipend of four marks yearly for ever. Its first situation was in St. Nicholas's churchyard, in a building on the north-east side of the church. Afterward, when it became a royal foundation, under a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the forty-second year of her reign, it was removed to the hospital of St. Mary, in the Westgate. The charter declares the Queen's regard for the instruction of youth, from their tender years, in the rudiments of the true Christian religion, and in learning and good manners; directs that the foundation be styled the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth; and constitutes the master and scholars a body corporate.

Bentley's celebrated antagonist, Richard Dawes, the author of the *Miscellanea Critica*, had been head master of the school from

* Twiss' *Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*. 2 vols. William Scott was a coal-fitter, or factor, who conducts sales between the owner of the coal and the shipper. These coal-fitters were also known as *ostmen*, or *hostmen*, or *eastmen*, and had their guild at Newcastle.

1738 to 1749, in the latter of which years he resigned, and was succeeded by the Rev. Hugh Moises, fellow of Peterhouse. Dawes's eccentricities had reduced the number of the scholars. The assailant of the formidable Bentley had, according to the *Biographia Britannica*, been much addicted to the amusement of bell ringing, until he relinquished his employments and retired to Heworth, the little village on the Tyne, before mentioned as the birthplace of the twins; where, instead of ringing, he took to rowing. His successor, Mr. Moises, by the agreeable manners and decorous conduct which he combined with his very considerable learning, soon restored the school to its reputation and popularity. He received no boarders, but was unremitting in his attention to his pupils; and the school had in his time this further advantage, as a place of education, that the principles of mathematical science were then taught there by no less considerable a master than the afterward celebrated Professor Hutton. With such facilities for instruction, the town of Newcastle, when distant journeys were more tedious and expensive than at present, recommended itself very generally to the northern country gentlemen who had boys to be educated. The custom that the masters of this school should teach there in their university gowns gave additional dignity to the business of instruction.

We learn, from the Memoirs of Mr. Moises, written by his pupil, the Rev. John Brewster, rector of Egglescliffe, that when the Scotts were at the school, the arrangement of it was as follows:—

Mr. Moises, as head master, with the senior scholars, occupied the inner apartment or election room; the second master's place was on a platform elevation of two steps at the upper end of the school-room; and the third master's seat was near the lower end. The master, who first came into school in the morning, read a selection of prayers from the Liturgy, from the second master's seat; and one of the senior boys read a chapter of the New Testament, from a pew or rostrum rising behind it. After this, the business of the day commenced. I do not imagine that the practice of the school differed essentially from that of the higher schools, so justly celebrated in this country. The boys were arranged in classes, according to their age and attainments; and, that all might come under the head master's eye, every Friday was appointed as his day of hearing of the lower school. Mr. Moises had a pleasing and familiar way of interpreting the Latin classics, particularly Horace and Terence. When the lesson came from Terence, the boys were delighted with the dramatic turn which the master gave to the interpretation. He read also the comedies of Plautus with the same effect. Mr. Moises was particularly distinguished by his knowledge of the Greek choruses, and, therefore, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes were read in the school. The senior boys also read the orations of Isocrates, the oration of Æschines *in Ctesiphontem*, and of Demosthenes *de Coronâ*. He also required a translation of the whole of the *Commentary of Longinus on the Sublime;* and expected a particular account of all their studies. Sometimes he lent them books, which were not in the course of school reading. Latin and English declamations, and the usual themes, were part of the exercises of the school; and when any boy did not write Latin verse with some taste for that mode of composition, he was not compelled *invitâ Minervâ* to

attempt it, but he was required to finish his English essays with peculiar niceness. This led many of his pupils to the early practice of English prose composition; and to such as were intended for holy orders, he recommended *to compose their own sermons.* 'These,' he used to say, 'will not be such, perhaps, as you will approve of in maturer years, but they will give you such an habit of study and composition as will be of essential advantage. Having used them, burn them, and write others.'

Mr. Moises was particularly attentive to the instruction which he gave to young men just entering upon the study of divinity: and as his *lectures* on the New Testament, as I may truly call them, were delivered to the two or three upper classes *every morning* as their first lesson, they became more or less the study of all. The chapter which was read at prayers was the text of the day; it was construed from the original into Latin by the scholars, and elucidated, verse, by verse, by the master. This mode of *vivâ voce* interpretation had a great effect.

It is not easy to describe the easy and familiar manner with which Mr. Moises met his scholars. They appeared never to be absent from his mind. His heart, indeed, seemed to be absorbed in his profession; but not as a drudge intent upon the minutiæ of his office, but acting toward them with such an open liberality of sentiment on the subjects of his instruction, that his pupils, whilst they received the benefit of his parental observations, accepted them as the offer of one bent on their improvement; presented, as they were, with an urbanity always acceptable and conciliating.—*Brewster*, pp. 26–29.

One of the first pages of Lord Eldon's Anecdote Book contains this affectionate reminiscence of his instructor:—

'The head master was that eminent scholar and most excellent man, the Rev. Mr. Moises. I shall hold his memory in the utmost veneration whilst I continue to exist. There were also excellent ushers in that school whilst I continued in it. I gratefully mention the names of Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Hall, Mr. King, and Mr. Walters.'

William and John Scott were both of them diligent scholars, and great favorites with their master. John, though of a less joyous temperament than his elder brother, was generally beloved for his kind and gentle disposition. The distinction in the constitution of their minds at that early period is marked by a little circumstance related in a memoir of Lord Stowell:—

When asked to give an account of the Sunday sermon, their father's weekly custom, the eldest, William, would repeat a sort of digest of the general argument—a condensed summary of what he had heard; John, on the other hand, would recapitulate the minutiæ of the discourse, and reiterate the very phrase of the preacher. He showed a memory the most complete and exact; but failed in giving the whole scope and clear general view of the sermon embodied in half the number of words by the elder brother.

It must be remembered, however, that between William's age and that of his younger brother, there was a difference of more than five years and a half.

'Lord Eldon's school-boy days,' says Mr. Brewster, in a letter to the present earl, dated January, 1839, 'are well worth remarking, as they bespeak the uniformity and steadiness of his future character. I knew he was a favorite with his venerable master, who often mentioned his abilities, and recommended him to the imitation of his scholars. His affable temper rendered him a favorite,

too, with his school-fellows; of whom, I believe, the writer of this is among the last.

I was much interested in the venerable Lord Eldon's recollection of his own school, as mentioned by himself in one of the last judgments, which he delivered in the Court of Chancery.—'As the institution of these grammar schools,' he said, 'was expressed by the legislature to be for the purpose, amongst others, of forwarding the progress of the Reformation, we find, in almost all of them, provisions made that there should be, to a considerable extent, prayer and attendance upon public worship, according to the reformed church. I remember, that when I had the benefit of an education at one of these grammar schools the education was carried on, in what, I believe, was once a capella or sacellum: that the boys educated there were headed by their venerable master to church constantly upon Sundays; and *that* part of the duty of a master of a grammar school was, in those days, as much attended to as teaching the scholars what else they ought there to acquire. Whether the practice is now continued in grammar schools, I do not know, but this I know, that it ought still to be attended to, as much as ever.

The only serious disaster which happened to John Scott in his boyhood, was a fall backward, from a window seat, against a desk or bench—so severe as to lay open his head and leave him insensible on the ground. His intellects and even his life were for some time despaired of: and to the end of his days their remained a deep indentation near the crown of his skull.

On another occasion, being curious to see what was within a hole or window beneath the stone steps of a gentleman's house, he passed his head between the iron rails, and was unable to draw it back again. From this pillory he was released by a female beggar passing by.

In those days, the small town of Chester-le-Street, a little more than eight miles southward of Newcastle, on the London road, was celebrated for a kind of shortcake irresistible to the juvenile portion of society: and to that town, one fine afternoon, John and his brother Henry, who was about three years older, took a journey on foot. They loitered there so long that the evening set in: and a friend of their father's, finding them about to return at so uncomfortable an hour, dissuaded them from their intent, and gave them supper and bed at his own house. Meanwhile, through that night and the early part of the next morning, the family in Love Lane were distracted with apprehension. In vain the town of Newcastle was searched through all its streets and chares; in vain, when morning came, the crier proclaimed at every corner the loss of the two little truants: until, safe and sound, though somewhat tired with their eight miles' walk, they presented themselves, in the forenoon, at their father's door. There, for their exploit, they instantly received the meed of a whipping, with which memento they were sent to school. But this was not the close of their troubles: for

the schoolmaster, having learned from the proclamation of the crier, that the young gentlemen had been on their travels without furlough, thought it necessary to mark his opinion of their adventure by the administration of a second flogging.

The following are some of Lord Eldon's own recollections of his school days, communicated by him late in life to his niece Mrs. Forster, to Lady Eldon's nephew Mr. John Surtees, and to others of his connections:—

'I believe,' said he to Mrs. Forster, 'no boy was ever so much thrashed as I was. When we went to school we had to go by the Stock Bridge. In going to school we seldom had any time to spare, so Bill and Harry used to run as hard as they could, and poor Jacky's legs not being so long or so strong, he was left behind. Now you must know there was eternal war waged between the Head School lads, and all the boys of the other schools; so the Stockbriggers seized the opportunity of poor Jacky being alone, to give him a good drubbing. Then on our way home, Bill and Harry always thrashed them in return, and that was my revenge; but then it was a revenge that did not cure my sore bones.'

'Mr. Surtees, when your father and I were boys, and that is now a long time ago, I remember our stealing down the Side, and along the Sandhill, and creeping into every shop, where we blew out the candles. We crept in along the counter, then popped our heads up, out went the candles, and away went we. We escaped detection.'

'Mr. Moises had one day got hold of a book belonging to one of his boys, in which the urchin had written,

'Turn over this leaf and you will see plain:'

'"Well," said Mr. Moises, after reading that line aloud to the class, "what is it that I shall see?" He forthwith turned over the page, and reading the next line, set the whole school into roars of laughter,

'Fools will be meddling, so turn back again!'

'"Oh, you blockhead!" he said, and returned the book to the owner.'

'I was once,' said Lord Eldon to Mrs. Forster, 'the seventeenth boy whom Moises flogged, and richly did we merit it. There was an elderly lady who lived in Westgate street, whom we surrounded in the street, and would not allow her to go either backward or forward; she complained to Mr. Moises and he flogged us all; when he came to me, he exclaimed:—"What, Jack Scott, were you there, too?" and I was obliged to say, "Yes, sir."—"I will not stop," replied he, "you shall all have it;" but I think I came off best, for his arm was rather tired with sixteen who went before me.'

'I have been very ill-used, Mary, first by my father, and then by my brother Lord Stowell.—My father promised me half a crown if I said my catechism well at church. I did say it, and I assure you I said it very well; but my half crown I never received; and though I tell my brother Will that it is as much a just debt of my father's as any other, and that therefore he, as executor, is bound to pay it, yet he always refuses. Very hard upon me, for I said my catechism very well indeed. Do they still catechize the boys at church, Mary? We used not only to *say* our catechism, but every part was to be *proved.* "How do you prove that 2d class?"—"2d Romans, 3d verse," and so on: (laying a great stress on the Newcastle R.) Thus you see, by the time we left school, we were very tolerable theologians: the practice ought not to be left off.—But I was very ill-used about that half crown.'

When chancellor, he gave the following piece of evidence against his own character, to Mr. Chisholme, his solicitor:—'My father,' said he, 'agreed with a master, who kept a writing school, to teach me the art of penmanship there, for half a guinea a quarter. In the whole of the three months I attended that school but once. My father knew nothing of this, and at the quarter's end gave me a half guinea to pay the master. When I took it to the school, the

master said he did not know how he could properly receive it, since he had given nothing in exchange for it. I said that he really must take it: that I could not possibly carry it back to my father. "Well," replied he, "if I am to take it, at all events I must give you something for it: so come here." And, upon my going up to him, he took the money with one hand, and with the other gave me—a box on the ear which sent me reeling against the wainscot; —and that was the way I first learned to write.'

After this, the writing master seems to have been more vigilant. 'I think,' said Lord Eldon to Mrs. Forster, 'I write remarkably well considering how I played truant from the writing school. I remember Harry and I, going home one evening, found my father in the dining-room. "Harry," said he, "were you at the writing school to-day?"—"Oh, yes, papa," answered Harry.—"And were you there, Jack?"—Now you know my elder brother had said yes, so what could I do but follow his example? so I said "Yes, papa."—"And were you there yesterday?"—"Yes, sir." "And the day before?"—"Yes, sir."—"And the day before that?"—"Yes, sir."—"Walk out Mr. Benson:"—and from behind the door out walked our writing master, who had come down to complain that we had not been at his school the whole week. We were twice flogged for that, once by my father, and once by Mr. Benson.'

'Between school hours we used to amuse ourselves with playing at what we called "cock nibs"—that was riding on gravestones, in St. John's churchyard, which, you know, was close to the school.—Well, one day one of the lads came shouting "Here comes Moises"—that was what we always called him, Moises,—so away we all ran as hard as we could, and I lost my hat. Now if you remember, there were four or five steps going down to the school, a sort of passage. Unfortunately a servant was coming along with a pudding for the bake-house, and in my hurry, when Moises was coming, I jumped down these steps and into the pudding. What was to be done? I borrowed another boy's great coat, and buttoned it on, over my own coat, waistcoat, pudding, and all, and so we went into school. Now when I came out, I was in an unforeseen dilemma, for this great coat had stuck to my own; another boy's coat sticking to me, and my own hat lost! here was an unfortunate situation!—with great difficulty the coat was pulled off; but my father was very angry at my losing my hat, and he made me go without one till the usual time of taking my best into every day wear.' Mrs. Forster adds, 'Lord Eldon, on this occasion, went three months, Sundays excepted, without a hat.'

'I remember,' said Lord Eldon, 'my father coming to my bedside to accuse Harry and me of having robbed an orchard: some one had come to complain. Now my coat was lying by my bed with its pockets full of apples, and I had hid some more under the bed-clothes, when I heard my father on the stairs; and I was at that moment suffering intolerable torture from those I had eaten. Yet I had the audacity to deny the fact. We were twice flogged for it. I do not know how it was, but we always considered robbing an orchard as an honorable exploit. I remember once being carried before a magistrate for robbing an orchard; "boxing the fox," as we called it. There were three of us, Hewit Johnson, another boy, and myself. The magistrate acted upon what I think was rather curious law, for he fined our fathers each thirty shillings for our offense. *We* did not care for that, but then *they did:* so my father flogged me, and then sent a message to Moises, and Moises flogged me again. We were very good boys, very good, indeed: we never did any thing worse than a robbery.'

Mrs. Forster adds, 'When any of his boys were not down stairs at the proper time in the morning, Mr. Scott used to ascend to their room with a pair of leather taws, which he laid across the delinquents' shoulders. Harry and Jack being rather fond of their beds, and apt to receive the chastisement pretty often, determined upon stealing the taws, an exploit they successfully achieved. From that time Mr. Scott, who never replaced them, used to go to their room with his hand under his dressing-gown, as if ready to inflict the usual punishment, while the boys lay still until the last moment in secure enjoyment.'

'These taws, a piece of strong leather cut into several thongs, were produced every year at my grandfather's (Henry's) house, when my uncle (Lord Eldon)

was with him, and they used to recount, with the greatest glee and triumph, this exploit of stealing them, and their amusement in seeing the old gentleman enter their room with his hand under his dressing-gown.'

'I believe,' said Lord Eldon to Mrs. Forster, 'I have preached more sermons than any one who is not a clergyman. My father always had the church service read on Sunday evenings and a sermon after it. Harry and I used to take it in turns to read the prayers or to preach: we always had a shirt put on over our clothes to answer for a surplice.'

'I should have been a very good dancer, only they never could get this left arm to conduct itself gracefully: and yet I had eight dancing masters. I remember one of them complaining that I took no pains with that left arm. "I do not know how it is," said he; "Mr. Moises says you are a very good boy, but I do not find you so." I had the impudence to look him up in the face and say—"but you are not Mr. Moises, sir."'

Mrs. Forster.—'But I remember, uncle, hearing of Master Jacky being celebrated for the hornpipes he danced at Christmas: there was an old keelman in the hospital at Newcastle who talked of your hornpipes.'

Lord Eldon.—'Oh, yes, I danced hornpipes: at Christmas, when my father gave a supper and a dance at Love Lane to all the keelmen in his employ, Harry and I always danced hornpipes.'

Mrs. Forster adds, 'the supper which, about Christmas, Mr. Scott used to give his keelmen, was what was called a binding supper; that was a supper when the terms on which they were to serve for the ensuing year were agreed upon. Patterson, the last surviving keelman in Mr. Scott's employment, dined in our kitchen every Christmas day until his death, about ten years ago. He expatiated with great delight upon the splendid hornpipe that Master Jacky regularly danced for their amusement after these suppers.'

This veteran was not destitute in his old age; and Lord Stowell made him an annual present to add to his comforts at Christmas.

'I believe,' said Lord Eldon to Mrs. Forster, 'no shoemaker ever helped to put on more ladies' shoes than I have done. At the dancing school, the young ladies always brought their dancing shoes with them, and we deemed it a proper piece of etiquette to assist the pretty girls in putting them on.—In those days, girls of the best families wore white stockings only on the Sundays, and one week day which was a sort of public day:—on the other days, they wore blue Doncaster woolen stockings with white tags.'

'We used, when we were at the Head School, early on the Sunday mornings, to steal flowers from the gardens in the neighborhood of the Forth, and then we presented them to our sweethearts. Oh, those were happy days—we were always in love then.'

The successes of the elder brother (William, Lord Stowell) at Oxford laid a foundation for the fortunes of the younger also. When John approached the completion of his studies at the High School, his father, who had formed a design of qualifying him for his own business of a fitter, was making arrangements to that effect, with which he acquainted William, then at the university. In answer to this communication, William wrote to his father dissuading from his design. 'Send Jack up to me,' he said: 'I can do better for him here.' He was sent accordingly, and on the 15th of May, 1766, was matriculated as a member of the University of Oxford, by Dr. Durell, the Vice-Chancellor, having, on the same day, been entered as a commoner of University College. 'I was entered,' he notes in his Anecdote Book, 'under the tuition of Sir Robert Chambers and my brother Lord Stowell.'

'I have seen it remarked,' says Lord Eldon in his Anecdote Book, 'that something which in early youth captivates attention, influences future life in all stages. When I left school, in 1766, to go to Oxford, I came up from Newcastle to London in a coach then denominated, on account of its quick traveling as traveling was then estimated, a fly; being, as well as I remember, nevertheless, three or four days and nights on the road: there was no such velocity as to endanger overturning or other mischief. On the panels of the carriage were painted the words "*Sat cito, si sat bene*:" words which made a most lasting impression on my mind, and have had their influence upon my conduct in all subsequent life. Their effect was heightened by circumstances during and immediately after the journey. Upon the journey, a Quaker, who was a fellow-traveler, stopped the coach at the inn at Tuxford, desired the chambermaid to come to the coach door, and gave her a sixpence, telling her that he forgot to give it to her when he slept there two years before. I was a very saucy boy, and said to him, "Friend, have you seen the motto on this coach?"—"No."—"Then look at it: for I think giving her only sixpence *now* is neither *sat cito* nor *sat bene*." After I got to town, my brother, now Lord Stowell, met me at the White Horse in Fetter Lane, Holborn, then the Great Oxford house, as I was told. He took me to see the play at Drury Lane. Love played Jobson in the farce, and Miss Pope played Nell. When we came out of the house, it rained hard. There were then few hackney coaches, and we got both into one sedan-chair. Turning out of Fleet street into Fetter lane, there was a sort of contest between our chairman and some persons who were coming up Fleet street, whether they should first pass Fleet street, or we in our chair first get out of Fleet street into Fetter lane. In the struggle the sedan-chair was overset with us in it. This, thought I, is more than *sat cito*, and it certainly is not *sat bene*. In short, in all that I have had to do in future life, professional and judicial, I have always felt the effect of this early admonition, on the panels of the vehicle which conveyed me from school, "*Sat cito, si sat bene*." It was the impression of this which made me that deliberative judge—as some have said, too deliberative;—and reflection upon all that is past will not authorize me to deny that, whilst I have been thinking "*sat cito, si sat bene*," I may not have sufficiently recollected whether "*sat bene, si sat cito*" has had its due influence.'

Mr. John Scott took his Bachelor's degree, in Hilary term, on the 20th of February, 1770.

'An examination for a degree at Oxford,' he used to say, 'was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in history. "What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?"—I replied, "Golgotha."—"Who founded University College?"—I stated (though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted), "that King Alfred founded it."—"Very well, sir," said the examiner, "you are competent for your degree."'

In the year 1768, the Earl of Litchfield, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, had instituted two annual prizes there, for the best compositions in English prose and Latin verse respectively: the prize for Latin verse being limited to members who had not exceeded four years from their matriculation: and that for English prose to members who had exceeded four years but not completed seven, and who had not taken the degree of Master of Arts, or of Bachelor of Civil Law. The subject, in 1771, was 'The Advantages and Disadvantages of Foreign Travel;' and, in the Trinity term of that year, the prize, of the value of 20*l.*, was adjudged to the essay bearing the motto of 'Non alibi sis, sed alius.' This essay was written by John Scott while yet under the age of twenty years.

AN ENGLISH STUDENT AT HOFWYL.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY ROBERT DALE OWEN.*

EMANUEL VON FELLENBERG AND HIS SELF-GOVERNING COLLEGE.

GROWING up and educated, to the age of sixteen, in the country, and in the quiet and genial atmosphere of a domestic circle, I was isolated from a thousand temptations that are wont to assail boys in schools and cities. It was a civilizing circumstance, too, that our family consisted chiefly of cultivated women.

But the situation had its serious drawbacks also. It lacked bracing, case-hardening influences. While it nourished self-esteem, it failed to give self-assertion. I was in danger of reaching manhood devoid of that sterling quality, specially prized in England—*pluck;* and this the rather because of the excessive sensibility which that grave fit of sickness had left behind. I was then little fitted to hold my place in the world as it is.

What effect a sudden transition to the buffetings of some such public school as Eton or Harrow, with its fag-tyranny and its *hazing*, and its squabbles settled by the fist, might have had I cannot tell. At all events, I think it fortunate that I was spared the trial; and for this I am chiefly indebted to an excellent man, Charles Pictet (de Richemont) of Geneva.

An enlightened agriculturist and firm friend of education; an intimate associate of Cuvier, La Place, and other distinguished scientists; one of the editors of the *Bibliothèque Britannique;* a diplomatist, too, trusted by his countrymen,—Pictet had been sent by the Swiss Republic as Envoy Extraordinary to the Congress of Vienna in 1814, and to that of Paris in 1815. In 1817 he visited New Lanark; and he and my father contracted a warm and lasting friendship. They agreed to travel together to London, Paris, and Geneva; and afterwards to visit in Switzerland a certain institution, the most remarkable of its kind then in the world, of which Pictet had been the historian† from the inception of the enterprise in the

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* *Robert Dale Owen*, the son of Robert Owen—who, in spite of his shortcomings as the organizer of new communities, and the readjuster of the relations of capital and labor, was a wise Practical Educator (*See* Barnard's *Practical Educators*)—was born at New Lanark, on the Clyde, in 1804, and emigrated to Indiana in 1825, where he achieved marked success in political and literary life. He was elected to Congress in 1843, and appointed *Chargè d' Affairs* to Naples in 1853. His *New Views of Society*, *Footfalls on the Boundaries of Another World*, *The Wrongs of Slavery* and *The Rights of Emancipation*, etc., have had a wide circulation.

† In 18[illegible]8 the French ambassador to Switzerland had a public correspondence with Pictet on the subject. Count de Capo d'Istria, who was the Russian envoy to the Congresses of Vienna and Paris, made to the Emperor Alexander, in 18[illegible]4, an extended report on Hofwyl, which, being widely circulated in book form, brought M. de Fellenberg's ideas into notice all over Europe. There were also published, about the same time, a Report made to the Swiss government by a special commission appointed to that effect; another by M. Hoffman, special envoy of the Princess of Swartzenberg Rudolstadt; observations thereon by M. Thaer, Councillor of State of the King of Prussia; a

first years of the present century. It embraced the various establishments of M. de Fellenberg on his estate of Hofwyl, two leagues from Berne, consisting of a primary school, a college, an industrial school, and workshops for improved agricultural instruments.

That journey had an important influence on all my after life; for my father was so much pleased with all he saw that, on his return, he engaged a private tutor to teach my brother William and myself German, and sent us to Hofwyl in the Autumn of next year (1820), my brother being upward of fifteen, and I upward of sixteen years old.

We entered the college, then having rather more than a hundred students, natives of every part of Europe, and from fifteen to twenty-three years of age. But, as it was early in August and during vacation that we reached the place, we found only three or four of its inmates there. We were placed in charge of one of these, a Prussian two or three years older than I, named Carl Bressler. I shall never forget the considerate forbearance with which this good young fellow treated two raw Scotch lads, childish for their age, and the pains he took to correct in us any habits that might have exposed us to ridicule.

Before the remaining six weeks of vacation had expired and the college began to fill again, we had already, in a measure, settled down into the ways of the place, and understood pretty much all that was said to us, a few slang phrases excepted. Then began for me a marvellous life.

Self-Governing College.

I found the students living under a *Verfassung* (constitution) which had been drafted by a select committee of their number, five or six years before, adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the whole body, and approved by Mr. Fellenberg's signature. This constitution and the by-laws supplemental to it (drawn up by the same committee) were subject to amendment, Fellenberg retaining a veto; but during the three years I remained at college, scarcely any amendments were made.

This embraced the entire police of the institution. Neither the founder and president nor the faculty issued any rules or regulations. Our professors had no authority whatever except within their class-rooms. Our laws, whether defining official duties, or relating to household affairs, hours of retiring, and the like, or for the maintenance of morality, good order, cleanliness, and health, were stringent, but they were all strictly self-imposed. A breach of the laws was an offence against the Verein; and as to all such we ourselves had sole jurisdiction. I cannot doubt that Fellenberg kept unobtrusive watch over our doings; but while I remained at Hofwyl he never openly interfered with our legislation or our domestic proceedings, by veto or otherwise.

And while punishment by the college authorities held no place, as restraining motive, among us, neither was any outside stimulus or reward, or even of class rank, admitted. Emulation was limited among us to

report by M. Schefold, Commissioner of the King of Würtemberg; and various others. Sundry articles of Fellenberg himself, in German, were translated into French by Pictet, and attracted much attention. [William C. Woodbridge in the American Annals of Education made the school and views of Fellenberg widely known to American readers. See Barnard's *Journal of Education*, III., and *Swiss Pedagogy.*]

that which naturally arises among young men prosecuting the same studies. It was never artificially excited. There were no prizes or college honors, no "double-firsts" to be won; there was no acknowledged position, marked by numbers, giving precedence and conferring name and fame; there was not even the excitement of public examinations; we had no Commencement exercises that might have assembled the magnates of Switzerland to criticise or to applaud.

A dangerous experiment it would usually be pronounced; the more dangerous because of the heterogeneous materials that had come together at Hofwyl from half the nations of the world,—Swiss, Germans, Russians, Prussians, French, Dutch, Italians, Greeks, English, and I know not of what other nationalities,—some having been nursed and petted in luxury, others sent thither, probably, because their parents could not manage them at home. The difficulties were the greater on account of the comparatively late age at which students were received, many of them just from schools where teachers were considered natural enemies, where severity was the rule, and artificial reward the trusted stimulant to exertion. Yet I am witness to the fact that this hazarded experiment was an eminent success. It was a triumph in self-government. The nobler element of our nature had been appealed to, and the response was prompt and ardent.

Of course I had hardships. I was jostled and bandied about and shaken into place, roughly enough sometimes. But there was no bitterness or ill-will mixed in; that hard novitiate was wholesome, not degrading, and after some months it gradually ceased. There were no coarse incentives, no mean submissions, no selfish jealousies. There was pride, but it grew chiefly out of a sense that we were equal members of an independent, self-governing community, calling no man master or lord; Fellenberg, our president, preferred to be called, and was usually called, *Pflegevater* (foster-father). We were proud that our republic had no laws but those we ourselves had made. It had its Council of Legislation, its court of judges, its civil and military officers, and its public treasury. It had its annual elections, by ballot, at which each student had a vote; its privileges and honors equally accessible to all; its labors and duties shared by all. In its Council of Legislation laws were repealed or changed; yet our system was stable, few and not radical changes being proposed. And never, I think, were laws framed or modified with a more single eye to the public good, or more strictly obeyed by those who framed them.

Nor was this an unwilling obedience—nothing resembling that eye-service, which springs from fear or force. It was given ungrudgingly, cheerfully, honestly. It became a point of honor to conform in spirit as in letter to laws that were our own.

I do not recollect, and perhaps never knew, whether the idea of this self-regulating society originated with Fellenberg or with some of the older students. The memory of several of its founders was as gratefully cherished by us as, in the American Union, is the fame of the Revolutionary fathers. But whether the first conception was theirs or Fellenberg's, the system thence resulting was the chief lever that raised the

moral character of our college to the height at which I found it. It gave birth to public spirit and to social and civic virtues. It nurtured a conscious independence that submitted with alacrity to what it knew to be the will of the whole, and felt itself bound to submit to nothing else. It created, in an aristocratic class, young Republicans, and awakened in them that zeal for the public good which we seek too often in vain in older but not wiser communities.

Our system of rule had another wholescme ingredient. The annual election to the offices of the Verein acted indifferently as a powerful stimulus to industry and good conduct. The graduated scale of public judgment might be read as on a moral thermometer, when the result of these elections was declared. That result informed us who had risen and who had fallen in the estimate of his fellows; for it was felt that public opinion among us, enlightened and incorrupt, operated with strict justice. In that youthful commonwealth, to deserve well of the republic was to win its confidence and obtain testimonial of its approbation. I was not able to detect one sinister motive swaying the votes given—neither favoritism, nor envy, nor any selfish inducement. There was nothing even that could be called canvassing for candidates. There was quiet, dispassionate discussion of relative merits; but the one question which the elector asked himself or his neighbor was, "Who can best fill such or such an office?" And the answer to that question furnished the motive for decision. I cannot call to mind a single instance, during the years I spent at Hofwyl, in which even a suspicion of partisan cabal or other factious proceeding attached to an election among us. It can scarcely be said that there were aspirants for office. Preferment was, indeed, highly valued, as a token of public confidence, but it was not solicited, directly or indirectly; it was accepted rather as imposing duty than conferring privilege. The Lacedæmonian who, when he lost his election as one of the three hundred, went away rejoicing that there were found in Sparta three hundred better men than he, is lauded as a model of ideal virtue. Yet such virtue was matter of common occurrence and little remark at Hofwyl. There were not only one or two, but many among us, who would have sincerely rejoiced to find others, more capable than themselves, preferred to office in their stead.

All this sounds, I dare say, strangely Utopian and extravagant. As I write, it seems to myself so widely at variance with a thirty years' experience of public life, that I should scruple, at this distance of time, to record it, if I had not, forty years ago, carefully noted down my recollections while they were still fresh and trustworthy. It avails nothing to me that such things cannot be, for at Hofwyl *they were.* I describe a state of society which I saw, and part of which I was.

As partial explanation it should be stated that no patronage or salary was attached to office among us.

To our public treasury (*Armenkasse*, we called it) each contributed according to means or inclination, and the proceeds were expended exclusively for the relief of the poor. We had an overseer of the poor, he being the chairman of a committee whose duty it was to visit the indigent peasantry in the neighborhood, ascertain their wants and their

character, and afford them relief, especially in Winter. This relief was occasionally given in the form of money, more frequently of food, clothing, or furniture. In other cases, we lent them goats, selected when in milk, from a flock which we kept for that purpose. Our fund was ample, and, I think, judiciously dispensed.

The article in our Verfassung relative to moral government provided for the division of the students into six circles (*Kreis*); and for the government of these each circle elected a councillor (*Kreisrath*). These were held to be our most important officers, their jurisdiction extending to the social life and moral deportment of each member of the Kreis. This, one might imagine, would degenerate into an inquisitorial or intermeddling surveillance, but in practice it never did. Each Kreis was a band of friends, and its chief was the friend most valued and loved among them. It had its weekly meetings; and, during fine Summer weather, these were usually held in a grove (*das Wäldchen*) near by. In all my experience I remember no pleasanter gatherings than these. During the last year of my college life, I was myself a Kreisrath; and I carried home no memorial more valued than a brief letter of farewell, expressing affection and gratitude, signed by all the members of my Kreis.

These presiding officers of circles constituted a sort of grand jury, holding occasional meetings, and having the right of presentment, when any offence had come to their knowledge.

Our judiciary consisted of a bench of three judges, whose sessions were held in the principal college-hall with due formality, two sentinels, with drawn swords, guarding the doors. Its decisions were final. The punishments within its power to inflict were a vote of censure, fines, which went to the Armenkasse, deprivation of the right of suffrage, declaration of ineligibility to office, and degradation from office. This last punishment was not inflicted while I remained in the college. Trials were rare, and I do not remember one, except for some venial offence. The offender usually pleaded his own cause; but he had the right to procure a friend to act as his advocate. The first public speech I ever made was in German, in defence of a fellow-student.

The dread of public censure, thus declared by sentence after formal trial, was keenly felt, as may be judged from the following example:—

Two German princes, sons of a wealthy nobleman, the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, having been furnished by their father with a larger allowance of pocket-money than they could legitimately spend at Hofwyl, fell upon a somewhat irregular mode of using part of it. Now and then they would get up of nights, after all their comrades had gone to bed, and proceed to the neighboring village of Buchsee, there to spend an hour or two in a tavern, smoking, and drinking lager-beer.

Now, we had no strict college bounds and no prohibition against entering a tavern, though we knew that M. de Fellenberg objected to our contracting the habit of visiting such places. Our practice on Sundays may illustrate this. That day was strictly kept and devoted to religious exercises, until mid-day, when we dined. After dinner it was given up to recreation; and our favorite recreation was, to form into parties of two or three, and sally forth, stout stick in hand, on excursions of many miles into the

beautiful, richly cultivated country that surrounded us, often ascending some eminence which commanded a view of the magnificent Bernese Alps, their summits covered with eternal snow. It sometimes happened that, on such excursions, we were overtaken by a storm; or perhaps, having wandered farther than we intended, we were tired and hungry. In either case we did not scruple to enter some country tavern and procure refreshments there. But whenever we did so, it was a custom—not a prescribed law, but a custom sanctioned by college tradition—to visit, on our return, the professor who overlooked the domestic department of our institution—a short, stout, middle-aged man, the picture of good nature, but not deficient in energy when occasion demanded—it was our uniform custom to call upon this gentleman, Herr Lippe, and inform him that we *had* visited such or such a tavern, and the occasion of our doing so. A benignant smile, and his usual "It is very well, my sons," closed such interviews.

But the use of tobacco—strange, in a German college!—was forbidden by our rules; so also was a departure, after the usual hour of rest, from the college buildings, except for good reason shown. Thus Max and Fritz Taxis (so the youths were called) had become offenders amenable to justice.

The irregularity of which they had been guilty—the only one of the kind which I recollect—became known accidentally to one of the students. There existed among us not even the name of informer; but it was considered a duty to give notice to the proper authorities of any breach of law. Accordingly the fact was communicated by the student to his Kreisrath, who thereupon called his colleagues in office together. Having satisfied themselves as to the facts, they presented Max and Fritz for breach of law. The brothers were then officially notified that, on the second day thereafter, their case would be brought up before the Tribunal of Justice, and they would be heard in defence.

Max, the elder, held some minor office; and the sentence would probably have been a vote of censure, or a fine for both, and a dismissal from office in his (Max's) case. But it would seem that this was more than they could make up their minds to bear. Accordingly, the night before trial, they decamped secretly, hired a *post-kalesche* at Buchsee, and, being well provided with money, returned to their parents.

We afterwards ascertained that our president did not send after them, in pursuit or otherwise, not even writing to their parents, but quietly suffering the fugitives to tell their own story in their own way.

The result was that, in a few weeks, the father came, bringing with him the runaways, and asking, as a favor, that M. de Fellenberg would once more take them on probation, which he very willingly did. They were received by us with kindness, and no allusion was ever made to the cause of their absence. They remained years, quiet and law-abiding members of our Verein, but neither attained to any office of trust again.

There was, in addition, supplementary to the college, at Diemerswyl, a few miles from Hofwyl, a primary school, for boys up to the age of thirteen or fourteen; but there was little intercourse between us and them.

The habits and tone of all these establishments seemed to have been colored by their founder's democratic leanings. The Vehrli boys, though always respectful, had a look of bright, spirited independence about them. Among us students, in spite of what might have been disturbing causes, the strictest equality prevailed.

Though our habits were simple, the college was an expensive one, our annual bills, everything included, running up to some fifteen hundred dollars each; and thus those only, with few exceptions, could obtain admission whose parents had ample means; the exceptions being the sons of a few of Fellenberg's Swiss friends, in moderate circumstances, whom, when they showed great promise, he admitted with little or no charge. We had among us many of the nobility of the Continent—dukes, princes, some of them related to crowned heads, and minor nobles by the dozen; yet between them and others, including the recipients of Fellenberg's bounty, there was nothing, in word or bearing, to mark difference of rank.

No one was ever addressed by his title; and to the tuft-hunters of English universities it will appear scarcely credible that I lived several weeks among my college mates before I accidentally learned who were the princes and other nobles, and who the objects of Fellenberg's charity; my informant being my friend Bressler.

"Carl," said I one day, "what's become of all the nobility you used to have here? I heard, before I came, that there was quite a number."

"Why," said he, smiling, "they're all here still."

"Indeed! Which are they?"

"See if you can't guess."

I named several who had appeared to me to have the greatest consideration among the other students.

"Out!" said he, laughing; "these are all sons of merchants and commoners. Try your hand again."

I did so, with no better success. Then he named, to my surprise, several young men who had seemed to me to command little influence or respect; among them, two sons of the Duke of Hilburghausen, the two princes of Thurn and Taxis, and three or four Russian princes; at which last item a good-natured young fellow named Stösser, a room-mate of ours, looked up from his desk and laughed, but said nothing. "Then," added Bressler, "there's Alexander; he's another prince, nephew of the King of Würtemberg." I had especially observed that this young man was coldly treated—indeed, avoided rather than sought—by his companions.

A few days later I obtained two additional items. Bressler had said nothing to me of himself as having a title, nor did I suppose he had any; but I happened to see, on his desk, a letter addressed, "A Monsieur le Comte Charles de Bressler." *Stösser* I found to be a nickname (literally *Folter*, from a sort of pounding gait he had); and the youth who bore it turned out to be a Russian prince, grandson of a celebrated general, Catherine's Suwarow. Bressler had told me that there *were* two young Suwarows, but left me to find out that our room-mate was one of them. He (Stösser) had charge of our flock of goats, above referred to; and he took to the office very kindly.

And, as of rank, so of religion; neither introduced among us any disturbing element. We had Protestants, Catholics, members of the Greek Church, and members of no church at all; but I recollect not a single word, nor other evidence of feeling, indicating any shade of coldness or aversion, which had rise in theological differences. It might have puzzled me, after a three years' residence, to call to mind whether those with whom I was intimate as with my own brother were Protestants, or Catholics, or neither; and long ere this I have quite forgotten. We never debated controversial points of belief. M. de Fellenberg read to us occasional lectures on religion; but they were liberal in tone, and practical, not doctrinal; embracing those essentials which belong to all Christian sects, and thus suiting Protestants and Catholics alike. The Catholics, it is true, had, from time to time, a priest who came, in a quiet way, to confess them, and, no doubt, to urge strict observance of the weekly fast; yet we of the Protestant persuasion used, I believe, to eat as much fish and as many frogs on Fridays as they.

So, also, as to the various nationalities that made up our corps of students; it caused no dispute, it gave rise to no unkindness. Duels, common in most of the German universities, were an unheard-of absurdity; quarrels ending in blows were scarcely known among us. I recall but two, both of which were quickly arrested by the bystanders, who felt their college dishonored by such an exhibition. One of these was commenced by a youth fresh from an English school. The other occurred one evening, in a private room, between a fiery Prussian count and a sturdy Swiss. When the dispute grew warm, we pounced upon the combatants, carried them off, each to his own room, on our shoulders, and there, with a hearty laugh at their folly, set them down to cool. It was so good-humoredly done, that they could not help joining in the merriment.

I have heard much of the manliness supposed to grow out of the English habit of settling school quarrels by boxing. But I do not think it would have been a safe experiment for one of these pugilistic young gentlemen to insult a Hofwyl student, even though the manhood of the latter had never been tested by pounding another's face with his fist. His anger, when roused, is most to be dreaded who so bears himself as to give no one just cause of offence.

Our course of instruction included the study of the Greek, Latin, French, and German languages, the last of which was the language of the college; history, natural philosophy, chemistry, mechanics; mathematics, a thorough course, embracing the highest branches; drawing, in the senior class, from busts and models; music, vocal and instrumental; and finally gymnastics, riding, and fencing. There was a riding-school with a considerable stable of horses attached; and the higher classes were in the habit of riding out once a week with M. de Fellenberg, many of whose practical life-lessons, given as I rode by his side during these pleasant excursions, I well remember yet; for example, a recommendation to use superlatives sparingly, in speech and writing, reserving them for occasions where they were needed and in place.

The number of professors was large compared to that of the taught, being from twenty-five to thirty; and the classes were small, containing

from ten to fifteen. Twice or thrice only, during the term of my residence, one of the students, on account of repeated inattention during a recitation, was requested by the professor to leave the room. But this was quite an event to be talked of for a week. No expulsion occurred while I was there. I do not myself remember to have received, either from M. de Fellenberg or from any of the faculty, a single harsh word during the happy years I spent at Hofwyl.

Latin and Greek, though thoroughly taught, did not engross as much attention as in most colleges. Not more time was given to each than to ancient and modern history, and less than to mathematics. This last, a special object of study, was taught by extempore lectures, of which we took notes in short-hand; and in after years, when details and demonstrations had faded from memory, I have never found difficulty in working these out afresh, without aid from books.

Athletic Games—Foot Excursions.

Our recreations consisted of public games, athletic exercises, gymnastics, and—what was prized above all—an annual excursion on foot, lasting about six weeks.

A favorite amusement in the way of athletic exercise was throwing the lance (*Lanzenwerfen*). The weapons used were stout ashen spears, six or seven feet long, heavily pointed with iron; the target a squared log of hard wood, firmly set in the ground, about six feet high—the upper portion, or head, which it was the chief object to hit, a separate block, attached to the trunk by stout hinges. A dozen or more engaged in it at a time, divided into two sides; and the points gained by each stroke were reckoned according to power and accuracy. We attained great skill in this exercise.

We had a fencing-master, and took lessons twice a week in the use of the rapier, skill in the management of which was then considered, throughout Continental Europe, indispensable in the education of a gentleman. There are many swordsmen in the upper classes who need not have feared any ordinary antagonist. I was exceedingly fond of this exercise; and I suppose our teacher may have thought me his best pupil, for he said to me one day, "Herr Owen, I expect a friend of mine, who is professor of fencing in Zurich, to visit me in a few days. He will expect, of course, to try his hand with some of the class, and I've chosen you to represent us. If you don't hit him first, I'll never forgive you."

"I think that's hard measure," I replied; "he has made fencing the business of his life, and I haven't taken lessons three years yet."

"I don't care. I know his strength. I'd be ashamed not to turn out a pupil who could beat him."

I told him I would do my best. He let me into his visitor's play, as he called it, warning me of the feints likely to be employed against me. Yet I think it was by good fortune rather than skill that I made the first hit. Our professor assumed to take it as a matter of accident, yet I could see that he was triumphant.

Much has been said for and against gymnastic exercises. We spent an hour a day, just before dinner, in the gymnasium. And this experience

causes me to regard these exercises, judiciously conducted, as essential to a complete system of education. They induce a vigor, an address, a hardihood, a presence of mind in danger, difficult of attainment without them. While they fortify the general health, they strengthen the nerves; and their mental and moral influence is great. I know that, in my case, they tended to equalize the spirits, to invigorate the intellect, and to calm the temper. I left Hofwyl, not only perfectly well, but athletic.

Our annual excursions, undertaken, in the autumn of that bright and beautiful climate, by those students who, like myself, were too far from home to return thither during the holidays, were looked forward to, weeks beforehand, with brilliant anticipations of pleasure; which, strange to say, were realized. Our favorite professor, Herr Lippe, accompanied us; our number being commonly from thirty to thirty-five.

It was usually about the first of August that, clad in the plain student uniform of the college, knapsack on shoulder, and long, iron-shod mountain-staff (*alpenstock*) in hand, we sallied forth, an exultant party, on "the journey," as we called it. Before our departure Herr Lippe, at a public meeting, had chalked out for us the intended route; and when we found, as on two occasions we did, that it was to extend beyond the valleys and mountain passes of Switzerland to the lakes of Northern Italy, our enthusiasm burst forth in a tumult of applause.

Our day's journey, usually eighteen or twenty miles, sometimes extended to twenty-five or more. We breakfasted early, walked till mid-day; then sought some shady nook where we could enjoy a lunch of bread and wine, with grapes or goat's-milk cheese, when such luxuries could be had. Then we despatched in advance some of our swiftest pedestrians, as commissariat of the party, to order supper preparatory to our arrival. How joyfully we sat down to that evening meal! How we talked over the events of the day, the magnificent scenes we had witnessed, the little adventures we had met! The small country taverns seldom furnished more than six or eight beds; so that three-fourths of our number usually slept in some barn, well supplied with hay or straw. How soundly we slept, and how merry the awaking!

Throughout the term of these charming excursions the strictest order was observed. And herein was evinced the power of that honorable party spirit which imposed on every one of us a certain charge as to the good conduct of the whole—making each, as it were, alive to the faults and responsible for the shortcomings of our little community. Rude noise, unseemly confusion, the least approach to dissipation at a tavern, or any other violation of propriety on the road, would have been considered an insult to the college. And thus it happened that we established, throughout Switzerland, a character for decorum such as no other institution ever obtained.

While I live, the golden memories of our college, as it once was, can never fade. With me they have left a blessing—a belief which existing abuses cannot shake nor worldly scepticism destroy, an abiding faith in human virtue and in social progress.

ENGLISH HOME LIFE AND EDUCATION.

THE EVELYN FAMILY.*

Mrs. Evelyn, the daughter of Sir Richard Browne, and wife of William Evelyn, the central figure in this sketch of English Home Life in the 17th Century, was not called to the performance of deeds of heroism, nor was she distinguished for her learning or shining talents. She possessed an amiable disposition, good sense, and a cultivated understanding, united with a sincere and simple piety—'qualities which made her the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, a desirable neighbor and friend in all parts of her life.' She was born at the English Embassy at Paris, in 1635.

Her childhood passed happily in the brightest capital in Europe, where her father, Sir Richard Browne, resided as English Ambassador; and to it she always looked back with grateful attachment. Here she was tended with all the care a gentle fate could assign to the only child of good, tender, and pious parents, and here it was that she was early seen and admired by the excellent and accomplished Mr. Evelyn; himself described as 'one of the best and most dignified specimens of the old English country gentleman.' Unshaken in his fidelity to a falling cause, when that cause became again triumphant he never condescended to bow the knee to wickedness in high places. Indeed, it may be presumed that his loyalty must at last have partaken pretty much of the character of Horace Walpole's patriotism, who, when the patriots of his day were boring the *dilettante* statesman with, 'Sure, Mr. Walpole, you love your country!' replied, 'that he believed he should love his country very well, if it were not for his countrymen.' So it may be suspected that Evelyn would have supported the Royal cause with still more ardor than he did, had it not been for some royalists.

Although he trailed a pike at Gennep, and joined the King's army at Brentford, yet on the day on which was fought 'the signal battle of Edge Hill,' after having seen Portsmouth delivered up to Sir

* Abridged from '*The English Home Life of English Ladies in the 17th Century.*' By the author of 'Magdalen Stafford.' London: Bell & Daldy.

William Waller, he was able to make a careful archæological survey of the city of Winchester, calmly noting its castle, church, school, and King Arthur's Round Table. Thus devoted to the pursuits of peace, it is no wonder that he shortly afterward quitted a land divided by civil warfare. After exhausting the sights of Paris, he sailed to Genoa, inhaled the perfumed breath of the South, lost himself in the sunny mazes of Italian gardens, gazed with curious eye on the treasures of Florentine galleries, wandered through princely palaces, heard the Pope say mass at Rome on Christmas Day, climbed Vesuvius, and glided through the voiceless streets of Venice. Then, having declined the honor of a degree offered to him by the University of Padua, and passed, with exceeding pleasure, through 'the Paradise of Lombardy,' he set his face homeward, returning by Geneva to Paris. Farther, for awhile, he did not proceed; and there, the only time in his whole life, as he tells us, lived 'most idly.'

We all know the indigenous growth of such a soil—love, in idleness, of a necessity, sprang up. It was no idle passion, however, with which the daughter of Sir Richard Browne inspired him, though he was at this time seven-and-twenty; and she, the age of 'one of Shakspeare's women,' not yet fourteen.

Early in the year we find him changing his lodgings from the Place de M. de Metz, near the Abbey of St. Germain, to one in the Rue Columbier, doubtless to bring him nearer to 'Rue Farrene,' where the English Ambassador resided, and of which the pleasant situation lingered long in the memory of the Ambassador's daughter. Nay, as spring advanced, he began learning the lute, though to small perfection; a symptom which we take to be something like Benedict's 'brushing his hat o' mornings.' Later, his valet, Herbert, robbing him of clothes and plate to the value of threescore pounds, his effects were recovered for him by the good offices of Sir Richard Browne; for whose lady and family, when mentioning the circumstance, he acknowledges he had contracted a great friendship; having particularly set his affections on their daughter. His suit found favor with the Ambassador and his lady; and in her declining days their child recorded her gratitude to those who had placed her in such worthy hands. Accordingly, on Corpus Christi Day, 1647, when the houses were hung with tapestry, and the streets strown with flowers, amidst all the glitter and gaiety of a Paris *fête*, the marriage vows were taken in the Chapel of the Embassy, before Dr. Earle, afterward Bishop of Salisbury. Three months after this

Evelyn quitted Paris for England, leaving his wife, 'still very young, under the care of an excellent lady, and prudent mother.'

Young she certainly was; her studies, it may be, somewhat incomplete, and her habits unfixed. But circumstances, after all, are our great instructors, and the brief spring-tide of her youth had been passed amid such as would not fail to impress a thoughtful nature with a serious view of life and its responsibilities. Her eyes had early been accustomed to look on scenes of suffering solaced by benevolence, and of trial sustained with fortitude. Her mother's house was an asylum for her exiled countrymen, as well as an hospital for the sick and needy. For many years of their residence in Paris they were subjected to the direst want of money, and precious lessons are those that are taught in the school of poverty. In a letter of Sir Richard Browne's to Lord Digby, dated 1644, he declares that, 'unless he is supplied with money, inevitable ruin must befall him.'

Mrs. Evelyn was still residing in her father's house when Sir Richard's landlord threatened to seize on his goods, the rent having been for some time due, and he being without means of satisfying him. Charles himself was at this time besieged by butchers, bakers, brewers, and other tradesmen. Hyde was often puzzled how to pay the postage of his state correspondence. Neither to the King, then, nor to his Chancellor of the Exchequer, could the Ambassador apply for assistance, and he was at last obliged to Sir Richard Foster for helping him out of his difficulties.

But household cares would be lightly met in those times, in which the vail of conventionality was rudely torn aside from life. Delicate women learnt to endure hardship; the timorous cast aside their fears. They came forth to head the defense of a beleagured castle, or to conduct in safety some precious and imperiled life through the threatening dangers of surrounding foes, as though these were the ordinary avocations of their condition; so calmly and with so little self-consciousness were their deeds of heroism accomplished. In such seasons of revolution, whether of thought or society, or of government, it is indeed 'impossible to be young, and to be indifferent.'

Paris was strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé, and Sir Richard Browne and his family shared in all the discomfort and annoyance, if not the dangers, of the siege, and 'the letter of consolation,' written by Evelyn to his wife at this time, must have been especially welcome. This was in February, 1649. They did not

meet again until the following August, after a separation of a year and a half.

Evelyn's presence in England was necessary for the sake of his own affairs, and those of his father-in-law, at whose house, Sayes Court, he spent much of his time, having a lodging and some books there. Mighty changes had been accomplished during the period of his sojourn there. Charles's head had fallen by the hands of his subjects, and 'unkingship was proclaimed in England.'

The faithful few who still acknowledged a King of England now sought him at St. Germain, whither Evelyn, soon after his return to Paris, proceeded, to kiss his Majesty's hand, being conveyed there in my Lord Wilmot's coach, their party including Mrs. Barlow, the mother of the Duke of Monmouth. It was in better company than that of the 'brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature,' whom in those few words he has so graphically described, that his next visit to the English court was paid. For his wife and cousin accompanied him to kiss the Queen Mother's hand, and they dined there with my Lord Keeper and Lord Hatton.

At the Louvre in the following month they visited one of the heroines, whose great qualities the misfortunes of the times had called into action. Lady Morton now resided there, the widow of Robert, Earl of Morton, and governess to the Princess Henrietta, who, a fortnight after her birth, had been committed to her care by her ill-fated mother, when compelled to flee from Exeter by the approach of the Earl of Essex. Lady Morton remained in the threatened city, until its relief by the royal army; when she had the joy of laying the infant for the first time, and, as it proved, the last, in the father's arms; for Charles never again saw the child, who was baptized, according to his desire, by the name of Henrietta Anne.

From Exeter Lady Morton removed with the Princess to Oatlands; but in the course of the following year, she was ordered by the Parliament to resign her charge to the Countess of Northumberland, with whom the other royal children were placed. On this she resolved to escape into France where Henrietta Maria now resided, and to restore the princess to her mother, by whom she had been first consigned to her, and to whom alone she could feel justified in resigning her.

From Oatlands to Dover her journey was accomplished on foot; and as the utmost secrecy was requisite to insure the success of her plan, a disguise was of necessity adopted. Lady Morton accordingly assumed the dress of a poor French woman; but even this homely garb could not conceal her grace and loveliness;

> 'As shines the moon in clouded skies,
> She in her poor attire was seen:
> One praised her ancles, one her eyes,
> One her dark hair and lovesome mien.'

The beauty which poverty and rags could not vail, she was obliged to subject to an eclipse; and adjusting an artificial hump on her shoulder, she dressed her little princess as a beggar-boy, and thus disfigured and disguised escaped without detection; and

> ——— through the guards, the river, and the sea,
> Faith, Beauty, Wit, and Courage made their way.

The fair company thus revealed to the poet's eye, to the common wayfarer appeared only in the guise of a deformed French beggar-woman, with her little boy Pierre, whom she carried on her back as she walked bravely along to Dover; the child, much to her alarm, though scarcely less to her amusement, indignantly repudiating the the character she was compelled to assume, and declaring to all they met that she was a Princess, and not Pierre, the beggar-boy.

Happily her royal highness's explanations were not very intelligible, and her pronunciation of princess so closely resembled the name bestowed on her by her guardian (who had indeed selected it for that reason), that they were allowed to pursue their way unmolested, until, arrived in France, their dangers were over, and the Princess resumed her rank, and Lady Morton her beauty. Proceeding to Paris, the one was received into the rapturous embraces of her mother, the other found herself the object of praise and admiration for her noble daring and devoted fidelity. Sir Thomas Berkeley sought her hand, and it is said never forgave Clarendon, (who had a great friendship for her, and by whose advice she acted,) for her rejection of his suit. Waller sung her praises in an ode presented by him to the Queen at the Louvre, on New Year's Day, 1647, in which he thus addressed her:

> But thus to style you fair, your sex's praise,
> Gives you but myrtle who may challenge bays
> From armed foes to bring a royal prize
> Shows your brave heart victorious as your eyes.
> If Judith, marching with the general's head,
> Can give us passion when her story's read,
> What may the living do, which brought away
> Though a less bloody, but a nobler prey—
> Who from our flaming Troy, with a bold hand,
> Snatch'd her fair charge, the princess, like a brand?—
> A brand preserved to warm some prince's heart,
> And make whole kingdoms take her brother's part.

Waller, who, having 'praised some whom he would have been afraid to marry,' was now 'married to one whom he would have been ashamed to praise,' lived on terms of great intimacy with the

Evelyns; and to one of his children Mrs. Evelyn stood sponsor. But her little god-daughter did not long survive, either to follow her example or to need her cares. She died in her infancy, and was brought from St. Germain, where her parents were residing, to Paris, that she might be buried with the religious rites of the Church of England.

Christenings in those days were expensive ceremonies to all concerned in them. Evelyn records how, when last in England, he stood godfather to a little niece, on whom he bestowed the same name as that borne by his wife, Mary, and presented to the child a piece of plate of the value of £18, with an elaborate Latin inscription of his own composition engraved on it. Again in Paris, he relates how Sir Hugh Rilie, being too poor to provide sponsors for his child, he and other friends drew lots who should offer themselves for that office. We may remember, too, how the thrifty Pepys, putting the spoons in his pocket that he designed as a present for his godchild, brought them home again, well pleased at having escaped the compliment, and the expense it entailed, of being requested to name the child at the font.

[In 1650, Evelyn again crossed to England, but returned to France after a short absence. The battle of Worcester settled the government of the country contrary to his wishes, but he accepted the situation and arranged to take his wife to Sayes Court. On her way she made a visit to Penshurst, and was present at the second nuptials of the Countess of Sutherland.]

Sayes Court.

Amidst broad, flat meadows, stretching toward the banks of the Thames, and shadowed by a few old hollow elms, and a standard holly or two, stood the Manor-house of West Greenwich or Deptford. Sayes Court was so called after the family into whose hands it had passed from those of the Knight on whom it had been bestowed by William the Conqueror. Geoffrey de Say had, in the fervor of crusading zeal, presented it to the Knights Templars; but his descendants, after awhile, resumed the gift. It had for many years been held under the crown by the family of Browne, in whose pasture the cattle, supplied from the remoter provinces for the use of the king's household, were fed.

Never a large estate, it was during the Commonwealth greatly curtailed in its dimensions. The Parliament had left the present owner but sixty acres attached to the dwelling. This was a long, low house, two stories high, with mullioned windows, and pointed

gables. Adjoining it was a small garden ; the stables were attached to the house ; and near was a barn, constructed entirely of beams of chestnut wood. An old orchard lay on one side, bounded by one of the barn closes. The other meadow, (the whole of the pasture being thus divided,) lay between the barn and a field called Bradmarsh—a name ominously suggestive of river-damps. The situation was, however, remarkably warm and dry. The house was much out of repair, and its interior accommodations seem curiously insufficient for a person of Sir Richard Browne's position. In the survey of the manor, before its sale by the Parliament, they are thus described :—'The ground-floor consisted of one hall, one parlor, one kitchen, one buttery, one larder with a dairy-house, also one chamber and three cellars. In the second story, eight chambers, with four closets and three garrets.' The Manor-house, garden, orchard, and court-yards contained together two acres, two roods, sixteen perches.

Such was the home to which Evelyn brought his wife, from Penshurst, in the month of July, 1652, having somewhat inured her, after her long residence on the continent, to the more somber skies, and less facile manners of her native land. But that desolate old mansion, with its ragged borders and gnarled trees, was destined to become the resort of royalty itself; and its name is dear even in the present day to all who 'in trim gardens take their pleasure.' Sayes Court, descending to Mrs. Evelyn by inheritance, was during her father's lifetime given up to her husband. And he, excluded as much by his tastes as by his political principles from public employment, and shrinking from a career of fashionable trifling, followed the bent of his own happy inclinations in devoting himself to the improvement of his estate.

Under his skillful hands the garden became a 'pleasaunce' such as a poet might dream of. Such a one it was, in situation at least, as that sweet scene where dwelt the 'Gardener's Daughter'—

> Not wholly in the busy world, nor quite
> Beyond it.

To its embelishment were added many of those quaint contrivances which were the fashion of the day, and especial objects of Evelyn's admiration. Labyrinths involved the visitor in puzzling mazes. A perspective lengthened a broad terrace walk. Statues glimmered amongst the laurels, and fountains glittered in the sun. The flower knots blazed with many a choice treasure, the borders were gay with blossoms of homely growth;—

> And all the turf was rich in plots, that looked
> Each like a garnet or a turkis in it.

To the culture and care of their garden Mrs. Evelyn devoted much attention. 'Your Flora,' she was designated by one of her husband's classic correspondents. But not for ornamental purposes only it claimed her attention. Damask roses, violets, gilly-flowers, and a thousand other sweets yielded their essences for perfumes, cordials, and conserves in the sacred precincts of the still-room; whilst 'the plenty, riches, and variety of the sallet-garden' were held by her in high esteem. But the chief glory of the grounds consisted in the trees and choice shrubs planted there by Evelyn, and on which in the 'Sylva' he so lovingly dilates. Here were cedars from Libanus, and mulberries from Languedoc. The *arbor vitæ* mingled its somber tints with those of the juniper and cypress that surrounded the grass plots with an impervious barrier. A plane tree spread its broad shade on one hand, on the other the chestnut reared its pyramids of milky bloom. The dark, polished masses of the ilex caught and reflected back each blink of sunshine, whilst tall hedges of alaternus and phillyrea closed in the *parterre.* Orange trees and myrtles perfumed the summer evenings with their balmy sighs; the crimson flushed pomegranate flourished in the open air; and the jasmine led its snowy wreaths around the stone work of the house: but stately beyond all was seen that 'glorious holly hedge, blushing with its clusters of natural coral.' Even when these were wanting, an equivalent might be found in the transparent fruit of the cornelian cherry, or, better still, in a warm grove where a store of mountain ash were springing, 'of singular beauty,' contrived not only to delight the eye, but to soothe the ear; for thither were multitudes of thrushes attracted by the scarlet berries that decked the boughs.

The house was enlarged, 'elegantly set off with ornaments, and quaint mottoes at most turns.' A study, laboratory, and chapel, besides servants' offices, were added. But the best reception-room, the fairest saloon, was without the walls, carpeted with green turf, and canopied with the blue vault of heaven. For the garden in those days was, as Sir Walter Scott observes, 'often used as a sort of chapel of ease to the apartments within doors, and afforded opportunities for the society, after the early dinner of our ancestors, to enjoy the evening in the cool fragrance of walks and bowers. Hence the dispersed groups which Watteau and others set forth as perambulating the highly ornamented scenes, which those artists took pleasure in painting.'

They are not, however, exactly Watteau-like figures that we imagine as animating the walks and terraces of the oval garden, which replaced the rude orchard that formerly stretched between the house and meadows. Beneath a tall cypress, shorn into a pyramid, might be seen the noble form of the ejected rector of Uppingham—his calm brow unshadowed by the faintest cloud of gloom as he surveys the signs of affluence and enjoyment that surround him—serenely content under poverty and neglect. Holding in his hand, and gazing upon him with that loving veneration with which children acknowledge the presence of a saint, is a bright-faced boy, intelligent beyond his years: his gleaming eyes, his lip quivering with the eager answer that springs there so readily, the eloquent blood speaking in his cheek, all mark him as one not long destined for an inhabitant of this lower world. By gentle answer, or more subtle query, Dr. Jeremy Taylor draws on his young companion to high and holy themes; all the time, it may be, thinking sadly of a little child of his own—a boy who had lately made him very glad, but for whom he is now in heaviness. Or, shrinking like some delicate exotic from the breath of evening that blows fresh from the river, Robert Boyle may be found pacing beneath the holly hedge with his host, where they converse together 'on serious thoughts abstruse.' Waiting until their argument is concluded, Mr. Pepys looks round with much outward respect, but with some secret contempt, on the novelties and contrivances by which he is surrounded;—the aviary, where the old Marquis of Argyle took the turtle-doves for owls; or, the glass hives, in the sunny corner by the herb bed, sent by Dr. Wilkins from Oxford. Or, we may imagine amongst such scenes the grave brow of Lady Ranelagh, the Hebrew scholar and student of prophecy, contracting with incredulous wonder at the strange stories told her by a tall, graceful cavalier, looking like a Knight of King Arthur's Court, and talking like Baron Munchausen. But the truth of one of Sir Kenelm Digby's marvelous narratives (relating to a remarkable barnacle goose tree flourishing in the isle of Jersey) is calmly confirmed by Lady Fanshawe, who is on a visit to her relatives at Sayes Court. Then, resuming her conversation with Mrs. Evelyn, she continues her description of that fair garden of Sir Henry Fanshawe, that once bloomed near Ware; in which 'he did so precisely examine the tinctures and seasons of his flowers, that in their settings, the inwardest of those that were to come up at the same time, should be always a little darker than the utmost, and so serve them for a kind of gentle shadow, like a

piece not of Nature but of Art.' But apart from these, wandering amongst the flower knots, now stooping to inhale the perfume of a tuberose, now pondering over the markings of a martagon lily, is Abraham Cowley, whose love for 'the delicious toil,' in which he himself so delighted, endeared him to Evelyn, whose neighbor he was. With pensive wistfulness he contemplates the scene before him, including in itself his utmost worldly desire—'a small house and a large garden.' It may be the first idea is suggesting itself to his mind of that charming Ode in which he has commemorated the felicity of his friends:—

> 'Happy art thou, whom God does bless
> With the full choice of thine own Happiness
> And happier yet, because thou'rt blest
> With Prudence, how to choose the best:
> In Books and Gardens thou hast plac'd aright
> (Things which thou well dost understand,
> And both dost make with thy laborious Hand)
> Thy noble innocent delight:
> And in thy virtuous Wife, where thou again dost meet
> Both Pleasures more refin'd and sweet:
> The fairest Garden in her Looks,
> And in her mind the wisest Books.
> Oh! who would change these soft and solid Joys,
> For empty Shows, and senseless Noise;
> And all which rank Ambition breeds,
> Which seem such beauteous Flow'rs, and are such
> poisonous weeds?'

But turning from these 'trim walks and shady alleys green,' to the interior of the mansion, we find that Sayes Court, small as its dimensions appear to modern notions, for some time accommodated two families. A brother of Lady Browne, in whose care it had been left during her husband's absence at the court of France, continued to reside there with his family for nearly three years after it had become his niece's home. Such arrangements were by no means uncommon. Indeed, the most usual plan appears to have been for young married persons to live for some years with the relatives of either the husband or wife. The Duchess of Newcastle's brothers and sisters, after their respective marriages, continued to make their mother's house their home. The father of Bulstrode Whitelocke had, as part of his wife portion, his board found him gratis for a year and a half by her mother. The Countess of Warwick, in her autobiography, gives an amusing description of the dismay with which her mother-in-law fled from her approach; the poor lady having suffered so much at the hands of Lady Rich, wife of the eldest son, 'as almost to have come to a resolution of never more living with any daughter-in-law.'

The extreme youth of the parties between whom marriages were often contracted, rendered such a custom, in many cases, quite necessary. For in those days the care of a house was considered far too arduous an undertaking to be committed to the unpracticed hands of a child-bride. She was expected to take on herself the government, as well as to accept the services, of those who attended on her; and, like the virtuous woman in the Proverbs, was called on 'to give meat to her household and a portion to her maidens.' There was, perhaps, a truer idea of family life prevailing then than that which now exists. Far from being regarded as 'necessary evils,' servants were essentially members of the family they served, by whom they were admitted into familiar intercourse, and of whose sympathy they were well assured. Instead of being bound as hirelings by mere mercenary considerations, their interests became identified with those of their employers, who always superintended, and often shared their labors. The different class from which the domestic servants of the higher ranks were taken, rendered easy in those days what would be less practicable in these. 'There was then,' says Bishop Heber, 'no supposed humiliation in offices which are now accounted menial, but which the peer received as a matter of course from the "gentlemen of his household," and which were paid to the knights or gentlemen by domestics, chosen in the families of their own most respectable tenants; whilst in the humbler ranks of middle life it was the uniform and recognized duty of the wife to wait on her husband, the child on his parents, the youngest of the family on his elder brothers and sisters.'

Perhaps in some respects we are not altogether gainers by the progress of society.

Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, for all her threefold title, was accustomed to divert herself by familiar conversations with her servants, looking even on the lowest amongst them as her humble friends. In the same light were they regarded by the gentle Countess of Suffolk, of whom it is said, 'that her servants fared not the worse for the inferiority of their stations; she was as tender of their errors as she was of those of her friends.' She would endure any inconvenience rather than suffer them by equivocation to excuse her from the necessity of receiving company, or to seek themselves to escape from the performance of some distasteful duty. The unhappy wife of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who, surviving her husband, lived to the middle of the century, though ruling her household with all the rigidity that might be an-

ticipated from her ascetic nature, was yet very well content that her servants should all have convenient sport and recreation, with this proviso, that it was in due time and place. But there was no idleness permitted in that house. Her gentlewomen and chambermaids were kept in constant employment for the service of the church. Embroidery and lace work filled up their time. To rescue the rest of the establishment from the devices found 'for idle hands to do,' there constantly resided in the house a person skilled in carpet work, to whose assistance all, who found themselves with a spare half hour at their disposal, were sent. We may imagine the vigilance required to enable the old Countess to carry out these arrangements. Very slight acquaintance with the domestic manners of the century will convince us, that personal superintendence of the household was considered essentially the duty of the lady of the house. That it would be well if in the present day such a conviction prevailed, is the opinion of one whose words can not fail to be listened to with respectful attention. 'Don't imagine,' says Miss Nightingale, 'that if you, who are in charge, don't look to all these things yourself, those under you will be more careful than you are. It appears as if the part of a mistress now is, to complain of her servants, and to accept their excuses; not to show them how there need be neither complaints made nor excuses. It is often said,' she continues, 'that there are few good servants now. I say there are few good mistresses now. . . . They seem to think the house is in charge of itself. They neither know how to give orders, nor how to teach their servants to obey orders, that is, to obey intelligently, which is the real meaning of all discipline.'

When a family had any respect for religion, the domestics were as seduously trained to its observances as the children of the house. The weekly or monthly catechist attended to supply religious instruction in some houses; in others the servants were required on Sunday evening to repeat all they could remember of the morning discourse. Lady Langham used to call her maids early in the morning, that she might be sure of their having time enough for their private devotions, before she required their attendance upon herself. And Lady Alice Lucy was accustomed to leave her own apartment to join in the psalms and hymns, with which her men and maids used to make the old halls of Charlecot resound at night.

As we should count up a lady's accomplishments, and include logic and leather work, music and mathematics, so the Duchess of Newcastle, amongst 'such works as ladies use to pass their time

withal,' enumerated:—'Needleworks, spinning works, preserving works, as also baking, and cooking works, as making cakes, pies, puddings, and the like.'

After the Restoration had swept its tide of dissipation and disorder through the land, Evelyn, looking back with regret upon the simple manners that prevailed in his younger days, and which were now fast fading away, thus described old-fashioned country life:—'Men courted and chose their wives for their modesty, frugality, keeping at home, good housewifery, and other economical virtues, then in reputation; and the young damsels were taught all these in the country, and at their parents' houses.

'The virgins and young ladies of that golden age (vexed the wool and flax) put their hands to the spindle, nor disdained they the needle; were obsequious and helpful to their parents, instructed in the managery of the family, and gave presages of making excellent wives. Their retirements were devout and religious books, and their recreations in the distillatory, the knowledge of plants and their virtues for the comfort of their poor neighbors and use of their family, which wholesome, plain diet, and kitchen physic preserved in perfect health.'

But, that attention to household cares was not of necessity opposed to more intellectual pursuits or refined tastes, Mrs. Evelyn also gave evidence. The illustration designed by her for her husband's translation of Lucretius proves not only her artistic skill, but the sympathy she showed, and the share she took in the pursuits that gave him pleasure. She was acquainted with both the French and Italian languages, and of her enamel and other paintings Ralph Thoresby speaks with great admiration.

Undoubtedly her French education gave her an advantage in society over her countrywomen. Their defective manners, Evelyn, with pathos, deplored as he contrasted their deficiency in 'assurance, address, and charming discourse,' with the polished '*dámosellés*' amongst whom his wife had passed her early youth. In society, for the most part, men talked together on topics that had most interest for them. Women, consequently declining in the art of conversation, fell into the merest gossip, or at best into a dull discussion of domestic details. Their demeanor, alternating from an extreme shyness and embarrassment to one marked by as great familiarity of behavior and address, must have been not a little startling to a person inured to the refined conventionalities and the stately grace that prevailed in the court of the Grand Monarque.

But neither courtly accomplishments nor domestic virtues could shield her in her household from the visitations of sickness and death. Her sorrow for the death of her mother, and of an infant grandson was deep. But there was a darker day yet coming on, a bitterer cup yet to be drained. The eldest son, Richard, a beautiful and intelligent boy, was the pride and joy of his parents; they beheld in him, as Dr. Donne's friends related of his childhood, 'one who, like Picus Mirandola, in another age, was rather born, than made, wise.' When an infant of two years and a half, he could perfectly read and pronounce English, Latin, French, and Gothic letters, and at four years old he could write legibly, and read handwriting. He had then made considerable progress in French and Latin, had a strong passion for Greek, and found pastime in demonstrating the problems of Euclid. But however proudly his parents might relate such achievements, they should not have expected their joy to be long-lived. Not that they believed themselves guilty of forcing this over ripe intellect. 'Let no man think,' says Evelyn, 'we did crowd his spirit too full of notions.' Yet in one hour he was taught 'to play the first half of a thorough bass to one of our Church psalms upon the organ.' And though he never spent more than two hours a day in study, except what he voluntarily undertook besides, it is not to be questioned that this was far too ample an allowance for a child of four years old, only too apt to learn, and too greedily athirst for knowledge. He not only read but spoke French accurately, having acquired it from his mother. His morning prayers were repeated in that language. After breakfast, of his own accord, he always used a Latin prayer. He delighted in reciting George Herbert's poems; and being, as it were, instinctively conscious of its applicability to his own home, his favorite psalm was, '*Ecce quam bonum.*' He learned the Church Catechism early; and, as it would appear, from his mother's lips. It was his first lesson each morning; and so apt a pupil was he, that at five years old he gravely told his father that he held his godfathers to be 'disengaged;' for that, as he himself now understood what his duty was, it would be required of him, and not of them for the future. His was that angel beauty, seen only in children early translated hence —God's image and superscription visibly stamped upon the outward form, enshrining the fair soul that He has marked for Himself.

He was seized in the early part of 1658 with an attack of ague, and the fatal conclusion of this illness, which his friends would fain have hidden from themselves, was soon apparent enough to him.

He chose the most pathetic psalms, and chapters from the book of Job, and read them aloud to his maid, as applicable to his own case; and when she, moved with compassion for the innocent sufferer, expressed aloud her pity for him, he told her with quiet, unquestioning submission, that all God's children must suffer affliction.

An aged guide of souls has declared it as his experience, that to the young death is but like passing from one room to another. To this child the angels that were to convey him to Abraham's bosom, dispelled with their brightness the darkness of the transit. A writer, who himself has had bitter experience of the subject of which he treats, refers to a solemn passage of De Quincey, relating to the solitude which seems to be, sooner or later, appointed for us all. Applying this grave thought to the case of a young child, he continues, 'but only to think of that sweet little soul, left to meet death alone! Snatched from life, from mother, sisters, brothers, and all the charms of existence! He is driving out now through the dear scenes that he loves, but next week he will have to travel alone beyond the stars into eternity.' It may be that some dim idea of this loneliness stirring in him, caused this dear child with passionate pleadings to beseech those who tended him to die with him; for he said he knew he should not live. For six days he languished in great suffering; but the day before his death he called his father to him, and, in a more serious manner than usual, told him, that for all he loved him so dearly, he should give his house, and land, and all his fine things to his brother Jack; for he should have none of them. He sought the prayers of those around him. . . . So in pious breathings his soul passed away, to follow 'the child Jesus, that Lamb of God, in a white robe, whithersoever he goeth.' His death occurred on the 27th of January; it was not until the 14th of February that Evelyn communicated his loss to Sir Richard Browne, and this loss was followed seven weeks later by the death of the youngest child George.

The merciful severity of her language, and the prominence given to the religious element in the education of her children, were quite in accordance with the tone of thought which prevailed amongst the more excellent of her century. Religious instruction, far from being confined to a stated lesson imparted in a short hour spared from accomplishments, was the ground-work on which the whole system rested. Habits of self-restraint were early enforced, and a deep sense of moral responsibility inculcated; for a careless, thoughtless childhood was not by these guides of youth held a meet preparation for a godly and Christian life.

The whole system of early training, at this time, tended strongly to eradicate that frivolity of temper, and unreality of tone, which stunt so fatally the growth of all moral and mental excellence. On the other hand, it especially fostered that childlike spirit that wins its way into the Kingdom of Heaven. But severity did not necessarily include harshness, even if sometimes it unfortunately assumed that form. Children, though permitted less familiarity of address than at present, were, perhaps, admitted to still more constant intercourse with their parents.

In Evelyn's time, it is true, 'colleges of young gentlewomen,' as he termed them, existed in the environs of London. But generally female education was not only conducted at home, but the mother was herself the chief instructor there. For, though accepting assistance from other sources, she was not content to depute her highest duty wholly to the hands of another. It was by their mother, then, that the young daughters were instructed in the household duties. And, whilst in these and in her works of charity they contributed their aid, she led and joined in their devotions. In one instance, an oratory was added to the nursery for this purpose. Thus at the rising of the sun, and the going down thereof, the incense of praise, and the pure offering of infant lips ascended an acceptable sacrifice on high.

Amongst those holy homes where religion was nurtured, and virtue throve, must be numbered that of the Evelyns. Here, as time wore on, the gaps which death had made were mercifully filled up again, and an example of a Christian family was afforded to a degenerate age. Hence one of its members briefly but forcibly described it, as 'this home, where we serve God above all things.'

But, beside the wide circle of their acquaintance having connected them with some of the most noteworthy personages of their day, the minuteness of detail into which Evelyn in his 'Diary' has entered, admits us into a familiarity with the inmates of Sayes Court, hardly to be obtained from more elaborate biographies.

And it is as presenting a pleasing picture of an English home that it is offered in illustration of domestic life of the seventeenth century. What Mrs. Evelyn's idea of a woman's duty was, and that to which her own practice conformed, she in a few words has told us. She considered 'the care of children's education, observing a husband's commands, assisting the sick, relieving the poor, and being serviceable to her friends, of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities.'

ELIZABETH SADLER—WIFE OF REV. DR. WALKER.

From her childhood Elizabeth Sadler had been of a grave and thoughtful disposition. She was intrusted by her mother as her little housekeeper, and her father, with whom she was an especial favorite, would not even examine the accounts she kept for him, so assured was he of her accuracy, and her prudent expenditure. In infancy her health had been impaired, in consequence of having been half starved by the nurse, with whom she had been placed in the country. The ailing body dimmed the luster of the soul within, and lent a tinge of melancholy to her early years; which, as she grew older, deepened into darker dejection. 'I was,' she says, 'of a pensive nature—God saw it good that I should bear the yoke in my youth.' Childish thoughts weighed upon her memory as though they had been crimes of deepest dye. She records, though with gratitude for her deliverance, how having been once sent by her mother to her store-room for some fruit, she took up an apple 'good for food, and pleasant to the eyes,' but before even raising it to her lips, she recognized the fault to which she was tempted, and laid it down again untasted. On another occasion, when her father reproved her for an improper expression which she had been reported to him as having employed in a moment of anger, in the agony of shame and remorse, aroused by his rebuke, she denied the offense with which she was charged. Deep was her repentance, and unfeigned her abhorrence of this falsehood, into which she had been betrayed. Even in after years it was bewailed exceedingly; and never again to her dying day was her lips sullied by an untruth. But the mind on which failings like these weighed with the sense of heavy guilt was, if in a state of innocence, not in a state of health. Thus predisposed, when mental trials of a peculiar nature assailed her, she fell a helpless victim beneath their power.

Her father was of good family in Stratfordshire, who entered in business for himself at the age of twenty-one, as a druggist, in London, and attained wealth. Of his country tastes, her father had always retained a great love of flowers. His shop was filled with plants in bloom, cheering his eye in the intervals of business; and at times these treasures were transferred to the parlor windows above. Thither his unhappy daughter would steal to refresh her weary soul with their 'calm loveliness;' and, gazing one day on a Chalcedon Iris, 'full of the impresses of God's curious workmanship,' her heart was suddenly lifted in adoring gratitude to Him who had so clothed it with beauty. The 'Ancient Mariner' was not

more instantly relieved of his accursed burden when the words of blessing broke from his lips, than she in that hour from the blank wretchedness of Atheism. But the confusion of her thoughts and the tumult of fancy continued. Sleep forsook her. For six months she was never conscious that she slept. Her tears became her meat day and night, for even in taking necessary nourishment she feared to permit herself some sinful gratification.

Becoming alarmed for her health, her father tried medical skill without any perceptible benefit. But change of scene and society, and the quiet of the country (at Barnston) restored her to a calm cheerfulness, in which frame of mind she made the acquaintance of Rev. Dr. Walker, of Croydon, who became deeply interested in her case and in herself. On one of his 'consolatory visits,' he found himself alone in her parlor, and whilst he walked up and down there, impatiently expecting her appearance, he opened a large folio Bible that lay upon a desk, when his eyes fell upon the words:—'House and riches are inheritance of fathers, and a prudent wife is from the Lord.' He had with earnest prayer sought direction in the step he had been meditating, and with such a confirmation of his purpose, he hesitated no longer. Soon afterward, when he went to buy the wedding-ring, the first which was offered to him had inscribed on it the *posy*:—'Joined in one, by Christ alone!' He sought no further, and fortunately the ring fitted the lady's finger as perfectly as the motto coincided with his taste. They were married at Hammersmith, in July, 1650.

The bride sought omens of her future fate. 'The morning was lowering,' she says, 'with small rain, and very likely to be a wet day, which was uncomfortable, and much troubled me: but, recollecting myself, my thoughts suggested to me, what is the matter for these clouds, if the Sun of Righteousness shine through them on us? I had not got to the water side, and into the boat, but the sun expelled the clouds to my comfort; it broke forth and shined with that vigor and splendor, that to the best of my observation, which had great impression on me, I do not know that the sun disappeared one moment that day, from the first time I saw it, to the going down of it, but was as clear and bright a day as ever my eyes beheld.' The omen promised truly for her future. 'Our whole married life,' wrote her husband forty years afterward, 'was like the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, and as clear shining after rain.'

They appear, indeed, to have been entirely happy in each other.

Where they differed, they never disagreed; and, though he sometimes reproved her for maintaining her own opinion too tenaciously, he had the candor to confess that she was generally in the right. And this, though her conclusions were not always based on the orderly chain of reasoning upon which his own proceeded; as in one instance he relates:—

She would often come into my study to me, and when I have asked her, what she would have, she would reply, 'Nothing, my dear, but to ask thee how thou doest, and see if thou wantest any thing,' and then, with an endearing smile, would say, 'Dost thou love me?' to which, when I replied, 'Most dearly;' 'I know it abundantly,' she would answer, 'to my comfort, but I love to hear thee tell me so.' And once, when I was adding the reasons of my love, and began, first, for conscience, she stopped me before I could proceed, as she was very quick: 'Ah, my dear, I allow conscience to be an excellent principle in all we do, but like it worst in conjugal affection. I would have thee love me, not because thou must, but because thou wilt, not as a duty, but delight. We are prone to reluctate against what is imposed, but take pleasure in what we choose.'

From autobiographical memoranda kept by herself, and not seen by any eye but her own during her life, her husband compiled a memoir of Mrs. Walker after her death, from which this brief abstract is taken:—

An Old-fashioned Christian Woman.

A model to the ladies of her own day, she would hardly meet the standard of modern requirements. Dr. Walker, it is true, endowed a free school at Fyfield, so that there was not one child untaught in the parish. Yet it was to her own children that Mrs. Walker was especially sedulous in imparting Christian principles and useful accomplishments. She theorized, it may be, but little upon the want of thrift and management amongst the lower orders, but her own house was ruled with diligence, and her servants vigilantly superintended. For she both directed and instructed her maids in 'cookery, brewing, baking, dairy, ordering linen, in which her neatness was curious, and such like.' Her system of almsgiving may not have been very elaborate in its arrangement, but she would rise in the night to assist a neighbor in sickness. She made herself feared as well as loved. Madam Walker, standing up in her pew to frown down whisperers in the sermon, struck awe into the souls of her husband's parishioners. But as many prayers were offered for her by them, as though, to use their own words, 'she was a queen.' Brought up as she had been in a town, the control of a country *ménage* would, it was augured by her friends, be likely to fail in her hands. But, neither despising the difficulties that awaited her, nor despairing of overcoming them, she soon mastered all the necessary details of her duties, and belied the unfavorable previsions that had been formed.

The early dawn found her engaged in prayer, and after this dedication of the day to God, at six o'clock she called her maids, heard them read a chapter in the Bible, and then herself superintended their labors; for 'though she was neither her own cook, nor dairy-maid, yet was she always clerk of her little kitchen.' She afterward occupied herself with her needle until the hour of family prayer, at which all the laborers on the farm, as well as the household servants, were assembled; and, if any worked by the piece instead of the day,

she made up to them by an increase of payment what they had lost in time. The afternoon she divided between visiting the poor and instructing her children; of whom only two daughters survived their childhood. The accomplishments in which they excelled may excite a smile in the *élèves* of our Ladies' Colleges, but they were those with which Milton endowed the 'daughter of God and man, accomplished Eve,' when in the bowers of Eden she culled the berry and crushed the grape in preparation for her angelic guest. They learnt from their mother 'whatever might fit them for family employments;' for she was ambitious to impart to them all her own more lately acquired knowledge; and 'whatever required more art or curiosity for the closet or the parlor, as preserving, drawing spirits in an alembic or cold still, pastry, angelots, and other cream cheese, of which she made many, both for home use and to present to friends, —on her daughters she imposed these matters, to perfect them by practice, in what she had so accurately taught them.' She rivaled Mrs. Primrose herself in her gooseberry wine, reserved for the entertainment of her friends of higher rank; and for the cider, which won such high encomiums from their acquaintance, she would never allow her husband the smallest credit:—'*His* cider!' she would between jest and earnest reply, ''tis *my* cider. I have all the pains and care, and he hath all the praise, who never meddles with it.'

Lest all this household lore should be lost to her descendants, she caused her daughters to transcribe her best recipes 'for things which were curious, but especially for medicines, with directions how to use them.' For she was skilled both as a physician and surgeon; and one of her sisters being married to a physician in London, she gained from him many valuable hints, besides what she acquired for herself from the study of Culpepper and other authorities. Part of the day was devoted to visiting the sick, and in preparing the 'distilled waters, syrups, oils, ointments, and salves,' with which her closet was more fully furnished than many a country shop. And both in their preparation and distribution her daughters were expected to lend their aid. A portion of their time was, besides, employed in needlework; and in this branch of their education their mother, though she was as well skilled as if she had been brought up in a convent, was always assisted by a servant, whom she had herself trained for the purpose. But, as far as possible, she kept her children under her own guidance; though she had a foreign master residing in the house for a time, to teach them languages, and they received lessons occasionally in singing and writing from other instructors. They were taught to read as soon as they could speak, and their mother devoted much care to make good readers of them. In this attainment she excelled; and to the skillful modulation of her voice, and to her judicious emphasis in reading, Dr. Walker gives high praise. This accomplishment is now but little prized. Yet the author of 'Friends in Council' has declared it as his conviction, that 'most mothers could hardly devote themselves to a more important thing in the education of their children than teaching them to read.'

For the use of her children, when very young, Mrs. Walker composed an easy First Catechism. But when they could say the Church Catechism perfectly, they were called upon to repeat it in church, that 'the meaner sort might be ashamed not to send their children, and the poor children might be quickened and encouraged by their example and company.'

Their mother was accustomed to give them a little reward in money for any psalms or chapters out of the Bible, which they committed to memory. This was less to incite them to learn, than that they might by their diligence have something of their own to bestow upon the poor in charity. And that the practice of benevolence might abide in them with the force of early habit, the beggar at the door was invariably relieved by the hand of one or other of the children.

In the evening they always accompanied their mother to their father's study for religious instruction. When they were dismissed the husband and wife united in prayer; after this she would herself bring him his evening meal—a service which she never allowed a domestic to perform for her, 'because she would not lose the pleasure and satisfaction of expressing her tender and endeared affection.' For herself a very slight repast sufficed; as her abstemiousness was so great that dinner was the only meal of which she regularly partook. The whole of Friday she spent in religious retirement, and this day she gave up to her maids for their own work, and that, if they pleased, they might employ more time in prayer and devotion. An hour in the evening before family prayer she dedicated to their instruction, and rewarded them with little presents to encourage them in learning the lessons set them. She gave to each of them also a Bible as soon as they could use it, the book being 'of double the price for which she might have bought it.' One of her rules was always to buy the best of every thing, yet she was not above the pride and pleasure of making a bargain; except when the person of whom she bought was poor, when she invariably gave the full price asked, whatever it was. After family prayer, and whilst she was preparing to retire to rest, one of her maids read to her a chapter in the Bible; and the day, opened with prayer, was closed with praise. And thus

'The trivial round, the common task,'

became to her, indeed, a path by which God's loving Spirit led her forth into the land of righteousness.

Such was her ordinary course of life, except when Sunday brought relief from its monotony, and rest from its labors. Great was the contrivance exercised by her during the week, that no worldly business should encroach upon the sanctity of the day. 'Her maids were never allowed to make a cheese that day; and she would seldom use the coach to carry her to church except in extremity of way and weather.' Though none gave a warmer welcome to her friends on other days, yet on this, if any uninvited intruded themselves, she escaped as soon as she could with civility from their company. Many a sick neighbor, however, she cheered with a Sunday visit in the interval between the services. When she walked to church she was always accompanied by all her servants, 'that they might not stay loitering idly at home or by the way.' In the evening she gathered her family round her for religious instruction.

So from week to week her life glided quietly on, varied occasionally by friendly visits given and received, by a journey to Tunbridge wells every summer, and by the festivities of Christmas, when the whole parish, rich and poor, old and young, were feasted for three days at the Rectory. On the anniversary of their wedding-day Dr. and Mrs. Walker entertained their neighbors of higher degree; and the Earl of Warwick's family was generally included amongst their guests.

On one occasion 'three coroneted heads, and others of best quality, next to nobility,' were numbered in the company. For this feast the venison was always supplied from Lees Priory. On the table there was conspicuously placed a dish of pies, prepared by Mrs. Walker, their number corresponding with the years of her married life. On the last anniversary a perfect pyramid appeared—thirty-nine in one dish, all 'made,' as we are told, 'by the hand which received a wedding-ring so many years before.'

On the day following this and other entertainments, the door used to be besieged by persons who sought advice and remedies for invalids. Their peculiar maladies were well understood by Mrs. Walker, who used to send home the applicants well supplied with a store of good things, which she used laughingly to assure them would cure all their ailments. She would herself send for those too modest to employ the *ruse* which their neighbors found so successful; and she did not let them on this account lose their share in the feast. The remains of it, after the household servants and laborers had had their share, were thus entirely distributed amongst the poor.

This, perhaps, was a more expedient mode of obeying the Gospel directions for feasting, than by inviting rich and poor to the same table: though the command, as we have seen, was at Christmas literally fulfilled; no difference at that time being apparantly made in their reception. The children alone were placed at a table by themselves; and when the parents proffered excuses for bringing them, Mrs. Walker would tell them that she loved to have them about her:—'They are as welcome as yourselves, though you be very welcome.'

To the parishioners of Fyfield her hand, indeed, was always open. The rent of a small farm, worth £19 a year, was given to her by her husband; and besides this, what by her thrift she could spare from the profits of certain departments of their own farm, after supplying the family, was added to her little store, the whole amounting to about £23 in the year. Every half year on receiving her rent she laid aside nine and sixpence in her 'poor man's box' for lesser alms; but the whole amount of her charities in the year exceeded the half of what she received, as she rarely spent more than seven or eight pounds upon herself. Yet, as Dr. Walker proudly avers, she was always well dressed, though she never appeared but in black; and was as exquisitely neat and delicate in her own apparel as she expected her daughters to be in theirs. She used to tell them that this was in some measure 'a sign and evidence of inward purity; and that though all neat people were not good, yet almost all good people were neat.' What she might have lavished upon herself she preferred to impart to others. If she was simply attired, her poor neighbors were all the more comfortably clad. She had wool spun and made up into cloth, which was afterward converted into clothing for them; and on the birth of every infant in the parish the mother was presented with a blanket; so that we may well believe the assurance of one poor woman, who told her that she never woke in the night without praying for her. She found work for any who were in need of it, though she might not require their services; and, whilst supplying nourishment for the body, she did not withhold food for the mind. She gave away a great many books in the course of the year; and, until a free school was opened in the parish, she herself paid for the schooling of several poor children.

MRS. LUCY APSLEY HUTCHINSON.

MRS. HUTCHINSON, whose Memoir of her husband, Col. John Hutchinson, has commended her name as well as his to the keeping of English literature, was born in 1620 in the Tower of London, of which her father, Sir Allan Apsley, was governor. In the fragment of her 'Life,' found in 1806, one hundred and fifty years after her death, with the Memoirs of that manly, virtuous, and honorable man, to whom she was married in 1638, written for her own consolation, and for the edification of her children, she speaks of her parents and education as follows:—

My father had great natural parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightening of them by study of dead writings, but in the living works of men's conversation, he soon became so skillful that he never was mistaken, but where his own goodness would not let him give credit to the evil he discovered in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no less kind to his children. He was father to all his prisoners, sweetening with most compassionate kindness their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his days. He was severe in the regulating of his family, so far as not to endure the least immodest behavior, or dress, in woman under his roof. There was nothing he hated more than an insignificant gallant that could only make his legs, and plume himself, and court a lady, but had not brains enough to employ himself in things more suitable to man's nobler sex.

My mother laid out most [of her noble allowance of £300 a year] in pious and charitable uses. Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek physicians. By these means she acquired a great deal of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was not only to them, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. The worship and service of God, both in her soul and her house, and the education of her children, was her principal care. She was most diligent in her private reading and devotions.

By the time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons; and while I was young could remember and repeat them exactly. I was taught by my nurse, a French woman, to speak French and English as early as I could speak any thing. When I was about seven years old I began with private tutors in languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework; but my genius was quite abstruse from all but my book, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate in it. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school. As for music and dancing, I profited very little in them, and would never practice my lute or harpsichord but when my masters were with me; and for my needle, I absolutely hated it. Living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit, and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table, and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again.

Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband embodies the ideal of Wordsworth's *Happy Warrior*, more nearly than most of the historically great characters of English history, and her own character and conduct, in sharing his counsels and hazards, and ministering to his wants in prison, as unconsciously portrayed in the narrative, exalts our idea of the domestic training of the period in which she lived, as well as of republican and puritan manners generally. We can find few such characters in our reading of ancient or modern history.

THE BOYLE FAMILY.

Richard Boyle, the founder of the house of Cork and Orrery, and known as the Great Earl of Cork, was born in 1566 at Canterbury, of a good but not wealthy family. After studying at Cambridge and Middle Temple, he went over to Ireland to seek his fortune. And in the internal distractions and confiscations of that unhappy country, by siding with the English government and the Protestant party, he bought confiscated estates, introduced English Protestant laborers, enjoyed public office, was knighted, made Viscount Dungarven and Earl of Cork in 1620, and in 1631 Lord High Treasurer;—rich with the spoils of party and sect, and the father of fourteen children, he purchased an estate at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire, where he died in 1644.

His seventh son, the Honorable Robert Boyle, born at Lismore, Waterford, 1626, inherited the estate of Stalbridge, was one of the founders of the Royal Society, of the Boyle Lecture, and promoter of science. He died in 1692.

Lady Ranelagh.

Lady Ranelagh, a daughter of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, enjoyed the reputation of fine scholarship, which then meant the knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and the higher credit of a doer of good, is thus described:—

'She employed her whole time, interest, and estate in doing good to others; and as her great understanding and the vast esteem she was in made all persons, in their several turns of greatness, desire and value her friendship, so she gave herself a clear title to use her interest with them for the service of others, by this, that she never made any advantage of it to any design or end of her own. She was contented with what she had, and, though she was twice stripped of it, she never moved on her own account, but was the general intercessor for all persons of merit, or in want. This had in her the better grace, and was both more Christian and more effectual, because it was not limited within any narrow compass of parties or relations. When any party was depressed she had credit and zeal enough to serve them, and she employed that so effectually, that in the next turn she had a new stock of credit, which she laid out wholly in that labor of love in which she spent her life. She divided her charities and her friendships, her esteem as well as her bounty, with the truest regard to merit and her own obligations, without any difference made on account of opinion. She had a vast reach both of knowledge and apprehension, an universal affability and easiness of access, a humility that descended to the meanest persons and concerns, and an obliging kindness and readiness to advise those who had no occasion of any further assistance from her; and, with all these and many other excellent qualities, she had the deepest sense of religion, and the most constant turning of her thoughts and discourses that way, that was known perhaps in that age.

'It was Lady Ranelagh's suggestion that Waller wrote his "Divine Poems." Rachel, Lady Russel, speaks of her letters as affording instruction for a whole life, and nourishment for many days. Her name also appears frequently in Evelyn's "Diary and Correspondence;" and between her family and his wife's there was some connection. But she would not have failed, even without this, to be numbered amongst their friends, from the circumstance of her brother, Robert Boyle, residing with her in her house in Pall Mall.

Countess of Warwick.

Lady Mary Boyle (Countess of Warwick) was the seventh daughter of Richard Boyle, and was married to Charles Rich, who became by the death of his brother Earl of Warwick. This marriage grew out of the complicated arrangements by which the new nobility achieved by talent and wealth, honestly or dishonestly acquired by plebeians, are allied with the old, which has become impoverished by idleness and dissipation. Lady Mary Boyle had been assigned by her ambitious father to Mr. Hamilton, 'the son of my Lord Somebody, who afterward became Earl of Nobody,' but she took a fancy to Mr. Rich, who was young, gay, and handsome, but whose suit, being a younger son, was not encouraged by the father. When the family moved to London, on the marriage of the Earl of Cork's third son (who afterward became Lord Shannon) to a daughter of Lady Stafford, by her first husband, Sir Robert Killigrew, the suit prospered with the daughter, who, to her father's urgent demand that she should marry the man of his choice, and not Mr. Rich, replied, 'that she did acknowledge a very great and particular kindness for Mr. Rich, and desired them, with my humble duty to my father, to assure him that I would not marry him without his consent, but that I was resolved not to marry any other person in the world; and that I hoped my father would be pleased to consent to my having Mr. Rich, to whom, I was sure, he could have no other objection, but that he was a younger brother; for he was descended from a very great and honorable family, and was in the opinion of all (as well as mine) a very deserving person, and I desired my father would be pleased to consider, I only should suffer by the smallness of his fortune, which I very contentedly chose to do, and should judge myself to be much more happy with his small one, than with the greatest without him.'

She was married to Mr. Rich in 1641, and, although, a light-hearted, self-willed, careless girl, she had force of character, and under proper guidance was capable of attaining high excellence. That guidance was not withheld, and in her sister, Lady Ranelagh, she saw and confessed the power and beauty of holiness. In the death of her father and her eldest child, her attention was seriously arrested to religious subjects, on which she sought counsel from Dr. Walker, the domestic chaplain of the Earl of Warwick.

To gain uninterrupted leisure for religious contemplation was not easy. To obtain it she made for herself a solitude and a sanctuary amidst the grounds that surrounded her home, the old Priory of Lees. These were famed for their beauty. The park had been inclosed as early as the reign of King John. And in 1342 the Prior of Lees brought himself into trouble by a farther inclosure, as well as by hunting in the forest without warrant. From the hands of the churchmen it passed into those of Sir Richard Rich, the ancestor of the Earls of Warwick, to whom it was presented by Henry the Eighth. He built there a noble brick mansion. It consisted, we are told, 'of two courts, an outer and an inner one, the latter of which toward the garden was faced with freestone.' 'That delicious Lees' was the title bestowed by Robert Boyle on his sister's home. And a friend of the Earl of Warwick told him, that 'he had good reason to make sure of heaven; as he would be a great loser in changing so charming a place for hell.'

'There is no garden well contrived that has not Enoch's walk in it,' observes Charles Howe, in one of his quaint meditations. Such to Lady Mary was the

Wilderness, a long grove with an arbor in it. Here she was accustomed to spend the fresh hours of the early morning; and in this beloved resort 'hearts-ease,' as she was wont to designate prayer, abounded for her at all times. In addition to these private exercises, she 'regularly and devoutly observed all the orders of the Church of England in its liturgy and public service, which she failed not to attend twice a day with exemplary reverence.' In her diary she speaks of having attended family prayer in the chapel, 'namely, the Common Prayer.' This was generally used in family worship, in preference to other forms. Thus, when its use was prohibited, Owen Feltham drew up a form of prayer for morning and evening to be substituted for it in the Countess of Thomond's family.

On the death of Lord Warwick, his brother Charles inherited both his titles and estates. This change devolved on her the care of three orphan daughters of the late Earl, for whom she felt a mother's affection, and on whom she bestowed a mother's care. How she catechized, advised, and instructed them, is constantly noted in her 'Diary.' One of these entries may serve as a sample of the rest:—

'After dinner,' she wrote, 'I heard my Lady Essex repeat the sermon; and did with all the awakening considerations I could, endeavor to persuade her to be strictly religious. Whilst I was endeavoring to move her heart, God was pleased to move mine, and to enable me to speak to her with many tears; and when she was gone from me to make me pour out my heart in prayer to God for mercy for her, and her two sisters.'

The manner in which her time was spent at Lees is described by Dr. Walker: —'She usually walked two hours daily in the morning to meditate alone; in which Divine art she was an accomplished mistress. After this consecrating of the day, with reading the Scriptures, prayer, and meditations, a short dressing time, and ordering her domestic affairs, or reading some good book, she spent the remainder of her morning till chapel prayers, from which she was never absent, and at which she was ever reverent, and a devout example to her whole family.' In the evening she was accustomed to retire, in order to recall, and note in her 'Diary,' her course of life during the past day. But when her husband's failing health deprived her of this season of leisure, she contrived by early rising to gain some hours of the quiet silent morning for the fulfillment of this work. The portion of her 'Diary' which has been published, is mainly a record of her spiritual emotions, and mental conflicts; and is an abridgment made from the original by the Rev. Thomas Woodrooffe, who succeeded Dr. Walker as domestic chaplain at Lees. In addition, she left a MS. entitled, 'Some specialties in the life of M. Warwick,' which she wrote a few years before her death; and in which she gives a very full account of her early days. Many devout reflections and meditations which she left in writing were also the employment of her hours of retirement. But her religion was not restrained to the care for her own soul, but was extended to all who came within her influence.

As it was her sole ambition to be the mistress of a religious family, she exacted the constant attendance of her servants at chapel, and their reverent behavior when there, whilst none could absent themselves without her remarking it. Not content with compelling their attendance on the more formal observances of religion, she gave them also private instruction. She catechized her maids on Sunday evening, and took especial pains in assisting them in preparation for the

Holy Communion, to which she urgently entreated them to approach. Nor were her cares confined to her domestic servants only. The poor weeding women, employed in the grounds, were also the objects of her solicitude. Her mornings were sometimes spent in reading to them, her afternoons in catechizing and exhorting them. To guard her attendants against waste of time, she laid in their way books that might engage their attention in any idle moment; and by making their service to herself easy, she gave them the better opportunity of waiting upon the Lord without distraction. She treated all her servants as friends, and 'cared as much to please them as other persons' servants can do to please their masters.'

But her charity, if it began at home, did not end there. 'If any were sick, or tempted, or in any distress of body or mind, whither should they go but to the good Countess, whose closet or still-house was their shop for chirurgery and physic, and herself (for she would visit the meanest of them personally) and ministers, whom she would send to them, their spiritual physicians? The poor she fed in great numbers, not only with fragments and broken meat, but with liberal provision, purposely made for them. She was a great pitier, yea, a great lover of the poor, and she built a convenient house on purpose for them, at her London seat (as they had one at Lees), to shelter them from rain and heat whilst they received their dole. And during her absence in London with her family, twice a week, good beef and bread were provided for the poor of four adjacent parishes.' Of the allowance made to her by her husband in his lifetime she devoted a third to charitable uses; and though she sometimes exceeded, she never fell short of this proportion in her alms; indeed, she was designated as 'the lady that would borrow money to give away.' She considered all in distress and need as having a claim on her bounty. To many scholars at the University she made allowances, varying from five to thirty pounds a year. Foreigners, who forsook their own country on account of their religion, found her hand stretched out for their assistance. Poor children were clothed and kept at school by her, even in Wales, which she aided 'to rescue from its remaining ignorance and semi-barbarism.' Besides these, 'many ministers of both denominations, as well as conformists, whose livings were so small as not to yield them a subsistence, and those who had none at all, were recipients of her bounty.' Animated by the same spirit that prompted that beautiful utterance to 'the dear saint' of Wartburg,—'I tell you it is our duty to make all men as happy as possible,'—her charity even overflowed all ordinary bounds. For it was extended to those, who, if not in actual want, were yet burdened by heavy cares, and involved in harassing difficulties, from which a soft unseen hand quietly released them.

In the altered state of modern society it is of necessity, perhaps, that our alms-deeds should be wrought in a somewhat different fashion to those of an earlier period. Our charitable institutions and religious societies, doubtless, work no less effectually for the accomplishment of their purpose than a simpler system. Yet it may be questioned, whether the benefactor is as much benefited as when, moved by love and pity, his hand supplies the wants, and relieves the sufferings, of another.

Many were the women of this century, who, in a quiet course of alms-giving that sought no praise and shunned observation, have

'Filled their odorous lamps with deeds of light.'

Thus Lady Alice Lucy has been commemorated for her bounty, notwithstanding her modest reserve, which made her forbid that any memorial of herself should be inscribed on the magnificent tomb that she erected to her husband. None who sought alms at her gate were sent empty away, whilst the aged, or such as had suffered in the wars, received an additional dole. Every week bread was given away in the neighboring towns; and corn was sold by her 'in the markets as it were by retail, in such small quantities as might not exceed the poor's abilities to purchase.' Every day a certain number of poor guests sat down to her table. Besides which she continually employed many poor old men and women in such works as were fit and suitable to their skill and strength. When the physician came at any time to her house, she used to make inquiry whether any were sick in the town, that if any were, they might partake of the same benefit with herself. 'But at all times when any wanted health she presently had intelligence of it, and most cheerfully communicated whatsoever she conceived conducible to their recovery, having not only great store of cordials and restoratives always by her, but great skill and judgment in the application of them.'

Medical skill, as it is well known, was then a necessary accomplishment amongst country ladies. Marvelous were the cures wrought by the Countess of Arundel; she even turned her house into an hospital, receiving many invalids there, who came to consult her from a distance. And some remained as long as three months under her roof. Rather a frightful idea of the Lazaruses, by whom her gate was besieged, is suggested by the fact, that in some years 'threescore dozen of sheepskins were spent merely in making plasters.'

Her good works were not limited to the sick. Daily alms were given at her gate; and besides feeding twenty persons every day with what remained from the table of her household, three times a week food was prepared for upward of a hundred poor people in the parish. On the aged and sick a monthly allowance of money was bestowed. Widows were pensioned, prisoners released, poor maidens portioned, and schools supported by her. Liberal toward others, in her own expenses she exercised a rigid economy. She never wore any but a dress of cheap black stuff; and a gold cross containing a relic was the only ornament she ever permitted herself, and this only on some holiday. For forty years she never used a looking-glass, and for about as long a period never changed the fashion of her attire.

Her lot was darkened with many trials, and her prayer against prosperity, which we find in one of her Scriptural reflections, was strictly fulfilled:—'O Lord, I beseech Thee, give me not my portion in this life, nor let me have a short heaven here upon earth, and an eternal hell hereafter.' Her only son died of smallpox, shortly after his marriage with Lady Anne Cavendish. His mother alone attended upon him in his illness, even his young wife removing to her father's house for fear of infection. Lord Warwick, on receiving tidings of his loss, exclaimed with a cry so bitter that it was even heard at a great distance, that this would kill his wife, who was better to him than ten sons. . . . On his death, in 1673, he left his wife his sole executrix, and bequeathed his whole estate to her for her life and a year after, 'as a testimony of his grateful esteem of her merits.' Thus, as it was observed, giving all his estate to pious uses. To those ends Lady Warwick wholly devoted it during the few years in which she survived the Earl. She died in 1678.

Margaret Lucas, Duchess of Newcastle.

Margaret Lucas, whose darling passion was 'to achieve a remembrance for all time' by her writings, was the daughter of Sir Charles Lucas of St. John's Abbey, near Colchester, in Essex, and the second wife of the Duke of Newcastle. She was born in 1623; and her mother was a woman of the old school of manners and morals, and is thus described by her daughter:—

She lived a widow many years, for she never forgot my father so as to marry again. She made her house her cloister, inclosing herself therein; for she seldom went abroad, except to church; but these unhappy wars forced her out, by reason she and her children were loyal to the King; for which they plundered her and my brothers of all their goods, plate, jewels, money, corn, cattle, and the like; cut down their woods, pulled down their houses, and sequestered them from their lands and livings. But in such misfortunes, my mother was of an horoic spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy; or to be industrious where she thought she could help. She was of a grave behavior, and had such a majestic grandeur, as it were, continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest, I mean the rudest of civilized people; I mean not such people as plundered her, and used her cruelly; for they would have pulled God out of heaven, had they had power, as they did Royalty out of his throne! Also, her beauty was beyond the ruin of Time; for she had a well-favored loveliness in her face, a pleasing sweetness in her countenance, and a well-tempered complexion, as neither too red, nor too pale, even to her dying hour, although in years; and by her dying one might think death was enamored of her, for he embraced her in a sleep, and so gently, as if he were afraid to hurt her. Also, she was an affectionate mother, breeding her children with a most industrious care and tender love, and having eight children—three sons and five daughters.

Her rule was one of extremest gentleness. She required her children to yield submission to her will, rather through the persuasions of their own reason, than the dictates of her authority. With anxious care she watched over the formation of their character and early habits.

We were bred with respectful attendance, every one being severally waited upon; and all my mother's servants in general used the same respect to her children, (even those that were very young) as they did to herself; for she suffered not her servants, either to be rude before us, or domineer over us; neither were we suffered to have any familiarity with them, or conversation, yet caused us to demean ourselves with an humble civility toward them, as they with dutiful respect towards us; not, because they were servants, were we so reserved; for many noble persons are forced to serve through necessity; but by reason the vulgar sort of servants are as ill-bred as meanly born, giving children ill examples and worse counsels.

Though supplying them with instructors in all the accomplishments, then considered necessary for young ladies, their mother set less value on their intellectual than on their moral culture.

As to tutors, we had all sorts of virtues; as singing, dancing, playing on music, reading, writing, working, and the like; yet we were not kept strictly thereto. They were rather for formality, than benefit; for my mother cared not so much for our dancing and fiddling, singing, and prating of several languages, as that we should be bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, and in honest principles.

On the breaking out of the civil war, Margaret Lucas, hearing that the Queen was less numerously attended than formerly, besought her mother to obtain for her the post of maid of honor. This was secured, and, against the appeals of her brothers and sisters, she accepted the fortunes of the Queen and accompanied her in her flight to Paris. Here, in good time, she met the Marquis of Newcastle, self-exiled after the disasters of Marston Moor, and in spite of disparity of years, they became attached, and he solicited her hand in marriage.

'Fortune's frowns' were certainly bestowed for awhile on the Marquis and his bride. They were married at the Ambassador's chapel in Paris, in 1645. Before the civil war broke out he was in receipt of an income of £22,000 a year. But of this he was now deprived. So that soon after his marriage, his steward told him that he had not credit enough to procure him another meal. This intelligence the Marquis received quite composedly, and only remarked to his wife, 'in a pleasant manner,' that she must pawn some of her clothes. To escape this alternative she prevailed upon her maid to dispose of some trinkets which she had formerly presented to her, and was glad thus to spare her own wardrobe for awhile. Quitting Paris, they proceeded to Rotterdam. From thence they went to Antwerp, where they lodged in a house belonging to the 'widow of a famous picture drawer, Van Ruben.' The Duchess writes:—

With the Restoration peace and affluence once more shone upon them. The Marquis was restored to his estates, and advanced to a Dukedom. But his satisfaction in his renewed prosperity was not unalloyed. His princely domains presented a melancholy spectacle of ruin and devastation. Bolsover, where he had in regal fashion entertained Charles and Henrietta Maria, had been actually pulled down, that money might be made out of the sale of the materials.

Besides her philosophical writings, her biographies, tales, and 'Social Letters,' the Duchess wrote a great number of plays. 'The Humorous Lovers,' attributed to her by Pepys, at the performance of which she and the Duke were present, is one of the best plays of the time.

Not content with attiring herself in fancy costumes, her attendants were also tricked out by her in unusual splendor. Her coachman and footman were arrayed in velvet coats, whilst the coach seems to have been of the most lugubrious fashion. It is described by Pepys, as 'a large black coach, adorned in silver instead of gold, and snow-white curtains, and every thing black and white.' The 'antick' dress, in which she was herself attired, consisted of 'a velvet cap, her hair about her ears, many black patches because of pimples about her mouth, naked neck without any thing about it, and a black *just-au-corps*.'

It was in a similar costume that on the 30th of May she was introduced to the Royal Society. Evelyn attended her to the meeting room, where she was received with great pomp by the president. 'After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried, still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several lords, among others, Lord George Barkeley and Earl of Carlisle, and a very pretty young man, the Duke of Somerset.'

The Duchess did not excel in any ordinary feminine pursuits. She had no skill with the needle. Her maids had nothing to do but to dress, curl, and adorn themselves. Moved by the complaints of her friends, she says:—

I sent for the governess of my house, and bid her give orders to have flax and wheels bought, for I with my maids would sit and spin. The governess, hearing me say so, smiled to think what uneven threads I would spin, 'for,' said she, 'though nature hath made you a spinster in poetry, yet education hath not made you a spinster in housewifery, and you will spoil more flax than get cloth by your spinning.'

The Duchess died in 1673, and the Duke in 1676. On a stately monument in Westminster Abbey is the following inscription:—

Here lies the loyal Duke of Newcastle, and his Duchess, his second wife, by whom he had no issue: Her name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister to the Lord Lucas of Colchester, a noble family; for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous. This Duchess was a wise, witty, and learned Lady, which her many books do testify: She was a most virtuous, and careful, and loving wife, and was with her Lord all the time of his banishment and miseries; and when she came home, never parted with him in his solitary retirements.

ANNE HARRISON—LADY FANSHAWE.

ANNE HARRISON, married to Sir Richard Fanshawe, a devoted Royalist, in 1644, was born in London, March 25, 1625. She shared in the perils and sufferings of the period, and developed under her trials sterling qualities of character, which only such trials could test. She wrote for the instruction of her son a narrative of her life, a few years before her death, which occurred in 1680.*

ADVICE TO HER SON.

I have thought it good to discourse to you, my most dear and only son, the most remarkable actions and accidents of your family, as well as the more eminent ones of your father; and my life and necessity, not love or revenge, hath made me insert some passages which will reflect on their owners, as the praises of others will be but just, which is my intent in this narrative. I would not have you be a stranger to it; because, by the example, you may imitate what is applicable to your condition in the world, and endeavor to avoid those misfortunes which we have passed through, if God pleases.

Endeavor to be innocent as a dove, but as wise as a serpent; and let this lesson direct you most in the greatest extremes of fortune. Hate idleness, and curb all passions; be true in all words and actions; unnecessarily deliver not your opinion; but when you do, let it be just, well considered, and plain. Be charitable in all thought, word, and deed, and ever ready to forgive injuries done to yourself, and be more pleased to do good than to receive good.

Be civil and obliging to all, dutiful where God and nature command you; but friend to one, and that friendship keep sacred, as the greatest tie upon earth, and be sure to ground it upon virtue; for no other is either happy or lasting.

Endeavor always to be content in that estate of life which it hath pleased God to call you to, and think it a great fault not to employ your time either for the good of your soul, or improvement of your understanding, health, or estate; and as these are the most pleasant pastimes, so it will make you a cheerful old age, which is as necessary for you to design, as to make provision to support the infirmities which decay of strength brings: and it was never seen that a vicious youth terminated in a contented, cheerful old age, but perished out of countenance. Ever keep the best qualified persons' company, out of whom you will find advantage, and reserve some hours daily to examine yourself and fortune; for if you embark yourself in perpetual conversation or recreation, you will certainly shipwreck your mind and fortune. Remember the proverb—such

* This Memoir was first printed in 1829. In respect to her own home training she writes:—'Now it is necessary to say something of my mother's education of me, which was with all the advantages the time afforded, both for working all sorts of fine work with my needle, and learning French, singing, lute, the virginals, and dancing; and notwithstanding I learned as well as most did, yet was I wild to that degree, that the hours of my beloved recreation took up too much of my time, for I loved riding in the first place, running, and all active pastimes; in short, I was that which we graver people call a hoiting girl; but to be just to myself, I never did mischief to myself or people, nor one immodest word or action in my life, though skipping and activity was my delight. But upon my mother's death I then began to reflect, and, as an offering to her memory, I flung away those little childnesses that had formerly possessed me, and, by my father's command, took upon me charge of his house and family, which I so ordered by my excellent mother's example as found acceptance in his sight. I was very well beloved by all our relations and my mother's friends, whom I paid a great respect to, and I ever was ambitious to keep the best company, which I have done, I thank God, all the days of my life. We lived in great plenty and hospitality, but no lavishness in the least, nor prodigality, and, I believe, my father never drank six glasses of wine in his life in one day.'

as his company is, such is the man—and have glorious actions before your eyes, and think what shall be your portion in heaven, as well as what you desire on earth. Manage your fortune prudently, and forget not that you must give God an account hereafter, and upon all occasions.

Remember your father, whose true image though I can never draw to the life, unless God will grant me that blessing in you; yet, because you were but ten months and ten days old when God took him out of this world, I will, for your advantage, show you him with all truth, and without partiality.

He was of the highest size of men, strong, and of the best proportion; his complexion sanguine, his skin exceedingly fair, his hair dark brown and very curling, but not very long; his eyes gray and penetrating, his nose high, his countenance gracious and wise, his motion good, his speech clear and distinct. He never used exercise but walking, and that generally with some book in his hand, which oftentimes was poetry, in which he spent his idle hours; sometimes he would ride out to take the air, but his most delight was to go only with me in a coach some miles, and there discourse of those things which then most pleased him, of what nature soever.

He was very obliging to all, and forward to serve his master, his country, and friend; cheerful in his conversation; his discourse ever pleasant, mixed with the sayings of wise men, and their histories repeated as occasion offered, yet so reserved that he never showed the thought of his heart, in its greatest sense, but to myself only; and this I thank God with all my soul for, that he never discovered his trouble to me, but he went from me with perfect cheerfulness and content; nor revealed his joys and hopes, but he would say that they were doubled by putting them in my breast. I never heard him hold a disputation in my life, but often he would speak against it, saying, it was an uncharitable custom, which never turned to the advantage of either party. He would never be drawn to the fashion of any party, saying, he found it sufficient honestly to perform that employment he was in; he loved and used cheerfulness in all his actions, and professed his religion in his life and conversation.

He was the tenderest father imaginable, the carefulest and most generous master I ever knew; he loved hospitality, and would often say, it was wholly essential for the constitution of England; he loved and kept order with the greatest decency possible; and though he would say I managed his domestics wholly, yet I ever governed them and myself by his commands.

Now you will expect that I should say something that may remain of us jointly, which I will do though it makes my eyes gush out with tears, and cuts me to the soul to remember, and in part express the joys I was blessed with in him. Glory be to God, we never had but one mind throughout our lives. Our souls were wrapped up in each other's; our aims and designs one, our loves one, and our resentments one. We so studied one the other, that we knew each other's mind by our looks. Whatever was real happiness, God gave it me in him; but to commend my better half, which I want sufficient expression for, methinks is to commend myself, and so may bear a censure; but, might it be permitted, I could dwell eternally on his praise most justly; but thus without offense I do, and so you may imitate him in his patience, his prudence, his chastity, his charity, his generosity, his perfect resignation to God's will, and praise God for him as long as you live here, and with him hereafter in the kingdom of Heaven. Amen.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The second wife of Sir Nicholas and mother of Francis Bacon was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, a man of distinguished learning who had been tutor to Edward the Sixth. Sir Anthony had paid considerable attention to the education of his daughters, and lived to see them all splendidly and happily married. Their classical acquirements made them conspicuous even among the women of fashion of that age. Katherine, who became Lady Killigrew, wrote Latin Hexameters and Pentameters which would appear with credit in the *Musæ Etonenses.* Mildred, the wife of Lord Burleigh, was described by Roger Ascham as the best Greek scholar among the young women of England, Lady Jane Grey always excepted. Anne, the mother of Francis Bacon, was dintinguished both as a linguist and as a theologian. She corresponded in Greek with Bishop Jewel, and translated his *Apologia* from the Latin, so correctly that neither he nor Archbishop Parker could suggest a single alteration. She also translated a series of sermons on fate and free-will from the Tuscan of Bernardo Ochino. This fact is the more curious, because Ochino was one of that small and audacious band of Italian reformers, anathematized alike by Wittenberg, by Geneva, by Zurich, and by Rome, from which the Socinian sect deduces its origin.

Lady Bacon was doubtless a lady of highly cultivated mind after the fashion of her age. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded into the belief that she and her sisters were more accomplished women than many who are now living. On this subject there is, we think, much misapprehension. We have often heard men who wish, as almost all men of sense wish, that women should be highly educated, speak with rapture of the English ladies of the sixteenth century, and lament that they can find no modern damsel resembling those fair pupils of Ascham and Aylmer who compared, over their embroidery, the styles of Isocrates and Lysias, and who, while the horns were sounding and the dogs in full cry, sat in the lonely oriel, with eyes riveted to that immortal page which tells how meekly and bravely the first great martyr of intellectual liberty took the cup from his weeping jailer. But surely these complaints have very little foundation. We would by no means disparage the ladies of the sixteenth century or their pursuits. But we conceive that those who extol them at the expense of the women of our time forget one very obvious and very important circumstance. In the time of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, a person who did not read Greek and Latin could read nothing, or next to nothing. The Italian was the only modern language which possessed any thing that could be called a literature. All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular dialects of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf. England did not yet possess Shakspeare's plays and the Fairy Queen, nor France Montaigne's Essays, nor Spain Don Quixote. In looking round a well furnished library, how many English or French books can we find which were extant

* Lady Jane Grey (Lady Guilford Dudley) was the daughter of Frances Brandon (the daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France and sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk) and Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was descended from Elizabeth, Queen to Edward IV. Her teacher was Mr. Elmer, or Aylmer, who was made Bishop of London in 1576. Roger Ascham records that he found her reading Plato's *Phædon* while her parents and their guests were hunting in the park—declaring that she owed her love of learning 'to the greatest benefit God ever gave me,—a gentle schoolmaster, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him.'

when Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth received their education? Chaucer, Gower, Froissart, Comines, Rabelais, nearly complete the list. It was therefore absolutely necessary that a woman should be uneducated or classically educated. Indeed, without a knowledge of one of the ancient languages no person could then have any clear notion of what was passing in the political, the literary, or the religious world. The Latin was in the sixteenth century all and more than all that the French was in the eighteenth. It was the language of courts as well as of the schools. It was the language of diplomacy; it was the language of theological and political controversy. Being a fixed language, while the living languages were in a state of fluctuation, and being universally known to the learned and the polite, it was employed by almost every writer who aspired to a wide and durable reputation. A person who was ignorant of it was shut out from all acquaintance, not merely with Cicero and Virgil, not merely with heavy treatises on canon-law and school-divinity, but with the most interesting memoirs, state papers, and pamphlets of his own time—nay, even with the most admired poetry and the most popular squibs which appeared on the fleeting topics of the day, with Buchanan's complimentary verses, with Erasmus's dialogues, with Hutten's epistles.

This is no longer the case. All political and religious controversy is now conducted in the modern languages. The ancient tongues are used only in comments on the ancient writers. The great productions of Athenian and Roman genius are indeed still what they were. But though their positive value is unchanged, their relative value, when compared with the whole mass of mental wealth possessed by mankind, has been constantly falling. They were the intellectual all of our ancestors. They are but a part of our treasures. Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library? A modern reader can make shift without Œdipus and Medea, while he possesses Othello and Hamlet. If he knows nothing of Pyrgopolynices and Thraso, he is familiar with Bobadil, and Bessus, and Pistol, and Parolles. If he can not enjoy the delicious irony of Plato, he may find some compensation in that of Pascal. If he is shut out from Nephelococcygia, he may take refuge in Lilliput. We are guilty, we hope, of no irreverence toward those great nations to which the human race owes art, science, taste, civil and intellectual freedom, when we say, that the stock bequeathed by them to us has been so carefully improved that the accumulated interest now exceeds the principal. We believe that the books which have been written in the languages of western Europe, during the last two hundred and fifty years,—translations from the ancient languages of course included,—are of greater value than all the books which at the beginning of that period were extant in the world. With the modern languages of Europe English women are at least as well acquainted as English men. When, therefore, we compare the acquirements of Lady Jane Grey with those of an accomplished young woman of our own time, we have no hesitation in awarding the superiority to the latter. We hope that our readers will pardon this digression. It is long; but it can hardly be called unseasonable, if it tends to convince them that they are mistaken in thinking that the great-great-grandmothers of their great-great-grandmothers were superior women to their sisters and their wives.—*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1837.—LORD BACON.

ROBERT OWEN AND FACTORY POPULATIONS.

ROBERT OWEN—1771-1858.

[ROBERT OWEN, whatever we may think of him as a reorganizer of human society, and readjuster of the relations of capital and labor, deserves a recognition among the Practical Educators of his time as a reformer of the demoralizing Home Life and Education of Factory Populations, and one of the earliest to recognize the importance of regulating the plays and employments of very young children, so as to promote their healthy development as human beings. We copy the following notice of his life, and particularly of his labors at New Lanark from his son's (Robert Dale Owen) *Autobiography :*]

EDUCATION AND EARLY BUSINESS LIFE.

Robert Owen, born in Newtown, North Wales, in 1771, was, like my grandfather, a self-made man. His specific plans, as a Social Reformer, proved, on the whole and for the time, a failure; and this, for lack of cultivated judgment and critical research, and of accurate knowledge touching what men had thought and done before his time; also because he strangely overrated the ratio of human progress; but more especially, perhaps, because, until late in life, he ignored the spiritual element in man as the great lever of civilized advancement. Yet with such earnestness, such vigor, such indomitable perseverance, and such devotion and love for his race did he press, throughout half a century, these plans on the public, and so much practical truth was there, mixed with visionary expectation, that his name became known, and the influence of his teachings has been more or less felt, over the civilized world. A failure in gross has been attended by sterling incidental successes; and toward the great idea of co-operation—quite impracticable, for the present at least, in the form he conceived it—there have been, ever since his death, very considerable advances made, and generally recognized by earnest men as eminently useful and important.

At the age of ten, his travelling expenses paid and ten dollars in his pocket, Robert Owen found himself in London, whither he had been sent to the care of an elder brother, to "push his fortune." Six weeks afterwards he obtained a situation as shop-boy with an honest, kind Scotchman, Mr. James McGuffog, a linen draper of Stamford, Lincolnshire, where he remained four years; the first year for board and lodging only; afterwards with a salary added, of eight pounds the second year, and a gradual increase thereafter—an independence for the child, who thenceforth maintained himself. The labor was moderate, averaging eight hours a day. McGuffog was childless; but he adopted a niece, two years younger than his Welsh apprentice; and between the two children there grew up a warm friendship. When my father finally decided, at four-

teen years of age, to return to London, he and the family parted with mutual regrets.

He then became salesman in the long-established haberdashery house of Flint & Palmer, on Old London Bridge. There he had twenty-five pounds a year, with board and lodging; but he was occupied often till one or two o'clock in the morning, arranging and replacing goods, so that he was scarcely able to crawl, by aid of the balusters, up to bed. The details of the morning toilet I give in his own words: "We were up, had breakfast, and were dressed to receive customers at eight; and dressing then was no slight affair. Boy as I was, I had to wait my turn for the hair-dresser to powder and pomatum and curl my hair—two large curls on each side and a stiff pigtail—and until this was nicely done, no one thought of presenting himself behind the counter."

He endured this ceremonious slavery for half a year; then found another, easier situation, and a larger salary, with Mr. Satterfield, in Manchester, which he kept for four years and until he was between eighteen and nineteen.

His life so far had been passed entirely in subordinate positions; in which, however, he acquired habits of regulated industry, strict order, and persistent attention to business.

For a few months after this he was in partnership with a Mr. Jones, manufacturing cotton machinery. While thus engaged he received a cordial letter from his former master, McGuffog, now become old and wealthy, with a proposal, if Owen would join him in business, to supply all the capital and give him half the profits at once; and with the further intimation that he would surrender the entire establishment to him in a few years. It appears that the niece had conceived a childish attachment to her playmate, though the object of her affection did not discover that she had till many years afterwards; and, perhaps, a knowledge of this may have influenced the uncle. "If I had accepted," says my father in his autobiography, "I should most likely have married the niece, and lived and died a rich Stamford linen-draper." Why, then only nineteen years old, he refused an offer in every way so eligible does not appear. If, as is probable, he then expected large profits from his present enterprise, he soon discovered his mistake—separating from his partner, in whom he had lost confidence, after a few months, and taking, as his share of stock, three mule-machines only.

With these, however, he did well; engaging three men to work them and superintending the business himself. He bought *rovings* at twelve shillings a pound and sold them, spun into thread, for twenty-two shillings—thus gaining two dollars on each pound of yarn he turned out. At these rates the profits soon ran up to thirty dollars a week; a fact which lets one into the secret of the enormous fortunes then made in this business.

Some months passed, when one Monday morning he read an advertisement by a Mr. Drinkwater, a wealthy merchant and manufacturer, for a factory manager. A sudden impulse induced him to present himself, an applicant for the place.

"You are too young," was Mr. Drinkwater's curt objection.

"They used to object to me," said my father, "on that score four or five years ago; but I did not expect to have it brought up now."

"Why, what age are you?"

"I shall be twenty in May next."

"How often do you get drunk in the week?"

My father blushed scarlet. "I never," he said indignantly, "was drunk in my life."

This seemed to produce a good impression. The next question was: "What salary do you ask?"

"Three hundred a year" (that is, three hundred pounds; as much as from two to three thousand dollars to-day).

"Three hundred a year! Why, I've had I don't know how many after the place here, this morning; and all their askings together wouldn't come up to what you want."

"Whatever others may ask, I cannot take less. I am making three hundred a year by my own business."

"Can you prove that to me?"

"Certainly. My books will show."

"I'll go with you, and you shall let me see them."

He inspected them, was so far satisfied; and then my father referred him to Satterfield, McGuffog, and Flint & Palmer.

Ten days later Robert Owen was installed manager of what went by the name of the "Bank Top Mill." A raw youth, whose entire experience in the operations of cotton-spinning was limited to the running of three mules—who had never entered a large factory in his life—found himself suddenly at the head of five hundred work people. It might conceal his first blunders, but in reality it added to the difficulty of the position, that Mr. Lee, the working partner and a practical cotton-spinner, had just formed another business connection and deserted Mr. Drinkwater, who, though an experienced fustian manufacturer and a successful importing merchant, knew nothing practically of the new manufacture then coming into vogue.

It was the turning point in my father's fortunes. There is not, probably, one young man in a thousand, coming suddenly to a charge so arduous and for which no previous training had fitted him, who would not have miscarried, and been dismissed ere a month had passed. But Robert Owen had received from nature rare administrative capacity, large human sympathy, and a winning way with those he employed. For six weeks, he tells us, he went about the factory looking grave; saying little, but silently inspecting everything; answering requests for instructions as laconically as possible, and giving no direct order in all that time; at night studying Mr. Lee's notes and drawings of machinery. Then he took the reins, and so managed matters that in six months there was not, in Manchester, a more orderly or better disciplined factory. He had gained the good-will of employer and work people; and had greatly improved the quality and reputation of the Bank Top yarn. He had also become an excellent judge of cotton; and, early in 1791, he bought, from a Mr. Robert Spear, the two first bags of American Sea Island cotton ever imported into England.

In the Spring of 1797 he connected himself with two rich and long-established firms, Borrodaile & Atkinson of London and the Bartons of Manchester, under the name of the "Chorlton Twist Company." Soon after, business took him to Scotland; and there, both as regards his domestic life and his future career, public and private, he met his fate. A sister of the Robert Spear above mentioned happened, at that time, to be on a visit to my grandfather; and my father, walking near the Cross of Glasgow one day, met and recognized her. She introduced him to a young lady who was with her, Miss Ann Caroline Dale, David Dale's eldest daughter; and, turning, he walked with the ladies some distance. Miss Dale and the young cotton spinner seemed to have been mutually attracted from the first. She offered him an introduction to her uncle, then manager of her father's establishment at New Lanark; suggesting, at the same time, that the Falls of Clyde, a mile or two beyond the mill, were well worth seeing. The offer was eagerly accepted, and the lady then added that, when he had made the trip, she would be glad to hear from him how he liked it.

Of course he called, on his return to Glasgow, to render thanks for her kindness. Fortune favored the young people. Mr. Dale was absent; the morning was fine; a walk in the "Green" (the park of Glasgow) was proposed, and my father accompanied Miss Dale and her sisters to the banks of the Clyde. The young lady dropped a hint—not quite as broad as Desdemona's—that they would probably be walking there early next day. But, "on this hint" my father, less adventurous than Othello, spake not. He joined the party, indeed; but the day after he returned to his snug bachelor quarters at a country-house called Greenheys, near Manchester.

The standing and reputation of David Dale dismayed him; not alone his wealth, his eminence as a manufacturer, his prominence as a popular preacher and bounteous philanthropist, his position as chief of the two directors, in the Glasgow branch of the Royal Bank of Scotland; but, more than these, his former station as one of the magistrates of Glasgow.

We of America are unfavorably situated, at this day, to appreciate the exalted respect with which the magistrates of Scotland's chief cities were then regarded; and which, to a great extent, they have retained till now. During a week which I spent, in 1859, with Robert Chambers, the well-known author and publisher, at his Edinburgh residence, I questioned him closely as to the manner in which the municipal affairs of the city were conducted. His replies surprised me. "I have never," he said, "heard even a suspicion whispered, affecting the unblemished integrity of our city magistrates. There is not a man who would dare approach one of them with any offer or suggestion touching official action inconsistent with the strictest honor. He would know that, if he did, he might expect to have a servant rung for, and bidden to show him into the street."

"And the contracts," I asked, "by the City Councils, as for building, street alterations, and the like—how are they managed ?"

"With better judgment and more economy, it is generally admitted, than the average of contracts by private individuals."

"Who are these incorruptible men ? What are their antecedents ?"

"Usually gentlemen who have made large fortunes here; eminent merchants or manufacturers, or others who have retired, perhaps, from active business, and who consider it the crowning glory of their lives to take place among the magistracy of Edinburgh."

I must have smiled sadly, I suppose, for Chambers asked: "You are thinking of New York and some others of your own cities, with their universal suffrage?"

"Yes."

But my father was thinking of a Glasgow magistrate, such as held office toward the close of the last century; and he despaired of winning the great man's daughter.

[On the 30th of September, 1799, Miss Dale became Mrs. Robert Owen, who had by previous purchase, in company with his Manchester partners, become the owner of the New Lanark Cotton Mills, of which he took charge in January, 1811, and in this capacity began and effected great]

Reforms in Factory Life.

Robert Owen's ruling passion was the love of his kind, individually and collectively. An old friend of his said to me, jestingly, one day, when I had reached manhood, "If your good father had seven thousand children, instead of seven, I am sure he would love them devotedly." But the inference thence to be drawn is unfounded. If we *were* only seven, he was to every one of us a most affectionate, even indulgent, parent. His organ of adhesiveness could not have been less than that of benevolence; while the organs of hope and self-esteem were equally predominant. I think that these four sentiments, together with large order and firmness, chiefly governed his life and shaped his destiny.

My father enabled his children to obtain many weapons which he himself never possessed. He had none of the advantages of regulated study. He did, indeed, between the ages of eight and ten, devour a good many volumes; among them he himself enumerates Robinson Crusoe, Quarles (including no doubt his Emblems and his History of Samson), Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost, Richardson's novels, Harvey's Meditations, Young's Night Thoughts, and many other religious books, chiefly Methodist; but these works, justly famed as some of them are, must have made a strange jumble in an infant mind, left to digest their contents unguided even by a suggestion, and, as he tells us, "believing every word of them to be true."

When I first remember him, he read a good deal; but it was chiefly one or two London dailies, with other periodicals as they came out. He was not, in any true sense of the word, a student. One who made his own way in life, unheeded by a single dollar, from the age of ten, could not well be. I never found, in his extensive library, a book with a marginal note, or even a pencil mark of his, on a single page. He usually glanced over books, without mastering them; often dismissing them with some such curt remark as that "the radical errors shared by all men made books of comparatively little value." Except statistical works, of which his favorite was "Colquhoun's Resources of the British Empire," I never remember to have seen him occupied in taking notes from any book whatever.

In this way he worked out his problems for human improvement to great disadvantage, missing a thousand things that great minds had thought and said before his time, and often mistaking ideas that were truly his own, for novelties that no human being had heretofore given to the world.

Thus it happened that, while bringing prominently forward principles of vast practical importance that had been too much neglected both by governments and individuals, he forfeited, in a measure, the confidence of cultivated men by evident lack of familiarity with precedent authorities on the same subjects, and from inability to assign to a few favorite axioms their fitting place and just relative importance in a system of reformatory philosophy.

But to counterbalance these disadvantages he had eminent mental qualities that worked for him, with telling effect, whenever he came into contact with the masses, either as employer, in the early days of which I am now writing, or, later in life, as a public teacher. The earnestness of his convictions—all the stronger for imagining old ideas to be original—amounted to enthusiasm. I do not think that Napoleon was more untiring in his perseverance, or that Swedenborg had a more implicit confidence in himself; and to this was joined a temperament so sanguine that he was unable—no matter what rebuffs he met with—unable, even as an octogenarian, to conceive the possibility of ultimate failure in his plans. During the afternoon immediately preceding his death he was arranging, with the rector of the parish, for a series of public meetings (at which he promised to speak), looking to an organization that should secure to every child in and near his native town the best education which modern lights and knowledge could supply.

But I am speaking now of a period more than half a century past, when he was in the vigor of early manhood. At that time his two leading ideas of reform were temperance and popular instruction.

No grog-shops, indeed, were permitted in the village, but liquor was obtained in the old town. Robert Owen, acting on his belief in the efficacy of circumstances, soon wrought a radical change. He had village watchmen, who patrolled the streets at night, and who were instructed to take down the name of every man found drunk. The inebriate was fined so much for the first offence, a larger sum for the second, the fines being deducted from his wages; and the third offence resulted in dismissal, sometimes postponed if he showed sincere repentance. Then the people were so justly and kindly treated, their wages were so liberal, and their hours of labor so much shorter than the average factory hours throughout Great Britain, that dismissal was felt to be a misfortune not to be lightly incurred.

The degree to which, after eight or ten years of such discipline, intemperance was weeded out in New Lanark may be judged by the following incident.

I was in the habit of going to "The Mills," as we called them, almost daily. One day, in my twelfth year, when I had accompanied my father on his usual morning visit, and we had reached a sidewalk which conducted from our porter's lodge to the main street of the village, I

observed, at a little distance on the path before us, a man who stopped at intervals in his walk, and staggered from side to side.

"Papa," said I, "look at that man. He must have been taken suddenly ill."

"What do you suppose is the matter with him, Robert ?"

"I don't know. I never saw any man act so. Is he subject to fits ? Do you know him, papa ?"

"Yes, my dear, I know him. He is not subject to fits, but he is a very unfortunate man." "What kind of illness has he ?"

My father stopped, looked first at the man before us, and then at me. "Thank God, my son," he said, at last, "that you have never before seen a drunken man."

Robert Owen's predominant love of order brought about another important reform. Elizabeth Hamilton, who spent several years as governess in a Scottish nobleman's family, has well described, in her Cottagers of Glenburnie, the careless untidiness and slatternly habits which, at the commencement of the present century, characterized the peasantry of Scotland. "I canna' be fashed," was the usual reply, if any one suggested that cleanliness, among the virtues, should rank next to godliness.

A writer, whose parents settled as workers in the New Lanark mills as early as 1803, states that in those days each family had but a single apartment, the houses being of one story only; and that before each door it was not unusual to find a dung-hill. He tells us, also, that one of Robert Owen's first reforms was to add an additional story to every house, giving two rooms to most of the families; and that the dung-hills were carried off to an adjoining farm, and a renewal of the nuisance was imperatively forbidden.

As I recollect the village, its streets, daily swept at the expense of the company, were kept scrupulously clean; and its tidy appearance in every respect was the admiration of strangers.

A reform of a more delicate character, upon which my father ventured, met serious opposition. After each family became possessed of adequate accommodations, most of them still maintained in their interior disorder and uncleaniness. My father's earnest recommendations on the subject passed unheeded. He then called the work people together, and gave several lectures upon order and cleanliness as among the Christian virtues. His audience heard, applauded, and went home content "to do as weel as their forbears, and no to heed English clavers."

Thereupon my father went a step further. He called a general meeting of the villagers; and, at his suggestion, a committee from among themselves was appointed, whose duty it was to visit each family weekly, and report in writing upon the condition of the house. This, according to the statement of the author last quoted, while grumblingly acquiesced in by the men, was received "with a storm of rage and opposition by the women." They had paid their rent, and did no harm to the house; and it was nobody's business but their own whether it was clean or dirty. If they had read Romeo and Juliet, which is not likely, I dare say they would have greeted the intruders as the Nurse did her prying master—

> "Go, you cotquean, go;
> Get you to bed!"

As it was, while a few, fresh from mop and scrubbing-brush, received the committee civilly, a large majority either locked their doors or met the inquisitors with abuse, calling them "bug-hunters" and other equally flattering names.

My father took it quietly; showed no anger toward the dissenters; encouraged the committee to persevere, but instructed them to ask admittance as a favor only; and allowed the small minority, who had welcomed these domiciliary visits, to have a few plants each from his green-house. This gratuity worked wonders; conciliation of manner gradually overcame the first jealousy of intrusion; and a few friendly visits by my mother, quietly paid to those who were especially tidy in their households, still further quelled the opposition. Gradually the weekly reports of the committee became more and more favorable.

Within the mills everything was punctiliously kept. Whenever I visited them with my father, I observed that he picked up the smallest flocks of cotton from the floor, handing them to some child near by, to be put in his waste-bag.

"Papa," said I one day, "what *does* it signify—such a little speck of cotton?"

"The value of the cotton," he replied, "is nothing, but the example is much. It is very important that these people should acquire strict habits of order and economy."

In working out these and other reforms, my father, a scrupulous respecter of the rights of conscience and of entire freedom of opinion, never exercised, except in the case of habitual drunkards, the power of dismissal which his office as sole manager placed in his hands. The writer already quoted, who spent his youth and early manhood at New Lanark, bears testimony to this. "I never knew," he says, "of a single instance in which Mr. Owen dismissed a worker for having manfully and conscientiously objected to his measures."

School Reforms.

The New Lanark schools, and the cause of education generally, were the subjects which, at this period of my father's life, chiefly engrossed his attention. His first appearance as a speaker was as president at a public dinner, given in the city of Glasgow in 1812, to Joseph Lancaster, the well-known educational reformer. In the character of this gentleman, a Quaker, there was a strange mixture of honest, self-sacrificing zeal, and imprudent, self-indulgent ostentation. As early as 1789 he labored stoutly among the poor of Southwark, teaching a school of three hundred outcast children for years almost gratuitously. When his system finally attracted attention, and subscriptions poured in upon him, prosperity called forth weaknesses, and he squandered the money given for better purposes. I recollect that he drove up one afternoon, on invitation of my father, to Braxfield House, with four horses to his post-chaise—a luxury in which I never knew my father to indulge.

When, somewhat later, my father gave five thousand dollars to aid in the general introduction of the Lancaster system of instruction, I remember that my mother, adverting to the four horses, demurred to the

wisdom of so munificent a subscription. And I think that, in view of Lancaster's prodigality, she was in the right.

This Lancastrian system—one of mutual instruction, with *monitors*, selected from the pupils, as sub-teachers—was equally economical and superficial. It had its good points, however, and could be maintained where the funds were insufficient for anything better. My father, enthusiastic at first in its favor, gradually changed it for something more thorough and effective.

In the speech which Robert Owen made at the Lancaster dinner, the views which he afterwards elaborated touching the formation of character first peeped out. "General differences," he said, "bodily and mental, between inhabitants of various regions, are not inherent in our nature, nor do they arise from the respective soils on which we are born; they are wholly and solely the effect of education." While it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of education, in the extended sense of the term, this proposition is clearly extravagant, ignoring as it does the influences, often dominant, of race, climate, soil, whether fertile or barren, and hereditary qualities transmitted through successive generations. But the speech was applauded to the echo, and called forth from a certain Kirkman Finlay—then the great man of Glasgow—a laudatory letter.

"This induced me," says my father in his Autobiography, "to write my four Essays on the Formation of Character."

As early as 1809 my father had laid the foundations of a large building, afterwards called "The New Institution," designed to accommodate all the children of the village. But the estimated cost, upwards of twenty thousand dollars, alarmed his partners, who finally vetoed the enterprise.

My father was [with new partners] free to carry out his plans of education. He gradually completed and fitted up, at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dollars, the spacious school-house, the building of which his former partners had arrested. It had five large rooms or halls, besides smaller apartments, and a bath-room on an extensive scale, sufficing for the accommodation of from four to five hundred children. No charge whatever was made; and not only all the children of the work people, but also children of all families living within a mile of the village, were thus gratuitously instructed.

Infant Schools—1815.

In this institution a novel feature was introduced. Pestalozzi and Oberlin have each been spoken of as originating the infant school system; but my father seems to have been its true founder. I have found no proof whatever that either of them even thought of doing what he carried out.* He brought together upwards of a hundred children, from *one* to six years of age, under two guardians, James Buchanan and Mary Young. No attempt was made to teach them reading or writing, not even their letters; nor had they any set lessons at all. Much of their time was spent in a spacious play ground. They were trained to habits of order and cleanliness; they were taught to abstain from quarrels, to be kind to each other. They were amused with childish games and with

* See Barnard's *National Education*. III. Great Britain. Infant Schools.

stories suited to their capacity. Two large, airy rooms were set apart, one for those under four years and one for those from four to six. This last room was furnished with paintings, chiefly of animals, and a few maps. It was also supplied with natural objects from the gardens, fields, and woods. These suggested themes for conversation, or brief, familiar lectures; but there was nothing formal, no tasks to be learned, no readings from books. "When the best means of instruction are known and adopted," says my father in his Autobiography, "I doubt whether books will be used until children attain their tenth year." But this he could not carry out at New Lanark, as the children were admitted to the mills, and were usually sent thither by their parents, at twelve years of age.

No corporal punishment, nor threat, nor violent language was permitted on the part of the teachers. They were required to treat the children with the same kindness which they exacted from them toward each other.

Some years later an attempt was made by a London association, headed by the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Brougham, to introduce infant schools into the British metropolis. They obtained a teacher from New Lanark. But they undertook to do too much, and so failed in their object. They had lessons, tasks, study. Not satisfied with moral training and instructive amusement, as at New Lanark, they sought prematurely to develop the intellectual powers. The tender brain of the infant was over-excited; more harm than good was done; and the system fell, in a measure, into disrepute, until Frœbel, in his *Kindergartens,* brought things back to a more rational way.

I visited our village infant school almost daily for years; and I have never, either before or since, seen such a collection of bright, clean, good-tempered, happy little faces.

*Limitation of Hours of Labor for Children.**

At a meeting which he had previously held at the Tontine, Glasgow, he had introduced two resolutions recommending petitions to Parliament—one for the remission of the duty on imported cotton; the other for the protection of factory children from labor beyond their strength. The first passed unanimously; the second was lost by an overwhelming majority. Thereupon my father determined to agitate the matter himself.

As a preliminary measure we visited all the chief factories in Great Britain. The facts we collected seemed to me terrible almost beyond belief. Not in exceptional cases, but as a general rule, we found children *of ten years old worked regularly fourteen hours a day,* with but half an hour's interval for the mid-day meal, which was eaten in the factory. In the fine yarn cotton mills (producing from a hundred and twenty to three hundred hanks to the pound), they were subjected to this labor in a temperature usually exceeding seventy-five degrees; and in all the cotton factories they breathed an atmosphere more or less injurious to the lungs, because of the dust and minute cotton fibres that pervaded it.

In some cases we found that greed of gain had impelled the mill-owners

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* For History of the Legislation of different countries to protect children from excessive labor both in time and in kind of work, see Barnard's *Legal Provision Respecting the Education and Employment of Children in Factories.* 1842. Revised edition. 1876.

to still greater extremes of inhumanity, utterly disgraceful, indeed, to a civilized nation. Their mills were run fifteen and, in exceptional cases, *sixteen* hours a day with a single set of hands; and they did not scruple to employ children of both sexes from the age of eight. We actually found a considerable number under that age.

It need not be said that such a system could not be maintained without corporal punishment. Most of the overseers openly carried stout leather thongs, and we frequently saw even the youngest children severely beaten.

We sought out the surgeons who were in the habit of attending these children, noting their names and the facts to which they testified. Their stories haunted my dreams. In some large factories, from one-fourth to one-fifth of the children were either cripples or otherwise deformed, or permanently injured by excessive toil, sometimes by brutal abuse. The younger children seldom held out more than three or four years without severe illness, often ending in death.

When we expressed surprise that parents should voluntarily condemn their sons and daughters to slavery so intolerable, the explanation seemed to be that many of the fathers were out of work themselves, and so were in a measure driven to the sacrifice for lack of bread; while others, imbruted by intemperance, saw with indifference an abuse of the infant faculties compared to which the infanticide of China may almost be termed humane.

In London my father laid before several members of Parliament the mass of evidence he had collected, and a bill which he had prepared, forbidding the employment in factories of child-workers under twelve years of age, and fixing the hours they might be employed at ten a day. Finally he obtained from the elder Sir Robert Peel (father of the well-known Prime Minister, and then between sixty and seventy years old), a promise to introduce this humane measure into the House of Commons. Sir Robert, then one of the richest cotton-spinners in the kingdom, and a member of twenty-five years' standing, possessed considerable influence. Had he exerted it heartily, I think (and my father thought) that the measure might have been carried the first session. But, in several interviews with him to which I accompanied my father, even my inexperience detected a slackness of purpose and an indisposition to offend his fellow manufacturers, who were almost all violently opposed to the measure. I think it probable that his hesitation was mainly due to a consciousness that it ill became him to denounce cruelties, in causing which he had himself had a prominent share. The bill dragged through the House for four sessions; and when passed at last, it was in a mutilated and comparatively valueless form.

Pending its discussion I frequently attended with my father the sessions of a committee of the House appointed to collect evidence and report on the condition of factory children. He was a chief witness, and one day had to stand (and did stand unmoved) a bitter cross-examination by Sir George Philips, a "cotton lord," as the millionaires among mill owners were then popularly called. This oppressor of childhood questioned my father as to his religious opinions, and other personal matters equally

irrelevant, in a tone so insolent, that, to my utter shame, I could not repress my tears. They were arrested, however, when Lord Brougham (then plain Henry) called the offender to order, and after commenting, in terms that were caustic to my heart's content, on the impertinent character of Sir George's cross-examination, moved that it be expunged from the records of the committee—a motion which was carried without a dissenting voice.

Throughout the four years during which this reformatory measure was in progress, my father (in truth the soul of the movement) was unremitting in his endeavors to bring the evidence he had obtained before the public. The periodical press aided him in this; and I remember that one touching story in particular had a wide circulation. It came out in evidence given before the committee by an assistant overseer of the poor. He was called upon to relieve a father out of employment, and found his only child, a factory girl, quite ill; and he testifies further as follows: "Some time after, the father came to me with tears in his eyes. 'What's the matter, Thomas?' I asked. He said, 'My little girl is gone; she died in the night; and what breaks my heart is this—though she was not able to do her work, I had to let her go to the mill yesterday morning. She promised to pay a little boy a half-penny on Saturday, if he would help her so she could rest a little. I told her he should have a penny.' At night the child could not walk home, fell several times by the way, and had to be carried at last to her father's house by her companions. She never spoke intelligibly afterwards. She was ten years old."

Industrial Element—Diversions—Military Drill.

My father sought to make education as practical as possible. The girls were taught sewing and knitting, and both sexes, in the upper classes, besides geography and natural history, had simple lessons in drawing. Yet it was not the graver studies that chiefly interested and pleased our numerous visitors; the dancing and music lessons formed the chief attraction. The juvenile performers were dressed alike, all in tartan, the boys wearing the Highland kilt and hose. Carefully instructed in the dances then in vogue, as a lesson, not as a performance, they went through their reels and quadrilles with an ease and grace that would not have shamed a fashionable ball room, coupled with a simplicity and unconsciousness natural to children when they are not spoiled, but which in higher circles is often sadly lacking.

The class for vocal music numbered, at one time, a hundred and fifty, and under a well-qualified teacher they made wonderful progress. I selected, and had printed for them, on a succession of pasteboard sheets, a collection of simple airs, chiefly national Scottish melodies, which they rendered with a homely pathos scarcely attainable, perhaps, except by those who are "to the manner born."

Another feature in our schools which proved very popular with visitors was the military training of the older children. Drilled by a superannuated soldier whom my father had hired for the purpose, and preceded by a boy-band of a drum or two and four or five fifes, they made a very creditable appearance.

Public Interest in New Lanark Reforms.

All this, unprecedented then in any spinning village, or indeed in any free public school throughout the kingdom, gradually drew crowds of travellers as witnesses. I have seen as many as seventy persons in the building at one time. The number of names recorded in our Visitor's Book, from the year 1815 to 1825, the year in which my father bought the village and lands of New Harmony and sold out of the New Lanark concern, was nearly twenty thousand.

There came not only nobility and gentry from every part of Great Britain, but also many foreigners of rank from the Continent. Among these last the most notable was a nobleman who, nine years afterwards, became the most powerful emperor in the world. It was in 1816 that Nicolas, Grand Duke of Russia, then on a tour through Great Britain, visited Glasgow. There he received and accepted an invitation from my father; and he and the officers of his suite, to the number of eight or ten, spent two days with us at Braxfield. He was then twenty years old; fully six feet high; and, in face and figure, I thought him the handsomest man I had ever seen. His manner, in those days, was simple and courteous; and the dignity which marked it at times had not yet degenerated, as it is said afterwards to have done, into haughtiness.

[Mr. Owen, the son, closes his notice of his father's benevolent work, in his Autobiography as far as published, as follows:]

He had been misled by prosperity, by benevolent enthusiasm; and there had been lacking, as steadying influence, thorough culture in youth. He had risen, with rare rapidity and by unaided exertion, to a giddy height. At ten years of age, he had entered London with ten dollars in pocket; at forty-five, he was worth a quarter of a million. Then his Essays on the Formation of Character, backed by his success, pecuniary and social, at New Lanark, had won him golden opinions. He had been received, respectfully and sometimes with distinction, by those highest in position; by Lords Liverpool, Sidmouth, Castlereagh, and by Mr. Canning; by the Royal Dukes of York, Cumberland, Sussex, Cambridge, and especially by the Duke of Kent; by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sutton) and the Bishops of London, St. David's, Durham, Peterborough, and Norwich. Besides Bentham, his partner, he was more or less intimate with Godwin, Ricardo, Malthus, Bowring, Francis Place, Joseph Hume, James Mill, O'Connell, Roscoe, Clarkson, Cobbett, Vansittart, Sir Francis Burdett, the Edgeworths, the statistician Colquhoun, Wilberforce, Coke of Norfolk, Macaulay (father of the historian), and Nathan Rothschild, the founder of his house. He had received as guests at Braxfield, among a multitude of others, Princes John and Maximilian of Russia, the Duke of Holstein Oldenburg, Baron Goldsmid, Baron Just, Saxon Ambassador, Cuvier, Henry Brougham, Sir James Mackintosh, and Lord Stowell, father-in-law of Lord Sidmouth. When he visited Paris, he took letters from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe), and from the French Ambassador to the French Prime Minister; and he was invited to a visitor's chair by the French Academy. In Europe he made the acquaintance of La Place, Humboldt, La Rochefoucauld, Boissy d'Anglas, Camille Jourdain, Pestalozzi, Madame de Staël, Pastor Oberlin, and many

other celebrities. Then, too, his popularity among the masses quite equalled the favor with which men of rank and talent received him. Is it matter of marvel that a self-made and self-taught man, thus suddenly and singularly favored by fortune, should have miscalculated the immediate value of his social methods, and overestimated the influence of the position he had gained ?

His strong, original mind, lacking the habit of critical study, tempted him to discard in gross, without examining in detail ; and to overlook a fact of infinite importance in morals and legislation, to wit, that reverence, acting on man's spiritual part, is a legitimate and cogent motive that has influenced human actions in all ages of the world. He was one of those who, like many of the ablest scientists in all countries, need experimental proof to convince him that, when the body is discarded at death, the man himself does not die, but passes on to another and higher phase of being ; and till he was nearly eighty years old he never obtained such proof.

His mistakes as a practical reformer, were, in my judgment, twofold.

First. He regarded self-love, or man's longing for happiness, rationally educated, as the most trustworthy foundation of morals. I think that the hunger and thirst after the Right, which is induced by culture of the conscience, is a higher motive, and, because higher, a motive better fitted to elevate our race, than selfishness, however enlightened. Honesty *is* the best policy ; truth *is* the safest course. But he who is honest and true for the sake of the Right is more worthy, alike of trust and of love, than he who is honest and true for the sake of profit to himself.

Secondly. He limited his view of man to the first three-score and ten years of his life, ignoring the illimitable future beyond. But the Secular school can never prevail against the Spiritual. It has nothing to offer but this world, and that is insufficient for man.

Those sweeping and extravagant sentiments were doubtless uttered with the same sincerity, and in somewhat the same state of feeling, that prompted the monk Telemachus to confront in the arena of the Coliseum the anger of Roman Emperor and populace, in an effort to put an end to the barbarity of gladiator shows. My father spared no cost in publishing what he had said ; purchasing of the London newspapers which appeared on the day succeeding each of his three lectures respectively thirty thousand copies. These papers, then heavily stamped, sold at fifteen cents apiece. In addition to this he printed forty thousand copies of each in pamphlet form, at a cost of more than six thousand dollars. In two months he had expended, for paper, printing, and postage, twenty thousand dollars. The London mails, on the three days succeding his lectures, were delayed, by the unexampled increase of mail matter, twenty minutes beyond their set time.

[Robert Owen died November 17, 1858, retaining his hold upon the working classes, both in the truths and the errors of his plans of social reform. His views on co-operative industry are the basis on which all the co-operative unions in Great Britain and the United States are organized, and in which, it has been officially stated, over $20,000,000 are invested.]

DANIEL DEFOE—EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS.

MEMOIR.

No author of equal eminence in English literature, not professionally a teacher, or educator, has made so many sagacious suggestions to advance the educational institutions of his country as DANIEL DEFOE—who was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, in the year 1661, and died April 24, 1731—his remains being interred in Bunhill Fields. His father (James Foe —the De was not in Daniel's inherited name) was a Nonconformist, following the Rev. Dr. Annesley, when ejected from his incumbency of Cripplegate, into the meeting-house in Little St. Helen's, Bishopgate street. At the age of fourteen he was sent to the Nonconformist Academy at Newington, then under the direction of Rev. Charles Morton, reputed to be 'a polite and profound scholar.' He was destined by his parents for the Presbyterian Ministry, but his own predilections were for politics and authorship; and at the early age of twenty-one, he came out with a bold dash at Roger L'Estrange's *Guide to the Inferior Clergy.* Defoe's pamphlet bore the title of 'Speculum Crape-gownorum; a Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd: with Reflections on some of the late High-flown Sermons, to which is added an Essay toward a Sermon of the Newest Fashion. By a Guide to the Inferior Clergy. London: 1682.' The title was adopted in allusion to the crape-gowns then in use among the inferior clergy, and the design was to expose and ridicule the High Church faction. Its success was so marked as to induce the author to issue a second part, and the two called forth a reply by L'Estrange himself.

In 1685, he engaged in practical hostility against the government of James II., by joining the standard of the Duke of Monmouth in Dorsetshire—but, saving his head, on the suppression of this movement, he next engaged in the hosiery trade, to which he devoted himself, with more or less assiduity, for ten years, but without pecuniary success. His heart was in the discussion of questions which concerned the liberties of the people against the exaltation

of the divine right of Kings, as set forth in a published sermon of the Bishop of Chester—'We must neither call him to account for his religion, nor question his policy in civil matters, for he is made our King by God's law, of which the law of the land is only declarative.' This doctrine Defoe combated with tongue and pen, and aided to arouse and combine the elements which finally expelled James II. from the kingdom.

His business, regular and speculative, proved disastrous, and in 1692 he was thrown into bankruptcy—out of which he emerged, by efforts of unwearied diligence with his honor unsullied, paying an indebtedness of 17,000*l.* with interest, although released from all obligations to do so.

He became an avowed champion by his voice and pen of the government of King William, and in 1695 was made Accountant to the Tax Commission. About this time he prepared his '*Essay upon Projects*,' which was not printed till May 29, 1698, and his '*Poor Man's Plea for a Reformation of Manners*'—'which he insists should begin with the gentry and the clergy, who could not get drunk together without setting a bad example to the whole parish.' On all the prominent questions of the day, he was out with a slashing pamphlet—defending the interests of the people in civil and religious matters like a true-born Englishman, and yet rising above the insular prejudices of his countrymen. In his '*Shortest way with Dissenters*,' printed in 1702, he angered the Nonconformists, offended churchmen, was convicted of libeling the House of Commons, for which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory, pay a fine, and go to prison.

From 1695 to 1699 he was accountant to the Commissioners of the glass duty. In that year he printed his '*Essay on Projects*,' full of important suggestions, which were at least fruitful in the beneficent career of Benjamin Franklin, who acknowledged his indebtedness for the same. In 1701 he published his famous satirical poem *The True-born Englishman*, which, if not remarkable poetry, is crowded full of common sense, and met a hearty response in the hearts of real Englishmen, whether they had Saxon or Norman blood in their veins. In 1703 he was a martyr to his own good purpose to benefit the Dissenters (of whom he was one) by his irony (in recommending hanging as the shortest way to get rid of them) which was not understood, and in consequence he was apprehended, tried, pilloried, fined, and imprisoned. While in prison he projected *The Review*, which he issued on his release in 1704, and

conducted for nine years. In 1706 he was employed by Lord Godolphin, who appreciated his vigorous pen, to write up the Union with Scotland, for which purpose he visited Scotland twice, and in 1708 published his work on the Union of Great Britain (a volume of 694 pages), for which he received a pension and a government appointment. For several years his enemies of the Jacobite party let him alone, but in 1713 he was again imprisoned in Newgate and fined £800, and mainly because his irony against the pretender was interpreted in favor of his restoration to the throne. In his last imprisonment, *The Review*,* which he began in the first, was discontinued.

Although the more elaborate essays of *The Review* are wanting in the playful wit of Steele, or the exquisite polish and courtly air of Addison—in more homely vigor, we think with one of his biographers, Defoe is superior to either, and is not excelled by Swift. For example:—

In *The Review* for Oct. 4, 1707, he says he has been requested to answer the question—'What is the worst sort of husband a woman can marry?' which he does in a thoroughly characteristic manner. The question, he is obliged to 'confess, has led him a long way about, into the great, great variety of bad husbands of the age.' Of these, after some general remarks, he mentions four sorts:—'1, There is the Drunken Husband, whose picture it would take up a whole volume to describe. 2, The Debauched Husband. 3, The Fighting Husband. 4, The Extravagant Husband.' These he describes at some length, and then goes on as follows:—'Well, good people, here are four sorts of ill husbands, and take one of them where you will, the best of them is bad enough, and hard is that woman's case, especially if she be a woman of any merit, whose lot it is; but yet I think my first-rate is behind still; there is yet a bad husband that is worse than all these, and a woman of sense had better take up with any of these than with him, and that's—A FOOL HUSBAND.

'The Drunkard, the Debauched, the Fighting, and the Extravagant; these may all have something attendant, which in the interval of their excesses may serve to alleviate and make a little amends to the poor woman, and help her to carry through the afflicting part; but a FOOL has something *always about him* that makes him intolerable; he is ever contemptible, and uninterruptedly ridiculous; it is like a handsome woman with some deformity about her, that makes all the rest be rejected; *if he is kind*, it is so apish, so below the rate of manhood, so surfeiting and so disagreeable, that, like an ill smell, it makes the face wrinkle at it; *if he be froward*, he is so insufferably insolent, that there is no bearing it. His passions are all flashes, struck out of him like fire from a flint: if it be *anger*, 'tis sullen and senseless; if *love*, 'tis coarse and brutish; he is *in good*, wavering; *in mischief*, obstinate; *in society*, empty; *in management*, unthinking; *in manners*, sordid; *in error*, incorrigible; and *in every thing*, ridiculous.

'Wherefore upon the whole, my answer is in short, That the worst thing a

* Defoe's *Review* was the earliest of English literary periodicals—the first number having been issued in February, 1704, while that of the Tatler, which is generally named as the first, was not issued till April, 1709. The *Review* was first published in weekly numbers (in 4to, price a penny), but it was afterward issued twice a week. The literary portion consisted mainly of the proceedings of a certain 'Scandal Club,' which took cognizance of the prevalent fashions and manners, and answered questions respecting points of love, law, literature, and morality, with all the promptitude of the Tatler and Spectator, of several years later date.

sober woman can be married to, is a FOOL; of whom whoever has the lot,—*Lord have mercy*, and a + should be set on the door, as a house infected with the plague.'

During the early part of 1710 the nation was absorbed by the proceedings of Sacheverell—his insane conduct, and his ill-judged trial, of which Defoe gave in his *Review* a felicitous parody :—

The women lay aside their tea and chocolate, leave off visiting after dinner, and forming themselves into cabals, turn privy-counselors, and settle the affairs of State. Every lady of quality has her head more particularly full of business than usual; nay, some of the ladies talk of keeping female secretaries, and none will be fit for the office but such as can speak French, Dutch, and Latin. Gallantry and gaiety are now laid aside for business; matters of government and affairs of state are become the province of the ladies; and no wonder if they are too much engaged to concern themselves about the common impertinences of life. Indeed, they have hardly leisure to live, little time to eat and sleep, and none at all to say their prayers. If you turn your eye to the park, the ladies are not there—even the church is thinner than usual, for you know the mode is for privy councils to meet on Sundays. Then the playhouse feels the effects of it, and the great Betterton died a beggar on this account. Nay, the Tatler, the immortal Tatler, the great Bickerstaff himself, was fain to leave off talking to the ladies during the doctor's trial, and turn his sagacious pen to the dark subjects of death and the next world, though he had not yet decided the ancient debate—whether Pluto's regions were, in point of government, a kingdom or a commonwealth.

In 1719 Defoe engaged in the publication of the *Mercurius Politicus*, and as foreign correspondent, in the interest of the government, to *Mist's Weekly Journal* (avowedly in opposition to Hanoverian dynasty,)—himself the while to continue before the public under the suspicion of the administration. This was a difficult part to play, and involved him in constant misunderstandings—but his zeal for the government carried him through.

At the age of fifty-four, in straightened circumstances, and after prolonged nervous prostration, Defoe eschewed politics and addressed himself to a new course of literary labor. In 1715 appeared his '*Family Instructor*,' which was commended alike by the pulpit and the press, and was reprinted in Boston. In 1722, he published his '*Religious Courtship*,' which held its ground until Hannah More's 'Cœlebs' appeared. In 1719, 'The Life and Strange Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner,' was published, and from that day to this has been a familiar and household work—a popular educator beyond most, certainly beyond any *one* book in the English Language, unless it be the English Bible—and with a large class of young people the former is read with absorbing interest, which alone makes any reading profitable, while the latter is not.

Defoe died on the 22d of April, 1730,—one of the most voluminous, vigorous, and versatile authors in the English language.

PLAN OF A UNIVERSITY FOR LONDON—1723.

Defoe, in his *Augusta Triumphans* (published in 1728), or 'The Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe,' suggests the establishment of 'an University where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the eye of their friends,' and 'the forming an Academy of Science at Christ's Hospital.'

We have been a brave and learned people, and are insensibly dwindling into an effeminate, superficial race. Our young gentlemen are sent to the universities, it is true, but not under restraint or correction as formerly; not to study, but to drink; not for furniture for the head, but a feather for the cap, merely to say they have been at Oxford or Cambridge, as if the air of those places inspired knowledge without application. It is true we ought to have those places in reverence for the many learned men they have sent us; but why must we go so far for knowledge? Why should a young gentleman be sent raw from the nursery to live on his own hands, to be liable to a thousand temptations, and run the risk of being snapped up by sharping jilts, with which both universities abound, who make our youth of fortune their prey, and have brought misery into too many good families? Not only the hazard of their healths from debauches of both kinds, but the waste of their precious time renders the sending them so far off very hazardous. Why should such a metropolis as London be without an university? Would it not save considerably the expense we are at in sending our young gentlemen so far from London? Would it not add to the lustre of our State, and cultivate politeness among us? What benefits may we not in time expect from so glorious a design? Will not London become the scene of science? And what reason have we but to hope we may vie with any neighboring nations? Not that I would have Oxford or Cambridge neglected, for the good they have done. Besides, there are too many fine endowments to be sunk; we may have universities at these places and at London too, without prejudice. Knowledge will never hurt us, and whoever lives to see an university here, will find it give quite another turn to the genius and spirit of our youth in general.

How many gentlemen pass their lives in a shameful indolence, who might employ themselves to the purpose, were such a design set on foot? Learning would flourish, art revive, and not only those who studied would benefit by it, but the blessing would be conveyed to others by conversation.

And in order to this so laudable design, small expense is required; the sole charge being the hire of a convenient hall or house, which, if they please, they may call a college.* But I see no necessity the pupils have to lie or diet there; that may be done more reasonably and conveniently at home, under the eye of their friends; their only necessary business at college being to attend their tutors at stated hours; and, bed and board excepted, to conform themselves to college laws, and perform the same exercises as if they were actually at Oxford or Cambridge.

Let the best of tutors be provided, and professors in all faculties encouraged; this will do a double good, not only to the instructed, but to the instructors. What a fine provision may here be made for numbers of ingenious gentlemen now unpreferred? And to what a height may even a small beginning grow in time?

As London is so extensive, so its university may be composed of many colleges, quartered at convenient distances; for example, one at Westminster; one at St. James's; one near Ormond street, that part of the town abounding in gentry; one in the centre of the Inns of Court; another near the Royal Exchange, and more if occasion and encouragement permit.

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* Defoe in a postscript at the close of his pamphlet (of 63 pp. 8vo) adds: "In my scheme for an university in London, I proposed only a hall or public room; on recollection I find it should be a large house or inn, in the nature of a college, with store of convenient rooms for gentlemen, not only to study separately, but wherein to lodge their books, for it would be most inconvenient to lug them backwards and forwards. They may indeed breakfast, sup, and sleep at home, but it will be highly necessary they should dine in commons, or at least near the college; not that I would have cooks, butlers, caterers, manciples, and the whole train of college cannibals retained; but for fear they should stay too long at home, or be hindered from returning to study in due time, some proper place or person might be pitched upon to keep an ordinary, at a prefixed price and hour, and for the students only.

My reasons are these:—

First, A young gentleman may live too far from college.

Second, The college hours for dinner may not agree with those of the family.

Third, Company may drop in and detain him."

The same offices and regulations may be constituted, cooks, butlers, bed-makers, &c., excepted, as at other universities. As for endowment, there is no need, the whole may be done by subscription, and that an easy one, considering that nothing but instructions are paid for.

In a word, an academical education is so much wanted in London, that everybody of ability and figure will readily come into it; and I dare engage, the place need but be chosen, and tutors approved of, to complete the design at once.

It may be objected that there is a kind of university at Gresham College, where professors in all sciences are maintained, and obliged to read lectures every day, or at least as often as demanded. The design is most laudable, but it smells too much of the *sinecure;* they only read in term time, and then their lectures are so hurried over, the audience is little the better. They cannot be turned out, it is a good settlement for life, and they are very easy in their studies when once fixed. Whereas were the professorship during good behavior, there would be a study to maintain their posts, and their pupils would reap the benefit.

Upon second thought, I think colleges for university education might be formed at Westminster, Eton, the Charter-house, St. Paul's, Merchant Tailors, and other public schools, where youth might begin and end their studies; but this may be further considered of.

I had almost forgot the most material point, which is, that his Majesty's sanction must first be obtained, and the university proposed have power to confer degrees, &c., and other academical privileges.

AN ACADEMY OF MUSIC—1723.

It will no doubt be asked what have I to do with music? to which I answer, I have been a lover of the science from my infancy, and in my younger days was accounted no despicable performer on the viol and lute, then much in vogue. I esteem it the most innocent amusement in life; it generally relaxes, after too great a hurry of spirits, and composes the mind into a sedateness prone to everything that is generous and good; and when the more necessary parts of education are finished, it is a most genteel and commendable accomplishment; it saves a great deal of drinking and debauchery in our sex, and helps the ladies off with many an idle hour, which sometimes might probably be worse employed otherwise.

Our quality, gentry, and better sort of traders must have diversions; and if those that are commendable be denied, they will take to worse; now what can be more commendable than music, one of the seven liberal sciences, and no mean branch of the mathematics?

Were it for no other reason, I should esteem it because it was the favorite diversion of his late Majesty, of glorious memory; who was as wise a prince as ever filled the British throne. Nor is it less esteemed by their present Majesties, whose souls are formed for harmony, and who have not disdained to make it a part in the education of their sacred race.

Our nobility and gentry have shown their love to the science, by supporting at such prodigious expense the Italian opera, improperly called an academy; but they have at the same time shown no small partiality in discouraging anything English, and overloading the town with such heaps of foreign musicians.

An academy, rightly understood, is a place for the propagation of science, by training up persons thereto from younger to riper years, under the instruction and inspection of proper artists; how can the Italian opera properly be called an academy, when none are admitted but such as are, at least are thought, or ought to be, adepts in music? If that be an academy, so are the theatres of Drury Lane and Lincolns-Inn Fields; nay, Punch's opera may pass for a lower kind of academy. Would it not be a glorious thing to have an opera of our own, in our own most noble tongue, in which the composer, singers, and orchestra, should be of our own growth? Not that we ought to disclaim all obligations to Italy, the mother of music, the nurse of Corelli, Handel, Bononcini, Geminiani; but then we ought not to be so stupidly partial to imagine ourselves too brutal a part of mankind to make any progress in the science. By the same reason that we love it, we may excel in it; love begets application, and application perfection. We have already had a Purcel, and no doubt there are now many latent geniuses, who only want proper instruction, application, and encouragement, to become great ornaments of the science, and make England emulate even Rome itself.

What a number of excellent performers on all instruments have sprung up in England within these few years? That this is owing to the opera I will not deny, and so far the opera is an academy, as it refines the taste and inspires emulation.

But though we are happy in instrumental performers, we frequently send to Italy for singers, and that at no small expense; to remedy which I humbly propose that the governors of Christ's Hospital will show their public spirit, by forming an academy of music on their foundation, after this or the like manner.

That out of their great number of children, thirty boys be selected of good ears and propensity to music.

That these boys be divided into three classes, viz., six for wind instruments, such as the hautboy, bassoon, and German flute.

That sixteen others be selected for string instruments, or at least the most useful, viz., the violin and bass-violin.

That the remaining eight be particularly chosen for voice, and organ, or harpsichord. That all in due time be taught composition. The boys thus chosen, three masters should be elected, each most excellent in his way; that is to say, one for the wind instrument, another for the stringed, and a third for the voice and organ, &c.

Handsome salaries should be allowed these masters, to engage their constant attendance every day from eight till twelve in the morning; and I think 100*l.* per annum for each would be sufficient, which will be a trifle to so wealthy a body. The multiplicity of holidays should be abridged, and only a few kept; there cannot be too few, considering what a hindrance they are to juvenile studies. It is a vulgar error that has too long prevailed all over England to the great detriment of learning, and many boys have been made blockheads in complaisance to kings and saints dead for many ages past.

The morning employed in music, the boys should go in the afternoon, or so many hours, to the reading and writing school, and in the evening should practise, at least two hours before bed-time, and two before the master comes in the morning. This course held for seven or eight years, will make them fine proficients; but that they should not go too raw or young out of the academy, it is proper that at the stated age of apprenticeship, they be bound to the hospital, to engage their greater application, and make them thorough masters, before they launch out into the world; for one great hinderance to many performers is, that they begin to teach too soon, and obstruct their genius.

What will not such a design produce in a few years? Will they not be able to perform a concert, choir, or opera, or all three, among themselves, and overpay the charge, as shall hereafter be specified?

For example, we will suppose such a design to be continued for ten years, we shall find an orchestra of forty hands, and a choir or opera of twenty voices, or admitting that of those twenty only five prove capital singers, it will answer the intent.

For the greater variety they may, if they think fit, take in two or more of their girls, where they find a promising genius, but this may be further considered of.

Now, when they are enabled to exhibit an opera, will they not gain considerably when their voices and hands cost them only a college subsistence? and it is but reasonable the profits accruing from operas, concerts, or otherwise, should go to the hospital, to make good all former and future expenses, and enable them to extend the design to a greater length and grandeur; so that instead of 1,500*l.* per annum, the price of one Italian singer, we shall for 300*l.* once in ten years, have sixty English musicians regularly educated, and enabled to live by their science.

There ought, moreover, to be annual probations, and proper prizes or premiums allotted, to excite emulation in the youths, and give life to their studies.

They have already a music school, as they call it, but the allowance is too poor for this design, and the attendance too small. It must be every day, or not at all.

This will be an academy, indeed, and in process of time they will have even their masters among themselves; and what is the charge, compared with the profits, or their abilities?

Cheap Sunday Concerts.

One thing I had like to have forgot, which is, that with permission of the right reverend the lords spiritual, some performance in music, suitable to the solemnity of the day, be exhibited every Sunday after divine service. Sacred poesy and rhetoric may be likewise introduced to make it an entertainment suitable to a Christian and polite audience; and indeed we seem to want some such commendable employment for the better sort; for we see the public walks and taverns crowded, and rather than be idle, they will go to Newport market.

That such an entertainment would be much preferable to drinking, gaming, or profane discourse, none can deny; and till it is proved to be prejudicial, I shall always imagine it necessary. The hall at the hospital will contain few less than seven hundred people, conveniently seated, which at so small a price as one shilling per head, will amount to 35*l.* per week; and if the performance deserve it, as no doubt it will in time, they may make it half a crown, or more, which must considerably increase the income of the hospital.

When they are able to make an opera, the profits will be yet more considerable, nor will they reap much less from what the youths bring in during their apprenticeship, when employed at concerts, theatres, or other public entertainments.

ILLITERACY, LEARNING, AND PEDANTRY.

Defoe had frequent occasion to notice the imputation of *illiteracy*—made because he was not a graduate of either of the universities—and yet he has no occasion to be ashamed of his ability or his arguments when brought face to face with his antagonist. Even Swift must have felt the rudeness of his assaults in the *Examiner*, when the author of the *Review* retorts in this vein:

I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, nor set Latin quotations on the front of the *Review.* But, to my irreparable loss, I was bred only by halves; for my father, forgetting Juno's Royal Academy, left the language of Billingsgate quite out of my education. Hence, I am perfectly illiterate in the polite style of the street, and am not fit to converse with the porters and carmen of quality, who grace their diction with the beauties of calling names, and cursing their neighbor with a *bonne grace.* I have had the honor to fight a *rascal,* but never could master the eloquence of calling a man so; nor am I yet arrived at the dignity of being laureated at her Majesty's bear-garden. I have also, *illiterate* as I am, made a little progress in science. I read Euclid's Elements, and yet never found the mathematical description of a *scurrilous gentleman.* I have read logic, but could never see a syllogism formed upon the notion of it. I went some length in physics, or natural philosophy, and could never find between the two ends of nature, generation and corruption, one species out of which such a creature could be formed. I thought myself master of geography, and to possess sufficient skill in astronomy to have set up for a country almanac-maker, yet could, in neither of the globes, find either in what part of the world such a heterogeneous creature lives, nor under the influence of what heavenly body he can be produced. From whence I conclude very frankly, that either there is no such creature in the world, or that, according to Mr. *Examiner,* I am a stupid idiot, and a very *illiterate fellow.*

Many years later, in a communication to Mist's *Journal* (Oct. 30, 1725), he writes under the head of Learning:

I observe with some concern a great stir made among mankind about the word *Learning,* and many disputes, of very little consequence, are raised upon the very word itself; nor is it yet determined among the learned world, what we are to understand by Learning. Nay, to tell the truth, there is some difficulty to find out who they are we ought to call the learned world. I must own to you, I do not judge of it as some, that would have themselves a part of the learned world, do.

I remember an author in the world some years ago who was generally upbraided with ignorance, and called an "illiterate fellow" by some of the *beau-monde* of the last age. He was run down in this manner by some that upon inquiry had a much clearer title to the character of a blockhead, by a great deal, than himself; but his enemies were noisy, and the man was negligent in his own defence. Nay, he would frequently own he was no scholar, and be perfectly unconcerned at the calumny of being thought to be illiterate.

I happened to come into this person's study once, and I found him busy translating a description of the course of the river *Boristhenes* out of *Bleau's* Geography, written in *Spanish.* Another time I found him translating some Latin paragraphs out of *Leubinitz Theatri Cometici,* being a learned discourse upon comets; and that I might see whether it was genuine, I looked on some part of it that he had finished, and found by it that he understood the Latin very well, and had perfectly taken the sense of that difficult author. In short, I found he understood the *Latin,* the *Spanish,* the *Italian,* and could read the *Greek,* and I knew before that he spoke *French* fluently,—*yet this man was no scholar.*

As to science, on another occasion, I heard him dispute (in such a manner as surprised me) upon the motions of the heavenly bodies, the distance, magnitude, revolutions, and especially the influences of the planets, the nature and probable revolutions of comets, the excellency of the new philosophy, and the like; *but this man was no scholar.*

In geography and history he had all the world at his fingers' ends. He talked of the most distant countries with an inimitable exactness; and changing from one place to another, the company thought of every place or country he named that certainly he must have been born there. He knew not only where everything was, but what everybody did in every part of the world; I mean what business, what trade, what manufacture was carrying on in every part of the world; and had the history of almost all the nations of the world in his head,—*yet this man was no scholar.*

This put me upon wondering, even so long ago, what this *strange thing* called a man of learning *was*, and what is it that constitutes a *scholar?* For, *said I*, here's a man speaks five languages, and reads the sixth, is a master of astronomy, geography, history, and abundance of other useful knowledge, (which I do not mention, that you may not guess at the man, who is too modest to desire it,) and yet, they say, *this man is no scholar.* What then will become of me, *said I*, who know nothing but a little mere Greek and Latin? What must I do to preserve the name of a *scholar*, for such I pass for now; but certainly must quickly forget and disown it, nay the very name of it, if such as these pass for men of no learning?

But meeting with a brisk, pretty fellow, at *White's* Chocolate House, the other day, whom I took to be a little in my class, for we had studied, that is, *fooled a little time away together*, at the University formerly, and as I thought were classic dunces together; I say, meeting with him one day, I made my grievance known to him, and asked him what I must do.

"Phoo!" *says he*, "you are all wrong, and the thing is right; the fellow you speak of, was a mere blockhead, for as the world has a different taste of learning now from what it had in former days, so if you will pass for a *scholar* you must take up a new method."

In a subsequent number (Nov. 6) he illustrates what Learning is by the character of a Pedant:

In my last, I gave you an example of a person within the compass of my own knowledge, who could speak five languages, and could read six, who was a master of science, who discoursed of the stars and the regions above as if he had been born there, who had the history of the world all in his head, the geography of it at his fingers' ends, and understood the interests of all nations as if he had lived among them; but all this would not reach it, this man would by no means pass for a scholar.

I went some years under the amusement of this cramp question, who was a scholar? When, after some time, I had occasion to put my son to a grammar school, and inquiring after a proper person, I had a friend, who hearing of it recommended a man to me; and among all the rest of his qualifications, he told me he was a great man, a profound scholar, that he had been eight years fellow of a college in *Cambridge*, that he had written a book upon the pointings of the Hebrew, and had made some learned amendments to the Greek Grammar; that he spoke the Latin better than the English; and, in short, he was known and valued for a man of extraordinary learning. Upon which you may be sure I put my son to school to him most readily.

Having committed my son to his care for erudition, I had frequent occasions to converse with this great scholar; and, as near as I can, you shall have his just character.

He was, in the first place, of a sour, cynical, surly, retired temper; this I suppose, though some of it came from mere nature, yet had grown upon him by time, being the consequence of poring upon his book.

In the next place, if he performed anything as a scholar, it came from him by the violent labor of his head, violent mortifying application, and with not only twice the labor, but twice the time that other men ordinarily took for such things.

At the same time that he was a critic in the Greek and Hebrew, he hardly could, or at least did not, spell his mother tongue, English.

His style was all rough laconics, thronged with colons and full-points; and he seldom made his paragraphs above a line and a half.

He was in Orders, and sometimes read a sermon or two; but preached away all his hearers, not being able to suit his discourse to his auditory. He made his ordinary sermons the same as if he had been to preach *ad clerum*, or to the heads of the University.

Writing a letter to me once upon a disaster which had befallen one of his scholars, he wrote that there was a sad accid*ence* fallen out in his school; and when I showed it him, and would have mentioned it as a mistake of his pen, he began to be warm, would needs justify the orthography of it, and began to talk of the etymology and derivation of the words.

He knew no more of the world abroad than if he had never seen a map, or read the least description of things. He could give no more account of Africa or America than if they had never been discovered; only, that he knew St. *Cyprian* and St. *Augustine*, but not whereabouts they lived, or whether Africa was divided from America by water or by land.

He understood not a word of French, Dutch, Spanish, or Italian. He had read the Roman histories, and the Church histories, and had the names of all the great cities and kingdoms in the Grecian, Persian, and Assyrian Monarchies by heart; but could not tell in what part of the globe they were to be found.

He had Horace and Virgil in his head, and was as good as an *index verborum* to Juvenal and Persius. As for the Bible, *give him his due*, he was a walking Concordance, and had a local memory for chapter and verse; but when he preached, he was all exposition, without either inference or application.

Take him among his books, everything that was ancient, crabbed, and critical, suited; everything modern, smooth, eloquent, and polite, provoked him to wrath. He had learning enough to find fault, but not good humor enough to mend; he liked nothing, and nothing he performed could be liked. His mere learning must be buried with him, for 'tis like a great crowd pressing out at a little door: not being able to come out all at once, it cannot come at all.

In a word, he knows letters, and perhaps could read half the Polyglot Bible, but knows nothing of the world,—has neither read men nor things; and this, they say, is a scholar. Why, then, that SCHOLAR IS A LEARNED FOOL.

DEFOE'S ESSAY UPON PROJECTS.

This Essay of Defoe was the first work of his publication which attained the dignity of a volume—"*An Essay upon Projects.* London. Printed by R. R. for Thomas Cockerill, at the corner of Warwick Lane, near Paternoster Row. 1697." It consists of 350 pages, and might rather be called a series of Essays upon important public improvements suggested by the author. After an Introduction, and a short History of Projects and Projectors, the first scheme he recommends is a Royal or National Bank, with affiliated Provincial Establishments. The next relates to Public Highways, and their improvement in construction, repair, and management. Then follows a proposa of Assurances, under which he includes insurance against shipwreck, fires, titles of lands, etc., but singularly says, he cannot admire insuring of life. In recommending friendly societies, which, he says, "is in short a number of people entering into a mutual compact to help one another, in case any disaster or distress fall upon them," he has many excellent suggestions, showing that the principle admits of great extension; instancing assistance of seamen, and support of destitute widows. He then proposes a pension office in every county, for the reception of deposits from the poor for their relief in sickness and old age; this was an anticipation of the modern institution of Savings Banks, combined with the still more recent provision for conversion into annuities. Under the head "Of Fools," he urges the erection of an institution for the care and maintenance of idiots; whom he calls "a particular rentcharge on the great family of mankind." For the benefit of trade, and honest but unfortunate traders, he next projects a commission of enquiry into bankruptcy. In the true spirit of improvement, our author suggests the formation of Academies to supply some neglected branches of education. One of these was the refinement and correction of the English language, and suppression of profane swearing and vulgarisms. Another important recommendation, that he esteemed the most noble and useful in his book, was an academy for military studies. Supplementary thereto, he proposes an academy for military exercises. Under this head he has also a project for an academy for women. The last scheme in the series is one for the registration of all the seamen of the United Kingdom; which was attempted soon after by Act of Parliament.

ACADEMIES.

We have in *England* fewer of these than in any part of the world, at least where learning is in so much esteem. But to make amends, the two great seminaries we have are without comparison the *greatest*, I won't say the *best*, in the world; and though much might be said here concerning Universities in general, and Foreign Academies in particular, I content myself with noting that part in which we seem defective—

An Academy of English Philology.

The *French*, who justly value themselves upon erecting the most celebrated academy of *Europe*, owe the lustre of it very much to the great encouragement the kings of *France* have given to it. And one of the members making a speech at his entrance, tells you, *That 'tis not the least of the glories of their Invincible Monarch, to have engrossed all the learning of the world in that sublime body.*

The peculiar study of the Academy of *Paris* has been to refine and correct their own language; which they have done to that happy degree that we see it now spoken in all the courts of *Christendom*, as the language allowed to be most universal.

I had the honor once to be a member of a small society, who seemed to offer at this noble design in *England*. But the greatness of the work, and the modesty of the gentlemen concerned, prevailed with them to desist an enterprise which appeared too great for private hands to undertake. We want indeed a *Richlieu* to commence such a work: for I am persuaded, were there such a *genius* in our kingdom to lead the way, there would not want capacities who could carry on the work to a glory equal to all that has gone before them. The *English* tongue is a subject not at all less worthy the labor of such a society than the *French*, and capable of a much greater perfection. The learned among the *French* will own, that the comprehensiveness of expression is a glory in which the *English* tongue not only equals but excels its neighbors; *Rapin*, St. *Evremont*, and the most eminent *French* authors have acknowledged it: And my Lord *Roscommon*, who is allowed to be a good judge of *English*, because he wrote it as exactly as any ever did, expresses what I mean in these lines:

> 'For who did ever in French authors see
> The comprehensive English energy?
> The weighty bullion of one sterling line,
> Drawn to French wire would through whole pages shine.'

The work of this society should be to encourage polite learning, to polish and refine the English tongue, and advance the so-much-neglected faculty of correct language; also to establish purity and propriety of style, and to purge it from all the irregular additions that ignorance and affectation have introduced; and from all those innovations of speech, if I may call them such, which some dogmatic writers have the confidence to foster upon their native language, as if their authority were sufficient to make their own fancy legitimate.

Into this society should be admitted none but persons eminent for learning, and yet none, or but very few, whose business or trade was learning; for I may be allowed, I suppose, to say, We have seen many great scholars, mere learned men, and graduates in the last degree of study, whose *English* has been far from polite, full of stiffness and affectation, hard words, and long unusual coupling of *syllables* and sentences, which sound harsh and untunable to the ear, and shock the reader both in expression and understanding.

In his plan of operations, Defoe includes the extirpation of the absurd and unprofitable practice of swearing—by force of example. 'If the gentlemen of England would drop this most nonsensical as well as vicious practice, it would soon grow odious and out of fashion—for there is neither pleasure or profit in it.'

MILITARY ACADEMY.

'I allow that war is the best academy in the world, where men study by necessity, and practice by force, and both to some purpose, with duty in the action, and a reward in the end; and 'tis evident to any man who knows the world, or has made any observations on things, what an improvement the *English* nation has made during this Seven Years' War.

'But should you ask how dear it first cost, and what a condition *England* was in for a war at first on this account; how almost all our engineers and great officers were foreigners, it may put us in mind how necessary it is to have our people so practised in the arts of war that they may not be novices when they come to the experiment.'

'Men are not born with muskets on their shoulders, nor fortifications in their heads; neither is it natural to shoot bombs and undermine towns. As long as nations will continue war they should be prepared to enter upon it with effect. For this purpose the people should be trained to it in time of peace.' 'Ships are ready, and our trade keeps the seamen always taught, and breeds up more; but soldiers, horsemen, engineers, gunners, and the like, must be bred and taught.'

He fixes upon Chelsea College as a suitable situation for his Academy, of which the King should be the founder, the expense to be borne by the public out of the annual revenue to be granted by the crown. He then enumerates the studies, and recommends that the hours of recreation should be filled up by manly exercises. As a substitute for effeminate amusements, he urges upon youth in general the practice of shooting at a mark and of swimming, as not only conducive to health, but of other utilities, personal and national.

'And that the whole kingdom might in some degree be better qualified for service, I think the following project would be very useful. When our military weapon was the *long-bow*, at which our *English* nation in some measure excelled the whole world, the meanest countryman was a good archer; and that which qualified them so much for service in the war, was their diversion in times of peace; which also had this good effect. That when an army was to be raised, they needed no disciplining; and for the encouragement of the people to an exercise so publicly profitable, an act of Parliament was made to oblige every parish to maintain buts for the youth in the country to shoot at.

'Since our way of fighting is now altered, and this destructive engine, the *musket*, is the proper arms for the soldier, I could wish the diversion also of the *English* would change too, that our pleasures and profit might correspond. 'Tis a great hindrance to this nation, especially where standing armies are a grievance, that if ever a war commence, men must have at least a year before they are thought fit to face an enemy, to instruct them how to handle their arms, and new-raised men are called *raw soldiers*. To help this, at least in some measure, I would propose, that the public exercises of our youth should by some public encouragement (*for penalties won't do it*) be drawn off from the foolish boyish sports of cocking, and cricketing, and from tipling, to shooting with a firelock; an exercise as pleasant as 'tis manly and generous; and *swimming*, which is a thing so many ways profitable, besides its being a great preservative of health, that methinks no man ought to be without it. Our country gentlemen should establish annual shooting matches, for their respective towns and neighborhoods, which would set all the young men in England a shooting, and make marksmen of them, and the advantage would be seen in the execution done by the first batallion composed of such recruits in our next war.'

ACADEMY FOR WOMEN.

'We reproach the sex every day with folly and impertinence, while I am confident had they the advantages of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves.' He complains that the women of his time were taught merely the mechanical parts of knowledge—such as reading, writing, and sewing—instead of being exalted into rational companions; and he argues that 'men in the same class of society would cut a sorry figure if their education were to be equally neglected.'

The soul is placed in the body like a rough diamond, and must be polished, or the lustre of it will never appear. And it is manifest, that as the rational soul distinguishes us from brutes, so education carries on the distinction, and makes some less brutish than others. Why, then, should women be denied the benefit of instruction? If knowledge and understanding had been useless additions to the sex, God would never have given them capacities, for He made nothing needless. What has woman done to forfeit the privilege of being taught? Does she plague us with her pride and impertinence? Why do we not let her learn, that she may have more wit? Shall we upbraid woman with folly, when it is only the error of this inhuman custom that hinders her being made wiser? . . . Women, in my observation of them, have little or no difference, but as they are or are not distinguished by education. Tempers, indeed, may in some degree influence them, but the main distinguishing part is their breeding. If a woman be well-bred, and taught the proper management of her natural wit, she proves generally very sensible and retentive; and, without partiality, a woman of sense and manners is the finest and most delicate part of God's creation, the glory of her Maker, and the great instance of His singular regard to man, to whom He gave the best gift either God could bestow or man receive; and it is the sordidest piece of folly and ingratitude in the world to withhold from the sex the due lustre which the advantages of education give to the natural beauty of their minds. A woman, well-bred and well-taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behavior, is a creature without comparison. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; she is all softness and sweetness, love, wit, and delight; she is every way suitable to the sublimest wish; and the man that has such a one to his portion has nothing to do but to rejoice in her and be thankful. I cannot think that God ever made them so delicate, so glorious creatures, and furnished them with such charms, so agreeable and delightful to mankind, with souls capable of the same enjoyments as men, and all to be only stewards of our homes, cooks and slaves.

The persons who enter (one of the Houses, of which there should be at least one in each county, and ten in London) should be taught all sorts of breeding suitable to both their genius and their quality; and in particular *music* and *dancing*, which it would be cruelty to bar the sex of, because they are their darlings: but besides this, they should be taught *French* and *Italian;* and I would venture the injury of giving a woman more tongues than one.

They should, as a particular study, be taught all the graces of speech, and all the necessary air of conversation; which our common education is so defective in, that I need not expose it; they should be brought to read books, and especially history, and so to read as to make them understand the world, and be able to know and judge of things when they hear of them.

To such whose genius would lead them to it, I would deny no sort of learning; but the chief thing in general is to cultivate the understandings of the sex, that they may be capable of all sorts of conversation; that their parts and judgments being improved, they may be as profitable in their conversation as they are pleasant.

In short, *I would have men take women for companions, and educate them to be fit for it.* A woman of sense and breeding will scorn as much to encroach upon the prerogative of the man, as a man of sense will scorn to oppress the *weakness* of the woman. But if the women's souls were refined and improved by teaching, that word would be lost; to say, *The Weakness of the Sex*, as to judgment, would be nonsense; for ignorance and folly would be no more to be found among women than men. I remember a passage which I heard from a very fine woman, who had wit and capacity enough, an extraordinary shape and face, and a great fortune, but had been cloistered up all her time, and for fear of being stolen had not had the liberty of being taught the common necessary knowledge of women's affairs; and when she came to converse in the world, her natural wit made her so sensible of the want of education, that she gave this short reflection on herself:

'*I am ashamed to talk with my very maids, for I don't know when they do right or wrong: I had more need to go to school, than be married.*'

The Conduct of Human Life.

1. Remember how often you have neglected the great duties of religion and virtue, and slighted the opportunities that Providence has put into your hands; and, withal, that you have a set period assigned you for the management of the affairs of human life; and then reflect seriously that, unless you resolve immediately to improve the little remains, the whole must necessarily slip away insensibly, and then you are lost beyond recovery.

2. Let an unaffected gravity, freedom, justice, and sincerity, shine through all your actions, and let no fancies and chimeras give the least check to those excellent qualities. This is an easy task, if you will but suppose everything you do to be yonr last, and if you can keep your passions and appetites from crossing your reason. Stand clear of rashness, insincerity or self-love.

3. Manage all your thoughts and actions with such prudence and circumspection as if you were sensible you were just going to step into the grave. A little thinking will show a man the vanity and uncertainty of all sublunary things, and enable him to examine maturely the manner of dying; which, if duly abstracted from the terror of the idea, will appear nothing more than an unavoidable appendix of life itself, and a pure natural action.

4. Consider that ill-usage from some sort of people is in a manner necessary, and therefore do not be disquieted about it, but rather conclude that you and your enemy are both marching off the stage together, and that in a little time your very memories will be extinguished.

5. Among your principal observations upon human life, let it be always one to take notice what a great deal both of time and ease that man gains who is not troubled with the spirit of curiosity, who lets his neighbor's affairs alone, and only takes care of honesty and a good conscience.

6. If you would live at your ease, and as much as possible be free from the incumbrances of life, manage but a few things at once, and let those, too, be such as are absolutely necessary. By this rule you will draw the bulk of your business into a narrow compass, and have the double pleasure of making your actions good, and few into the bargain.

7. He that torments himself because things do not happen just as he would have them, is but a sort of ulcer in the world; and he that is selfish, narrow-souled, and sets up for a separate interest, is a kind of voluntary outlaw.

8. Never think anything below you which reason and your own circumstances require, and never suffer yourself to be deterred by the ill-grounded notions of censure and reproach; but when honesty and conscience prompt you to say or do anything, do it boldly ; never balk your resolution.

9. If a man does me an injury, what is that to me? It is his own action, and let him account for it. As for me, I am in my proper station, and only doing the business that Providence has allotted; and withal, I ought to consider that the best way to revenge, is not to imitate the injury.

10. When you happen to be ruffled and put out of humor by any cross accident, retire immediately into your reason, and do not suffer your passion to overrule you a moment; for the sooner you recover yourself now, the better you will be able to guard yourself for the future.

11. Do not be like those ill-natured people that, though they do not love to give a good word to their contemporaries, yet are mighty fond of their own commendations. This argues a perverse and unjust temper.

12. If any one convinces you of an error, change your opinion and thank him for it; truth and information are your business, and can never hurt anybody. On the contrary, he that is proud and stubborn, and wilfully continues in a mistake, it is he that receives the mischief.

13. Because you see a thing difficult, do not instantly conclude it to be

impossible to master it. Diligence and industry are seldom defeated. Look, therefore, narrowly into the thing itself, and what you observe proper and practicable in another, conclude likewise within your own power.

14. The principle business of human life is run through within the short compass of twenty-four hours; and when you have taken a deliberate view of the present age, you have seen as much as if you had begun with the world, the rest being nothing else but an endless round of the same thing.

15. Bring your will to your fate, and suit your mind to your circumstances. Love your friends and forgive your enemies, and do justice to all mankind, and you will be secure to make your passage easy, and enjoy most of the comforts that human life is capable to afford you.

16. When you have a mind to entertain yourself in your retirements, let it be with the good qualifications of your friends and acquaintance. Think with pleasure and satisfaction upon the honor and bravery of one, the modesty of another, the generosity of a third, and so on; there being nothing more pleasant and diverting than the lively images and the advantages of those we love.

17. As nothing can deprive you of the privileges of your nature, or compel you to act counter to your reason, so nothing can happen to you but what comes from Providence, and consists with the interest of the universe.

18. Let people's tongues and actions be what they will, your business is to have honor and honesty in your view. Let them rail, revile, censure, and condemn, or make you the subject of their scorn and ridicule, what does it all signify? You have one certain remedy against all their malice and folly, and that is, to live so that nobody shall believe them.

19. Alas, poor mortals! did we rightly consider our own state and condition, we should find it would not be long before we have forgot all the world, and to be even, that all the world will have forgot us likewise.

20. He that would recommend himself to the public, let him do it by the candor and modesty of his behavior, and by a generous indifference to external advantages. Let him love mankind, and resign to Providence, and then his works will follow him, and his good actions will praise him in the gate.

21. When you hear a discourse, let your understanding, as far as possible, keep pace with it, and lead you forward to those things which fall most within the compass of your own observations.

22. When vice and treachery shall be rewarded, and virtue and ability slighted and discountenanced; when Ministers of State shall rather fear man than God, and to screen themselves run into parties and factions; when noise and clamor, and scandalous reports shall carry everything before them, it is natural to conclude that a nation in such a state of infatuation stands upon the brink of destruction, and without the intervention of some unforeseen accident, must be inevitably ruined.

23. When a prince is guarded by wise and honest men, and when all public officers are sure to be rewarded if they do well, and punished if they do evil, the consequence is plain; justice and honesty will flourish, and men will be always contriving, not for themselves, but for their king and country.

24. Wicked men may sometimes go unpunished in this world, but wicked nations never do; because this world is the only place of punishment for wicked nations, though not for private and particular persons.

25. An administration that is merely founded upon human policy must be always subject to human chance; but that which is founded on the Divine wisdom can no more miscarry than the government of heaven. To govern by parties and factions is the advice of an atheist, and sets up a government by the spirit of Satan. In such a government the prince can never be secure under the greatest promises, since, as men's interest changes, so will their duty and affections likewise.

26. It is a very ancient observation, and a very true one, that people generally despise where they flatter, and cringe to those they design to betray; so that truth and ceremony are, and always will be, two distinct things.

27. When you find your friend in an error, undeceive him with secrecy and civility, and let him see his oversight first by hints and glances; and if you cannot convince him, leave him with respect, and lay the fault upon yourself.

28. When you are under the greatest vexations, then consider that human life lasts but for a moment; and do not forget but that you are like the rest of the world, and faulty yourself in many instances; and withal, remember that anger and impatience often prove more mischievous than the provocation.

29. Gentleness and good humor are invincible, provided they are without hypocrisy and design; they disarm the most barbarous and savage tempers, and make even malice ashamed of itself.

30. In all the actions of life let it be your first and principal care to guard against anger on the one hand, and flattery on the other, for they are both unserviceable qualities, and do a great deal of mischief in human life.

31. When a man turns knave or libertine, and gives way to fear, jealousy, and fits of the spleen; when his mind complains of his fortune, and he quits the station in which Providence has placed him, he acts perfectly counter to humanity, deserts his own nature, and, as it were, runs away from himself.

32. Be not heavy in business, disturbed in conversation, nor impertinent in your thoughts. Let your judgment be right, your actions friendly, and your mind contented; let them curse you, threaten you, or despise you; let them go on; they can never injure your reason or your virtue, and then all the rest that they can do to you signifies nothing.

33. The only pleasure of human life is doing the business of the creation; and which way is that to be compassed very easily? Most certainly by the practice of general kindness, by rejecting the importunity of our senses, by distinguishing truth from falsehood, and by contemplating the works of God.

34. Be sure to mind that which lies before you, whether it be thought, word, or action; and never postpone an opportunity, or make virtue wait.

35. Whatever tends neither to the improvement of your reason nor the benefit of society, think it below you; and when you have done any considerable service to mankind, do not lessen it by your folly in gaping after reputation and requital.

36. When you find yourself sleepy in a morning, rouse yourself, and consider that you are born to business, and that in doing good in your generation, you answer your character and act like a man; whereas sleep and idleness do but degrade you, and sink you down to a brute.

37. A mind that has nothing of hope, or fear, or aversion, or desire, to weaken and disturb it, is the most impregnable security. Hither we may with safety retire and defy our enemies; and he that sees not this advantage must be extremely ignorant, and he that forgets it unhappy.

38. Do not disturb yourself about the faults of other people; but let everybody's crimes be at their own door. Have always this great maxim in your remembrance, that to play the knave is to rebel against religion.

39. Do not contemn death, but meet it with a decent and religious fortitude, and look upon it as one of those things which Providence has ordered. If you want a cordial to make the apprehensions of dying go down a little the more easily, consider what sort of world and what sort of company you will part with. To conclude, do but look seriously into the world, and there you will see multitudes of people preparing for funerals, and mourning for their friends and acquaintances; and look out again a little afterwards, and you will see others doing the very same thing for them. *The Dumb Philosopher.* 1719.

SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL AND THE SISTERS OF CHARITY.

MEMOIR.*

VINCENT DE PAUL, although more directly concerned in ministering to the sick, and in relieving bodily wants, and perpetuating his own wonderful activity in these directions by organizing permament societies, made his influence felt in life, and after death, in the educational field. He was born in the hamlet of Ranquines, near Dax, in the department of Landes, April 24, 1576, one of a family of six children. His father, who was a poor peasant, seeing his pious disposition, had him educated by the Franciscan Friars at Dax. After some time, he was able to support himself, as a tutor, without being any longer a charge to his parents; and he entered the University of Toulouse, where he remained seven years. In the year 1600, he was ordained a priest. Holy as he had been from his earliest childhood, it appears to have entered into the designs of Divine Providence that he should be further chastened and sanctified by the ordeal of suffering, and thus prepared for his great future. In the year 1605, having gone to Marseilles to receive a bequest of fifteen hundred livres left him by a friend, he was making the homeward passage from that city to Narbonne in a felucca, when he was captured by African pirates, and sold as a slave in Tunis. Here he remained two years, during which he changed owners, by sale, four times. His last master was a renegade Savoyard, who had abandoned Christianity for Mahometanism. This man became so impressed by the pious and exemplary demeanor of Vincent, that he repented of his apostacy, and agreed to flee with him; and, accordingly, they made their way across the Mediterranean, in an open boat, and landed at Aigues-Mortes, near Marseilles, on June 28, 1607.

* Abridged from Murphy's *Terra Incognita*. The author says in a note—'There are twenty-two well-known biographies of Saint Vincent de Paul, in various languages; not to speak of several minor sketches of his life. The principal are, that by Monseigneur Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, published in 4to., in Paris, in 1664, four years after Saint Vincent's death; that of Père Collet, two volumes, 4to., Nancy, 1748; and the full and learned work of the Abbé Maynard, in four volumes 8vo., published in Paris in 1860. In addition to the biographies, should be mentioned the eloquent panegyric of the Saint by Cardinal Maury, pronounced in the Chapel of the Palace of Versailles, on the 4th of March, 1785, by order, and in presence, of Louis XVI.'

Vincent had no sooner landed than he waited on the Prelate Montorio, the Pope's legate at Avignon, to plead the cause of his fellow-sufferers at Tunis and Algiers, and enlist, through him, the sympathy of Christian princes in their behalf. The prelate took him to Rome, and there introduced him to the representatives of Henry IV. of France, at that time engaged in important political negotiations with the Holy See. They conversed with Vincent, and readily perceived that he was the person whom they wanted, at the moment, to convey their communications to the King; as these could not safely be intrusted to a letter. They accordingly fully confided in him, and dispatched him to Paris. Vincent rejoiced at being thus employed, as it might afford him an opportunity of pleading with the King the cause of his fellow-sufferers in captivity. Henry IV. was so pleased with the humble priest, that, ere long, he announced to his court his intention of raising him to the episcopate. But this design was not destined to be fulfilled, for the life of the great monarch was prematurely brought to a close by the hand of the assassin in 1610.

In the confusion attending this startling event, Vincent was entirely forgotten. Without friends or connections, he stood alone in the capital. Seeking a congenial occupation, he betook himself to the new hospital of Charity, in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, there to devote himself to the service of the sick. It chanced that, one day, Monsieur de Berulle, afterward Cardinal, visited the hospital, and there heard, on every side, the patients express their gratitude to the holy priest, who so devotedly served them. Vincent had withdrawn on the arrival of this illustrious visitor; but the latter made him out, conversed with him, and was most favorably impressed by his demeanor. The more he saw of him, the more he esteemed him; and he remained ever afterward his fast friend. About this time, Vincent was appointed almoner to the widowed queen; and in 1612 was installed curé of Clichy, which parish he served for about a year.

After this, commenced what may be called his public career. In the year 1613, on the recommendation of Monsieur de Berulle, he was appointed governor to the children of Philippe-Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigny, General of the Galleys of France. To him this change was most unwelcome. He would much rather have remained in his humble parish, where he felt much good might be effected, than take up his abode in the mansions of the great. But his friend, Monsieur de Berulle, on whose judgment and counsel he

greatly relied, strongly urged him to undertake a charge, which, he prophetically assured him, would enable him to accomplish much more for religion and the suffering poor than he could ever hope to effect as a simple parish priest. Vincent accordingly entered on his charge in 1613, and, with some brief intervals,* lived altogether twelve years in the family of Gondi. Among his pupils was, up to the age of eleven, Jean François de Paule de Gondi, the celebrated Cardinal de Retz, who afterward, as Archbishop of Paris, greatly aided and promoted the charitable foundations of his beloved preceptor. While thus engaged, Vincent devoted all his spare time to laboring for the spiritual good of the peasantry on, and in the neighborhood of the Count's estates; and it was at this period that he became painfully impressed with the necessity of establishing a congregation of priests, to coöperate with the parochial clergy in instructing the ignorant peasantry, and thus qualifying them for the proper reception of the sacraments, and the fulfillment of their other religious duties. This was the origin or first suggestion of his great work of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Mission, which he instituted some years later.

Amelioration of Galley Slavery.†

He next directed his attention to the Galley Slaves, the amelioration of whose condition was ever to him an object of the deepest interest. His own sufferings, for two years, as a slave in Africa, peculiarly suited him for the task, at the same time that they greatly increased his natural sympathy for a class so degraded and abandoned.

In France, Galley slavery dated from about the middle of the fourteenth century. Its principal seat was at Marseilles where there was a powerful fleet of galleys, which were sometimes hired out to neighboring states. In many a sea-fight, these wretched beings, chained to their benches, unarmed and unprotected, did the work in which we now employ the motive power of steam. Not to speak of their physical sufferings, what must have been their agonized feelings, their sense of degradation, their bitter hostility to that

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* One of these intervals was when he took charge of the very poor parish of Chatillon, in the diocese of Lyons, in 1617. After spending five months there, he was, to his great regret, recalled to Paris. During this short time, he worked wonders in the parish, and commenced there some of those religious and charitable societies, which he afterward perfected in Paris and elsewhere on an extended scale.

† The galleys were impelled by sails as well as oars. They generally had one deck, and two masts, with lateen sails. Those of the largest size, belonging to the Venetians, were 166 feet long, and 32 in breadth. These had twenty-six pairs of oars; and to each oar there were six slaves, making a total of three hundred and twelve rowers. The word Galley, from the Latin *galea*, a helmet, originated in the head-piece, or basket-work, at the mast-head of the vessel.

world, by which they were so treated! As, even in our day, the labors and sufferings of a galley slave are a proverb, so, for many years, the crimes and enormities of these unfortunate men, were a tradition of terror.

During his residence in the family of the General of the Galleys, Vincent paid many a visit to the afflicted convicts at the Conciergerie, and other prisons in Paris, in the dungeons of which they were confined, in darkness, and amidst filth and vermin, previously to their being transmitted to the galleys at Marseilles and the other southern ports. Extreme as were their physical sufferings, their moral degradation was still more deplorable. They were completely brutalized by the treatment they received. When a sufficient number were accumulated in any particular prison, to form a *chiourme*, or body of galley slaves, they were transmitted to the galleys. For this purpose, they were riveted to a long heavy chain, and, thus secured, and guarded by soldiers, they marched through the country on their dreary journey. We may well imagine their sufferings on the long route from Paris to Marseilles. Sometimes, on their march, they succeeded in committing fearful excesses. Wherever they passed, they were the terror of the inhabitants.*

Not content with personally doing all he could to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunates, speaking to them kindly, and offering them religious consolation, Vincent earnestly appealed on their behalf to the General of the Galleys. 'My lord,' said he, 'I have visited the galley slaves, and I have found them neglected in body and soul. These poor people belong to you, and you will have to answer for them before God. Whilst awaiting their being conducted to the place of their punishment, it is for your charity, not to allow them to remain without succor and consolation.' Sensibly affected by this appeal, as well as by his vivid description of their sufferings in detail, the General asked what could be done. Vincent ever eminently practical, proposed a plan, which the General, who had the greatest confidence in his prudence, approved of and adopted.

Armed with full powers, Vincent hired a large house in the faubourg Saint-Honoré, near the Church of Saint Roch. As soon as

* The Galleys were abolished in France in 1748, after which the convicts were imprisoned in *bagnes*, which were either hulks moored off shore, or buildings well secured and guarded. In both, the convicts were chained to benches, as previously in the galleys; but, as a general rule, they were not compelled to work. Several, however, occupied themselves in the manufacture of trinkets and toys, for which the *bagnes* were long celebrated. After the first revolution, 1789, compulsory labor, *travaux forcés*, was re-introduced. Hence the convicts were called *forçats*. The transmission of convicts in *chiourmes*, as above described, ceased only in 1836. The *bagnes* were abolished by Napoleon III., in 1852, when transportation was substituted for them.

he had it properly prepared, furnished, and made secure, he had all the galley slaves, who were dispersed in the different prisons of Paris, removed to it, so as to have them altogether under his super vision. Following the rule which he had wisely laid down for his several confraternities of charity, he first applied himself to the relief of their bodily sufferings. For this, large resources were required. After invoking the blessing of heaven, he collected the contributions of all his friends; but, although now these were numerous, and several of them were of high rank and much influence, all that they contributed fell considerably short of the amount required. He therefore applied to Henri de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, pressing on him the work of the galley slaves, not only as a work of humanity and religion, but as a family matter. That prelate issued, under date of June 1, 1618, an instruction to the parish priests, vicars, and preachers of Paris, to exhort the people to aid this great and holy enterprise; and the result was that abundant funds were supplied.

Seeing the immense good thus effected by Vincent, Emanuel de Gondi obtained for him, from Louis XIII., the appointment of Royal Almoner-General of the Galleys of France. The King's patent, investing him with this influential and honorable office, bears date February 8, 1619, and concludes as follows:—'His said Majesty, having compassion on the said galley slaves, and desiring that they should profit spiritually of their corporal sufferings, has granted and given the said office of Royal Almoner to Monsieur Vincent de Paul, priest, bachelor of theology, on the testimony which the said lord, Count de Joigny, has rendered, of his good morals, piety, and integrity of life, to hold and exercise the said office, at the salary of six hundred livres a year, and with the same honors and rights as are enjoyed by the other naval officers of the Levant.'

In 1622, being at length able to disengage himself from his multifarious works of charity in the capital, and 'yielding to the impulse of the profound thoughts that heaven infused into his breast,' says his illustrious disciple Bossuet, he withdrew from the mansion of General de Gondi, and repaired to Marseilles. On his arrival there, without making known his rank in the service, he immediately entered on his mission. He soon found that his task in the galleys was much more difficult than in the prisons of Paris; for the convicts in Paris, bad as they were, were but novices in crime compared with the hardened criminals in Marseilles. But what obstacles could long resist his zeal and charity? He patiently and

unremittingly labored in the galleys, pursuing the same course as he had pursued in the dungeons of the Conciergerie. For many weeks he lived among those abandoned beings; he ministered to them as a servant; he condoled with them in their sorrows; he obtained the relaxation of many of the terrible severities under which they suffered; and then he spoke to them of Him who died for all, the unjust as well as the just; and he spoke not in vain. The harvest of his labors was most abundant. To perpetuate the good work, with the high approval of the bishops, he organized, early in the following year, a grand system of missions to the galley slaves at Bordeaux and Marseilles, which continued for many years. The moral revolution effected thereby in the galleys is attested by several successive bishops of Marseilles, whose praises of Vincent single him out as the master-spirit of this work of reformation.*

On the occasion of his first visit to the galleys at Marseilles, there was one convict on whom Vincent could not make any impression —a young man buried in the depths of despair. Guilty of an infraction of the revenue laws, he had, by an over severe sentence, been condemned to three years in the galleys. Of a rank in life much superior to the ordinary class of convicts, he felt that he could not survive his term of a punishment so degrading; but his affliction was not so much for himself as for his aged mother, who had followed him to Marseilles, and his young wife and three little children, reduced through his fault to want and misery. In vain did the good priest endeavor to console him; in vain did he exhort him to put his trust in God; in vain did he point his attention to the example of several of his fellow convicts, equally afflicted, who had listened to the voice of religion, and thus found peace and consolation. Then it was that Vincent devised the following extraordinary plan of relieving the young man from his weight of anguish and restoring him to his family. He applied to the officer in charge to release the convict, and to permit him to take his place. Pressed as he was by the great charity of Vincent, and, doubtless, penetrating his disguise, and recognizing, in the humble and devoted missionary priest, the Almoner-General of the Galleys, the officer consented; the young man was released; and Vincent was chained to the bench in his stead.

* Pope alludes to one as follows, in his 'Essay on Man,' epistle iv. verse 107:—

'Why drew Marseilles' good bishop purer breath,
When Nature sickened, and each gale was death?
Or why so long, in life if long can be,
Lent Heaven a parent to the poor and me?'

Vincent established two great hospitals for the galley slaves, one at the Porte Saint-Bernard, in the capital, and one, with three hundred beds, at Marseilles.* Both were administered by his priests of the Congregation of the Mission, and largely aided by his friends, that of Paris especially by Madame Le Gras, afterward first superioress of the Sœurs de la Charité, and that of Marseilles by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, niece and executrix of Cardinal Richelieu.

Fathers of the Mission.

This institute, which is not a religious order, but simply a congregation of secular priests, who, after two years of probation, take simple vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and perseverance to the end of their lives in the religious instruction of the ignorant poor, especially the rural population, was founded in Paris by Vincent in 1625, under the auspices of the Cardinal Archbishop de Gondi, and was approved of by Pope Urban VIII. in 1632, and confirmed by Alexander VII. in 1655. The members devote themselves to three great objects; first, the sanctification of their own souls, according to the exercises prescribed by their rule; secondly, the religious instruction of the ignorant, especially the country people, and the conversion of sinners to God; and, thirdly, the preparing of clergymen for the ministry of the altar and the cure of souls. To insure the first object, their rule prescribes them one hour's meditation every morning, self-examination twice a day, spiritual conferences every week, and a yearly retreat of eight days. In fulfillment of the second object, they are employed eight months every year in giving missions in the country, staying three or four weeks in the place of each mission, every day teaching catechism, preaching in plain language suitable to the understandings of their rustic audience, hearing confessions, reconciling those at variance, and performing other works of charity. To insure the third object, some of the Fathers undertake the direction of seminaries, to which they admit ecclesiastics and others, to make retreats, which are conducted according to excellent rules, drawn up by the Founder. By a brief of Pope Alexander VII., in the year 1662, it was enjoined that all those about to be ordained priests in Rome and its six suffragan bishoprics,

* The charity of this lady was not confined to the hospital. In 1643, she handed Vincent a sum of 14,000 livres, toward founding, in perpetuity, a house of his Congregation in Marseilles. It was with a view to carrying out the trusts of this foundation, that, by a royal ordinance of the 16th January, 1644, the office of Royal Almoner of the Galleys, then held by Vincent de Paul, was attached in perpetuity to the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission. Louis XIV. felt much interest in the establishment of the hospital, which he ordered to be named the Royal Hospital of Galley Slaves; and he settled on it an annual income of 15,000 livres.

should first make a retreat of ten days under the direction of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission; and to this day the custom is very generally observed not only in those, but in other dioceses. Vincent lived to establish twenty-five houses of his Congregation in France, Northern Italy, and other countries.*

Sisters of Charity.

It was in the year 1634 that Vincent instituted his Congregation of the Sisters of Charity—those devoted women who worthily coöperated in so many of his good works, and whose successors in our days, laboring in the same wide field, justly command the respect and esteem of all creeds and classes, wherever they are estab lished. Of this great Congregation I propose to treat fully in the next chapter.

Some time before, he had formed a secular association of ladies of the highest rank, called Les Dames de la Charité. These ladies devoted themselves to the great hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu, which some of their number visited every day, the Foundlings, the Orphans, the Magdalens, and even the galley slaves, as well as the several parochial societies. They also coöperated with the Sisters of Charity, and procured them funds for the several objects and institutions under their charge. As we proceed, we shall see the immense good effected by this association, not only in the large sums of money contributed by the ladies and their wealthy connections, and the weight of influence they brought to the aid of the several charitable undertakings of the day, but in the example they afforded—an example the more beneficial on account of the high social position of those who labored so zealously in providing for the wants, and alleviating the sufferings of their indigent fellow-creatures.

He established subsequently a similar association of noblemen and gentlemen, who met once a month at Saint Lazare, to take into consideration the wants of the poor of the capital, visited daily the Hôtel-Dieu, to encourage and console the male patients, and interested themselves in several other charitable institutions.

From an early period Vincent had formed lay associations of this kind, male and female, in the several towns in which he gave missions. These may be regarded as the forerunners of the present lay Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

* The Fathers of the Mission are sometimes called Lazarists, from the leper hospital of Saint-Lazare, in Paris, which was given to their Founder, for their accommodation, by the canons regular of Saint Victor, in 1632. It has ever since been the headquarters of the Congregation, and the Superior-General resides there. Vincent was installed therein by Jean-François de Gondi, first Archbishop of Paris, on January 7, 1632.

Christain Captives in Africa.

For forty years from the time of his captivity in Tunis, Vincent never forgot his fellow-sufferers, the Christian slaves in Africa; but during those forty years, owing to domestic and foreign wars, all his endeavors to procure them succor were unavailing.

At the time of Vincent's captivity, 1605 to 1607, the slavery of Christians in Barbary, of long duration, had existed on a vastly increased scale for about one hundred years; and, for fifty years afterward, that is, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, it was, in extent and degree, greater than ever before or since. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain swelled the numbers and intensified the savage fanaticism of these lawless pirates. Constantly from Tunis, Algiers, Salee, Tripoli, Tetuan, and Tangier, their armed vessels issued forth, ravaging the shores of the Mediterranean, bearing off, in multitudes, their victims to a fate worse than death; and even occasionally they extended their circle, and carried their depredations as far as the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland.

The records of the sufferings of the unfortunate captives are truly heart-sickening. Immediately on their landing, they were stripped of their clothes, and sold; and then, covered with a few rags and chained, they were set to work, some in the galleys, but the greater part in the country, under a scorching sun—some in tilling the soil, some in cutting wood and making charcoal, some in quarrying, some in sawing marble, some in the port, up to the middle in water, for nine hours a day; and all this under the whip of a brutal overseer. In many an instance, as described by the missionaries, their skin peeled off under the broiling sun, and their tongues lolled out from excessive thirst, which they could not leave their work to quench. But their physical sufferings were fully equaled, or rather surpassed, by the pangs of their mental pain and moral degradation. Whilst many endured this protracted martyrdom rather than abandon the faith of Christ, others, in their utterly subdued and broken down state, embraced Islamism, which immediately procured them some alleviation of the cruel treatment under which they groaned. Driven to desperation, several committed suicide; and numbers died from hardship.

From an early period, the lamentable condition of the Christians in captivity with the Moors had engaged the charity of the church. Toward the end of the twelfth century, the order of the Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives was founded by Saint John of Matha, and Saint Felix of Valois, and was approved of by Pope

Innocent III., in 1198, and confirmed by the same pontiff in 1209. In six centuries—1198 to 1787—nine hundred thousand Christian captives were redeemed from slavery by this great order. Another powerful organization for the same object was formed about the same time, by Saint Peter Nolasco—the order of our Blessed Lady of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives. This order was approved of, and its rules and constitutions was confirmed by the Holy See, in 1225. To the ordinary vows was added a fourth vow, 'to take the place of a captive if there were no other means of effecting his ransom.' Abundantly exercising its charity in all countries, the Order of Mercy, in six centuries, ransomed three hundred thousand slaves in Barbary alone.

Although Vincent de Paul in the last fifteen years of his life redeemed twelve hundred of these captives, at a cost of over one million livres, this work, so efficiently carried on by the two orders just described, was not his main object. His attention was rather directed to the establishing of his missionaries in Barbary, to dwell there permanently, and provide for the spiritual and corporal wants of the Christians in captivity. With the prudence and discrimination which were ever his characteristics, he carefully selected those priests of his Congregation who were best suited to this difficult and important mission; and, at his bidding, those devoted men went forth for ever from friends and home and country, to spend the remainder of their days in the land of the barbarian; and there, some in the close and fetid atmosphere of the *bagnes*, some in the *temats*, or farm stations, beneath the relentless ardors of a tropical sun—all amidst filth and vermin and plague and human suffering in its most appalling form—they unceasingly labored in aiding, instructing, and consoling their most heavily afflicted fellow-Christians. Vincent ere long succeeded in having his missionaries officially attached as chaplains to the consulates at Tunis and Algiers; and in time he was himself intrusted by the Crown with the nomination of the consuls; whereby those posts were filled by men ever ready to coöperate in his plans, which equally displayed sound practical ability and true Christian benevolence.*

Aided by the large contributions of his many friends, Vincent founded and endowed an hospital for the Christian captives at Algiers, in connection with the consulate. This institution was valued by the masters, as it preserved the lives of many of their slaves,

* In all this Vincent had an able coöperator in the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who contributed munificently out of the large funds at her disposal, and who also purchased the consular residences at Tunis and Algiers, and presented them to him, with the King's permission.

who but for such aid would have been carried off by disease. His thoughtful charity also opened a general post-office at Saint Lazare, with a branch at Marseilles, by which, through the intervention of the missionaries and the consuls, these poor sufferers were enabled gratuitously to correspond with their families.

Care of Foundlings, and other Asylums.

One day in the year 1638, as Vincent was returning from a mission, he descried a beggar, under the walls of Paris, mutilating an infant [to expose him afterward as an object of charity]. He rushed forward exclaiming, 'Ah! monster, you have greatly deceived me. At a distance, I thought you were a man.' He seized the child, bore it off in his arms, traversed the streets of the capital, and, followed by a great crowd, he proceeded at once to La Couche in the rue Saint-Landry, where he had heard that children were procured by mendicants for such inhuman purposes. On his arrival there, he was soon satisfied that what he had heard was but too true. On the spot, he feelingly appealed to the women who had accompanied him, to take charge of some of these little ones if it were only for one day. 'Yet one day,' he exclaimed, 'I ask of you only a single day. Providence will suggest to us some salutary resolution.'

Next morning, at his request, the house was visited by some of the benevolent ladies whom he had united in the association of Les Dames de la Charité. They minutely examined and inquired into every thing; and their report to him was, that the lot of the infants there was worse than that of the innocents massacred by the orders of Herod. Vincent returned with them to the house. He immediately selected twelve of the children, blessed them, and charged himself with their maintenance. He placed them in an asylum which he forthwith opened for foundlings, and confided to the care of his Sisters of Charity. He went again and again to the rue Saint-Landry, and brought away more and more of the children. The numbers rapidly increased; many of the infants had to be given out to nurses; and the expenses were considerable. In procuring funds for the support of this asylum, as well as in visiting it daily and variously providing for the necessities and comforts of its little inmates, the ladies of his association proved valuable coöperators, while the nuns residing within its walls were truly mothers to the deserted little ones.

But Vincent's charity was not confined to visits to the rue Saint-Landry. In the winter nights, when the streets were covered with snow, he used to traverse the quarters of poverty and crime, the re-

mote suburbs, where foundlings were generally exposed, and there, if he found a little one, he bore it away in his arms, wrapped in a large cloak, which is preserved to this day, and, hastening to the asylum, handed the precious charge to the Sisters of Charity.

The first two years only a portion of the foundlings of the capital could be provided for in the asylum. This was a source of deep sorrow to Vincent, who now resolved to rescue all. He had himself largely contributed, and the Dames de la Charité had by their influence and exertions procured him handsome subscriptions. The Queen, Anne of Austria, to whom he had appealed, had also given her coöperation, and, at her instance, the King had settled an annual income of fourteen thousand livres on the institution. But the income required was forty thousand livres; and, owing to the necessities of Lorraine and the troubled state of the kingdom, to raise this sum appeared at the time impossible. The Dames de la Charité shrank from so weighty a responsibility. Vincent, by no means disheartened, and, in the words of his biographer, 'feeling for his adopted little ones as much as any mother for her own children,' invited those ladies to meet him in a great assembly in the church on a certain day. He placed five hundred little foundlings in the arms of his Sisters of Charity. He ascended the pulpit, and pleaded their cause. His eloquent appeal, mingled with the wailings of the little innocents, went straight to the hearts of his auditors. Among these was the Queen Regent, the Princesse de Conti, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and several others of the first ladies of France. 'Behold, ladies,' said he, 'you have adopted these children —you have become their mothers, according to grace, since their natural mothers have abandoned them. Say, will *you* also desert them for ever? Cease at this moment *to be their mothers*, and become their judges. Their lives and their death are in your hands. I shall now take your suffrages. It is time that you pronounce their doom. Look upon them here before you. They will live, if you continue to them your charitable protection; but to-morrow will behold them perish, if you cast them off.'

The sobs and tears of all present were mingled with his closing words. Before the assembly separated, the asylum was insured an annual income of forty thousand livres. This income, ere long, was considerably increased. The example was speedily followed, and, with Vincent's aid, similar institutions were established in different parts of the kingdom.

Among his numerous other foundations were the Asylum of the

Madeleine du Temple for fallen women,* his house of Providence for unprotected young women, whom he would save from the dangers and temptations of a large capital, his hospital of Sainte-Reine, in Burgundy,† accommodating four hundred sick poor, and enabling them to take advantage of those healing waters previously enjoyed exclusively by the wealthy; and several asylums for the reception and proper treatment of lunatics; not to enumerate the Orphan Asylums and other similar institutions established, and conducted by religious communities, under his direction, and his various lay confraternities and parochial societies for instructing the ignorant and ministering to the necessities of the suffering poor.

Dealings with Mendicancy.

From 1653 to 1657, Vincent was specially engaged in efforts to banish mendicancy from the capital, which was infested by 'forty thousand mendicants, without lodging, without bread, without morals, a frightful multitude, which Henry IV. and Sully despaired of either relieving or dispersing.' Even the powerful minister Richelieu, who vanquished all other obstacles, was here completely baffled. Ordinance after ordinance, whether of the court or parliament, had been passed, to abolish or even regulate the mendicancy of the capital; but in vain. The quarters occupied by the mendicants were called the Cours des Miracles. Of these courts there were eleven. The principal was that which had its entrance in the rue Neuve-Saint-Sauveur. They were so-called on account of the seeming miracles there daily enacted; for, on their return home at evening, the professional beggars, once within the precincts of their court, threw off their disguises—disburdened themselves of their simulated infirmities; and thus it came to pass that forthwith the lame became vigorous and active, the blind saw, and the deformed were made straight.

Vincent had long deplored the existence of this gigantic evil. Here was a vast population immersed in idleness, crime, and ignorance, hurtful not only to themselves, but to all with whom they came in contact. Here were their children equally neglected and ignorant, and exposed, from their earliest years, to influences destructive alike to soul and body. Here, too, were to be found the

* Strictly speaking, the Asylum of the Madeleine du Temple was the foundation of Charlotte Marguerite de Gondi, marquise de Maignelay, who also munificently endowed the institution. At her request it was taken charge of and placed on a solid foundation by Saint Vincent de Paul.

† The hospital of Sainte-Reine, established by Vincent two hundred years ago, still exists, receiving and gratuitously supporting the poor who come for the benefit of the waters, and also giving out rations of bread, soup, and meat to poor wayfarers.

monsters who scrupled not to mutilate infants, sometimes their own and sometimes those whom they kidnapped, especially since he had taken under his charge all the foundlings, formerly crowded together in the rue Saint-Landry. Vincent resolved to grapple with the evil. He carefully prepared a plan, which he submitted to the municipality of Paris; but that body, alarmed at its large proportions, and more than doubtful of its success, refused to entertain it. He therefore determined to carry it out himself. He had just then most opportunely received from a benevolent citizen of Paris a sum of one hundred thousand livres, to be expended by him in any way he pleased, for the benefit of the poor. Notwithstanding this discretion, he again consulted the donor, and, with his sanction, applied the money to the matter in hand.

He first assembled (commencing with forty) three hundred aged poor persons of both sexes, and placed them in an asylum, which he denominated the Hospital of the Name of Jesus. Here he not only relieved their temporal necessities, employing them meanwhile in industrial occupations suited to their strength; but, with the aid of his missionaries, he exhorted, instructed, and thoroughly imbued them with the principles of religion. Thus prepared, he told them that he would make them responsible for all the mendicants of the capital, whom he hoped to win over from idleness and vice to industry and Christian piety. For this great work he made them his instruments; he constituted them a moral police; he sent them, as so many trained missionaries, to the haunts of crime and misery, to bring in the erring and unfortunate to him; for, no matter how depraved, no matter how ignorant, no matter how degraded they might be, he was ready to receive them all with open arms, provide for their necessities, reconcile them to God, and restore them to society.

In all this, however, he proceeded carefully and without precipitation. 'The works of God,' said he, 'are done by little and little. They have their beginnings and their progress. In my opinion, we ought at first make only an experiment, and take in one hundred or two hundred poor people, and yet only those who will come of their own free accord, without any compulsion whatever. These, being well treated and well content, will attract others, and thus the number will increase in proportion as Providence will send means. One is sure to spoil nothing in acting thus; and, on the other hand, precipitation and compulsion might be a hindrance to the designs of God. If the work is His, it will succeed and will endure; but if it is only the result of human industry, it will neither proceed well, nor last for any time.

Conducted on these principles, his experiment was crowned with complete success. Month after month, the numbers increased, and were received by Vincent in his great asylum of La Salpêtrière, which he had prepared for their accommodation. Here they were classified according to age and sex, comfortably lodged, clothed, and fed, trained to habits of order and industry, and instructed in their social and Christian duties and obligations. They were all employed in useful labor, according to their strength; for it was a leading principle of Vincent in all his institutions that the inmates should work, as he considered occupation essential to health of mind and body.

The feasibility of that which had before seemed impossible being now proved, the King and Parliament took up the work. A royal edict was issued, prohibiting mendicity in Paris and its environs, and establishing the Hôpital-Général, which was opened on March 7, 1657, for the reception of all the poor of the capital. This great Hospital included not only the Salpêtrière, but la Grande and la Petite Pitié, the Bicêtre, which had been given Vincent for his foundlings, and other establishments. Its administration was confided to the magistracy, the bar, and the municipality of Paris, and, being a royal foundation, the King endowed it, and declared himself its conservator and protector.

The spiritual direction of the Hôpital-Général was confided to the Fathers of the Mission, under the authority and jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris; and thus Vincent's intimate connection with it continued after he had handed it over to the State as a public institution.

His ideas of the classification and employment of the inmates were carried out by the new administration. All those who had attained the age of sixteen received one-third of the proceeds of their work, and the remaining two-thirds devolved to the hospital.

All the poor of Paris had been invited, by royal proclamation, and notices in all the churches, to enter this new asylum. No less than six thousand responded to the call. Thus was useful occupation found for about one-sixth of that unsettled and abandoned population, which had previously been the plague of the capital, and permanent provision made for their temporal and spiritual necessities. Of the remainder some turned to honest industry; and the greater number dispersed, of themselves, when they found that there was no longer an excuse for idle mendicancy.

The great public usefulness of the institution was universally rec-

ognized, and consequently the necessary means were not wanting. Thus Vincent's confidence in entering singly on so heavy an undertaking was fully justified. 'Let us only begin the work,' said he, 'and God will complete it.' At the time he had by him a large sum of money destined for other purposes. The whole of this sum he laid out on La Salpêtrière. In this, as in all his undertakings, his example was contagious, his appeal was irresistible, and contributions poured in on all sides.*

Relief to the Wounded and Sufferers in the Thirty Years' War.

The suffering to soldiers, and the inhabitants generally, of the provinces visited by the armies engaged in the prolonged struggle known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), involving not only the usual horrors of marching, fighting, and retreating forces, but those of famine and pestilence; but series of rapine, outrage, and desolation, such as the rules of modern warfare no longer tolerate, called for special intervention and relief. And to Vincent the humble priest of Saint Lazare, three afflicted provinces of Lorraine, Picardy, and Champagne, sent repeated deputations—as more powerful in these emergencies than their sovereign. Nor did he recoil from the undertaking, nor did they find his resources exhausted. His exertions rose to the level of the emergency; his resources appeared miraculously to increase. He immediately sent his missionaries to visit the devastated provinces, and, on learning, from their reports, that the evil was far greater than was supposed in the capital, he immediately took measures to relieve the sufferers on a scale commensurate with their necessities. He assembled his worthy coöperators on all such occasions—the Dames de la Charité. He laid the case before them; and they nobly responded to his views. Through their great influence and devoted exertions, continued for years, immense sums were subscribed. Vincent, with no less success, appealed to Anne of Austria and the King. He also obtained the approval and aid of the Archbishop of Paris. Having thus secured not only the contributions but the coöperation of the great, he carefully formed his plans. Following these, his priests, on visiting each parish, immediately waited on the curé, and ascertained from him the names and residences of all the really needy, and other necessary particulars. They then distributed relief, always in kind; generally placing a sum of money in the hands of

* Among others, Cardinal Mazarin contributed toward the Hôpital-Général 100,000 livres in one day, and bequeathed it 60,000 in his will. One of the Dames de la Charité gave 50,000 livres, and another settled on it an annual income of 3,000 livres.

the curé, for sick and other extraordinary cases. They were accompanied in their visits by some lay brothers of the Congregation, who were skilled in medicine, and who afforded immediate aid to those stricken with the pestilence. Thus by this systematic distribution, all abuse of charity and waste were avoided. The rural districts, in their turn, as well as the towns, were visited and relieved. During ten consecutive years, Vincent sent, every month, into these desolate provinces, an average sum of thirty thousand livres, together with medicinal stores, wagons of bread, seeds, plows, cattle, immense supplies of clothing, and ornaments, altar linen, and other requisites for the despoiled churches. 'So prodigious are his largesses,' says Cardinal Maury, 'that the capital, Rheims, on the cessation of its calamities, anxiously desirous to testify the gratitude of its inhabitants by an extraordinary homage, ordains a general procession to implore of heaven the preservation of Vincent de Paul, and to invoke on the savior of three provinces the most abundant benedictions.'

His expenditure in Lorraine alone is estimated by his chief almoner, Mathieu Renard, at 1,600,000 livres, to which clothing and other necessaries and church requisites being added, the total amounts up to 2,000,000. In Picardy and Champagne it is stated at 2,000,000 more. Here we have a total of 4,000,000 livres, which we must quadruple, to calculate its value in our day. The result is a sum equal to 640,000*l.* sterling; and in this is not included his large expenditure in the environs of Paris, which also suffered severely from the ravages of war.

His profuse charities continued for many years, as indeed did the necessity for them. Monsieur de la Fonds, lieutenant-general, governor of Saint Quentin, writes to him as follows, in 1655:—'The charities which are by the grace of God and your goodness sent into this province, and so admirably distributed by those to whom you have been pleased to confide them, have given life to millions of persons reduced by the misfortune of the wars to the last extremity, and it is my duty to testify to you the very humble acknowledgments of all these people for the same. We have seen, last week, as many as fourteen hundred poor people take refuge in this town, during the passage of the troops, and supported every day by your alms; and there are still in the town more than a thousand, besides those in the country around, who can have no other sustenance than what your charity affords them. The misery is so great that in the villages there are no longer any inhabitants who have

even straw to lie down on; and those in the best position in the country have nothing whereon to subsist. Even some, who possess over 20,000 crowns' worth of property, have not at present a morsel of bread, and have been two days without eating. It is this which obliges me, in the position which I hold, and with the knowledge which I have of the facts, to supplicate you very humbly to be still the father of this country, in order to preserve life to so many dying and languishing persons. whom your priests assist, most worthily acquitting themselves of the duty.'

When the troubles of Lorraine were brought to a close, numbers of the nobility returned to that province. On their departure, they received from Vincent not only the expenses of their journey, but means on which to subsist until they were fully reëstablished in possession of their properties. Those who were completely ruined and unable to leave Paris, he continued to relieve as long as he lived. At the same time he was assisting the English, Scotch, and Irish nobles and gentry, who had fled to France from religious and political persecution.

His method of doing good.

Perhaps there never lived another man whose whole life was such an unbroken course of true Christian charity. The privations and sufferings of his early days were, as if so ordained by Providence, a fitting preparation for his subsequent career. In his boyhood a poor peasant, he could thoroughly understand and feel for the spiritual wants of the rural districts, to meet which his Congregation of Mission was established. For two years a slave in Africa, he deeply sympathized with the victims of slavery, and knew the better how to alleviate their sufferings and effect their liberation. A voluntary prisoner in the galleys, chained to his oar, his heart bled for those unfortunates, whom ignorance, crime, and a mistaken system of Draconian severity consigned to the depths of misery and despair. His days and nights spent in attending the sick in the public hospitals, were a no less valuable training, and enabled him to perfect his great institute of the Sœurs de la Charité.

His humility, patience, and self-denial, and his uniform practice of consulting the will of God, before every important action, contributed largely to the success of all that he undertook. No matter how urgent the necessity, no matter how apparently good the work, he dwelt on it and considered it well, in order that he might learn if it were approved of by Heaven. When opposition was offered to his projects, even though unjust or unreasonable that opposition

might be, he did not resist, he did not complain, he did not repine. He fervently commended the affair to God, and patiently awaited the result; and this became a leading principle of the members of his Congregation of the Mission, on whom he enjoined, never to precipitate any good work, 'for fear of anticipating Providence.'

The uniform success of all his undertakings—a success which even in his lifetime became a proverb—the intrinsic evidence they possessed of their being of an enduring character, and it is a striking fact that all the many institutions he founded exist and flourish now, two hundred years after his death—the immense good effected by his labors, and the noble disinterestedness of his whole life, all combined to enlist the confidence, and insure the cordial coöperation of all classes, from the sovereign on the throne down to the aged mendicants whose aid he invoked in his great project of abolishing mendicancy in the capital.

'God is visibly with this man.' 'Oh! if Monsieur Vincent will but undertake it, success is certain'—such were common expressions in his lifetime when any new occasion for charitable effort presented itself. The sums placed at his disposal by individual and public authorities, to be dispensed in alms, exceeded one million sterling. What no other man in the capital dared to do, this son of a poor peasant did—he presented himself before the powerful minister Richelieu, and casting himself at his feet with a voice broken by weeping, exclaimed, 'Peace, Monseigneur, give us peace! Have pity on us, Monseigneur; give peace to France!' He then depicted, in glowing colors, the sufferings of non-combatants and the injuries inflicted on religion and morality by the crimes which war brings in its train, and repeated with sobs, 'Peace, Monseigneur, peace!'

The eloquent example of his private life, his touching humility and complete forgetfulness of self, his universal love of mankind, his boundless private charities, his maxims of holiness, and his untiring zeal and consummate prudence in forming the minds and hearts of his numerous spiritual children, effected as much as those great actions which have made his name revered by every creed and nationality.

The closing scene was in accordance with the whole tenor of such a life. His decline was gradual. Even when unable to rise from his chair, he continued to labor, to the utmost of his power, for those sacred objects which he ever had so much at heart. At length, surrounded by his children of the Congregation of the Mission, with whom he was able to join in prayer up to within two hours of his death, this truly great and venerable man calmly expired at Saint Lazare, on Sunday, September 26, 1660, in his 85th year.

MADAME DE GRAS AND THE SISTERS OF CHARITY.*

In every town in which Vincent de Paul held missions, in order to give permanency to the good work, he established various lay confraternities and associations of charity, male and female. These were visited by himself, or by some of the fathers of his Congregation, from time to time, with a view to their regulation and encouragement, and the keeping up of their first fervor. He was desirous, however, that the female societies, which mainly devoted themselves to orphans, young girls, and the sick poor, should moreover be visited by some devout and influential lady from the capital, and thus be provided with an experienced spiritual mother. Such a person he found in Madame Le Gras, afterward the first Superioress of the Sœurs de la Charité.

Louise Le Gras, née de Marillac, was born in Paris on August 12, 1591. Her father was Louis de Marillac, lord of Ferrières, a member of a family illustrious in the church, the army, and the service of the state; and her mother was Marguerite Le Camus, whose family had attained a high position in the legal profession. Deprived of her mother in her early infancy, she was educated first by the nuns of Poissy, and afterward in her father's house, where her studies, to which she assiduously applied herself, embraced a wide range of reading, including the classics and philosophy. In February, 1613, she was married to Antoine Le Gras, private secretary of Marie de Médicis. Her husband died in December, 1625. Like several other ladies of Paris, she had always devoted much of her time to the care of the foundlings, the orphans, the poor, and the sick in the hospitals; and now, in her widowhood, she resolved to consecrate herself and her large fortune altogether to charitable objects—especially those embraced in the great enterprises of Vincent de Paul. She opened her mind to him on the subject; she expressed an ardent wish to be thus associated in the good works of his missions; but that wise director, who loved not precipitation, even in good works, advised her, first earnestly to invoke the light of heaven, in order that she might ascertain the will of God, before coming to any final resolution. 'Pray,' said he, 'prayer is the source of good counsels; communicate often, the Eucharist is the oracle of charitable thoughts.'

Her vocation being duly proved, Vincent laid down certain rules for her spiritual guidance; and she labored untiringly in the service

* The Sisters of Charity are commonly called *sœurs grises*, gray sisters, in France, from the color of their habit, which is a dark gray.

of the poor, in the several public institutions, as well as in their own homes. Her first visit to the country, which was in May, 1629, was to Montmirail, in the diocese of Soissons, one of the estates of the family of Gondi. Accompanied by certain pious ladies, who had joined her, she effected much good here, and in several other places which she visited; assembling the associations of charity, re-animating their zeal, and imparting to them sound advice and instruction—a duty for which she was well qualified by her large experience in the capital. At Beauvais alone she established no less than eighteen charitable and pious societies and institutions, with the cordial coöperation, and amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants. It was on this occasion that Vincent wrote to caution her against vain-glory:—'Unite yourself in spirit to the mockery, the contempt and the ill-treatment suffered by the Son of God. When you shall be esteemed and honored, keep your mind truly humble and humiliated, as much in honors as in contempt, and act as the bee which makes its honey as well from the dew which falls on the wormwood as that which falls on the rose.'

In the several villages, the associations consisted of women of humble birth, who were accustomed to labor, and who themselves rendered all the offices of charity to the sick poor. In the cities, and especially in Paris, they numbered several ladies of rank, some of whom, after a while, contented themselves with sending their servants to visit the poor, and, in the end, confined their aid to pecuniary contributions. Vincent, seeing the necessity of supplying the void thus created, brought to the capital some peasant girls, distinguished for their piety, members of well conducted families, and willing to devote themselves to such works; and he placed them in a house in the parish of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, under the care of Madame Le Gras, who there, on March 25, 1634, with his full approval, pronounced the formula of her consecration to God in the service of the poor, in this charitable association, then called 'Les Filles de la Charité.'

During the next twelve years their numbers steadily increased. They were now not confined to peasant girls; for several ladies of good position—some of them widows—had also joined the Congregation. At first, merely charged with the care of the sick poor, who, either from want of room in the hospitals or a repugnance to enter those institutions, remained in their own homes, they had now undertaken the duties of the hospitals, become mothers to the orphans, mistresses to friendless young girls exposed to temptation,

consoling angels to the galley slaves, the prisoners, the sick and the dying—in a word, under God 'a providence to all the miserable.'

In 1646, at Vincent's request, the Sisters were erected into a *confrèrie* by the Archbishop of Paris, and, on that prelate's application, the King granted his royal letters patent in their favor on October 20, of the same year. These letters were renewed in 1657. The Sisters lived very frugally, the support of each for food and clothing being only one hundred livres a year; and their income at this time was derived from the proceeds of their own work in their few leisure hours, the contributions of the parochial societies, of the Dames de la Charité, and of other pious persons, as well as the revenue of over two thousand livres a year, settled on them, in perpetuity, by the King, the Queen, and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

Vincent had wisely resolved that this charitable association should take form and life from practice and experience, before it received a written rule. Therefore it was only in 1655 that he gave it statutes, rules, and constitutions, which he had carefully drawn up, and which were approved of by the Archbishop of Paris, the King, and the Holy See. This delay was the more judicious that, from small beginnings, the congregation had then assumed proportions, and attained an importance far beyond even what he or Madame Le Gras had anticipated, as he states in one of his letters written about this time.

The French Sisters of Charity are not a religious order. They are only a congregation, and take simple annual vows. These are vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and the service of the poor. They are taken on March 25, the feast of the Annunciation, and are renewable every year. On that day, each Sister is perfectly free, and may or may not renew her vow, as she pleases. There are few, very few indeed, of these devoted women who, having once entered on this state of life, return to the world. It was a maxim of Vincent's that a renewal of vows is a renewal of fervor.

Five and a half years elapse before the vows are taken. First, there is a half year's probation, which is spent in the particular house in which a postulant enters. Next, there are five years of a novitiate. Of these, the first nine or ten months are spent in the mother house, in the rue du Bac, Paris. During this time, the novice is not employed in works of charity, but is altogether engaged in spiritual exercises, in studying the rules and constitutions, and receiving instructions as to her future duties and occupations, as a member of the institute. She then receives the habit, and is sent

to a branch house, where she immediately enters on the service of the poor. After being thus engaged for about four years, she takes annual vows.

The Congregation of the Sisters of Charity is governed by the Superior-General of the Fathers of the Mission, who holds both offices for life. The Mother-General is subject to his authority, and with his advice, governs the Congregation, and appoints the superioresses of the several branch houses. She is always the superioress of the mother house in Paris. Her duties are most onerous. She has her assistants and secretaries, whose correspondence is in many languages, as the Sisters of Charity carry on their ministrations in all parts of the globe. She is elected by the Sisters, and holds office for three years, after which she may be re-elected, but once only, without an interval.

The habit of the Sisters of Charity must be familiar to all my readers. It is the same in every country—a plain dark gray stuff dress, with a large white calico bonnet, the *cornette.*

Services to Sick and Wounded Soldiers.

It was in the years 1654–58 that the Sisters of Charity first went forth to attend on the sick and wounded in war. On that occasion, Anne of Austria asked Vincent de Paul to send some Sisters to nurse the sick and wounded soldiers, of whom there were between six and seven hundred in Calais, after the siege of Dunkirk. At first Vincent could spare only four, whom he dispatched immediately. Of these, in a short time, two fell victims to the pestilence. Twenty at once came forward to offer to fill their places. Ever since, this little army has taken its position in camps and ambulances. In the Crimea they had charge of six military and two naval hospitals. They were on duty at the same time at Pera, Dolma-Bachtché, Levend, Rami-Tchiflik, Maltépé, Daoud-Pacha, Gulhané, Kaulidjé, Chalchis, the Piræus, Gallipoli, and Varna. The severe cold of winter, cholera, typhus, gangrene, had no terrors for them. We may well imagine how their presence in the wards cheered the sufferers. In one of the French hospitals in the Crimea, a poor dying young French soldier was overheard saying to the Sister in attendance on him: 'Sister, come to visit me often. When you come, I imagine I see France and my mother.'

The congregation now numbers over twenty thousand members, a well disciplined, devoted, all-conquering army of charity. We justly admire the true Christian benevolence and devoted zeal of Florence Nightingale and Elizabeth Fry; but how much more

would their services have been enhanced in value, if those excellent ladies had been members of one great corps, well trained, well disciplined, well organized! A brave man will sometimes, single-handed, perform prodigies of valor; but, for ulterior results, for enduring effect, he would be much more powerful, if he formed one of a compact, well drilled body, composed of one thousand such men.

Here we have illustrated one great advantage of religious orders —their complete organization. Then, there is the principle of association—a principle by which individual zeal is developed and sustained, and individual exertions are a hundred-fold enhanced. Then there are the religious vows, by which that organization is made perfect—by which that principle of association operates in its most effective form; for by their vows the several members are withdrawn and set apart from worldly interests, pleasures, and pursuits, and thus are enabled to devote themselves wholly and exclusively to the service of God and their neighbor, in fulfilling the particular objects of their institute. Of their vows, there is especially the vow of obedience, in virtue of which they address themselves earnestly and thoroughly to do the work set before them, acting in complete unison, so that the whole community, composed of many parts, works as one well regulated machine.

Another striking advantage of religious orders is their permanency. A great philanthropist—a Howard or a Peabody—may die; and who is to fill the vacant place? In a religious order, to make such a void, death is powerless. And thus it is that since the institution of the Sisters of Charity by Saint Vincent de Paul, now more than two hundred years ago, although their great patron, guide, and spiritual father, and although Madame Le Gras and many another of their heroic leaders have long since gone to their reward, their ranks are always full, their numbers annually increase, their work constantly and steadily goes on; and the memory and example of the departed seem to nerve this gallant army to renewed exertions, and urge them to fresh conquests in the cause of God and humanity.

The Sisters of Charity were introduced into Great Britain from France in 1855, when a small community of five nuns were sent to Drogheda. Monsieur Etienne, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission, conducted ten Sisters to Dublin in 1857, and the same year the congregation was established in Sheffield. There are now twenty-one houses in Great Britain and Ireland.

To understand the animating principles and scope of this Congregation, as originally instituted, we append the Statutes, Rules, and Constitutions, as drawn up by Saint Vincent de Paul, and confirmed by the Holy See in 1655.

Statutes drawn by Vincent De Paul in 1655.

I. Of the end and fundamental virtues of their institute. This end is to honor our Lord Jesus Christ, as the source and model of all charity, serving Him corporally and spiritually in the person of the poor, whether the sick, or children, or prisoners, or others who, through shame, are deterred from making known their necessities. To correspond worthily to so holy a vocation and to imitate an exemplar so perfect, they ought to endeavor to live holily and to labor assiduously for their own perfection, joining the interior exercises of the spiritual life to the exterior employments of Christian charity.

Although they may not be, strictly speaking, a religious order, this state not being suitable to the employments of their vocation, nevertheless as they are much more exposed exteriorly than inclosed religious—having ordinarily for a convent but the houses of the sick, for a cell but a hired room, for a chapel but the parish church, for a cloister but the streets of the city and the wards of hospitals, for inclosure but obedience, for a grate but the fear of God, and for a vail but holy modesty.—they are obliged by this consideration, to lead, exteriorly and interiorly, a life as virtuous, as pure, as edifying, as true religious in their convent.

Above all, they shall value the salvation of their souls more than all things on earth; they shall fly mortal sin more than death, and venial sin with all their strength; and in order to merit the reward promised by our Lord to the servants of the poor, they shall apply themselves to acquire the three Christian virtues of humility, simplicity, and charity, which are as the three faculties of soul of the whole congregation and of each member, and as the appropriate spirit of their institute.

Moreover they are enjoined a horror of the maxims of this world, a love of the maxims of Jesus Christ: consequently a love of mortification; a despising of themselves and of the things of the earth; a preference of low and repugnant employments, of the last place, and of what others refuse; detachment as regards places, employments, and persons; a disposition to quit all at the voice of obedience; a patience that loves inconveniences, contradictions, mockeries, and calumnies; great confidence in Providence, abandoning themselves to it as an infant to its nurse.

II. Servants of the poor, they shall honor the poverty of our Lord, by living poorly themselves. They shall have all things in common, after the example of the first Christians. They shall neither ask nor refuse any thing for themselves, leaving all their wants to the solicitude of the office bearers of their congregation. Far and near, they shall live and shall dress in an uniform manner, and after the model of the mother house. Sick, they shall content themselves in every respect with the ordinary fare and treatment of the poor; for servants ought not to be better treated than their masters.

III. IV. V. VI. These four sections inculcate on the Sisters holy modesty, and an edifying demeanor on all occasions, mutual condescension, and love for one another, and obedience, with submission of the judgment and the will to the bishops and clergy of all places in which they are established, and to their own superiors, in all matters in which they do not see any sin.

VII. Their principal employment being to serve the sick poor, they shall serve them as Jesus Christ himself, with as much cordiality, respect, and devotion, even the most troublesome and the most disagreeable. This service they shall prefer even to their spiritual exercises. They shall take care of the souls as well as of the bodies of the poor they serve. As to material aid and the distribution of alms, they shall act conformably with the instructions that will have been given them, or with the will of the donors. They shall not attend on the rich unless in case of absolute necessity, and even then, according to their institute, they shall take care that the poor be first served.

VIII. The eighth section prescribes their spiritual exercises, which are 'neither to be omitted nor postponed except in favor of the service of the poor.'

IX. The ninth and last section regulates the employment of the day. To rise at four o'clock; to retire to bed at nine. There are certain devotional exercises; but by far the greater part of the seventeen hours is devoted to the service of the poor.

To these common rules, practiced for a long time before they were reduced to a code, Vincent added particular rules for the Sisters visiting the sick poor in their own homes, the Sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu and other hospitals, the Sisters of the House of Foundlings, the Sisters of the villages, the Sisters teaching school, the Sisters attending on and consoling the sick galley slaves—in a word, rules suitable to each function of charity, in which the members of the congregation were severally engaged.

Above all things, he enjoined on the Sisters to maintain, in every function, sweetness of manner, patience, kindness, and respect for the poor of Christ.

'Your principal care, my daughters,' said he, 'after the love of God and the desire to render yourselves pleasing to his Divine Majesty, ought to be to serve the sick poor with great sweetness and cordiality, compassionating their sufferings and listening to their little complaints as a good mother ought to do, for they look upon you as their nursing mothers, as persons sent to assist them. Thus you are destined to represent the bounty of God in their regard.'

For many years before he gave the Sisters of Charity their written rules, Saint Vincent de Paul used to assemble them, from time to time, and hold spiritual conferences with them. The discourses he delivered on those occasions have been preserved; and his spirit—a spirit of wisdom and holiness—pervading them, still animates the congregation.

This will readily be seen by those who, in any part of the world, visit an hospital under the care of the Sisters. But there are many results of this holy training which no observation can reveal, and which are known only to God.

A Sister of Charity may be for years engaged in hospital duty in England, in France, in Germany, or in Italy. On a particular morning she may receive an order to start for China, the following day. No leave-taking of friends—no packing up of luggage—no elaborate arrangements for this long journey of sixteen thousand miles! She obeys the order as she would the voice of God. With her little bundle containing a change of clothes, her few books of devotion, and her rosary, she departs at the hour appointed. She tarries not one moment by the way. She looks not once back on the land of her birth, which she is now leaving for ever. She fearlessly and cheerfully goes forth, to pass the remainder of her days in the land of the barbarian. The saving of the lives, and the baptism, of female infants condemned, by the inhuman custom of that over populated country, to be drowned, on their birth, or to be left to perish by the road-sides—their education and training—the conducting of the schools of native Christians, and the several other functions of charity to which her institute adapts itself in this new sphere—such are the future occupations of her life, and she enters on them with a self-sacrificing zeal which needs no human praise.

In all the great European wars, after every great battle; in all the great visitations of plague, famine, and pestilence; in the homes of want and suffering, in all the great cities of the world, these devoted women may be found.

SECULAR ASSOCIATION FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES.

Among the ladies who were associated by Vincent de Paul in 1634, under the name of *Les Dames de la Charité*, to coöperate with the Sisters in providing for the wants and alleviating the sufferings of their indigent fellow-creatures, both in the hospitals and in their homes, were some of the most prominent by birth and social relations in France. Mr. Murphy, in his *Terra Incognita*, (drawn up by him from Maynard's *Vie de St. Vincent*), gives brief sketches of several which we incorporate with this article.

Madame la Présidente Goussault.

The first lady president of the Dames de la Charité was Madame la Présidente Goussault, who in the first instance suggested the formation of the association to Vincent de Paul. Rich and handsome, and left a widow in the bloom of her youth, she refused several brilliant offers of marriage, and resolved to devote her large fortune and her life thenceforward to the service of the poor. In her frequent visits of charity to the Hôtel-Dieu, she had seen the necessity of such an association in connection with that great hospital. Vincent submitted the project to the Archbishop of Paris, and, having obtained the cordial approval of that prelate, proceeded to carry it into effect. In a few months the association numbered one hundred and twenty ladies. In a letter to Monsieur du Coudray at Rome, under date July 25, 1634, Vincent speaks of it as follows:—'We have erected a *confrérie* of charity composed of one hundred or one hundred and twenty ladies of high rank, who each day, four and four, visit and succor eight or nine hundred sick poor in the Hôtel-Dieu, with jellies, soups, jams, and all kinds of delicacies, in addition to the ordinary nourishment of the house, and who endeavor to dispose these poor people to make a general confession of their past lives, so that those who die should die in good dispositions, and those who are cured should make a resolution no more to offend God —a work which is attended with a peculiar blessing.'

The ladies generally arrived at the Hôtel-Dieu at one o'clock in the afternoon and remained until four. After a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, they passed into a room in which they received white aprons from the nuns, and, clad in these and accompanied by the Sisters of Charity, they dispersed themselves through the several wards, giving the sick what delicacies they liked, and addressing them in kind and encouraging language. The distribution finished, they laid aside their livery of charity, and made another visit to the Blessed Sacrament, thanking God for the favor of being allowed to serve him in the persons of the poor, and praying for their health and salvation. Madame la Présidente Goussault was the leader, as she was the originator, of this great work of charity.

La Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

Another of these excellent ladies was la Duchesse d'Aiguillon, whose name frequently occurs in the text, as one of the chief coöperators in Vincent's charitable undertakings. Marie-Madeleine de Wignerod, born in 1604, was daughter of René de Wignerod, lord of Pont-Courlay, and of Françoise du Plessis, sister of Cardinal Richelieu. In 1620, she married a nephew of the Duc de

Luynes, Antoine Grimoard du Roure de Combalet, who was kllled at the siege of Montpellier in 1622. Left a widow at eighteen years of age, and without children, at a period, too, when her uncle had reached the highest pinnacle of power and fortune, she might have formed another and still more brilliant match. But she refused all offers, among others the hand of the Comte de Soissons, grandson of the Prince de Condé, and resolved to devote the remainder of her life to works of religion and charity. She forthwith entered the Convent of the Carmelites, but her uncle, the powerful minister, who wished her to live with him, obliged her to resume the dress and the life of the world. That her heart was still in the convent, may be inferred from the following passage in her will: 'I desire to be interred, immediately after my death, in the great convent of the Carmelites of the Incarnation, in whatever place the Reverend Mother Prioress shall direct, just as the nuns are interred. I know well that, not having been worthy to pass my life there, as I have strongly desired, I do not deserve to be received there after my death; but as I am assured that the charity of the holy religious will not refuse me this favor, I dare to beg it at their hands, in order that I may have at least the consolation of awaiting with them in their holy house the great day of the resurrection.'

In 1638, Richelieu purchased for her the town and estate of Aiguillon, with the rights and title of a ducal peerage attached thereto. While her uncle was engaged in affairs of State, she took on herself the dispensing of his munificent gifts and alms. She had early placed herself under the direction of Vincent de Paul, and became 'the soul of his assemblies, of his missions, of his pious foundations; and all that with a simplicity which gives a charm to greatness, and a piety which constitutes before God the merit of good works.'

On the death of her uncle in 1642, her means of doing good were largely increased. By his will, bearing date May 23, in that year, she was appointed his executrix conjointly with the Secretary of State, Des Noyers. After payment of the cardinal's debts and of a bequest of 1,500,000 livres to the King, Louis XIII., they were empowered to expend all his large fortune in 'works of piety useful to the public,' without being obliged to render any account to his heirs. Moreover, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon had for three years, under the will, the management of two-thirds of all his property, to be employed in the payment of any of his debts or legacies which might have remained unpaid, and for the expense of the buildings and foundations which he had ordered. Among these were the hôtel de Richelieu, the college and church of Sorbonne, the house of the Congregation of the Mission which he had established at the place from which he derived his ducal title, and the hospital of galley slaves at Marseilles.

Madame d'Aiguillon died in 1675. In her funeral oration, Fléchier said of her: 'Elle n'a été grande, que pour servir Dieu noblement; riche, que pour assister libéralment les pauvres de Jésus-Christ; vivante, que pour se disposer sérieusement à bien mourir.' Her grand-nephew was declared Duke d'Aiguillon by a decree of the parliament in 1731.

Madame Pollalion.

Marie Lumague, born in Paris, in 1599, was married to François Pollalion, gentleman of the chamber in ordinary to the King and his resident* at Ragusa.

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* 'Resident,' an envoy at a foreign Court, less than a minister and more than an agent.

Becoming a widow after a few years of married life, she resigned her post of lady of honor to the Queen, sold her equipage and jewels, retrenched all expenses, and, under the direction of Vincent de Paul, devoted the remainder of her life to piety and good works. She was one of the most active of the Dames de la Charité. She accompanied Madame Le Gras into the country, dressed *en paysanne*, and there devoted herself to the instruction and relief of the poor. After some time, she felt an inspiration to consecrate herself especially to poor girls abused and repentant, and to those whom youth and beauty, joined with indigence and the bad conduct of their parents, exposed to certain peril. After expending her own fortune in founding this work, she obtained the aid of her daughter and son-in-law Claude Chastelain, chamberlain of the King and secretary of the council of state. She next went about Paris on foot, to solicit further aid. She commenced with forty girls, whom she lodged in the hospital of la Pitié, of which Vincent de Paul was then superior. Soon after this, she formed a community of thirty-three young women destined to educate the young persons who should there seek a refuge against the dangers and temptations to which their circumstances might expose them. This community was styled 'Les Filles de la Providence.' She also established a house in which little girls under ten years of age were received, and there educated and trained to useful employments, by which they might afterward earn an honest subsistence. Vincent de Paul felt a deep interest in the institution of the Filles de la Providence, which, at his request, was erected into a secular congregation by the Archbishop of Paris, in 1647. He selected seven of these devoted women, whom he sent to various districts in the environs of Paris as female missionaries, to instruct and aid those of their own sex who most required their charitable ministrations. Some of the number appointed to this work, were of the highest nobility, such as Anne de Croze, and Renée de Grandmont, who was related to the royal house of Lorraine, and who 'concealed all her titles under the humble name of Renée Desbordes.' This congregation was called *L'Union Chrétienne.* On September 4, 1657, in the midst of her loved community of la Providence and one hundred and eighty young girls saved and supported by her charity, Madame Pollalion passed to her eternal reward.

La Marquise de Maignelay.

Charlotte Marguerite de Gondi, sister of the last two bishops of Paris and of the General of the Galleys, was married to Florimond d'Halluin, Marquis de Maignelay in 1588. Three years after this, her husband was assassinated in the troubles of the League. Young and wealthy, she resolved in her widowhood to renounce the world and devote herself to a life of piety and charity. Her intention was to enter the Convent of the Capuchinesses; but Monsieur de Berulle strongly advised her to continue in the world, where her influence and example would effect greater good. Her whole time was occupied in visiting and relieving the sick poor in their own homes and the hospitals, and other charitable works. She was the foundress of the Madeleine du Temple, a house for penitent fallen women, which was afterward placed on a solid foundation by Saint Vincent de Paul. In addition to her large contributions to this institution, she bequeathed it one hundred and six thousand livres in her will. After the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, she was perhaps the largest contributor to the undertakings of Saint Vincent de Paul. This excellent lady died in 1650.

La Marquise de Gondi, Comtesse de Joigny.

Françoise Marguerite de Silly, dame de Commercy, was the eldest daughter of the Count de Rochepot, governor of Anjou. She was married to Philippe Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigny and General of the Galleys, referred to so fully in the text. When God blessed her with children, she is recorded to have said: 'I desire much that those whom God has given me and whom he may yet give me should be saints in heaven rather than great lords on earth.' It was in this spirit that she requested Monsieur de Berulle to procure her a suitable preceptor for her sons, and thus she became acquainted with Vincent de Paul. Her anxiety for the eternal welfare of all residing on her husband's princely estates, led to the first establishment of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Mission. To this object she and the Count were munificent contributors, as indeed they were to all similar good works.

Madame and Mademoiselle de Lamoignon.

These ladies, mother and daughter, were successively leading members of the Dames de la Charité. Madame de Lamoignon, née Marie de Landes, formed an association for the liberation of prisoners confined for debt, and for the relief of all prisoners—a work of great charity in those days, when the economy of prisons was very inferior indeed to what it is in our times. This association comprised not only ladies and ecclesiastics, but some of the leading gentry and nobility of the capital. The King contributed annually to its funds, and the Archbishop of Paris paid the ransom of a prisoner presented to him by the association on Palm Sunday of every year. Madeleine de Lamoignon worthily followed in the footsteps of her mother. She established at her own house a bazaar for the service and profit of the poor. The King, Louis XIV., felt much interest in her good works, and sent her a donation four times every year. She was a large contributor to the funds of the Hôpital-Général. Her alms were not confined to Paris, but extended to all the afflicted provinces of France, as well as to Poland, Barbary, and Canada. Mademoiselle de Lamoignon died on April 14, 1687, having dispensed in her lifetime 500,000 livres in charity.

From these sketches of a few of its leading members, we can best appreciate the value of this association. Its founder, guide, and director, was Saint Vincent de Paul. Through his far-seeing prudence, the special works of these excellent Christian ladies did not die with them; but were carried on, after their departure, by religious communities of nuns; and consequently nearly all those works have survived to the present time. Few will dissent from the wise and considerate sentiments expressed in the following extract from the rules drawn up by Saint Vincent for the guidance of the ladies in their visits to the Hôtel-Dieu:—'With regard to the poor, you will speak to them with much kindness and humility; and in order not to sadden these unfortunates, the weight of whose misery is increased by beholding the luxury of the rich, you will appear before them only in plain and simple costume. . . . In your pious exhortations and instructions of the sick, you will avoid not only the display of superior knowledge, but even the appearance of speaking from yourselves; and therefore you will have always in your hand a little book which will be printed for this purpose, and which will contain all those Christian truths which it is necessary they should know.'

HOSPITALS.

What is the purpose of a great hospital? Ask a physician or a surgeon, zealous in his profession: he will probably answer that a great hospital is a great medical school, in which the art of healing is scientifically and experimentally taught; where the human sufferers who crowd those long vistas of beds are not men and women, but "cases" to be studied: and so under one aspect it ought to be, and must be. A great, well-ordered medical school is absolutely necessary; and to be able to regard the various aspects of disease with calm discrimination, the too sensitive human sympathies must be set aside. Therefore much need is there here of all the masculine firmness of nerve and strength of understanding. But surely a great hospital has another purpose, that for which it was originally founded and endowed, namely, as a refuge and solace for disease and suffering. Here are congregated in terrible reality all the ills enumerated in Milton's visionary lazar-house:

> "All maladies
> Of ghastly spasm or racking torture, qualms
> Of heart-sick agony, wide-wasting pestilence" —

I spare you the rest of the horrible catalogue. He goes on:

> "Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; despair
> Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch."

But why must despair tend the sick? We can imagine a far different influence "busiest from couch to couch"!

There is a passage in Tennyson's poems, written long before the days of Florence Nightingale, which proves that poets have been rightly called prophets, and see "the thing that shall be as the thing that is." I will repeat the passage. He is describing the wounded warriors nursed and tended by the learned ladies:

> "A kindlier influence reigned, and everywhere
> Low voices with the ministering hand
> Hung round the sick. The maidens came, they talked,
> They sung, they read, till she, not fair, began
> To gather light, and she that was, became
> Her former beauty treble; to and fro,
> Like creatures native unto gracious act,
> And in their own clear element they moved."

This you will say is the poetical aspect of the scene: was it not poetical, too, when the poor soldier said that the very shadow of Florence Nightingale passing over his bed seemed to do him good?

Paula, a noble Roman lady, a lineal descendant of the Scipios and the Gracchi, is mentioned among the first Christian women remarkable for their active benevolence. In the year 385 she quitted Rome, then still a Pagan city; with the remains of a large fortune, which had been expended in aiding and instructing a wretched and demoralized people, and, accompanied by her daughter, she sailed for Palestine, and took up her residence in Bethlehem of Judea. There, as the story relates, she assembled round her a community of women "as well

of noble estate as of middle and low lineage." They took no vows, they made no profession, but spent their days in prayer and good works, having especially a well-ordered hospital for the sick.

In the old English translation of her life there is a picture of this charitable lady which I cannot refrain from quoting : "She was marvellous debonair, and piteous to them that were sick, and comforted them, and served them right humbly ; and gave them largely to eat such as they asked ; but to herself she was hard in her sickness and scarce, for she refused to eat flesh how well she gave it to others, and also to drink wine. She was oft by them that were sick, and she laid the pillows aright and in point ; and she rubbed their feet, and boiled water to wash them ; and it seemed to her that the less she did to the sick in service, so much the less service did she to God, and deserved the less mercy ; therefore she was to them piteous and nothing to herself."

It is in the seventh century that we find these communities of charitable women first mentioned under a particular appellation. We read in history that when Landry, Bishop of Paris, about the year 650, founded an hospital, since known as the Hotel-Dieu, as a general refuge for disease and misery, he placed it under the direction of the *Hospitalières*, or nursing-sisters of that time,— women whose services are understood to have been voluntary, and undertaken from motives of piety. Innocent IV., who would not allow of any outlying religious societies, collected and united these hospital-sisters under the rule of the Augustine Order, making them amenable to the government and discipline of the church. The novitiate or training of a *Sœur Hospitalière* was of twelve years' duration, after which she was allowed to make her profession. At that time, and even earlier, we find many hospitals expressly founded for the reception of the sick pilgrims and wounded soldiers returning from the East, and bringing with them strange and hitherto unknown forms of disease and suffering. Some of the largest hospitals in France and the Netherlands originated in this purpose, and were all served by the Hospitalières ; and to this day the Hotel Dieu, with its one thousand beds, the hospital of St. Louis, with its seven hundred beds, and that of *La Pitié*, with its six hundred beds, are served by the same sisterhood, under whose care they were originally placed centuries ago.

For about five hundred years the institution of the *Dames* or *Sœurs Hospitalières* remained the only one of its kind. During this period it had greatly increased its numbers, and extended all through western Christendom ; still it did not suffice for the wants of the age ; and the thirteenth century, fruitful in all those results which a combination of wide-spread suffering and religious ferment naturally produces, saw the rise of another community of compassionate women destined to exercise a far wider influence. These were the *Sœurs Grises*, or Grey Sisters, so called at first, from the original color of their dress. Their origin was this : The Franciscans (and other regular orders) admitted into their community a third or secular class, who did not seclude themselves in cloisters, who took no vows of celibacy, but were simply bound to submit to certain rules and regulations, and united together in works of charity, devoting themselves to visiting the sick in the hospitals, or at their own homes, and doing good wherever and whenever called upon. Women of all classes were enrolled in this sisterhood. Queens, princesses, ladies of rank, wives of burghers, as well as poor widows and maidens. The higher class and the married women occasionally served ; the widows and unmarried devoted themselves almost entirely to

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENGLISH PEDAGOGY.

JOSEPH PAYNE.

Professor of the Science and Art of Education to the College of Preceptors.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Prof. Payne has taken an active and influential part in the Proceedings of the College of Preceptors, and made many valuable contributions to the current literature of education by his papers and addresses prepared for the meetings of this large body of professional teachers. The address, from which the following extracts are taken, was introductory to a course instituted by the Council of the College for the benefit of their own members, and other teachers who chose to avail themselves of the opportunity.

THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION.

The Science of Education is a branch of Psychology, and both Education and Psychology, as sciences, may be studied either deductively or inductively. We may commence with general propositions, and work downward to the facts they represent, or upward from the facts to the general propositions. To students who had been mainly occupied with the concrete and practical, it seemed to me much better to commence with the concrete and practical; with facts, rather than with abstractions. But what facts? That was the question. There is no doubt that a given art contains in its practice, for eyes that can truly see, the principles which govern its action. The reason for doing may be gathered from the doing itself. If, then, we could be quite sure beforehand that perfect specimens of practical teaching based on sound principles, were accessible, we might have set about studying them carefully, with a view to elicit the principles which underlie the practice, and in this way we might have arrived at a Science of Education. But then this involves the whole question—Who is to guarantee dogmatically the absolute soundness of a given method of teaching, and if any one comes forward to do this, who is to guarantee the soundness of his judgment? It appears, then, that although we might evolve the principles of medicine from the general practice of medicine, or the principles of engineering from the general practice of engineering, we cannot evolve the principles of education from the general practice of education as we actually find it. So much of that practice is radically and obviously unsound, so little of sequence and co-ordination is there in its parts, so aimless generally is its action, that to search for the Science of Education in its ordinary present practice would be a sheer waste of time. We should find, for instance, the same teacher acting one day, and with regard to one subject, on one principle, and another day, or with regard to another subject, on a totally different principle, all the time forgetting that the mind really has but one method of learning so as really to know,

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* Mr. Payne was for many years proprietor of a large boarding school at Denmark Hill near London. He early made himself practically acquainted with the suggestions and systems of Jacotot, and other Continental educators, which he makes known to the profession by lectures and through the press.

though multitudes of methods may be framed for giving the semblance of knowing. We see one teacher, who is never satisfied until he secures his pupils' possession of clear ideas upon a given subject; another, who will let them go off with confused and imperfect ideas; and a third, who will think his duty done when he has stuffed them with mere words—with husks instead of grain. It is then perfectly clear that we cannot deduce the principles of true science from varying practice of this kind; and if we confine ourselves to inferences drawn from such practice, we shall never know what the Science of Education is. Having thus shut ourselves off from dealing with the subject by the high *à priori* method, commencing with abstract principles, and also from the unsatisfactory method of inference founded on various, but generally imperfect, practice; and being still resolved, if possible, to get down to a solid foundation on which we might build a fabric of science, we were led to inquire whether *any* system of education is to be found, constant and consistent in its working, by the study of which we might reach the desired end. On looking round we saw that there *is* such a system continually at work under our very eyes,—one which secures definite results, in the shape of positive knowledge, and trains to habit the powers by which these results are gained,—which cannot but be consistent with the general nature of things, because it is *Nature's own.* Here, then, we have what we were seeking for—a system working harmoniously and consistently towards a definite end, and securing positive results—a system, too, strictly educational, whether we regard the development of the faculties employed, or the acquisition of knowledge, as accompanying the development—a system in which the little child is the Pupil and Nature the educator.

Having gained this stand-point, and with it a conviction that if we could only understand this great educator's method of teaching, and see the true connection between the means he employs and the end he attains, we should get a correct notion of what is really meant by education; we next enquire, "How are we to proceed for this purpose?" The answer is, by the method through which other truths are ascertained—by investigation. We must do what the chemist, the physician, the astronomer do, when they study their respective subjects. We must examine into the facts, and endeavor to ascertain, first, what they are; secondly, what they mean. The bodily growth of the child from birth is, for instance, a fact, which we can all observe for ourselves. What does it mean? It means that, under certain external influences—such as air, light, food—the child increases in material bulk and in physical power; that these influences tend to integration, to the forming of a whole: that they are all necessary for that purpose; that the withholding of any one of them leads to disintegration or the breaking up of the whole. But as we continue to observe, we see, moreover, evidences of mental growth. We witness the birth of consciousness; we see the mind answering, through the senses, to the call of the external world, and giving manifest tokens that impressions are both received and retained by it. The child "takes notice" of objects and actions, manifests feelings of pleasure or pain in connection with them, and indicates a desire or will to deal in his own way with the objects, and to take part in the actions. We see that this growth of intellectual power, shown by his increasing ability to hold intercourse with things about him, is closely connected with the growth of his bodily powers, and we derive from our observation one important principle of the Science of Education, that *mind and body are mutually interdependent, and co-operate in promoting growth.*

We next observe that as the baby, under the combined influences of air, light, and food, gains bodily strength, he augments that strength by continually exercising it; he uses the fund he has obtained, and, by using, makes it more. Exercise reiterated, almost unremitting; unceasing movement, apparently for its own sake, as an end in itself; the jerking and wriggling in the mother's arms, the putting forth of his hands to grasp at things near him, the turning of the head to look at bright objects; this exercise, these movements, constitute his very life. He lives in them, and by them. He is urged to exercise by stimulants from without; but the exercise itself brings pleasure with it (*labor ipse voluptas*), is continued on that account, and ends in increase of power. What applies to the body, applies also, by the foregoing principle, to the intellectual powers, which grow with the infant's growth, and strengthen with his strength. Our observation of these facts furnishes us, therefore, with a second principle of education—*Faculty of whatever kind grows by exercise.*

Without changing our ground we supplement this principle by another. We see that the great educator who prompts the baby to exercise, and connects pleasure with all his voluntary movements, makes the exercise effectual for the purpose in view by constant reiteration. Perfection in action is secured by repeating the action thousands of times. The baby makes the same movements over and over again; the muscles and the nerves learn to work together, and habit is the result. Similarly in the case of the mind, the impressions communicated through the organs of sense, grow from cloudy to clear, from obscure to definite, by dint of endless repetition of the functional act. By the observation of these facts we arrive at a third principle of education :—*Exercise involves repetition, which, as regards bodily actions, ends in habits of action, and as regards impressions received by the mind, ends in clearness of perception.*

Looking still at our baby as he pursues his education, we see that this manifold exercise is only apparently an end in itself. The true purpose of the teaching is to stimulate the pupil to the acquisition of knowledge, and to make all these varied movements subservient to that end. This exercise of faculty brings the child into contact with the properties of matter, initiates him into the mysteries of hard and soft, heavy and light, etc., the varieties of form, of round and flat, circular and angular, etc., the attractive charms of color. All this is knowledge, gained by reiterated exercise of the faculties, and stored up in the mind by its retentive power. We recognize the baby as a practical enquirer after knowledge for its own sake. But we further see him as a discoverer, testing the properties of matter by making his own experiments upon it. He knocks the spoon against the basin which contains his food; he is pleased with the sound produced by his action, and more than pleased, delighted, if the basin breaks under the operation. He throws his ball on the ground, and follows its revolution with his enraptured eye. What a wonderful experiment it is! How charmed he is with the effect he has produced! He repeats the experiment over and over again with unwearied assiduity. The child is surely a Newton, or a Faraday, in petticoats! No, he is simply one of nature's ordinary pupils, enquiring after knowledge, and gaining it by his own unaided powers. He is teaching himself under the guidance of a great educator. His self-teaching ends in development and growth, and it is therefore strictly educational in its nature. In view of these facts we gain a fourth principle of the Science of Education. *The exercise of the child's own powers, stimulated but not superseded by the educator's interference, ends both in the acquisition of knowledge and in the invigoration of the powers for further acquisition.*

It is unnecessary to give further illustrations of our method. Every one will see that it consists essentially in the observation and investigation of facts, the most important of which is that we have before us a pupil going through a definite system of education. We are convinced that it is education, because it developes faculty, and therefore conduces to development and growth. By close observation we detect the method of the master, and see that it is a method which repudiates cramming rules and definitions, and giving wordy explanations, and secures the pupil's utmost benefit from the work by making him do it all himself through the exercise of his unaided powers.* We thus get a clue to the construction of a Science of Education, to be built up, as it were, on the organized compound of body and mind, to which we give the name of baby. Continuing still our observation of the phenomena it manifests, first, in its speechless, and afterwards in its speaking condition, we gain other principles of education; and lastly, colligating and generalizing our generalizations, we arrive at a definition of education as carried on by Nature. This may be roughly expressed thus:—*Natural education consists in the development and training of the learner's powers, through influences of various kinds, which are initiated by action from without, met by corresponding reaction from within.*

Then assuming, as we appear to have a right to do, that this natural education should be the model of formal education, we modify our definition thus—

Education is the development and training of the learner's native powers by means of instruction carried on through the conscious and persistent agency of the formal educator, and depends upon the established connection between the world without and the world within the mind—between the objective and the subjective.

I am aware that this definition is defective, inasmuch as it ignores—or appears to ignore—the vast fields of physical and moral education. It will serve my present purpose, which is especially connected with intellectual education.

THE ART OF EDUCATION.

Having gained a general notion of a Science of Education, we go on to consider the Art of Education, or the practical application of the Science. We are thus led to examine the difference between Science and Art, and between Nature and Art. Science tells us what a thing is, and why it is what it is. It deals therefore with the nature of the thing, with its relations to other things, and consequently with the laws of its being. Art derives its rules from this

*The Bishop of Exeter, in the admirable address which he lately delivered on the occasion of his presiding at the giving of Prizes to the successful candidates for schools in union with the College of Preceptors, confirmed in various ways the principle above laid down. This address was delivered since my lecture at the College. It may be found fully reported in the *Educational Times* for February. Among other remarks were the following:—"We often find that when teachers fancy their pupils have obtained a thorough mastery of a subject, they are deceived, because they have not noticed that, in almost imperceptible ways, they have been doing for the pupil what he ought to be doing for himself. I have repeatedly gone into a school and on examining it, say in arithmetic, have been told by the master, 'It is very strange that the boys do not know it; I thought they knew it thoroughly.' I have always asked them this, 'When you have exmined them, have you made them answer for themselves?' And the reply has been, 'Yes; I have left them with themselves except just the very slightest possible help occasionally; just enough to prevent them from wandering about.' That is the whole thing. That very little help is the thing which vitiated the examination altogether; and the test of real mastery is that the knowledge shall be produced [and therefore obtained] without any help at all. When a man or woman in after-life come to use their knowledge, they will find that the knowledge is really of no use unless they are able to apply it absolutely without assistance, and without the slightest guidance to prevent them falling into the most grievous mistakes."

knowledge of the thing and its laws of action, and says, "Do this or that with the thing in order to accomplish the end you have in view. If you act otherwise with it, you violate the laws of its being." Now the rules of Art may be carried out blindly or intelligently. If blindly, the worker is a mere artisan—an operative who follows routine, whose rule is the rule-of-thumb. If intelligently, he is a true artist, who not only knows what he is doing, but why this process is right and that wrong, and who is furnished with resources suitable for guiding normal, and correcting abnormal, action. All the operations of the true artist can be justified by reference to the principles of Science. But there is also a correlation between Nature and Art. These terms are apparently, but not really, opposed to each other. Bacon long ago pointed out the true distinction when he said, *Ars est Homo additus Naturæ*—Art is Nature with the addition of Man—Art is Man's work added to (not put in the place of) Nature's work. Here then is the synthesis of Nature and Man which justifies us in saying that natural education is the type or model of formal, or what we usually call, without an epithet, education, and that the Art of Teaching is the application by the teacher of laws of Science, which he has himself discovered by investigating Nature. This is the keystone of our position; if this is firm and strong, all is firm and strong. Abandon this position and you walk in darkness and doubt, not knowing what you are doing or whither you are wandering—at the mercy of every wind of doctrine.

The artist in education, thus equipped, is ready not only to work himself, but to judge of the work of others. He sees, for instance, a teacher coldly or sterly demanding the attention of a little child to some lesson, say in arithmetic. The child has never been led up gradually to the point at which he is. He has none but confused notions about it. The teacher, without any attempt to interest the child, without exhibiting affection or sympathy towards him, hastily gives him some technical directions, and sends him away to profit by them as he may—simply "orders him to learn," and leaves him to do so alone. Our teacher says,—"This transaction is inartistic. The element of humanity is altogether wanting in it. It is not in accordance with the Science of Education; it is a violation of the Art. The great educator, in his teaching, presents a motive and an object for voluntary action; and therefore excites attention towards the object by enlisting the feelings in the enquiry. He does not, it is true, show sympathy, because he acts by inflexible rules. But the human educator, as an artist, is bound not only to excite an interest in the work, but to sympathize with the worker. This teacher does neither.

Another case presents itself. Here the teacher does not leave the child alone; on the contrary, is continually by his side. At this moment he is copiously "imparting his knowledge" of some subject to his pupil, whose aspect shows that he is not receiving it, and who therefore looks puzzled. The matter, whatever it is, has evidently little or no relation to the actual condition of the child's mind, in which it finds no links of association and produces no intellectual reaction, and which therefore does not coöperate with the teacher's. He patiently endures, however, because he cannot escape from it, the downpouring of the teacher's knowledge; but it is obvious that he gains nothing from it. It passes over his mind as water passes over a duck's back. The subject of instruction, before unknown, remains unknown still. Our artist teacher, looking on, pronounces that this teaching is inartistic, as not being founded on Science. "The efficiency of a lesson is to be proved," he says, "by the part taken in it by the pupil; and here the teacher does all the work, the pupil does nothing at all.

It is the teacher's mind, not the learner's, that is engaged in it. Our great master teaches by calling into exercise the *learner's* powers, not by making a display of his own. The child will never learn anything so as to possess it for himself by such teaching as this, which accounts the exercise of his own faculties as having little or nothing to do with the process of learning."

Once more: our student, informed in the Science of Education, watches a teacher who is giving a lesson on language—say, on the mother tongue. This mother tongue the child virtually knows how to use already; and if he has been accustomed to educated society, speaks and (if he is old enough to write) writes it correctly. The teacher puts a book into his hand, the first sentence of which is, "English grammar is the art of speaking and writing the English language correctly." The child does not know what an "art" is, nor what is meant by speaking English "correctly." If he is intelligent, he wonders whether he speaks it "correctly" or not. As to the meaning of "art," he is altogether at sea. The teacher is aware of the perplexity, and desiring to make him really understand the meaning of the word, attempts an explanation. "An art," he says (getting the definition from a dictionary), "is a power of doing something not taught by Nature." The child stares with astonishment, as if you were talking Greek or Arabic. What can be meant by a "power"—what by "being taught by Nature"? The teacher sees that his explanation has only made what was dark before darker still. He attempts to explain his explanation, and the fog grows thicker and thicker. At last he gives it up, pronounces the child stupid, and ends by telling him to learn by rote—that is, by hurdy-gurdy grind—the unintelligible words. *That* at least the child can do (a parrot could be taught to do the same), and he does it; but his mind has received no instruction whatever from the lesson—the intelligence which distinguishes the child from the parrot remains entirely uncultivated.

Our teacher proceeds to criticise. "This is," he says, "altogether inartistic teaching. Our great master does not begin with definitions—and indeed gives no definitions—because they are unsuited to his pupil's state of mind. He begins with facts which the child can understand, because he observes them himself. This teacher should have begun with facts. The first lesson in grammar (if indeed it is necessary to teach grammar at all to a little child) should be a lesson on the *names* of the *objects* in the room—objects which the child sees and handles, and knows by seeing and handling—that is, has ideas of them in his mind. 'What is the name of this thing and of that?' he inquires, and the child tells him. The ideas of the things, and the names by which they are known, are already associated together in his consciousness, and he has already learned to translate things into words. The teacher may tell him (for he could not discover it for himself) that a *name* may also be called a *noun*. 'What, then,' the teacher may say, 'is a noun?' The child replies, '*A noun is the name of a thing.*' He has constructed a definition himself—a very simple one certainly—but then it is a definition which he thoroughly understands because it is his own work. This mode of proceeding would be artistic, because in accordance with Nature. There would be no need to commit the definition to memory, as a mere collection of words, because what it means is already committed to the understanding which will retain it, because it represents facts already known and appreciated. Thoroughly *knowing* things is the sure way to *remember* them."

In some such way as this our expert brings the processes commonly called teaching to the touchstone of his Science, the Science which he has built up on his observation of the processes of Nature.

TRUE FOUNDATION OF SCIENCE-TEACHING.

It is almost a truism to say, that the foundation of a building is its most important feature. If the foundation be either insecure in itself, or laid without regard to the plan of the superstructure, the building as a whole, will be found wanting both in unity and strength. A building is in fact the embodiment and realization of an idea conceived in the mind of the architect, and if he is competent for his post, and can secure the needful coöperation, the practical expression will symmetrically correspond to the conception. But unless the foundation is solidly laid, and all the parts of the building are constructed with relation to it, his æsthetic and theoretic skill will go for little or nothing. His work is doomed to failure from the beginning, and the extent of the failure will be proportionate to the ambition of the design. These remarks are applicable to the art of building generally, whether shown in large and imposing structures, or in the meanest cottages. In no case can the essential elements of unity and strength be dispensed with. In these preliminary observations I have foreshadowed the subject with which I have to deal—that of Science-teaching—whether carried on under the direction of a Science and Art Department, or in the smallest class of a private school.

WHAT IS SCIENCE?

The first question for consideration is, "What is meant by Science?" The shortest answer that can be given is, that "Science is organized knowledge." This is, however, too general for our present purpose, which is, to deal with Physical Science. In a somewhat developed form, then, Physical Science is an organized knowledge of material, concrete, objective facts or phenomena. The term "organized," it will be seen, is the essence of the definition, inasmuch as it connotes or implies that certain objective relations subsisting in the nature of things, between facts or phenomena, are subjectively appreciated by the mind—that is, that Science differs from mere knowledge by being a knowledge both of facts, and of their relations to each other. The mere random, haphazard accumulation of facts, then, is not Science; but the perception and conception of their natural relations to each other, the comprehension of these relations under general laws and the organization of facts and laws into one body, the parts of which are seen to be subservient to each other, *is* Science.

Returning to the other factor of the definition, "Knowledge," we observe that there are two kinds of knowledge—what we know through our own experience, and what we know through the experience of others. Thus, I know by my own knowledge that I have an audience before me, and I know through the knowledge of others that the earth is 25,000 miles in circumference. This latter fact, however, I know in a sense different from that in which I know the former. The one is a part of my experience, of my very being. The other I can only be strictly said to know when I have, by an effort of the mind, passed through the connected chain of facts and reasonings on which the demonstration is founded. Thus only can it become my knowledge in the true sense of the term.

Strictly speaking, then, organized knowledge, or Science, is originally based on unorganized knowledge, and is the outcome of the learner's own observation of facts through the exercise of his own senses, and his own reflection upon what he has observed. This knowledge, ultimately organized into Science through the operation of his mind, he may with just right call his own; and as

a learner, he can properly call no other knowledge his own. What is reported to us by another is that other's, if gained at first hand by experience; but it stands on a different footing from that which we have gained by our own experience. He merely hands it over to us; but when we receive it, its condition is already changed. It wants the brightness, definiteness, and certainty in our eyes which it had in his; and moreover, it is merely a loan, and not our property. The fact, for instance, about the earth's circumference was to him a living fact; it sprang into being as the outcome of experiments and reasonings, with the entire chain of which it was seen by him to be intimately—indeed indissolubly and organically connected. To us it is a dead fact, severed from its connection with the body of truth, and, by our hypothesis, having no organic relation to the living truths we have gained by our own minds. These are convertible into our Science; that is not. What I insist on then is, that the knowledge from experience—that which is gained by bringing our own minds into direct contact with matter—is the only knowledge that as novices in science we have to do with. The dogmatic knowledge imposed upon us by authority, though originally gained by the same means, is really, not our's, but another's —is, as far as we are concerned, unorganizable; and therefore, though Science to its proprietor, is not Science to us. To us it is merely information, or haphazard knowledge.

The conclusions, then, at which we arrive, are—(1) That the true foundation of physical Science lies in the knowledge of physical facts gained at first-hand by observation and experiment, to be made by the learner himself; (2) that all knowledge not thus gained is, *pro tanto*, unorganizable, and not suited to his actual condition; and (3) that his facts become organized into Science by the operation of his own mind upon them.

SCIENCE TEACHING.

I have elsewhere* endeavored to expound the correlation of learning and teaching, and to show that the natural process of investigation by which the unassisted student—unassisted, that is, by book or teacher—would seek, as a first discoverer, to gain an accurate knowledge of facts and their interpretation, suggests to us both the nature and scope of the teacher's, and especially the Science-teacher's functions. According to this view of the subject, the learner's method, and the teacher's, serve as a mutual limit to each other. The learner is a discoverer or investigator engaged in interrogating the concrete matter before him, with a view to ascertain his nature and properties; and the teacher is a superintendent or director of the learner's process, pointing out the problem to be solved, concentrating the learner's attention upon it, varying the points of view, suggesting experiments, enquiring what they result in; converting even errors and mistakes into means of increased power, bringing back the old to interpret the new, the known to interpret the unknown, requiring an exact record of results arrived at—in short, exercising all the powers of the learner's mind upon the matter in hand, in order to make him an accurate observer and experimenter, and to train him in the method of investigation. The teacher, then, is to be governed in his teaching, not by independent notions of his own, but by considerations inherent in the natural process by which the pupil learns. He is not, therefore, at liberty to ignore this natural process, which essentially

* Lecture on "Theories of Teaching with the corresponding Practice," April 26, 1869.

involves the observation, experiment, and reflection of the pupil; nor to supersede it by intruding the results of the observation, experiment, and reflection of others He is, on the contrary, bound to recognize these operations of his pupil's mind as the *true foundation of Science-teaching* which he professes to carry out. In other words, the process of the learner is the true foundation of that of the teacher.

I may refer, for proof of this assertion, to the teaching of botany to poor village children by the late Professor Henslow; to the teaching of general Science by the late Dean Dawes to a similar class of children; to that pursued at the present time by the Bristol Trade School; and to the invaluable lessons given to the imaginary Harry and Lucy by Miss Edgeworth. Without warranting every process adopted by these eminently successful teachers, some of whom were perhaps a little too much addicted to explaining, I have no hesitation in declaring that they one and all acted mainly on the principle that true Science-teaching consists in bringing the pupil's mind into direct contact with facts—in getting him to investigate, discover, and invent for himself.

Authority of Experts.

Professor Huxley, in a lecture on Scientific Education, says:—

"If scientific training is to yield its most eminent results, it must be made practical—that is to say, in explaining to a child the general phenomena of nature, you must, as far as possible, give reality to your teaching by object-lessons. In teaching him botany, he must handle the plants and dissect the flowers for himself; in teaching him physics and chemistry, you must not be solicitous to fill him with information, but you must be careful that what he learns he knows of his own knowledge. Do not be satisfied with telling him that a magnet attracts iron. Let him see that it does; let him feel the pull of the one upon the other for himself. . . . . Pursue this discipline carefully and conscientiously, and you may make sure that, however scanty may be the measure of information which you have poured into the boy's mind, you have created an intellectual habit of priceless value in practical life."

Again, in the same lecture, the Professor says:—

"If the great benefits of scientific training are sought, it is essential that such training should be real—that is to say that the mind of the scholar should be brought into direct relation with fact; that he should not merely be told a thing, but made to see, by the use of his own intellect and ability, that the thing is *so*, and not otherwise. The great peculiarity of scientific training—that in virtue of which it cannot be replaced by any other discipline whatever—is this bringing of the mind directly into contact with fact, and practising the mind in the completest form of induction—that is to say, in drawing conclusions from particular facts made known by immediate observation of nature."

Dr. Kemshead, Science Teacher at Dulwich College, says:—

"I wish particularly to draw the distinction between mere scientific knowledge and scientific training. I do not believe in the former; I do believe in in the latter. In physical and experimental science, studied for the sake of training, the mode of teaching is everything. I know of one school (we shall soon see that there are many such) in which physical science is made a strong point in the prospectus, where chemistry is taught by reading a text-book (a very antiquated one, since it only gives forty-five elements), but in which the experiments are learned by heart, and never seen practically. Such a proceeding is a mere farce on Science.

"To develope scientific habits of thought—the scientific mind, the teaching must be of a totally different nature. In order to get the fullest benefit from a scientific education, the teacher should endeavor to bring his pupil face to face with the great problems of nature, as though he were the first discoverer. He should encourage him from the first to record accurately all his experiments, the object he had in view in making them, the results even when they have failed, and the inferences which he draws in each case, with as much rigor and

exactitude as though they were to be published in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' He should, in fact, teach his pupil to face the great problems of nature as though they had never been solved before."

"To face the great problems of nature as though they had never been solved before"—"to bring the child face to face with the great problems of nature, as though he were the first discoverer"—these weighty, pregnant, and luminous expressions contain the essence of the whole question I have endeavored to set before you. They define, as you easily perceive, the attitude of the pupil in regard to his subjective process of learning, and the function of the teacher in regard to his objective process of teaching—the one being the counterpart of the other."

Dr. Acland, in his evidence before the Public Schools Commission, remarks:—

"I may say, generally, that I should value all knowledge of these physical sciences very little indeed unless it was otherwise than book-work. If it is merely a question of getting up certain books, and being able to answer certain book questions, that is merely an exercise of the memory of a very useless kind. The great object, though not the sole object, of this training should be to get the boys to observe and understand the action of matter in some department or another. . . . . . I want them to see and know the things, and in that way they will evoke many qualities of the mind, which the study of these subjects is intended to develop."

Professor Huxley, before the Commission on Scientific Instruction, says:—

"The great blunder that our people make, I think, is attempting to teach from books; our schoolmasters have largely been taught from books and nothing but books, and a great many of them understand nothing but book-teaching, as far as I can see. The consequence is, that when they attempt to deal with Scientific teaching, they make nothing of it. If you are setting to work to teach a child Science, you must teach it through its eyes, and its hands, and its senses."

I do not for a moment deny that much is to be gained from the study of scientific text-books. It would be absurd to do so. What I do deny is, that the reading up of books on Science—which is, strictly speaking, a literary study—either is, or can possibly be, a training in scientific method. To receive facts in Science on any other authority than that of the facts themselves; to get up the observations, experiments, and comments of others, instead of observing, experimenting, and commenting ourselves; to learn definitions, rules, abstract propositions, technicalities, before we personally deal with the facts which lead up to them; all this, whether in literary or scientific education—and especially in the latter—is of the essence of cramming, and is therefore entirely opposed to, and destructive of, true mental training and discipline. As I have elsewhere said:—

"The entire process of the earliest instruction of children should consist in training the faculties for their subsequent work; and for this instruction God's book of the Universe is better suited than any books of men. The facts and phenomena of Nature are the sentences, words, and letters which, before all others, the child should be taught to read; and if taught to read them by a teacher who knows his business, they furnish the soundest and most interesting instruction that the child is capable of receiving. The materials for the lesson are constantly at hand; the faculties for using them are constantly ready for use; and it is the very *raison d' être* of the teacher, the purpose for which he exists, to bring the materials and the faculties into contact; and thus to make the child find tongues in trees, sermons in stones, and books in the running brooks. For want of such teaching, the child grows to a man, and as a man lives all his life, carrying with him eyes which do not see, ears which do not hear, a mind which does not think. By means of such lessons the art of observing may be definitely taught, the art of inventing prompted, and the method of scientific investigation initiated."

WILLIAM BALLANTYNE HODGSON.

MEMOIR.*

William B. Hodgson, LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh, in which subject he was from 1863 to 1868 Examiner in the University of London, was born at Edinburgh in 1815, and educated in the High School and University of that city. After receiving his degree, he continued his studies at Edinburgh, giving private lessons, until 1839, when he became Secretary, and soon after President of the Institute at Liverpool—having the principal charge of the High School, and the supervision of all the classes, day and evening, of that great institution, in which about seventeen hundred pupils, boys and girls, were registered, together with its Museums and Evening Lectures, until 1847.

In 1846 Mr. Hodgson received from the University of Glasgow the diploma of LL.D. From 1847 to 1851 he was Principal of the Chorlton High School, Manchester. In 1851 he went abroad, and resided for some time in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. Several winters between 1854 and 1860 he spent in Edinburgh, endeavoring to extend and improve instruction in schools, chiefly by introducing the elements of economic and sanitary science. In 1858–59 he was engaged in the Royal Commission on Primary Schools, and his report on the London district is appended to the general Report of the Commission. From 1863 to 1870 Dr. Hodgson resided mainly in London; and from the former year to 1868 he acted as Examiner in Political Economy in the University of London. On July 17, 1871, he was elected to the Professorship of Political and Commercial Economy and Mercantile Law in the University of Edinburgh. His principal publications are a "Lecture on Education," 1837; a translation of Bastiat's "What is Seen and What is not Seen; or Political Economy in one Lesson," 1852; "Classical Instruction: its Use and Abuse," 1853; "The Conditions of Health and Wealth, educationally considered," two lectures, 1860; "Remarks on Report of Public School Commissioners," 1864; "Classical Instruction: Why; When; for Whom?" 1866; "Exaggerated Estimates of Reading and Writing as Means of Education," 1867; a translation of Count Cavour's "Ireland," 1868; "What is Capital?" 1868; two lectures "On the Education of Girls and the Employment of Women of the Middle Classes," 1869; lecture on the "True Scope of Economic Science," 1870; lecture on "Competition," 1870; and two lectures on "Turgot: his Life, Times, and Opinions," 1870.

Since the date of the above memoir, Dr. Hodgson has addressed the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1875 on "The Teacher and the Institute of the Future," and the Social Science Association at Belfast in 1875 on the "Exaggerated Estimates of Reading and Writing as Means of Education."

*Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries. George Routledge & Sons.

THE TEACHER OF THE FUTURE.

There can be no doubt that the teacher of the future will not have a lighter task of preparation, though his work will be less irksome, because more intellectual in its processes, and really progressive in its results. No division of labor will diminish the variety or amount of knowledge and faculty to be acquired. The mutual relations of all subjects, even those most widely apart, demand that while the teacher strives, as far as possible, to know all about something, he shall also know somewhat about very many things. Physical science is daily rising in general opinion as an educational agency as well as a branch of instruction. It is asserting its claim not to a casual place in the studies of older pupils, but to recognition as the fit and natural nurture of even the very young. Now the teaching of science must be scientific teaching—the two phrases, often confounded, must carefully be distinguished, though the things denoted by them must be blended. The one relates to the subject taught, the other to the mode of teaching it. If science-teaching has, as we are told, so often failed, it is because it has not been scientific; while it has been half-hearted, and rather permitted than encouraged. It has been treated as an unwelcome intruder—with cold civility, not genuine hospitality. Short cuts, intended to be time-saving, have made the journey of none effect. Results have been anticipated, and have so been deprived of much of their natural interest and use. Rote-teaching has crossed the border of this newly-discovered country, and has done much to make it as little attractive as the old. "I am convinced," says Burke, "that the method of teaching which approaches most nearly to the method of investigation is incomparably the best, since, not content with serving a few barren and lifeless truths, it leads to the stock on which they grew; it tends to set the student himself in the track of invention, and to direct him into those paths in which discoveries have been made."

Our very language abounds with false analogies, which betray a radical misconception of the true nature of teaching. To instil—to drop in—(though Quintilian has made a fine use of this metaphor); to inculcate—to tread in; to instruct or to edify—to build up; to impress;—such phrases all indicate an action from without upon a passive recipient, and ignore the vital and active force within.

It is especially desirable that teachers should study what has been written about the science and history of their profession. There is here a rich mine little explored. How many know the works, say even of Pestalozzi, at first hand or at second hand? For one who pursues this kind of reading there are, perhaps, a hundred who content themselves with the study of their text-books in their several subjects of instruction. In our language there are sundry useful manuals; but we have no *History of Education*, like that of Fritz, of Schmid, in four volumes, or even like its abridgment in one volume.* We have no *Encyclopædia of Education*,

* Since this Address was printed, my friend Mr. Quick has called my attention to Dr. Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, which really contains, though not in continuous form, a History and, it may be said, an Encyclopædia of Education. Papers extracted from it, to the number of six or seven hundred, may now be purchased separately. A list of these is published at the end of the *Monthly Journal of Education* for July last. [Dr. Barnard, it is understood, will in 1876–7 issue a continuous and comprehensive History of Education, more complete, so far as British and American Systems and Institutions are concerned, than Raumer, Fritz, Schmid, or Palmer.]

like that of Schmid, or that of which the publication in the United States is announced by Messrs. Kiddle and Schem in New York. Mr. Quick's excellent book on the *Educational Reformers* may be read with much advantage; and I look forward with great pleasure to the appearance of the promised book by Mr. Leitch, of the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow. But it is in the moral even more than in the intellectual sphere that the greatest triumphs are, I believe, reserved for the school of the future. It is here, doubtless, that the coöperation of home with school is at once most needful and most efficacious; it is here that any discordance in purpose is most to be deplored; but the worse the home the greater the need for energetic influence in the school. The school of this generation, besides, can do and ought to do much to form the home of the next and every succeeding generation. Now a teacher who is indifferent to what his pupils do beyond the bounds of school shows, I think, a sad misconception of his duty, and yet one, I fear, not uncommon. "*Præsens et absens idem erit,*" is a phrase of Terence, which concisely expresses the disposition which the teacher should strive to form. The substitution of oral recitation of precise verbal forms for real moral training has blunted our perception of what might be, and what will be, done in schools for the improvement of the world. Surely something more might be done than hitherto to abate the blighting curse of intemperance, by simple but earnest exposition of its moral, its sanitary, and its economic bearings. Surely something more might be done in school to resist the sin, folly, and mischievousness of waste. At Ghent, and other places in Belgium, in London, and even at Otago in New Zealand, savings banks have been with great success established in connection with elementary schools. Of late years only does it seem to have been discovered that school may be turned to account in preventing cruelty to animals. And in this respect much remains to be done in order that we may even maintain what progress we may have made.

On our civilization three of the darkest blots are the pursuit of riches without honesty, of art (so-called) without decency, of science without mercy. Of these three great evils much could, I believe, be done in school for the prevention at least of the first and the third. At the risk of being thought Quixotic, I venture to contend, as Professor Pillans did fifty years ago, that corporal punishment in schools ought wholly to be discontinued. The resort to it seems to me tantamount to a confession of incompetency to rule by milder and moral means. I know how hard it is for individuals to depart from general usage; but I also know what is being done by many successfully in this direction. Flogging, like other barbarities, which good men have been found to defend, is dying out, and I would gladly hasten its demise.

READING AS A SUBJECT OF INSTRUCTION.

Not much more than half a century divides us from the state of social opinion which denounced, or dreaded, or ridiculed any and all teaching of the great masses, which prompted even intelligent and kindly men to predict the entire overturning of society as the inevitable result of the teaching of "the lower orders," as if society depended, for its very exist-

ence, on the domination of one small class more or less enlightened, and on the unquestioning subserviency of all other classes, whom any glimmering of light could not fail to render discontented, insubordinate, insurrectionary.

Then came the period which may be called, for a well-known reason, the era of the three R's, *Reading*, *'Riting*, and *'Rithmetic*. The inconveniences of total darkness were more and more recognized, and the advantage of, at least, a sort of twilight state of mind was more and more perceived; but it may well be questioned whether the noonday blaze of knowledge was not more dreaded by the educational patrons of the lower classes than even the midnight blackness of total ignorance.

By degrees, the scope of popular education was widened, so far, at least, as regards the admission of other subjects of instruction. I cannot think that there was generally a more philosophic estimate of the true nature of education; but the frequent modern examples of individuals rising from humble station to wealth and rank, familiarized men's minds with the thought that so much culture should be generally given as would assist the exceptionally clever boy in his social ascent, rather than improve the condition of the great body of the working classes. Geography, and history, and sundry other things, were more and more generally introduced. It may well be doubted whether these additions were always or commonly improvements. Time was consumed in committing to memory the events of so-called history, one half of which was probably false, while of the other half, one half was probably doubtful, while a large proportion of the whole was unimportant. * * * As for geography, such facts as the height of the Himalayas, and the length of the Brahmapootra, were stored up for reproduction at the stated examinations, where the effect was striking, in proportion to the recondite nature of the information, and in inverse proportion to its utility. Of the Revised Code I need say little more here than that it gave a new or renewed prominence to reading, writing, and arithmetic, confining practically its rewards to a certain measure of proficiency in these branches, under the name of payment for results, as tested by individual examination. My belief is that, as might have been expected, it has injuriously affected the higher education, that is, all that deserves the name of education, while it has not generally succeeded in ensuring even mechanical proficiency in the three arts thus specially fostered.

"Teach a child to read and write, and he will educate himself," this is a common saying. No doubt your Stephensons, and your Faradays, and those with large natural capacity for any kind of mental effort, will, with this simple help, do all besides for themselves. Nay, even without this help, their innate energy would still surmount every obstacle in their way. But such men are the exceptions, not the rule; and the frequent appeal to such cases in evidence of the sufficiency of reading and writing in humble schools, is one more proof of the prevalence of the error which looks at popular education rather as a means of enabling the peculiarly gifted to rise into a higher station than of enabling and disposing all efficiently to discharge the duties of their actual station, even though they should rise to none higher. It is to the average capacity, the average

disposition of ordinary school pupils, that teaching must be adapted, and it is by its success in dealing with that average capacity, that average disposition, that its efficiency is to be judged.

We are all familiar with the statistical tables about criminals, and the proportions among them of those who can read and write well, imperfectly, or not at all. Crime, we are told, flourishes most rankly among the last, less among the second, least among the first. What, then, is the natural inference from such statements? Of course, diminish the ignorance, and you diminish the crime. But the ignorance of what? Of course, of reading and writing. Ignorance of reading and writing is productive of, or accompanied by, a great amount of crime. Knowledge of reading and writing will, therefore, diminish crime! There may be fallacies more palpable than this; there can be few more gross or serious. The inability to read and write argues, in our present state, it may be freely granted, great ignorance of all beyond that it is good or useful to know. But the ability to read and write (not to cavil about the degree of ability) by no means argues the knowledge of aught beyond. Negatively, the ignorance implies much; positively, the knowledge implies little.

1. Reading is a mechanical means, one of several means, of gaining knowledge and ideas. Writing is one mechanical means of conveying knowledge or ideas to others, as well as a means of recording them for either others or ourselves. What is the educational value of either? There is, I am well aware, a high sense, in which it may be contended that he who can read easily, intelligently, appreciatively, pleasurably, even one valuable book, especially if he can read it aloud with due "emphasis and discretion," correct intonation, and utterance at once expressive and impressive; and who further can give written form to his thoughts and knowledge, if, that is, we take writing to mean not merely penmanship, but what is called composition also—may be said to have received no mean or narrow, though it may still be a defective education. But it is obvious that we are here concerned with such measure of the powers of reading and of penmanship as is commonly obtained in our cheap and general schools. Now, the first thing that strikes us is that they are, at most, not knowledge, but means of knowledge. I say not *the* means, but means of knowledge. They are no more knowledge or education, as has often been said, than a knife, fork, and plate constitute a dinner. Given the dinner, the knife, fork, and plate are useful in enabling us to deal with it. But, though the combination is best, it is better to have the dinner without the implements than the implements without the dinner. That the two can be separated is undeniable; and so it is quite possible, though not common, to find a man shrewd, sagacious, even well-informed, who can neither write nor read; and it is not only possible, but very common, to find the grossest ignorance and the greatest dulness associated with ability to read and write. Let us grant that they are the tools for gaining knowledge; they are not crop, but plough and harrow. They must be used for this purpose.

2. The power of reading and of writing often rusts unused, if it is not wholly lost, through neglect and apathy after leaving school. The attainments are not usually carried far enough to render their use either easy or pleasant, and the power gradually decays.

CLASSICAL INSTRUCTION:—ITS USE AND ABUSE.

Under the above title Dr. Hodgson issued, in 1854, a pamphlet of 70 pages, an essay, originally published in the Westminster Review for October, 1853, which attracted much attention at the time, and contains in its reasonings and citations food for thought, until the abuse of what Sidney Smith calls *Too much Latin and Greek* for all pupils of liberal culture, is utterly eradicated from the enforced curriculum of a majority of children who have useful work of any kind to do in this world. It is as true now in England, as it was when first uttered by Sidney Smith in the Edinburgh Review in 1809, and again by Lord Ashburton in 1853.

The complaints we have to make are, at least, as old as the time of Locke and Dr. Samuel Clarke; and the evil which is the subject of these complaints, has certainly rather increased than diminished since the period of those two great men. A hundred years, to be sure, is a very little time for the duration of a national error; and it is so far from being reasonable to look for its decay at so short a date, that it can hardly be expected, within such limits, to have displayed the full bloom of its imbecility.

SIDNEY SMITH.

In this *progressive* country, we neglect all that knowledge in which there is progress, to devote ourselves to those branches in which we are scarcely, if at all, superior to our ancestors. In this *practical* country, the knowledge of all that gives power over nature, is left to be picked up by chance on a man's way through life. In this *religious* country, the knowledge of God's works forms no part of the education of the people,—no part even of the accomplishments of a gentleman.

LORD ASHBURTON.

Prof. Blackie of Edinburgh is cited thus:

'I claim for the ancients no faultless excellence, no immeasurable superiority. The raptures which some people seem to feel in perusing Homer and Virgil, Livy and Tacitus, while they turn over the pages of Shakspeare and Milton, Hume and Robertson, with coldness and indifference, I hold to be either pure affectation, or gross self-delusion; being fully satisfied that we are in no want of models in our own English tongue, which, for depth of thought, soundness of reasoning, for truth of narrative, and what has been called the philosophy of history, *nay, even for poetical beauty, tenderness, and sublimity,* may fairly challenge comparison with the most renowned productions of antiquity.'

In truth, it is not merely in general literary beauty, or in the 'romantic' graces, that modern literature may court the severest comparison with the ancient. Even in the charmed circle of 'classic' inspiration itself, more of the divine *aura* is to be caught from such poems as the 'Laodamia" of Wordsworth, the 'Endymion' of Keats, the 'Orion' of Horne, the 'Œnone' and 'Lotos Eaters' of Tennyson, the 'Dead Pan' of Mrs. Browning, than is ever dreamed of by many a laborious searcher of lexicons and collator of various readings in 'classic' texts. If the 'Andromache' of Racine, and the 'Cinna' of Corneille, be thought by any to be more French than Greek or Roman; of Göethe it has been said that he was more Hellenic than Teutonic, less Christian than pagan. There is much truth, as well as beauty, in the words of Professor Blackie: 'Milton, who learned from Homer, has become a Homer to us; and not to us only, but to the right-minded of the whole Christian world, he stands where Virgil stood in reference to Dante, and much more fitly. Many persons there are, in these days, who assert that the famous chorus of Aristophanes, descriptive of the clouds (ἀένναοι νεφέλαι, &c.), is a poor spec'men of the poetic art compared with Shelley's Ode on the same subject; that John Keats,

in his 'Hyperion,' sees deeper—certainly with a more tender clearness and a severer purity—into the soul of Greek mythology, than Bœotian Hesiod did in his 'Theogony;' and that Roman Horace is but a dull singer in presence of the sparkling Moore, and the combination of nice artistic touch with the most subtle and delicate sentiment in Tennyson.'

ASSOCIATIONS OF SCHOOL-DRUDGERY WITH TEACHERS AND AUTHORS.

Dr. Hodgson cites high authorities in confirmation of the assertion of Prof. Blackie: "Persons are often sent to study the classical languages, and to read the works of the highest classics, at an age when it is impossible even for clever boys to read them with intelligence and sympathy." Southey, Scott, Byron, Coleridge, and other men of poetic genius, have recorded their inability in after-life to divest the ancient classics of the associations of ennui, satiety, and disgust, caused by their premature study. To the schoolboy it is the sting, and not the honey, that proclaims the attic bee.

If the dead have any cognizance of posthumous fame, one would think it must abate somewhat of the pleasure with which Virgil and Ovid regard their earthly immortality, when they see to what base purposes their productions are applied. That their verses should be administered to boys in regular doses, as lessons or impositions, and some dim conception of their meaning whipt into the tail when it has failed to penetrate the head, can not be just the sort of homage to their genius which they anticipated, or desired.

SOUTHEY.—*The Doctor.*

These boys have been dragged through grammar as through a cactus bush. They know all about τυπτω; Delectus they were taught to find a choice of evils, and the Anabasis a-going down into some lower deep. They had learned to wish that Homer's works were in a single copy, and so fell into their claws; they knew what they would do, though they got flogged for it. They are now translating Philoctetes, wondering when Ulysses will be done with, for they are reading about him also with the French usher in 'Télémaque.' As for the son of Poias the Melian, all they can make out is a connection between his sore foot and their sore hands. To this extent, perhaps, they recognize his claim to sympathy on their part, and also they can understand his hatred of Ulysses. Philoctetes agrees with the boys thoroughly about that, for Ulysses is the man,

'Whom of all other Greeks he would desire
To lay his fist upon.'

The Greeks fight a hard battle, and retire to suck their wounds.

A Defense of Ignorance.

The flowers of classic genius with which the teacher's solitary fancy is most gratified, have been rendered degraded in his imagination by their connection with tears, with errors, and with punishments; so that the Eclogues of Virgil and Odes of Horace are each inseparably allied in association with the sullen figure and monotonous recitation of some blubbering schoolboy.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.—*Old Mortality.*

I abhorr'd
Too much, to conquer for the poet's sake,
The drill'd dull lesson, forced down word by word
In my repugnant youth, with pleasure to record
Aught that recalls the daily drug which turned
My sickening memory; and though Time hath taught
My mind to meditate what then it learned,

Yet such the fixed inveteracy wrought
By the impatience of my early thought,
That, with the freshness wearing out before
My mind could relish what it might have sought,
If free to choose, I can not now restore
Its health; but what it then detested still abhor.

BYRON'S *Childe Harold.*

Byron adds, in a note—'I wish to express, that we become tired of the task before we can comprehend the beauty; that we learn by rote before we can get by heart; that the freshness is worn away, and the future pleasure and advantage deadened and destroyed, by the didactic anticipation, at an age when we can neither feel nor understand the power of compositions which it requires an acquaintance with life, as well as Latin and Greek, to relish, or to reason upon.'

Dr. Hodgson solves the problem—how to introduce more of modern languages and physical sciences into the school, which is at once disciplinary, and preparatory in knowledge for the old universities, and for the new higher institutions which are rising to meet the demands of modern life; (1,) by beginning the classical course later in life, and thus allowing time for a good groundwork in English reading, spelling, and writing, the geography and history of the country, the principal practical points in mathematics and grammar, and an appreciation of music, drawing, and poetry; (2,) by beginning the study of either French or German before Latin, inasmuch as their utility in the intercourse of life, the wealth (large and still growing) of literature which they contain, their etymological relationship to the mother tongue entitle them to this precedence. The experience and opinion of Dr. Franklin is cited in favor of this course, as well of Dr. Jerrard, formerly classical lecturer at Cambridge, and later, principal of Bristol College, and classical examiner at the London University. "My experience in Bristol college has convinced me, that twelve or even fourteen would be better than eight or ten, to commence Latin. The technical grammar, required now of very young pupils, is too burdensome and repulsive. Unless the pronunciation of a modern language is fixed early, it is always defective, and discourages the practice of speaking—the want of which is now universally felt." To exclude either the ancient or modern tongues with their literatures, will leave the curriculum of liberal study incomplete; still each must take its place according to its relative importance in this age. If comparison must be instituted, we maintain that there is no advantage, intellectual, moral or æsthetic, that the study of the ancient languages can confer, which may not be derived to an almost equal degree, from the modern, while the modern yield peculiar advantages, to which the ancient can make no claim.

JAMES DONALDSON

THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION.*

Is there a science of education ? and is that science of use to practical educators ? In attempting to answer these questions, we must commence with a definition of education. This term is used in two senses, a general and a more restricted. In the wider sense, the term is applied to the drawing out of the powers of man, whatever be the agents which produce this effect. In this sense, external nature, the experiences of life, friends and enemies, in short, all that affects a man, are educating him. And a science of this kind of education would be an exhibition of the laws which regulate the development of his physical and mental powers.

In the more restricted sense of the term, education is the conscious efforts of human beings to draw out the natures of other human beings to the utmost perfection. This is the more usual meaning of the term, and it is in this sense alone that we shall use it. Education, being a conscious effort to effect a purpose, and implying the application of means to an end, is an art. When, therefore, we speak of a science of education, we do not mean to assert that education is itself a science, but that it is based on a science; that a set of laws which it is the business of a science to discover can be used in the work of education. Now, this science can be no other than the science of the natures which are to be drawn out; for if they are drawn out according to fixed laws, then the educator has simply to take advantage of his knowledge of these laws. In other words, physical education is an applied psychology, and mental education is an applied psychology.

We seem to have answered the first question in thus stating the case. Almost every one will allow that physiology is a science, and therefore there must be a science of physical education. And perhaps there are few who would refuse to psychology the same title, and therefore mental education has also a science to regulate its procedure.

We dismiss from our notice at present physiology, and confine ourselves to psychology. We remark in regard to it, that we only appear to have answered the question; for psychology may be a science, and yet not form a basis for the art of education. We must look more minutely into the functions of a science.

These are, generally speaking, two. The first is to bring the phenomena with which the science is concerned into groups, until the highest possible unity be reached. Thus, in natural history, the natural historian is principally

* Dr. Donaldson is Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, and the Author of a volume of Lectures on Educational Topics, delivered before the Philosophical Institution and the High School Literary Association of Edinburgh in 1874. The contents of the volume (pp. 185) are I. History of Education in Prussia. II. History of Education in England. III. Aim of Primary Education. IV. Relation of Universities to the Working Classes. V. The Science of Education.

employed in tracing resemblances, and thus grouping the various objects of his observation into classes. Now the psychology of this country has been, for the most part, occupied with generalisations of this nature. The various kinds of acts of the mind have been observed, and they have been grouped together under such names as memory, judgment, reasoning. They have been supposed to issue from separate and distinct powers of the mind. And even when the separate existence of these powers has been denied, we find them still used as generalisations under such terms as the presentative, conservative, reproductive, representative, elaborative, and regulative faculties. Again, the great effort of psychologists has been to ascertain what have been called the laws of thought; but by the laws of thought they do not mean the regular and fixed activities in which the mind produces thought, but the highest generalisations of all the individual products of thinking. Now these laws never can be of any use in education. They are absolutely barren and profitless; and this is allowed by professed metaphysicians. "Supposing," says Mansel, "that the act of thinking is governed by general laws at all (and that it is so is manifest from the inability to conceive absurdities), such laws can clearly impart nothing in the way of instruction or the discovery of new truths." Accordingly, the practical educator may read through many treatises on psychology, and he will find curious discussions of insoluble problems, but he will not find much that will help him in his work. It is, we imagine, this experience which has led some to deny that there is a science of education at all.

But there is another function of science, and if we find psychological science discharge it, then we shall certainly have a science of education. This function of science is, from known and ascertained phenomena, to form generalisations which will explain and account for other phenomena. Such are, for the most past, the laws which constitute the physical sciences. We see one object affect another in a particular manner once; we notice it again and again, and still it affects it in the same way; and then we infer that the one object will always affect it in this way. We become acquainted thus with a considerable number of particular causes and effects; we then group the causes and effects, and express the result in a general law; and we expect that this general law will explain to us phenomena of which we have no direct means of discovering the cause. Now, if we could get a science of mind which should observe phenomena, causes and effects, and should group these causes into general laws, we should certainly have the kind of laws which we need. The previous generalisations of psychology which we have noticed are not properly laws at all; they regulate nothing. They are generalisations not of the activities of the mind, but of the products. Now, however, we are speaking of the generalisations of the activities. And we ask, Is a science of the activities of mind possible, and does such a science exist? The answer, it seems to us, must be, that such a science of the mind's activities must be possible. If we are to perceive law anywhere, it must be in the phenomena of mind. We allow at once that such phenomena will be infinitely more complicated than those of matter; but this complication will not alter the fact of law. If a man has a strong desire for gold in his mind, I am sure that that desire for gold can be accounted for; that the strength of it can also be accounted for by the previous activities of the man's mind. Again, if a man is entirely deficient in the feeling of reverence, his deficiency must be explicable through the previous activities of his mind. In fact, the man's mind, in its present state, can be nothing else than the original

powers of mind granted him plus the activities through which it has gone, what ever may have been the agents in producing these activities.

This point, then, we think, must be set down as settled, that law reigns in the phenomena of mind. There is the further question, Have these laws been ascertained? Now, we allow at once that all the laws have not been ascertained; but this is merely saying that the science has not reached perfection. It would be rash to say that any science has arrived at this stage. But if we can assert that one single law has been discovered, we have done enough to show that a foundation for the science has been laid; and we can scarcely believe that any one will go so far as to contradict such an assertion. Our common psychological text books are barren enough in the exhibition of laws of activities, but still they do contain some. The generalisation, for instance, with regard to perception proper and sensation proper, that they are always found in an inverse ratio to each other in the degree or intensity of their existence, is a law that regulates the activities of the mind. And when psychology enables us to determine what it is which produces the intensity of the sensation and of the perception, we obtain the means of acting in a powerful manner on the minds of others. This the new psychology of Beneke does. Again, the laws of association, though in the common psychology they are mixed up with inoperative generalisations, are, in the main, laws of the mind's activity. We have such laws scattered over most treatises on psychology. We have them brought out more prominently in the writings of Locke, and in those of the Scotch school, especially Dugald Stewart; in the French school, who have worked out the Scotch; and still more fully and satisfactorily in the more recent works of Bain and Spencer, of Morell, and of Fortlage, Fichte, and other of the Germans, who are endeavoring to establish an anthropological psychology. But all these schools occupy themselves with subjects of discussion which are purely metaphysical; and it is only in the works of Beneke and his followers that metaphysical questions and inoperative generalisations are entirely discarded, except in so far as psychology has to account for the rise of such generalisations in the mind. And we wish to draw attention to the fact, that the effort to render psychology an exposition of the laws which regulate the activities of the mind, and not of the mere generalisations of its products, was occasioned by a desire to make these laws operative in education. It was principally the interest which Herbart felt in education that led him to his psychological investigations; and Beneke's labors had their direction given both by the successes and the failures of Herbart's system. It is also principally in educational works that one will find the facts, and many of the laws, which ought to have their place in a scientific exposition of the phenomena of mind.

Either education, as an art, attempts its work at haphazard, or it attempts it with a knowledge of the adaptability of the means to the end. Now it is plain that education ought not to be a mere groping in the dark, a mere matter of chance. And if it is not, it cannot accomplish its end, unless that end be definitely known. And that end cannot be known but by an investigation into the activities and capabilities of the mind. Nor can it find suitable means to its end unless it know what effect the agents which act on the mind will produce. Both the nature of the person to be educated, and the power of the means used to affect that nature in a particular way, must be clearly ascertained.

All this will be allowed by some, and yet a negative answer given to our question. "It is true," they will say, "that the teacher should know human nature in the concrete, but it is questionable whether he should study the science of the

phenomena of mind. For a great number of the best teachers never troubled themselves about the phenomena of human nature, and never read a treatise on psychology; but, guided by their instinct and their tact, did the right thing at the right time, and made men of their pupils. Nay, we are not sure but a scientific knowledge of the phenomena of the human mind may render a teacher less effective in his work than he would have been without the knowledge."

There is some show of truth in these objections. There is no doubt that the man who devotes himself to the investigation of mental law assumes for the time a state of mind adverse to successful teaching. The man who tries to discover new laws, fixes his eye on the similarities which present themselves in certain activities of the mind, and refuses to observe for the time the differences. And then after he has attained to the knowledge of the law for which he is seeking, his interest in the individual phenomena is apt to cease, and he contents himself with the general formula. It is the business of the teacher, on the other hand, to keep all the individual phenomena distinctly before his eye. In his action on his pupil, he must leave none of the peculiarities out of sight. He has to deal with a complicated series of individual phenomena, widely differing from each other. And therefore his state of mind is quite different from that of the man who is in search of mental laws. We allow this. But we assert, at the same time, that there is nothing irreconcilable in the two states. The psychological law in the matter is, that if the teacher consciously produce in his mind both states with equal intensity, he will be equally expert in both. If he practises himself in turning from the one state to the other, he will become expert in the operation. And he may thus be able to conjoin both modes of thought, without the one interfering with the other. At the same time, he is not called in a special manner to join both. He is supposed at particular times to have studied the phenomena and laws of mind. These laws are in his mind, ready to be summoned to the explanation of peculiar appearances in his pupils, so as to direct him in dealing with them. It is his business in his class-room to take all the features of a case into view; and psychology will give its aid, after he has made this particular examination, in explaining each individual peculiarity, and showing how it is to be treated. He will leave the discovery of laws to another place and time, unless these laws actually force themselves on him, as they sometimes do. His main object will be to apply the laws that have been discovered.

Again, we allow that there have been many good teachers who have known nothing of the science of education, as it is given by philosophical writers. But when we analyze the tact which directs them, we find it to be a kind of undeveloped knowledge of the laws of mind—a knowledge which the educator possesses, but to which, from its appearing in a state of weakened consciousness, he cannot give expression. An instance will explain what we mean. A teacher resolves to do his utmost to interest every member of his class. This desire grows in intensity, as the desire is repeated day after day, and we may therefore reckon it as a powerful motive. To fulfil this desire, he watches each individual pupil, and when the interest of any pupil flags, he does the very thing that will attract that pupil. His course of conduct in the various cases will be different, according to circumstances; but the one object he has in all is to interest them, and what he cares about especially is that he succeed in interesting them. After he has succeeded, and his work is over, we go to him and ask how he has contrived to attract the attention of pupils so different from each other. He cannot tell. Nay,

very likely, he cannot give an accurate account of what efforts he made to interest each pupil, as he saw him flag. Why? Because the intensity of the desire, which in all cases was one and the same, darkened or diminished his consciousness of the various means which he employed for the purpose, and the processes of thought through which his mind went to determine these means. But there can scarcely be a doubt that his mind did go through processes; and if we could bring these processes into clear consciousness, we should find that he had determined his conduct according to the fixed laws of mind which he had at some time or other observed, though he had not definitely noted them down as such. But his tact may sometimes fail him; and what is he to do then? Moreover, he cannot communicate his tact to another. For both reasons, it would be of advantage to him to possess a scientific knowledge of the mind, and his tact would then become the deliberate and fully conscious application of means to an end.

A knowledge of the science of education is then, we believe, of great use to the educator. We shall point out three of its uses.

First, A knowledge of the science of education can direct us as to the right methods of education. It discusses the aims and ends of education, and the means to be employed for accomplishing the ends. It inquires into the nature of the being to be educated, into the subjects of study by means of which he is to be educated, and into the qualifications requisite in him who undertakes the duty of educating. A good method can be the result only of a careful deliberation on all these points. The science of education within these last fifty years has received a great deal of attention; and what has been the consequence? A mighty revolution has by degrees taken place in our modes of teaching, and is still taking place. Look how differently infants are now treated from what they were fifty years ago; how the weakness of their power of attention is taken into account; how their pure sensuousness is continually appealed to, and how every effort is made to help them to take in knowledge with pleasure, instead of its being crammed into them with a rod! And this change is the result of a study of the mind of the infant. We are adapting our modes to nature. Great changes have taken place also in our methods of teaching geography, modern and ancient languages, and in almost every department. True it is that, in multitudes of schools, the most perverse methods are still to be seen in use; but as a knowledge of the science of mind becomes general among our teachers, these perverse methods will vanish entirely. And we may expect that, as the science of education becomes more and more studied, improvements will take place even in schools where already vast improvements have been introduced. Take, for instance, the law that the human being must make his intuitions in sufficient numbers and accuracy before he can have representations; and that he must do the same with his representations before he can make his abstractions. This law is capable of endless application, in geography, in history, in mathematics, in theology; and though the law is partially recognized, yet we meet everywhere with departures from it. We have heard of teachers who taught geography without maps. It is no uncommon thing to introduce the child to a map of the world before he has the slighest conception of the size of his own county. Again, we see children receiving prizes for making long chronological tables of events and dates, as if that were history, before they had foundations in experience to help them to realize the events which they so painfully record, or the length of the periods which their figures indicate. And worst of all, children are compelled to commit to memory abstract theological

propositions before they have the power of abstraction at all, or before they have *felt* the majesty of the Divine presence, the tenderness of the Divine mercy, and the peace that comes from confidence in God. Now all these, and many other, mistakes would be avoided, if our teachers had to undertake a complete study of the laws of the development of our nature. The science of education is still, comparatively speaking, in its infancy; and we cannot predict what possible discoveries may be made. There is nowhere such an amount of change presented in phenomena as in those of the mind. The infant cannot distinguish at first one object from another; he cannot speak, he cannot will; he looks like a purely sensuous animal. Yet he emerges from this state into a consciousness of the outer world, into a consciousness of himself. Scientific psychology has endeavored to ascertain the steps by which the child passes from the unconscious to the conscious state; and in this investigation has laid open the principal laws of consciousness. Through them we know how to bring what lies unconsciously in the mind to a state of consciousness. It then traces the gradual appearance in the mind of representations and reasonings, of æsthetic and religious thought and feeling, the formation of groups of desires, the excitement of feelings and groups of feelings. When practical educators come to survey their work with a knowledge of the laws which have thus been discovered, we may confidently look forward to the time when greater improvements shall take place in our educational methods tnan any that have hitherto been suggested. "Behind education," says Kant in his 'Pädagogik,' "lies the secret of the perfection of human nature. From the present time onward this can take place. For now for the first time do we begin to judge rightly, and see clearly what especially belongs to a good education. It is delightful to lay before ourselves the thought that human nature will ever be better developed through education, and that education will be brought into a form adapted to humanity. This opens up to us the prospect of a happier race of men in the future."

Secondly, A study of the science of education will enable us to estimate the value of the various subjects of instruction in an educational point of view. There is nothing to which men are more prone than one-sidedness; but one-sidedness in education is often a fatal mistake. There is indeed great difficulty in apprising the educational power of the various subjects which are to be taught. For the activities of the human mind are the most complex of all activities. To render representation possible, in some cases thousands of intuitions have to be made, and intuitions blend with intuitions, representations with representations, desires with desires, and feelings with feelings, in such a complex way that analysis seems almost impossible. Yet there is no reason for despair. The phenomena are within reach. And if we patiently observe, we may be able to set down the educative power of any subject of study. Scientific psychology has attempted to do this, and, we think, with considerable success. And the success will be greater and more certain in proportion to the accuracy of future observers. How valuable this analysis is we may feel in some measure when we see men of great literary power, who have not studied the science of education in all its ramifications, differ on the most ordinary subjects. Recently three of our Quarterly Reviews have discussed the question of Classical Education. Not one of them could determine what place classics should hold in education. Two of them had no distinct idea what the education of the nineteenth century should be, and the one that proposed a change set forth a plan which violates some fundamental laws of mind. We maintain that this uncer-

tainty does not exist; that observation and a study of the laws of mind furnish us with ample means for determining what should be the right system of education; and that, if the science of education were better known and more studied, we should attain to something approaching unanimity of opinion.

Thirdly, As a corollary to the preceding, but a very important one, the study of the science of education enables us to calculate results, and is often the only means we have for so doing. A teacher, for instance, exerts a constant educational influence for four or five years on a pupil; but as soon as the pupil's education is over he disappears, and the teacher hears nothing, or next to nothing, of him for long periods. It is impossible for the teacher in such circumstances to trace the results of his exertions. Then education is effected not by one or two great efforts, but by myriads of repeated efforts, and the results do not show themselves immediately, but often long after the pupils have gone into the pursuits of active life. Examinations indeed may test to what extent the pupil has retained the knowledge that was put into him; but this knowledge is, of all kinds of knowledge, least productive of true manhood. Though we may measure the reproductive power of the pupil to some extent, there is no gauge that can measure his productive power, his self-activity, his capability to think for himself, his intellectual individuality; and all these are the highest aims of an intellectual education. Again, there is no method of determining how far a teacher has been successful in instilling into his pupils a love of truth for its own sake, conscientiousness, courage, and a love of God and man. These in this world receive no special marks of distinction. They are not necessarily crowned by wealth, or fame, or honors. The man may pass to his grave possessed of the noblest qualities, and having received the very best education, without the fact being known but to a few intimate acquaintances. Again, if a pupil turn out well, it is absurd to attribute his success to his teacher alone, as if his teacher could be the only cause. There are, as we have seen, thousands of influences acting on and developing in some direction the mind of every man; and even at the very time during which the teacher is exerting his influence, it would be impossible always to observe the effect of that influence in a given case. How much more complicated does the calculation become at a future stage! The boy who has been acted upon by the teacher in the way best calculated to bring out all his powers in the noblest way may turn out a wreck, a victim to the lowest vices; and the boy who would have been corrupted, if his teacher could have done it, may turn out upright, honest, brave, and intelligent. We have chosen extreme cases, but they are possible, for the influences acting on a boy's mind from other quarters may entirely overbalance the influence of the teacher. How then are teachers to calculate the result? By the careful observation of individual cases, by a careful consideration of what result each process of instruction or action is calculated to produce, we may determine definitely what ought to be the result of each mode of action and instruction. The total result of a teacher's exertions will be the accumulated results of all the individual exertions; and if he can thus determine in each case, he will feel assured that, as far as his exertions have gone, they have acted in really educating the boy. Now the science of education can, by a most careful analysis, come to something like an accurate determination of the effect which a particular activity may produce. Its special work is to record cause and effect. The continued observations of scientific psychologists have determined certain fixed sequences, and will determine more of these sequences; and the teacher,

guided by a knowledge of these, will follow one course, and avoid another. Especially in doubtful cases will he be glad to have recourse to this psychological analysis; and, in fact, there often lies for him no other course than either to proceed at haphazard, or to determine the matter according to the nature of the boy he has to act on, and the nature of the tools with which he has to work.

If we have at all succeeded in showing that there is a science of education, and that a knowledge of that science is of great use to the educator, the practical conclusion follows that all teachers should study this science; and another conclusion follows from that, that all teachers should be provided with the means of studying the science. In other words, there should be in every one of our universities professorships of the Science of Education. The teacher should be led through a survey of the whole sphere of his future activity by a man who has especially devoted himself to the investigation of the laws by which mind is developed.

THE AIM OF THE PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOL.

Dr. Donaldson, in a lecture at Edinburgh on the aim and end of a system of primary education for Scotland, supported by local and general taxation, remarks: Three aims have been proposed.

Education for a Trade or to get a Living.

1. The first is that the working-man should be trained simply for his trade. The working man is to be employed the whole of his life in acting on the material through the material. And to fit him to do this is the object which we should have in giving him a good education. Let us look at this aim as it is presented to us practically and theoretically. We shall look at it first practically. Here is a boy who is intended to be a shoemaker. For the most part of his life he is to be employed in working with leather, in making the various parts of a shoe. Is the schooling which the nation is to help in providing simply to fit him for making these various parts of the shoe well? Is he to learn to read, write, and cypher simply that he may be able to draw up accounts and advertise his boots? Looking at it in this bald form, we cannot help feeling that such aim is inadequate. It is a substantial good both for the man and the community that he should have a trade, and that he should be a skilled workman; but there rise up two doubts—one whether the school is the place where he can best learn skill in his trade, and the second, whether the school is to do no more than fit him for his trade. This second doubt we may settle at once. The trade is the mere means by which the man is to live. But why is he to live? What object has he in living? He discharges so much of the duties of his life in helping his fellow-men through the services done by his trade. But he is fit for much more than contributing somewhat to the material comfort or luxury of his fellow-men. He is himself something infinitely higher than his trade. He has wants and aspirations far beyond those which can be satisfied by daily material action, and therefore, to confine our training to fitting him merely to be a tool for the comfort or gratification of others is not a satisfactory object on which to spend the national wealth.

This question has a theoretical side. It has been argued by one of our profoundest pscyhologists that those branches of study are most important which are most necessary. Now the possession of a trade is an absolute necessity. The workman must obtain the means of living, and therefore the knowledge or

training which enables a man to reach this is the most important. There is a fallacy here—a fallacy of an exceedingly ancient date. There is nothing more essential for our living than that we should be able to convert our food into blood. Yet we require no education to do this most important act. We do not require to know how the process takes place. We do not require to think about it at all. It is a very important operation in itself, but as far as our training goes it is of no importance at all. It was essentially necessary that Milton should breathe while he was writing the *Paradise Lost.* He need not have written the *Paradise Lost* at all, but he must have breathed if he lived. The breathing was an absolutely essential operation—the writing of *Paradise Lost* was not. Yet would it not be absurd to maintain that Milton's breathing was a grander work than his writing of *Paradise Lost?* The truth seems to be that there are certain activities which are the essential conditions of all our higher actions. These activities are for the most part involuntary, but some of them are within our power. So far as they are in our power we are bound to attend to them. But they need little or no training for the fair exercise of them; and education comes into full play only when we are trying to awaken the full swing of voluntary activity on subjects less pressing as daily necessities for mere animal life. but really essential to the inner and higher life of man. Quintilian has stated the matter very concisely and very wisely—"We cannot arrive at the highest excellence unless by starting from the beginnings, but as the work goes on those things which are first in order begin to be least." And the same principle is well laid down by Clemens Alexandrinus—"Now we know that those things which are difficult to procure are not necessary, but that those things which are necessary have been kindly made by God easy to obtain. Wherefore Democritus well says that nature and teaching are similar, and we have given the reason concisely, for teaching harmonizes man, and by harmonizing him gives him a nature; and it makes no difference whether a man be created such, or be fashioned into such a being through time and instruction. But the Lord has given both—one by creation, the other by the renewal and re-creation of his covenant. Now that which is advantageous to that which is highest is rather to be chosen; but the *mind* is the chief thing of all."

Education for the Citizenship.

2. The second aim which has been proposed for the training of the workingman in the school is to fit him to discharge all the duties of a citizen. This is a much higher aim than the preceding. The citizen has first of all to learn to respect and observe the laws of his country; he is to have a deep and loyal interest in its institutions and their prosperity; he is to exercise his right of assisting in the election of a member of parliament, and through his right he becomes occupied with thoughts as to what is best and wisest to do in regard to affairs both at home and abroad. He is, above all, deeply concerned with the relation between employer and employed, the laws of trade, and the interests of his fellow-workmen. Now our two questions come up here—Can the school do this for the workman? and does this exhaust the aim of the school? I answer that the school can do much towards forming the right citizen if this aim be kept distinctly in view in the arrangements; and I answer to the second question, that it does not exhaust the entire aim of the school, that there is a larger and higher aim, of which this forms a most important part, and this part is best accomplished, not by looking solely to itself, but by having always in view the larger and higher end.

Education for the Highest Development.

3. What is this larger and higher aim? It is to make the pupil as perfect in every direction as we can; to bring out his nature into fullest activity on all sides; to develop his powers in an equable and harmonious completeness, so far as time and circumstances permit. This is the work of education. But those make a great mistake who suppose that there is one general ideal for all mankind, that there is one general mould into which all the individuals can be cast. Each human being has an individuality of his own; and not merely is he different originally in power from others, but all the special exercise of his powers is limited by time and by space. The child who goes to our schools is the child of the nineteenth century; he is enveloped by all the peculiarities of that century from his earliest breath; he cannot, if he would, escape from the overpowering influences of his age. And then he is the native and inhabitant of this country, he derives benefits from its institutions, he moves amidst its people, he is governed by its laws, he is by birth a member of the British nation. And so the full development of his powers as a human being can take place only in connection with the present age and his present country. And thus this general aim includes the two previous, and gives a higher value to them. His possession of a trade is his contribution to the general welfare as well as his own means of subsistence, and in the very attempt to be a good man he must be a good citizen. His training towards perfection of manhood lies through a knowledge and discharge of his duties as a workman and a citizen.

Limitations to the Highest Development.

1. First, there is the limitation as to time. The school has to do its work within a limited time. The period during which the child is to be at school is, generally speaking, between the ages of six and twelve. But often the period for school education is much less than six years. Out of this limitation two difficulties arise. The first is, that you can educate only according to the laws of the mind, and one fixed and firm law is that there is only one way of progress in the soul—only from the concrete to the abstract, only from the individual to the general, only from the known to the unknown, only from the affection which embraces few to the affection which embraces many; and never in a contrary way. Now the age at which the working boy is instructed does not admit of the highest developments. The mind is not strong enough, the mind has not had sufficient practice nor sufficient experience.

And yet the school education should, as far as possible, be a whole; and this is our second difficulty. The process of forming the mind and of evolving its powers is a slow one. It is not done in a day or a week. The wise educator has to calculate a long course of training and discipline to bring his pupils up to a certain standard of intellectual and moral excellence. But a stopping short of his plans, a break in his action, or rather a break off at the wrong time, may turn all his efforts to waste. Every one notices the absurdity of a house half built. Every one would blame a doctor for leaving off before the patient was cured; but it is not perceived so often that it may be equally fatal for the real results which we wish to gain by education to leave the training cut short in the middle.

2. A second limitation arises from the fact that the school is but one of the agents in education. A man receives his education from every possible source. He is drawn out by the external world, above all he is influenced by his own

nature and impulses, and multitudes of men are acting upon him. The teacher is but one of these. He has the advantage of coming to his work with the deliberate purpose of evolving the powers of the child; but he may have to contend with opposing influences from without. This is specially the case with the lowest class of children. The homes of these children are antagonistic to true education. The lesson of the school is often undone at the fireside. The teacher has a continual battle to fight.

3. There is also a third limitation in the means which the teacher has to employ.

The first activity of the human mind is on the external world. Let us look at it in this its first development. An external object, say a tree, is before the eye. What takes place? The mind has some sensation, and when it reaches consciousness, the mind perceives a certain object before it, which has green leaves and branches and a stem. But it not merely perceives. It is filled with admiration of the beauty of the tree; it derives pleasure from gazing at it. It wonders at its size, it feels keen delight in looking at the greenness of the leaves, it is charmed with the symmetry of the branches. But let us suppose that the child goes away from the tree—the impressions die away—a blank is left—and the child has a desire to fill up the blank, to see the tree again at some future period, and in consequence of this desire it will leave its home at a proper opportunity and go to see the tree once more. Here we have the three aspects in which objects affect the mind. They present the child with perceptions which ultimately become the amount of knowledge which he possesses; they give rise to feelings or emotions; and they awaken desires which will lead to action. These three, then—representations or perceptions, feelings, and desires or conations—are the three directions which the human mind may take. But it is important to notice that our separation of them from one another is the result of an analytic process on our part, and that they are never really separated. There can be no perception which has not a certain amount of feeling and conation connected with it, and every feeling and conation may be presented to the mind in the shape of a perception or proposition. But the preponderance of the elements may vary exceedingly. At one time we may have a strong desire, with the representation almost entirely obscured. I see a beautiful face for the first time, and I am so lost in the charm which it exercises over me that I cannot tell one single feature in it. I can only say that it is beautiful. I have acquired such an intense desire for some particular object, that I forget altogether to think of the nature of the object and the consequences of my conduct. I am so satisfied with the perception of a particular object, that I am not conscious of the pleasure I feel in the perception, and have almost no desire to recur to the subject after I have once thoroughly examined it.

Now it is the business of education to bring fully out these three activities of the mind. Every object is adapted to produce certain perceptions, certain emotions, and certain desires. And when the mind is so trained as to receive these aright, it is in a healthy state. In the case of perceptions, it takes clear and accurate note of the objects; it detects similarities, it unites them into groups, and gradually rises in this way from the individual and concrete to the highest and most abstract generalizations. In the case of the feelings, it learns to love those objects that are truly lovable, to admire those that are really admirable, to detest what we are intended to detest, and it puts a value upon the various objects; it feels this action to be higher and nobler than that other, this good to

be a greater good than this other. And from doing this in particular cases it rises to the love of groups of similar lovable objects, expanding as it is developed; and then it sets its desire on what is really desirable, and tries to attain it. And from these efforts in individual cases it rises to large general aims and long-continued pursuits in one direction.

We have thus three regions of culture for the human soul—the culture of the intellect, the culture of the feelings, and the culture of the practical powers of the soul. The culture of the last two leads to what is called character; and this, I need not say, is of primary importance, for it is the end which the nation as well as the individual ought to seek in its efforts to educate the rising generation. But it is in this very field that the difficulty presents itself. Let me illustrate it by an example. I take A, B, and C, to look at a picture in our National Gallery. Now I can tell positively what the three will perceive. They will all agree in stating that they saw certain colors, certain forms, certain groupings of the personages. But I can form no sure idea of what each felt and each desired on seeing the picture. A's mind may be clouded by previous distress, and so he is displeased with the picture; he does not like the principal figure; he thinks the coloring too bright, the whole appears to him as a daub. B admires the courage expressed in the face of the principal figure; he loves the man, but he hates the black scoundrel who is cringing before him. C is vexed that the picture is so badly framed; the frame might have been made to suit those of the other pictures. And so we might vary their emotions endlessly. It is the same with the desires. A would like to paint such a picture; B would like to buy it; C would like to know the artist; and so on. This illustration brings before you the fact that in dealing with the feelings and desires we are often working in the dark; that, in other words, we cannot *teach* people to feel in a particular way and to have particular desires; that the word applies only to the perceptions, to stating what we see, to giving information. And hence a distinction has been laid down between efforts made to draw out the whole of human nature and efforts made to draw out the intellectual powers. The one has been called education, the other instruction. The distinction is an important one, and it is well to notice it. The teacher has instruction for his principal work. It is mainly through instruction that he is to educate, and hence his action on the child's mind is to a certain extent contracted and rendered uncertain.

What the Primary Teacher Can Do.

1. First, then, there is a wide field for the teacher's activity in what is technically called discipline. The school is a little community; a miniature to some extent of the great body called the State, of which the young child is one day to be an active member. In this little community he may be disciplined into habits of punctuality, of regular and steady work, of respect for law and obedience to it, and even into love for his fellow-pupil, and affection for his master. Under this department of discipline, which is a necessary portion of a teacher's duty, much may be done to form character, and fit the child for doing his duty well as a member of the State.

2. Secondly, the instruction which is given may be applied at every step to the educating of his whole nature. Instruction has been divided into two classes—educating and non-educating. There is a kind of teaching which fails to affect the emotional and practical nature in the way in which the subjects taught should affect it, and the consequence is that the child is not only not the bet-

ter of it, but he may be much the worse of it. He may be taught subjects which would naturally appeal to his emotional nature in such a way that no emotion is roused, and the blank which is thus created is really a moral perversion. Hence the immense importance of the inquiry, What is the kind of instruction which is educative? This inquiry has been made with the utmost care by the Germans, and the principles may be regarded as clearly ascertained. I have before me three works on this subject, published within the last two or three years: Dr. Ziller on *Educating Instruction;* Dr. Roth on *Gymnasial Pædagogik;* Dr. Schrader on the *Doctrine of Education and Instruction for Gymnasien and Realschulen.* All these treat minutely of how instruction may educate, and they are merely specimens of a large number of books which deal with this most important subject.

Characteristics of Educative Instruction.

1. It proceeds from individuals to groups. It is not a mere accidental taking up of subjects. But the teacher produces an impression one day which will be the foundation for a stronger next day, until out of the many, the pupil, through his own power, will come to make a unity. This is a natural process in the mind. If a child sees a tree one day, and another another, and a third a third, he soon comes to form some idea in his mind as to what a tree is. He may not be able to define it, yet he has made an induction of his own. And so in regard to a certain set of actions. He knows that this one is beneficial, and another and another; and he soon comes to select that which is really beneficial in the various actions; and though he may not be able to define it, he knows it, and in coming to this knowledge his mind is in full activity.

2. Educative instruction invariably awakens interest. If it does not do this, it is so far a failure. And it awakens this interest through its stirring up the feelings and desires.

The Outer World—The Inner World.

Now the subjects by which the minds of the pupils may be educated are two—the outer world or nature, and the inner world or the experience of human nature. The outer world furnishes us with materials which in their highest developments become the physical sciences. Are they suitable to the young child of the working classes? Unquestionably, if they are presented in a proper way, and in proper measure. It would be absurd to teach a child astronomy, or geology, or botany, or zoology, chemistry, or natural philosophy. The comprehension of any of these as a science in a scientific way is the work only of a very mature mind. A continuous survey of the phenomena and laws of any one science, and the acquisition of the power of making scientific investigations, are impossibilities for any but minds of considerable maturity and culture. But these sciences supply endless materials for arousing and sustaining the interest of children. Only the facts themselves must be presented—not mere accounts of them. The eye must be trained to see, and similar facts must be presented, until the child, by his own powers, sees the similarity. Instances of laws must be presented in sufficient number until the child gains for himself a knowledge of the law. It is here that we are apt to make a great mistake, and give instruction which is not educative. The child must be taught to search out and discover. An abstract statement is valueless to him, if he has not personal experience of the facts from which the abstract proposition has been made; and the abstract proposition will remain mere words for him until he has realized it through

individual instances and actual occurrences. And it seems to me that a teacher should, in laying out his plans, endeavor to interest the child in all the physical sciences, so far as his mind will admit of it. Every avenue to knowledge should be opened up. It is not multiplicity of knowledge that is to be given—it is multiplicity of interest; and if this is accomplished, the child's training, in regard to the outer world, is accomplished. Then we have the abstract of the external world in arithmetic and mathematics, of which I shall speak afterwards.

The inner world—the world of human experience—is the main subject of the child's instruction. The deeds, aims, hopes, affections of man; these are what will concern him all his life. We may divide this instruction into three parts.

1. The training of the intellect—the giving accuracy and distinctness to his notions—and from this enabling him to reason correctly. This work is accomplished principally through language. The boy whose education ends at twelve must be content with a knowledge only of his own language. In learning it he should at every step be making progress in real knowledge. He should always learn the thing with the word. And much could be done here to give him something like a true idea of what is meant by many of the terms which are much used, but often little understood—such as order, justice, truth, religion. The meaning of these he must reach through concrete examples, just as in the case of the physical sciences.

2. There are the various crafts, if I may so call them, which are to be learned by practice—reading, writing, singing, drawing. These are mechanical, and have little educative power in themselves; but they may be of great importance as means.

3. Then there are the various groups which can more or less influence the character, as well as cultivate the intellect, when the external and internal combine.

(1.) Geography. This subject may be made powerfully educative. The child of the workman can learn well only the geography of the British Empire; but in learning it he might become impressed with many deeply important truths. If, while he is led over the country, he is brought to think of the rise and fall of towns, of the origin and progress of manufactures, of the secrets of success and failure, and the influence of site upon men and cities, his character might be vastly improved, and his interest strongly aroused. Only, again, we must give the concrete not the abstract, the particular not the general. A fair, impartial, and full narrative of the effects of strikes upon particular trades or establishments would be worth cartloads of politico-economical exposition to a child. We have to produce impressions, not to insist upon the laws. The laws will arise with operative power out of the impressions—the impressions will never be got out of the statement or exposition of the abstract laws.

In dealing with the geography of the country, the child might be taught much in regard to the government and institutions of the country—always in the concrete—with much good to his mind and benefit to himself and the community.

(2.) History. Here, again, we have to give the full concrete and particular. It is in the particular actions of men, either directly observed by the child, or related by those who have observed them, that the child will form his moral standard. And so, at this stage, history must take the form of minute biography. And it seems to me possible that in this way there might be laid out a course of such instruction likely to produce a profound moral effect on the child.

The child must also learn the history of his own country. But this should be written or told directly with a purpose—always truthfully, but still with an aim. Could not a child be taught to feel the value of toleration, the value of industry, the value of conscience, the value of obedience, the value of earnest religious conviction, and receive other such impressions, from many accumulated examples taken from British history?

And, finally, there is the teaching of religion. This is, of all subjects, the most important, and yet it is one to the methods of which almost no consideration is given. What is teaching religion? It is teaching men to love God with all their heart, and their neighbor as themselves. All religious teaching fails if we do not awaken love. It is not knowledge that is the aim; and all instruction that does not directly tend to bring into action love towards God and man is simply useless—nay, it is worse than useless, it is obstructive. This is too wide a subject to discuss here, but I shall quote two passages from Dr. Roth's book on *Gymnasial Pædagogik*, which will show how religious instruction may be uneducative, that is, not produce religion. "Those teachers who handle the subject in a systematic order," he says, "encourage their scholars to make syllogisms. 'All men are sinners. I am a man; therefore I am a sinner.' Now if the scholar thinks even so far, will he be awakened thereby to a longing for the forgiveness of his sins? Just as little as if you were to try to persuade a sick man, who has no desire to eat, that he is hungry. Far more likely the scholar, who has been brought to make the syllogism, will be set at rest in regard to his own sinfulness by the thought of the universality of sin." "Assuredly at the examinations made by our youths at their departure for the university, they show so much theological learning, such deep glances into the secrets of the kingdom of God, so thorough an acquaintance with the Scripture, that I look back with shame on my youth; but yet their belief in the existence of God, of the immortality of their own soul, is a matter of the utmost indifference to them. We can see nothing of a firm permanent direction of the heart to God; of a conscious morality of the heart based upon principles."

GOOD TEACHERS AND WISE INSPECTORS.

That instruction may bring out all the powers of the child, and form character as well as train the intellectual faculties, the schoolmaster must be a man of considerable culture, possessed of insight into human nature, and especially young human nature, well acquainted with the best methods of training, and having a high aim for his own life and a noble moral tone in his own conduct. For here it is not the quantity of instruction that is of consequence so much as the quality, provided it be varied enough; it is not the amount of information given, but the interest excited; not the truths mechanically conveyed, but the living and abiding impressions produced on the soul. The teacher has really a cure of souls committed to him. Once find the right man, and he must be trusted in the discharge of his duty. He must be allowed to choose his own ways and means within certain limits; he must study the individuality of each pupil, and vary his mode of action accordingly; and he must have nothing to distract him from the great aim which must guide all his activity. Along with the good teacher we must have good inspectors, men of larger experience, of still greater culture and reach of thought. These should not watch over the teachers as if they were suspected characters; but they should be able to advise them in difficult cases, set them right when they pursue wrong methods, encourage them when they may despond, and help them in every way to carry out the

true end of their vocation. With such a body of teachers and inspectors, the school might do a vast deal, in fact could not help doing a vast deal, to diminish the crime of the country, to ameliorate the condition of the people, to make the country better, and wiser, and happier.

THE REQUISITES OF THE REVISED CODE INSUFFICIENT.

The great aim of the school is not touched in the Requirements of the Code, which only reaches certain results in reading, writing, and arithmetic, which may be acquired without any educative influence. The learning to read and the learning to write are mechanical operations. In learning to read the child is engaged simply in connecting an outward visible sign with a certain sound. In learning to write he is learning to indicate certain sounds by visible signs. The whole activity is external. As far as the Revised Code is concerned, the child need not understand a single word of what he reads or writes. The only educative power which the operation possesses arises from a defect in our language. Our signs are variable. The same sound may be indicated by different symbols; and sometimes the same sounds represent different thoughts, and are expressed by different symbols, in which case the child must learn the meaning to be able to give the symbols. But in all other cases the process is mechanical. "The appropriation of the language itself, as such," says Bencke, "having reference only to the external, produces immediately and by itself no mental gain." And this is repeated by all who have written on the methods and object of education.

There is a little more educative power in arithmetic, yet it is small. Arithmetic furnishes the pupil with models of clearness, precision, and certainty; but the ideas contained in it are few. Indeed, the whole of arithmetic is a mere expansion of one and one make two, and one from two is one. That is all the idea that is in it.

But reading and writing might be so taught as to be educative. If, as should always be the case, the arts of reading and writing are taught with special application and reference to the ends for which they are acquired, vast spiritual benefit might be got. But here comes in the Revised Code, and presents a factitious end to the schoolmaster. The one thing he is to do is to make pupils read and write and cipher, and the one end proposed for him is a certain amount of pay. Drive his pupils into the standards anyhow, irrespective of the full training of the mind, and Government will be satisfied. But what will be the result? The interest in knowledge is destroyed, the individuality is neglected, the moral tone is overlooked, and the one power of learning to read and write, urged on by force, and accomplished mechanically, will very likely soon pass into disuse in many cases, and be lost, or be employed for the lowest purposes.

It seems to me that the plan of distributing the public money in Scotland ought to be totally different. A minimum income should be fixed for all teachers, ample enough to get good men. Where the local rates, say at twopence per pound, and the fees, are sufficient to provide this income, the Government should give no aid directly to the school. But when a parish is poor, the income of the teacher should in all cases be made up by Government to the minimum, and the Government would thus step in where aid is really needed. Government should also pay all the inspectors, and any other general expenses.

HIGHER SALARIES AND TRAINING MUST GO TOGETHER.

You cannot get men in an instant to become teachers. You must begin with them at an early age; if a boy does not see his way before him for a profession in this direction, he will not train for it.

CALDERWOOD—ON TEACHING.*

EXTRACTS.

END AND MEANS OF TEACHING.

In organizing a National System of Education, and providing guarantees for its efficiency, we are inevitably tempted to narrow the sphere of education to the limits within which our tests are available. The examination test is far from being a complete test of educational results. Yet it is upon this we are constrained mainly to rely when we would take measures to secure a high standard of teaching. Consequently, from the earliest stages of preparation for the profession, the young teacher has abundant inducement to think that every thing depends upon the amount of knowledge he acquires, and the amount he afterward communicates. The course of preparatory study favors this view. The fixed curriculum, the uniform examinations, the standards of excellence, the certificates of first, second, and third class, intended to indicate professional rank—all of them quite essential, every one will allow—tend to encourage the conviction that education is concerned only with knowledge. The certificated teacher has the requisite amount of instruction, and is by inference a competent instructor. He has attained what is essential for professional engagement. Teachers need to guard themselves against this narrowing of their professional aims, and dwarfing of their own intellectual and moral nature.

Even if the end of teaching be restricted to the communication of knowledge, it is plain that the possession of so much information is not the only requirement for instructing others. Knowledge of grammar, geography, history, and modern languages does not constitute any one a professional educator. While yet on the benches of the students' class-room, the candidates for office are constantly led to distinguish between knowledge and teaching power. They find a difference among instructors. It is not always the man who

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* *On Teaching: Its Ends and Means.* By Henry Calderwood, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and Chairman of the Edinburgh School Board. Edinburgh: 1874. 144 p.

Contents:—Introduction. I. Self-Government. II. School Discipline. III. Instruction. IV. Formation of Character. Conclusion.

knows most who proves himself the best instructor. The beginner in teaching needs to carry with him the recollection of this difference. When he passes from the students' bench to the position of command on the floor of the class-room, he obtains fresh evidence every day that much more is wanted there, than is implied in drawing upon his stores of information. The test of practice brings out what written examinations had not previously discovered, but had rather obscured. New demands come with the practical work of teaching. He must be his own teacher in the art of teaching, while he is engaged in the practice. Even by his failures, as well as by such success as he is able to command at first, he must learn to rise to higher success.

The learning to which I refer is something very different from the continued study of books. Such study will secure a fuller knowledge and a higher culture, but the learning which is even more needful for the teacher is to be gathered by practice in teaching under carefully maintained self-observation. He who would succeed as a teacher must be a censor over his own practice. He must be thoroughly interested and observant as to his own success. As Dr. Arnold admirably said, when inquiring about a master, 'I prefer activity of mind and an interest in his work to high scholarship, for the one may be acquired far more easily than the other.'

Further, however, it must be considered that the communication of information is not the sole end of teaching. A simple test may satisfy any one that a higher task has been by common consent assigned to the teacher. If the pupils of any school are rude, reckless, and riotous, the school management bears some considerable amount of blame. The common verdict in such a case is quite decided. Public opinion expects more than knowledge as the result of school attendance. The more this matter is considered the more obvious it will become that the expectation is just. I do not say that the teacher is always fairly judged in this relation, nor do I say that the expectations of parents are always reasonable. Home training is the earliest training, and all teachers are in some degree dependent on what that training has been. Deficiency here shows itself quickly at school. It is unreasonable to expect that school training can altogether make up for neglect or mismanagement at home. No doubt the school must some how or other protect itself from the evil consequences which flow in upon it because of a breakdown in home rule. In such cases, however, a burden is thrown upon the teacher which he should not in fairness have had to bear. Accepting, however, his responsibilities, encumbered with all the

disadvantages which may gather around him, the teacher undertakes to exercise supervision over the deportment and conduct of the pupils.

The combination of such supervision with instruction is the greatest service the teacher can render to families and to the State. In the humblest sphere the teacher may claim this great work as his own. In a National System of Education, proper training of the children becomes an important end. Modern civilization wisely rejects the Platonic idea, that children should be more the children of the State than of their parents. The unity of national life is found to be most secure in the recognition of the sacredness of family life. At the same time, however, we can see the loftiness of aim and motive which made Socrates and Plato seek the good of the State, in the goodness of her citizens. In this we reach the root-idea, made grandly conspicuous by the Christian system, that goodness of character is the end of life. The teacher, then, seeks a grand result when he labors to contribute toward the formation of good character in the young, helping them to fight bravely against temptation, and to persevere in the way of rectitude through all difficulties.

What the nation is looking for is a sound moral training, along with instruction, and by means of all the accompaniments naturally attendant on the instructor's work.* If the nation is disappointed in this, it loses the higher of the results it looked for when setting in motion a complicated and expensive machinery. It has given the whole teaching profession a higher status—an immense gain in itself—but, by the same act, it has imposed a more extended and more visible responsibility upon the profession. The success of school training is to be tested by the moral condition of the nation in after years. The nation desires not merely that the memory of the children be well stored, but that the intellect be developed, and habits formed which may remain as capital to draw from when the work of life must be done. The great difficulty of our modern civilization, bred of our keen competitions, clash of interests, crowding together of multitudes of people, and consequent craving for excitement, is a waning morality. It meets us in all the narrow lanes of our cities—lanes which we Scotch naturally describe as 'closes.' In these piles of building, vice rather than poverty spreads out the signs of human wretchedness. In these shelters of misery, multitudes of children have all that they can call a 'home.' The attractions of home—priceless to us—are altogether unknown to

* The German view of this matter is well put in these words: 'Primary instruction shall have for its aim to develop the faculties of the soul, the reason, the senses, and the bodily strength.

them. From their earliest days they have had a hard and hardening life. Their chances of comfort and respectability are few. What the nation desires is, that skillful and kindly teaching extend to them the chance which they should otherwise altogether miss. Mainly for the sake of these children has our national compulsory system of education sprung into being.

REQUISITES FOR SUCCESS IN TEACHING.

Self-control is the first requisite for success in teaching. The work of governing even the youngest children requires government of one's self. A man must have his powers under command, if others are to have the full benefit of his guidance. This rule holds in all spheres. It is essential for a high standard of success in any profession. Only in this way can the physician give his patient the full benefit of his knowledge and skill. On this condition alone can a man sway an audience with any share of that power which belongs to the orator. On no other condition can a teacher in reality become master over his scholars. Self-command is essential even for teaching a single child, much more when a person must govern, in order to teach, large numbers of children.

Another phase of this rule is seen when things are looked at from the children's point of view. The youngest children are quick in observation. They readily discover what degree of control is maintained by those over them. Guided by their own observations, they quietly submit to be governed only in so far as they recognize the elements of governing power in their superiors. Fond of liberty, prone to catch at a passing opportunity for diversion, children are quick in taking advantage of any deficiency in the power of command, any laxity in the exercise of control, or want of observation. These characteristics are so uniform that they can not be overlooked. He who would succeed as a teacher must recognize them,—must enjoy their comical side, and not merely be disturbed by the test to which they subject himself,—but must utilize them so as to make them contribute toward government. The restlessness of children is inevitable,—their fondness for fun is delightfully helpful in saving school work from prosaic monotony. In harmony with these admissions, they must be governed. He who would control them easily and wisely must keep himself in harmony with the children, which certainly implies that he keep himself in good humor, and shun irritation.

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE—BY EYE, VOICE, AND PUNISHMENT.

The power of the Eye is the primary source of the teacher's in-

fluence. Only let the pupils feel that the eye of the teacher runs swifter to the mark than words fly to the ear, and his power will be felt. The conduct which is to be regulated must be observed. To the extent to which this is possible, every thing done in the school must be under the eye of the teacher. To forget this, or to become indifferent to the need for it, is a serious mistake. As a pre-requisite, it is of consequence to have the scholars so placed that observation is easy. Any arrangement of seats which makes it difficult, involves a willful surrender of a large part of a teacher's power, and at the same time of the children's benefit. The eye is much more the expression of all that the teacher is than the best chosen words can be. The scholars can understand it more quickly than they can understand words, and there is nothing for which the eye is more available than the expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what is seen. The eye is hardly misinterpreted by one who observes its play. In addition, it is the most quick and most silent of messengers. There is no quicker telegraph for the school-room, and it is practically free from risk of error in communication. Without the slightest interruption to school work, the eye conveys more encouragement, warning, and rebuke, than there could be time to utter. To leave all this uncommunicated would be an unspeakable loss of influence. Through the eye an unexpressed, but clearly recognized, understanding is gradually established between master and pupil, which greatly aids school management. Connected with this form of control, there is all the advantage of comparative secrecy in the midst of public procedure. It serves all the ends of a cipher in telegraphic communication; and in school life, private influence upon a single mind is of vast consequence. The teacher is constantly occupied in public exercises, yet more than most men, he needs opportunity for communicating hints of purely personal application, which are best conveyed when they reach the person concerned without knowledge of those around. This holds specially of those timely warnings which are to check the beginning of wrong-doing. To utter every warning to a child in the hearing of all his companions would be to blunt the edge of the warning itself. In many cases the calling of general attention to what is being done would throw the mind of the offender into an attitude of defense, altogether unfavorable. A warning conveyed by a look, gives the pupil all the advantage of profiting by it without injury to self-respect. Encouragement thus conveyed, gives a great additional impulse, carrying a consciousness of a certain advance in the good

opinion of the teacher, without the fact giving rise to pride, as it might otherwise do.

Next in order of influence is the teacher's Voice. For mere purpose of discipline it can not be so frequently in use as the eye. It must be more commonly appropriated to the work of general instruction. When used to promote discipline, the voice should convey the same lesson to all the scholars. In this way the teacher's voice should be a training power for the whole school. But words to be wisely used in this way must be sparingly used. There is not a greater mistake in this relation than to suppose that abundance of speaking is the measure of its power. Needless speaking is an offense against good government, as in the scholar it would be a breach of discipline. In every case it should be generally felt that there was real occasion for speaking. Besides, it must be remembered that even appropriate counsel may be overdone by frequency of repetition. Warnings lose their force if they are incessantly reiterated, and this unfortunate result is more rapid if they are invariably shouted at the pitch of the voice. As has been well said, 'Nothing more impairs authority than a too frequent or indiscreet use of it. If thunder itself were to be continual, it would excite no more terror than the noise of a mill.' Incessant fault-finding involves a rapid evaporation of moral influence.

Last in the order of consideration—last, and least to be resorted to in practice—is Punishment of offenses. I do not exclude punishment from consideration, nor do I see how it is to be excluded from practice while the teacher fulfills the functions of his office. All government must be supported by the sanction of punishment for willful violation of its authority. While, however, this is to be admitted, it is to be hoped that the schools of our country are for ever freed from the reproach of an irrational and cruel resort to corporal punishment for the most trivial offenses. I do not deny that the old *régime* could point in self-vindication to good results secured by its rough appliances. I do not deny that there are many —I myself among the number—who look back on the share of suffering experienced under well-directed use of 'the taws' with acknowledgment of its value. But the records which can be given of scholastic punishment in years not far past are undoubtedly any thing but honorable to our educational skill and study of human nature. When the instruments for chastising the scholars were in constant use, their very commonness made them insufficient, and tempted the teacher to a baneful inventiveness of new and more humiliating forms of punishment. So it was that forms of punish-

ment utterly disgraceful came to be resorted to. I can tell of a hapless boy who had the misfortune to be seized on the occasion of a general outbreak, who was ordered (on a summer day) to thrust his head up the chimney, and stand in the grate. To add to this ignominy, his companions, who had been participators in the offense, many of them ringleaders in it, were invited by the teacher to laugh at the victim stuck up 'in durance vile,' and to meet with a derisive shout his reappearance among them with blackened face. One can not think of the infliction of such penalties, or of the moral consequences of their endurance, without a shudder.

However good the teaching was under the flogging *régime*, and every one who knows any thing of the history of our country knows it was careful and thorough, the infliction of punishment was often strangely separated from reflection and justice. Even though such cases as that described were only of occasional occurrence, it is beyond doubt that the continual resort to the 'the tawse' led many teachers to chastise their pupils more as the expression of their own irritation with the condition of things under their government than as a reasonable penalty for the offense of the sufferer.

There is a theory adverse to all corporal punishment, which is popular in our day, and advocated by those whose experience and judgment entitle their opinion to great weight. I must, however, confess myself unable to acquiesce in that theory. Its advocates have the advantage of decided support from the States in the American Union, which have reached the highest position in educational arrangements. Thus the Department of Public Instruction for the City of New York instructs its teachers that they 'should never resort to violent means, as pushing, pulling, or shaking the children, in order to obtain their attention.' The reason given is this: 'All such practices constitute a kind of corporal punishment, and are not only wrong in themselves, but specially prohibited by the Board.' The Directory for the City of Baltimore, Maryland, is not so decidedly adverse to corporal punishment, though it indicates the same aversion to it which appears in the New York Manual. There is but one sentence under the head of Discipline, and it is this: 'The schools shall be governed, as far as possible, without corporal punishment; and when such punishment shall be necessary, it shall in no case be inflicted by an Assistant, except when in charge of the school in the absence of the Principal.' Turning from America to Prussia, we find the same spirit pervading that part of German legislation bearing on this subject. In the General Law of 1819, on the organization of Public Instruction in Prussia, which

was minutely analyzed by M. Victor Cousin in his Report to the French Government (1831) on the state of Public Instruction in Prussia, there is a distinct deliverance on punishments. It is in these words: 'No kind of punishment which has a tendency to weaken the sentiment of honor, shall, on any pretense, be inflicted: corporal punishments, in case they be necessary, shall be devoid of cruelty, and on no account injurious either to modesty or to health.'

INSTRUCTION.

Whatever the age and attainment of the pupils under charge, the first requisite for communicating instruction is to gain and keep their attention. Teaching, to be successful, must therefore be adapted to win attention. At the earlier stages of school life this is the one pressing requirement. Somehow, attention must be made possible even to the most restless little ones, to whom the first restraints of school life are irksome. Accustomed to have every new object attract their interest just as long as they recognized any thing attractive in it—permitted to change from one engagement to another as caprice dictated—they must be made familiar with restriction. They must begin to be regulated by the will of another. Taking this as self-evident, we are prone to say that they *must* do so, whether they will or not. This is one of our superficial current phrases which cover over many points needing careful consideration. Attention is not to be secured by mere exercise of authority. Authority has a great deal to do through the whole course of school life, but we can not 'command' attention, as we say, by merely demanding that it be given. A radical mistake is made if a teacher lean on his authority in the school as the guarantee for attention by the scholars. He must consider the requirements of the undisciplined mind, and adapt himself to them. Children attend to what interests them. This must determine the kind of assistance to be given them in acquiring habits of attention. To help them in this is an obvious part of a teacher's work. It devolves upon him to put his instructions in such a way as to awaken interest in the subject taught. This duty, indeed, falls on every one who attempts to instruct others. The literary man, the special pleader, the lecturer, the orator, must all of them bestow much thought on the laws which determine the mind's interest in any subject set before it. The master of a school in this respect shares a task which is common to all who essay to teach others. In this appears the true place and power of the profession. Still more important does the work of the schoolmaster appear when it is considered that he lays the foundation for all later and more advanced teaching. He initi-

ates into the process of learning, which is to be continued in all after life. The educator of youth does not merely communicate so much instruction from year to year; he develops the receptive and acquisitive tendencies of mind, which are afterward to play their part in the intellectual activity of the nation. He trains the intelligence of those who are afterward to be the teachers of others, as well as of those who are only to be interested inquirers after truth.

Natural Curiosity.

Curiosity is to be utilized as the corrective of restlessness. To awaken expectation—to keep it alive, and even to add to its strength by that which it feeds upon—is to succeed in teaching. Here arise several considerations deserving notice from the schoolmaster. Children are most susceptible of what comes through the senses. It is therefore a great point gained when the eyes as well as the ears of the pupils can be kept in exercise during the lesson. To reach the mind by double avenues at the same moment is to increase the chance of success. The value of sight as an agency of instruction is generally recognized. However true it may be, in any case, that hearing may suffice to convey the whole truth, there is in every one a natural disposition to resort, nevertheless, to sight as a favorite auxiliary. Every one is conscious of the desire to see a speaker while listening to his statements. Every experienced speaker is aware that he sacrifices much of his power if he does not speak to the eye as well as to the ear. We all know how strong is the desire to watch the performances of the several members of an orchestra while we listen to the piece which they are rendering. In all probability we should more accurately realize the composer's design if we completely closed our eyes and simply listened, but the fascination of sight is too strong for most of us to make it easy to content ourselves with the feast of sound. This keenness of interest in what is seen is experienced by boys and girls perhaps even more intensely than it is by their seniors. Hence the value of the blackboard in all departments of teaching, up to the very highest; hence also the value of object-lessons for beginners; hence the greater interest commonly felt in observational and experimental science than in abstract thought. Every schoolmaster needs to give great weight to this consideration. Children universally desire to see their teacher while he guides the class-work. This desire continues powerful as long as the teacher continues to interest the children by what he says. As long as he succeeds in this respect, the eyes are bright, and fixed on the common center of attraction. So soon as his

teaching becomes slow, monotonous, and wanting in intellectual energy, the eyes lose their luster, and begin to wander off from the common center. Thus it becomes obvious that the teacher must himself be thoroughly interested in order to interest his scholars.

A timely break in the order of lessons may be of great consequence for continued mental activity. I venture to think that Time-Tables, however important in themselves, should never be so rigidly adhered to as to prevent variation. Many disadvantages would be experienced if there were needless deviation from the fixed order of study. But a lesson may be specially difficult, and that must imply that it is more irksome for the scholars. In such a case it is a practical mistake to insist that the children must be kept on the strain quite as long as when the work is comparatively simple. 'The Code' can hardly be expected to do any thing less than attach supreme importance to the 'Time-Table.' But to measure school-work for all days of the year by the yard-measure, or by the clock, is to deny to intelligence its fit place in the school-room. It is of far more consequence for ultimate results that the teacher should observe and judge for himself as to the wisest distribution of the several parts of work for a day, than that all our schools come under regulation-drill, which would turn any slight deviation from the Time-Table into a serious offense. By all means let us be saved from blind 'rule of thumb.' It is to be hoped that our national schools will not become circumscribed by rule in such a manner as to deter our teachers from exercising their own sagacity as to minor deviations which a regard to efficient teaching may suggest.

Considerable diversity of arrangements should appear in the adaptation of lessons to the capacity of children, in accordance with their age and advancement. Powers of observation are those first in exercise, and these chiefly must be called into play in the case of beginners. Those who devote themselves to infant-school teaching need a specialty of teaching gift. Vivacity of manner, aptness of descriptive power, play of imagination, facility in passing lightly and rapidly from one theme to others somewhat analogous, with strong delight in the simple unrestrained ways of little children, are the qualifications which specially point out the teacher suited in a marked degree for training those who are only in the earliest stages of school-life. Pictorial illustrations and object-lessons must supply attraction to the youngest scholars. The earliest demand upon memory should for the most part involve little more than involuntary recollection. It is enough at such a time if facts

are recalled because the picture illustrating them is attractive, or the story connected with them interesting, or the tune pleasing to which the verses of a hymn or song are sung.

'Those "strong-minded" teachers who object to these modes of "making things pleasant," as an unworthy and undesirable "weakness," are ignorant that in this stage of the child-mind, the Will—that is, the power of *self*-control—is weak; and that the primary object of Education is to encourage and strengthen, not to repress, that power. Great mistakes are often made by Parents and Teachers, who, being ignorant of this fundamental fact of child-nature, treat as *willfulness* what is in reality just the contrary of Will-fulness; being the direct result of the *want* of Volitional control over the automatic activity of the Brain. To punish a child for the want of obedience which it *has not the power* to render, is to inflict an injury which may almost be said to be irreparable.'

Passing from involuntary observation and recollection, children must make a beginning with voluntary concentration of attention. This brings us to the regular *tasks*, appropriately so named. The effort of preparation always constitutes a task, and in the early periods of school life a peculiarly wearisome one. Scholars must early begin the work of self-directed effort, success in which must regulate their progress, and determine their influence through subsequent life.

There is force here in what has been said by Mr. Thring: 'It must be borne in mind that with the young memory is strong, and logical perception weak. All teaching should start on this undoubted fact. It sounds very fascinating to talk about *understanding every thing*, *learning every thing thoroughly*, and all those broad phrases which plump down on a difficulty and hide it. Put in practice, they are about on a par with exhorting a boy to mind he does not go into the water till he can swim.'

Home Preparation.

As a general rule, it may be taken as beyond dispute that, for educational results, it is undesirable that the whole evening be set apart to lesson-learning. Responsibility for home arrangements devolves on the parents or guardians of the children; but the responsibility of adjusting the task to the recognized capacity and advancement of the scholars rests on their teacher. Many of the perplexities and trials which fall upon both teachers and scholars are the result of want of due consideration as to the amount of work assigned. If in the hurry of closing up for the day, a teacher, without much consideration, specify work more extended than

ordinary, the result will be a night of gloom for the scholars, and thereafter a day of perplexity for himself. In such circumstances, the vexations of teaching are self-made troubles.

For Teachers in our Primary Schools it is specially important to consider the amount of home-preparation which may reasonably be expected. It seems to me altogether unlikely that satisfactory advance can be made in the work of education through means of these schools, unless school-work be largely planned upon the admission that only slight home-preparation can be expected. A large proportion of the children are so situated at home that preparation of lessons must be very slight, and often completely neglected. It seems unwise to shun this admission; we must suit ourselves to the existing state of matters. Teaching must proceed largely on the assumption that the scholars are practically commencing the learning of the lesson when their teacher begins class-work. I do not incline so to view a teacher's work as to regard this position of affairs as occasion for special condolence. On the contrary, I favor the opinion, that in all cases it would be well if the classes in which primary instruction is communicated were conducted on the avowal that comparatively little is expected in the form of home-preparation. Even if lesson-learning were entirely restricted to school hours for the first two or three years of school life, I think we should gain and not lose in educational results. In the interests of health and physical development it is to be desired that the brain should not be subjected to continuous work for more than a few hours of each day. As far as possible, we should guard against the excitement of class-work flowing in upon the homes of the children, and even upon their sleeping hours. At present we have too much experience of uneasy restlessness of brain among young children. In the interests of the teachers of our primary schools, burdened as they are with the extra strain of maintaining the attention of large numbers of very young children, I would wish to see a saving of strength in teaching. Escape from the irritation experienced on account of the discovery of inadequate preparation would be a considerable help in this respect. There would be less fretting for a teacher (and it is fretting which most quickly exhausts the strength), by deliberately undertaking the work of teaching the lesson from the foundation. There would also be a higher training in the real work of teaching. Mere lesson hearing is a comparatively slight and commonplace exercise; but to lead the young mind into the knowledge to be understood and remembered, is an exercise in every way worthy of large knowledge and much skill.

If learners are shown the true methods for reducing difficult combinations to their elements, many difficulties are taken out of the way. Mastery of the remaining difficulties will then prove a help for subsequent effort. This work of analysis is greatly simplified in later stages, if progress in elementary instruction has been by advancement on a careful system from the simplest elements of language to the more complex combinations. Intelligence is the avenue to memory. A passage may be accurately and rapidly read or recited, and yet not in any proper sense learned. The contribution to the real education of the child is comparatively small, unless the understanding is called into exercise. In education what may be described as a 'local' or 'verbal' memory is of slight influence in comparison with an intelligent or rationalizing memory. Association by reference to locality or verbal sequence is a temporary coherence, which generally breaks up when the occasion for it is gone. But if facts are contemplated, and truths are understood, memory keeps what it receives, and intelligence begins to utilize what it has gathered. It is therefore of the utmost importance that analysis become a familiar instrument in all educational work. The ordinary round of school duty gives constant opportunity for its use. In spelling, for example, to break up a word into its component parts is to bring the understanding into play, affording memory the aid it requires for accurately retaining and recalling that word.

Blackboard.

The use of the eye to aid the understanding is of great importance in all analysis. For this reason the *blackboard* presents an invaluable auxiliary. Its use may seem to consume time; in reality it greatly saves time. What is made visible will be understood much more rapidly than what is merely explained in words. A word of several syllables written out on the board in separate parts will much more easily be made familiar than if it be only looked at as printed in the ordinary lesson. Familiarity with the analysis of words will soon be gained in this way, rendering continued use of the board unnecessary, and setting it free for use at some other point of difficulty. There is no need to continue illustrations when writing mainly for those who are professional teachers. The value of the blackboard is not likely to be overlooked. The more a teacher can avail himself of all the avenues to the mind, the more efficient his teaching must become.

Combination of the Known and Unknown.

When pupils are encouraged to make for themselves fresh combinations of things already known, additional progress is certain.

Variety of exercise in this way is as attractive to children as many of their games. If, when such exercises are given, the rivalry involved in taking places were discontinued, and all the extraneous excitement avoided, the play of intelligence would bring an ample reward. I plead for discontinuance of rivalry in such exercises, because, while it stimulates some, in other cases it hinders and even stops the action of intelligence. If any teacher doubt this, he may subject a class to experiment by watching the faces of the pupils, and next asking from the child who has been corrected an explanation of the reason for the correction. Hurry in such things is an injury, and so is all commingling of antagonistic motives. All fear hinders intellectual action, and the fear of wounded ambition offers no exception to the rule. The fear of being punished is more seriously detrimental than any form of fear which can be stirred. It is essentially antagonistic to the action of intelligence. Let mind have free play. There is hardly a better exercise for a class than that of allowing a scholar to write out on the blackboard the tense of a verb, or any other portion of grammar; requiring the others to offer corrections of what has been written; interlining the corrections as suggested; and then inquiring into their warrant.

Ritter, the celebrated geographer of Germany, pointed to the value of skillful combination in the suggestion he made as to teaching geography. He proposed the combination of history and geography. He recommended that an outline map should be drawn, the mountains traced, and the courses of the rivers; and that localities should be marked in connection with events of historic importance, or with information concerning the products of the soil, or of manufacture. The suggestion is a valuable example of the type of combinations which must greatly facilitate education and deepen its interest. The learning of geography is of comparatively little value if it be nothing more than lists of names in moderate doses, with the understanding that they belong to England or to France. But if a teacher roughly sketch an outline map upon the board, and bid one after another of the pupils fill in a part of it, and then unroll the printed map, the impression upon all will be greatly deepened. History would undoubtedly gain greatly in interest, if outstanding events were associated with map drawing. The Germans have advanced beyond most nations in teaching geography. Government instructions may lie behind this, and perhaps even military reasons may lie at the back of these instructions, but there can be little doubt of the fact. During the Franco-Prussian war it was said the German soldiers knew the geography of

France better than the French themselves. Special education for the army is, however, provided in Germany to an extent as yet unknown in any other country. The German soldier is not left merely to become familiar with drill; he has regular school training, as well as military exercise. But the school children are unusually well instructed in geography, with minute topographical information. When resident in Berlin, I had the opportunity of putting a variety of questions to a smart boy of thirteen years of age—a favorable example of the school, I should think—and found that he had a degree of topographical knowledge rarely possessed by those who have not traveled in a country. The boy could describe the whole aspect of the country around Edinburgh as not one-third of the boys of Edinburgh could have done.

Friendly Relations of Teacher and Scholars.

There is a familiarity which is destructive of discipline, and quite unfavorable to application on the part of the scholar. This is so clearly recognized in the profession, that there is hardly need for precaution against misunderstanding. The communication here referred to is that which has purely educational ends in view. What I point to is far removed from every thing which would favor undue familiarity. It even presupposes the impossibility of it. Any thing which interferes with the simple relation of teacher and taught is a hindrance. What is to be commended is freedom of communication exclusively for purposes of instruction, and connected with the matter in hand, as the sole attraction for the time. It is a freedom which, instead of being unfavorable to discipline, must tend to establish it. What is mainly to be desired is free communication of difficulties from the scholar to the teacher, as there should be full instruction from the teacher to the scholar. There is an exercise of authority by a teacher which utterly ignores and frowns upon any tendency to direct inquiries to him. He will question in order to ascertain what the scholars have learned; but they must not question him, in order to learn what they have failed to understand. Every thing is made to depend upon the thoroughness of the teaching at every stage; and this again depends upon the teacher's own reflection, without any sure discovery of his pupils' need. To every teacher such a method is inadequate, because insecure. The most experienced teacher will allow that he needs to be helped to the discovery of his pupils' difficulties. But if a teacher cultivate a distant reserve, he can not have the help which only the scholars can give. The instruction must roll on. If the scholars catch all they need, so far well; if they fail to understand all that is expressed, there is

no help for it. If such a system be preferred under the apprehension that any thing else would weaken discipline, there is either a consciousness of weakness in the teacher, or else a want of thorough reflection on the necessary conditions of school discipline. If a scholar may not freely inquire during some suitable opportunity afforded for the purpose, but must depend entirely upon catching the full meaning of all that has been said, the relation between teacher and scholar is constrained and unhealthy.

Routine to be Avoided.

In the school, as every where else, we want to escape *routine.** Neither teacher nor scholar should feel that the procedure each day is simply a repetition of the procedure of the preceding day. A sense of monotony is to be dreaded as one should the nightmare. If scholars are shy to speak out, as under our system they are apt to be, deliberate attempts should be made to draw them out, and ascertain what they still need to learn. It is quite essential to success that it should be somehow ascertained how much the children have got only by rote without understanding, how much they have misunderstood, and what they have never thought about which should have engaged their attention. There is nothing which more impresses one in visiting the public schools of the United States of America than the unrestrained freedom with which the pupil makes an appeal to the teacher, in the assurance of that appeal being encouraged and met as far as possible in the circumstances. This feature struck me as a general characteristic in all the schools I visited, from the primary to the normal schools. The pupils regard this as a natural feature of school life. I remember on one occasion entering the class-room of a teacher of physiology in one of the normal schools when he had just finished the lecture for the day. He was saying to the members of his class, 'I shall examine on this lecture to-morrow; just let me see if your notes are accurate.' One pupil at once asked what had been said as to the average weight of the human skull. The answer was immediately given. Another question followed, and another, until all were satisfied, after which the few closing minutes of the hour were spent in supplementing the lecture with such remarks as the questions seemed to suggest. This is only an example of what is common in American schools. I must express my admiration of this characteristic.

* Dr. Noah Porter, President of Yale College, Connecticut, U. S., in a series of articles in *The College Courant* of Yale, writes upon 'special defects in the operation of modern schools.' He signalizes these two: 'The spirit of formalism and routine which has grown up in our modern schools,' and 'the tendency to stimulate to excess the spontaneous or verbal memory.' We may take warning from American experience.

FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

I proceed now to speak of the regulation of the emotional nature, —the government of all the springs of action. This brings into view the teacher's part in aiding his pupils to use intelligence for the guidance of their conduct. I have already indicated the grounds on which I conceive that this department of oversight and training belongs to the teacher. He is an instructor in the widest sense. To him is intrusted the development of the whole nature, in so far as that is found to be needful for school discipline, and possible through means of it. The two departments, instruction and training, are indeed quite distinct, and admit of separate treatment.

From the one point of view, the teacher seeks to make his scholars observant, reflective, well informed, and prompt in the use of their faculties. From the other he seeks to make them upright, generous, and brave. The relative importance of these two ends will be at once recognized. As meanness of disposition is worse than slowness of intellect; as selfishness is worse than defective memory; as cowardice is worse than ignorance,—special importance is to be attached to the department of moral training. The teacher can not, indeed, raise such training to the position of primary importance, since all the school arrrangements are made expressly for instruction in the ordinary branches of knowledge. But there is no need for this, since moral training is gained not so much by formal inculcation of duty as by practice in well-doing throughout the common engagements of life. If, however, moral training do not expressly engage the attention of the scholars as a subject of study, it is to be continually the subject of consideration with the teacher. It makes no difference whether it be grammar, or geography, or history which is being taught, the formation of character goes on with equal facility. So generally is this recognized in the profession, that Mr. Currie has set this down as his first statement in his valuable work on Education :—'Education comprises all the influences which go to form the character.'

Sympathy with Children in their Training.

For success in training, the first requisite is intelligent sympathy with the children in the difficulties they experience while attempting to control their conduct. Before a true and influential sympathy is possible, the teacher must observe peculiarities of disposition. It will thus appear how essential it is to discriminate carefully, in order to make a satisfactory beginning. At the same time the

general truth must be recognized and applied for the guidance of our procedure, that a child's ruling dispositions are as truly inherited as his intellectual powers or his bodily constitution. This will not be disputed, and therefore I do not insist upon it; but the consideration must have a directly practical bearing upon school government. If it be not uniformly recognized and acted upon, justice can not be done to the children, nor can sagacity have proper exercise in dealing with them. One child is naturally irritable, another is naturally amiable. The one is not to be blamed, nor is the other to be praised, for what he has inherited. If under sudden provocation the one shows a sensitiveness which the other does not discover, no marvel. The result is exactly that to be expected from the different natures of the two. What is of chief interest to the educationist is, that the irritable child can gain the mastery over the ruling tendency of his nature, and can be helped in striving for the victory. But it is unjust to punish a child because he has inherited an irritable disposition. In many cases it is no less so to punish him because that disposition has suddenly started into activity under provocation. One child is naturally timid, another naturally rash. It is unreasonable to blame the children, or to do any thing but consider what are the special difficulties of each, and how best each can be helped in overcoming these. The one has inherited a highly sensitive nervous constitution, which is readily excited by the slighest changes, and which throws in upon the mind the agitation originating in the organism. To punish such a child for his timidity, or mock him on account of it, is a grievous practical blunder, which indicates want of knowledge and reflection as to the necessary conditions of moral training. If a teacher is not to run the risk of inflicting life-long injury upon one intrusted to his care, he must have some clearly defined plan in harmony with the known laws of mind, suitable for allaying fear and promoting courage. Another child is naturally impulsive. The former thinks and shrinks.

Limits in the Teachers' Power in Training.

He can not form the character, but can only aid the pupil in efforts to form his own character. This consideration is of vital importance in the determination of method. Character implies established habits of self-government. Its formation is thus essentially a personal matter. Whatever be its type, it is the result of habits voluntarily cherished. So long as the predominant natural dispositions sway the conduct unchecked, moral character is unformed.

The beginning of its formation can be traced from the time that there are signs of voluntary restriction and regulation of these dispositions. Whenever a degree of self-control appears, it indicates the sway of intelligence. Character, whether good or bad, is in no case the result of involuntary tendency. Its formation in a good and healthy type is a most delicate process, needing to be continued through many years. Nothing is more likely to injure, by retarding, or it may even be in perverting, the process, than efforts after coercion. Will-power must regulate the course of conduct, and the only safe stimulants of the action of will are intelligence within, and the encouragement of intelligent sympathy from superiors who have already won respect.

Influence of Companionship.

Children are greatly hindered or aided in the formation of a good character by the influence of those around them. If their seniors make light of moral distinctions, they will do so too. If their companions are selfish, and unchecked in that tendency, they too will begin to give way to the same hideous disposition. There is in human nature enough of the desire for self-gratification, and a sufficient sense of the irksomeness of self-restraint, to favor ready yielding to the easier way of life. But self-denial is the necessary condition of self-government. The effort it involves, and the pain connected with that effort, try us most at the commencement. But both the effort and the pain will be considerably lessened if seniors give encouragement and companions share the difficulties. In this way, all the order and discipline of the school should support the virtues and promote their growth.

But favorable circumstances do not in themselves afford all that is requisite. Dismiss the best disciplined class, and observe the moral characteristics of the children when they are free to act according to inclination. It will be found that there is considerable diversity among them, and that some very readily inflict wrong upon their companions. Discipline is the product of authority. Character does not grow by mere force of authority. There is even peril to character in the constant strain of authority, which demands unquestioning submission on pain of punishment. Obedience in such a case is often reluctantly rendered, and reluctant submission is apt to be unfavorable to character. A rooted aversion to restraint is then cherished, which carries in it serious forebodings of evil. A child must be taught to walk alone, else a reckless career may follow escape from the hated restraint. The most perfect form of

drill can not establish moral character; the best educational machinery is unequal to the task. Circumstances, even the most favorable, can not produce the character which must itself be superior to circumstances. Character must grow from within, in accordance with the invariable laws of mind.

Individualization.

To render aid in the formation of character, a teacher must *individualize.* One hundred children may be instructed in the same branch of knowledge at once, but development of character can not proceed in this way. The prevailing dispositions and tendencies of each scholar must be ascertained. Ignorant of these, a teacher can do little which will render really effective help. A physician might as well write prescriptions at random, and distribute them in order, as he made the round of his patients. Knowledge of each pupil is the essential requisite for real training. It may be objected that professional duty leaves a teacher no leisure for this; but one who has made it a practice to observe character, as every teacher must have done in order to be successful, needs no special time for the necessary observation. He can not help observing. He only requires the routine and bustle of school life to afford the opportunities he needs. A private talk with each pupil, when constrained and quite on his guard, will be of little worth for purposes of observation. You must see children excited by rivalry—tried by the irritating conduct of fellow scholars—subjected to unexpected disappointment—and roused by the exercise of the playground—in order to ascertain what are the characteristics of each one, and what a teacher should most strive to do for each. In such scenes observation is inevitable, and a child is never allowed to feel as if he were watched. Every thing is 'above-board,' and comes under observation in natural course. The teacher soon knows who are irritable, and who are of a stubborn disposition; who are rash and who shrinking; who are inclined to conceal their purposes, and practice cunning; and who are prone to be domineering. Seeing these things, a teacher sees his work. He recognizes that a common discipline, touching all alike, is not equal to the demand. Help, appropriate in form, and well timed, he must endeavor to give. Scarcely noticed by the school generally, hardly remarked upon by the child more immediately concerned, a look of encouragement or rebuke will make a child conscious of success or failure. A mere glance of the eye may not reckon for much in the log-book of the school, but it has left its impress on the sensitive surface of a young

heart. A word of rebuke dropped softly at the fitting moment into that ear alone for which it is meant may be enough to start a resolution of improvement upon which a teacher may continue to operate from day to day. Such a word may live long in the memory. I remember now, as if it had been yesterday, the look and word of a venerated preceptor [Dr. Boyd, of the Edinburgh High School] who had detected a case of oppression of a fellow scholar, 'There was one boy in the group I did not expect to see consenting to such conduct.' The look and word were for me, and how the lesson went home may be judged by the vividness of the present recollection.

Self-Control.

A child must see that formation of character is his own business, and a work for all times. He must be awakened to the sense of that power which is power over self. He must have aroused to activity those motive forces which impel the mind to the work of self-control as one of living interest. He must taste the joy as well as feel the difficulty of self-government. Only thus can the building up of character proceed. For a teacher, then, there is no other way possible than that of helping the scholar to help himself in what must be his own work. If we fail to induce the pupil to take to this in earnest, we fail in the first condition of success. From the very center of the being must come the determination of the forces which are to be allowed to sway the conduct. Who can overcome selfishness but the person who feels it? How can generosity be planted in the mind except by personal admiration of it, and personal exercise?

Self-Control and Reflectiveness.

Self-control begins with reflectiveness. It has its sure commencement in thought as to right and wrong in human conduct. But this thought, to be of any real value in character building, must be concerned more with the inward dispositions than with the outward forms of conduct. It is in the suggesting and encouraging of such thought that a teacher can give to a pupil the full benefit of his superior intelligence, and greater calmness of observation. But some consideration needs to be given to the lines of thought which it is of real consequence to suggest. A child needs no lecturing in proof of the position that falsehood is wrong, unless his thinking on the subject has been already perverted by pernicious home training. There is nothing a child more resents than being deliberately deceived. In like manner it is not needful, under ordinary conditions, to convince

a child that stealing is wrong; with a child trained from the earliest days to steal it is otherwise. Every child is, however, quick enough at crying out against the theft of his own property. No one, however unfortunately placed in respect of parental influence, is ignorant of the fact that kindness is right. He has recognized that, a long while before he came to school. What a child needs is, not so much help to know what the right is, as help to do it, especially when circumstances tempt to the opposite. A child needs help to turn his attention on the rising disposition, which, if allowed to gain strength, will tempt to evil doing. A child is prone to allow attention to be absorbed with what is external, and scarcely turns attention on the feeling which is swelling in the breast. He needs frequent help in beginning reflective exercise. Reflectiveness in the proper sense comes as one of the later attainments, and needs not a little effort for its cultivation.

Work of Repression.

This is a more difficult and trying work than the encouragement of good. But evil tendencies must be checked, in order that the nobler dispositions may have room to grow. If the check is to be wisely and successfully put on, much more is wanted than that the check itself be a strong and severe one. Fortunately, the most powerful form of restraint is a form of encouragement to the person restrained. Taking for granted that evil inclinations must be mastered, and demanding this of the children themselves, the teacher gains the strongest position when he is neither the lawgiver nor the imperious authority requiring its fulfillment, but is the friendly counsellor, suggesting the best means of gaining the victory. A suitable hint dropped in the ear, showing that the difficulty has been seen and measured, and that the teacher will be a sharer in the joy of success, will stir new resolution, and change some part of a naturally irksome task to attractiveness. There is great need that we keep in view the painfulness of the experience involved in conflict with powerful tendencies in the nature. To appreciate the difficulty of the task any child has on hand carries one a great way toward proving a real helper. But the painfulness of the work must in nowise give exemption from it. Such painfulness is part of the necessary experience of true development. To favor a child escaping from the determination and suffering connected with self-denial is no kindness but the worst form of cruelty. There is but one way for mankind securing a clear escape from this painfulness, that is, to face the effort which occasions the pain, until by facility of effort

the pain itself gradually diminishes, until the pleasure of pure and lofty motive is felt greatly to outweigh the uneasiness. Neither parent nor teacher can wisely screen children from the bitter ordeal which self-denial entails. 'A spoilt child' has been spoiled by encouragement in self-indulgence, which at each turn has been allowed under the name of 'kindness,' and which has prevented reflection where it might have arisen, and a struggle for self-mastery which might have been attempted. It is a weak and altogether pernicious type of sympathy which inclines a teacher or guardian to save a child from the pain of conflict with his own evil tendencies. This is 'blind sympathy,' one of the worst illustrations out of a considerable variety which give force to the adage that 'love is blind.' Wisdom is the true guide of love, for there is no more glaring practical mistake than the notion that the law of love is all we need to make our life noble. The love which shelters from the pain of self-denial is soon blind even to the faults which spring from the want of restraining power. There is therefore great need to guard against love degenerating to softness. Even tender years must not be allowed to plead for self-indulgence. In kindness, the teacher must remember that the sooner the work of self-restraint begins the easier it proves. But when the work is bravely faced, let us give all the sympathetic aid in our power, always remembering that the work itself must be the child's own. Real sympathy helps the youth in his battle with evil within. And a heavy demand there ever must be for such sympathy, while selfishness must be crushed, anger must be restrained, and wrongs must be endured without retaliation. The task may be harder for some than for others, but in every case it must be carried through. A clear recognition of all that this requires is of greatest value to a teacher. Happy are the children placed under the care of teachers who see the moral requirements of their case, and take pleasure in individualizing. The victory is half won if a child has a strong helper in his instructor.

The Willful, Stubborn, and Defiant.

Beyond such general dealing comes the great perplexity of school life. How shall we deal with those who are willful, stubborn, and defiant? It is a question hard to answer. There are some who object entirely to corporal punishment. As already indicated, I am not able to agree with this view. Alternatives are hard to find, though it is most desirable to avail ourselves of all that seem to promise efficiency. Expulsion from the school I regard as an extreme measure, to be shunned up to the verge of endurance.

Unless in the case of unruly pupils at an advanced age for school life (such as are not unfrequently to be found in evening schools), expulsion from the school can hardly be looked at as an available course. It is escape from a difficulty, not mastery of it. It is a practical admission of failure, which, if possible, should never be made in face of a school. Instead of increasing the moral influence of a teacher, it detracts from it. Let kindly treatment, as occasion offers, calm and sympathetic remonstrance in private, assurances of patience, and promises of help, be all accumulated around the offender. Let every thing be done which tenderest sympathy can suggest rather than that the offender be banished from the school, and turned over as a pest upon the hands of some unsuspecting brother in the profession. There is a very graphic account of the conflict with a stubborn and wild youth which deserves perusal, given in one of the books of Dr. Eggleston,* descriptive of school life in the midst of the rude settlers in the Far West of America. Very touching is the story, naturally recalled here, which is told by Dr. Guthrie in his own pathetic style: 'A soldier, whose regiment lay in a garrison town in England, was about to be brought before his commanding officer for some offense. He was an old offender, and had been often punished. "Here he is again," said the officer, on his name being mentioned; "every thing—flogging, disgrace, imprisonment—has been tried with him." Whereupon the sergeant stepped forward, and apologizing for the liberty he took, said, "There is one thing that has never been done with him, sir." "What is that?" was the answer. "Well, sir," said the sergeant, "he has never been forgiven." "Forgiven!" exclaimed the colonel, surprised at the suggestion. He reflected for a few minutes, ordered the culprit to be brought in, and asked him what he had to say to the charge? "Nothing, sir," was his reply; "only I am sorry for what I have done." Turning a kind and pitiful look on the man, who expected nothing else than that his punishment would be increased with the repetition of his offense, the colonel addressed him, saying, "Well, we have resolved to forgive you!" The soldier was struck dumb with astonishment; the tears started in his eyes, and he wept like a child. He was humbled to the dust; he thanked his officer and retired—to be the old refractory, incorrigible man? No; he was another man from that day forward. He who tells the story had him for years under his eye, and a better conducted man never wore the Queen's colors.'†

* The Hoosier Schoolmaster. Routledge, London. † Speaking to the heart, p. 36.

RISKS CONNECTED WITH SCHOOL MANAGEMENT.

There are risks in some of the methods and devices of school management, against which it is an important duty to have the scholars kept on guard as far as possible. The rivalries of school life carry with them temptations to jealousy. The daily competition, the marking of places, the reckonings which are to determine the prizes, all excite the children in a way which is apt to break in upon the work of self-restraint. Eagerness for honor tempts either to seize at an advantage or to cherish enmity because such an advantage has been secured by another. The stimulus of competition has undoubtedly a high value; but this fact must not blind our eyes to the accompanying evils. The influence of numbers is great, and the rivalry of open competition quickens interest in the round of school work. To dispense with such stimulus seems hardly wise. And yet it can not be matter for surprise that many teachers have been led seriously to question whether there is a real educational gain from these rivalries. It would be difficult to decide the dispute by careful comparison of the evidence for the opposing views. One consideration seems to me conclusive. Competition is an invariable attendant on human effort. There is no sphere of life which altogether escapes its influence. In the great majority of the spheres in which life is spent the results of rivalry are met at every turn. For this school training should prepare, as for one of the certainties of human life. To bear one's self with calmness, fairness, and generosity in the midst of the rivalries of business is of the highest consequence both for personal interests and for the harmony of social life. It is, indeed, a great service which is rendered to the community if school training prepare for this. The teacher's thoughts must often revert to the subject, if the scholars are to be guarded against the requisite power. Ambition, that 'last infirmity of noble minds,' may be turned to ignoble ends, and may change strength to weakness, nobleness to meanness.

NATIONAL VICES SHOULD BE GUARDED AGAINST.*

Early school life should do much to guard against the rudeness and coarseness which turn domestic life to bitterness, and prepare the way for outbreaks of violence. A constant stream of refining

* Professor Hodgson (University of Edinburgh) in his Address as President of the Social Science Association, dwells on the want of a better public opinion on the subject. 'Every where around us we find coarseness of manner, cruelty both to animals and to our fellows, petty dishonesty, disregard of truth, wastefulness, evasion of duty, infidelity to engagements, not to speak of graver forms of wrong-doing; and WHO BELIEVES IN HIS HEART THAT SCHOOL TRAINING COULD DO ANY THING TO PREVENT THEM?'—*Proceedings for* 1873.

influence should flow through the minds of the pupils. Every thing favorable in the reading book, in history, or in the incidents of the school-room, should be utilized for this end. By all means at our command, let us seek to refine and elevate. Our aim must be to give a softened tinge to the character, like the mellow bloom on the dark rich clusters of the vine. Thus a higher life is in some measure reached by a child, and he wields a gentler influence, checking the asperities of life. In mixed schools, such as we have in Scotland, there is ample opportunity for training boys to cherish a respectful and generous demeanor toward girls—a lesson of high value in itself, and far-reaching in its effects. Encouragement in right practice is real training.

The Vice of Drunkenness.

If there be any one vice against which the teachers of our country should seek to warn the young, it is DRUNKENNESS. Our national reproach because of this one vice is a bitter one; our national loss and suffering appalling to a degree not realized by those who do not ponder the statistics of the subject. Our national weal depends largely on our casting off this loathsome evil. Intelligence and debauchery can not go long together, either in personal or in national history. Drunkenness is a vice at which school training should level its heaviest blows. There are at present fearful odds against the teacher's hand here, more particularly in the midst of the poverty stricken districts in our large cities, blighted by the baneful influence of strong drink. But if the teacher be observant as to opportunities, persistent in his plan, hearty in his utterances, and judicious in his avoidance of ridicule, he can do much in fixing unseen convictions, and may be aided, unconsciously to himself and to the poor children, by the sad experience of the misery and brutality which a drunken life occasions. A steady moral influence quietly returning, as opportunity offers, to impress upon the mind the evils of drunkenness, and the value of temperance as a root virtue, will help largely toward the training of a race strong in the self-control of a temperate life. The waste of substance which drunkenness causes,—the weakness and weariness of body,—the debasement of mind,—the desolation of homes, are such as to afford the teacher many links of association making reference easy and natural. There is enough in the thought of these things to deliver childhood from the risk of making mirth of the drunkard. There is enough to favor one who desires to awaken loathing in a young mind. But in all allusions to this subject there is need for great delicacy of feel-

ing and tact. The teacher needs to remember into how many homes in our land the horrid vampire has entered, and how many young hearts are smarting under the wounds it has inflicted.

GOOD DISPOSITIONS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

The nourishment of the good is the surest way of repressing the evil. Thus, the growth of generosity is the decay of meanness; so it is all round. The life of the virtues is the death of the vices. Where there is sensitiveness as to the feelings of others, there is shrinking from rudeness. Generosity quickens the sense of shame at the rise of a selfish feeling. The love of truth will summon courage to its aid, rather than screen itself from suffering behind the mean shelter which a falsehood might afford. In this way it is apparent that a teacher can do much to prevent the outbreaks of evil by the judicious and hearty encouragement he gives to all examples of well-doing.

1. The first and most constant form of help is that afforded by the spirit in which school discipline is maintained. If that illustrates throughout the play of good disposition, the children are unconsciously won to admiration and imitation of the same. It is not despotic government which is favorable to the growth of virtue, but the government of reason and sympathy—in other words, a government founded on moral excellence. If the children have any occasion to complain of injustice, some injury is done to their moral training. Let the atmosphere of justice and kindliness pervade the school-room, and the scholars will grow up in robustness of moral life.

If an unintentional injustice has been done, let the error be freely, and if needful, publicly acknowledged, and let the error be rectified as far as possible. None of us profess to be perfect; it would be purest affectation to conduct a class on the assumption that we are. It does not lower the dignity of a teacher to own a fault on a fitting occasion. But the acknowledgment must be a proof of strong and moral purpose,—not a painful admission of weakness and bewilderment. It must give evidence of the power of self-command,—not of the want of it.

2. Next in importance is the power of direct encouragement. If the teacher gain the affections of his scholars, and give regular evidence of his wish to stimulate them in well-doing, his influence over them will be great. They have a desire to stand well with their teacher, and if this desire be utilized it becomes easy to contribute daily toward the formation of a good character. In order to pre-

serve this influence, however, it is needful to remember that praise as well as blame must be used sparingly. The child must know and feel that he has gained approval, but only at rare times should he hear himself praised before others. So delicate a process is that by which character is developed, that there is danger from frequent commendation, just as there is on the other side from frequent fault-finding. The dangers here are two—that of encouraging pride while encouraging well-doing, and that of tempting a child to suppose that there is something peculiarly meritorious in simply doing his duty. The former is the more conspicuous, and is certain to attract attention if it arises, and thereby suggest the need for counteractives. But the latter is one not so easily observed, and which goes much more quickly in the direction of undermining the character. The child must be made to recognize that if he has done well, he has only done what is naturally required of him, and what he must be required to do a hundred times a day with as much ease and fixedness of purpose as appear in his use of speech. In view of the danger thus indicated, it is desirable that a child more commonly *feel* that he has gained approval rather than *hear* the expression of it. It is with encouragement, as with so much beside,—it is most easily conveyed through the eye, and by this vehicle of communication there is least risk of error or injurious effects. A look is, indeed, fleeting, and can not be long sustained; but there is an advantage in this for the purpose here contemplated. On the other hand, however fleeting, a look of encouragement is long remembered by a child.

3. The opening RELIGIOUS EXERCISES of each day, if properly conducted, must greatly aid the work of training. The rate payers of the country have declared unmistakably for religious teaching as the true support of moral training. Teachers who include moral training in their ideal of professional duty will be thankful for the decision. The 'Conscience Clause' frees a teacher from irksome apprehensions as to interference with the religious convictions of those who have intrusted him with the delicate task of training their children. The teacher is assured that in these opening religious exercises he is starting the work of the day as the great bulk of the people wish him to do, while complete protection has been provided for exceptional cases. As a moral trainer, the teacher is immensely aided by opportunity for touching the deeper feelings of human nature. To lift the whole set of duties into the light of God's eye, and to associate childhood's efforts with the wealth of divine

sympathy and help, is at once to raise life higher, and make effort easier and more gladsome. To link the moral sentiments with the religious feelings is to bring the strong forces of the human mind into play for support of arduous effort.

INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING SHOULD BE REWARDED.

The grand ends of teaching are embraced in the two words *Instruction* and *Training*. Failing in these, or in either of them, the teacher fails to attain the end he has set himself to reach. A lower aim can not be accepted without falling beneath the true professional level. No true teacher can make salary the end of effort. No matter in what profession a man may be, if pay is the one end for which he works he is self-degraded. We come very near the source of sound moral life in this matter. The discussions of ancient philosophers as to receiving payment for teaching show how much the dignity and power of the teacher were conceived to be dependent on superiority to the mercenary spirit. If these philosophers discussed the question, not only with eagerness, but even with undue keenness of feeling, this shows how important it seemed in their eyes. We can discuss the question now free from the feeling occasioned by the conduct of professed Sophists. We clearly see how honorable it is that a man should live by his profession; but we as clearly perceive that it is unworthy of a man to hold his profession exclusively for the living it affords. It is, however, well for us, and for all interests concerned, that pay is needed by all workers in the several spheres of human activity. This granted, it is clear the teacher's salary should be such as to give him a good position in society. If the general standard of income for teachers be low in any country, it indicates either want of spirit among the people, or want of reflection as to the real value of education. Our country is not without blame in this respect, but fortunately a remedy has been provided. The School Boards of the country have shown their sense of the value of liberal remuneration for efficient service. High efficiency and high pay must go together. This is a lesson which by force of circumstances the School Boards are likely to press on each other's attention. On the other hand it is of unspeakable importance that the teacher keep his own mind fixed on some end vastly higher than payment.* There is a wide difference between making a livelihood by one's profession, and discharging professional duties for the sake of the livelihood. Toil and remu-

* This whole subject is admirably treated by Mr. Mann in his Lecture on *The Teacher's Motives*, in Barnard's Journal, XIV., 277–304.

neration are naturally associated; but money is a poor reward for life-long effort in any sphere.

Work has its real reward in the end it seeks. Work which can not be reckoned for in money payments has a better recompense. To make good citizens, as Plato was wont to argue, is better than to seek pleasure; or better still, as Christianity teaches the lesson, to aid others in attaining moral goodness in all its forms is a task worthy of the highest endowments. Here it is the teacher can render the greatest service. No nation can keep in the front rank except by education. For stability and influence the nation must look to parents and teachers, who are molding the character of the rising generation. During the Franco-German war, the oft-repeated remark was that the schoolmaster had gained the German victories. The fact was clearly established. Germany had the best intelligence of the country in the ranks. Under our military system nothing akin to this can happen; but the roots of national influence go immensely deeper than the army, and stretch immensely wider. It is the morality underlying the intelligence which is the secret spring of vital energy in a people. The war test we do not wish to see applied; but if British teachers can quietly and steadily turn the forces of vice and crime, we shall have reason to rejoice more than the Germans did over the return of their victorious troops. Our worst foes are within our own borders. Our best friends are those within our own lines, who promote intelligence, self-control, and devotion to a noble life. Amongst these our teachers stand conspicuous. But it is never to be overlooked in our estimate of teaching that moral fruits are the best. If a teacher, year by year, present the great bulk of his scholars for examination, and succeed in passing over ninety per cent. of them in all departments, he may well be congratulated. But there is another aim higher still. It is to have his scholars so habituated to self-control, that they shall be prepared for wise direction of their own conduct when all the checks and helps of home and school are completely withdrawn. In such a case the after-life of the scholars will reflect honor on his labors as discovering, though at a great distance of time, the fruits of the discipline of school life. This is the highest result of educational effort. It is the full reward of anxious thought and toil. In such a case the teacher sees his own better life reproduced in those who caught from him many of their early impulses toward a life of moral elevation.

WILLIAM JOLLY—PROFESSORSHIPS OF EDUCATION.

The training of teachers in the science and art of their profession has, up till this time, been very partial. Teachers, as a class, have received no professional training. Normal Schools, certainly, have been established for this purpose, but these have been taken advantage of by only a small part of the middle class of teachers. The higher members of the profession either could not or would not avail themselves of the training provided there, and have rested satisfied with, at the best, an arts curriculum, without one hour spent in becoming scientifically acquainted with the principles of the art they have to practice; the lower parts of the profession have, from poverty or other causes, been prevented from attending these schools. Moreover, in the past, this work of training has been done only by certain churches, who have honorably taken upon themselves this important duty, which should have been done by the profession, or by the country, or by the universities. These churches can not be asked to continue this onerous, and to some extent, thankless work. Such ecclesiastic connection was natural and praiseworthy in the past, and was the proper complement of a denominational system.

Teaching is the only learned profession with no training machinery for its members, as a class, to prepare them for their peculiar work, —work that requires all the special knowledge and skill that a man can obtain. Other professions have their special classes for professional accomplishment, in which their students pass through a thorough noviciate preparatory to work in life. The necessity for professional training for *every* pursuit in life is becoming a feature of the age, and is extending itself even to trade, in technical education. Surely such a training ought to be provided for a profession that has as trying, difficult, and delicate work to do as any other!

Professional training for teachers should be broad enough to embrace the whole profession, should be provided at convenient centers throughout the country, and should be of sufficient social status to command the attendance of the highest parts of the service.

To the question, how and where such training should be provided, there can be but one adequate and permanent answer: *It must be done in and by our Universities.*

Our Universities have, for generations, been training schools for divinity, medicine, and law. The anomaly has existed, and still exists in the Universities, that for certain classes of the community elaborate systems of professional training have been provided, and none for the educational. Such an omission was natural for gener-

ations, when it was not known that there was such a thing as the Science of Education. But that day is surely past. Education is a science and art that requires as special training as any subject. It is surely time now that we should complete the circle of the professions in our universities by doing tardy justice to this one. Their wants in other subjects are being gradually and honorably supplied by the foundation of new chairs, representing new ideas of the age. Education still remains an open want.

A Chair of Education, fully established, should include—

1. A *Professor of Education*, who would give a full course of lectures on the science and art of teaching.

2. A *Training College*, of which the professor would be principal, and in which a staff of lecturers would give instruction in subjects that are not included in the university classes, but are necessary for the complete education of the teacher, similar to the extra-mural lecturers in medicine.

3. A *Practicing School*, with the very best appointments in class-rooms, furniture, and apparatus, under a competent head master, with a full staff of assistants, in which the best practice of the art of teaching would be carried on, and in which would be afforded every opportunity for the efficient practical training of the future teacher, a school holding the same relation to education that the infirmary and its clinical lectures do to medicine.

4. An *Educational Library and Museum*, with a full collection of all works on education, and of all educational apparatus and appliances, similar to the educational department in Kensington Museum, —a complement to the other professional museums alreadv in the universities.

The subject is too extensive to be entered into in detail in this place, but the above may be sufficient to indicate what should be done to supply a claimant want in our universities and in one of our most important professions. In determining on the best means of using the large funds that may be at the disposal of the Commission, few should more commend themselves than the establishment of such a chair in some one of our universities, with its complementary educational machinery. These endowments are left mainly for educational purposes; and here is an opportunity of supplying a great educational want, and of raising the educational status and efficiency of the country,—such an opportunity as seldom offers itself to a Commission appointed to consider the best means of disposing of certain sums for certain important purposes.—*Letter to the Scotch Commissioners of Education.*

ISAAC TODHUNTER.—CONFLICT OF STUDIES

AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL ESSAYS.*

PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER STUDIES.

If we cast our eyes back for a period of fifty years we shall arrive at an epoch when the higher education of England remained still, as it had been for many generations, solely and exclusively classical. An illustrious man trained at this time stated in later life, with well-feigned regret, that he belonged to the pre-scientific period. Suddenly a strong current arose in favor of *useful knowledge;* the machinery of lectures, mechanics' institutions, and cheap literature was employed for the diffusion of this useful knowledge among the humbler classes. Whatever might have been the result of these agencies within the sphere of their immediate operation, it cannot be said that any decisive influence was produced on the schools and colleges which supply the most elaborate education.

At a later period, when the machinery set in action for the benefit of the humbler classes had decayed in power, when mechanics' institutions had fallen into debt and difficulty, when lectures had given place to musical and other entertainments, when popular literature had ceased to affect to teach and aspired only to please, the exclusively classical education of the upper classes in England first encountered serious criticism. Perhaps not more than ten or twelve years have elapsed since these time-honored studies began to experience any vigorous rivalry; though for a considerably longer period the elements of mathematics had gained a partial and temporary toleration.

ARTIFICIAL VALUE ATTACHED TO CERTAIN STUDIES.

In balancing the claims of various modes of education and systems of studies, we must remember that our decision must depend very much on the precise benefit which we hope to secure. We may propose to educate an individual mainly for his own benefit, or for that of others, as for instance, the state. If we take the benefit of the state as the principal end, we shall probably be led to the conclusion that the indications of any special excellence should be carefully watched and encouraged, even at the expense of the general development of the powers. If a youth shows any of the tastes and habits which have been in past time the presages of military distinction, we may hold that the law of the safety of the country justifies the cultivation of this promise even to the neglect of

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higher intellectual qualities, or to the peril of moral excellence itself. This may be an extreme case; but let us take a more moderate example. Suppose a youth to exhibit a fondness for imaginative exercises and literature, which may be the dawn of poetical genius. Moreover let us suppose that, in spite of the authority of an ancient sage, we find a function and a value for poets in our commonwealth; then we may conclude that we ought to stimulate the imagination: though perhaps it might be for the true happiness of the individual if the memory and the reason were trained rather than a faculty which is already unduly developed.

UNDUE INFLUENCE OF SPECIAL PRIZES AND EXAMINATION.

Although we have no such despotic power as to compel an individual to cultivate just that faculty which seems strongest, yet by our system of competitive examinations and prizes we tend to the same result. We take a boy at school who seems to exhibit an aptitude, say for mathematics, and foster that taste in every way we can. The boy comes to the University; he is already saturated with mathematics, and so must have almost exhausted the special benefit which that study is held to confer; at the same time, in other departments of knowledge, such as languages, history, natural science, he may be very deficient. Nevertheless he is kept for three or more years still at the old pursuits, exercising only those energies which have been abundantly developed, and leaving others dormant which have been too long neglected. If our object is to train mathematical teachers and professors this may be defended, though perhaps with only partial success; but if, as we commonly maintain, our object is to cultivate the mind so as to render it well fitted for future exertion in any direction which has to be followed, our arrangements are open to serious doubts.

The excessive cultivation for examination purposes of one department of knowledge to the exclusion of others seems to me one of the great evils of our modern system of bribing students by great prizes and rewards to go through our competitive struggles. We are in danger of giving up all pretence of a general course of training for youth, and of allowing and even encouraging boys to select some special subject which they fancy they prefer, or rather perhaps which they least dislike. I should desire quite a contrary system; a scheme of study and examination should be drawn up after due deliberation, and all candidates be required to pass through this before the avenues to special distinction were opened. In theory, perhaps this is still attempted; but in practice we seem to deviate from such a course more and more every year at Cambridge. For instance, students of classics are no longer compelled, as they formerly were, to pass a mathematical examination for their degree; and for the most part undergraduates in the colleges are excused from attendance at lectures on the subjects which they do not profess to cultivate. Even where an attempt is made to prescribe some general course the standard in each department is fixed so low as not to ensure more than the simplest rudiments of knowledge.

EXAMINATION VALUE OF SUBJECTS VALUED.

As we must employ some mode of testing the diligence of teachers and the attention of pupils, it seems inevitable that there must be processes of the nature of examinations; hence it is important to pay some attention to the adaptability of subjects to the exigencies of examinations. It seems to me that the older subjects, classics and mathematics, are strongly to be recommended on the

ground of the accuracy with which we can compare the relative performance of the students. In fact the definiteness of these subjects is obvious, and is commonly admitted. There is, however, another advantage, which I think belongs in general to these subjects, namely, that the examinations can be brought to bear upon what is really most valuable in the subjects. It is of course easy to say that the art of examination by long practice on these subjects has arrived at a degree of excellence far beyond what ought reasonably to be expected in the case of studies of quite recent popularity; but this does not seem to me to explain the matter completely. Take, for instance, mathematics, and observe how real and fresh the examination papers can be made; they in fact abound in new results which are quite commensurate in importance and interest with the theorems previously established and studied. Now, for a contrast, take the subject of history: this may be readily admitted to be important and instructive especially for the original inquirer who has to seek for evidence, to estimate its value, and to combine it in a consistent whole. But it may be seriously doubted whether the valuable parts of the subject can be developed in our usual systems of examination. From the cases, not, I admit, very numerous, which have fallen under my own notice, I have formed an unfavorable judgment on this matter; it appears to me that we find in examination papers chiefly dates and striking, obvious events, which form rather the skeleton of history than history itself; that the mere receptivity of the students is all that can be tested, to the exclusion of the faculties of comparison and of judgment; though these may be well developed by original researches in the subject. Thus, briefly, it seems to me that much of what constitutes the real value of mathematics can be tested by examinations, but in history there is little of this merit.

[Experimental and Natural Sciences are considered by this author as not satisfactory for examination purposes.]

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OF MATHEMATICS.

Leaving aside such points as are well known and obvious, I should like to draw attention to the inexhaustible variety of the problems and exercises which it furnishes; these may be graduated to precisely the amount of attainment which may be possessed, while yet retaining an interest and value. It seems to me that no other branch of study at all compares with mathematics in this. When we propose a deduction to a beginner we give him an exercise in many cases that would have been admired in the vigorous days of the Greek geometry. Although grammatical exercises are well suited to ensure the great benefits connected with the study of languages, yet these exercises seem to me stiff and artificial in comparison with the problems of mathematics. It is not absurd to maintain that Euclid and Apollonius would have regarded with interest many of the elegant deductions which are invented for the use of our students in geometry; but it seems scarcely conceivable that the great masters in any other line of study could condescend to give a moment's attention to the elementary books of the beginner. The possibility of the early employment of the constructive and imaginative faculties is an important gain for many students who become weary of the prolonged and unvaried exercise of mere receptive attention. In the pursuit of a new language we may secure advantages of a similar kind but probably of inferior value; but in the early stages of most studies

there seems nothing to correspond: it is scarcely conceivable that examination papers in history or the natural sciences can offer any tolerable equivalent in merit and importance to the problems of mathematics.

Another great and special excellence of mathematics is that it demands earnest voluntary exertion. It is simply impossible for a person to become a good mathematician by the happy accident of having been sent to a good school; this may give him a preparation and a start, but by his own continued efforts alone can he reach an eminent position. The rough processes by which prizes are awarded to the possessors of knowledge regard only the results offered for inspection, and overlook the finer gradations of merit which depend on the mode of acquisition. Suppose, for example, that rewards are bestowed for the cultivation of modern languages; a person who obtains the reward may have earned his distinction by his own persevering application, mainly or exclusively, but on the other hand he may owe it to the fortunate incident of residence in a foreign country, or of habitual intercourse with those who spoke the language as their vernacular. The resulting amount of knowledge is no just index of the labor and perseverance which have been expended in gaining it; the credit to be properly assigned for the accomplishment may indeed belong to the successful candidate, but it may, and perhaps more justly, be attributed entirely to his friends and relatives.

A similar consideration applies, though with diminished force, to the study of the classical languages; the foundation of knowledge in these subjects can be laid in years so early that the pupil exerts but slightly his own will; his success is a combination depending indeed partly on his own ability and application, but still more on the judgment or kind fortune which deposited him in a good school.

We repeatedly see youths enter the universities whose position in the final classical examination is already practically assured; but distinguished success in the mathematical competition cannot be confidently expected, whatever be the ability of the candidate, unless he is willing to subject himself to steady and continued discipline. In whatever line of study distinction is sought the advantage of good teaching is great; but probably among all the pursuits of the University mathematics preëminently demand self-denial, patience, and perseverence from youth, precisely at that period when they have liberty to act for themselves, and when, on account of obvious temptations, habits of restraint and application are peculiarly valuable.

Nor do I know any study which can compete with mathematics in general in furnishing matter for severe and continued thought. Metaphysical problems may be even more difficult; but then they are far less definite, and, as they rarely lead to any precise conclusion, we miss the power of checking our own operations, and of discovering whether we are thinking and reasoning or merely fancying and dreaming. I speak now, as on former occasions, of studies as they present themselves to minds of average power and of ordinary conditions. For persons of exceptional ability any intellectual pursuit may prove stimulating and strengthening. In other words, discoverers and original geniuses form a class apart; we may admire them, but we should not inadvertently assume that their pursuits when adopted by inferior disciples will be as vivifying as to the great masters themselves.

DISADVANTAGES OF MATHEMATICS.

In the first place, I think that the time which is devoted to these subjects viewed as a discipline is too long. While engaged in these pursuits a student is really occupied with a symbolical language, which is exquisitely adapted for the class of conceptions which it has to represent, but which is so very far removed from the language of common life that unless care be taken to guard against the evil, the mathematician is in danger of finding his command over the vernacular diminished in proportion as he becomes familiar with the dialect of abstract science. It must surely be in some degree disadvantageous to train clergymen and barristers for several years to familiarity with a refined and elaborate system of expression, for which they will have little direct use in after life, and to leave them without any cultivation of that ordinary language which is to be the main instrument of service in their future occupations. I estimate at a high value the influences of mathematical study, but I am sorry to see these benefits obtained by the sacrifice or at the peril of any of the qualifications which are necessary for success and for influence in practical life. There is especially one precaution that ought to be taken. The symbols of mathematics are so expressive that the meaning of an investigation can be discovered by a lenient examiner however slovenly or inaccurate the ordinary language may be which serves to connect the symbols. But the evil is so great which may arise from habitual carelessness in English composition, that examiners must be considered injudicious who do not rigidly maintain a good standard of excellence in this matter.

The increasing severity of our competitive examinations seems to aggravate the danger to which I refer. Formerly all students at the university were compelled by their colleges with more or less rigor to conform to a general course of study; ambitious mathematicians had to acquire at least a tincture of classical and general learning; while classical students, often sorely against their will, were compelled at Cambridge to undergo a mathematical training. Much of this system has been recently relaxed or dissolved. Many eminent scholars now regret the exemption of the classical students from nearly all their mathematical training; and it is I believe a still more serious evil if students intent mainly on mathematics are allowed to remain without a due counterpoise of other studies. I do not suppose that the candidates who attain to the highest places in the Mathematical Tripos are deficient in knowledge and interest in other subjects; but I fear that omitting these more distinguished men, the remainder frequently betray a rude ignorance in much that is essential to a liberal education.

In our university mathematical training, there is, I think, what may be called a wearisome and unprofitable monotony. I speak of course with respect to the disciplinary character of the process. For example: a person gains a certain knowledge of a new subject, like the Differential Calculus; the fresh conceptions which this involves are important and instructive. But after gaining these conceptions, months may be spent in incessant practice in deductions and problems, so as to leave no weak spot which an examiner's lance could penetrate. Of course if the object is to produce a mathematical professor this elaborate drill may be accepted, though perhaps even then not absolutely necessary. But considered as a part of general education, although the minute accuracy which it tends to produce may be admired, yet it may well be doubted if the profit is commensurate with the expense of time and labor. The process seems a

modern innovation. In the study of mathematics, formerly, as a discipline, a general knowledge of the principles was all that was required; now we insist on a minute investigation of every incidental part of the subject. Exceptions and isolated difficulties seem to receive undue attention, on account of their utility for the examiner's purpose.

The great progress which mathematical science has made in late years, while increasing largely its power, considered as an instrument for the original investigator, has not necessarily promoted its educational value for ordinary students. I remember to have heard from the late Professor Boole, an opinion which I had also formed myself, that the increase in the resources of notation tended to diminish the importance of mathematics as a discipline. If we take, for example, the modern methods of abridged notation in algebraical geometry, while we must admire the genius which has created and developed such a remarkable system of investigation, yet we must see that when it is cultivated for examination purposes there is the great danger that the symbols may be used as substitutes for thought rather than as aids to thought.

EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Experimental philosophy may be considered one of the most fashionable elements of education at the present time; though perhaps quite recently it has rather declined than advanced in public estimation. The assault which has been made in our time on the monopoly enjoyed by the older studies seems to have been a combined movement in favor of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; and I apprehend that natural history will in the end secure the largest share in the conquest, if indeed it has not already done so. In schools it was doubtless more interesting to many boys to assist at a lecture in chemistry or natural philosophy than to work steadily at classics or mathematics; but chemistry and natural philosophy will in their turn be found dull when compared with natural history, which is associated with the love of outdoor exercise and the desire to catch the lower animals, which are so characteristic of English youth. To have these cherished pursuits elevated into serious duties, and dignified with the name of studies, must have been a joyful surprise to the generation of schoolboys who first encountered the welcome novelties.

I assert then that much of what is called experimental science has no claim whatever to the title; I hope I shall not be supposed to be merely trifling with words, for I believe myself that there is an important truth involved in the remark. The function of experiment, properly so called, in the investigation of the laws and processes of nature can hardly be unduly exalted; but it may be said of the experimenter, as of the poet, that he is born and not manufactured. The lecture rooms of professors of experimental philosophy must be devoted chiefly to the mechanical repetition of familiar processes; the spectators are told what they may expect to see, and accordingly they see it with more or less clearness of conviction. The result of the whole performance may be that certain facts are impressed on the belief or on the memory, but it is difficult to secure any cultivation of the power of experimenting, or any mode of testing the existence of such a power. I am speaking with reference to teaching such subjects in large classes. It may as before be readily admitted that the force of the remarks will be much weakened in special cases. If, for instance, two or three pupils have the privilege of constant intercourse with some teacher eminent

for his original experimental power, it is very natural that a training of the highest value may thus be secured; but, setting aside such exceptional cases, it may be held generally that little of what is characteristically valuable in experimental philosophy is susceptible of transmission.

It would be absurd to recommend that any subject should be proposed in a purposely repulsive form to students, especially to youth: but, on the other hand, it seems to me a most enervating practice to shrink from demanding even irksome attention whenever it is necessary. The lesson that success in any pursuit demands serious toil must be learned eventually, and like most lessons is learned with least pain in early years. I have seen a sort of model lecture on a portion of natural science which was offered to a large public school, to which I should urge no objection if the time that it occupied were taken from *play time*, but which seemed to me a very unsatisfactory employment of an hour supposed to be devoted to study. Here I may venture to draw attention to the opinion held by the late Dr. Whewell, that natural history, chemistry, and physics should not be made part of the business of schools, but occasionally brought under the notice of the boys by lectures. These occasional lectures might be delivered by the eminent authorities of the period, and thus one serious difficulty would be obviated, namely that those who are absorbed in school-work cannot maintain themselves at the current level of these fluctuating subjects, and thus are in the danger of teaching obsolete theories and demolished statements as part of a course the essential virtue of which resides in accuracy of information.

FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY.

There appear to be three distinct functions which are recognized as pertaining to the university: one is that of examination, one that of teaching, one that of fostering original research. The first of these three has practically been as yet most regarded; and many of us hope that it will in future decline either absolutely or relatively by the increased development of the other two. As to the matter of original research, without asserting that this is adequately regarded, yet we may say that there has been much improvement in recent times. The professorships have in various cases been augmented from some convenient funds, and thus elevated above the miserable pittances of which they formerly consisted; while the permission to retain a fellowship with them, notwithstanding marriage, has indirectly been a great boon to them. Moreover, many of the colleges have now the power to confer a fellowship on any person eminent in science and learning; and thus there is at least the opportunity, in cases where the will also exists, to encourage and assist those who devote themselves to unremunerative intellectual pursuits.

But it seems to me that the most decided want in the place is an organized system of scientific instruction; and this remains although it would appear that various efforts have been made to supply the defect. For more than a quarter of a century the entire range of mixed mathematics has been represented in university public instruction by courses annually delivered on astronomical instruments, lunar theory, hydrostatics, and optics. Statutes have been drawn up with a view to secure the due distribution of the "various branches of mathematical science on which it is desirable that lectures should be given": and the duty of carrying the statutes into effect has been assigned to the Mathematical Board. The want of a suitable building and collection of instruments has been held to con-

stitute the great obstacle to university instruction. The building, however, has been erected, and some advance made towards the formation of a collection of instruments. However the phantom of a well arranged and extensive cycle of public instruction seems still to elude the grasp; instead of it we have ever augmenting examinations. If there is no existing staff to which this public instruction can be assigned one should be forthwith called into existence, with due provision for effective work and reasonable remuneration.

Even if scientific lectures were not properly appreciated there still remains another mode of instruction which ought to be adopted, and which would perhaps be still more valuable than oral teaching; I mean the publication of works on the higher branches of mathematics which should combine, correct, and illustrate what has been scattered through the transactions of societies and the articles of scientific journals. I do not allude to mere academical compendia, of which in general there is a sufficient supply, but to works treating elaborately and fully the highest subjects. The history of science offers us splendid examples of such works; the *Mécanique Céleste* itself is one of them. For modern instances I may refer to the writings of Lamé, Chasles, Serret, Helmholtz, and Clebsch: these men are eminent not only as original investigators and oral teachers, but as the authors of noble treatises. It will be highly advantageous if those who hold appointments which secure leisure for research will accept it as a duty to compose one systematic work at least of the kind now indicated; it may be safely said that the result will do more for the advancement of science than the production of matter which is merely entombed in the memoirs of learned bodies. Amateurs may in some cases attempt to execute such tasks, but it is obvious that owing to the little leisure they can secure from their necessary avocations they must fall far below the standard which the professional cultivators of science can attain.

PROTEST AGAINST EXCESSIVE COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

I wish to join my protest, feeble as it may be, with that of many other persons both within and without the university, against the exorbitant development of the system of competitive examinations. We assume in all our arrangements that men will read only what will pay in examinations, and assume it, I believe, contrary to the evidence furnished by other universities, and by our own: and by showing how firmly we grasp this sordid creed ourselves we do our best to recommend it to others. We give our highest honors and rewards for success in special examinations; and thus we practically encourage not the harmonious development of all the faculties of the mind, but the morbid growth of some and the decay of others. We tempt our students to regard degrees and fellowships as the end of life, and not as incentives to manly exertion and aids to pure, unselfish service; we cannot wonder then that not a few who start in their course so well seem to fail; to use Bacon's simile, they resemble the fabled Atalanta who lost the race because she stooped to pick up the golden apples.

Are our students so buoyant after they have obtained their degrees that we can reproach ourselves with having left their craving for work unsatisfied, their energies unemployed? The opinion of many, I believe, is quite the reverse; they hold that we destroy the elasticity of our students by the incessant toil of examinations, that we squander with lavish prodigality the fresh energy of youth and early manhood, and suffer too often retribution in the languor and unprofitableness of maturer life.

*First Steps in Teaching a Foreign Language—A Lecture.**

Prof. Quick opens his lecture before the College of Preceptors thus:

Those of us who have visited the Brighton or the Sydenham Aquarium well know the sight of the sea-anemones. The first impression one gets of them is, that they are merely enjoying themselves, or exhibiting their beauty as a peacock spreads his tail. But if we watch them till a tiny fish happens to stroll their way, we discover then that the anemones are not standing at ease or courting our admiration. No sooner is the fish within reach, than the hitherto placid anemone becomes all activity; the beautiful fibers disappear, and the little fish disappears with them. If we have the patience to await the result, we see the anemone at length open out again, and there reappears, not the fish, but just so much of it as the anemone finds indigestible. The rest has become anemone.

Now here we see in a figure the proper attitude and action of the mind of a learner. It keenly desires knowledge; it is on the look-out for it; it seizes on whatever information comes within its reach, and it works upon this information, analyzes it, appropriates all the pith of it, and rejects the useless shell.

After stating the importance of a good method in teaching a foreign language, he reviews the methods of Ascham, Ratich, Hamilton, Jacotot, and Comenius, which we have already described, and concludes with an account of Robertson's method and Prendergast's Mastery System.

Robertsonian Method—Introduction.

The Robertsonian method is known chiefly in France, as a similar method, that of Langenscheidt, is in Germany. Robertson has framed his model book in such a way as to include all the main root words in the French language. When an author sets to work to employ a certain set of words rather than to convey any particular meaning, the composition can hardly turn out a great literary success. Robertson admits that, like Mrs. Malaprop, he forces into the service many poor words that would get their *habeas corpus* from any court in Christendom. I observe that a disciple of his, Dr. Boltz, who published, two or three years ago, a Robertsonian Introduction to German, has simply taken a tale written in that language, so that he is Robertsonian only in his treatment of the 'Stoff' selected. This treatment reminds one of Ascham's plan, but in some respects it is a great advance upon it. The text is split up into lessons—the early ones consisting of only two or three short sentences. Of each lesson we have three translations—the first a literal interlinear translation, the next one in fair English, and the third a translation, phrase by phrase, in parallel columns. This last is for practice in retranslation, and the pupil is required to study it till he can readily give the foreign equivalent for each phrase. Then the words of the lesson are used for what Mr. Prendergast would call *variations*—a very valuable feature in this system. Afterwards comes a lexicographical and grammatical commentary on the words of the lesson, about which a vast sea of information is given, altogether beyond the beginner's capacities and requirements. This part, says Robertson, *may* be omitted—*must* be, I should say; but *some* facts about the really important words of the lesson would no doubt be useful.

* The First Steps in Teaching a Foreign Language, with some accounts of celebrated methods. A Lecture delivered at the College of Preceptors (London), Feb. 11, 1875. By Rev. R. H. Quick.

Prendergast Mastery System.

Philosophers have pointed out that we all of us, far more than we are aware, act and think and speak in certain established sequences. From our dressing in the morning till we wind up our watches at night, we go on in a series of habitual 'trains;' scarcely an action or an idea is isolated. Indeed, the German proverb, '*Wer A sagt, muss auch B sagen*—He who says A must also say B'—is of almost universal application. And, conversely, it is extremely hard to say B without the antecedent A. If we doubt this, the experiment is soon tried. Who can say the second line of the *Æneid* or *Paradise Lost* without running over the first line? Who can count backward, or say the alphabet backward, as readily as he can forward? And when we come to examine into our knowledge of a language we find the language in our minds, not as a collection of words, but of sequences. Those who learn a foreign language in the country where it is spoken, do not translate English words into the foreign tongue; but they appropriate whole combinations, and make use of them without any thought of their English equivalents. And when they have thus learnt a foreign language—say German, *e.g.*—if they are asked the German for some conjunction or adverb, they have a difficulty in calling up the isolated word, and they form in their minds some combination in which it occurs, and in this it presents itself immediately.

From such considerations as these, Mr. Prendergast concludes that the beginner should learn not separate words but sentences. There are in every language a number of common sequences, which form its idiom. The learner must be habituated to these sequences, and must not be allowed to translate word by word from his own language; for so long as he does this he will group the words according to the English idiom. Mr. Prendergast, therefore, would put into the beginner's hand a book giving a number of idiomatic sentences in the foreign tongue, and the corresponding sentences in good English. The foreign sentences should be so framed as to include all the main constructions in the language. The language would thus be learnt in 'miniature.'

The learning by heart of sentences constructed for the purpose is the groundwork of the system. But a sentence thus learned might remain in the pupil's mind without life, the equivalent for a particular English sentence, and nothing more. So the learning of a model sentence is quite insufficient by itself. Mr. Prendergast requires the learner to 'master,' not only the sentence, but also a number of variations of it, in which he finds all that he has learnt in the previous sentences worked up with what he has learnt in the last one. Of course the possible combinations which may be thus formed when several sentences have been learnt, are inexhaustible; and by having the changes rung for him on the phrases he already knows, the pupil is to get his ear accustomed to the sequences of the language, until by mere imitation he can ring the changes for himself. Each sentence, and each group of variations, must be 'mastered'

before the learner may go further; *i.e.*, they must be repeated again and again till the pupil can read off the foreign sentence from the English as quickly and with as little effort as if the words themselves were before him. This is an essential feature of the system, and Mr. Prendergast dreads nothing so much as a multiplicity of vague impressions. He therefore calls his plan the 'Mastery System.'

Supposing six hours a week, at the least, secured for the language, how should we set about teaching it? Here we find ourselves pulled in different directions by three classes of methodizers. The first would begin with the grammar. The second would have some small portion of the language thoroughly 'mastered.' The third would run the beginner straight through a book in the foreign tongue. For various reasons, which I can not now give at length, I am decidedly opposed to what I may call the rapid-impressionist school. I agree entirely with Mr. Prendergast, that, as a rule, we make far too great demands on the memory of beginners. At this point in preparing my lecture, I took down from my shelf Mr. Prendergast's very valuable work, 'The Mastery of Languages' (a work which should be read, as I think, by all teachers), and opening it at random, I at once lighted on the following sentence: 'Let it be clearly understood that the most fatal of all errors is the overloading of the memory.' (p. 25.) I hold that this sentence pronounces the condemnation of at least nineteen out of every twenty books written for beginners in a foreign language. Let us hear the opinion of a man whom we have most of us read, and whose authority we all respect, Professor D'Arcy Thompson. 'My own experience,' he says, 'in the tuition of elementary pupils, has taught me that, for a considerable time, a teacher should be content with a very small vocabulary, but that he should task to the utmost his own patience and ingenuity in presenting that limited stock of vocables to the minds of his charges, under, if possible, all the conceivable forms and phases of a kaleidoscopic diversity.

Hear, too, M. Marcel, who, oddly enough, is a rapid-impressionist,—'The introduction of new words is not so favorable to progress as the reiterated use of those already known. What is required for the exchange of thought is not so much the names of things as the power of affirming, denying, and questioning about them. The vocabulary of young children is very limited, and yet how readily and fluently they speak! . . . Half the knowledge with twice the power of applying it, is better than twice the knowledge with half the power of application.'

The Mastery Method.

Let us think first of Mastery. By Mastery Mr. Prendergast understands repeating a foreign sentence till one can at last give it with as much ease as its English equivalent; *e.g.*, most English school-boys have *mastered* in this sense a certain portion of the French language—viz., *Comment vous portez-vous?* But they have not mastered that expression in the same way in which a French school-boy has mastered it. To the

English boy it is one prolonged sound, to which a particular meaning is attached quite arbitrarily. To the French boy it is the natural expression of thought. The words live to the French boy ; but to the English boy they are mere jargon. And, unfortunately, mere jargon is frightfully hard to remember. But on Prendergast's plan the pupil must not advance till he has 'mastered' the first lesson. This requirement hardly seems to me wise, for two reasons—first, because, as I have pointed out, real mastery is at this stage impossible; secondly, because beginners—young beginners especially—are anxious to get on ; and if they make no visible progress, their mental activity is checked. This last is, to my mind, a fatal objection to the methods which require every thing to be retained from the very beginning. The Christian is to avoid the appearance of evil, and the teacher should avoid even the appearance of stagnation. As a rule, I believe we do not think half enough of what our pupils think. We sometimes seem to regard them as the Strassburg people regard their geese. I am told that they deprive these geese of all liberty, and stuff food down their throats till they consider them fit for examination. The crammer who has the credit of passing a great number of geese, and the owner of the goose who gets the pie, think this a most satisfactory system ; but we have never heard the opinion of the goose. Perhaps the opinion of the goose may be neglected, but the opinion of the boy most assuredly may not. After all, when you think of it, he is himself concerned to some extent in the result of your teaching; and he is perfectly well aware of this, so you can not calculate on driving him, as a stoker drives his engine. It is not enough that he ought to learn on your system ; he must feel that that he is learning.

One hears a great deal about the dullness of grammar. If by 'grammar' one means the complete account of the language—which of right belongs to the end rather than the beginning of the learner's career—of course it must be dull to those for whom it is both useless and unintelligible. But if we mean the common inflections, I deny altogether that learning these is disagreeable work. Of course it can be *made* dull. The Greek verbs, as they are commonly taught, are absolute torture, the contracts especially; but this is because we demand more from the memory than we can possibly get. Every thing as it is learnt should be used *viva voce* till it is known thoroughly.

Power of Audition.

In order to pronounce well, the pupil must often hear the sounds he is to imitate. For this and other reasons, I would urge teachers from the very first to cultivate in their pupils what M. Marcel calls the power of audition. By audition he means understanding the foreign language when spoken. At present so little attention is paid to this, that people who have learnt to read and write a language, and even to use it a little in speech, very often can not understand the simplest *viva voce* sentence. But audition may be cultivated very easily. One can soon ask intelligi-

ble questions in the foreign language, especially about numbers, the multiplication table, &c., or about something that has been just learnt, and require brisk answers in English.

Book-work.

Now arises the question, Should the book be made with the object of teaching the language, or should it be selected from those written for other purposes? I see much to be said on either side. The three great facts we have to turn to account in teaching a language, are these :—first, a few words recur so constantly that a knowledge of them and grasp of them gives us a power in the language quite out of proportion to their number; second, large classes of words admit of many variations of meaning by inflection, which variations we can understand from analogy; third, compound words are formed *ad infinitum* on simple laws, so that the root word supplies the key to a whole family. Now, if the book is written by the language-teacher, he has the whole language before him, and he can make the most of all these advantages. He can use only the important words of the language; he can repeat them in various connections; he can bring the main facts of inflection and construction before the learner in a regular order, which is a great assistance to the memory; he can give the simple words before introducing words compounded of them; and he can provide that, when a word occurs for the first time, the learners shall connect it with its root meaning. A short book securing all these advantages would, no doubt, be a very useful implement, but I have never seen such a book. Almost all delectuses, &c., bury the learner under a pile of new words, from which he will not for a long time be able to extricate himself. So, as far as I know, the book has yet to be written. And even if it were written, with the greatest success from a linguistic point of view, it would of course make no pretension to a meaning. Having myself gone through a course of Ahn and of Ollendorf, I remember, as a sort of nightmare, innumerable questions and answers, such as 'Have you my thread stockings? No, I have your worsted stockings.' Still more repulsive are the long sentences of Mr. Prendergast:—'How much must I give to the cabdriver to take my father to the Bank in New street before his second breakfast, and to bring him home again before half-past two o'clock?' I can not forget Voltaire's *mot*, which has a good deal of truth in it,—'Every way is good but the tiresome way.' And most of the books written for beginners are inexpressibly tiresome. No doubt it will be said, 'Unless you adopt the rapid-impressionist plan, any book *must* be tiresome. What is a meaning at first becomes no meaning by frequent repetition.' This, however, is not altogether true. I myself have taught Niebuhr's *Heroengeschichten* for years, and I know some chapters by heart; but the old tales of Jason and Hercules as they are told in Niebuhr's simple language do not bore me in the least.

These, then, would be my books for a beginner, say in German:—First, the principal inflections, followed by the main facts about gender,

&c. This we will call the Primer. Second, a book like the *Heroengeschichten*. This I would have prepared very much after the Robertsonian manner. It should be printed, as should also the Primer, in good-sized Roman type ; though, in an appendix, some of it should be reprinted in German type. The book should be divided into short lessons. A translation of each lesson should be given in parallel columns. Then should come a vocabulary, in which all useful information should be given about the really important words, the unimportant words being neglected. Finally should come variations and exercises in the lesson, and in these the important words of that and previous lessons should be used exclusively. The exercises should be such as the pupils could do in writing out of school, and *viva voce* in school. They should be very easy—real exercises in what is already known, not a series of linguistic puzzles. The ear, the voice, the hand should all be practiced on each lesson. When the construing is known, transcription of the German is not by any means to be despised. A good variety of transcription is, for the teacher to write the German clause by clause on the blackboard, and rub out each clause before the pupils begin to write it. Then a known piece may be prepared for dictation. In reading this as dictation, the master may introduce small variations, to teach his pupils to keep their ears open. He may, as another exercise, read the German aloud, and stop here and there for the boys to give the English of the last sentence read ; or he may read to them either the exact German in the book or small variations on it, and make the pupils translate *viva voce*, clause by clause. He may then ask questions on the piece in German and require answers in English.

As soon as they get any feeling of the language, the pupils should commit some easy poetry in it. I should recommend their learning the English of the piece first, and then getting the German *viva voce* from the teacher. To quicken the German in their minds, I think it is well to give them in addition a German prose version, using almost the same words. Variations of the more important sentences should be learnt at the same time.

In all these suggestions you will see what I am aiming at. I wish the learner to get a feeling of, and a power over, the main words of the language and the machinery in which they are employed. To use a mathematical illustration, I look upon the study of a language as the study of forces, like mechanics ; and I wish to have the forces, not at rest, but in every kind of action ; so that the problems will be not statical but dynamical.

How to Use a Construing Book.

And lastly, I wish to point out how I would have the teacher use his construing book. He should carefully go over it, and mark in his own copy a selection of words and sentences which he intends to teach from it. With beginners these marked words and sentences will be the most ordinary things in the language. With more advanced pupils the teacher will mark idioms and less common words. Whatever he has thus marked

he will question about again and again, always spending some part of every hour over the back lessons. If the boys are old enough to take things down correctly, he will dictate to them a vocabulary of the marked words, and make them learn it. He will have the marked sentences learnt by heart, and will practice the pupil in variations of them. He will dictate for translation into the foreign language sentences involving the marked words and constructions. When one of his marked words or constructions recurs, he will require his pupils to point out where they have met with it before. His pupils will thus by degrees get familiarized with a part, and that the most vital part, of the language.

Rate of Progress.

One of the most interesting and most difficult problems in teaching is this—How long should the beginner be kept to the rudiments? If the boy is pushed on, he goes floundering about in the higher parts of the subject, and perhaps never knows any thing as he ought to know it. But, on the other hand, if the teacher delays long in the elementary part, the boys get bored and discouraged. They want to 'get on,' and to have some new ideas. Then, too, in some subjects the elementary parts seem clear only to those who have a conception of the whole. As Diderot says (I quote at second-hand from Mr. Keane, in *Quarterly Journal of Education*, Oct. 1873),—'Il faut être profond dans l'art ou dans la science pour en bien posséder les éléments.' 'C'est le milieu et la fin qui éclaircissent les ténèbres du commencement.' ('Le Neveu de Rameau.') This is so strongly felt in Cambridge that I believe the practice now is to 'rush' men through their subjects and go back to them for elaboration. This plan would have found little favor twenty years ago. 'Slow and sure' was then supposed to be the true motto.

Dictation.

Dictation should be done in copy-books, not on loose sheets of paper. If only selected words are written, and these are put down in columns, there will not be much difficulty in correction. I like the plan of giving out chalk pencils when the writing of the dictation is over, and letting each pupil open his book and underline in his copy-book every word he has misspelt. The leaves of the copy-book may be creased down the middle, and the right hand column left for the re-writing of words spelt wrong in the column to the left. From time to time the pupils may be questioned about the words in the right hand column.

For exercises, there are many devices by which the pupil may be trained to observation, and also be confirmed in his knowledge of back lessons. The great teacher, F. A. Wolf, used to make his own children ascertain how many times such and such a word occurred in such and such pages. As M. Bréal says, children are collectors by nature; and, acting on this hint, we might say, 'Write in column all the dative cases on pages *a* to *c*, and give the English and the corresponding nominatives.' Or, 'Copy from those pages all the accusative-prepositions with the

accusatives after them.' Or, 'Write out the past participles, with their infinitives.' Or, 'Translate such and such sentences, and explain them with reference to the context.' Or, questions may be asked on the subject-matter of the book. There is no end to the possible varieties of such exercises.

Preparation by Himself.

M. Michel Bréal, in his 'Quelques Mots sur l'Instruction Publique,' remarks that all *learning* is often supposed to be done in the absence of the *teacher*, whose function becomes that of an examiner appointed to ascertain whether the lesson has been properly learnt. It would be more reasonable to consider the 'prepared' construing lesson, as Professor Pillans would have us consider uncorrected exercises, mere raw material, which is to be worked up into knowledge. But then comes the difficulty. The boys will prepare their work very ill, or not at all, if they think they may not be put on, or may not be punished even in case of failure. So a great amount of the form-master's thought and energy is expended in testing the boys' preparation and awarding marks for it or punishment for the want of it. Some men spend years in struggling to get due preparation from the boys, and are at length obliged to acquiesce in failure. Perhaps all the time the master has been demanding impossibilities. The boys, he thinks, should have made out before they come to him the meaning of the piece set, and should be able to construe it with tolerable fluency. But if the boys had done their best during the whole of the time set apart for preparation, they would perhaps have only made out a small part, and would not have prepared any thing like a *translation* even of that. In point of fact, many of the boys do 'prepare' the work after their fashion. They go through it, and turn out in the dictionary any odd-looking words. This is their notion of preparation, and whether the piece is long or short makes little or no difference; so the master finds that he can increase or decrease the quantity of preparation, but can not affect its quality. Mr. Oppler has told us that his plan is to let the boys make out the piece with him, and I have no doubt this is the best way, with young boys at all events. If the construing is easy, the master may question it out of the boys, hardly telling them any thing. Unknown words he may give on the blackboard, but it will be found that many words will be recollected which the boys, if left to themselves, would turn out in the dictionary; for boys left to themselves do not use their heads so readily as their fingers. When a piece of the foreign language has been worked through in this way, it may be 'prepared' for fluent construing, and the boys may also be required to know the substance of it, which is quite distinct from knowing the construing. On the subject of work done in the absence of the master, see Bréal, 'Quelques Mots," &c., pp. 188, ff. The conclusion he arrives at is this: 'La force mortrice est hors de la classe, laquelle marche à la remorque de l'étude' (p. 188); and yet 'c'est la confection, et non la correction, du devoir qu'il importe au professeur de diriger.' (p. 194.)

Prof. Quick, in his *Educational Reformers*,* devotes a chapter to Jacotot and his paradoxical maxims, in which there are so many valuable incidental suggestions, that we incorporate a large portion not only for its expositions of Jacotot's views, but of Prof. Quick's.

At the root of Jacotot's paradox (*every one can teach; and, moreover, can teach that which he does not know himself*,) lay a truth of very great importance. The highest and best teaching is not that which makes the pupils passing recipients of other peoples' ideas (not to speak of the teaching which conveys mere words without any ideas at all), but that which guides and encourages the pupils in working for themselves and thinking for themselves. The master, as Mr. Payne well says, can no more think, or practice, or see for his pupil, than he can digest for him, or walk for him. The pupil must owe everything to his own exertions, which it is the function of the master to encourage and direct. Perhaps this may seem very obvious truth, but obvious or not it has been very generally neglected. The Jesuits, who were the best masters of the old school, did little beyond communicating facts, and insisting on their pupils committing these facts to memory. Their system of lecturing has indeed now passed away, and boys are left to acquire facts from school-books instead of from the master. But this change is merely accidental. The essence of the teaching still remains. Even where the master does not confine himself to hearing what the scholars have learnt by heart, he seldom does more than offer explanations. He measures the teaching rather by the amount which has been put before the scholars—by what he has done for them and shown them—than by what they have learned. But this is not teaching of the highest type. The votary of Dullness in the 'Dunciad' thus characterize this excessive explanation on the part of the teacher.

> For thee explain a thing till all men doubt it,
> And write about it, Goddess, and about it.

And in the same spirit Mr. Wilson stigmatizes as synonymous 'the most stupid and most *didactic* teaching.'

All the eminent authorities on education have a very different theory of the teacher's function. 'Education,' says Pestalozzi, 'instead of merely considering what is to be imparted to children, ought to consider first what *they already possess*, not merely their developed faculties, but also their innate faculties capable of development.' The master's attention, then, is not to be fixed on his own mind and his own store of knowledge, but on his pupil's mind and on its gradual expansion. He must,

* *Essays on Educational Reformers.* By Robert Herbert Quick, M. A. (Trinity College, Cambridge,) late Second Master in the Surry County School, and Teacher of the German Language and Literature in Harrow School. London: Longman, 1868, p. 368. An American edition was issued by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, in 1873.

Contents.—I. Schools of the Jesuits. II. Ascham, Montaigne, Ratich, Milton. III. Comenius. IV. Locke. V. Rousseau's Emile. VI. Basedow. VII. Pestalozzi. VIII. Jacotot. IX. Herbert Spencer. X. Teaching Young Children. XI. Religious Education. *Appendix.*

in fact, be not so much a *teacher* as a *trainer.* Here we have the view which Jacotot intended to enforce by his paradox; for we may possibly train faculties which we do not ourselves possess. Sayer's trainer brought up his man to face Heenan, but he could not have done so himself. The sportsman trains his pointer and his hunter to perform feats which are altogether out of the range of his own capacities. Now, 'training is the cultivation bestowed on any set of faculties with the object of developing them' (Wilson), and to train any faculty, you must set it to work. Hence it follows, that as boys' minds are not simply their memories, the master must aim at something more than causing his pupils to remember facts. Jacotot has done good service to education by giving prominence to this truth, and by showing in his method how other faculties may be cultivated besides the memory.

'*Tout est dans tout*' ('All is in all),' is another of Jacotot's paradoxes. I do not propose discussing it as the philosophical thesis which takes other forms, as 'Every man is a microcosm,' &c., but merely to inquire into its meaning as applied to didactics.

If you ask an ordinary Frenchman who Jacotot was, he would probably answer, Jacotot was a man who thought you could learn everything by getting up Fenelon's 'Télémaque' by heart. By carrying your investigation further, you would find that this account of him required modification, that the learning by heart was only part, and a very small part, of what Jacotot demanded from his pupils, but you would also find that entire mastery of 'Télémaque' was his first requisite, and that he managed to connect everything he taught with that 'model-book.' Of course, if 'tout est dans tout,' everything is in 'Télémaque;' and, said an objector, also in the first book of 'Télémaque,' and in the *first word.* Jacotot went through a variety of subtilties to show that all 'Télémaque' is contained in the word *Calypso*, and perhaps he would have been equally successful, if he had been required to take only the first letter instead of the first word. The reader is amused rather than convinced by these discussions, but he finds them not without fruit. They bring to his mind very forcibly a truth to which he has hitherto probably not paid sufficient attention. He sees that all knowledge is connected together, or (what will do equally well for our present purpose) that there are a thousand links by which we may bring into connection the different subjects of knowledge. If by means of these links we can attach in our minds the knowledge we acquire to the knowledge we already possess, we shall learn faster and more intelligently, and at the same time we shall have a much better chance of retaining our new acquisitions. The memory, as we all know, is assisted even by artificial association of ideas, much more by natural. Hence the value of 'tout est dans tout,' or, to adopt a modification suggested by Mr. Payne, of the connection of knowledges. Suppose we know only one subject, but know that thoroughly, our knowledge, if I may express myself algebraically, can not

be represented by ignorance plus the knowledge of that subject. We have acquired a great deal more than that. When other subjects come before us, they may prove to be so connected with what we had before, that we may almost seem to know them already. In other words, when we know a little thoroughly, though our actual possession is small, we have potentially a great deal more. (*See* Appendix, p. 313.)

Jacotot's practical application of his 'tout est dans tout' was as follows: '*Il faut apprendre quelque chose, et y rapporter tout le reste.*' ('The pupil must learn something thoroughly, and refer everything to that.') For language he must take a model-book, and become thoroughly master of it. His knowledge must not be a verbal knowledge only, but he must enter into the sense and spirit of the writer. Here we find that Jacotot's practical advice coincides with that of many other great authorities, who do not base it on the same principle. The Jesuits' maxim was, that their pupils should always learn something thoroughly, however little it might be. Pestalozzi, as I have mentioned, insisted on the children going over the elements again and again till they were completely master of them. 'Not only,' says he, 'have the first elements of knowledge in every subject, the most important bearing on its complete outline; but the child's confidence and interest are gained by *perfect attainment* even in the lowest stage of instruction.' Ascham, Ratich, and Comenius all required a model-book to be read and re-read till words and thoughts were firmly fixed in the pupil's memory. Jacotot probably never read Ascham's 'Schoolmaster.' If he had done so, he might have appropriated some of Ascham's words as exactly conveying his own thoughts. Ascham, as we saw, recommended that a short book should be thoroughly mastered, each lesson being worked over in different ways a dozen times at the least. 'Thus is learned easily, sensibly, by little and little, not only all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words and sentences, comeliness of figures, and forms fit for every matter and proper for every tongue; but that which is greater also—in marking daily and following diligently thus the best authors, like invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution, is easily gathered up; whereby your scholar shall be brought not only to like eloquence, but also to all true understanding and right judgment, both for writing and speaking.' The voice seems Jacotot's voice, though the hand is the hand of Ascham.

But if Jacotot agrees so far with earlier authorities, there is one point in which he seems to differ from them. He makes great demands on the memory, and requires six books of 'Télémaque' to be learned by heart. On the other hand, Montaigne said, 'Savoir par cœur est ne pas savoir;' which is echoed by Rousseau, H. Spencer, &c. Ratich required that nothing should be learnt by heart. Protests against 'loading the memory,' 'saying without book,' &c., are everywhere to be met with, and no-

where more vigorously expressed than in Ascham. He says of the grammar-school boys of his time, that 'their whole knowledge, by learning without the book, was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head, and therefore was soon spit out of the mouth again. They learnt without book everything, they understood within the book little or nothing.' But these protests were really directed at verbal knowledge, when it is made to take the place of knowledge of the thing signified. We are always too ready to suppose that words are connected with ideas, though both old and young are constantly exposing themselves to the sarcasm of Mephistopheles :

> . . . . eben wo Begriffe fehlen,
> Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein.*

Against this danger Jacotot took special precautions. The pupil was to undergo an examination in everything connected with the lesson learnt, and the master's share in the work was to convince himself, from the answers he received, that the pupil thoroughly grasped the meaning, as well as remembered the words, of the author. Still the six books of 'Télémaque,' which Jacotot gave to be learnt by heart, was a very large dose, and Mr. Payne is of opinion that he would have been more faithful to his own principles if he had given the first book only.

There are three ways in which the model-book may be studied. 1st. It may be read through rapidly again and again, which was Ratich's plan and Hamilton's ; or, 2nd, each lesson may be thoroughly mastered, read in various ways a dozen times at the least, which was Ascham's plan ; or, 3rd, the pupil may begin always at the beginning, and advance a little further each time, which was Jacotot's plan. This last could not, of course, be carried very far. The repetitions, when the pupil had got on some way in the book, could not always be from the beginning ; still every part was to be repeated so frequently that *nothing could be forgotten.* Jacotot did not wish his pupils to learn simply in order to forget, but to learn in order to remember for ever. 'We are learned,' said he, 'not so far as we have learned, but only so far as we remember.' He seems, indeed, almost to ignore the fact that the act of learning serves other purposes than that of making learned, and to assert that to forget is the same as never to have learned, which is a palpable error. We necessarily forget much that passes through our minds, and yet its effect remains. All grown people have arrived at some opinions, convictions, knowledge, but they can not call to mind every spot they trod on in the road thither. When we have read a great history, say, or traveled through a fresh country, we have gained more than the number of facts we happen to remember. The mind seems to have formed an acquaintance with that

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* . . . just where meaning fails, a word
Comes patly in to serve your turn.
Theodore Martin's Trans.

history or that country, which is something different from the mere acquisition of facts. Moreover, our interests, as well as our ideas, may long survive the memory of the facts which originally started them. We are told that one of the old judges, when a barrister objected to some dictum of his, put him down by the assertion, 'Sir, I have forgotten more law than ever you read.' If he wished to make the amount forgotten a measure of the amount remembered, this was certainly fallacious, as the ratio between the two is not a constant quantity. But he may have meant that this extensive reading had left its result, and that he could see things from more points of view than the less traveled legal vision of his opponent. That *power* acquired by learning may also last longer than the knowledge of the thing learned is sufficiently obvious.

The advantages derived from having learnt a thing are, then, not entirely lost when the thing itself is forgotten. This leads me to speak, though at the risk of a digression, on the present state of opinion on this matter. In setting about the study of any subject, we may desire, (1) the knowledge of that subject; or (2) the mental vigor derivable from learning it; or (3) we may hope to combine these advantages. Now, in spite of the aphorism which connects knowledge and power together, we find that these have become the badges of opposite parties. One party would make knowledge the end of education. Mr. Spencer assumes as a law of nature that the study which conveys useful knowledge must also give mental vigor, so he considers that the object of education should be to impart useful knowledge, and teach us in what way to treat the body, to treat the mind, to manage our affairs, to bring up a family, to behave as a citizen, &c., &c.. The old school, on the other hand, which I may call the English party, as it derives its strength from some of the peculiar merits and demerits of the English character, heartily despises knowledge, and would make the end of education, power only. (*Conf.* Wiese, *infra*, p. 318.)

As the most remarkable outcome of this idea of education, we have the Cambridge mathematical tripos.

The typical Cambridge man studies mathematics, not because he likes mathematics, or derives any pleasure from the perception of mathematical truth, still less with the notion of ever using his knowledge; but either because, if he is 'a good man,' he hopes for a fellowship, or because, if he can not aspire so high, he considers reading the thing to do, and finds a satisfaction in mental effort just as he does in a constitutional to the Gogmagogs. When such a student takes his degree, he is by no means a highly cultivated man; but he is not the sort of man we can despise for all that. He has in him, to use one of his own metaphors, a considerable amount of *force*, which may be applied in any direction. He has great power of concentration and sustained mental effort even on subjects which are distasteful to him. In other words, his mind is under the control of his will, and he can bring it to bear promptly and vigor-

ously on any thing put before him. He will sometimes be half through a piece of work, while an average Oxonian (as we Cambridge men conceive of him at least,) is thinking about beginning. But his training has taught him to value mental force without teaching him to care about its application. Perhaps he has been working at the gymnasium, and has at length succeeded in 'putting up' a hundredweight. In learning to do this, he has been acquiring strength for its own sake. He does not want to put up hundredweights, but simply to be able to put them up, and his reward is the consciousness of power. Now the tripos is a kind of competitive examination in putting up weights. The student who has been training for it, has acquired considerable mental vigor, and when he has put up his weight he falls back on the consciousness of strength which he seldom thinks of using. Having put up the heavier, he despises the lighter weights. He rather prides himself on his ignorance of such things as history, modern languages, and English literature. He 'can get those up in a few evenings,' whenever he wants them. He reminds me, indeed, of a tradesman who has worked hard to have a large balance at his banker's. This done, he is satisfied. He has neither taste nor desire for the things which make wealth valuable; but when he sees other people in the enjoyment of them, he hugs himself with the consciousness that he can write a check for such things whenever he pleases.

I confess that this outcome of the English theory of education does not seem to me altogether satisfactory. But we have, as yet, no means of judging what will be the outcome of the other theory which makes knowledge the end of education. Its champions confine themselves at present to advising that a variety of sciences be taught to boys, and maintain a rather perplexing silence as to how to teach them. Mr. Spencer, as we have seen, requires that a boy should be taught how to behave in every relation of manhood, and he also tells us how to teach —elementary geometry. Still these advocates of knowledge are acquiring a considerable amount of influence, and there seems reason to fear lest halting between the two theories, our education, instead of combining knowledge and power, should attain to neither.

Our old-fashioned school-teaching, confined as it was to a grammatical drill in the classical languages, did certainly give something of the power which comes from concentrated effort. The Eton Latin Grammar does not indeed seem to me a well selected model-book, but many a man has found the value of knowing even that book thoroughly. Now, however, a cry has been raised for useful information. It is shameful, we are told, that a boy leaving school should not know the names of the capitals of Europe, and should never have heard of the Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights, &c., &c. The schoolmaster is beginning to give way. He admits homœpathic doses of geographical, historical, and scientific epitomes and of modern languages: and perhaps between these stools the

unlucky schoolboy will come to the ground; his accurate knowledge of Latin grammar will be exchanged for 'some notion' of a variety of things, and in the end his condition will be best described by varying a famous sarcasm, and saying, that if he knew a little of good hard work, he would know a little of everything.

The reader will by this time begin to suspect that I am an educational Tory after all, even a reactionary Tory. This I deny, but I am probably not free from those prejudices which beset Englishmen, especially Cambridge men and schoolmasters, and I confess I look with dismay on the effort which is being made to introduce a large number of subjects into our school-course, and set up knowledge rather than power as the goal of education.*

But can not these be combined? May we not teach such subjects as shall give useful knowledge and power too? On this point the philosopher and the schoolmaster are at issue. The philosopher says, It is desirable that we should have the knowledge of such and such sciences—therefore teach them. The schoolmaster says, It may be desirable to know those sciences, but boys can not learn them. The knowledge acquired by boys will never be very valuable in itself. We must, therefore, consider it a means rather than an end. We must think first of mental discipline; for this boys must thoroughly master what they learn, and this thoroughness absolutely requires that the young mind should be applied to very few subjects; and, though we are quite ready to discuss which subjects afford the best mental training, we can not allow classics to be thrust out till some other subjects have been proved worthy to reign in their stead.

Unless I am mistaken, the true ground of complaint against the established education is, that it fails to give, not knowledge, but the desire of knowledge. A literary education which leaves no love of reading behind, can not be considered entirely successful.

As I have said elsewhere, I would admit a natural science into the curriculum in order to give the mind some training in scientific processes, and some interest in scientific truth. I would also endeavor to cultivate a fondness for English literature and the fine arts; but, whatever the subject taught, I consider that, for educational purposes, the power and the desire to acquire knowledge, are to be valued far before knowledge itself.

How does this conclusion bear upon the matter I set out with, the function of memory in education?

Classicists, scientific men, and all others, are agreed about the value

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* In this matter the testimony of Lord Stanley is very valuable. 'If teaching is, as I believe, better on the whole in the higher than in the lower classes [of society] it is chiefly on this account —not that *more* is taught at an early age, but *less*; that time is taken, that the wall is not run up in haste; that the bricks are set on carefully, and the mortar allowed time to dry. And so the structure, whether high or low, is likely to stand.' (From a speech reported in the *Evening Mail*, December 9, 1864.)

of memory, and must therefore desire that its powers should not be squandered on the learning of facts which, for want of repetition, will be soon lost, or facts which will prove of little value if retained. But in estimating facts, we must think rather of their educational value than of their bearing upon after-life. We must make the memory a storehouse of such facts as are good material for the other powers of the mind to work with, and, that the facts may serve this purpose, they must be such as the mind can thoroughly grasp and handle, and such as may be connected together. 'To instruct,' as Mr. Payne reminds us, is *instruere*, 'to put together in order, to build or construct.' We must be careful, then, not to cram the mind with isolated, or as Mr. Spencer calls them, *unorganizable* facts—such facts, e.g. as are taught to young ladies.*

A great deal of our children's memory is wasted in storing facts of this kind, which can never form part of any organism. We do not teach them geography (*earth-knowledge*, as the Germans call it), but the names of places. Our 'history' is a similar, though disconnected study. We leave our children ignorant of the land, but insist on their getting up the 'landmarks.' And, perhaps, from a latent perception of the uselessness of such work, neither teachers nor scholars ever think of these things as learnt to be remembered. Latin grammar is gone through again and again, and a boy feels that the sooner he gets it into his head, the better it will be for him; but who expects that the lists of geographical and historical names which are learnt one-half year, will be remembered the next? I have seen it asserted, that when a boy leaves school, he has already forgotten nine-tenths of what he has been taught, and I dare say that estimate is quite within the mark.

By adopting the principles of Jacotot, we shall avoid a great deal of this waste. We shall give some thorough knowledge, with which fresh knowledge may be connected.

Perfect familiarity with a subject is something beyond the mere understanding it, and being able, with difficulty, to reproduce what we have learned. A Cambridge man, getting up book-work for the tripos, does not indeed attempt to learn it by heart, without understanding it; but when his mind has thoroughly mastered the steps of the reasoning, he

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* I do not pretend myself to have fathomed the mystery of what *is* taught to young ladies, but I follow the best authorities on the subject. '"I can not remember the time," said Maria Bertram, "when I did not know a great deal that Fanny has not the least notion of *yet*. How long ago is it, aunt, since we used to repeat the chronological order of the kings of England, with the dates of their accession, and most of the principal events of their reigns?" "Yes," added Julia, "and of the Roman emperors as low as Severus, besides a great deal of the heathen mythology, and all the metals, semi-metals, planets, and distinguished philosophers." "Very true, indeed, my dears," replied their aunt, "but you are blessed with wonderful memories. . . . Remember that if you are ever so forward and clever yourselves, you should always be modest; for, much as you know already, there is a great deal more for you to learn." "Yes, I know there is," said Julia, "till I am seventeen."' (Miss Austen's *Mansfield Park*.) And, fortunately for the human race, the knowledge vanishes away as soon as that grand climacteric is passed, though perhaps we must regret that often nothing but sheer vacuity is left in its place.

goes over it again and again, till he uses, in fact, hardly any faculty but his memory in writing it out. If he has to think during the operation, he considers that piece of book-work not properly got up.* By thus going over the same thing again and again, we acquire a thorough command over our knowledge, and the feeling perfectly at home, even within narrow borders, gives a consciousness of strength. An old adage tells us that the Jack-of-all-trades is master of none; but the master of one trade will have no difficulty in extending his insight and capacity beyond it. To use an illustration, which is of course an illustration merely, I would kindle knowledge in children, like fire in a grate. A stupid servant, with a small quantity of wood, spreads it over the whole grate. It blazes away, goes out, and is simply wasted. Another, who is wiser or more experienced, kindles the whole of the wood at one spot, and the fire, thus concentrated, extends in all directions. Thus would I concentrate the beginnings of knowledge, and although I could not expect to make much show for a time, I should trust that afterwards the fire would extend almost of its own accord.

I proceed to give Jacotot's direction for carrying out the rule, 'Il faut apprendre quelque chose, et y rapporter tout le reste.'

1. Learn—i.e., learn so as to know thoroughly, perfectly, immovably (*imperturbablement*), as well six months or twelve months hence, as now—something—something which fairly represents the subject to be acquired, which contains its essential characteristics. 2. Repeat that 'something' incessantly (*sans cesse*), i.e. every day, or very frequently, from the beginning, without any omission, so that no part may be forgotten. 3. Reflect upon the matter thus acquired, so as by degrees to make it a possession of the mind as well as of the memory, so that, being appreciated as a whole, and appreciated in its minutest parts, what is as yet unknown, may be *referred to* it and interpreted by it. 4. Verify, or test, general remarks e.g. grammatical rules, &c., made by others, by comparing them with the facts (i.e. the words and phraseology) which you have learnt yourself.

In conclusion, I will give some account of the way in which reading, writing, and the mother-tongue were taught on the Jacototian system.

The teacher takes a book, say Edgeworth's 'Early Lessons,' points to

* As an instance of the use of memory in mathematics, and also of the power acquired by perfect attainment, I may mention a case which came under my own observation. A 'three days' man, not by any means remarkable for mathemetical ability, had got up the book-work of his subjects very exactly, but had never done a problem. In the three days' problem paper, to his no small surprise. he got out several of them. A friend who was afterwards a good wrangler, ventured to doubt his having done a particular problem. 'It came out very easily,' said the three days' man, 'from such and such a formula.' 'You are right,' said the wrangler; 'I worked it out in a much more clumsy way myself. *I never thought of that formula.*' I may mention here a fact which, whether it is *à propos* or not, will be interesting to musicians. The late Professor Walmisley, of Cambridge, told me that when his godfather Attwood was Mozart's pupil, Mozart always had Bach's Forty-eight Preludes and Fugues on his piano, and hardly played any thing else.

the first word, and names it, 'Frank.' The child looks at the word and also pronounces it. Then the teacher does the same with the first two words, 'Frank and;' then with the three first, 'Frank and Robert,' &c. When a line or so has been thus gone over, the teacher asks which word is Robert? What word is that (pointing to one)? 'Find me the same word in this line' (pointing to another part of the book). When a sentence has been thus acquired, the words already known are analyzed into syllables, and these syllables the child must pick out elsewhere. Finally, the same thing is done with letters. When the child can read a sentence, that sentence is put before him written in small hand, and the child is required to copy it. When he has copied the first word, he is led, by the questions of the teacher, to see how it differs from the original, and then he tries again. The pupil must always correct himself, guided only by questions. This sentence must be worked at till the pupil can write it pretty well from memory. He then tries it in larger characters. By carrying out this plan, the children's powers of observation and making comparisons are strengthened, and the arts of reading and writing are said to be very readily acquired.

For the mother-tongue, a model-book is chosen and thoroughly learned. Suppose 'Rasselas' is selected. 'The pupil learns by heart a sentence, or a few sentences, and to-morrow adds a few more, still repeating from the beginning. The teacher, after two or three lessons of learning and repeating, takes portions—any portion—of the matter, and submits it to the crucible of the pupil's mind:—Who was Rasselas? Who was his father? What is the father of waters? Where does it begin its course? Where is Abyssinia? Where is Egypt? Where was Rasselas placed? What sort of a person was Rasselas? What is "credulity?" What are the "whispers of fancy," "the promises of youth," &c.? What was there peculiar in the position of Rasselas? Where was he confined? Describe the valley. How would you have liked to live there? Why so? Why not? &c.'

A great variety of written exercises is soon joined with the learning by heart. Pieces must be written from memory, and the spelling, pointing, &c., corrected by the pupil himself from the book. The same piece must be written again and again, till there are no mistakes to correct. 'This,' says Mr. Payne, who has himself taught in this way, 'is the best plan for spelling that has been devised.' Then the pupil may write an analysis, may define words, distinguish between synonyms, explain metaphors, imitate descriptions, write imaginary dialogues or correspondence between the characters, &c.

We see, from these instances, how Jacotot sought to imitate the method by which young children and self-taught men teach themselves. All such proceed from objects to definitions, from facts to reflections and theories, from examples to rules, from particular observations to general principles.

MAX MÜLLER—EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

NATIONAL EDUCATION—A NATIONAL DUTY.

OXFORD MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOL EXAMINATION.

Perhaps few recollect the first beginnings of the local examinations, carried on under the auspices of the two Universities, Oxford and Cambridge. I recollect them well; and when I see how the tree has grown, and is growing and spreading its branches wider and wider every year, I feel no slight satisfaction at the thought that I was present when it was planted—nay, that I rendered some assistance, however small, in planting it.

There were some men at Oxford who at once perceived the excellence of such a scheme; but there were others, too, who treated it with open scorn and derision. We were told by some that no one would come to be examined of his own free will; by others, that there would be such a rush of candidates that the University could not supply a sufficient staff of examiners; while as to giving the academic title of associate in arts to candidates who might not know Greek and Latin, that was considered simply high treason.

While these discussions were going on, Mr. Acland and some of his friends resolved to try the experiment, and in June, 1857, they held the first examination of middle-class schools in Devonshire. There is nothing like trying an experiment, and Mr. Acland's experiment proved at least three things:

1. That the middle-class schools required to be looked into most carefully;
2. That these schools were willing to be looked into most carefully;
3. That the examinations presented no insurmountable difficulties to frighten the Universities from undertaking this important task.

I was myself one of the examiners at Exeter, and I well remember the enthusiastic meeting that was held there, for it was the first time that I allowed myself to be permitted to speak, or, rather, to stammer in public.

Mr. Acland's scheme was soon after accepted by the University; and when I look at the excellent results which it has produced during the last seventeen years all over England, it seems to me that Sir Thomas Acland, the worthy son of a worthy father, has deserved well of his country, and that no honor that the nation could bestow on him would be too high, in recognition of the great and lasting benefit, which, by taking the initiative in these local examinations, he has conferred on the nation.

I do not speak at random, and I know I can appeal to all here present, parents, teachers, and pupils, too, who have been successfully taught under this system, and are here assembled to-day to receive their prizes and certificates, to support me in saying that these examinations have been a real blessing to the teachers as well as to the taught.

And their capacity of usefulness is by no means exhausted.

At present, schools consider it an honor if they can pass a certain number of their pupils, and if a few gain prizes or certificates. The time will come, I hope, when schools will not be satisfied unless they can pass nearly all their pupils, and if at least one half of them do not carry off prizes and certificates. Till schools consider themselves in duty bound to send up, at certain periods,

every one of their pupils to be examined, the true scope of these examinations has not been reached; nay, I fear their object may be defeated, if they encourage school-masters to aim at high excellence in a few, rather than at the average excellence of the many.

And not only schools will benefit by these local examinations, but home education also, and more particularly the home education of girls. Allow me to put before you my own experience in this matter. As there were hitherto no good schools for girls at Oxford my children had to be taught at home; but I told them, and I told their governess, that I should have them examined every year at these local examinations. That put them on their mettle, it gave a definite direction to their studies, it made them fond of their work, and in spite of all the drawbacks of home education, the results have been most satisfactory. I sent my two eldest girls to be examined last year, chiefly in order to find out their weak and their strong points; I sent them again this year, as junior candidates; and if you will look at the division list, you will find both their names in a very creditable position. I shall send them again next year, and year after year, till their education is finished, and I can assure all parents who are obliged to educate their daughters at home, that, however excellent their governess may be, they will find these examinations affording a most useful guidance, a most efficient incentive, and, in the end, a most gratifying reward, both to pupil and teacher.

National Bias in Individual Action.

Education has been for many years our national hobby in Germany, the one great luxury in which so poor a country as Germany is, and always must be, has freely indulged. But I may confess that I was influenced, perhaps, not only by a national bias, but by what is now called family bias, or *atavism*, that mysterious power which preserves certain hereditary peculiarities in certain families, and which, if it is true that we are descended from some lower animals, may even help to explain some strange and perplexing features in human nature. My own *atavus*, or at all events, my great-grandfather was Basedow (1723–1790), a name which perhaps none of you has heard before, but a name well known in Germany as the reformer of our national education, as the forerunner of Pestalozzi, as the first who, during the last century, stirred up the conscience of the people of Germany and of their rulers, and taught them at least this one great lesson, that next to self-preservation there is no higher duty which a nation has to fulfil than national education.

This sounds to us almost like a truism; but it was not so a hundred years ago. The idea that the nation at large, and each man and woman in particular, is responsible for the proper education of every child, is a very modern idea—it is really not much older than railways and telegraphs. Great men like Alfred and Charlemagne had a glimmering of that idea, but the times were too dark, too stern for them.. During the whole of the Middle Ages we see little more than cathedral and monastic schools, chiefly intended for the education of the clergy, but opened in certain places to the laity also. Schools for the nation at large, and supported by the nation at large, there were none. Then came the Reformation, the very life-spring of which was the reading of the Bible by the laity. The reformers at once called for schools, but it was like a cry in the wilderness. Much, no doubt, was done by the reformers, many of whom were excellent school-masters, many of whom knew but too well how even Christianity could be degraded and wellnigh destroyed in countries where the education of the people had been neglected. Every Protestant clergyman became *ipso facto* a school-master. He had to see that the children of his parish were able at least to read the Bible and to say the Catechism. This is the historical explanation why, in Protestant countries, the school has so long remained a

mere appendage to the church. After a time, however, the clergyman, having plenty of work of his own to do, secured the assistance of the sacristan or sexton, who, in addition to his ordinary duties of bell-ringing, organ-playing, waiting at christenings and weddings, and grave-digging, had now to act as school-master also, and teach the children to read, to write, and to count. This was the beginning of our schools and school-masters; but in Germany even these small beginnings were soon swept away by the Thirty Years' War.

When, in the eighteenth century, people began to breathe again, and look about, the state of the lower and middle classes in Germany, as far as education was concerned, was deplorable. There were church schools, town schools, private schools, scattered about here and there, a few good, some indifferent, and most of them bad; but as to any efficient machinery to secure the proper education of every child in the country, it was even never thought of.

Influence of Basedow on National Education.

It was my *atavus*, it was old Basedow, who, about a hundred years ago, raised the first war-cry for national education in Germany. It would take me too much time were I to attempt to give you an account of his life I had lately to write for the "*Deutscha Biographic*," published by the Bavarian government. It was a checkered life, as the life of all true reformers is sure to be. Perhaps he attempted too much, and was much in advance of his time. But whatever his strong and whatever his weak points, this one great principle he established, and it remained firmly established in the German mind ever since, that national education is a sacred duty, and that to leave national education to chance, Church, or charity, is a national sin. That conviction has remained ingrained in the German mind, even in the days of our lowest political degradation; and it is to that conviction that Germany owes what she is—her very existence among the nations of Europe.

Another principle followed, which, in fact, as matter of course, as soon as the first principle was granted, was this, that in national schools, in schools supported by the nation at large, you can only teach that on which we all agree; hence, when children belong to different sects, you cannot teach theology. However irresistible the argument was, the opposition which it roused was terrific. Basedow thought, for a time, that he could frame a kind of diluted religion which should give no offence to any one of the Christian sects, not even to Jews or Mohammedans. But in that attempt he naturally failed. His was a deeply-religious mind, but national education had become with him so absorbing a passion that he thought that everything else ought to give way to it.

I confess I fully share myself the same conviction. If it were possible to imagine a religion, or a sect, that should try to oppose or retard the education of the people, then I should say that such a religion cannot be a true religion, and the sooner it is swept away the better. I say the same of national education. If there were, if there could be, a system of national education that should exclude religious education, that system cannot be the true system, and the sooner it is swept away the better.

Poor Basedow soon came in conflict with the Church; he was deprived of his professorship in Denmark, though the king, more enlightened than his people, granted him his full salary as a pension for life. In Germany he was excommunicated, not by the Pope, but by the Protestant clergy at Hamburg, who excluded him, and every member of his family, from the communion. The mob at Hamburg was roused against him, his books were prohibited, and he found no rest till the Duke of Dessau, a man who dared to think and to act

at his own peril, invited him to his capital, to help him to introduce into his small duchy a more perfect system of national education.

All these things have become matter of history, and are almost forgotten now, even in Germany. Many of Basedow's theories had to be given up, but the two fundamental principles of national education remain firmly established, and have never been shaken. They have spread all over Germany; they are adopted in Denmark, Sweden, Russia; they have lately found their way into Italy, a country which is making the greatest efforts for national education.

Prospective Development of National Education.

Two countries only, France and England, still stand aloof. Yet, when we hear a Minister of Instruction in France (Jules Simon) say, "Yes, there are schools, many schools, but one thing is still wanting, and it is for this that I do not die; we have not yet obtained compulsory and gratuitous instruction;" when in England we see that convictions with regard to national education become too strong for party; that Mr. Forster would rather break away from his friends than yield his deep and honest convictions; that Mr. Cross is more liberal, more bold than even Mr. Forster, in favor of compulsory national education; when you consider how one of the most distinguished divines of the Church of England, whose death the country is mourning this very day, insisted all his life on the separation of Church and school teaching, as the only solution of the educational problem; nay, when you remember the words spoken not long ago by your own excellent and outspoken bishop, that it was better for the Church to surrender her schools than to allow the existence of one single inefficient school; you may be certain that the time has come when England also will recognize these two fundamental principles, education by the nation and for the nation, and complete separation of school teaching and Church teaching. And, believe me, as soon as these two principles are acknowledged, most of the difficulties that now beset the educational question, whether theological or financial, will vanish.

Then, no doubt, the whole charge for national education, a large portion of which is now covered by private charity, will have to be paid by the nation at large, as in the case of the army, the navy, and the civil service.

Whenever I state this, the ready answer I receive is: "Yes, it is very well for a foreigner to say that, but it is an utterly un-English idea; no sensible Englishman would listen to it for one moment."

I always look on that answer as a most hopeful sign; it shows that all other argumentative ammunition has been expended, for no one would fire off that blank cartridge if he still possessed one single ball cartridge in his pouch.

I am the very last man to say that the German system of national education should be transplanted to England. I speak only of certain broad principles, which are either right or wrong in themselves, and have nothing whatever to do with national character or historical circumstances. No one could have lived half his life in England and half his life in Germany, without knowing how utterly unpractical it is to try to transfer English institutions to Germany, or German institutions to England. Germany has had to pay heavy penalties for attempting to copy the English form of constitutional government, and national education in England would be a certain failure, were it to be a mere imitation of the German or the French system. You do not want a Minister of Public Instruction who could look at the clock, and then tell you that at this moment every child in France is reading, "*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres.*" But if you could have a president of the council who could look at the clock and say, "At this moment no child over six or under thirteen is loitering in the streets," would that be so very intolerable?

How much should be left to local boards and authorities in the management of schools, what subjects should be taught, what books should be used, what hours should be kept, what fees should be paid—all these are matters of detail, which would admit of great variety, if only the great principle was once recognized, that the school belongs to the State, and that the State is responsible for its efficiency, as it is responsible for the efficiency of the army, the navy, nay, even of the post-office. It is a misdemeanor to convey a letter otherwise than by the post. It is criminal to sell poison. Would it be carrying the same principle too far if Parliament insisted that no one should open a private school, unless the Government was satisfied of the wholesomeness of the moral and intellectual food sold in these schools to helpless children? Paternal government, I know, has not a good sound to English ears; but if anybody has a right to a paternal government, surely it is "these little ones, who should not perish."

The Financial Difficulty, or Government Appropriation.

By making national education an annual charge on the national exchequer, what is it you do? You simply substitute a national and rational taxation for an irrational and hap-hazard taxation. It is John Bull who pays the taxes; it is John Bull who pays the charities; and the only people who have any intelligible motive for opposing an equitable distribution of the educational taxes are those who do not want to pay their proper share.

Secondly, nothing can be more wasteful than the present system, when every parish, or at all events every clergyman, wants to have his own little school. By combining three or four schools into one, you would not only save money, but you would be able to bring the teaching power, which is now often miserable, to the highest degree of efficiency.

Importance of Good Teachers.

In order to have a good education, you must have good educators. It is true, we no longer employ the sexton, who, in addition to bell-ringing, organ-playing, and grave-digging, has to teach the children in school. But it is very bad still. The school-master is still in many places the servant of the clergyman; his work is hard, and he never rises to much more than about £150 a year. What can you expect on such conditions? A young school-master might begin with much less than that, if there were a career open to him. In the army a man begins as a lieutenant, but he may end as a general. Is teaching a lower profession than drilling? In every department of the civil service a gentleman begins with little, but he rises, and he has the prospect of a retiring pension in the end. Is the place of a school-master too low for a gentleman? Let me read you what Niebuhr said about this—and remember he said it after he had been Prussian ambassador at Rome: "The office of a school-master, in particular, is one of the most honorable, and despite of all the evils which now and then disturb its ideal beauty, it is for a truly noble heart the happiest path in life. It was the path which I had once chosen for myself, and how I wish I had been allowed to follow it!" Is teaching so very repulsive—even teaching the A B C? Do gentlemen shrink from offices which seem at first most repulsive, in the medical profession? Has a school-master fewer opportunities of doing good than a clergyman? If gentlemen can be inspectors of schools, why could they not be teachers of schools? Make education a branch of the civil service; make the school-masters what they really are in the true sense of the word, servants of the Queen, and you will find the best talent and the best moral stuff in the country ready at hand for making really efficient school-masters.

The best Education the Cheapest.

However, with all the saving that could be effected by combined schools, there would still be, no doubt, a large expenditure at first; only let us call it by its right name; it is not expenditure, it is investment, and the best and most lucrative investment in the world. That is what I often preach to parents who think that the education of their children is too expensive. I do not say that education is not too expensive. It is often scandalously expensive. But I still maintain that it is far better to spend the money on the very best education that can be had than to leave each child a thousand pounds more. The same should be preached all over the country, till the nation at large—which, after all, consists of so many parents—understands that it will receive far higher interest from capital spent on English education than from capital invested in the English, nay, in the Turkish, funds. As foolish parents have to pay their children's debts, foolish nations have to spend for prisons and work-houses what they might have spent on national education.

But it is not that only. Every nation at present is trying to improve its material by national education; and in the peaceful, but not the less fierce and determined, warfare of commercial competition, in the permanent international struggle for life, depend upon it the worst-drilled, the worst-educated country will go to the wall. A man in these days who cannot read is like a blind man; a man who cannot write is like a deaf and dumb man.

Once show to the people of England what is right, and they will do it. Is England a poorer country than Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, or Italy? If all these countries tax themselves to the uttermost for compulsory and gratuitous education, is England to say, "I cannot afford it?" When slavery was to be abolished, did England count the cost? When, more lately, the army was to be relieved from the stigma of purchase, did Parliament shrink from paying the bill? Whatever the cost, sooner or later, the schools will have to be redeemed. England, in time of war, can bear an income tax of eighteen pence, and call it a flea-bite; the duties of peace, of peace granted to this country by a kind Providence, are as sacred as the duties of war; and if Englishmen have once made up their mind that national education is a national duty, they will think as little of repudiating that national duty as of repudiating the national debt.

I hear it often said that England should do for national education what Germany has done; what Italy is doing. No, that is not enough. We have done our best in Germany, but our best is but poor work. Our difficulties are enormous. Who is to pay for schools and school-masters, such as they ought to be? The soil of the greater part of Germany is poor, and therefore the country will never be rich. Besides, we may do what we like, we shall always live between two Symplegades—between France on one side, and Russia on the other; and we shall always have to spend our best energies in self-defence. There is the strongest feeling among the statesmen of Germany that the greatest efforts will have to be made for improving our national education; only what we want for it is, what we are not likely to get, a long peace, and a Bismarck and Moltke rolled up into one minister of public instruction. In England you have everything, and there is no reason why your national education should not be as much ahead of that of Germany, as the education of Germany is of that of China. You have money, you have peace, you have public spirit, and you have, what is best of all, practical religion—I mean you still do a thing, however much you may dislike it, because you believe it is the will of God. Well, then, invest your money, utilize your peace, rouse your public spirit, and convince the world that one half, three fourths, nine tenths of real practical religion is—education, national education, compulsory, and, it may be, gratuitous education.

DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH POPULAR EDUCATION.

BY JAMES H. RIGG, D.D.*

COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION IN 1839.

The first national grant in aid of education was voted in 1833, on the motion, in the Commons' House, of Lord Althrop. It amounted only to £20,000. It was distributed by the Treasury for six years, and was appropriated only to the building of schools connected with the National School Society or the British and Foreign School Society. In 1839 the Committee of Council on Education was organized, and the beginning, in slight and humble proportions, was made of a system which has now expanded to a large growth. In 1846 the general principles of the existing system of aid to denominational and British schools were put forth by the Council. But for fifty years before the earliest of these dates (*i. e.*, before 1833) the tide of religious effort on behalf of Sunday Schools had set in, and for about a quarter of a century the British and Foreign and the National School Societies had been engaged, under the management of earnest Christian men, in diffusing a general education in which Christian principles constituted a fundamental element. After the State had begun to recognize the work of national education as a charge and duty belonging in part, at least, and in a very practical and important sense, to itself, it could not be but that the Churches and the State should be brought into relation with each other through their respective relations to the same common work. In fact, the State, in aiding the National Society, was directly aiding the Church of England in the work of education. It could not always be that other Churches would be excluded from receiving State help in return for their co-operation with the State in the matter of public education. It was inevitable that, starting as it did in this work so late, and after the Churches had so long been diligently engaged in it, and had accomplished so much that was permanently of inestimable value, in respect of methods of education and training no less than of schools founded and scholars gathered in, the State should, when it entered upon the field, recognize fully and liberally the rights which the Churches had at least acquired, if they did not originally possess, in the matter of national education.

Ground of Government Interference in 1839.

It is important, moreover, to note the special ground on which the State did at length interpose on behalf of the education of the people. It was, primarily, on behalf of morality and society, on behalf of Christian civilization, that the Government took action; it was not for the sake of developing, by State legislation and action, by public outlay and national organization, the intellectual progress or the material resources of the nation. It was because, thirty years ago, all English statesmen saw clearly that, while the children of the English

* '*National Education in its Social Conditions and Aspects, and Public Elementary Education, English and Foreign.*' By James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College and Member of the London School Board. London: Straton & Co. 1873. [We shall add a few notes to our reprint of the chapter on English Popular Education; with the views of Prof. Donaldson on Mr. Lowe's *Revised Code*, and an abstract of Mr. Foster's *Act of* 1870.]

people were doubtless lamentably wanting in education generally, what they stood in need of first and most of all was distinctively Christian culture and influence, that these statesmen found themselves compelled to move Parliament to interpose in order to do whatever might be done towards reclaiming and elevating the oncoming generations of their countrymen. What was imperatively needed, what was needed before all else in the judgment of her Majesty and of her Majesty's Ministers, for the children of the working people of England, was that their consciences should be awakened and enlightened, that their religious sensibilities should be kindled and developed, that what has been spoken of as *a Christian consciousness* should be formed within them. To a sad and very alarming extent the lower classes were found on careful inquiry to be sunk far below the level of anything like a "Christian consciousness," to be utterly barbarous and irreligious. Under these circumstances it was felt that before all things it was necessary that religion should be applied, that Christianity should be brought home to the children of the people of England, so that by degrees the generations of this Protestant country might be imbued with something like a Christian character. This was not the conclusion of enthusiastic or one-idead Christian philanthropists, but of statesmen, of all the statesmen of all parties. As to this particular there was no controversy, no variety of opinion, among the leading public men of political parties.

It is not well to forget to-day the language used by Lord Russell, in 1839, in his famous "Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne," conveying the Queen's judgment and wishes in regard to the work of national education. This letter, I may observe in passing, was in a sense the very charter of the Educational Department of the Privy Council, since it was the medium through which her Majesty thought proper to make known her royal pleasure in reference to the constitution of a special and separate department for primary education in connection with the Privy Council, of which Council the Marquis of Lansdowne was at that time Lord President. Lord John Russell says that—

"Her Majesty has observed with deep concern the want of instruction which is still to be found among the poorer classes of her subjects. All the inquiries which have been made," he continues, "show a deficiency in the general education of the people, which is not in accordance with the character of a civilized and Christian nation. The reports of the chaplains of gaols show that, to a large number of unfortunate prisoners, a knowledge of the fundamental truths of natural and revealed religion has never been imparted."

Further on it is observed in the same letter that, "in any normal or model school to be established by the Board, four principal objects are to be kept in view: *first, religious instruction;* second, general instruction; third, moral training; fourth, habits of industry."

Again his lordship states, in memorable words, that "it is her Majesty's wish that the youth of her kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected." His lordship also says that, "by combining moral training with general instruction, the young may be saved from the temptation to crime, and the whole community receive indisputable benefits;" and, in the final words of his letter, he speaks of the plans in contemplation by the Government as "plans for the extension of the blessing of a sound religious education." I might fortify these quotations, if there were any necessity for it, by citing passage after passage from a remarkable pamphlet which was published in the same year, 1839, by Dr. James Phillips Kay, as he was then called, but who is now known by the title of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth. He was appointed the first Secretary of the Educational Department of the Committee of Privy Council; and in that capacity he published a pamphlet which explained and defended the principles and the plans

of the Government in regard to education. In this pamphlet he lays it down repeatedly, and most emphatically, that the intention of the Government was by means of a sound education—moral, religious, and intellectual—to educate the whole man; and especially by such means to reclaim the lower classes of our people from that condition of lawlessness, demoralization, and degradation in which multitudes of them were at that time sunk. He explains that it was the intention of the Government by these means to infuse humanizing and Christian influences into the midst of the lower fabric of society, in order that we might no longer have to blush because of the prevalence within this country of a low state of morals and manners, such as was a disgrace to the name of Christianity. It was, then, upon these principles that the Education Department of the Privy Council was, in the first instance, constituted.

Failure to Establish a Government Training College.

It was under the influence of such views and principles that Lord Melbourne's administration, in 1839, made the first serious and worthy attempt, by means of national legislation, to deal with the question of national education for England. The Government proposed, in fact, to adapt to the case of England the leading principles of the great measure of national education which had, a few years before, been carried into operation in Ireland. But that which was the best, if only because it was the only, system which could be carried out in Ireland five and thirty years ago, met with a decisive opposition from a large majority of the earnest and orthodox Protestants of England. In fact, the number and variety of denominations in this country, and the amount of passive, nominally Protestant, ignorance and irreligion among the lower classes of English people, made the problem of education then, as now, quite different for the two countries, and the project of united education, although, at first sight, it might have appeared easier, in reality more difficult for this country than for that. The Government went to work like statesmen. They did not propose to reform the morals and manners of masses of ignorant and irreligious people merely by means of secular instruction; nor did they propose to cover the country with schools, and enact a direct compulsory law of education, before they had made provision for training an adequate supply of competent teachers. They proposed to found, in the first instance, a normal college, with its model school. It was with them a first principle that "the religious instruction of the candidate teachers should form an essential and prominent element of their studies," and that "no certificate should be granted unless the authorized religious teacher had previously attested his confidence in the character, religious knowledge, *and zeal* of the candidates whose religious instruction he had superintended." To impart the requisite religious instruction to the candidate teachers, *i. e.*, the students in the college, a clergyman of the Established Church was to have been appointed chaplain, to act under the general direction of the rector, who was to have been a layman, and who would have been at the head of the whole institution, including both training college and model school. But to meet the case of candidate teachers who might be Nonconformists, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, besides the chaplain, "the licensed minister" of any such candidates, if a wish to that effect were expressed, was to have authority to attend at stated times, in order "to assist and examine the candidates in their religious reading, and to afford them spiritual advice." In the model school, religious instruction was to have been regarded "as general and special;" general, inasmuch as, to quote the words of the minute, "religion was to be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline;" and special, inasmuch as "periods" were to be "set apart for such peculiar doctrinal in-

struction as might be required for the religious training of the children." The chaplain was "to conduct the religious instruction of children whose parents or guardians belonged to the Established Church," while "licensed ministers" were to give special religious instruction to the children of Nonconformists when the number of such children appeared to the school committee to be so large as to require this provision to be made. The Scriptures were to be read in the schools; and, to meet the case of Roman Catholic scholars, it was felt needful to allow, in their special instance, the use of the Roman Catholic version.

Such was, in outline, the famous scheme of 1839. I do not hesitate to say that it was honestly and patriotically intended; that it was both religious and liberal in its spirit; and that it was, in its conception, worthy of Christian statesmen. Nevertheless, it had a fatal fault—it was impracticable. Such a scheme furnished no solvent by which the denominations could be held together in pellucid tranquillity within the same institution. In Ireland, where, thirty years ago, three different denominations would have comprised all the children in nearly all the schools, the elements which it was hoped to hold together in peaceful neighborship and diffused neutrality, have, in a large majority of cases, separated from each other and crystallize dapart. The Irish system, as we have seen, has long been a predominantly denominational system. In England the proposed system was even more impracticable.

The Government proposals evoked a tempestuous opposition. The Church of England opposed them with all its forces. The Wesleyan Methodists were scarcely less vehement or resolute in their opposition. The scheme was opposed, not only as impracticable, but as favoring Popery, and, at the same time, as "tending to produce a dangerous spirit of scepticism and unbelief." The Government proposals, I need scarcely add, were withdrawn.*

The Whigs having made their attempt, and failed, it was the turn next of the Conservative party to try their hand on a settlement of the great question of popular education. The Whigs had encountered the opposition of Churchmen and Conservative Christian educationists generally, the Conservatives were to call forth the indignant antagonism of all English Nonconformists, the Wesleyan Methodists included. need not spend any time in describing the famous proposals of 1843, which Sir James Graham spoke of as his "olive branch," but which, erring from a despotic simplicity, and not, like those of Lord Melbourne's Administration, from too great a complication, would have handed over the primary education of the country to the Anglican clergy. Powerful as the Government was, and supported by the clergy and large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, they were obliged to give way before the storm which broke forth from every quarter of Nonconformity, and which, growing more terrible every day, threatened to sweep all before it.

Twice foiled in its endeavors to secure for the generations of English children an effective Christian education, Parliament was yet constrained to renew the attempt. It was impossible, in view of the actual condition of England in the period 1841–1846, to let this question rest. General uneasiness and discontent among the working people of England, especially in the northern provinces; Chartist organization and conspiracies; growing excesses of social vice and profligacy; the revelations and recommendations of Committees and Com-

* The failure of the government scheme of a Training College, in 1839, was followed by a successful effort on the part of Dr. James Phillips Kay and Mr. E. Carleton Tufnell, in 1840, to found at Battersea a Training College primarily for masters for the schools of pauper children. (Barnard's Journal, Vol. IX., 170.) This institution was transferred in 1844 to the National Society, which in 1842 had established at Chelsea (St. Mark's College) an institution for Church school-masters, and at Whitelands a similar school for mistresses. In 1874 there were 41 Training Colleges with 2,500 students.

missions; the urgency of the benevolent, the fears of the grave and thoughtful;—all concurred to impress upon each Government in succession that, in some way, practically at least if not with an ideal consistency, approximately if not completely, the problem of national education must be solved.

Government Union with Denominations in 1846.

No other way seemed now to be left but for the State to work in partnership with the denominations. The barely secular plan, it is true, had not been tried. But thirty years ago England had not yet found, nor indeed has it found even to-day, any responsible statesman, any adviser of the Sovereign, who would propose for the nation a bare plan of secular education.

I have referred to a pamphlet by Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, which was published in 1849, to prepare the way for the Government action of that period. In 1836, the same gentleman published a second official pamphlet, to prepare the way for the Government action which was actually taken in that year. In this pamphlet he explains the views which up to this period had been held by English statesmen as to popular education. It is worth while to quote from that pamphlet one or two significant and suggestive passages:—

"It was scarcely believed then"—that is, in 1839—says Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, writing in 1846 on behalf of the Government, and in exposition of the principles of the new Government plan, "that it could enter into the conception of statesmen to regard religion as a primary and indispensable part of education. They (the majority of the clergy and laity) imagined that the statesmen of this country relied solely on the cultivation of the intellect, and on the spread of secular knowledge, for the growth of a higher morality, and for the promotion of the public order and well-being of society; and, while they justly repudiated the gross and mischievous error that a purely secular knowledge was capable of establishing society on an immutable basis of social order, or was even necessarily connected with a high condition of public morality, it is to be apprehended that they had fallen into the opposite fallacy, and were not convinced how important it was to raise the intellectual condition of the people for the purpose of promoting the growth of true religion."

The same authority further says:—

"The Government had never wavered in its adherence to the principle adopted in 1839, that 'religion should be mixed with the entire matter of instruction in the school, and regulate the whole of its discipline;' and the perseverance of successive Governments in the adoption of the principle that religion is the foundation on which education must be built, has vindicated statesmen from the suspicion to which we have previously alluded, that they valued education chiefly because of their confidence in the influence of purely secular learning."

In 1846, accordingly, the secular principle of national education was quite out of the question for this country. Indeed, at that time there was no precedent in the history of the world for a secular scheme of national education, except the abortive paper schemes of the French Revolution, which had brought forth no fruit whatever, but the destruction of the only people's schools in France. Such being the case, there remained now, as I have said, no possible way left for the State to contribute its part towards satisfying the crying needs of the country, except by co-operating with the denominations, which had already done so much in the way of providing schools, which, indeed, had, between them, already covered much the larger part of the ground with school provision. The Conservative Government had tried the principle of State co-operation with the State Church alone in order to do the needful work. The country had rejected that principle. The Whigs, a few

years earlier, had attempted to apply to England the principles of unsectarian and mixed national provision of education, as in Ireland. But the country would not hear of that. The secular plan was altogether out of the question. Except partnership with all the denominations, what possible plan remained? It has been seen that, on the Continent, the experience of France and Germany had compelled the different States to accept the conclusion that public elementary education could only be secured and regulated by the State in conjunction with the different Churches. But, as I have before shown, the problem was simpler and easier for Continental States than for England, because there, beside the two or three State supported Churches in each country, there were no other denominations of any material importance. The Dissenters of the Continent are few and feeble. Whereas in this country there is but one Established Church, and the various Dissenting and Nonconformist sects include nearly half the population, and are equally spirited and powerful. No State arrangement as to education, accordingly, could be effected, which did not place the Nonconformist Churches on something like an equal footing, as to co-operation, with the Church by law established.

The difficulties in the way of any direct or comprehensive legislation on the subject were indeed at that time insuperably great; but a series of experiments, under the direction of the Privy Council Executive for the time being —the Educational Committee of the Privy Council—was organized in 1846 (some beginning indeed, as we have seen, had been made in 1839), and having been carried on for five-and-twenty years, prepared the way for the legislation of 1870. Parliament sanctioned, year by year, the grant proposed, as an item of the estimates, and sanctioned also, by simply voting the money, or by raising no objection, or refusing to ratify an objection raised, the rules and regulations for the administration of the grants which, from time to time, were issued by the Department, having, in regard to important points, been previously laid on the table of the House. But no measure was proposed; and no large principles were discussed. In the case, indeed, of the proposal by the Department to introduce the principle of the Irish National System, the country and Parliament were roused to object to the method in which the Government proposed to apply the grant, as more than twenty years later the school interest of the country was aroused to oppose Mr. Lowe's proposals in the way of revising the then existing code of regulations. But, as a rule, the Executive was left to spend and regulate at discretion, objection being only taken from time to time to the growing amount of the grant. Thus, by a tentative and experimental process, was the public school system of this country moulded, until a few years ago the time was ripe for a comprehensive national system. The foundations of this system had been laid by the thirty years' administration of the Privy Council Department, and national experience had been gathered of the very highest value. The Privy Council pilot-engine prepared the way for the legislative train of 1870. The Council had already, also, for the most of the way, laid down the road.

The epochs of our public elementary school history are 1833, 1839, 1846, 1862, 1870. In 1833, as we have seen, small special grants were first voted by Parliament in aid of the National and the British and Foreign School Societies. In 1839 the Privy Council Department for Education was organized, and the Parliamentary grant was enlarged. The Government plan for introducing a national mixed and unsectarian system of education was defeated, but grants began to be made by Government direct to schools in England, and soon afterwards in Scotland, which were organized on a certain basis (either Church of England or Protestant unsectarian, or, in Scotland, orthodox Presbyterian), and which placed themselves under Government inspection; and thus the

all-important matter of Government inspection began to be organized. In 1846 the famous Minutes of Council were published, which laid the foundation of the English public elementary school system. In accordance with these new regulations, large and liberal grants were to be made to aid in erecting, and annual grants to help in maintaining, Normal or Training Colleges; liberal building grants also were offered towards the erection of new schools, and annual grants to aid in their maintenance. The annual grants to schools consisted of an augmentation grant to the teacher, as trained and certificated for public service, and grants for the instruction of pupil-teachers—suspended on the condition that the schools should be under Government inspection, and that pupil-teachers should be employed in them in certain proportions. In 1862 Mr. Lowe introduced his revised code, antagonistic in certain respects to the minutes of 1846, but which, whatever its demerits, introduced into the administration of the Department the convenient principle of "payment by results"—a fruitful principle in its after applications.

Government inspection, trained and certificated teachers, the pupil-teacher system, and payment by results—these are now the great features of the English system of public elementary day-schools. All these features, except the last—for which in his official term as Secretary the time was not ripe—were the fruits of the sagacity and earnest purpose of the first Secretary for Education of the Privy Council, Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth.* He had retired many years from office, in broken health, when, in the time of his successor, Mr. Lingen, and under the vice-presidency of Mr. Lowe, the revised code of 1862 was introduced. For ten years (1839-1849) he had held office, and this country owes no common debt to him.

On the Continent Government action takes a denominational form, and adapts itself explicitly to denominational requirements. In this country no union between the Government and the Churches could be arranged on such a basis. The Churches needed to maintain their entire separateness from the Government in the management of their schools. Certain conditions they would gladly fulfil, for the sake of Government inspection and aid; they would observe certain rules in the organization of their school. But their committees must be exclusively Church Committees, and in no sense must any of their members or agents be State officials. Their ordinary management must go on as if there were no Government or Government officials in existence, save only that they were to be financially benefited and aided by Government, and were prepared to give all respect to the suggestions of Government or Government inspectors with a view to the increased efficiency of their schools. It was on such terms that the State in 1846 entered into partnership with the denominations for the education of the people.

There was, as at that date there could hardly but have been, a difference in the manner in which the Government dealt with Church of England schools and with Nonconformist schools respectively as regarded religious instruction. The inspectors of the schools of the Church of England were all clergymen of that Church, and were required to examine or inspect, at their annual visit, the religious as well as the secular instruction. The inspectors of other schools were all laymen, and had no power or liberty to take any cognizance of religious instruction. Government, however, made no grants to any schools which were not organized on a religious basis. True to the influences under which the State first undertook to interfere in regard to national education, convinced that nothing but a Christain education would meet the requirements of the country, Government would extend no aid to any schools which were

* He was born July 20, 1804; created baronet in 1849, and took the name of Shuttleworth on his marriage to the heiress of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe in Lancaster County, in 1842.

not organized on a religious basis. In all schools, except Roman Catholic schools, instruction in the Holy Scriptures was an indispensable condition. Roman Catholic schools were not provided for under the original minutes of 1846, but were included in the general arrangement two or three years later. In all schools, except those of the Church of England, the certificate of the managers that they were satisfied with the state of the religious knowledge in the school was accepted instead of any examination.

It was a defect in the administration of the department during this period, that no provision was made for an individual examination and appraising of the attainments of each particular child, and that no part of the Government grant was made to depend on the results of this examination. This, however, was not the fault of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth. In 1853 he drew up and urged the adoption of a minute to this effect, but the Committee of the Council did not see their way to its adoption. From 1846 he had had such an arrangement in view. Perhaps it might not have been wise to press this at a very early period.

The effect of these minutes was immense. They brought more than a million of children into inspected Government schools in fifteen years, and led to the erection of forty training colleges. The system was doubtless one of artificial stimulation, not destined, not expected, to endure for many years without modification, but wisely generous in its conception and in all its provisions. Only a treatment of the case by means of generous stimulants could have produced any adequate effect in improving, extending, and efficiently applying the national provision of elementary education in England.

Revised Code of 1862.

Certainly neither Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, nor the friends of public education generally, nor, so far as appears, any other party in the country, anticipated that the principles of the scheme of 1846 would be interfered with so soon, or so rudely, as they were by Mr. Lowe's Revised Code of 1862. To understand the principles on which Mr. Lowe proceeded in the revolution which he attempted, but was only able in part to effect, we must regard the 'Revised Code' as it was when he first introduced it. It proceeded on two principles: one was that public education ought to be paid for out of State funds only on the principle of pauper relief; the other was that whatever was paid for, in other than confessedly pauper schools, ought to be paid for only as secular instruction, and on the basis, and according to the amount, of strictly tested and ascertained secular "results" of instruction. Payment as poor relief, payment according to rigidly ascertained results of secular instruction—these were the principles of his "revised code;" both in themselves scientific and statesmanlike principles, but the first of the two utterly inapplicable in the existing condition of England as to popular education, especially elementary education, and the second premature, if strictly applied.

In accordance with the first of these two principles, the revised code proposed to deal out the dole of elementary education to the people as the poor-law would proceed in the case of administering assistance to the indigent. In quantity it was to be a minimum, and it was to be of the plainest quality—rigidly restricted to what was deemed necessary for poor, laboring people; no grant for results was to be made in respect of any child who had either reached the upper age of eleven, or was too young an "infant" to pass the annual examination before the inspector, for infant school training for poor men's children was a sentimental luxury, and before the age of eleven all poor men's children ought to be away from school and to be at labor; and none but laboring people were to be allowed to send their children to the schools. Car-

rying out, as far as he dared, the same general principle, the Vice-President proposed to do away with the second year of training for students at Normal Colleges, and to reduce the Training College Syllabus of instruction to a low and narrow utilitarian standard, such as, no doubt, he regarded as more than sufficient for teachers whose business it was to be to teach such schools as he meant the public elementary schools to be.

I have already intimated that a just principle lay at the basis of Mr. Lowe's proposals, but that it was altogether inapplicable to the existing condition of English society. England was in the condition which Mr. Mill describes as exceptional, "when society in general is in so backward a state that it could not or would not provide for itself" (apart from the action of the State) "any proper institutions of education." "As the less of two evils," Government was, for the present—as it will be doubtless for a considerable period yet in the future—obliged to interfere directly in the promotion and aid of "institutions of education." Apart from the measures which the State had taken, there would have been scarcely any really efficient elementary schools in the country; even after what Government had done during fifteen years, the number of really efficient schools was still far below the needs of the country; it was not only that there was a deficiency of such schools for the poor, there was an equal deficiency of competent elementary schools for all classes, and, in fact, the new inspected schools, intended primarily for the poor, were now seen to be the only schools in the country where trades-people could, for the most part, expect to get an honest and real elementary education for their children; besides all which, even if there had been a larger number of private elementary schools of a genuine and honest character, such was the ignorance of parents generally as to what constituted a real education, that they were quite unable to distinguish the real teacher from the mischievous pretender. Under such educational conditions as these, affecting the whole country, Mr. Lowe's Revised Code was ridiculously inapplicable, and threatened wide and serious mischief to the education of the people.

The revised code further interfered with the existing arrangements as to pupil-teachers, greatly diminishing their number, diminishing also the amount of grant on their behalf, and loosening the dependence of the pupil-teacher on the chief teacher.

It required, also, that all the children in the schools should be grouped and classified for instruction and examination according to age—a regulation which showed a sublime forgetfulness of existing facts as to child life and school conditions.

The capitation grant, that is, a grant per head on the number of children who had attended a certain number of times, had been introduced into the code nearly ten years before, and was always extremely objectionable in principle, because it made the amount of grant earned by the teacher to depend on the accuracy of his own registers of the attendance of the children, the addition of but a single attendance, in some cases, making a claim to a grant for the year on behalf of a scholar who otherwise would earn no grant for the school. But the revised code would have indefinitely increased the demoralizing inducement or temptation involved in the possibility of getting a grant by making a few attendances more than were actually registered in the first instance; for it proposed to make the whole Government grant to any school dependent on the number of the children's attendances over one hundred times, at the rate of one penny per head per school attendance, whether morning or afternoon, the grant for each child being reducible by one-third in case of failure on examination either in writing, or reading, or arithmetic, severally, and by two-thirds in the case of failure in two of these,

and being wholly forfeited if the examination proved a failure in all the three. A capitation grant conditioned, at least in part, on attendance, has in one form or other continued ever since to be the principle of all payments made by the education department to inspected schools. Mr. Lowe was obliged, however, so far to modify his proposal as to make part of the grant dependent on the *average* attendance of the school. But the whole grant has, since 1862, depended, as at any rate one of the conditions, on registration of attendances by the teacher.

This demoralizing feature in our English system ought to be got rid of at all hazards. The results of examination should, I venture to think, be taken irrespective of the attendances of the children examined; and the average number in attendance should be calculated, as it might be with sufficient accuracy, upon the basis of the ratio between the amount of fees paid in by the teacher weekly on account of each department of the school and the fee charged for each child.

We have just seen that the modicum of instruction on which examination was to be made and payment to be obtained per child who passed was the barest minimum possible; that, in fact, it only included reading, writing, and arithmetic. It took no account, among its secular results, to be paid for by grants, of geography, or grammar, or history? These subjects were afterwards, in the course of some years, brought in as extra subjects, and made paying subjects by special minutes of the Privy Council. Of course everything in the nature of elementary art and science—of which not a little had been included in Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth's original plan—was excluded by Mr. Lowe's revision. It has been the business of the Science and Art Department, working collaterally and independently, though in friendly relations, to bring forward such subjects as much as possible, during some years past, by special provisions and pecuniary inducements of which advantage can be taken in all elementary schools. Thus during the last eight or ten years the rigid exclusiveness and studious narrowness of Mr. Lowe's Revised Code has been corrected.

Several of the proposals of the revised code were abandoned or modified at the time because of the pressure of public opinion. The grotesque and cruel proposal to make grants to infant schools entirely dependent on examination in the "three R's," and also the proposal to reduce the term of college training for teachers to one year, had to be abandoned. So, also, the Vice-President was obliged to abandon the idea of classifying and grouping, by force of law, at the examinations, all the children according to age. Even at this moment Government finds itself obliged from year to year to push forward the date at which a similar requirement is to be acted upon, notwithstanding twelve intervening years of educational progress, and the present pressure of compulsion. Perhaps in three or four years from the present time the idea may be carried out. Any practical educationist could not but have known that only in a completely educated nation, a nation in which a broad, pervasive, penetrating, thorough-going system had been in operation for years, could such an idea be carried into effect. Such a plan has not been fully carried into effect. Such a plan has not been fully carried out even in Germany; in England, in 1862, it was a demand at least fifteen years in advance of the times.

The best idea in Mr. Lowe's revision was, perhaps, that of Government payment for strictly and exclusively secular results, an idea which seems to have been first suggested by Mr. Miall in his report as one of the sub-commissioners under the Duke of Newcastle's Commission. But even this was a premature proposal, and operated most unfairly for years. On the original plan of 1846-7, indeed, whatever money was granted by Government was granted

directly for literary results and attainments, whether as an "augmentation" to the teacher's salary on account of his certificate or as dependent on certain conditions of educational provision, such as the presence of an adequate staff of pupil-teachers, with properly built, appointed, and regulated class-rooms; and there was no strictly denominational condition or limitation, nor any doctrinal or definitely religious condition or limitation whatever, connected with these grants, the only absolute requirement of a moral or religious nature being that the school should either be in connection with a Christian Church, or that the Scriptures should be read in it. But there was this difference in the working of the two plans—the plan of 1846 and that of 1862. The original plan of 1846 went upon the generous assumption that where there was adequate attainment and training on the part of the teacher, and where he was properly assisted by an adequate staff, and properly placed in premises fitly constructed and furnished, there would not fail, on the whole—on an average—to be the educational results, moral and intellectual, which were desired. And it recognized distinctly the fact that the results sought for were not simply intellectual. Whereas the revised code made the State contribution to the school to be in a direct and simple proportion to the "secular" results merely, these results themselves being of the lowest and narrowest sort, merely reading, writing, and arithmetic. It treated all besides, whether in the way of moral influence, or of information and instruction, as mere surplusage. It ignored the fact that large masses of the children needed most and first of all to receive such civilizing Christian culture as relates to the temper, the affections, the moral conceptions and habits; it ignored also the equally important fact, as respected such children, that they were mostly so rude and rugged, so ill-nurtured as well as ignorant, so barbarous in speech and thought and feeling, that a difficult and tedious preliminary work of training needed to be done upon them before they could be brought to the same level with others, to the proper starting-point from which children living in civilized homes would begin the course of elementary education. It neglected, also, to take account that these same classes of children were almost always exceedingly irregular in their attendance, so that a world of pains taken with them, during their fitful school-going, would often seem for a long time to produce scarcely any result in the way of ordinary school learning. Those, in short, who had to do the hardest, most needful, and most meritorious work, as child-trainers and rudimentary educators, were, by the revised code, placed at an insurmountable disadvantage as compared with others. A heavy fine was imposed on anything like missionary and philanthropic enterprise and service on the part of teachers. Those could not fail to make the most money who had to teach the well-disposed and fairly civilized children of the working classes in the larger towns, especially in the South and South Midland districts of England, where such rugged independence of style and manners, such ignorance of all conventional proprieties, as are common in many parts of the North of England, are unknown, and where the people, unlike the men of the Northern country parts, grow up from their childhood to speak, not a broad and stiff provincial dialect, but the customary and flexible speech proper to school education and public reading.

No doubt it was right that there should be an individual examination of every scholar, and that some portion of the grant, enough to constitute a sensible inducement to individual painstaking, should be made dependent on the results of the examination. But to make the whole grant dependent on the bare results of mechanical instruction in the lowest rudiments of knowledge was not the way to elevate the teacher's ideal, to encourage the true spirit of training, or to secure what the country most needed. The revised code did

much to infuse a low and mercenary spirit into the body of school teachers. It was wise to extricate the Government grant distinctly and evidently from all direct relation to any other than properly educational conditions and results, apart from any religious considerations whatever; it would have been right to constitute a direct and simple proportion between the Government payment and such school conditions, on the one hand, or such ascertained educational results, on the other hand, as were merely literary or intellectual, so that the Government payment might vary as these conditions or results varied. But, considering the very widely contrasted conditions and circumstances of children in different localities and different social or operative classes, Government aid should not, at that period, have been made to depend on mere examination results, nor should such results have been limited to the three bare elements which alone were recognized in the code.

In the original printed draft of the revised code the grant to the school was reduced, as I have stated, to one amount, calculated at the rate of one penny for each attendance, morning or afternoon, of the scholar *after one hundred times*, reducible, however, by one-third for a failure in each or either of the three rudimentary subjects. Consequently, no teacher would receive anything for any child who had not been one hundred times at school—a most unfair condition, especially in the worst and lowest populations, where the work of the teacher could not but be the hardest and, if faithful, the most meritorious; but where no amount of ability or devotion would be able to secure general regularity of attendance, or to prevent many children from shifting their quarters, with their parents, before they had attended, in the same year, one hundred meetings of the school. And whatever any teacher did get was to have been solely and entirely dependent on the rudimentary examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Mr. Lowe was compelled, on this point, to make a very large concession. His code, as finally modified and sanctioned, provided for two grants; one merely on average attendance, and the other on the results of the examination of those scholars who had attended two hundred meetings of the school. The grant to infant schools was made liberal, and calculable on attendance only, for all children under six years of age.

Such is a general view of the famous revised code. Even after, in concession to the strong remonstrances of educationists, it had been greatly modified —made much milder, much less illiberal—it still remained a memorial of *doctrinaire* economy of a hard, utilitarian type, such as knew nothing of generous wisdom, and little of concession to circumstances, in order to raise the population into better circumstances. Judicious liberality and bounty, at certain stages, may lead, and may be the only way leading, to economy and independence afterwards. This, however, was a doctrine which the framers of the revised code did not seem to have learnt.

NEW CODE AND ACT OF 1870.

Many further modifications have since been introduced in the Privy Council regulations, and now a new code has followed the revised code. By degrees the Syllabus of Training College study has been brought back almost to the high standard adopted in the first years of Privy Council administration. So also the standard of school instruction has been enlarged and elevated, by annexing special pecuniary inducements to the teaching of certain extra subjects. But the aims and standard of the elementary teacher's work had been deeply lowered; the character of the class doubtless suffered greatly in consequence; the pupil-teacher supply was arrested for years. In fact, the profession could scarcely be said to have fairly recovered its position when the

controversies which ushered in the Act of 1870 came to unsettle all feeling upon the subject, followed by the Act itself, which has now reorganized the whole of our national education on a broad and comprehensive basis.

In 1870, when the preliminary and tentative dispensation came to an end, and popular education in England was first organized by Act of Parliament, the number of scholars under instruction in inspected schools in England and Wales was 1,438,872, with an average attendance of 1,153,572. The number in uninspected public schools was 688,555; and in private schools, high and low, as far as can be estimated, very nearly 1,000,000. The number of pauper children between five and thirteen was 164,873. The number left altogether without any pretence of school education could not fairly be reckoned at more than 400,000. But of those whose names were on the register of even the inspected schools a large proportion attended so irregularly as to receive really nothing that could be called education, and to leave with but the slightest tincture of letters, while in the uninspected schools a much larger proportion were left virtually uneducated.

In fact, to unprejudiced and well-informed persons, it had been evident for many years before the Privy Council dispensation of aid to voluntary schools was replaced by the present wider system, that that system alone, notwithstanding the vast and excellent results which it had produced, could not but fall short in one important respect. It could not reach the neediest spots. Where the poor were poorest and most alone and unaided in their poverty, where ignorance and degradation were the worst and the most neglected, the most deprived of neighborly power or will to elevate or help, there the aided voluntary system was often powerless. Neither, of course, could voluntary zeal and benevolence, however great, avail to constrain negligent parents to send their children regularly to school, or to compel insensible parents to send at all to school the children who were growing up utterly undisciplined and untaught. As things were, accordingly, many spots were likely to remain without schools which sorely needed them, and the children who professed to go to school were likely many of them to grow up scarcely the least better for their schooling. Some method of effectual compulsion, it was abundantly evident, was necessary to make any provision, however excellent, of schools and teachers really operative in abiding educational results. As yet, in a word, the most truly destitute places had not been touched; the children of the lowest strata had not been reached; the selfishness of parents still remained the great obstacle in the way of the education of the children; the land-owners, farmers, and manufacturers, most bound to contribute to the work of educating their people, often contributed little or nothing; the resources of voluntaryism had been taxed, in certain directions, until they could hardly be expected to yield much more. Much had been done; a foundation had been laid for nearly all that needed to be accomplished; but the great majority of the working classes were still growing up uneducated.

Denominational Inspection Abandoned.

There was one really objectionable feature in the Privy Council system during all its tentative and preliminary stage with which Mr. Lowe in 1862 was too prudent to meddle. I refer to the principle of denominational inspection. At first this was a necessary concession to religious differences and jealousies. But it was, notwithstanding, in itself every way objectionable. It was a great waste of labor, sending an inspector driving across the country to find, often at considerable distances from each other, scattered British schools, Wesleyan schools, Roman Catholic schools. The Wesleyan denomination, to do them justice, never asked for, they indeed declined to have appointed, a denominational inspector of their own color. But Church of

England inspectors were all Anglican clergymen, British and Wesleyan inspectors were all laymen; Roman Catholic inspectors were Roman Catholics. This was, as I have said, waste of labor; but it was also an administrative recognition, and a public emphasizing of the fact that denominational fears and distrusts asserted themselves even in secular examinations of schools and school children. So long, however, as the Government inspector in public elementary schools of the Church of England examined in religious knowledge it was inevitable that this system should continue. Only clergymen could so examine in Church of England schools, and the exclusive employment of clergymen as inspectors in such schools made it inevitable that other classes of schools should be visited by special and separate inspectors. For some years before 1870 there had been suggestions from various quarters that denominational inspection ought to be done away, and all schools, of whatever denomination, put together into districts defined purely by geographical considerations, and visited in each district by the same district inspector, without any more regard to his denomination than to that of the various schools. This feature of the Privy Council system was done away by the Act of 1870.

Pupil-Teacher System.

Many things may change in our English system of popular education. Grants of all sorts may be done away; all public Training Colleges, all public schools, including municipal schools or parochial schools, established out of the rates, may become self-supporting institutions; all parents, except those recognized as paupers or quasi-paupers, paying the full price of the schooling given to their children; in all these respects public education in England may be revolutionized. But it is hardly a risk to predict that, at least for a very long time to come, the pupil-teacher system must continue to rule in this country. It has been brought here to a degree of maturity and development elsewhere unknown; and it is pre-eminently adapted to the conditions of English society.

The very great advantage of the pupil-teacher system over that of separate large classes and separate adult teachers without any pupil-teacher aid, for schools of primary education, may be stated under five particulars: (1.) They secure to the chief teacher the needful aid in the most rudimentary work of instruction, so that all the children can be kept continually at work and in order, so that particular pains can be taken with those who are particularly slow or backward, and so that the chief teacher can bestow proper attention on the most important and difficult points of instruction, and can carry forward his most advanced scholars in proportion to their age and capacity. For want of pupil-teachers all this is imperfectly performed, both in Germany and in France, notwithstanding the low salaries given in those countries to adult teachers. In this country, where wages of all sorts are so high, the case would be much worse than in Germany or in France, if the only teachers employed were adult teachers. In the United States, as we have seen, the want of a system of pupil-teachers in combination with an effective provision of Normal Colleges and of college training, tested by proper examinations, is the source of some of the worst evils complained of in the State Reports on Education. At present such a system is rendered impracticable by the prevalent character of the schools and of the school teachers in the States. (2.) I may venture to affirm that, even apart from any consideration of expense, or of the available supply of teaching power, the use of pupil-teachers in an elementary school, under special direction, and for certain sorts of very elementary instruction, is greatly to be desired. If an able teacher, in not too large a school, had to choose between the help of one adult assistant, and two

capable and well-disposed pupil-teachers, I believe, in the great majority of cases, he would choose the pupil-teachers, and that he would choose rightly. He could more completely impress his own individuality on the school through their help than he could by the agency of an assistant. They are his apprentices; they have grown up in the school and are identified with it; they are still to continue in it till their apprenticeship is completed. He can have no such hold, nor can the school or the school committee have such a hold of an assistant who, if he can find a better place, will leave within the year, as of his pupil-teachers; nor can his own mind and will, his spirit and methods, operate through the independent and perhaps rival individuality of his assistant, as they can through the pupil-teachers. An assistant-teacher, in fact, is only in place in a large school, and there it ought to be made worth his while to remain for a considerable period, side by side, and working in complete sympathy and harmony with the chief teacher. It would be well, also, if such an assistant-teacher had himself the help continually of one or two pupil-teachers, all the staff, the while, working under the supreme sway of the will and individuality of the chief teacher. There is, moreover, one other point respecting the work of pupil-teachers to be borne in mind. It is an entire mistake to suppose that young people in their teens are not adapted to teach younger children. They are often, as to some points, the very best of teachers. Elder children, who clearly understand what is to be taught, have a wonderful homely, ready, simple, naïve way of teaching younger children. They have also, when really gifted for their work, a lightness, a pleasantness, a buoyancy—I had almost said a gayety—and withal a cheery patience in their teaching, which make them invaluable in a school-room. (3.) Elementary school teachers, in this as in other countries, will, there can be no doubt, continue to be drawn largely, although not henceforth exclusively, from the families of thoughtful and superior working people, in the receipt of weekly wages. Now the pupil-teacher system, taking hold of the best and fittest children of this class at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and securing to them moderate remuneration for their services at school, together with the continuance of their education under their school teachers, and a gradual preparation for the business of their lives, makes it possible to retain in the needful large proportion the services of the children of the class I have described. But how would it be if there were no pupil-teacher system? It would be absurd to expect that laboring people, as a rule, or in any large or adequate proportion, would forego, or allow their children to forego, the high weekly wages now to be realized by the employment of intelligent children, and would be at the further charge of keeping them still at school for five years together, until they were of an age to pass their examination and enter a training college. In the country districts of frugal Germany, where the peasants are all in a sort small farmers, where the labor market does not compete for juvenile labor, where young people, faring hard and scantily at home, and clad yet, as in former centuries, in home-spun, may be content to spend the years of their youth partly in labor on the family acre, and partly in study, students may be provided for Normal Colleges without the pupil-teacher system. Or in France, where elementary education is largely in the hands of Roman Catholic fraternities and sisterhoods, the supply of teachers may be kept up without our system. But in England, if it were not for the pupil-teacher system, we should either have our Normal Colleges left without candidates, or such candidates would be derived, almost exclusively, from the families of clerks, of unwealthy clergymen, and the poorer professional men in general. (4.) Elementary education is, in large measure, an art; and requires, in order to success in its conduct, tact, expe-

rience, and practised skill of a fine quality. The more supple the faculties, the more alert and youthful the energy, the more susceptible the sensibility, the more likelihood is there of superior teaching power. To such an art young people should be apprenticed early, if they are to be fully molded to it; the earlier the better, if the knowledge and the physical strength and energy be adequate. What is youth for but to prepare for manhood? To omit the pupil-teacher apprenticeship from the total preparation of the future teacher would be to throw away the finest opportunity of laying the basis, in life's most plastic period, for all the professional training and life-work of the future. (5.) Finally, the pupil-teacher apprenticeship affords the opportunity of fully testing the aptitude of pupil-teachers for a life-work of teaching, before they take the decisive step of entering a Training College; while, in the case of those who, during their trial, prove not to be adapted for the work, the additional education and the training in habits of exactness and attention which they have received, will only make them better prepared for many other departments in the business and service of life. At the same time it is proper and needful to say that the present age at which pupil-teachers are apprenticed is younger by at least one year than is desirable.

Female Teachers.

There is another feature of our English system in which it excels all others, and that is the extensive employment of highly-trained female teachers—professional teachers—in our public schools. There is nothing like it in the world besides. In the United States female teachers are largely employed, because in such a country the extremely low salaries generally given to teachers will not attract the permanent services of competent men; but the female teachers of America are seldom trained for their profession,* and, as a rule, only take up the work as a temporary interlude in life. In France female trained teachers are extensively employed, but these teachers are Roman Catholic *réligieuses*, separated from family and common life. In Germany, and throughout the Protestant countries of the Continent generally, women are seldom or never trained or employed as teachers; because, in fact, their recognized sphere, in all but the superior classes of society, is to drudge in menial toil, either within the house, or in the garden, or in the field. In educated Germany, whatever may be said of the respectability and superiority of the German village school teacher, that village teacher's sister is almost universally devoted to hard and coarse field labor, such as impresses upon her very early an appearance of servile and severe degradation, blots out every trace of refinement, and makes her, whilst still in middle life, appear prematurely old.

Infant Schools.

In Germany the infant school system is no part of public education. The school age there begins several years later than in this country. I cannot but regard that as a radical defect. It necessarily appertains to a scheme of education which excludes pupil-teachers and female teachers. In America, as I have already stated, infant schools are little known. Our English infant school system is one of our chief educational advantages. Having this, if we had but also a thoroughly settled and developed half-time system for children who have attained the age of ten, and have passed the fourth standard of examination, there can be no doubt that in this country we should be able to meet the demands of the generation both in respect of elementary education and of the juvenile labor market.

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* The latest statistics of the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education show in 1874 an attendance of 12,521 females, out of 24,405 registered pupils of 124 Normal Schools of the United States.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ACT OF 1870.

HISTORICAL DATA.*

THE main features of the Elementary School Act of 1870 are local boards and local rating, the preservation and utilization of existing schools, the incorporation in one system of the voluntary schools and the newly created Board schools, the power of converting or transforming voluntary schools into Board schools, the universal requisition and enforcement of a strict Conscience Clause, the separation of the voluntary provision for religious instruction from the public provision and responsibility for secular instruction, and the permissive provisions for compulsory education.

The immediate progenitor of Mr. Forster's Cabinet measure of 1870 is to be found in the 'Education of Poor Bill,' which was brought into the House of Commons in 1867, by Mr. Bruce, Mr. W. E. Forster, and Mr. Algernon Egerton. There can be as little doubt that the real, though not so modern or so well remembered, original of this Bill was the 'Manchester and Salford Boroughs Education Bill,' which was brought into the House of Commons in the Session of 1851–2. Mr. Egerton, whose name stood on the back of the later Bill, was confessedly the personal representative of the same earnest and influential union of the friends of education in Manchester which brought forward the earlier Bill. Fourteen or fifteen years, indeed, had not passed without taking away some who had taken an active part in preparing the Bill of 1851. Mr. Entwisle, M.P., was no longer living; others had died or had left Manchester. But Canon Richson and several more still remained at their post ready to lend their best help to any honest endeavor to solve the educational problem of the nation. These, joined by some earnest and candid men, who had originally been supporters of Mr. Fox's Secular Bill, but who had learned practical wisdom by the experience of the intervening years, put the machinery into motion, which in 1867 brought forth to public view the Bill of Messrs. Bruce, Forster, and Egerton, of whom the two former belonged, in 1867, to 'Her Majesty's Opposition.' It is not possible, indeed, to read the projected Bill of 1851 without recognizing that it contains the substance of the Bill which was brought forward in 1867. The points of coincidence between the two may be noted. Both were devised in Manchester; both had reference to individual boroughs (or districts); in both the local authority was to be the District Committee elected by the Town Council (or by the rate payers in other districts); both gave such Committees authority to levy local rates; both adopted existing schools as the basis of operation, and only contemplated the establishment of new schools in order to supplement the others where there might be need; both provided for the transference on fair terms of existing schools to the District Committee; both assumed that in all schools under the District Committee the reading of the Holy Scriptures should be part of the daily instruction of the scholars; both enforced a Conscience Clause, substantially equivalent to that which is contained in the present Government Act; both made provision for a system of local and subordinate inspection; both recognized the supreme

* Dr. Rigg's *National Education*—Chapter X. (Abridged.)

authority of the Committee of Privy Council over the local schools and the local inspection; both erred by reason of their large provision of free education. The Manchester and Salford Bill, indeed, provided for the universal remission of fees in district schools, and the universal payment of fees on a certain defined scale in incorporated voluntary schools. The Bill of 1867 provided for the separate establishment of free schools as a special class of schools.

Add to the Bill of 1867 the strong outline of administrative interference which, about the same period, Mr. Lowe sketched out as necessary in order to carry out the work of national education; add further, the compulsory clauses which Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Bazley desired to add to the Bill of Messrs. Bruce, Forster, and Egerton; and we have, in fact, the Bill of 1870, as originally prepared by Mr. Forster. In his address, delivered at Edinburgh, in November, 1867, on Classical and Primary Education, Mr. Lowe expressed himself as follows:—

> I would say, commence a survey and report upon Great Britain, parish by parish; report to the Privy Council in London the educational wants in each parish, the number of schools, the number of children, and what is wanted to be done in order to place within the reach of the people of that parish a sufficient amount of education. When that has been done, I think it should be the duty of the Privy Council to give notice to that parish that they should found a school, or whatever may be wanted for the purposes of that parish. If the parish found a school, then it would be the duty of the Privy Council to assist it, and that in the same way as it assists the schools already in existence. If the parish does not agree to do what needs to be done, then I think there ought to be power vested in the Privy Council, or the Secretary of State, or some other great responsible public officer, to make a compulsory rate on them to found that school. I think the schools they found should be entitled to the same inspection and examination as the schools already in existence, and receive the same grants for results.

Between 1851 and 1867, two schemes had been introduced into the House of Commons, from opposite sides of the House, one by Lord John Russel in 1856 (*Resolutions for Establishing a System of Education*), and the other by Sir J. Pakington (*The Borough Education Bill*), both of which embodied the essential principles of the Manchester and Salford Bill, and helped to prepare the country and Parliament for accepting the principles of Mr. Forster's Bill in 1870. To Manchester, therefore, we owe the line of ideas and influence, educational and political, which has brought the nation into the possession of the present Education Act.*

Mr. Forster's Bill.

Mr. Lowe, in 1867, after the passage of the Reform Bill by the Tory Government, declared that one of the first and most pressing duties of the new Parliament would be to teach their new 'masters

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* Dr. Rigg denies the claim set up on behalf of the Birmingham League, to the compulsory element of the Act of 1870, inasmuch as the form and degree in which that element appears, was suggested in the Manchester Bill and Conference.

their letters.' The Duke of Marlborough, as a member of Mr. Disraeli's Government, had brought in a bill in 1868, for the settlement and extension of public elementary education, but it was inadequate to meet the necessities of the case—it went, indeed, almost wholly upon the old foundations—and the Tory Government were in no position to carry it through. When, in 1868–9, the Liberal Government acceeded to office, and Mr. Forster became Vice-President of the Council, it was understood from the first that a measure for extending and consolidating national education must come to the front. Such a measure was announced as to be brought forward in the Queen's Speech for 1870, and Mr. Forster, Dr. Arnold's son-in-law, the brother-in-law of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Educational Inspector and Commissioner, himself also one who had taken a very thorough and deep interest in popular education for years, who had often spoken on the subject in Parliament, who was a practical manager of elementary day schools, and had, along with Mr. Bruce and Mr. Egerton, brought forward an Education Bill of acknowledged merit in the House of Commons two or three years before, was very distinctly marked out as specially fitted, as Vice-President of the Council, to undertake the question.

Accordingly, on the 17th of February, 1870, Mr. Forster moved for and obtained leave to bring in the Government Elementary Education Bill, and, in so doing, explained the general principles of the measure. Of the scope and chief provisions of the Bill, I shall soon speak particularly. Here I need only remark, to explain what immediately follows, that one provision of the Bill was that, to whatever extent a final deficiency of school accommodation should be ascertained in any district, that deficiency should be met by means of schools to be founded, and in part sustained, by local rates, and that the local authorities—the local School Board which, in all such cases, was to be created—should be left to decide what should be the religious complexion of such schools, and how the religious instruction, if any, should be imparted in them. On the 14th of March he moved the second reading of the Bill. At this stage, Mr. Dixon, the chairman and Parliamentary representative of the Birmingham League for the promotion of secular, free, and compulsory education, moved an amendment to the effect that no measure could be satisfactory which left the question of religious instruction in schools supported out of national funds and local rates to be determined by local authorities. There had been three nights' discussion on asking leave to bring in the Bill, and there

were again three nights's discussion on the second reading, but Mr. Dixon withdrew his amendment after the discussion, and the second reading passed without a division. Three months now elapsed, during which the Bill made no progress, owing to the way being blocked by the Irish Land Bill. That measure, however, having passed, the Committee on the Education Bill was taken on the 16th June. The Prime Minister on that occasion announced several important changes which Government proposed to make in the Bill —changes so important that it was agreed, after some discussion, that the Bill should be reprinted and re-committed. The modified Bill was, accordingly, brought forward again in Committee four days later (June 20), and was discussed for four long nights. On this occasion Mr. Dixon, as representing the Birmingham League, retired in favor of Mr. H. Richard. Mr. Richard, seconded by Sir Charles Dilke, moved a resolution to the effect that 'the existing denominational schools should not be increased;' that attendance ought to be made every where compulsory, and that religious instruction ought to be supplied by voluntary effort and not out of public funds. To the last point it was replied in effect that, in denominational schools, the religious instruction was not and would not be supplied out of public funds, that the public funds were contributed, as expressly stated in the Bill itself, only as payment for secular instruction. Mr. Richard's motion was lost by a majority of 361, the votes in its favor numbering 60. The Bill was pressed so diligently forward that, notwithstanding the innumerable amendments of which notice had been given, it passed through Committee in a month, and on the day after the Committee's work was ended, its third reading in the Commons was taken (July 22nd). On the same day it was read a first time in the House of Lords; it was read a second time on the 25th; it entered and paased through Committee in the House of Lords on the 29th; the amendments were reported on the 1st of August, and the third reading taken on the second. On the 4th the Lords' amendments were reported to the Commons, and, for the most part, agreed to. On the 8th the Commons' disagreement from certain amendments was reported to the Lords, and admitted by their lordships, the same being reported to the Commons the next day. On the same day (August 9) the Royal Assent was given to the Bill, and it became an Act and Statute of Parliament.

[The principles which underlie the Act of 1870, are set forth in the following outline of its provisions:—]

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION IN 1870.

The objects of the act 'to provide for public elementary education, Aug. 9, 1870,' which applies only to England and Wales, are the supply of elementary schools in districts, which have not a sufficient supply of public school accommodation, the maintenance and regulation of all public elementary schools, and their general supervision by the State.

For these important objects, the 'Education Department,' or, in other words, the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, have most extensive powers.

Definition of an Elementary School.

The term 'elementary school' means a school or department of a school at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and does not include any school or department of a school at which the ordinary payments, in respect of the instruction, from each scholar, exceed nine pence a week.

School Districts.

The school districts, as set forth in the First Schedule of the Act, are The Metropolis—Boroughs, except Oxford—the District of the local board of Oxford—and Parishes not included in any of the above-named districts.

Supply of Schools.

It is enacted that there shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools (as hereinafter defined) available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made, and that where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation, in the Act referred to as 'public school accommodation,' the deficiency shall be supplied in the manner provided by the Act. That is to say—where the Education Department are satisfied (through returns which they shall cause to be made, and after such inquiry, if any, as they think necessary,) and have given public notice, that there is an insufficient amount of public school accommodation for any school district, and the deficiency is not supplied, the Department shall cause a school board to be formed for the district, and shall send a requisition to the school board so formed, requiring them to take proceedings forthwith for supplying the public school accommodation mentioned in the requisition, and the school board shall supply the same accordingly.

In doing this, the Education Department must take into condsideration every school, whether public elementary or not, and whether actually situated in the school district or not, which, in their opinion, gives, or will, when completed, give, efficient elementary education to, and is, or will, when completed, be suitable for, the children of such district.

It is imperatively enacted that the Education Department shall take proceedings for the supply of schools immediately after the passing of the Act, and the same in future years, after the receipt of returns, sub-

sequent to the first, with respect to any school district, and after such inquiry as they may deem necessary.

Again, where application is made to the Education Department with respect to any school district by the persons who, if there were a school board in that district, would elect the school board, or with respect to any borough, by the council; or where the Education Department are satisfied that the managers of any elementary school in any school district are unable or unwilling any longer to maintain such school, and that, if the school is discontinued, the amount of public school accommodation for such district will be insufficient; the Education Department may, if they think fit, without making the inquiry or publishing the notices required by the Act before the formation of a school board, but after such inquiry, public or other, and such notice, as they think sufficient, cause a school board to be formed for such district, and send a requisition to such school board requiring them to take proceedings forthwith for supplying the public school accommodation mentioned in the requisition.

Here we have, so far, a most effective system for the sufficient supply of public school accommodation to the children of the working classes. The Education Department, through the returns which they are authorized and enjoined to procure, are thoroughly informed as to the supply of elementary schools in all parts of the metropolis, and every borough and parish of England and Wales. These returns may be supplemented by any inquiry the Department may think necessary; and the returns and inquiries will be repeated periodically, as they may be required. Accordingly, proceedings were taken by the Department, immediately on the passing of the Act, to have school boards elected, whose duty it is to supply, maintain, and carry on the requisite additional schools in the most efficient manner, under the inspection and control of the Department, on which it is imperative to see that this is done.

Evidently, with a view to urging the immediate general establishment of schools, where required, it was enacted that no parliamentary grant should be made in aid of building, enlarging, improving, or fitting up any elementary school, except in pursuance of a memorial duly signed, and containing the information required by the Education Department for enabling them to decide on the application, and sent to the Education Department on or before the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

The effect of this provision will be seen in the following facts:—

In the year 1870, grants were made for building 78, and enlarging or improving 96 schools.

From the commencement of the operations of the Committee of the Council on Education in 1839 to the end of 1870, grants were made for building 5,016, and enlarging or improving 2,319 schools.

In the year 1870, the Committee received no less than 3,230 applications for aid; viz., 1,723 to erect new bulldings, 1,479 to enlarge or im-

prove schools, and 28, in which it was doubtful whether the applicants wished to enlarge or rebuild. Of these 3,230 applications, no fewer than 3,111 were received between the 1st of August and 31st of December, and the great majority in the last two months of the year.

It is a significant fact that of these 3,230 applications, less than one-tenth were from Nonconformists and Undenominationalists, and more than nine-tenths were from members of the Church of England and other Denominationalists. This is an additional proof of the great majority of the people being in favor of Denominational Education.

School boards, it will be understood, are constituted for the purpose of establishing and maintaining rate-aided unsectarian schools, to supplement schools previously existing, whether denominational or others, so as to fill up every void, and completely supply the educational necessities of the country.

There are two classes of schools, therefore, now under the supervision of the Education Department of the Privy Council: viz., first, all Church of England, British and Foreign, Catholic, and other voluntary schools, which comply with the conditions which constitute 'Public Elementary Schools,' and, secondly, those which are the special creation of the new Act—School Board Schools—also complying with the same conditions.

Let us now see what these conditions are; and what is the difference between the two classes of schools.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

It is enacted that every elementary school which is conducted in accordance with the following regulations shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of the Act; and that every public elementary school shall be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which regulations shall be conspicuously put up in every such school); namely—

1. It shall not be required as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs:

2. The time or times during which any religious observance is practiced or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time-table to be approved by the Education Department, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every school-room; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school:

3. The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book:

4. The school shall be conducted in accordance with the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual parliamentary grant.

Parliamentary Grant.

Under the new Act, no parliamentary grant can be made to any elementary school, which is not a 'public elementary school' within the meaning of the Act.

Conditions of the Annual Parliamentary Grant.

The conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school, in order to obtain an annual parliamentary grant, are those contained in the minutes of the Education Department in force for the time being, and, among other matters, provide that after March 31, 1871—

(1.) Such grants shall not be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects:

(2.) Such grant shall not for any year exceed the income of the school for that year which was derived from voluntary contributions, and from school fees, and from any sources other than the parliamentary grant;

but such conditions do not require that the school shall be in connection with a religious denomination, or that religious instruction shall be given in the school, and do not give any preference or advantage to any school on the ground that it is or is not provided by a school board.

The managers of every elementary school are empowed to fulfill the conditions required in pursuance of the Act to be fulfilled in order to obtain a parliamentary grant, notwithstanding any provision contained in any instrument regulating the trusts or management of their school, and to apply such grant accordingly.

The preliminary conditions of the annual grant, set forth in the New Code of Regulations of the Privy Council, under date Feb 7, 1871, are:—

Before any grant is made to a school the Education Department must be satisfied that—

(*a.*) The school is conducted as a public elementary school; and no child is refused admission to the school on other than reasonable grounds.

(*b.*) The school is not carried on with a view to private emolument.

(*c.*) The school premises are healthy, well lighted, drained, and ventilated, properly furnished, supplied with suitable offices, and contain in the principal school-room at least 80 cubical feet of internal space, and in the school-room and class-room at least 8 square feet of area, for each child in average attendance.

(*d.*) The principal teacher is certificated.

Exception:—An evening school may be taught by an assistant teacher fulfilling the conditions of Article 79.

(*e.*) Notice is immediately given to the Department of the date at which the teacher enters on the charge of the school, from which date the grant is computed.

(*f.*) The girls in the school are taught plain needlework and cutting-out as part of the ordinary course of instruction.

(*g.*) The infants, if any, attending the school are instructed suitably to their age, and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of the older children.

(*h.*) Registers of admission and daily attendance, and accounts of income and expenditure, are accurately kept and duly audited: and all statistical returns and certificates of character (Articles 67, 77, and 80) may be accepted as trustworthy.

(*i.*) Three persons have designated one of their number to sign the receipt for the grant on behalf of the school.

Exception:—The treasurer of a school board signs the receipt for grants to schools provided by the board

Up to the period of the new Act coming into operation, Government gave its annual aid to all elementary schools, in consideration of the religious, as well as secular, instruction imparted therein. *Now*, the Parliamentary grant is given solely in consideration of secular instruction, and no note whatever is taken, by the State, of religious instruction. Under the former system, Her Majesty's inspectors were bound to examine into not only the secular, but the religious, teaching of the great majority of the schools of the country—those of the Church of England—and to report to the Education Department on the quality as well as the quantity of said religious instruction; and as regards the British and other Protestant schools not in connection with the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and other Scottish schools, and Catholic schools, the State gave them credit for imparting religious instruction, but did not take any cognizance of the quantity or quality thereof. In fact, all schools got credit, in the amount of Parliamentary grant allocated to them severally, for religious instruction imparted. Now, under the new system, no cognizance whatever is taken of religious instruction by the Education Department; and it is expressly enacted, as we have just seen, that to public elementary schools 'the parliamentary grant shall not be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects.'

Furthermore, religious instruction is prohibited, during the ordinary school hours, in all schools under the supervision of the Department; but in the first class of schools—voluntary and denominational—it is permitted (not enjoined) either before or after, or both before and after the ordinary school hours.

That religious instruction would thus be given in extra hours, in voluntary and denominational schools, appears to have been contemplated, as certain, by the framers of the Act, as is evidenced by the following provisions:—

> Where the managers of any public elementary school not provided by a school board desire to have their school inspected or the scholars therein examined, as well in respect of religious as of other subjects, by an inspector other than one of Her Majesty's inspectors, such managers may fix a day or days not exceeding two in any one year for such inspection or examination.
>
> The managers shall, not less than fourteen days before any day so fixed, cause public notice of the day to be given in the school, and notice in writing of such day to be conspicuously affixed in the school.
>
> On any such day any religious observance may be practiced, and any instruction in religious subjects given at any time during the meeting of the school, but any scholar who has been withdrawn by his parent from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects shall not be required to attend the school on any such day.

Under the new Code of Minutes of the Education Department (1871), four hours a day are fixed as the minimum attendance for instruction in secular subjects; viz., two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. Religious instruction must be outside of these. It, therefore, has become a much more difficult matter than formerly, when instruction in religious subjects might be given at any time. The

difficulty can be met only by great zeal and attention on the part of the managers and teachers. The school-room, no doubt, may be freely used for religious instruction and religious exercises in extra hours, notice thereof being given in the time-table affixed in the school-room. Moreover, in such matters of secular instruction as may occasionally border on religious controversy—history for instance—the State observes complete neutrality, as regards the books to be used. Then, there is no prohibition of texts of Scripture being inscribed on the walls, or a Crucifix, or a statue of the Blessed Virgin being set up in the school-room, as formerly, if the managers please. But the law is imperative that there shall be no instruction whatever in religious subjects, during the ordinary school hours.

But while instruction in religious subjects is permitted, outside the ordinary school hours, in voluntary schools receiving the annual Parliamentary grant, it is altogether prohibited in school-board schools, which also receive the Parliamentary grant, and, furthermore, are built and maintained by public rates, and managed by boards elected by the rate-payers. For, with respect to these latter, it is enacted, that every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such board in accordance with the following regulations:—

(1.) The school shall be a public elementary school, within the meaning of this Act:

(2.) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.

Let us now glance at the provisions for the election of school boards, their constitution, management, source of income, and powers and functions, under the Act.

SCHOOL BOARDS.

It is enacted that the school board shall be elected—in a borough by the persons whose names are on the burgess roll of such borough for the time being in force, and in a parish not situate in the metropolis by the rate-payers.

The school board for London is elected, in the city by the same persons and in like manner as common councilmen are elected, and in the other divisions of the metropolis by the same persons and in the same manner as vestrymen, under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855, and the Acts amending the same. The school board for Oxford, nine in number, is elected, six by the rate-payers, and three by the University.

At every election, every voter is entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of the members of the school board to be elected, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit.

The Act provides that the number of members of a school board (except the school board of the Metropolis) shall be such number, not less than five nor more than fifteen, as may be determined in the first

instance by the Education Department, and afterwards, from time to time, by a resolution of the school board, approved by the Education Department.

The Education Department have, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, fixed the number of members of the school board for London at forty-nine, the numbers for the several divisions being respectively—Chelsea four, City four, Finsbury six, Greenwich four, Hackney five, Lambeth five, Marylebone seven, Soutwark four, Tower Hamlets five, and Westminster five. The Education Department have the power of altering any of these numbers, by way of increase or decrease, hereafter, as the population or rateable value of any of the divisions may vary.

The Recorder of London is named returning officer for the first election of the school board of London; and his ten deputy returning officers are severally named in the orders of the Education Department; viz., the Secondary of the City of London for the City, and vestry clerks of certain parishes for the other nine districts.

The returning officer for the first election of the school board of the district of the local board of Oxford is the chairman of the said local board, or a member thereof appointed by the said local board for the purpose.

The returning officer of a borough, under the Act, is the Mayor or a deputy appointed under his hand.

The returning officer of school boards in parishes not situate within municipal boroughs, or within the Metropolis, is the clerk of the union of which the parish forms part, or the person for the time being discharging the duties of such clerk.

Triennial Election and Retirement of Members.

The school boards are elected for three years. The day for the triennial retirement of members is the day prescribed by some minute or order of the Education Department. Members retiring are re-eligible. Members chosen to fill the office of retiring members come into office on the day for retirement, and hold office for three years only. Casual vacancies are filled up by an election directed by an order of the Education Department.

Disqualification of Members by Non-attendance.

If a member of the school board absents himself during six successive months from all meetings of the board, except from temporary illness, or other cause to be approved by the board, or is punished with imprisonment for any crime, or is adjudged bankrupt, or enters into a composition or arrangement with his creditors, it is enacted that such person shall cease to be a member of the school board, and his office shall thereupon be vacant.

The Act provides that no member of a school board or manager appointed by them shall have any place of profit vested in the school board or in any way share or be concerned in the profits of any bargain or contract with the school board, save any sale of land or loan of

money to a school board, or any bargain or contract made with or work done by a company in which such member holds shares, or the insertion of any advertisement relating to the affairs of any such school board in any newspaper in which such member has a share or interest, provided always that he does not vote with respect to such sale, loan, bargain, contract, work, or insertion.

Constitution of a School Board.

It is provided by the 30th section that the school board shall be a body corporate, by the name of the school board of the district to which they belong, having a perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to acquire and hold land for the purposes of the Act, without any license in mortmain.

Thus, the system is eminently popular in its basis. Every inhabitant of each district, who pays rates, has a vote in the election of the school board. Therefore the school board, generally speaking, must be a fair representation of the district for which it acts. It is to be hoped that the rate-payers are, as a body, anxious for, as, no doubt, their interests are deeply involved in, the education—that is, education in its strict sense—of the masses around them. Consequently, it is but fit that they, through their elected representatives on the school board, should take part in carrying out the system of public elementary school instruction, contemplated by the Act. Besides, as the school fund will, to a considerable extent, be furnished out of the rates which they pay, and, as regards the Parliamentary grant, out of the taxes to which they contribute their proportion, it is considered only fair that they should have a voice in the matter.

The Cumulative Vote.

The clause enabling a voter to give all his votes to one candidate, or to distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit, is of more consequence than at first sight may appear. For instance, it enables a minority to be at least represented, if they can not be in force, on the board; and this, in itself, is of much value. Let us suppose a district in England, in which the Wesleyans, or Presbyterians, or Catholics are a small minority. The rate-payers of any one of these denominations will naturally, under the circumstances, agree among themselves to give all their votes for one candidate, and thus they will have a representative to press their views and guard their interests; and it is to be hoped that the views of a particular creed, even though a small minority, will receive fair consideration from every board, when those views do not contravene any provision of the Act, or do not run counter to the interests of any other communion. Englishmen are proverbially lovers of fair play, and hence we may anticipate that it will very rarely occur that large majorities on school boards will abuse their power and unnecessarily hurt the conscientious feelings of small minorities of their fellow-subjects.

That this is no mere surmise, but is actually borne out, in point of

fact, will be seen in the following graceful tribute, lately paid by Archbishop Manning to the fairness of the London School Board—

I can not leave this part of the subject without openly declaring that not only has the London School Board in this matter acted with a signal justness and fairness towards our Catholic children, but there never has been a single instance in which they have not immediately transferred to our Catholic schools those Catholic children who had been brought up by their boy-beadles. The one only instance in which that transfer failed was not the fault of the School Board. I wish also to say that the conduct of some 42 unions and boards of guardians throughout the metropolitan district has been, with very rare exceptions indeed—and those exceptions were sometimes comic, and always unimportant—fair, upright, just, and honorable.

Appointment of Managers by School Board.

The school board may, if they think fit, from time to time, delegate any of their powers under the Act, except the power of raising money, and in particular may delegate the control and management of any school provided by them, with or without any conditions or restrictions, to a body of managers appointed by them, consisting of not less than three persons.

The school board may from time to time remove all or any of such managers, and, within the limits allowed by this section, add to or diminish the number of, or otherwise alter the constitution or powers of any body of managers formed by it.

Managers so appointed may resign, on giving written notice to the school board.

Rules to be observed by School Managers.

The following are the rules, to be observed, respecting the proceedings of bodies of managers appointed by a school board:—

The managers may elect a chairman of their meetings. If no such chairman is elected, or if the chairman elected is not present at the time appointed for holding the same, the members present must choose one of their number to be chairman of such meeting. The managers may meet and adjourn as they think proper. The quorum of the managers must consist of such number of members as may be prescribed by the school board that appointed them, or, if no number be prescribed, of three members. Every question at a meeting must be determined by a majority of votes of the members present and voting on that question, and in case of an equal division of votes the chairman has a second or casting vote.

The proceedings of the managers are not invalidated by any vacancy or vacancies of their number.

Managers of existing schools may transfer same to School Board.

The managers of any elementary school in the district of a school board may, in manner provided by the Act, make an arrangement with the school board for transferring their school to such board, and the school board may assent to such arrangement—this of course with the consent of the Education Department, and, if there are annual subscribers to such school, with the consent of a majority, not being less than two-thirds in number, of those of the annual subscribers who are present at a meeting duly summoned for the purpose, and vote on the question.

Every school so transferred will, to such extent and during such times as the school board have under such arrangement any control over the school, be deemed to be a school provided by the school board. Therefore, under the 14th section of the Act, no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination can be taught in such school.

United School Districts.

Where the Education Department are of opinion that it would be expedient to form a school district larger than a borough or a parish, or any school district formed under the Act, they may, except in the metropolis, by order made after such inquiry and notice as hereinafter mentioned, form a united school district, by uniting any two or more adjoining school districts, and, upon such union, cause a school board to be formed for such united school district.

A united school district is, for all the purposes of the Act, deemed to be a school district, and is throughout the Act deemed to be substituted for the school districts out of which it is constituted, and the school board of the united school district is the school board appointed under this Act, and the local rate and rating authority for the united districts are in each of the constituent districts thereof the same as if each constituent district did not form a part of the united school district.

Expenses of a School Board—The School Fund.

It is enacted that the expenses of a school board shall be paid out of a fund called the school fund; that there shall be carried to the school fund all moneys received as fees from scholars, or out of moneys provided by Parliament, or raised by way of loan, or in any manner whatever received by the school board; and that any deficiency shall be raised by the school board as follows:—

Deficiency of School Fund to be Raised out of Local Rates.

It is provided that any sum required to meet any deficiency in the school fund, whether for satisfying past or future liabilities, shall be paid by the rating authority out of the local rate.

The school board are empowered to serve their precept on the rating authority, requiring such authority to pay the amount specified therein to the treasurer of the school board out of the local rate, and the rating authority are bound to pay the same accordingly, and the amount so paid is to be carried to the school fund.

If the rating authority have no moneys in their hands in respect of the local rate, they are bound, or, if they have paid the amount, then, for the purpose of reimbursing themselves, they are permitted, notwithstanding any limit under any Act of Parliament or otherwise, to levy the said rate or any contributions thereto, or any increase of the said rate or contributions; and, for that purpose, they are given the same powers of levying a rate and requiring contributions as they have for the purpose of defraying expenses to which the local rate is ordinarily applicable.

In case of default by the rating authority in paying the amount specified by the school board, the school board are empowered to appoint an officer or officers for the purpose, and the persons so appointed have all the powers of making and levying a rate, that belong to the rating authority, in the matter.

Thus, it will be seen, the school boards have the most ample powers, under the Act, for raising out of the local rates all moneys they may require to supply any deficiency in the school fund.

We shall now see that, besides their power of raising the necessary funds, they are empowered in the fullest manner not only to provide

schools and school requisites, but also to establish free schools in poor places, remit school fees in particular cases of poverty, and to build, maintain, and contribute to industrial schools—in a word, to supply in the most ample manner the educational wants of their respective districts.

Powers for Providing Schools and School Requisites.

Every school board is empowered, under the Act, to provide, whether in obedience to any requisition or not, by building or otherwise, school-houses properly fitted up, and to improve, enlarge, and fit up any school-house provided by them, and to supply school apparatus and every thing necessary for the efficiency of the schools, and also to take on lease any land, and any right over land for such purpose.

There is also a provision for the compulsory purchase of sites by school boards.

Power of School Boards to Establish Free Schools.

It is provided that if a school board satisfy the Education Department that, on the ground of the poverty of the inhabitants of any place in their district, it is expedient for the interests of education to provide a school at which no fees shall be required from the scholars, the board may, subject to such rules and conditions as the Education Department may prescribe, provide such school, and may admit scholars to such school without requiring any fee.

Contributions by School Boards to Industrial Schools.

It is enacted that a school board shall have the same powers of contributing money in the case of an industrial school as are given to a prison authority by Section 12 of 'The Industrial Schools Act, 1866;' and that upon the election of a school board in a borough, the council of that borough shall cease to have power to contribute under that section.

Industrial Schools.

A school board may, with the consent of the Education Department, establish, build, and maintain a certified industrial school within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, and shall for that purpose have the same powers as they have for the purpose of providing sufficient school accommodation for their district: Provided that the school board, as far as regards any such industrial school, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in the same manner as the managers of any other industrial school are subject, and such school shall be subject to the provisions of the said Act, and not of this Act.

The London school board has already moved in this matter of industrial schools. A report thereon has been recently laid before the board. It states that 30 certified industrial schools had agreed to receive children sent by the board. Of the children already sent to these schools, 154 were Protestants, of whom 135 were boys and 19 girls; and 77 Catholics, 59 boys and 18 girls—altogether 231 children. For

the immediate provision of 250 vacancies, and their subsequent continuance, the Board would be required to pay a sum of 2,400*l.* to the schools, when the alterations and enlargement were completed.

Fees of Children.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the League to the principle of school fees, it has been adopted in the new Act, as will be seen in the following provision:

Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department; but the school board may, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee, in the case of any child, when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such remission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

These school pence, as we have seen, annually produced, under the old system, a sum of over 600,000*l.*, or one-third of the total income of the elementary schools in Great Britain. In the year ending August 31, 1871—the first year of the new Act—they yielded 648,122*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

Payment of Fees by School Boards in Case of Poverty.

By a strange inconsistency, the League, whilst it advocates free schools for all, is strongly opposed to the 25th clause, which permits a school board to pay the school fees of any child unable from poverty to pay the same. The clause runs as follows:

The school board may, if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school by any child, resident in their district, whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

The main objection of the secularist party to this clause appears to be that it gives aid, at the expense of the rate-payers, to denominational education. Surely it is the interest of the community at large that its poorest members should be educated; and it would be tyranny and injustice to compel a poor man, because he can not pay school fees, to send his child to a school other than such as he may select. Besides, it must not be overlooked that the great majority of the rate-payers are denominationalists.

The attempt made in April, 1872, to have this clause repealed, was rejected by a majority of 201, in the House of Commons, the numbers being 316 to 115.

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN AT SCHOOL.

The principle of compulsory attendance has been adopted in the new Act.

The section runs thus:—

Every school board may from time to time, with the approval of the Education Department, make by-laws for all or any of the following purposes:

1. Requiring the parents of children of such age, not less than five years nor more than thirteen years, as may be fixed by the by-laws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school:

2. Determining the time during which children are so to attend school; provided that no such by-law shall prevent the withdrawal of any child from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects, or shall require any child to attend school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs, or shall be contrary to any thing contained in any Act for regulating the education of children employed in labor:
3. Providing for the remission or payment of the whole or any part of the fees of any child where the parent satisfies the school board that he is unable from poverty to pay the same:
4. Imposing penalties for the breach of any by-laws:
5. Revoking or altering any by-law previously made.

It is enacted that any by-law under this section requiring a child between ten and thirteen years of age to attend school shall provide for the total or partial exemption of such child from the obligation to attend school if one of Her Majesty's inspectors certifies that such child has reached a standard of education specified in such by-law.

The following are set forth as reasonable excuses; namely, that the child is under efficient instruction in some other manner; that the child has been prevented from attending school by sickness or any unavoidable cause; and that there is no public elementary school open which the child can attend within such distance, not exceeding three miles measured according to the nearest road from the residence of such child, as the by-laws may prescribe.

Any proceeding to enforce any by-law may be taken, and any penalty for the breach of any by-law may be recovered, in a summary manner; but it is provided that no penalty imposed for the breach of any by-law shall exceed such sum as with the costs will amount to five shillings for each offense.

Officers to Enforce By-laws.

Every school board is empowered, if they think fit, to appoint an officer or officers to enforce any by-laws under the Act, with reference to the attendance of children at school, and to bring children, who are liable, under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to be sent to a certified industrial school, before two justices, in order to their being so sent, and any expenses thus incurred may be paid out of the school fund

Under this Act the Elementary Schools of England are increasing both in numbers and efficiency, and are fast developing into a system of National Report on Education.

Changes in the Act of 1870.

By the new Elementary Education (England) Act, 1873, some important changes are made in the 'principal Act' of 1870, which are thus noticed in *The Schoolmaster.*

The relief extended by the guardians of the poor to the parent of a child between five and thirteen years of age, shall be conditioned upon the instruction of the child in reading, writing, and arithmetic, subject to reasonable excuses. To the parent is given full freedom to chose the particular public elementary school which his child shall attend. In November, 1872, the Lords of Committee adopted the ballot for all Board elections in municipal boroughs, but hitherto in parishes the method of open and cumulative voting has prevailed. Elections to fill casual vacancies (owing to continued absence, death, resigna-

tion, disqualification, &c.) are now to be held only on the day in the year prescribed for the election of members, except where an order is issued to fill up at once vacancies on a Board whose numbers are reduced to less than a quorum. In addition to the existing disqualification from exercising any franchise for six years, on conviction of corrupt practices at a School Board election, it is further enacted that the offender shall be ineligible to serve on a School Board, or to hold any municipal office for a like period. A wider limit is given to the circumstances upon which School Boards can borrow money on the security of the school fund and local rate. These now include not only the providing or enlarging of school-houses, but the paying off any debt charged on a school-house provided by a board, or on any land acquired by them through gift, transfer, purchase, or otherwise, and the payment for works of improvement or fitting up a school-house, which, by reason of the permanent nature of such works, the department may deem desirable to spread over a term of years. Gifts for educational purposes may be accepted by School Boards, and they may also act as trustees on behalf of any educational endowment or charity, so long as the undenominational principles of section 14 of the principal Act are maintained in their integrity, and provided that no money is expended out of the local rate in aid of any but elementary education. The department is endowed with new powers to cause School Boards to be formed for united districts without the preliminary inquiry and publication of notices hitherto requisite, where a resolution for union has been recorded by each of the component districts; and provision is made for the subdivision, under certain circumstances, of the formerly inviolable civil parish, the Local Government Board consenting. To this Board also are delegated powers, with the approval of the department, for the auditing of School Board accounts in those instances where an annual, rather than half-yearly, audit is ordered. Fresh arrangements are also made for the publishing, by advertisement and placard, of notices and other matters of which the publication is demanded by either Act. Not less than one ordinary meeting is to be held in each month, but to Boards who meet ordinarily more than once a month power is given to vote, by a majority of two-thirds, not to meet in August and September, or one of these months. Power is conferred for the first time upon the Boards who have framed by-laws under section 74 of the former Act, to collect returns from the managers of any public elementary school in their district, and thus obtain reasonable information with respect to the attendance of the children within their jurisdiction. The course of proceedings before a magistrate or justice of the peace, in prosecutions for non-attendance at school, will meet the representations that were made in all quarters on the part of those Boards—and they were important ones—who have found themselves fettered in their action by many practical obstacles which presented themselves. Recourse is to be had to the 'Summary Jurisdiction Act' (11 and 12 Vict., c. 43); the defendant is allowed to prove his excuse, though it be not anticipated by the informant, and any justice may summon, under a penalty not exceeding 20*s.*, a child who is liable to any by-law requiring attendance at school, to be produced before a court of summary jurisdiction. Here a certificate under the hand of the principal teacher of a public elementary school, or of one of Her Majesty's inspectors, will be admissible as evidence. It is further ruled that on the defendant shall lie the burden of proof of a child's age, as also the proof of stated efficiency with regard to any school not being public elementary (for of these the efficiency is guaranteed by Government) which the child is attending, the court having regard to the child's age, and to the standards of education (in the code) drawn up by the department. It is for the defendant to show that the child has actually been at school, as alleged, in compliance with the by-law, wherever the Board, by reason of the default of the managers or the proprietors of the elementary schools, fail to ascertain this fact for themselves. This section of the new Act will prove a valuable ally to the cause of compulsory education, removing as it does most of the difficulties with which School Boards, in taking up that power, have had to contend. The Act concludes with certain protection clauses to cover what has been done under the principal Act before this one became law. The two will henceforth be known as the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 and 1873.

Mr. Lowe and the Revised Code, 1855—1870.*

Various efforts were made to remedy the defects of the Privy Council plan, most notably by the veteran friend of religious equality—Lord John Russell; but the religious opposition was too powerful. So at last, in 1858, a commission was appointed to inquire into the state of education in England; and, in order to aid Parliament to form a correct notion of what other countries were doing, Mr. Matthew Arnold was sent to France, Holland, and Switzerland, and Dr. Mark Pattison to Germany, to report on the education of these countries. Six volumes of reports were published in 1861, and various suggestions were made. But the whole trouble might have been spared. In 1855, the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council was established, with a salary of $2,000 a year. At this time this office was held by Mr. Lowe. Mr. Lowe had received his training at Oxford, when the methods of teaching were about as bad as they could possibly be. He had afterward become a tutor at Oxford, and had aided in carrying out these bad methods. He had then, after an ineffectual attempt to become Professor of Greek at Glasgow, thrown up the teaching profession and gone to another part of the world. Here his indomitable energy and prompt decision had given him a prominent position. On his return to his native land the wealth he had made, and the experience of the world he had gained, came to the aid of great intellectual powers and a strongly marked character, and he soon acquired great influence as a politician. By some stray chance he had got into the education department, for which he was singularly unsuited. He was indeed a finished scholar according to the Oxford stamp of that day; but the methods of education to which he had submitted had been wrong. So he told the members of this institution, in a memorable address. Success had smiled on him only when he turned his back on teaching, and he believed that his education had not helped him in making his way. He seemed inclined to apply his own experience to all education, and to think the whole affair a kind of humbug. He did not imagine that there could be any science of education. He did not see how education could do much good to the working-classes. In fact, he had no belief in the power of education. Accordingly he let the commission go its own way. He selected the one part that suited him. The commissioners had reported that the pupils were behind in the ordinary crafts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mr. Lowe thought that here was the keystone of a new building. The teaching of geography, history, and other subjects, may go to the winds; but we can compel the teaching of the three R's. We shall break up the whole of this pupil-teaching system. We shall diminish the sum spent by Government by paying only for so much progress made in the three R's. We shall leave the teacher entirely under the control of the managers.

* Donaldson's *History of Education in England*. A Lecture—1874.

We shall have nothing to do with him. We shall have our inspectors to report to us how the managers are doing their work, and we shall pay the managers for the work done. Accordingly the Revised Code was planned. Mr. Lowe, it is said, had seen the plan work among the convicts in Australia, and he thought that it would, at any rate to some extent, solve the problem here. This code is one of the most extraordinary products of legislation. It violates almost every law of pedagogic science. The child's life is grouped from seven to thirteen into six stages. Mr. Lowe, in his standards, defines how far the child's mind shall grow in one year in the acquisition of reading, writing, and arithmetic. He supposes that all children will acquire at the same or nearly the same rate. His code implies that, if the teacher finds that a child's mind will not make progress at this rate, he should have nothing further to do with it, but give it up as an unprofitable speculation. And finally it supposes that the great aim of man's being, as far as his fellow-beings can meddle with it, is to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. I have said that Mr. Lowe's code implied all this; but it is evident that Mr. Lowe did not trouble himself with the educational aspects of the case. It was as an economic and business-like performance that he looked on the matter. And the clear proof of this is in the fact that the Government took no pains to deal with the individual improvement of scholars. A child was never to know whether he had passed a particular standard or not. The schoolmaster was not to know. He was to know only how many had passed, and to guess who had and who had not. But one thing was demanded by the economic arrangement—that if the child had tried in one standard, it should not try in it again. And probably a considerable number of children have tried in all the standards, and failed in them all, without knowing it. As an educational device, therefore, this mode of standards was an entire failure. It was condemned by all educationists not in the Government employment, and by nearly all of them too. The whole body of Scotch teachers condemned it from an educational point of view. And the results of it were disastrous. The profession of teacher at once sank. Men who were eager to get in were now eager to get out. The number of pupil teachers was of course diminished. The students at the Normal colleges became fewer; the class of students was lower than that of previous years in position and ability. The annual reports were full of lamentations. The teaching had become mechanical. The higher subjects were neglected. Even the reading, writing, and arithmetic, were not improving; and it was well known that these arts were more easily lost than they had been before, because cram had been substituted for interest. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth thus describes the effects: 'The Revised Code had constructed nothing; it has only pulled down. It has not simplified the administration. It did not pretend to accelerate the rate of building schools, or to improve their structure. It has not promoted the more rapid diffusion of annual grants and inspection to the apathetic parts of cities, or the founding of

schools in small parishes and for the sparse population of rural districts. It has generally discouraged all instruction above the elements, and failed in teaching them. It has disorganized, and threatens to destroy, the whole system of training teachers and providing an efficient machinery of instruction for schools. These ruins are its only monuments. It has not succeeded in being efficient, but it is not even cheap; for it wastes the public money without producing the results which were declared to be its main object.'

Complaints were uttered every year by inspectors. The schoolmasters were loud in showing the evil effects of the system. As clear as day was it proved that education was going back; but, loud as the cry might be, it never reached the ear, or at any rate the heart, of the British public.

But the Revised Code was equally unsatisfactory from a State point of view. I do not know what Mr. Lowe's principles are; but at this particular time, and with the facts of the commission before him, he expressed his sentiments thus: 'Hitherto we have been living under a system of bounties and protection: now we prefer to have a little free trade.' Yet the principles of free trade should have led him a great deal farther: it should have brought him to the same platform with the great body of the Independents. Government should not interfere at all. And there are really only two consistent methods,—that the State should organize the whole, with due regard to the activities of each portion of it; or that it should not meddle at all. But this half meddling, it seems to me, puts the State into a totally false relation to its members. The members of the Government took hold of the public purse as if it belonged to them, and they were something quite distinct from the State. They turned round to various private parties, mainly religious communities, and examined how they were doing a certain piece of work. And when they found them doing their work, they put their hands into the public purse and said, 'There, my friend, is £10 for you; there, £20 for you;' and so on. Now this supposes one of two things: that Government is a giver of charity, and gives to those charitable institutions that do good service; or that Government is an employer of labor, that the managers of schools are the laborers, that the members of Government are the masters, and that the relation between them is that of employer and employed. Even on this last supposition it is not easy to see why the Government should interfere as it does, because the work which it wants done is not a modicum of instruction imparted each year, but a final result. It wishes its citizens up to a certain mark. It should pay for its citizens when brought up to a certain mark. In other words, it should pay only for those pupils who have reached the standard of education fixed by Government as absolutely requisite for the adequate performance of the duties of citizenship.

But, finally, the Revised Code turned out no remedy at all for the economic difficulty. A great deal of money was at first taken from the

schoolmasters, but it was nearly all given to inspectors. The work of these inspectors was, comparatively speaking, not of great advantage. They had simply to examine children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The work might have been well done by pupil teachers at 10*s.* a week. And yet, in defiance of the free trade principle, these inspectors were paid by fixed salaries. These salaries were increased with increase of years of service, though the inspectors might not do their work better at the end than at the beginning. And, finally, they had retiring allowances. After the first year or two the sums voted for education went beyond what they had previously been. The sum last year amounted £1,107,430 : 16 : 7 ; of which £108,949 : 16 : 1, or a tenth of the whole sum, is spent on the maintenance of the Education Department and the inspectors, and £104,987 : 11 : 9 is given for Scottish Education.

The Revised Code had not existed many years when inquiries were again instituted into the working of the system. This time attention was specially drawn to the nature of the Education Department. This department is the most complete illustration of the principle of centralization in the world ; but it was at the same time most loose in its construction. The department consisted of a president, a vice-president, and a few Privy Councilors, members of the Committee of Council. The question was raised, What were the functions of the president, the vice-president, and the committee? And on all these points presidents and vice-presidents disagreed with each other. Mr. Lowe stated that the committee was invoked only for purely legislative purposes; Mr. Bruce, that in his experience it had been useful on two occasions; Mr. Adderley, that it was useless, and worse than useless; Lord Russell, that it had responsibility ; Earl Granville, that it had absolutely no responsibility. In regard to the president and vice-president, the question arose who was the responsible minister. Mr. Lowe thought that the vice-president was not a responsible minister, and that his position was that of an Under-Secretary of State. Mr. Adderley was of the same opinion. Mr. Bruce took a different view; and Lord Granville held that the president and vice-president were both responsible ministers. All were agreed that the chief part of the work fell on the vice-president.

Sir John Pakington presided over the commission that examined into these matters. The commission could not agree on a report. Sir John drew up a report himself, strongly recommending the appointment of a responsible Minister of Instruction; but before there was full time for considering the matter the Tory Government was turned out, and the commission broken up.

At length came Mr. Foster's Act of 1870. He came to the Education Department with an earnest desire to spread knowledge among the people. He had long taken a warm interest in education. He had been a manager of schools ; and one of the first things he did was to propose an alteration in the Code, and to pay for subjects which had been omitted in the revision of Mr. Lowe.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL BOARDS—1875.

FROM THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR JANUARY, 1876.

THE TEACHER AND THE TAUGHT.

In all matters of education the fundamental things are the teachers and the taught. What is the existing force of the teaching power now at work on the young England of the so-called laboring classes? It is a perfect army. Set aside all the minor makeshifts of dame schools and whatever else may linger here or there of a subsidiary character, and you have a force of more than *twenty thousand* (exact figures 20,162) *certificated* teachers in those elementary schools, which are under Government inspection. But these are the chief teachers only, and they are aided by *two thousand* assistant teachers, and over *twenty-seven thousand* (exact figures 1,999 and 27,321) apprentices or pupil-teachers. In other words, there were *twenty-two thousand* adult and *twenty-seven thousand* juvenile or apprenticed teachers, engaged in teaching the three R's and certain extra subjects, on December 31, 1874. Allowing for the natural increase of the last twelve months, it is not too much to say that at this actual moment this number must be put at something over *fifty thousand.* So much for the numbers of the teaching staff. It is, as we said, a perfect army, with its 'Horse Guards' at the Privy Council Office. Let us now look to its quality. Of the *twenty thousand* principal teachers, just two-thirds had been specially educated for their work in the Training Colleges. These Training Colleges are *forty* in number. At the actual moment they have *three thousand* (exact figures 2,975) students in residence; and thus the annual supply of drilled and trained recruits—*i. e.*, of trained masters and mistresses, poured forth to recruit the great army of teachers—is not less than fifteen hundred. The existing number of undergraduates at Oxford may be taken roughly at *two thousand five hundred*, who reside at least *three* years. Hence our system of Training Colleges is educating a number of teachers larger than the whole body of Oxford undergraduates, while the numbers which 'go out' annually with their 'certificates' will nearly equal the whole body of young gentlemen who go out as B.A.'s from both Oxford and Cambridge put together. Such, then, is the existing state of things; and the point we have reached marks the work of exactly a generation. It is just six-and-thirty years since the first Training College was opened. It is exactly thirty years since the first of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth's newly invented pupil-teachers was apprenticed. It was just about the same time

that the first Government examination for certificates of competency was held. Since these beginnings a whole generation has gone by, and now our certificated teachers are equal in number to the whole English clergy, and the aggregate of our Training College students are more in number than the undergraduates of either Oxford or Cambridge. Thus much, then, for the teachers; now for the taught.

The Registrar-General puts the number of the children, who ought to be in our public elementary schools, at *three millions and a quarter.* Now in the year 1874 there were upon our school registers exactly *two millions and a half*, just a trifle over three-quarters the total number we ought to have to make our school children include all who ought to be under teaching. In other words, we have brought our system up to three-quarters of what it should be. How long should we have been bringing it to completeness? It is curious to observe that exactly half of our existing provision has been furnished during the last ten years. During the years 1865–1875 the number of children on the books has doubled. In 1865 it was one million and a quarter; in 1875 it was two millions and a half. The number of schools and of teachers have all but exactly doubled likewise. Schools for one hundred and twenty-five thousand children have been built annually. *Eight hundred and thirty* certificated teachers have been added annually to our teaching staff. If, therefore, the rate of progress of the last ten years were maintained, six more years would see all arrears overtaken, and a complete supply of schools and teachers adequate for the whole population provided.

Cost of the Teaching Staff.

For a moment we must turn to the money aspect of the business; and, keeping still to our one point of exhibiting the state of things at the actual moment, we may name that the average stipend of the certificated teacher is 107*l.* for masters and 64*l.* for mistresses. Exactly half the masters earn over 100*l.* a year, and half less than 100*l.* a year, while *two hundred and eighty* receive over 200*l.* a year. Half of the masters and one-third of the mistresses have house or rooms rent free as well. The returns include the salaries of just *seventeen thousand five hundred* certificated teachers, whose aggregate stipends reach just a million and a half sterling. Add in the unreturned stipends of the remainder, of the two thousand assistant teachers, and the twenty-seven thousand pupil teachers, which a moderate estimate would put at 600,000*l.* a year, and you have the total cost of our teaching staff at not less than *two millions one hundred thousand pounds*—half the gross endowment of the National Church.

Inspectorial Service.

The Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1874–5, with a list of *eighty-four* inspectors, gives an elaborate account of how these inspectors spend their days, the number of children they examine, the number of miles they travel, and so on. Certainly the inspectors are themselves inspected;—*nulla dies sine lineâ* is their rule;—so many

days spent in examining schools, so many days in correspondence, &c., &c. There are not less than eleven separate columns for as many classes of duty, while one column is set apart for 'Visits of Surprise,' it being part of an inspector's duty to pay *unexpected* visits to schools, and see how they are going on when no foreign eye is looked for within their walls. It is amusing to know that *eight hundred and fifty* of our schools were thus pounced upon during the year ending December 31, 1874. One desperately 'surprising' inspector actually managed to pay seventy-four of these angels' visits, a second fifty-eight, a third fifty-three; but the majority did not reach any thing like this height of zeal. Two very locomotive inspectors traveled seven thousand miles apiece, while the whole staff of eighty-four accomplished over 350,000 miles among them; and the cost to the country of all its inspectorial service amounted to 83,483*l.*

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Taking account only of schools *actually inspected* during the year ending August 31, 1874, we find that, including both those visited for annual grants and for single inspection only, the following are the facts:—

	Number of Departments	Accomodating Children	Number of Certificated Teachers	Amount of Parliamentary Grant to Day Schools	Rate per Scholar on average attendance
				£	s. d.
Church Schools	14.526	1,963,694	13,382	689,636	12 4
British, Wesleyan, &c	3,117	570.525	2,995	204,498	12 8
Roman Catholic	1,021	180,843	1,025	62,212	12 4¾
Board Schools	1,423	247,924	1,562	75,261	10 10½
	20,087	2,962,986	18,864	1,031,607	12 3½

In the foregoing table we present our readers with the most important items of the General Summary given on p. 3 of the Blue-book, to which we have referred. It will be seen that it shows the proportion of the ground occupied by the Church of England, the Protestant Nonconformist bodies, the Roman Catholics, and the new Board system. One glance at any of these columns will show at once how entirely the lion's share of work has fallen to the Church of England. She carries more than two-thirds of the schools. She has more than two-thirds of the school accommodation. She employs more than two-thirds of the certificated teachers. She earns more than two-thirds of the Parliamentary grants, which are meted out according to 'Results.' Turning to those institutions in which the future teachers are trained, *i. e.*, the (40) Training Colleges, it is curious to see how exactly the same proportion is maintained. The number of students in training in the year 1875 is returned as follows (p. xvii.):—

	Male	Female	Total
Church of England Colleges (36)	972	1,079	2,051
British " (1)	190	242	432
Wesleyan " (1)	131	105	236
Congregational " (1)	24	25	49
Roman Catholic " (1)	45	163	208
Total	1,362	1,614	2,976

Thus, then, out of *less* than three thousand teachers under training, *more* than two thousand are in the Training Colleges of the Church. We may therefore consider it as amply proved that of the existing educational work done throughout the country, certified as efficient by the authority of Government inspectors, the Church is actually doing more than two-thirds, and this irrespective of all Church schools not in connection with the Government.

Then arises the further question—*How* is she doing it? And here there is one advantage, which we derive from the present system of 'payment by results,' namely, that the Parliamentary grants being awarded by Government officials after examination of individual pupils, we have an impartial authority to appeal to. Well then, the rate per scholar in average attendance in Church of England Schools is 12*s.* 4*d.* per head, as against 10*s.* 10½*d* in the new Board Schools. That it is slightly higher in the Dissenting and Roman Catholic Schools is easy to account for. It arises from the circumstance that in our schools every effort is made to draw in the poorest and least promising pupils, and who are consequently, in a paying point of view, the least remunerative, as earning the smallest amount of the Government grants.

It is not to be supposed that Church people have been able to do all this amount of work for nothing. It has been at a huge cost of voluntary subscriptions that all this service has been rendered to the State. Going back to the year 1811, since which date we are in possession of the means of judging, we find that the very smallest estimate* of the amount of voluntary expenditure on school building on the part of Church people between 1811 and December 31, 1873, has been *twelve millions sterling*, while the corresponding amount spent on the maintenance of schools during the same period has been at least *fifteen millions*. The two sums together amount to *twenty-seven millions*, which sum may therefore be taken as approximating to the amount of the voluntary contributions of Church people toward the elementary education of the poorer classes up to the end of 1874. From what a comparatively small number of persons this large sum has been derived was most effectually

* We write this advisedly, and the estimate is made as follows. The cost of a very large part of the schools is ascertainable with accuracy, inasmuch as they were aided by Government building grants. Presuming then that the remainder were erected at the same average cost, we shall arrive at a reasonable approximation.

Now from 1839 to December 31, 1873, Church schools were built for 1,023,746 children, with Government help at a total cost of 5,550,960*l.*

But the *total* Church school accommodation in connection with Government, in August, 1874, was 1,963,694*l.* Let x = total cost of building. Then we have the following proportion :—

As 1,023.746 : 1,963,694 : : 5,550,960 : x.

Therefore x, i. e., the total outlay on Church schools in connection with Government, will be 10,647,541*l.* From this deduct the portion of the cost contributed by Government, namely, 1,472,351*l.*, and we have 9,175,190*l.* as the amount spent by Church people on elementary schools in connection with Government alone. Add all the outlay on schools *not* in connection with Government, remembering that during all the long years from 1811 to 1839 Government building grants were unknown ; add also the outlay on Training Colleges, and an estimate of 12,000,000*l.* is surely far within the mark.

pointed out in the Report of the Royal Commission on Education of some fifteen years ago. How large an amount of voluntary taxation Church people are still submitting to in this behalf may be seen from the fact that the amount of voluntary subscriptions to Church Schools actually inspected in the year 1874 was 470,376*l.*, contributed by 194,-021 individuals. But even this large sum by no means represents the full total, inasmuch as referring only to schools actually inspected in the year, it leaves out all cases where the inspection was postponed, it leaves out all schools visited for simple inspection, amounting to no fewer than 888, with voluntary subscriptions returned at 12,138*l.*, and it leaves out all cases of schools not in connection with Government at all. The annual voluntary contributions to school maintenance from Church people can not be set down at less than *half a million*:—no small sum saved to the taxation of the country.

The point, then, at which we have now arrived is this—that Church people have set on foot more than two-thirds of the existing educational work of the country, at a cost to themselves during the last sixty years of *twenty-seven millions* sterling, and that their annual contributions toward the maintenance of the schools thus founded exceeds *half a million.* A Chancellor of the Exchequer will appreciate the magnitude of these figures, when he remembers that the gross amount expended by Government on education, from 1839 to March 31, 1874, was short of *fifteen millions* (exact figures, 14,630,678*l.*) Surely after this it is not too much to say that, with such a zeal as is here shown to fall back on, the area yet remaining to be occupied would ere long be brought within the influence of education, if the Church were encouraged instead of discouraged.*

In 1870, an Act was passed by which the Government—*i. e.*, the Education Department—was empowed to inquire into the quantity and the

* It may not be amiss here to put on record the actual figures, which will exhibit the growth and expansion of voluntary effort in education.

In 1837 the number of children in Church day schools was 558,180.

In 1847 this number had risen to 955,585.

These figures are taken from the Statistical Inquiries instituted by the National Society.

Up to the year 1850-51, the Government Reports give no statistics; but with that year their statistical tables begin, and thus we are enabled to show the way in which the Church has steadily endeavored to work with the State in this matter of education. Of course the figures below refer only to schools *under Government inspection*, and it must never be forgotten that, as above stated, the Church had *nearly a million* day scholars in her schools as far back as 1847. Hence the rapid increase in the numbers does not mean that those children were not previously under education, but only (in numberless instances) that the schools were then for the first time brought under Government inspection.

Year ending	School Accommodation		Average attendance in	
	All voluntary Schools	Church Schools only	All voluntary Schools	Church Schools only
October 31, 1850	383,984	296,086	205,347	157.690
August 31, 1855	704.495	544,957	447,007	347,257
August 31, 1861	1,182,019	886.322	753,444	561,219
August 31, 1866	1,465.203	1,102,558	863,420	650,764
August 31, 1870	1,833,584	1,365,080	1,201,690	882,432
August 31, 1874	2,715,062	1,963,694	1,553,973	1,124,532

quality of the means of education throughout the country; and wherever a deficiency was reported it was to compel the formation of a locally-elected School Board, which must supply the need at the cost of local rates. This of course involved both the building of new schools where needed and their maintenance when built. It also naturally involved the cessation of the hitherto existing grants in aid of school building, since this was now to be thrown upon the local rates. But in order to enable those neighborhoods which preferred the voluntary system to remain independent of the rates, the Government granted an interval of a year before that cessation, so as to give time for the localities to provide whatever deficiency there was in their accommodation upon the old system.

To provide for this deficiency, in the voluntary schools, the subscriptions were from 418,839*l.* in 1870 to 602,837*l.* in 1874; an increase of 183,998*l.*; while the number of subscribers has risen in the same period from 188,985 in 1870 to 236,306 in 1874, an increase of 47,321 annual subscribers; and of this *six hundred thousand* a year of annual subscriptions, all but *half a million*, or five-sixths, is spent in Church schools.

The magnitude of the special exertions made by the Church of England people is shown in the following table of the school accommodations in 1870, and in 1874; referring to schools in receipt of annual grants only:—

	Accommodation		Increase provided.	
	Aug. 31, 1870.	Aug. 31, 1874.		
Church of England	1,365,080	1,889,236	524,156	
British, Wesleyan, &c	411,948	557,883	145,935	469,086
Roman Catholic	101,557	179,199	77,643	
Board Schools	———	245,508	245,508	
	1,878,584	2,871,826	993,242	

Turning next to the pecuniary outlay, we find, from the present Blue-book, that the amount subscribed by Church people for building and enlarging schools receiving grants for the same object was—

	£
In the year ending December 31, 1870	101,897
" " 1871	120,417
" " 1872	367,226
" " 1873	347,580
" " 1874	145,863
	1,082,983

And this, be it remembered, is *exclusive* of the large but unascertained sums spent in enlarging schools without Government aid. Then as to *maintenance*, the same Reports show that the gross annual subscriptions to Church schools in the same period was 1,987,979*l.*, so that, the gross sum contributed by Church people to the education of the country *in connection with the Government system* was over THREE MILLIONS (exact figures 3,070,062*l.*)

The amount spent in buildings in the same period by all other relig-

ious bodies put together was 120,979*l.*, and in maintenance 558,857*l.*; giving a total of 679,836*l.* as against the *three millions* aforesaid.

Public Indifference.

It is marvelous to see how the machinery of popular government can be worked so as to elude popular recognizance of what is going on. Here, in this matter of education, it was perhaps easier than usual. Up to 1870, the national education had been left pretty much to those who really cared about it, aided by not very overwhelming annual grants, seldom exceeding some 800,000*l.* *Now those who really cared about it were very few.* It was only the clergy and those whom they persuaded to subscribe to the schools. The whole number of subscribers, Church people, Dissenters, Roman Catholics, all told, was but 200,000. How many of these really cared about it, or understood the details of the question? Perhaps five-and-twenty per cent. Certainly not more. A mere handful out of the whole country. People at large took things as they came; they presumed that the people got educated somehow; that Government had something to do with it, they did not exactly know what; and when the new Act came in they took it as another of the many changes they had heard of without scrutinizing the details. But that Act contained provisions for getting prompt hold of people's purses to found new schools with. And then, besides that, if it once succeeded in supplanting the voluntary schools, it would have saddled the nation with the cost of maintenance, which had previously been paid for by the two hundred thousand subscribers, and not that only, but at an enormously increased scale of expense. It is absurd to suppose that the people at large understood this. A few people did, but they could get no hearing. There was a fever of excitement abroad, not to say intoxication. The cold fit is coming on now, and though an immense amount has been done before the people were cool enough to hear reason, the matter is as yet only half carried through, and it may be stopped before it is too late.

Indebtedness for Building and Maintenance by School Boards.

[Under the authority to borrow money given by the Acts of 1870 and 1875, 986 loans have been made to 502 School Boards, to the amount of 4,179,173*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*, for accommodation for 370,956 scholars. The Board have now increased to 1,434, and the writer estimates that the accommodations of the School Boards yet unprovided will require loans to upward of eleven millions sterling, to be paid within fifty years out of the rates.]

But there is the maintenance to be thought about; and here the inherent expensiveness of the public as compared with personal management comes out most strongly. In 1870, the average cost per child was 1*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*; for 1876, the London School Board's estimate was 2*l.* 1*s.*; and for the last quarter it was at the rate of 2*l.* 8*s.* per annum.

In the case of Brighton, the annual *balance* per child falling upon the

rates is 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* That is, after deducting (1) the children's pence, and (2) the Government grants, there is still an amount of 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* per child to be provided out of the rates. But in the voluntary schools of Brighton the corresponding amount which has to be made up by the voluntary subscriptions of their supporters is only 5*s.* 4½*d.* What it comes to then is, that if the Brighton School Board succeed in becoming predominant, if it starves out the voluntary schools, and gets all the children to itself, this 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* alone will want a rate of 10½*d.* in the pound, to say nothing of the cost of buildings and interest on loans; whereas, at the rate of cost in the voluntary schools, all the children in Brighton would only want a rate of 1¾*d.* in the pound, and no loans to pay off. But some will say,—Do not the Boards give a better article for the money?—*i. e.*, a better education? Not so: the Government payments 'by results' being witness. Alike in London and in Brighton the result of the Government examinations is that the children in voluntary schools earn larger grants than those in the Board schools. In the Brighton schools, the Government grant earned in the voluntary schools is 14*s.* 1½*d.* per child, as against 9*s.* 6⅓*d.* per child in the Board schools: an excess very largely in favor of the voluntary schools. Taking all England into account, the following is the average result for 1873–4:—

Grant per Scholar in Average Attendance.

	s.	d.
Church of England schools	12	4
British, Wesleyan, &c., schools	12	8
Roman Catholic schools	12	4¾
Board schools	10	10½

Salaries of Teachers.

Certificated Masters—Gross stipend, Church schools	£101	3	10
" " " Board schools	113	18	4

Number provided with House rent free (out of 5,937), Church	3,674
" " " (out of 676), Board	144

Here we must remember (1) that in the *Church* average we include the vast number of small rural schools where salaries are low, and that there are *very* few Board schools of this class; and (2) that the value of the 'house rent free' is *not* thrown into the 'gross stipend.' Since therefore we find so many more Church teachers housed than is the case with the Board schoolmasters, it is clear that there is little or no difference in their emoluments. It is obvious, then, that the managers of Church schools *do not make their savings by stinting teachers' stipends.* It would be strange indeed if they did, seeing that the standard of proficiency is what we have seen. The saving must be somewhere else—not in any thing connected with efficiency, not even in respect of the higher branches of education. For here we find:—

	Passes in Extra Subjects.	Average attendance
Church schools	58,858	1,117,461
Board schools	3,602	138,293

Now if the same *proportion* of passes had been attained in the Board schools, there would have been about 7,100 instead of 3,602. The ex-

tra expensiveness, therefore, of the Board schools can not be accounted for either on the score of efficiency or of paying their teachers more highly. The natural inference is, that—to say the least—a good deal of it must arise from the cost of management, and a good deal more, also, from the very different *sort* of management you get when managers are spending money which in good part is their own, and when they are drawing it wholesale from the pockets of rate-payers.

Yet for all this—and we may say *the more* for all this—the competition of the voluntary schools with those of the Board is becoming harder and harder. It is only natural that people should object to *carry double;* on the one hand to pay heavy rates, on the other to pay increasing subscriptions. It was bad enough in our great Napoleonic war to have to subsidize the armies of Europe. English tax-payers would have shown a still greater impatience of taxation, if they had had to keep Napoleon's armies on foot as well for the unprofitable amusement of protracting the conflict they were paying for on the other side too. Yet something of this kind is what we are having to do. And we have the added vexation of feeling,—1. That no such thing was intended by the framers of the Bill, but that it has been foisted in by the 'cuteness of a faction momentarily in the ascendant. 2. That the country in no way *desires* the suppression of religious teaching, which the triumph of the rate-schools will insure. 3. That should our Church schools succumb, it will be just for want of a little more doggedness at the last, inasmuch as the cost of the rate-schools must ere long disgust the public at large, and the voluntary schools once more receive their meed of appreciation.

[But it is high time that public attention was called to the necessity of maintaining the voluntary system, not only to save the religious teaching given in them, but to keep out the expensive rate supported schools.] The rate-payers must be taught that *every voluntary school kept on foot is so much saved to the rates.* They will be taught it soon enough by the visits of the rate collector, if we give up our schools. But we want to save our schools, and therefore we would teach the public, *before* they learn by actual experience, that it would pay them far better to give our schools a handsome subsidy to keep them going rather than let them fall away into the custody of their Boards. Look at Brighton, where every Board school scholar costs rate-payers 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* Suppose all the Church schools crushed. All that the rate-payers would gain would be the pleasure of paying so many more multiples of 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* And what for? In the interest of conscience? Why, as it is, no child can be taught any thing against the parents' wish in the Churchiest of Church schools. Or is it that the children may be better taught? Not so, for in this the Church schools beat the Board schools.

What then is our counsel to our fellow Churchmen? Our counsel is—hold on to the last; for certainly the time for relief can not be delayed much longer, and any failure on our own part now may be irretrievable. Out of 408 parishes in England with School boards there were 249 whose

rates were above 3*d.*, and no fewer than 89 above 6*d.* in the pound. At Staplehurst and Queensborough they reached 16*d.*, at Chesterfield 10*d.* It is not likely that so costly a system can long endure. So far as things have gone at present, we find that up to April, 1875, Church schools, to the number of 187, having accommodation for 30,900 children, had been transferred to Boards. We hope that the mischief may be arrested ; for let our friends consider what all this means. The barest money value of the property thus surrendered can not be under 170,000*l.*, without counting the teachers' residences. Of course, every school *surrendered* by the Church is so much capital, not merely sacrificed, but made over to the other side to be used against us. It is like losing a seat in the House of Commons: it counts two on a division. Therefore, in any case where managers are *absolutely* unable to hold out, they should be very careful not to part with their freehold, but only to *let* their premises to the Board; and that for as short a term as possible, so as to admit of recovery when better times arrive. It should also be retained by the managers for use on Sundays and other times in the week, when not actually occupied by the Board. But the thing to do is to hold out to the last. Those country clergy, who really attend to their schools, have little notion how large a service they are rendering, not only to individual children, but to their Church and country. We write from a long observation, and time has shown abundantly how it is the abler and more enterprising of the rural population who leave their native parishes, and are probably seen no more by their parish priest. But such lads carry with them *into the towns* the lessons of their boyhood, and are the salt of life in many an unsuspected quarter.

Gladly would we have said much on the moral aspect of the case, of the infinitely greater humanizing efficacy of schools which enlist the care and sympathy of educated men and women, as our Church schools do, as compared with the mechanical agency of the rate supported school, where master and scholars are left to mechanical routine and that alone. The three R's, with all the extra subjects in the world, are, after all, but the materials of education. It is the mingling of class with class, the mutual good understanding between high and low, of which the foundations (at least) are laid in our parish schools, that is a truer and more valuable *education* than all the book learning that can be attained. The rate system sweeps this away, and on this ground alone it deserves a patriot's reprobation. It is the separation of classes, which is the great danger of our modern civilization. The danger must be encountered, for it is in the nature of things. But though it can not be avoided, it may be overcome. It is the Church's office to save civilization from this as well as its other dangers. One great engine is education. By infusing the spirit of human interest and human kindness into our primary education, we may at least pave the way for a tolerable mutual understanding between high and low, rich and poor, as those children grow up who now are our scholars in our elementary schools.

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LONDON SCHOOL BOARD—1875.

By Sir Charles Reed,

Chairman of the School Board.

Sir Charles Reed, in his Address* before the Social Science Congress at Brighton, 1875, developes the working of the *Nation's Educational Experiment*, for the District of London, for which the Act of 1870, known as Mr. Forster's Act, makes special provision.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOARD.

With respect to the metropolis, there was so wide spread a sense of urgent need that the School Board for London was called into existence by act of the Legislature, and ordered to commence forthwith. 'Enthusiastic' the Board has been called; but nothing short of a high enthusiasm could have called and chained them to such a work, and these 'enthusiasts' were persons whose wide practical experience enabled them to weigh the difficulties and exigencies of the past, perhaps better than their critics. Even these will admit that, while many towns have dealt only partially with the powers of the Act, London has been required to apply and develop all its provisions simultaneously, so that, as it has furnished an example to the country at large, it will doubtless supply many of the data on which future legislation will be based. Of necessity much time was spent in the outset in the discussion and adjustment of general principles. This was of advantage not only to the members of the Board, but because only thus could the public mind be satisfied as to the solidity of our foundations. Yet the Board was eminently practical. It declined to accept wild and unsupported theories as to school provisions, and preferred, with great labor, to take its own census and ascertain the exact deficiency by house to house visitation.

The basis of calculation was as follows:—The population of London in 1871 was 3,265,005, of which 681,107 were children, between the ages of three and thirteen. Of these 97,307 were removed from the operation of the Act by social position, and 9,101 were inmates of Public Institutions. This left 574,699 children for whom school places were needed. After giving credit for 350,920 school places in voluntary schools existing or 'projected,' the Board proposed to keep well within the margin by building for 100,600, allowing 21.43 per cent. for all causes of absence. But these figures have of necessity been modified during the years which has elapsed since 1871; for while, on the one side, many 'condemned'

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* *An Address before the Social Science Congress at Brighton.* 1875.

schools have been brought up to a state of efficiency by the influence of the Board, it has resulted, on the other hand, that, partly through the failure in 'projected' supply in denominational schools, and partly by the annual increase of population of school age, an addition of upward of 50,000 school places has been involved, requiring, at least, fifty additional schools.

School Sites.

The London Board had to determine not only the number of places wanted, but the exact locality in which the need existed, the metropolis having been set out into 459 blocks. In the selection of sites the Board was guided by considerations (1) of the convenience of parents; (2) of the relative distance from existing efficient schools; and (3) of the cost —always governed by the requirements of the Act that the accommodations required for each district should be sufficient, efficient, and suitable. It was not till eighteen months had passed that the first school was ready, and at the present time, though 102 new schools are opened, thirty-three are still in course of building, and others are yet to be provided. Adding schools transferred to the Board, we have control, up to the present time, of 199 school-houses in 436 departments, containing 112,901 children.

School Buildings and Fitting.

It must be confessed that much of the work at present is carried on at great disadvantage in ill-built, badly drained, and imperfectly ventilated rooms, where, as the conditions of physical health are unfulfilled, it is vain to expect large mental results. A school should be a nursery of health as well as intelligence. The old Lancasterian school was, as many of us remember, square, forbidding, and grim. The scholars sat at long desks in close ranks; the teaching was simultaneous, the confusion great; of individual attention there was none save what was supplied by the touch of hazel fishing-rods long enough to reach the hindermost row. It was in 1840 that the committee of Council issued plans of schools upon which most of our modern buildings have been constructed; but the rooms were still long and narrow, with unsatisfactory cross-lights, and one side divided off by thin curtains for class purposes. The plans adopted by the School Board for London may be thus described. Where land has been exceptionally dear—and where in London is it not so?—buildings of three or four stories have been essential, with, in some cases, play-grounds on the roof or under arches, but in every instance some provision for the recreation and drill of the children. The schools are graded, except the Infant Department, each department having a floor to itself. The rooms, as a rule, are twenty-two feet deep, and fitted with dual desks, so arranged that the teacher can approach and sit down beside each child. Sufficient class room is attached to each school, so that half the children are in the main apartment and half in the detached classes. The class rooms, twenty feet square, give accommodation at these double desks for forty children. Every scholar has light admitted

from the left, so that no shadow falls from the hand in writing and no glare dazzles the eye. By fixed partitions with doors, now considered superior to sliding ones, the class rooms can be subdivided at pleasure. Two schools are built upon the German model, one containing eight class rooms on first and second floors to seat sixty pupils each, grouped round a large Assembly Hall; the Infant School divided into two rooms, occupies the ground floor and gives a space for 575 children. It is believed that by degrees this arrangement will largely obtain—a separate room for every class, and an Assembly Hall capable of receiving at least two departments of the whole school. The best Middle Class Schools are now built upon this model at a cost little, if at all, augmented. Those who have inspected the best schools in Europe and America will certainly join in the growing demand for more class room and superior apparatus.

The principal novelty in the latter is the desk. In Sweden and America, where wood is cheap, single desks of beech or pine are provided. The London children sit two and two at desks forty inches long, placed five deep, with gangways sixteen inches wide. The incline is slight, and both feet and back are well supported. These desks take the books for reading, the slate and copy-books for writing, and form a stand for music, while space is provided underneath for books not in use. These details are of more importance than some imagine, for upon the comfort of the child depends in a large measure the success of his works. It is well that the old long length forms, without backs or footboards, have given place to seats from which the pupil can rise on a signal, or at which the teacher can join him at any moment.

Great pains have been taken to secure ample scope for the infants, so that they can march about and sit without restraint. To each child are given eight feet of floor space, and a sloping gallery is provided with full top light, and furnished with backed seats, five deep. The cruelty of keeping a crowd of little ones feverish and undisciplined has been at length discovered. A great point is made of adequate office and lavatory accommodation, with filtered drinking water, and ample provision for hanging caps and bonnets outside the school-room. Each school has its rooms for drawing, its work and cutting-out room for girls, and a retiring room for the teacher fitted up with a library for reference.

School Attendance.

Compulsion is an ugly word and has been used far too freely in the ear of the poor, though in reality it is no new thing amongst us. Before Parliament admitted the principle, compulsion existed as a fact. We had it in the work-house, the industrial school, and training ship, even in the half-time system; and while Lord Harrowby, Mr. Cowper Temple, Lord Robert Montagu, and Mr. Charles Buxton, were declaring that, if desirable, it was impracticable, we had virtually adopted it. A noble President of this Congress, when addressing it in 1864, said: 'I am satisfied that among ourselves such a law would be simply inoperative, that

it would not and could not be enforced,' and Mr. Bellairs, an experienced inspector counseled in these words: 'I have heard it stated that a legislative enactment ought to be passed which would subject to imprisonment any parent who did not send his child to school, and at the same time that the religious bodies might be trusted to erect and support schools sufficient to enable the executive to enforce an enactment of that kind. My impression is that such an Act as that, if passed and attempted to be carried out, would produce a national commotion not much less dangerous than that which attended a poll tax.' Further than this, a stipendiary magistrate in the Midland counties declared, that 'if compulsory attendance at school should become the law, he would refuse to administer it.'

When Mr. Forster laid down the principle that every child in the kingdom *must* be instructed, everybody saw that that meant compulsion, by whatever name it might be called; but now we may consider the whole point conceded, when we find the Home Secretary using the following language:—'The State at present says, We give you time to show whether you yourselves will send your children to school where there is no School Board, and how you will take advantage of the opportunity. But depend upon it, the State will before long again interfere, and see that the children are brought to school; and is this not plain reasoning? You do not allow a parent to let his children go into the street without clothes for the sake of decency. You will not allow a parent to let his children, if he can afford it, go into the street without food for the sake of humanity; and what right has a man to let his children go into the streets without education, and become a prey to all the criminals who are about him? . . . . You can not, in any reason, suppose that a man who has the power of sending his child to school has a right to neglect to teach him any more than he has to feed or clothe him. If he does not do it, he must be made to do it.'

By-Laws.

At the outset, the Board had to face the great political and social question—What is to be done with the mass of juvenile vice and crime festering in the metropolis, and how may its purification and elevation be accomplished? It was open to the Board to avoid or to delay action, but it resolved on an instant assault on the common foe.

The by-laws agreed to be put in force were these:—

1. That all children (unless exempted) between the ages of five and thirteen should attend some school selected by the parent, if efficient, and within a mile of its home.

2. That in case of need, fees should be paid or remitted for a period of not more than six months.

3. That the by-laws should be carried out by visitors, under the direction of local committees.

The object of the Board has been to make known their by-laws as

widely as possible, to employ their visitors to explain and to persuade rather than enforce, and to exhaust all such influences before coercion is resorted to. Poor parents are invited to meet the local committees, that go patiently into the case and offer counsel; and the magistrate is appealed to only in cases of willful neglect or stubborn refusal. Now what are the results?

The Education Department reports an increase of school attendance in England and Wales from 1,225,764 in 1870, to 1,727,449 in 1874.

In this remarkable advance London bore its part. This great 'census center,' now called 'Greater London,' covers in its police district 698 square miles, and contains 4,200,000 people, the School Board district embracing only 3,400,000.

Mr. Bartley rendered good service five years ago by applying a microscopical examination to a single square mile in the east of the metropolis, where he found 25,000 children of school age totally ignorant and unable to go to school, even if they wished to do so. This, of course, was in a densely populated district, but it gives some notion of the widespread deficiency. The result of the School Board action has been to add over 60,000 children now in attendance at Board schools, and about 45,000 to the denominational schools. Most of these additions have been due to the requests of the visitors; some are the results of an appeal to the magistrates; while in the five years only 490 children have been paid for at denominational schools, and 626 by remission of fees in Board schools.

Thus, mainly by indirect means, over 100,000 children, who so short time ago were receiving no education, are at the present moment in efficient schools. I say indirect means, because, though coercion has done something, far more has been effected by kindly advice, and, when needful, by the threat of legal proceedings. By the union of these influences our visitors have already filled more than two-thirds of the places provided in the newly built schools of the metropolis. Two classes of schools have to a great extent been absorbed by the action of the Board, viz., the ragged schools and the inferior dame or private adventure schools. The former have done a noble work, acting as pioneers in a mission which was perhaps philanthropic and religious rather than educational; masses of neglected children have been gathered in from the streets, humanely fed and clothed, and taught with praiseworthy zeal, though under conditions, in many respects, disadvantageous. The rooms were small and dingy, the teachers altogether untrained, the children overcrowded, and seven-eighths of them below the second standard. As to the dame schools, they have been unable to stand the competition established by efficient elementary schools. Many indeed still exist, and deserve to do so, because they have adapted themselves to the requirements of the times, or because they have become schools of a lower secondary grade, charging a fee above nine-pence, and receiving children whose parents have unreasonably dreaded the exposure of the larger

schools. But it is also true that some survive as a doubtful refuge for children whose parents find it convenient to ignore regularity of attendance, and who are willing to pay the higher fee in order that they may be asked no questions. These are the people who resent interference and talk of School Board tyranny. The most serious evil is that these latter schools are upon the increase. They are not liable to inspection, and as our by-laws come to be more stringently enforced, there are no doubt many facilities for evading the law. The Board has conducted its own inspection into the state of these schools, and reported the result to the Education Department, urging a periodical revision of the list of schools at intervals not exceeding a year, and its publication as an authoritative guide to parents and magistrates. This inquiry the Government has ordered to be made, and action may be expected to follow.

Absenteeism.

Defective attendance is our weak point. It affects Board schools and denominational schools alike. Hitherto punctuality has not been regarded as a moral duty, and both teachers and managers have to thank themselves for the result which they join to deplore. With some children the irregularity is habitual; they earn more money than will pay the fine, and if they can tie a thread, head a pin, or paste a matchbox, they are kept away. Others are incorrigible truants, and some invariably late, and the reason is that parents and public alike need education on this point. Last year out of the two millions and a half of children at school one million were under seven years of age, and of these only half had made the required attendances; of the remainder only two-thirds had attended sufficiently often to earn the grant, and only 54 per cent. of the whole number could be presented for examination.

Of all the pleas put forward by parents, the most common is that of poverty. That a woeful amount of real destitution exists is painfully apparent; it is mainly due—

1. To intemperance and improvidence, leading to the grossest neglect of the young.

2. To sickness prostrating the bread winner or care taker of the family.

3. To widowhood, compelling the mother to leave home in order to support her children ; or

4. To loss of work, involving debt, and often leading to the surrender of tools and clothes to the pawnbroker.

It is clear that all these conditions are productive of distress, but it is equally certain that they demand different treatment. Careful discrimination has to be made between the unfortunate and the vicious ; between the confirmed drunkard who earns good wages, but carries little home, and the striving yet starving operative in need of temporary help.

There is a border ground between independence and pauperism, and upon it dwell thousands of parents. Their earnings are small and precarious, their housing is dear at any price, their dwellings are demolished

over their heads, and they are driven from place to place—miserably poor, no doubt, but not paupers for all that. Some coldly say these ought to be in the work-house. Let us take care we do not drive them there; there is no factory so sure to turn out its fabric as the English work-house is to produce paupers. Drive in your indigent but honest poor, and you crush their spirits and deprive them of self-respect; thus degraded, they remain fixed upon you as a permanent burden. Elizabeth's law was to 'bring up the children to labor and work, so that they may not become idle rogues;' but once force them to enter the 'house,' and the chances are they will never rise to a higher level. Nor are we free from the charge of avarice and insatiate competition, beating down prices and grinding the faces of the poor; this is a fertile cause of the sheer inability so often justly pleaded, and, were the tale but fairly told, it would read more sadly than the pathetic lament of Thomas Hood.

Several suggestions have been made to meet the case. The Act of 1873 provided for the child of the outdoor pauper, but material help is wanted for children who can not attend school for lack of clothing. Four years ago I proposed the establishment in London of a children's education aid fund, and this I hope yet to see on foot. The experiment has already been tried, upon a small scale, in Manchester and Reading, and of the latter town it is said that no parent can now plead before the magistrates inability on this score. Miss Carpenter, supported by the Rev. Sydney Turner, warmly recommends day industrial feeding schools, and these are likely to be received with favor by the public. More recently, however, a noble gift has been made to the Charity Organization Society by Mr. Francis Peek, a member of our Board, of £1,000 a year, for three years, for the purpose of aiding children not able to go to school. The advantage of this will be that an association possessing an organized staff, will, with a feeling of respectful pity for the deserving poor, investigate each case and discriminate between real and simulated need.

But there are excuses and excuses, and in the many cases in which the Board has to proceed to extremities, it has to tread a thorny path. Non-attendance at school is a new crime in the land, and even magistrates are not yet accustomed to it. Frivolous pretenses are set up for detaining children, such as 'minding the baby,' which sounds plausible enough until it is ascertained that there is no baby, except, perhaps, one belonging to a neighbor's house, for the nursing of which the education of a poor girl, of nine or ten years of age, is bartered away for a few pence. Minding the baby, even if it be the baby of the family, means too often for the child-nurse a crooked spine or contracted chest, and something equally bad for the victim of its care. Or it is said 'I shan't send my children to schools for beggars' brats,' or 'my children can't go with those low girls.' It is not strange that decent and loving mothers should have their scruples, but these usually vanish upon a visit to the school-room, where dirt has no place, and habits of order beget obedience.

Board schools, unlike denominational schools, are open to all comers, and no child can be refused because of grade or social inferiority. Some years ago, when it was proposed that the voluntary schools in London receiving a grant should be required to allot a proportion of their vacant places as free seats for children for the indigent class, the reply was, 'Such an invasion would ruin the schools.' Yet these outcasts must somehow be instructed, and the right of place is certainly with them. The evidence is complete, that the introduction of this class has not disturbed the good manners or morals of the school, while it has tended to the elevation of the children so admitted.

One thing is certain; 'reservoir' schools there may be; mixed and night schools for backward children, schools for half-timers, and day industrial schools, combining education and labor, may be necessary; but the School Board system does not admit of the separation of classes, and I trust never may. It remains to be said that teachers and Boards universally demand enforced attendance. In his report of 1868, Mr. Matthew Arnold declared that irregular attendance and premature leaving were the causes of the badness of schools; and in this present year he has given counsel in emphatic language to the School Boards—'Let nothing induce them to shrink from the general enforcement of school attendance, even if seeming hardship be sometimes the result.'

Mr. Forster recently admitted that his Government was advised to omit London from the operation of the Elementary Education Act, because of the enormous difficulty of securing attendance; and now his successor in office expresses to Parliament his amazement that this work has been achieved with so little irritation and with so few complaints; and to this the Home Secretary adds the weight of his opinion. Every thing tends to show that before long we shall see enforced attendance all over the country. A great mistake has been committed in framing the Agricultural Schools Act, whereby it is ordered that children shall go to school, but unfortunately no provision is inserted for putting the compulsory powers of the Act in force, and the natural result follows that children do not go to school. Nevertheless, there appears to be a consensus of opinion, and each day brings us fresh contributions, that of the Bishop of Manchester being the latest and most emphatic.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

'The nearest way to Newgate,' says the Ordinary of that stronghold, 'is the public street.' Put a boy there, and he is sure to find his way sooner or later. Now multitudes of small children and big boys are purposely cast upon the streets by their parents, who bid them 'find for themselves,' and forbid them to return empty-handed. They are half starving and grossly ignorant, yet early proficients in the school of vice. The public belief is that the School Board, by one touch of its wand, can clear the street of this 'Arab' class. When the rate payers ask why so much of energy is spent in securing regular attendance at

school when thousands do not go at all, we reply that we can not interfere with any unless they are of school age; that we must not touch one unless found begging; and that none may be captured unless in company with reputed thieves. The thousands of fusee-vendors, newspaper boys, street sweepers, and what not, if within age, are individually known, and their school attendance closely watched. But, beyond these, we have a crowd of half famished, half naked children, who prowl about alleys and railway arches, fruit markets, and the river foreshore, and the difficulty of pressing them into school is almost insuperable. They are no man's children, and live on no man's land; they deny their age, give false addresses, and pass over the boundary so as to elude the vigilance of the School Board officers. The street-orderly system of the Corporation has given employment to hundreds of the elder boys, and many more have been rescued by such movements as those of Dr. Bernardo and the Shoeblack Brigade. But multitudes escape every endeavor to reclaim them, and these are those most seen by the public and by foreigners who frequent our city and wonder at our neglect. It is, therefore, matter for congratulation that the officers of the Board have dealt with 3,986 cases, of which 2,042 have been sent to industrial schools, 380 on board five certified training ships, and the rest to homes and refuges.

That the action of the School Board has greatly thinned the ranks of young London delinquents is proved by abundant judicial testimony. The school visitors and the Industrial School officers work in concert; each juvenile culprit is known, constant raids are made upon his haunts, and when unearthed it does not avail them to plead, as he invariably does, that he is a 'half-timer,' or 'over thirteen.' Thus 1,954 little vagabonds have been tracked to their dens, restored to parents from whom they had escaped, compelled to submit to control, and go to school; and in every such case a far greater result has been secured than where a boy is placed in a reformatory at the public expense.

Training Ships.

The Board has felt no scruple as to the expediency of training the street Arabs for seafaring life. As a rule, the boys delight in it, and the nation is the gainer. It would be easy to show that there is a great scarcity of classed able seamen in the mercantile marine, and that an increasing proportion are foreigners, rarely as competent as Englishmen for the duties of seamenship, and liable to be withdrawn in the event of war. An experienced officer says: 'The training and sending of boys to sea at an early age would, to an important extent, improve the tone and character of merchant seamen generally (a large proportion of whom can neither read nor write), and make them of greater value both to the shipping interest and to the country.' There is, of course, a danger lest boys should be encouraged too readily to come to us for maintenance; for unnatural parents would gladly seize the opportunity of turning them

upon the streets in order that they might be sent to sea at the public expense. This difficulty has to be keenly guarded against; but it is believed that the checks are sufficiently stringent to prevent the abuse which would lead to the absorption by the crafty of a 'provision intended for the needy.'

Child Emigration.

Upon this subject our experience is as yet limited; a score of boys have been sent out to Canada by their own desire and with the consent of their nearest relatives. They have all gone under the care of the managers of the Boys' Home; farmers have received them into their families, and no question as to their well-being has been raised. But, in the face of Mr. Doyle's Report to the Local Government Board on 'Pauper Emigrants,' 1875, it is well that the public mind should be set at rest as to the prospects of British children sent out to the colonies. It may be permitted me to say that, so far as my own observations go, the answers offered to Mr. Doyle are as satisfactory as they are truthful; and, further, I think that gentleman himself is the best witness to the excellent nature of the efforts carried on by the benevolent ladies who manage the Canadian homes, inasmuch as he admits that 'the liberal and unostentatious way in which they devote the rare gifts with which they are endowed to the fulfillment of the very onerous duties undertaken by them is beyond all praise.'

Very few persons have any idea of the cost to the country of the pauper class. An inmate of one of our work-houses recently died who had gone in thirty years ago, and who cost the union £1,275 for maintenance, and the well cared for condition of all tends to longevity. What we want is to prevent the accumulation of a class; and we believe that, judiciously carried out, a system of emigration rids the country of a great burden, and at the same time introduces to new lands children who, under altered circumstances, become to them a blessing and not a curse.

School Fees and Free Schools.

We come now to deal with the inquiry how far compulsory attendance can be carried out if the school places are not absolutely free.

If I may be permitted still to draw upon the experience of the London Board, it may be a testimony of some value to say that it has never had a free school, nor even a free place, as such, in any of its schools. There is in every case a fee, greater or less; the average fee being two-pence. In five years 117,000 children have been brought into school, and yet it will be remembered that only in 1,116 cases were fees paid or remitted. It is admitted that the average fee is low, and this can be justified only by the condition of large masses of the population; but the Board is fully alive to the importance of raising the fees, and is steadily aiming to strengthen the spirit of independence in the parents. This subject is one upon which divergent opinions exist; the case of the free school is commonly put thus—that each parish should supply education free of

charge to the children of the industrial classes; and it is argued upon the ground of right that a national system of education, which offers to every child the means of development, should not be left to charity or accident, or the will of the parent, but be regarded as his alienable right, which it is the duty of the State to see assured to him. It is the clearest duty of Government to insist, through an efficient system of education, that such ignorance shall no longer continue; and since it is absolutely impossible for some children to obtain such education on account of the cost, it is the duty of the State to provide it freely, and, if free for one class, it must be free for all.

This argument of right has been indorsed and carried further by Earl Russell, its late convert, who is content with nothing less than that the State 'should take care of every one of its children till at least fourteen years of age,' and, not being at present in office, sees no shadow of difficulty about levying an additional sixpence on income for the purpose. His Lordship must have forgotten how the House of Commons treated the proposal of the Privy Council in 1862, when an education vote was asked for 813,441*l.*, and how, under the Revised Code, an unfortunate reduction from 12*s.* 3*d.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* per scholar was the result.

There are some who would deny the right of a child to have free education, just as they would to providing it with boots and bread and butter free; but all are agreed that it is the parents' duty to educate the mind, as it is to clothe and nourish the body, and that it is the part of the State to see that the child does not suffer through the inability or indifference of the parent. This is precisely what the Elementary Education Act aims at, and what every School Board is charged to secure.

On the other hand, the advantages arising from a reasonable scale of fees may be vindicated upon the ground that (1) it is just, as recognizing and insisting upon the parental obligation; (2) it is politic, as enlisting and fostering the parents' interest and coöperation; (3) it is fair, as compelling the reluctant parent to pay what the willing readily contribute; (4) it promotes regularity of attendance, the parent who pays looking well after his purchase; while (5) it cherishes the inestimable virtues of self-respect and self-reliance. My own experience is that the teachers prefer a fee, and that parents prefer to contribute something even out of their poverty. Deficient as the people are in letters, they are not, as a rule, so lacking in moral sensibility as to wish that their neighbors should bear their burdens for them.

Earl Russell is credited with having said in 1841: 'A charge as large as is in all cases desirable; instruction is generally valued at what it costs. It is really better that the very poorest should pay something, in order that they may value what they receive.' Apart from the greatly increased cost to the rate payers of free schools, it must not be concealed from view that the abolition of fees would surely result in the annihilation of voluntary schools. Now it was the distinct determination of the Legislature that, in so far as these were efficient, they should be utilized

and not destroyed. They have within the last ten years cost their supporters some millions of money, and they are sustained at present by 251,000 subscribers, with an annual contribution of £616,000. A parallel is furnished by the complaints that were made thirty years ago by the Nonconformists that their schools were being borne down by the competition of schools built and supported by Government grants, which they, on conscientious grounds, were unable to share; and as a fact, many of their schools were weakened and broken up. And what would happen now to the Denominational Schools? They must be inevitably swept out of the field by Free Schools, and the rate payers would be called upon to take the vast number of children thus thrown upon their hands.

WORK IN THE SCHOOL-ROOM.

There are three primary conditions to be fulfilled: (1) the body needs care, and to this end overcrowding must be avoided, and thorough ventilation secured; the class-rooms must be sufficient, the desks well adapted, and the playground ample; (2) the intellect needs development and instruction; and (3) the moral faculties require training. Let satisfactory results be forthcoming in these particulars, and we have a soundly educated people.

Infant Department.

England is in advance of other countries in the attention paid to children in infancy. In America, Saxony, and Switzerland, the Infant School, as we have it, is scarcely known; few children are received under six years of age. With us attendance is required at five, and children are received as early as three, and of the two and a half millions on the English register, one million are below seven years. There are those who question the advantage of teaching children of such tender age. Were the object simply to force instruction, to make precocious children, and hasten the period of liberation for labor, it would no doubt be a mistake; but it is far otherwise when these early years may be used for the cultivation of the powers of observation and imitation, and for imparting habits of order and obedience. It was Juvenal who said, 'When the seventh year is gone over the head of the boy, ere he has renewed his first teeth, although you put him under the instruction of a thousand most venerable masters, from that time he remains the same; the blossom is set, the character is formed.'

> Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
> Maxima debetur puero reverentia.

The recognized rule is that of every 10,000 pupils 1,200 ought to be above thirteen. Some years since Dr. Lyon Playfair quoted the actual number of senior children as 440 only, and every year it sinks to a lower point. With this fact before us of the growing tendency to withdraw children from school at an early age, it is all the more important diligently to sow in the early spring. The opening of the door to mere infants has greatly facilitated the attendance of elder girls who, in the absence

of the mother, are accustomed to take care of the family. If this be so, and all modern experience confirms it, who can overstate the value, educationally, of these earliest years?

Desirous on the one hand not to diminish the family resources, and on the other to permit no injury to the elder children, soon to escape from control, the Board has sought to solve a knotty problem. Day nurseries, or crêches (twenty-three of which exist in London), can not be maintained out of the rate payer's money; all, therefore, that could be done was to encourage the bringing of babies to school, allotting to them a special room, and fiting it with cots or cribs. Here are always to be seen weak and ill-nourished little ones, drowsy, restless, or tried by pain, who are quietly lifted from the gallery, and placed in charge of a kind pupil teacher to be amused with toys and pictures, or hushed to sleep. The majority, however, of these infants are strong and quick enough to be the subjects of appropriate teaching. Most of our staff have had some opportunity in the various training colleges of studying the Kindergarten system, and the Board has appointed a special instructor to impart it to the pupil teachers. For details of the system, I may refer those interested in the matter to an admirable paper read before the Congress at Glasgow by Miss Manning, remarking only that the aim is not to develop a child's nature by a course of routine lessons, but to reduce its varied faculties by pleasurable and intelligent exercise. Sand, clay, chalk, cardboard, balls, cubes, bridges, sticks, and perforators, are all at hand; music, singing, and marching, fill up the hours of a morning happy, and all too short.

Social Status and Physical Condition of many Pupils.

In some districts the children are cleanly, regular, and orderly, but in other and densely populated parts they are dirty, habitually truant, and grossly ignorant. The following picture of a Battersea boy may serve as representative of a considerable class:—

Trousers that barely cover with their rags his nakedness, and a shirt that exhibits, in the absence of any regard for buttons, the tawny flesh of his well developed chest down to the waist, are almost the sole articles of raiment. His feet are bare, and his long hair can not have been combed for many weeks; the toilet which is in vogue in this part of the world being evidently neither extravagant nor costly. Three other small children, all alike diminutive for their ages, run about the house unkempt and wild as young savages, delighting in the dirt and the freedom from the restraints of clothing to which parental neglect leaves them; the mother earning money as an itinerant hawker during the day, and the father being in full employment on good wages at neighboring gas works. And in such circumstances 500 persons, more or less, are reared in the leading street of the quarter.

Such a description as the above adds significance to the fact that our Board has taken over from 12,000 to 14,000 such children from Ragged schools, where they gave a nominal attendance for the sake of food and shelter. It will be easily understood that the sudden influx of neglected children of this class must be a disturbing element in our schools, and one sorely to try the energy and patience of our teachers. Young

urchins who can gain admission no where else come to the Board School, whose teacher has no option but to receive them. Greatly is it to the honor of some of our teachers that they have even preferred such rude fields of labor, and have made the work one of love—a work that has not been unrewarded.

Teaching Power.

All over the country the inspectors speak of the unsatisfactory state of the pupil teachers; 'their writing does not express thought, their reading lacks force and meaning, and their addition and subtraction are faulty.' The Report of the London Board is better than this, but it is evident that we have too few qualified assistants, and too slight a connection between the pupil teacher and the principals. No question can be more vital than this of the training of the junior teachers, who must be the seniors of a few years hence. It is therefore with satisfaction we learn that the College of Preceptors has taken this matter seriously in hand, and is offering great stimulus to this all essential subject of study. Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his Report on the Metropolitan Division, 1875, says, 'The great interest which is now directed to popular education will create in this country, and on a far wider scale than formerly, a sense of the importance of the teacher and his function, and will tend to make his function an object of ambition, rather than of avoidance. This with time will undoubtedly attract a better supply of pupil teachers to the profession.' This is already the case, and, as we have seen, the Board is securing more boys, and of a better class, as pupil teachers, and girls of superior ability. The London Board has arrived at an important resolution to gather their pupil teachers at stated centers for systematic instruction under the most competent teachers in the various subjects.

The scale of salaries adopted by the London Board is—for head teachers, male, £110, rising to a *maximum* of £210, and female, £90, rising to £150; for candidates 6s. per week; and for pupil teachers, male, 9s. a week, rising to 16s., and female, 4s., rising to 10s.

Curriculum.

To Professor Huxley is due in great measure the preparation of the school curriculum adopted in 1871 by the London Board, which became in turn a model to the country at large. We cite the regulations:—

16. In infant schools instruction shall be given in the following subjects:—

The Bible, and the principles of religion and morality, in accordance with the terms of the resolution of the board passed on the 8th of March, 1871.
Reading, writing, and arithmetic.
Object lessons of a simple character, with some such exercise of the hands and eyes as is given in the "Kindergarten" system.
Music and drill.

17. In junior and senior schools, certain kinds of instruction shall form an essential part of the teaching of every school; but others may or may not be added to them, at the discretion of the managers of individual schools, or by the special direction of the board. The instruction in discretionary subjects shall not interfere with the efficiency of the teaching of the essential subjects.

18. The following subjects shall be essential.

The Bible, and the principles of religion and morality, in accordance with the terms of the resolution of the board passed on the 8th of March, 1871.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic; English grammar and composition, and the principles of book-keeping in senior schools; with mensuration in senior boys' schools.

Systematized object lessons, embracing in the six school years a course of elementary instruction in physical science, and serving as an introduction to the science examinations which are conducted by the Science and Art Department.

The History of England. Elementary Geography. Elementary social economy. Elementary drawing. Music and drill.

In girls' schools, plain needlework and cutting-out.

19. The following subjects shall be discretionary:—

Domestic economy. Algebra. Geometry.

Exceptional Classes.

Classes both for the deaf and dumb have been formed, and encouraging results have been obtained to such an extent as to lead parents to remove their residence to the neighborhood of the schools. The work among the blind is, in many respects easier; and it is often found preferable to give them instruction in their own homes. It needs only to be added that idiotic and imbecile children of the pauper class are under successful training, that care is exercised for cripples, and that the difficulty of our floating population on canals and rivers, is being grappled with, though it would be too much to say it has yet been overcome.

Religious Exercises.

I am not insensible to the care that must be taken, if the Bible is to be read, and yet those definite and dogmatic instructions avoided, which many deem to be the only teaching worthy of the name religious; we find, however, in practice that in all our schools, during the last five years, not a single teacher has expressed reluctance to give simple Bible lessons, and that scarcely any parents, save some of Jewish persuasion, have withdrawn their children from the religious instruction. School is opened every morning by the reading of a portion of Scripture, with such brief explanations as are suited to the capacity of the children, given by the head teacher. A hymn is sung, and a simple prayer is offered and often repeated. It is the order of the Board that no visitor shall take part in these exercises. But apart from this distinct recognition of the Divine Being and his claims, it is felt that righteousness and charity, the cardinal virtues which we desire to see implanted in the hearts of the young, find their best and only permanent root in religious principle. It is therefore our aim to secure teachers of high moral character, in the assurance that the whole spirit of their life and influence will be of greater value in forming the characters of the young, so quick to observe and imitate, than the most formal exposition of duty and doctrine. It is this which is the scarcely-detected, yet essential, ingredient which gives health and soundness to the school life, even as salt to our daily bread.

The Bishop of Manchester, England, better known among the educators of this country as Rev. James Frazer, commissioned to examine and report on the Public Schools of the United States in 1866—in awarding certain exhibitions and certificates of merit instituted by the School Board of Manchester, remarked:—

The population of Manchester might be taken at 360,000, the number of school buildings at 120, embracing 250 departments; the children of school age were 58,576. There were enrolled on the list of public elementary schools (excluding private schools, grammar schools, and superior schools), 49,860 children; there was an average attendance of 32,144. The cost of education might be calculated at 35*s.* per child per annum, being about £87,500 a year from all the sources from which school income was derived.

The city of Boston had a population of 357,000. Its school population was 57,684, there being educated in private schools 6,000. There were enrolled in public schools 44,942 children; the average attendance was 41,613, or in the proportion of 92·6 of the enrollment. The number of schools of all grades was —of day schools 478, and evening schools 21; and these 478 schools were divided into 9 high schools, 49 grammar or second grade schools, and 416 primary schools. The total expenditure—and this figure would surprise those who groaned out at the extravagance of School Boards—exclusive of cost of buildings and land, was £285,000, making a total average cost per scholar of £6 16*s.* 6*d.* Although, he explained, in America the proportion of Imperial taxation was small, and the chief burden upon the rate payers fell in the shape of local taxation, this figure represented about one-tenth of the whole expenditure of Boston for municipal purposes.

The particular point to which he desired to invite attention was what the Americans called the 'grade' system of the education. In Manchester all our schools were so many isolated and individual units, in which the scholars were divided into six or seven classes. Under the grade school system of America, all the schools were members of a system, and worked in harmony with all the other schools. Children entered the primary school at the age of five years and remained four or five years, and passed into the grammar school at the age of nine or ten, where again they remained four or five years, and about the age of 14 or 15 passed, after examination, into one or other of the high schools. All these schools were free. (Cheers.) Well, they need not clap their hands at that unless they really had made up their minds that all schools should be free. (Renewed cheering.) He had not been prepared to go to that length himself; he had only thought it fair to give the fact in connection with the large sums he had quoted. In America the schools were all perfectly free, and the children had not even to buy their books. Under this grade system there was provision made for every child according to his abilities, or if their parents could spare the time there was an opportunity for every child to pass from the lowest class in the primary school through various degrees till he reached the high school. He must say that that was the dream of his mind with regard to education in this country. (Cheers.) There were enormous difficulties. He did not disguise the fact that the religious or denominational difficulty was a very great obstacle in the way. He was afraid it was an almost hopeless thing to expect that Christian managers of schools could so far postpone their distinctive opinions and views to the, he would not say greater object, for in their mind it was less important, but to the great object of providing an education which should reach every child of the people, and affording to every child an opportunity for rising from the lowest rung of the ladder to the highest. (Hear.) He was afraid that just at present our minds were hardly in that calm and dispassionate temper which would enable us to look at the question in all its issues, or which promised a very favorable, or, at any rate, a very immediate realization of his vision. He should feel proud of his country, and he did feel proud of it now, but he should feel ten thousand times prouder of it, and he should have no fear of any anarchical design, promoted by any party whatever, if every child in Manchester had opportunities, of which he had only to avail himself, if he had the capacity, to raise himself to the highest offices of either Church or State. (Cheers.)

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ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND—1875.

Committee of Council on Education, June, 1876.

The following are the principal features in the Report of the Committee of Council on Education submitted to Parliament, June, 1876:

Elementary Schools in 1875.

In the year ending the 31st of August, 1875, the Inspectors visited 13,217 day schools in England and Wales, to which annual grants were made, containing 19,245 departments under separate teachers, and furnishing accommodation, at 8 square feet of superficial area per child, for 3,146,424 scholars. There were on the registers the names of 2,744,300 children, of whom 983,995 were under 7 years of age, 1,668,054 were between 7 and 13, 92,251 were above 13. Of these scholars 2,221,745 were present on the day of the Inspector's visit to their respective schools, while 1,837,180 were, on an average, in daily attendance throughout the year; 1,613.215 having made the requisite number of attendances were qualified to bring grants to their schools,—471,323 without individual examination, and 1,141,892 on passing a satisfactory examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic; 973,583 were actually presented for such examination, and 572,781 passed the prescribed test without failure in any one of the three subjects.

The Inspectors also visited 850 schools which do not fulfil the conditions on which annual grants are made. In these schools 51,976 scholars were present on the day of inspection.

The night schools examined during the year were 1,392 in number; 48,393 scholars above 12 years of age were, on an average, in attendance each night; 43,734 scholars were qualified for examination by having made the required number of attendances during the night school session. Of these, 35,353 were actually examined, and out of every 100 scholars so examined, 87.95 passed in reading, 70.55 in writing, and 59.21 in arithmetic.

Training Colleges.

The Inspectors found 20,940 certificated teachers at work in the aided schools which they visited, while the 40 training colleges, from which the supply of such teachers is mainly recruited, were attended in 1875 by 2,975 students. These students, with a few exceptions, and 1,538 acting teachers, were examined for certificates in December, 1875, and in the following week 3,194 candidates for admission to the 1,579 vacancies declared in the training colleges were examined; of these 2,347 were successful, and 1,530 are now in the first year of their residence, along with 1,477 students of the second year.

I.—School Supply.

We find that the schools in England and Wales, visited by the Inspectors, for the purpose of annual grants, which provided in 1869 for 1,765,944 scholars, or for 8.34 per cent. of the whole population, were in 1875 sufficient for 3,146,424 scholars, or 13.13 per cent. of the estimated population. An addition of room, in aided schools, for 1,380,480* children in six years is satisfactory, and shows that accommodation in efficient schools is increasing in a much more rapid ratio than the population of the country. But much remains to be done before the three millions and a quarter of children who ought to be daily under instruction can be provided for in schools whose efficiency is tested by the yearly visit of one of your Majesty's Inspectors.

The increased accommodation to which we allude has been supplied in several ways.

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* In 1875 accommodation was provided by 1.136 Board Schools for 386,400 scholars, and 227,2 5 were in average attendance. The increase in the accommodation in voluntary schools since 1869 has therefore amounted to 994,080 places (or 56.3 per cent.) while the average attendance has increased by 516 896 (or 51.4 per cent.).

1. In the five years ending on the 31st of December, 1875, building grants to the amount of £286,597 have been paid by the Education Department, on the completion of 1,011 schools affording new or improved accommodation for 255,037 scholars. These grants have been met by voluntary contributions to the amount of £1,190,401.

Of the 3,342 cases in which building grants were sought in 1870, 1,726 applications had been approved by the 1st of April, 1876; 378 had been rejected; 1,223 had been withdrawn, and 15 are still in progress towards approval. In 1,610 cases grants have been awarded, of which 1,463 have been paid. It is estimated that about 300,000 additional children will be efficiently provided for when our last grants to these new or enlarged schools have been paid. As these schools must be conducted as public elementary schools, they will all come under inspection, and must be placed under the charge of certificated teachers.

2. In the case of a large number of schools which have been enlarged, or improved, without Government aid, certificated teachers have been appointed, and annual grants applied for on their behalf. No fewer than 1,538 acting teachers attended the examination for certificates held at Christmas, 1875, and the success of 1,359 of these teachers will bring annual grants, annual inspection, and, we trust, increased efficiency to their schools.

3. The School Boards have availed themselves freely of the power of borrowing, on the security of the rates, given by the Acts of 1870 and 1873. We have recommended to the Public Works Loan Commissioners to make 1,898 loans, amounting to £5,825,639 10*s*. 9*d*., to 828 School Boards, by means of which new accommodation will be furnished for some 491,854 scholars. We have before us a considerable number of applications for similar assistance from various parts of the country, in which new schools are required. Many of the schools for which loans have been made are now in operation, and increase the available school provision shown in the returns for the current year.

4. The School Boards have also acquired a considerable number of schools, either by arrangement with private owners and managers, or, where the premises were held in trust for educational purposes, by transfers under the section of the Act of 1870 specially framed to meet such cases. We have no definite information with respect to the number of schools made over to Boards (Section 19) by private managers. But many of this latter class, as well as of the schools formally transferred, have not previously been in receipt of annual grants—so that they contribute to the increased accommodation in aided schools which has been provided in the last few years.

II.—School Attendance.

The average attendance in aided schools, day and night, has risen from 1,225,764 in 1870 to 1,885,562 in 1875. There were in 1875, 2,744,300 names of day scholars on the registers of inspected day schools (of whom 2,259,411 were present on the day of inspection), and this is the number of children, out of some four and a half millions for whom elementary schools are required, who receive more or less of efficient instruction in such schools during the past year. Of the day scholars on the registers 983,995 were below, and 1,760,305 above seven years of age.

Of the 983,995 scholars below seven only 471,323 had made the number of attendances required to bring grants to their schools; 435,015 were presented to the Inspectors and reported on, of whom 191,793 were under instruction in classes of schools attended by older children, while 243,222 were taught in separate departments, by certificated teachers of their own, and in rooms set apart and properly furnished for their instruction. The provision which is being made by School Boards for the instruction of infants will, it is to be hoped, materially increase the number of this latter class of scholars. The methods of instruction for children over and under seven years of age ought to vary, and cannot be efficiently carried out in the same room, so that every school, except the very smallest, requires a separate department for its infants.

Of the 1,760,305 scholars above seven borne on the registers of aided schools, 1,012,439 day scholars attended 250 times and upwards; 97,561 attended 150 times and upwards (under Half-time Acts); and 31,892 scholars (under Article 20*b*., 1, 2, and *c*. of the Code) made the same number (150) of attendances. Of the 1,141,892 day scholars thus qualified by attendance to bring grants to their schools by individual examination (being 65 per cent. of the number on the registers), we regret to observe that only 973,583 (or 55 per cent. of the same number) were actually presented to the Inspectors, and with regard to these scholars we invite attention to the following considerations:

1. They represent the two and a half millions of children between the ages

of 7 and 13, who, as appears from the tables of the Registrar-General, might be found in elementary schools, and might be reasonably expected to make the number of attendances required to earn a grant; seeing that the maximum number of such attendances can, if regularly made, be completed in 25 weeks or half a year.

2. The following table shows for each Standard—(*a*) the age at which the Standard ought to be passed, (*b*) the number of scholars of that age on the registers of aided schools, (*c*) the number of scholars examined in that Standard, and (*d*) the number above 10 years of age examined:

Standard.	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)
I.	7	320,442	327,412	55,895
II.	8	324,901	265,161	106,275
III.	9	315 496	186,501	129,104
IV.	10	292 724	115,576	111,098
V.	11	242,042	58,170	57,964
VI.	12	172 449	20.763	20,756

It thus appears that whereas, out of 973,583 scholars examined, as many as 481,097,* being over ten years of age, ought to have been presented in Standards IV.-VI., only 189,818 were so presented, while 291,276 were presented in Standards suited for children of seven, eight, and nine years of age.

3. Our statistics for the past year further show the following results. For the purpose of comparison the corresponding results in Scotland are also given in brackets. Out of every 100 scholars in average attendance—(*a*) 55 [54] were boys, 45 [46] were girls; (*b*) 36 [25] were infants, *i. e.*, below seven years of age, 35 [39] were between seven and ten, 29 [36] were above ten; (*c*) 26 [16] infants had attended 250 times and upwards, of whom 24 [13] were presented to Her Majesty's Inspectors; (*d*) 62 [74] scholars above seven had made the requisite number of attendances; and 53 [59] were presented to Her Majesty's Inspectors, of whom 26 [31] were above 10 years of age, while of these only 10 [11] were presented in Standards IV.-VI.

4. Each scholar presented to Her Majesty's Inspectors made on an average 2.4 [2.6] passes in the standard examination.

These results are not satisfactory; they show the large number of children who are not known to be attending efficient schools; the small number even of those who attend such schools, who do so with anything approaching to regularity; the large proportion of these last who are not presented to the Inspector to give proof of the results of their instruction; and the meagre nature of the results attained by many of those who are examined. For the figures we have quoted show that while only 85.5 [79.6] per cent. of the scholars qualified for examination were presented to the Inspectors, not more than 38.4 [32.2] per cent. of those above 10 were presented in standards appropriate to their age.

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the disproportionate number of older scholars who are presented in low standards is partly accounted for by the recent introduction of compulsory school attendance, which has driven many children, hitherto uncared for, into aided schools. That these children, as might have been anticipated, are found in large numbers in Board schools is shown by the fact that, while 36.5 per cent. of the (684,990) scholars in voluntary schools examined in Standards I.-III. are above 10 years of age, the proportion of the scholars (94,084) so examined in Board schools is as high as 43.3 per cent. If we take the standards separately we find that whereas in voluntary schools,16 per cent. of the scholars examined in Standard I. are above 10, the proportion in Board schools is no less than 25 per cent., while in Standard II. the proportions are 33 and 51 per cent., and in Standard III. 68 and 77 per cent. respectively, in voluntary and Board schools. These figures show the large number of new scholars now found in Board schools, and account for the relatively low rate of grants hitherto earned by these schools, which rose, however, in the past year from 10*s.* 10¾*d.* to 11*s.* 5¼*d.* per scholar in average attendance.

We must note, however, that of the 194,509 children presented in Standards IV.-VI., as many as 102,541 were examined in one or more "specific subjects" (New Code, Article 21) beyond the standard examination, of whom 76,030 passed successfully, 32,689 of them (out of 63,190 examined) did so in two subjects, and 12 (out of 13 examined) did so in three subjects. These figures are somewhat in advance of the returns of last year.

It further appears from the reports of the Inspectors that military drill,

* While the total number of scholars on the registers increased last year by 10 per cent., the scholars above 10 years of age increased by 15 per cent., and now amount to 39 per cent. of all the scholars on the books of inspected schools. The proportion of those above 10 presented for examination was 50 per cent. of the whole number examined.

which (as distinguished from the ordinary school drill practised in every good school) was introduced by the New Code, is systematically taught, with more or less satisfactory results, to the boys attending 1,001 day schools.

III.—Teaching Power.

The 13,217 elementary day schools in England and Wales, inspected in 1875, provided accommodation, in 19,245 departments, for 3,146,424 scholars. The average daily attendance in these schools amounted to 1,837,180, so that each department, while providing accommodation for 163 scholars, had an average attendance of only 95. It has been calculated that under the operation of the Education Acts, the average attendance will rise to 120; and assuming that at least 3,250,000* children in England and Wales ought to be in daily attendance at public elementary schools, it would follow that about 27,000 separate departments, under certificated teachers, will be required, as the general school supply of the country. If, however, we take into account the large number of small schools in the rural districts, it would, perhaps, be better to take 30,000 as the measure of future requirements.

What progress has been made of late years towards providing a sufficient supply of competent teachers for this number of schools? And from what sources is this supply to be still further recruited?

There were on the 31st of December, 1869, 12,842 pupil teachers, 1,236 assistant teachers, and 12,027 certificated teachers at work in schools under inspection. These numbers by the 31st of December, 1875, had risen to 29,138 pupil teachers, 2,421 assistants, and 21,952 certificated teachers; while the pupil teachers in the first of the five years of their service have increased from 3,392 in 1869, to 6,278 in 1875.

An addition of 2,755 was made to the number of certificated teachers, as the result of the last Christmas examinations, when 633 male and 763 female students of the second year, and 334 male and 975 female acting teachers, obtained places on the class list of candidates for certificates. Eight students of the first year also left the training colleges, under Article 87 of the New Code, to take charge of infant schools; and 33 other students left after one year's residence, most of whom had received appointments to the charge of elementary schools.

Since the 1st of May, 1871, moreover, certificates have been granted, without examination, to 829 male and 1,027 female teachers of 35 years of age and upwards, on whose schools the Inspectors have reported favorably; while provisional certificates (which hold good till the teacher completes his or her 25th year) have been granted to 259 male and 1,303 female ex-pupil teachers, qualifying them to take charge of small schools, with less than 60 children in average attendance throughout the year. The large number of pupil teachers who yearly complete their engagement satisfactorily, and cannot be admitted to training colleges for want of room, furnish a valuable supply of teachers for these small schools, and we are glad to find that many of them give proof of their efficiency, as out of the 1,562 who have received provisional certificates, 572 have since obtained ordinary certificates by examination.

The accommodation provided in 1876 by the training colleges under inspection in England and Wales is sufficient for 3,110 students, and 3,007 are in residence. In 1865 the colleges held 2,590 students, and 1,822 were in residence. These colleges can, therefore, at present furnish a yearly supply of some 1,500 teachers who have been trained for two years. This supply would be of itself sufficient to fill up the waste (calculated at 6 per cent.) in a staff of 25,000 teachers. Looking at the large number of qualified candidates for certificates who yearly enter the profession through other channels, recognized by the Code, we see no reason to doubt that the supply of teachers will, before long, be found sufficient fully to meet the requirements of the country.

But it is certain that the supply of certificated teachers is, at present, much below the demand. Many schools have been erected, under severe pressure, and at great cost, since the Act of 1870 was passed; and the promoters natur-

* The Registrar-General, in his report on the Census of 1871 (Vol. IV. p. xi), states that "the number of children of the school age, 3 and under 13, as defined by the Education Act, is, of boys 2,687,631, of girls 2,68[illegible],67[illegible]; the numbers of the two sexes are nearly equal, and they comprise 5,374,301, or 23 per cent., nearly one fourth, of the population." If we deduct one seventh as being the children of a class above that commonly found in public elementary schools (Report of Education Department for 1869-70, p. xiv.), the remainder, 4,6[illegible]6,544, is the number of children from 3 to 13, for whom elementary education falls to be provided in our schools; but if we assume that each child goes to school for only 7 years out of the 10 of its proper school life, there ought to be 3,224,580 children under daily instruction in efficient schools.

ally look for public assistance to enable them to carry on the schools which they have been forced to provide. This assistance can be given only to public elementary schools, and the teachers of such schools must be certificated. A sufficient supply of teachers so qualified is not forthcoming, and we have, therefore, slightly modified the Article (59) in the Code introduced by our predecessors, by which the Education Department are empowered to grant certificates without examination to persons who, having been for some years in charge of elementary schools, are reported by the Inspectors to be efficient teachers and give practical proof of their aptitude for their calling by the production in their schools of a reasonable amount of those "results" which form the basis of the administration of the Parliamentary grant. We trust that this Article, under the careful watching of the Inspectors, will give a step in their profession to many deserving teachers qualified to take charge of the numerous schools throughout the country, in small parishes, or in outlying hamlets, where local funds, even when largely taxed, do not suffice for the payment of the salaries at present paid to the highly-trained students who leave our colleges every year.

The extent to which the training colleges have contributed to the existing supply of efficient teachers in England and Wales is shown by the fact that of 9,829 masters employed in schools reported on in 1874–5, 5,938, or 60.4 per cent., had been trained for two years; 1,294, or 12.7 per cent., for one year; and 358, or 3.7 per cent., for less than one year; while 2,284, or 23.2 per cent., were untrained. In like manner, of 11,111 school-mistresses, 5,891 or 53.2 per cent, had been trained for two years; 1,163 or 10.4 per cent., for one year; 270, or 2.4 per cent., for less than one year, and 3,787 or 34 per cent. were untrained.

With the view of encouraging the study of scientific subjects in training colleges, the Syllabus provides that success in the examinations in science, held in May of each year by the Science and Art Department, should be taken into account in determining the Students' places in the class list of candidates for certificates as teachers of public schools. This recognition of branches of study which are every day becoming of more importance has been attended by very satisfactory results.

The total number of male students examined in England at Christmas, 1875, was 1,331, who, together, worked 2,991 papers at the May examinations. The success of the students at these examinations will be seen from the following table:

Subject.	Number of Male Students Examined.	Number Passed.	
		Elementary Stage.	Advanced Stage.
Animal Physiology,	752	390	249
Magnetism and Electricity,	450	210	218
Acoustics, Light, and Heat,	408	2[illegible]6	146
Physical Geography,	333	37	239*
Theoretical Mechanics,	2[illegible]9	232	27
Mathematics,	259	14	119
Inorganic Chemistry,	2[illegible]6	154	61
Elementary Botany,	124	63	30
Geology,	121	69	25
Practical Plane and Solid Geometry,	25	9	—
Machine Construction and Drawing,	4	1	2

* In addition to these, two passed in Honors.

Of the 23 English training colleges for female students, 10 sent candidates to the Science examinations. These were Chichester, Darlington, Derby, Lincoln, Liverpool, Salisbury, Southlands, Stockwell, Wandsworth, and Whitelands.

The total number of female students examined at Christmas, 1875, was 1,580; the number of Science papers worked in May was 1,012. The results of the examination were as follows:

Subject.	Number of Female Students Examined.	Number Passed.	
		Elementary Stage.	Advanced Stage.
Physical Geography,	370	172	161*
Animal Physiology,	3[illegible]7	161	79
Elementary Botany,	271	117	1[illegible]9
Geology,	39	28	—
General Biology,	5	—	3

* In addition to these, one passed in Honors.

The number of students examined in drawing in 1875 was 2,710, of whom 1,673 passed the examination successfully. In the same year, 2,892 pupil teachers passed, and 654 obtained prizes.

A considerable number (469) of the candidates for admission to training colleges examined at Christmas, 1875, received credit for previous success at the May examinations in science. Many of the candidates had passed in more than one subject, which accounts for the excess of the number of passes over that of candidates.

As regards languages, introduced into the admission examination for the first time at Christmas, 1874, the number of papers worked at Christmas, 1875, was as follows:

	Latin.	Greek.	French.	German.	Total.
Males, - -	121	1	195	5	322
Females, - -	17	—	396	8	421

IV.—Local Organization.

The first object of the Education Act of 1870 was to secure a supply of suitable school accommodation sufficient to meet the requirements of the country. We have shown how far this object had been accomplished by the end of the past year, in schools receiving annual aid, without taking into account the large number of schools, more or less efficient, which are not yearly visited by our Inspectors. What had been done by the 31st of August, 1873, was mainly effected by voluntary effort; but since that date School Boards have made considerable additions to the school supply of the country. In the year ending 31st of August, 1875, the number of Board schools increased from 838 to 1,140; while the accommodation in these schools rose from 245,508 to 387,227, the the average attendance from 142,017 to 231,381.

The Report of next year will probably show a still greater increase in the supply of schools provided by the School Boards, which have been established throughout the country, either (1) compulsory, when we have ascertained the existence of a deficiency, which is not, and will not be, met without the aid of rates, or (2) voluntarily, in the case of districts which desire either to meet a deficiency which they acknowledge, or to enforce the attendance of children at schools already at work, and sufficient for their respective wants.

The list of School Boards, and the abstracts of their accounts, show the objects for which the existing School Boards have been set up, and whether their formation has been compulsory or voluntary.

The population of England and Wales in 1871 was—1, in the Metropolitan District, 3 266,987; 2, in 223 municipal boroughs, 6,512,491; 3, in 14,094* civil parishes, 12,932,788—total 22,712,266.

1. The formation of a School Board for London was prescribed by the Act of 1876.

2. Boards have been established in 119 boroughs, with a population of 5,493,905 souls. With the exception of Cardiff, Denbigh, Gravesend, Great Grimsby, Great Yarmouth, Margate, Monmouth, Newport (Hants), Rotherham, Ruthin, Sandwich, St. Ives, Tamworth, Thetford, the election of Boards has, in all these cases, been ordered on the voluntary application of the municipal authorities.

The following statement shows how large a proportion of the urban population has by this time been placed under the jurisdiction of School Boards. According to the last census there are 13 towns in England with a population exceeding 100,000. All of these towns have Boards. There are 21 towns whose population ranges from 50,000 to 100,000. All of these have Boards, except Preston (85,427); and there are 69 towns with a population between 20,000 and 50,000, of which 44 have, and 25† have not School Boards

3. The population under School Boards may be summed up thus:

England—London, 3,266,987; 104 Boards in 104 boroughs, 5,308,423; 1,298 Boards in 1,784 parishes, 3,201,025—11,776,435. Wales—15 Boards in 15 boroughs, 185,582; 236 Boards in 360 parishes, 560,520—746,102; total, 12,522,537.

With regard to the further extension of the system, we find that the inquiry into the school provision available, or in course of being supplied, for the whole population of England and Wales, was completed in the Spring of 1872, since which time the Department has been busily engaged in issuing notices, under sections 9, 41, &c., of the Education Act, in all the districts in which School Boards have not been voluntarily formed, setting forth the amount of

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* Including 238 parishes partly within and partly without municipal boroughs, the extra municipal parts of these parishes being under the Act treated as separate districts.

† These are Accrington, Aston Manor, Bilston, Birkenhead, Bury, Cambridge, Chatham, Cheltenham, Chester, Colchester, Dover, Gorton, Heywood, Leamington, Lincoln, Lower Sedgley, Over Darwen, St. Helens, Shrewsbury, Torquay, Tottenham, Warrington, West Derby, West Hartlepool, York.

the efficient accommodation already provided in each district, and the deficiency, if any, which has to be made up, either by voluntary effort, or, failing that, by the compulsory election of School Boards.

The issue of first notices, commenced on the 16th of May, 1872, is virtually completed. These notices showed that the existing school supply was sufficient in 5,720 school districts. Copies of the notice published in such cases, and of the order subsequently issued for the election of a School Board, are printed in the Report for 1872–3.

Up to the present date we have issued 2,255 final notices; 32 in respect of 32 boroughs, and 2,223 in respect of 3,226 parishes, preliminary to the publication of orders for the compulsory election of School Boards, in the event of the accommodation called for not being supplied by voluntary effort within the time specified in the notices. These notices have resulted in the compulsory election of 870 School Boards—13 for boroughs, and 857 for 819 parishes in 306 united districts, and 551 parishes in single districts; while 48 parishes have either been made contributory or have been united to existing School Boards. In 4 boroughs and 174 parishes the time limited by the notices has not yet expired, and in the case of 15 boroughs and 1,634 parishes in which the time limited has expired, the required accommodation has either been or is in course of being supplied by voluntary effort, or the formation of School Boards is being proceeded with.

By-Laws.

By the 1st of May, 1876, by-laws* for enforcing the attendance of children at school had been sanctioned by your Majesty, in accordance with the terms of the Act of 1870, on the application of the School Boards of—1, London, with a population of 3,266,987; 2, 103 municipal boroughs, † 5,342,753; 3, 533 civil parishes, ‡ 1,921,271—total, 10,531,011.

By comparing these figures with those quoted above, it appears that compulsory attendance at school is now the law for 46 per cent. of the whole population of England and Wales, and for about 82 per cent. of the whole borough population.

In pursuance of the policy announced when the Education Act was under the consideration of Parliament, each Board has been permitted to frame its by-laws in such terms as seemed most likely to meet the views of its constituents and the industrial requirements of the district.

A reference to the by-laws themselves will be found interesting, as showing the different ways in which the Boards, both in boroughs and in agricultural parishes, have endeavored to reconcile, in their respective districts, the conflicting claims of labor and education.

Accounts of School Boards.

Up to the 30th of September, 1875, the School Boards in England numbered 1,210, and in Wales 225, namely: In England—London, 99 in boroughs, 1,110 in parishes. In Wales—15 in boroughs, 210 in parishes. Of these, 889 in England and 163 in Wales sent to the Department statements of receipts and expenditure for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1875, as prescribed by Section 62 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870; 365 had neither received nor paid money during the year under review, and 14, whose accounts had been audited, failed to send to the Department a copy of the statement of receipts and expenditure.

Income.

The total sum received by the 889 Boards in England, copies of whose accounts were sent in, was £2,182,270, as compared with £1,877,265 (received by 514 Boards) in the previous year; or, excluding loans for works of a permanent character, £813,154, as compared with £492,890; while the sum received by 163 Boards in Wales was £149,990, as compared with £142,491 (received by 123 Boards) in the previous year; or, excluding loans, £52,628, as compared with £36,828.

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* Copies of the by-laws sanctioned since the 1st of July, 1875, are printed in pursuance of the Act, as an Appendix to the Report. Those of an earlier date were similarly published with the Reports of 1871–72–73–74–75.

† Out of 119 in which School Boards have been elected.

‡ Out of 2,144 in which School Boards have been elected. These parishes are comprised in 1,534 Boards.

The proportions which the several sources of income bear to the total income for each of the three years, 1872–3, 1873–4, and 1874–5, are given in the following table:

	England.			Wales.		
	1872–3. per ct.	1873–4. per ct.	1874–5. per ct.	1872–3. per ct.	1873–4. per ct.	1874–5. per ct.
Grants from Education and Science and Art Departments, - -	8.3	12.5	15.4	23 5	25.2	22 6
Rates. - - - - - -	78.3	71 6	68.6	55.2	56.1	59.1
School fees and sale of books to Children, - - - -	11 8	14.3	14.3	17.8	17.1	17.1
Other sources of income, - -	1.6	1.6	1.7	3.5	1 5	1.2

Loans for works of a permanent character are omitted from the above table, as being applicable to "capital" rather than to "income." The proportion of the "total receipts" raised by loans in each of the three years was:

In England.			In Wales.		
1872–3.	1873–4.	1874–5.	1872–3.	1873–4.	1874–5.
74.9 per cent.	73.7 per cent.	62.8 per cent.	45 per cent.	74 2 per cent.	64.9 per cent.

The reduction in the percentage of loans shows that many of the School Boards have nearly completed the preliminary work of supplying the deficiency in the school accommodation of their districts.

Annual Grants.

Grants for the maintenance of schools were paid to 432 Boards in England, and to 91 Boards in Wales, being an increase of 163 in England and 21 in Wales over the number to which grants were paid in 1873–4, the sum paid being £135,634 in 1874–5, as against £69,677 in 1873–4.

Rates.

The sums paid by the rating authorities to the treasurers of School Boards were:

	In England.		In Wales.	
	1873–4.	1874–5.	1873–4.	1874–5.
London, - - -	£105,951	£206,685	—	—
Boroughs, - -	165,837	201,875	£3.589	£5,797
Parishes, - - -	81,396	149 336	17,085	25.152
	£353,134	£557,896	£20,674	£30,950

The sums paid by the rating authorities represented an average rate per £ on the rateable value of the districts:

	In England.		In Wales.	
	1873–4. d.	1874–5. d.	1873–4. d.	1874–5. d.
London, - - - -	1.25	2.39	—	—
Boroughs, - - -	2.13	2.54	2.58	1.9
Parishes, - - -	3 22	3.53	3.01	3.7
Total average rate, -	1.87	2.68	2.93	3.14

Loans.

We have already referred to the numerous applications which we continue to receive for our sanction to loans for works of a permanent character, and to our having recommended the Public Works Loan Commissioners to advance £5,825,639 upon the security of the rates.

Up to Michaelmas, 1875, that Board had paid to the School Board for London,* £1,580,745; School Boards in boroughs in England, £1,298,737; School Boards in parishes in England, £796,094; total, £3,675,576. School Boards in boroughs in Wales, £38,374; School Boards in parishes in Wales, £186,585; total, £224,959.

These loans have been applied to works of a permanent character, for supplying the deficiency existing in the school accommodation of the several districts, and the repayment is effected either by equal annual instalments, including interest, spread over a term of years not exceeding 50, or by the formation of a sinking fund, as prescribed by section 10 of the Act of 1873 (36 and 37 Vict., c. 86).

* This Board raised a loan of £50,000 from the Metropolitan Board of Works in addition to the sums advanced by the Public Works Loan Commissioners.

The sums outstanding in respect of loans were :

In England.		In Wales.	
On Sept. 29 1874.	On Sept 29. 1875.	On Sept. 29 1874.	On Sept. 29 1875.
£2,341,135	£3,583,852	£123,521	£217,539

Expenditure.

The sum expended by School Boards in England during the year under review amounted to £2.124.702, as compared with £1,825,957 in the previous year; and in Wales to £151,743, as compared with £132,108.

We find that £1,394,806 of the expenditure was incurred in the purchase of sites for schools, and in building, enlarging, and furnishing schools; leaving £881,640 as current expenditure, in contradistinction to the capital expenditure of the year.

The expenditure of School Boards may be divided into four headings, viz., (1) Administration, (2) Maintenance of Schools, (3) Works of a permanent character, (4) Miscellaneous; and the proportion which each bears to the whole expenditure is as follows: (1) Administration, £139,198, 6.1 per cent.; (2) Maintenance of Schools, £558,874, 24.5 per cent.; (3) Works of a permanent character, £1,394,806, 61.3 per cent.; (4) Miscellaneous, £183,658, 8.1 per cent.

If we omit the cost of works of a permanent character not paid out of current income, but out of loans, the comparison would be upon the ordinary current expenditure, and would stand thus: Administration, £139,108, 15.8 per cent.; Maintenance of Schools, £558,874, 63.4 per cent.; Miscellaneous, £183,658, 20.8 per cent.

We refer below to the considerable number of School Boards which had no schools under their control, and this affords an explanation of the comparatively high percentage of the charges for administration and miscellaneous expenses.

From returns which we have called for we are enabled to give the following particulars, showing the amount and cost of the additional accommodation in the school supply of the country provided, and in course of being provided, by School Boards.

Up to Michaelmas, 1875, 616 schools had been erected, and 113 enlarged, at a cost of £2,721,587, providing accommodation for 264,485 children, at a cost per head of £10 5*s*. 10*d*.

There were in course of erection 480 schools, and in course of enlargement 48, which, when completed, would provide accommodation for 189,569 additional scholars, at an estimated cost of £1,917,657, or £10 2*s*. 4*d*. per head.

So that the addition to the school provision of the country, when the schools in course of erection and enlargement at Michaelmas last are completed, through the agency of School Boards, will have been, 454,054 children, at a cost of £4,639,244, or £10 4*s*. 4*d*. per head.

During the year under review 668 School Boards had incurred expenses in respect of the annual maintenance of 1,617 schools provided by them, and as there were 1,435 Boards formed prior to Michaelmas last, it follows that 767 are still engaged in the preliminary work of supplying the deficiency in the school accommodation of their districts.

The sum paid under the 25th section of the Act of 1870 for school fees of children was £5,956 5*s* 8*d*.

These fees were paid by 50 Boards in England and two in Wales, in addition to maintaining schools provided by them, and by 15 Boards in England, which had not provided schools in their districts.

The number of children for whom fees were paid was 16,594.

Pensions.

We have received 76 applications for pensions under the Minutes of the 26th of June, 1875, and the 16th of July, 1875, now incorporated (Article 118) into the Code. Of these cases, 56 were dealt with at Michaelmas last, and the remainder at Lady-day, 1876. We have granted 17 pensions of £25, and 38 of £20. We have awarded 12 gratuities, varying in amount from £30 to £50.

The Report, which is dated the 1st of June, 1876, is signed by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, and Lord Sandon.

ELEMENTARY TEACHING AS IT IS.

The London *Times* for August 28, 1876, introduces the Report of the Committee of Privy Council on Education for 1875, as follows: In some points the progress of the country since the Education Act of 1870 has been extremely satisfactory. In 1869 there was school accommodation existing in England and Wales for 1,765,944 children, or for 8.34 per cent. of the whole population. In 1875 the number of children provided for was 3,146,424, and the percentage to the population had risen to 13.13. It seems, however, that a very small part of this has been due directly to the Elementary Education Act. The total increase during the last six years has been 1,380,480, and out of this the new provision made by School Boards has been for only 386,400 children. It follows, therefore, that to provide schooling for no less than 994,080 children has been the part of the work which has been performed by voluntary efforts. When we pass, however, to the actual use that has been made of this new school space, our figures become less gratifying. The school accommodation is shown to be very largely in excess of the number of children who have in any way taken advantage of it. The School Registers of 1875 contained the names of only 2,744,300 children, and of these about a million were under seven years of age. The average daily school attendance of children of all ages was 1,885,562. The number qualified to be examined by the Government Inspector was 1,141,892, and the number actually presented for examination 973,583. Finally, the number which passed without failure in the proverbial three subjects was 572,781. It is clear that all these figures, and especially the later ones, are very much lower than they ought to have been. It is, however, not easy to pronounce exactly on the amount of the deficit. The problem is necessarily indeterminate, as, indeed, the method of solution followed by the Committee of Council sufficiently proves.

The whole number of children in England and Wales of what is termed the school age—*i. e.*, the whole number between 3 and 13—are, the Registrar-General is quo ed to prove, 5,374,301. This tremendous total, however, is, fortunately, no fair measure of our educational deficiencies in school accommodation or attendance. We must deduct from it first all who belong to a higher class than that which commonly attends at Public Elementary Schools. We must then make a further reduction for the length of time by which school attendance can be suffered to fall short of the proper total of ten years. These two processes together bring down our figures to 3,224,580, and this, according to the Registrar-General's tables, is the least number that ought to be under daily instruction. The figures we have given above show, therefore, that our existing school provision does not fall very far short of what it ought to be, but they show, too, how very far we are from making proper use of what we have got. For the supply of new schools, if new schools are still needed, we may trust to the machinery which has already been found to work so well.

The neglect of school attendance by the classes for which our schools have been called into existence is a matter which needs more special and supplementary care, and this, it will be remembered, it was the great object of the Act of last Session [August, 1876,] to bestow.

The supply, actual and prospective, of qualified school-teachers are points on which the Report of the Committee furnishes some interesting particulars. The increase here has been considerable. In 1869 there were 12,027 certificated masters and mistresses. By August, 1875, this number had risen to 20,940, and by December to 21,952. The greater part of them come from the training colleges. These, it is calculated, can provide yearly about 1,500 teachers—a number sufficient to make up for the yearly waste in a staff of 25,000, and sufficient, therefore, at present, to make some addition to the smaller existing staff. The Committee, however, are not satisfied that the probable future demand will be thus met. They expect to be called upon to provide for at least 27,000 separate departments, or, allowing for the increase of small village schools, for 30,000, each under a properly certificated teacher. The excess is to be met, in some part, by the granting of certificates upon examination for actual service and independent of college training; but some doubt is expressed whether the supply will, even so, be adequate. Under these circumstances, we are sure that the Education Department has done wisely in extending the time during which these irregular certificates can be obtained, and in making their terms somewhat easier. It would seem, indeed, that some greater latitude was desirable, so only that a proper degree of competence in the teachers was secured. There must be a very large number of persons well qualified for the work of teaching who would gladly undertake it if their fair claims could be admitted. The salary of a teacher has risen of late years quite in proportion to the large increase in the demand. On the terms now offered there could be no difficulty in obtaining an almost indefinite number of fit candidates if they were sought for in the open market. First-class men from our Universities are sometimes obliged to be content with lower stipends and for higher and harder work. We should deprecate any measure which tended to reduce the standard of qualification in our elementary school staff, but with proper safeguards we could fear no such result from the freest system of selection that could be devised. We could wish, indeed, that the work of our elementary schools made more effectual demands than at present upon the intelligence of their instructors.

However great may be the improvements and extensions lately made, the quality of the teaching given in our schools is still, as the Committee's Report shows, sadly defective. There is, as yet, no proper correspondence between the ages of the children examined at the Inspectors' visits and the standards in which they are presented; or, in more plain terms, the children are exceedingly backward. It does not appear, however, that this comes from any fault of our school-teachers. It is, as the Committee remark, most obviously the case in the new Board schools, and it follows naturally enough from the character of the pupils for whom these schools have been in the main founded. We may be well content if the mixed multitudes which have been swept of late into the school net are found able to satisfy the Inspector in any standard whatever. By and by we shall be more exacting; but we must not expect too much as yet from a machinery which has been so lately set at work, and in a subject in which the arrears have been so large. When school attendance has, by whatever

means, been made more of a reality than it is now—when it has become more universal, and, above all, more regular, we may then hope that its good effects will be more apparent. The Report of the Committee contemplates a near time when our schools and scholars will be at least double what they were before the passing of the Education Act. The advance will be enormous; but if it testifies on the one hand to our new-found zeal in educational matters, it testifies scarcely less to the extent of our past neglect.

The question may present itself as to the real value of the improvement which the Report shows, and of the still greater advance which it anticipates. It is easy to find an answer to it, though far from easy to find as full an answer as it deserves. The advantage of education to the children who come under its influence can scarcely need to be insisted upon. It is the topic of which we hear most from our professed educational champions, and in the public judgment the case thus far has been quite abundantly made out. Scarcely less clear, too, is the gain that must result to society from the improvement of its hitherto most faulty members. The new habits which are implanted in the course of school training and the new powers which are conferred have an acknowledged benefit, which extends very far beyond the individuals whom it primarily affects. Nor is the gain only from the better service which results from a better course of training, or from the absence of troublesome vices which have been thus eradicated or subdued. When these advantages have been told over—and the list will be a long and convincing one—there remains still to consider the influence which an advance of knowledge in the lowest strata of society must exercise upon the ranks above. There will thus be created a pressure upwards at all points, and from this the highest classes will be by no means the least gainers. It is diffiuclt to lend a charm to the drudgery of elementary school-work. The thing is confessed to be necessary, but the imagination does not readily bring itself to dwell upon it with pleasure. It is by its consequences, however, that it must be judged, and by these it can be raised more nearly to its proper ideal level. The picture, it is true, will, after all, be imperfect. The hard exigencies of life will combine with the somewhat intractable nature of our material, and the two together will do much to baffle our best efforts. But it may be well, nevertheless, that we should set before ourselves a better standard of excellence than we have reached or than we can reasonably expect to reach. The higher we aim, the higher proverbially shall we hit. Our educational zeal has not yet reached the point at which it can need to be checked by reference to the practical wants of life. We have entered late upon our course, and our present watchword must be "Forward!"

The *Saturday Review* of Sept. 2, 1876, comments on the Reports of the School Inspectors, in the Annual Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1875, as follows:

To judge from the proceedings in Parliament, elementary teaching is a powerful and well-ordered machine, for the control of which rival parties are contending. To judge from the Inspectors' Reports, it is too often a machine so badly constructed and so inefficiently worked that it can matter little in whose hands the control of it is placed. It is exceedingly desirable that the fierce controversialists of the Session should learn how much remains to be done before that elementary instruction which in educational discussions is always assumed

to be given in elementary schools can be regarded as worth having. It is conceivable that when a child has really mastered the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic before he leaves school, he may feel a genuine gratitude to the teachers to whom he owes this possession, and a corresponding disposition to follow their guidance in matters of conduct or religion. But when a child leaves school with only that imperfect acquaintance with knowledge which is the most certain prelude to forgetting it, the influence which has failed to do its own proper work is not likely to avail much for further work. The impression left by the Inspectors' Reports is that, before we attach much moment to the question by whom the rudiments of learning are imparted, it would be well to ascertain that they are imparted. If they never succeed in effecting an entrance into a child's mind, it matters little under whose custody they remain outside it. A child who cannot read with sufficient intelligence to give himself pleasure, or write so that others can read what he has written, or cipher so as to know when he is cheated, will not have much sentiment to spare for those who have carried him no further along the road of knowledge.

A careless or an incompetent teacher can blunder to a much greater extent in teaching reading than in anything else. Illegible writing betrays itself, because the most conclusive of all tests is continually being applied to the work done by every child. If the teacher cannot read what the scholar has written, it argues something worse than carelessness or a more than ordinary want of capacity if he does not at once point out the fault. With arithmetic, again, the fact that the answer has or has not been arrived at supplies a similar check. The scholar may have worked too much by rule instead of by head; but he mnst, ordinarily speaking, have mastered the essentials of the process if he has brought the result right. In reading there is no corresponding means of ensuring the teacher's attention. He may notice if the scholar stumbles or stops over a hard word, or if he gives it a distinctly wrong pronunciation. But it is quite possible for both these errors to be avoided, and yet for the children to be almost as far as ever, not merely from good reading in the sense of reading that is pleasing or useful to others, but from good reading in the sense of reading that is pleasing or useful to themselves.

It cannot be too often repeated that the ability to read in such a way as to enable the scholar to read what he wants to read, either for his work or for his amusement, when he has left school, is the first essential of an efficient elementary education. If this is not gained, nothing is gained; if this is gained, the possibility of every other acquirement has been gained at the same time. Year after year, the testimony of the Inspectors show that it is upon this, the most important point of all, that the elementary teaching is most defective.

Mr. Aldis, speaking of Yorkshire schools, says that it is very seldom indeed that children know what it is they are reading about. They may be reading what they have read over and over again during the year, and yet, though there is no longer a word that presents the slightest difficulty as to enunciation, there will be many which convey no more idea to their minds than on the day when they first saw the passage.

"The most disappointing part of a school inspection," says Mr. Danby, "is in a majority of cases the examination in reading." Even in the highest standard "it not unfrequently happens that scholars who read accurately and fluently are receiving no impression from the words pronounced." Or, to quote from another Report, "they read with the eyes and the memory, but not with the understanding also."

It is impossible to overrate the mischief of this state of things. Inability to read is in most cases an irremediable evil after a child has left school, and inability to read intelligently is for all practical purposes the same thing as inability to read at all. It is of no avail that educational reformers rack their brains to devise methods for securing intsruction in additional subjects, if that elementary art through which alone all additional subjects can be approached is left unattained.

Intelligent reading implies a clear understanding of what is read, and this clear understanding will rarely be attained unless the matter of the books read is such as to interest children.

The compilers of reading-books seem for the most part to think that a proper regard for their own dignity demands that they shall be instructive, or, if by chance they condescend to be amusing, they are usually silly at the same time. The best reading-book for the upper classes in elementary schools would be *Robinson Crusoe*, broken up into parts so that the children might go on from part to part during the year, and thus have an obvious inducement for making progress in their desire to get on with the story. The matter of the book might be made the text of a large variety of lessons, which would become interesting by virtue of their association with Crusoe.

In view of the deficiencies of elementary instruction, as it is, both in studies and conduct, "Senex" in the *Times* for September 4, 1876, proposes an extension of the course in moral instruction, so that schools for popular education may better answer the purposes of their foundation:

We must not conceal from ourselves that education can never be imparted in its greatest perfection till it is felt to be a parental duty. But much may be done, and ought to be done, short of that, in behalf of children for whom education is not provided by their parents; and it is a sense of that duty which first led the numerous schools established by those good and zealous people who thus assumed the duties of parents in all parts of the country, and which subsequently led to the supplement of them by Board schools. Six years have passed since the first election of School Boards. One of the duties of these Boards is to bring education home, as nearly as possible, to all children. This duty appears thus far to have been well performed, and with the requisite time, the end aimed at is in a fair way of being accomplished.

Another duty of School Boards is to contrive that the instruction and discipline in the schools shall produce the effect desirable both for the children and society; and there can be no disagreement among intelligent and kindly-disposed adults that the effect of education to be aimed at for all children should be to qualify them so to direct their own conduct as to secure a satisfactory maintenance for themselves, and to avoid disturbing, if they cannot actually promote, the welfare of others. It is scarcely necessary to add that the same character of instruction and discipline is best adapted for both these purposes.

To the question, then—"What kind of people is it our wish to see issue forth from our schools?" The answer—the unanimous answer—must be, "They should be industrious"—that is, take pleasure and pride in useful labor. The school instruction most likely to conduce to this end will make plain to the pupils that they and their parents are able to live as they do because of the products of past industry to be seen in all directions around them—the houses, the furniture, the food, the clothing, the domesticated animals, the streets, roads, vehicles, implements, and materials in various stages of preparation, awaiting the finishing touch of labor to fit them for their purpose.

They should be intelligent and skilful. There can be no difficulty in leading pupils to perceive and understand that no amount of industry unassisted by intelligence and skill could enable their parents, and eventually themselves, to replace what they consumed; and the clear perception of this fact cannot but stimulate them to learn and apply, so that they may grow up to be intelligent and skilful as well as industrious. This being understood, a consciousness cannot fail to be developed of the ignominy and disgrace, even where physical suffering may be escaped, which await all who are unable, through their own negligence, to replace, directly or indirectly, what they consume.

They should be thrifty or economical—that is, incapable of consuming or wasting what will be more urgently needed to supply future wants or to alleviate or prevent the suffering of others. That acquired capacity which makes the anticipation of future good outweigh present sensuous indulgence, which distinguishes the adult from the infant, and the civilized man from the savage, will be greatly promoted by instruction in such facts as that the wants of each day must be principally supplied out of one annual harvest, that harvests are sometimes deficient and late, and that the weak, the sick, the infirm, and the aged, while they cannot work, are, if possible, more in need than the strong and healthy of extra comforts and diet; and these can only be forthcoming through intelligent and skilful industry followed up by thrift.

They should be compassionate and tenderly sensitive to the sufferings of others. Instruction will make clear to the young that, with all the pains to ward off want and misery by intelligent and skilful industry and thrift, disease, wounds, accidents by fire, floods, and tempests, and other hitherto unpreventable causes of suffering will afflict society. Even in these cases the resource is open to the strong and healthy to alleviate where they have not been able to prevent, and to solace where they cannot cure. But to aspire to be charitable or to be objects of charity to others without self abasement, the young must strive to become possessed through their other good qualities of the means of giving effect to charitable feelings in deeds of charity.

They should be truthful, honest, careful in contracting engagements, and faithful in performing them. The instruction which favors the growth of these qualities is multifarious. It explains the relationship between employers and employed, and masters and servants in its many varieties. It makes manifest the tendencies which regulate the distribution of wages; why the wages of some are very small, and of others exceptionally large; how increase of wages may be reasonably hoped for and wisely sought for, whether for individuals or

classes, or for the whole population. It shows when, out of the whole number of the employed, a few may, from time to time, be advantageously shifted into the ranks of employers; and why it is better for the larger number of the employed never to quit their own ranks while sharing directly or indirectly in the profits of employers. Above all, it makes manifest that, whatever attempts may be made by individuals and classes, whether separately or in combination, to bring about a better distribution of wealth, suspension of work through strikes and lock-outs, means diminution, not increase of wages—continued consumption with suspension of production.

A knowledge of all the details of industrial life cannot be imparted in schools. It is, however, not only possible, but most important, that the young should start in their several careers with a clear comprehension of the principles which pervade and regulate them. Sad experience has taught us how men may remain all their lives as ignorant, confused, and prejudiced concerning these principles as their remoter ancestors were of the causes of the succession of day and night, and of the seasons. A happier experience has proved to us—to some of us, at least—that children can study and master these principles, not only to their great future advantage, but to their immediate delight. They need but capable instructors to guide them in their studies.

With all your indulgence, I dare attempt no more here than indicate the further steps in the course which should be taken by such instructors. The young may be brought to comprehend how division of labor has enabled mankind to increase the quantity and variety, and to improve the quality of the wealth which they consume, how division of labor would be impossible without opportunities for exchange, how division of labor and exchange in combination have almost universally brought men to produce for the benefit of others as the best means of procuring what they desire for themselves; how weights and measures and money—or a measure of values—have been introduced to facilitate interchange and help all persons in their efforts as to what they had better produce, when to sell, when to store, when to buy, whento export, and how fluctuations of prices may help to indicate the varying wants of individuals and nations. Complaints of competition, of underselling, of the tyranny of capital, even when fortified by tremendous adjectives, will not mislead a race of men who have thus been instructed.

The practice of borrowing and lending prevails so widely that the principles which in some cases justify and in others condemn it, and should always control it, ought to be understood. Borrowing at all for the purpose of consumption or expenditure must be indefensible, if thrift is to be retained among good qualities, since that demands more than abstinence from borrowing in order to consume. It means abstinence from consuming in order to be able to lend. The practice of borrowing and lending, or the use of credit, is one of the powerful aids to industrial effort for producing and diffusing abundance, as long as it is used intelligently and honestly. Differently used, it is almost as powerful in spreading confusion, waste, and ruin. Many of the rules and regulations to be observed in the use of credit will have to be learnt after school days are passed. But during those days acquaintance may be made with the rule of honesty and prudence which enjoins that no credit should ever be accepted beyond what the lender would grant if he were fully informed of the means and liabilities of those whom he was invited to trust. After such moral instruction disregard of this rule may one of these days be looked upon as swindling.

The young who leave our schools knowing, as well as is possible at their age, how to distinguish between good and bad, wise and foolish, right and wrong conduct, and where to seek for better light and guidance, must be prepared to meet with some—a few only, we will hope—whose dispositions and intelligence are very different from their own. Criminals and the criminally disposed require special treatment. They must be restrained. When their evil propensities lead them to prey upon their own countrymen and neighbors, the repressive forces take the form of police, with the judicial and magisterial authorities to guide its action. When they are gathered together as nations intent upon invading other nations, carrying with them devastation and slaughter, armies and navies must be organized to resist them.

The expenses necessary for maintaining these two kinds of forces and their accessories are met by those contributions familiarly known as taxes. These taxes have often and justly in former days been considered oppressive. But the well-instructed young will have no difficulty in comprehending that the evils which they guard us from would be much more oppressive. They will also understand that the necessity of expensive armaments originates in criminality of disposition. And they will not be misled by the magnificent "vocables" under which the criminals in chief strive to disguise their atrocious deeds and intentions.

Parliamentary Action in 1876.

The Elementary Education Bill, introduced by Lord Sandon, as a Government measure, in pursuance of a promise in the Queen's Speech, and received with favor in its early stages, but strenuously opposed in its later stages by the authors of the original Act of 1870, from apprehension of the possible consequences of some of its provisions,—we regard, on the whole, as well calculated to consolidate the system of Public Elementary Instruction organized in 1870, and at the same time to conserve and utilize the vast system of means provided by religious zeal (over $75,000,000 in the last half century), and still contributed freely to supply a continuing national want. The Act, as passed, aims to secure a larger, longer, and more regular attendance of children of school age, by prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age, and by allowing such employment between the ages of ten and fourteen only when a child has passed a certain standard of school instruction,* and has put in a certain number of school attendances, so that every child must be either at work or at school. The authority for carrying out this provision is the School Board in districts where it exists; in boroughs where there is no School Board, by the corporation; and in parishes, by the Guardians of the Union. Boards of Guardians are authorized to pay the school fees when the parents are too poor to do so. Parliamentary Aid is extended on the principle of results, viz., 17*s.* 6*d.* for every scholar who has achieved a certain amount of efficiency, as ascertained by actual inspection. Power is also given to the Education Department to interfere with School Boards and other local authorities which fail to perform their duties, and to dissolve them, when condemned as useless by a majority of two thirds of the districts which called them into existence.

Lord Sandon, in introducing the measure (Friday, May 19), announced that his ideal of popular education for the whole country was "to see all children able to read and comprehend what they read, and to write in such a manner that the writing could be read, and to know as much of arithmetic as would enable them to keep an account of the money transactions that would happen in the course of their lives." To give that amount of instruction school accommodations for 3,250,000 were provided, at a cost of £13,000,000—of which £8,000,000, expended before the Act of 1870, was raised by voluntary subscription, and £1,700,000 granted by the Government. The regular daily attendance was about 1,800,000. This was the highest number reached under the existing laws and means for securing school attendance. In Scotland, by the Act of 1873, it is made the duty of parents to provide for their child elementary instruction in reading and arithmetic, from 5 to 13 years of age; and to do away with objections on account of poverty, all reasonable fees for poor parents were paid out of the poor-rate.

By degrees, the supervision of authorized agents has been extended over children under 10 years of age, employed in mines, in factories, and finally in agricultural labor, until it embraces sections and industry representing over twenty-two millions of population.

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* A certificate of having passed Standard IV., secured that a child could read with thorough intelligence, write a small hand, and do the four rules as far as money is concerned.

I. SYSTEM OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

Originally, the schools in Scotland were closely connected with the religious establishments of the country. Long before the Reformation all the principal towns had grammar-schools, in which the Latin language was taught; besides which, they had "lecture-schools" in which children were instructed to read the vernacular tongue. As early as the reign of James IV., a Statute, 1494, c. 54, ordained, under a penalty of twenty pounds, "that all barrones and freehalders" of substance should put their sons and heirs to the schools from six to nine, "and keep them there until they should be competently founded, and have perfect Latin." At this time the Catholic Church had authority over all teachers, who could not exercise their calling without the license of the Chancellor.

After the Reformation, the establishment and maintenance of schools became an object of constant and anxious attention on the part of the clergy. The First "Book of Policy" (or Discipline, drawn up by John Knox, on behalf of a Committee of the Reformed Church of Scotland in 1560–1) recommended that there should be a schoolmaster, "able to read the grammar and the Latin tongue," in every parish where there was a town of any reputation, and, in the landward parishes, that the reader or minister should take care of the instruction of the youth. In this book, and in the repeated applications to Parliament for restitution of the patrimony of the Church which had been seized by the nobles, the support of "schools" is uniformly one of the objects to which such funds are to be applied.

The nobles, however, notwithstanding the favorable inclinations of the Regent Murray, were powerful enough to resist the claim for restitution. But in the year 1567 the Reformed religion was established by law; and by an Act of the same year, c. 11, Parliament conceded to the Church their claim that the "superintendents or visitors" should have the cognizance of the teachers of youth. Then came the Act of 1592—"the great Charter of the Church"—re-enacting the Statute of 1581, which had ratified the Act of 1567, wherein it is declared that none shall be permitted to teach but such as should be tried by the superintendents or visitors of the Church. At this time, there was no legal obligation to support parish schools. But, as Dr. M'Crie says in his *Life of Melville*:—

As every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were tried; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established.

A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice long before the Act of Council in 1616, which was ratified by Parliament in 1633. It is a mistake to suppose that the parochial schools of Scotland owed their origin to these enactments.

The Parliamentary Statute has indeed been eventually of great benefit. But it would have been a dead letter but for the exertion of the Church Courts; and, owing to the vague nature of its provisions, it continued long to be evaded by those who were insensible to the benefits of education, or who grudged the smallest expense for the sake of promoting it.

In 1616 the Privy Council directed, that "in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same, upon the expense of the parochinaris, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." This Act of Council was ratified in Parliament by the Statute of 1633, c. 5, which is the first legislative enactment authorizing the establishment of parish schools. This Act provides that the Bishop shall have power, with the consent of the heritors, and most part of the parishioners, to impose a stent for the support of the school.

It was during the great civil war, however, that the foundation of the present parochial system was laid, for the Act of 1646, c. 46, though repealed at the Restoration, was re-enacted in the Statute which was passed in 1696, and is entitled, An "Act for settling of schools."

By this Act of 1696, it is ordained that "there shall be a school settled and established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish *not already provided*, by the advice of the heritors and minister of the parish." Under this Act the heritors are bound to provide a commodious school-house, and a salary not above 200 (£11, 2s. 2 2-3d.) nor under 100 merks (£5, 11s. 1 1-3d.) Each heritor is to be assessed in proportion to his valued rent, and is allowed relief from his tenants to the extent of one-half. If the heritors neglect or refuse to act, the duty of doing so devolves upon the Commissioners of Supply.

Under this Statute, enforced by the persevering and zealous exertions of the Church, Parish schools were erected in every parish in Scotland.

The salary, however, provided for the schoolmaster became in time inadequate, and difficulties occurred as to what heritors were entitled to vote for the election of schoolmasters, and as to the power of reviewing the judgment pronounced by Presbyteries in regard to their admission and deposition.

To remove these difficulties, the Statute 43 Geo. III., c. 54, was passed in 1803, and this has been succeeded by the 24 and 25 Vict., c. 107, in 1861. These Acts must be read together.

(1.) As to the schoolmasters' emoluments. By the Act of 1803, the salary of the schoolmaster was in no case to exceed 400 merks Scots (£22, 4s. 5d.), or to be under 300 merks (£16, 13s. 4d.) The salaries to be fixed between these two sums were to subsist for twenty-five years; and it was provided that thereafter the highest amount of salary should be equal to two chalders, and the lowest to one chalder and a half, the value of which is appointed to be fixed every 25 years, in the manner pointed out by the Statute.

These clauses are now repealed by the Act of 1861, which provides

that after Martinmas of that year the schoolmasters' salary shall not be less than £35 nor more than £70 per annum; and, that, where there are two or more schools in a parish, the minimum salary payable to the schoolmasters shall be £50 and the maximum £80 per annum. The precise amount of the salary is fixed by the heritors and minister.

In addition to their legal salary, the schoolmasters always receive the school fees. These are fixed by the heritors and minister.

(2.) As to accommodation. According to the Act of 1803, in parishes where there is not already a commodious school-house provided, or where there is no dwelling-house with a garden for the schoolmaster, the heritors must provide such accommodation. If they neglect or refuse to do so, or if the schoolmaster be dissatisfied with the accommodation provided, a remedy is pointed out by section 9 of the Statute; but in no case are the heritors bound to enlarge the school-buildings.

The school-house to be thus provided ought to be suitable to the size and circumstances of the parish; but the heritors are not obliged to provide a house of greater accommodation than two rooms, including a kitchen. The garden must contain at least one-fourth of a Scots acre, and be inclosed with "such fence as is generally used for such purposes in the district of the country where it is situated."

If no garden ground can be obtained without great loss or inconvenience, the heritors, with the sanction of the Quarter-Session, may make an addition to the schoolmaster's salary. "The expense of providing the school-house, dwelling-house, and garden, and supporting the same," is, by section 8 of the Act of 1803, to be defrayed by the heritors. According to Mr. Dunlop, "it seems somewhat doubtful whether the Quarter-Sessions have jurisdiction to compel them to do so;" but he adds that if this should be the correct construction of the Statute "the Court of Session would probably hold themselves entitled to compel them to do so."

But, according to the Act of 1803, in the case of extensive parishes, where two or more teachers are appointed under section 11 of the Act, the heritors are relieved from the obligation of providing any buildings or garden. The additional schools are known as *Side schools.*

According to the 17th section of the Act of 1861, where in any part it shall be necessary to provide a house for the schoolmaster, it is to consist of three apartments besides the kitchen.

By section 5 of the Act of 1861, power is given to the heritors to establish a female teacher, and in such case, a yearly salary of £30 may be added to the school assessment.

(3.) As to the election and qualifications of the schoolmaster. According to the Acts of 1696 and 1803, he is elected by the heritors and minister as one body. But, by section 22 of the Act of 1803, no heritor is entitled to vote at any meeting with reference to schools, "who is not a proprietor of lands within the parish to the extent of at least £100 Scots of valued rent appearing in the land-tax books of the county."

By the same section heritors may vote by proxy or by letter under their hand. In case the heritors fail to elect, the duty devolves on the Commissioners of Supply of the county within which the school is situated.

According to the provisions of the Act of 1803, the schoolmasters elect were examined and approved by the Presbyteries, and were required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland.

The Act of 1861 abolishes these provisions as to examination. The parochial schoolmaster elect is now examined by examiners appointed by the University Court of each University; and for this purpose the schools are distributed into four districts, each of which is attached to one University. Each schoolmaster on passing is entitled to a certificate, which is conclusive evidence of his competency as such.

Instead of signing the Confession and Formula, the schoolmaster elect is obliged to sign the declaration contained in the 12th section of the Act 1861. But the only remedy for contravening this declaration is by the Secretary of State, at the instance of the Presbytery or heritors, appointing a Commission to inquire into the charges. The result of this inquiry may be to censure, suspend, or depose the schoolmaster.

(4.) As to his dismissal or resignation. The parish schoolmaster holds office *ad vitam aut culpam.* The Act of 1803 made certain provisions, by section 21, for neglect of duty, immoral conduct, or cruel or improper treatment of the scholars on the part of the schoolmaster. These provisions are now repealed. And, by the Act of 1861 (sect. 14), if the schoolmaster is charged with immoral conduct, or cruel or improper treatment of the scholars under his charge, the Sheriff has jurisdiction to inquire into such charges, and to pronounce judgment of censure, uspension or deprivation: and his judgment is final.

But if the schoolmaster is disqualified for his duties by reason of infirmity or old age, or if, from negligence or inattention, he has failed to discharge them, provision is made by the 19th section. In such cases the heritors are to apply for the report of one of H. M. Inspectors of schools, and if the report shall be concurred in by the Presbytery, and the charge shall be found proved, the heritors and minister may permit or require the schoolmaster to resign, or, in case of refusal, dismiss him.

Besides these provisions, there are various others providing for retiring pensions: particularly for the case in which the resignation shall not be occasioned by any fault of the schoolmaster (sect. 19). In this case a retiring pension of not less than two-thirds of the salary is provided.

(5.) As to management and superintendence. Presbyteries are empowered to regulate the hours of teaching, and the length of the annual vacation; and their regulation on these points the schoolmaster is required to observe under pain of censure, suspension, or deprivation.

According to the 19th section of the Act of 1803, the superintendence of schools is continued in the ministers of the Established Church; and there is no clause of any subsequent Act expressly repealing this section.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION OF 1872.

Scotch Education Department—Board of Education for Scotland.

Under the Scotch Education Act of 1872, a Committee of the Privy Council, on Education in Scotland, is appointed by Her Majesty, called 'the Scotch Education Department.'

Subject to the Department, a Board of Education for Scotland is established, to endure for three years from the passing of the Act, and, after that, for two years further if deemed desirable. This Board consists of five members, appointed by the Queen, during pleasure; and its office and place of business are in Edinburgh. The Board regulates the distribution of the Parliamentary grant, and generally carries out the provisions of the Act, subject to the control of the Department.

Parish and Burgh School Boards.

Within twelve months from the passing of the Act, a School Board is to be elected in and for every parish and burgh in Scotland; and all the parish schools established under the recited Acts of Parliament, and all the burgh schools are to be vested in the school boards of their several parishes or burghs, the heritors and ministers, in the one case, and the town council, magistrates, and other authorities, in the other case, being superseded as to management, obligations, powers, and duties, by the school boards.

The provisions of the Act as to the mode of election of school boards, the cumulative vote, the triennial tenure of office by members of school boards, the proceedings of school boards, the supply of public school accommodation, the maintenance of schools, the power of appointing managers, the power of accepting the transfer of existing schools, the establishment and maintenance of industrial schools, the school fund, the power to impose rates, and the borrowing powers of school boards, are all the same as in the English Act.

The school boards have the power to fix the school fees to be paid by the children; and they may, if they think fit, pay to the teachers of a school the fees derived from such school.

The higher class public schools in burghs and parishes are to be managed by school boards, with a view to promote the higher education of the country. But no part of the funds or revenues of a higher class public school is to pass into the school fund, and no part of the expenses of any such school is to be paid out of that fund.

Parliamentary grants, according to the rates and under the conditions contained in the minutes of the Scotch Education Department in force for the time, may be made—

(1.) To any school board, for and in respect of the public schools under their management:

(2.) To the managers of any school which is, in the opinion of the Scotch Education Department, efficiently contributing to the secular education of the parish or burgh in which it is situated; provided that such conditions shall not give any preference or advantage to any school on the ground that it is or is not provided by a school board.

The Act provides that Parliamentary grants shall not be made for or in respect of-

(*a.*) Instruction in religious subjects:

(*b.*) A school established after the passing of the Act, not being a public school, unless the Department shall after due inquiry be satisfied that no sufficient provision exists for the children for whom the school is intended, regard being had to the religious belief of their parents, or that it is otherwise specially required in the locality where it is situated.

No Parliamentary grant will be made in aid of building, enlarging, improving, or fitting up any school, except in pursuance of a written application sent in to the Scotch Education Department on or before December 31, 1873.

This will have the same effect as a corresponding provision under the English Act—namely, that measures will be taken immediately to provide and furnish all the additional school buildings that may be required.

Under this, as under the English Act, it is no part of the duties of Her Majesty's inspectors to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects, or to examine any scholar in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book in public or other schools inspected by them.

The Conscience clause is pretty much the same as that of the English Act, viz. :—

Every public school and every school subject to inspection and receiving the Parliamentary grant is open to children of all denominations, and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects and from any religious observance in any such school, the child sustaining no disadvantage with respect to secular instruction by reason of being so withdrawn, or by reason of his religious denomination.

The time or times during which any religious observance is practiced, or instruction in religious subjects is given, at any meeting of the school for elementary instruction, must be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and at the end of such meeting, and must be specified in a table approved of by the Scotch Education Department.

Parental Duty as to School Attendance of Children.

All parents are bound, under the Act, to provide elementary education for their children between the ages of five and thirteen ; and if unable from poverty to pay therefor, to apply to the parochial board of the parish or burgh, which is bound to pay the same out of the poor fund, no such payment being made or refused on condition of the child attending any school in receipt of the Parliamentary grant other than such as may be selected by the parent.

Parents neglecting to provide elementary education for their children may be proceeded against by the procurator fiscal on a certificate from a school board, being liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding twenty shillings, or to imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days. The procedure may be repeated against the same parent, and in respect of the continuance of the same failure of duty, at intervals of not less than three months. All fines so recovered are to be paid into the school fund.

It is wisely enacted that employers of children, under the age of thir-

teen, whether as domestic servants, workers in mines, factories, or workshops, or assistants in shops, shall be deemed to undertake the duties of a parent in this regard, and be held liable in default. But the parent is not thereby exempted from liability.

Religious Instruction.

Under the English Act, instruction in religious subjects is permitted in voluntary schools receiving the Parliamentary grant, either before or after, or both before and after, each meeting of the school for secular instruction, but it is strictly prohibited, *at any time*, in school board schools. Now, under the Scotch Act, no such exception is made; and religious observances may be practiced and religious instruction given, at the times above specified, in all schools alike, whether voluntary or school board, receiving the Parliamentary grant, under the Scotch Education Department. In all cases, of course, the conditions of the Conscience clause must be strictly observed. The expediency of such a permission is distinctly affirmed in the preamble of the Scotch Act, which sets forth, that 'it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object to the instruction so given, but with liberty to parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools, to elect that their children should not receive such instruction, and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the same custom.'

We give entire the sections relating to religious instruction, and the duty of parents and school boards in respect to the elementary education of children.

68. Every public school, and every school subject to inspection and in receipt of public money, as hereinbefore provided, shall be open to children of all denominations, and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects, and from any religious observance in any such school; and no child shall in any such school be placed at any disadvantage with respect to the secular instruction given therein by reason of the denomination to which such child or his parent belong, or by reason of his being withdrawn from any instruction in religious subjects. The time or times during which any religious observance is practiced, or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school for elementary instruction, shall be given either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and end of such meeting, and shall be specified in a table approved of by the Scotch Education Department.

69. It shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children between five and thirteen years of age, and if unable from poverty to pay therefor, to apply to the parochial board of the parish or burgh in which he resides, and it shall be the duty of said board to pay out of the poor fund the ordinary and reasonable fees for the elementary education of every such child, or such part of such fees as the parent shall be unable to pay, in the event of the board being satisfied of the inability of the parent to pay such fees, and the provisions of this clause shall apply to the education of blind children, but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any school in receipt of the parliamentary grant other than such as may be selected by the parent.

Report of Scotch Education Department for 1876.

By the Scotch Education Act of 1872, a Committee of the Privy Council on Education is appointed by her Majesty called the Scotch Education Department, which submits an annual report to her Majesty in Council.

In 1875 the population of Scotland was estimated to be 3,405 214; with 561,-600 children between the ages of 5 and 13; of which number 477,360 were held to be in condition to be daily under instruction in the 4000 separate departments of public elementary schools required.

The annual grant and inspected schools were classified as follows: 1,935 Public Elementary Schools; 476 Church of Scotland; 151 Free Church; 66 Episcopal Church; 92 Roman Catholic.

In the year ending 31st August, 1875, the inspectors visited 2,720 day schools to which annual grants were made, containing 2,946 departments under separate teachers, and furnishing accommodation at 8 square feet of superficial area per child, for 391,538 scholars. There were on the registers the names of 402,633 children, of whom 95,442 were under 7 years of age; 280,622 were between 7 and 13; and 26,569 were above 13.

Of these scholars, 344,131 were present on the day of the inspector's visit to their respective schools, while 303,536 were, on an average, in daily attendance throughout the year; 273,848 having made the requisite number of attendances were qualified to be examined, 48,404 (under 7) collectively, and 225,444 (above 7) individually, in reading, writing, and arithmetic; 178,662 were actually presented for individual examination, and 131,230 passed the prescribed test without failure in any one of the three subjects.

The inspectors also visited 170 schools which do not fulfil the conditions on which annual grants are made. In these schools 13,537 scholars were present on the day of inspection.

The night schools examined during the year were 196 in number; 10,628 scholars above twelve years of age were, on an average, in attendance each night; 9,510 scholars were qualified for examination by having made the required number of attendances during the night school session. Of these, 6,954 were actually examined, and out of every 100 scholars so examined, 95.33 passed in reading, 83.23 in writing, and 77.47 in arithmetic.

The inspectors found 3,811 certificated teachers at work in the aided schools which they visited, while the seven training colleges, from which the supply of such teachers is mainly recruited, were attended in 1875 by 950 students. These students (with very few exceptions), and 162 acting teachers, were examined for certificates in December. 1875; and in the following week 769 candidates for admission to the 519 vacancies declared in the training colleges were examined; of these, 614 were successful, and 534 are now in their first year of residence, along with 489 students of the second year.

From 1839 to 31st December, 1875, grants to the amount of £139,122 have been paid in aid of building 478 new schools for 78,165 scholars, and enlarging or improving 197 schools for 14,710 scholars, or for 92,875 scholars in all.

The schools under inspection in 1872 provided accommodation for some 281,-688 scholars. Up to the 31st December, 1873, when the time for applying for building grants expired, we had received 1,685 applications for aid to supply school room for about 250,000 children, with 1,083 residences for teachers.

By the 1st of April, 1876, 1.383 had been approved, 49 refused, and 58 withdrawn by the School Boards, leaving 195 still undecided. In 940 cases grants have been announced to the amount of £335,856 14s. 6d., and 288 grants to the amount of £79,190 14s. 3d. have been paid.

Besides the 7 training colleges (with 1,023 students, 368 males, and 655 females in attendance in 1875) there were 2,350 pupil-teachers in the advanced classes of the Elementary School taught by certificated teachers, and the 32 University students who avail themselves of the practical training in the professional colleges.

The average attendance in schools aided by public grants and officially inspected has increesed from 213,549 in 1872, to 303,536 in 1875, and of 402,633 scholars registered. Of the number registered 95,442 were under 7 years of age; 280,622 were between 7 and 13; and 26,569 over 13.

For children under 7 years the Report recommends the organization of special infant departments under the charge of independent female teachers.

Pensions are granted by the Scotch Education Department, for which 12 applications were made in 1875. Two pensions of £25, and six of £20 were granted, and a gratuity of £20 was also awarded to another teacher.

In the vote of £438,227 for the Elementary Schools of Scotland, and £30,704 for the Scotch Universities, Lord Sandon remarked that the progress of Education was most satisfactory.

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND ASYLUMS IN FRANCE.

INFANT ASYLUMS—CRADLE SCHOOLS—KINDERGARTEN.

Asylums for children form a subject of the greatest interest and importance, particularly in a country like France, where the custom of sending infants out to be nursed has been universally prevalent for a long time. The social position of the parents will of course determine the fate which awaits the tender infant during the first months of its existence. If the parents be wealthy, or even belong to the middle class, a healthy nurse is procured, according to the advice of an experienced physician; nothing is left undone that tends to ameliorate the condition of the infant, and all possible precautions are taken to meet successfully the many dangers incidental to its young life. Far different is the case with that vast majority of infants whose parents either live in abject poverty, or who, in order to earn a scanty livelihood, are both obliged to work from early morn till late at night away from home. That which, with rich parents, is only a close adherence to a long-established custom, intended to meet the wants of an effeminate age, becomes to poor people a dire necessity.

The danger of this whole system of sending infants out to be nursed was fully exposed by M. Mayer, who, in his capacity as physician, could speak from experience, and in 1865 he published an appeal to the public, in which he says:

"This is a crusade which we are going to wage against an absurd and barbarous custom, that of abandoning, a few hours after its birth, a cherished being, whose advent has been ardently desired, to the care of a rough peasant-woman, whom the parents have never seen before, whose character and manners the real mother does not know, who carries away the dearest treasure to some unknown village in the provinces, the name of which perhaps is not even given on the map of France. There is something so revolting to the moral sense in this, that twenty years hence it will hardly be credited. There are excellent mothers who resignedly submit to this sacrifice without any other sign of being shocked than some furtive tears, which they carefully hide, as too great an indulgence to human weakness. If we add that the mother has not always even the satisfaction of placing the newly-born infant directly in the hands of the person who is to nurse it, but that at certain seasons of the year women from the country come to Paris to gather the nurselings and to distribute them afterwards through the provinces, we shall seem to exceed the bounds of truth; yet this is strictly in accordance with the facts, and it forms a regular branch of industry, a trade no less productive of strange developments than the slave-trade."

To remedy this state of things M. Mayer proposed to form a "*Society for the protection of infants*," the aim of which is to be:

1. To guard the infants against the dangers usually attending the nursing by hired nurses, far from their parents, without sufficient superintendence and without satisfactory guarantee.

2. To put into practice the regulations laid down by the present advanced medical science for the physical development of infants, before undertaking to cultivate their mental powers.

3. To pursue simultaneously at a suitable age the physical, moral, and intellectual training of the child.

This society is to attain this threefold end by establishing so-called "Maternal colonies" in the neighborhood of the great cities, and providing them with carefully-selected nurses; also with milch-cows of superior breed, to furnish the milk required for artificial nursing, and by a system of rewards given to those nurses who accomplish their task in the best manner.

The efforts of M. Mayer have led to the organization of societies in Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Rouen to carry out the idea.

GARDERIES.

But even under the most favorable circumstances, even with a devoted and attentive nurse, the painfulness of the infant's separation from its mother is not diminished whether the parents of the child be rich or poor. In the case of poor parents there will be additional circumstances to make this separation a very painful one. The father and mother are obliged to work incessantly in order to gain the means of subsistence, and no other course is left open to them than either to confide the infant to the care of the hospital founded by Saint Vincent de Paul, or to keep it at home, thus depriving themselves of part of the earnings indispensable for their living. The charitable societies lend some aid in this latter case, but not sufficient; and when the child has been weaned, and the mother goes out to work again, it is given to the care of a little brother or sister, who generally are sadly in want of being taken care of themselves. If the mother confides her infant to a so-called *garderie*, or to one of those "weaning establishments" which have no legal existence, and which, with or without the approbation of the mayor, prescribed in the regulations, are but too often directed by careless women, she has still reason to tremble for the health and well being of her infant. In a narrow room, deprived of fresh air and light, the unhappy creatures are crowded together; their bodily development is retarded, and as a natural consequence their mental powers remain totally undeveloped, on account of the incapacity of the superintending women, who rule only by the rod. And even if the mother keeps her child at home on Sundays and feast days the expense will be 70 centimes per day, or 17 fr., 20 cts. per month.

CRÈCHE, OR CRADLE-SCHOOL.

The evil had certainly reached its climax when, in the year 1844, M. Marbeau paid a visit to one of these establishments. This visit had far-reaching consequences, and became in fact the turning point towards a better system of infant-education in France. The woman who had several little infants huddled together in a miserable room, on being questioned gave the following account: that as a general rule she had only five or six infants; that her customers paid her only eight sous per head, and six sous in addition if she provided food for the child; that in the morning the mothers used to bring clean linen and take the soiled away in the evening, when they fetched their children, and that if the infants were not yet weaned, the mothers came to nurse them themselves at the hours when they took their meals. These last words were a ray of light to M. Marbeau, and gave him the first idea of instituting "cradle-schools." Instead of indulging in idle laments on the evil effect of large factories, or making vain efforts to stop the irrepressible march of modern industry, this thoroughly

honest and common-sense man at once conceived a plan to remedy the evil. Two problems were to be solved. As regards the mothers, how a safe guarantee could be provided which neither the superintendence of a young child nor an old woman could offer; as regards the infants, how they could have the milk which nature herself provides in the mother's breast, and the affectionate care which their tender age demands. M. Marbeau immediately went to work to realize his projects. He gave a full and true account of the actual state of affairs to the Department of Benevolent Institutions, of which he was a member, and submitted to their approbation his plan for a "cradle-school." A committee was appointed, and M. Marbeau charged with the report. He proved in this report "that it was a solemn duty to extend aid to these poor mothers and poor infants; that a cradle-school was possible; that it would cost, all told, only about fifty centimes per head; that the expenses of organizing the first establishment would be trifling, and easily met by charitable donation!" This report awakened the sympathy of many, and though the Department of Benevolent Institutions did not feel justified in giving official aid to this private undertaking, yet most of its members, as founders of the establishment, subscribed a sum towards its support. Contributions came in from all sides, and the Duchess of Orleans, by a large donation, completed the required sum.

On the 14th November, 1844, M. Marbeau was thus enabled to open the first institution, organized after his plan, in one of the most wretched parts of Paris, No. 81, Rue de Chaillot. In remembrance of the infancy of our Savior he called it *crèche* (manger.) There, in a light and well-ventilated room, the infants were kept from 5.30 A. M. till 8.30 P. M. in summer, and from 6.30 A. M. till 8 P. M. in winter, at the small charge of twenty centimes per day for each infant. During this time the mothers, who were obliged to go out to work, came at certain stated times each day to nurse their children, till they were weaned. After the children have all been taken home in the evening the room is left open all night, to let the vitiated air escape, and be entirely renovated. Sundays and feast days the cradle-school remains closed, in order that by thus bringing parents and children together once a week the family-tie may not be too much relaxed. Kind, patient, and intelligent women attended the children all day long, under the superintendence of a lady inspectress, whose charity and social position gave sufficient guarantee for their being well cared for. A physician was employed to pay daily visits to the school, to attend to all cases of sickness, and see that the children from the age of 1 to 3 years were supplied with food best suited to their age.

The rapid success of this institution, which soon could not contain the number of infants that were sent thither, created quite a sensation. It was felt that to aid the working man in the care and education of his infants was rendering a great service to the family, as thereby greater inducements were held out to him to marry, and the general misery of the poorer classes greatly alleviated. Frequent enquiries came from all parts of the country in regard to the organization of the institution, and numerous visitors convinced themselves, by personal inspection, of its successful working.

In February, 1845, M. Marbeau published his work, entitled: "Cradle schools, or the means of lessening the misery of the people by increasing the population," which (Sept. 10, 1846) was rewarded by the Monthyon prize given by the French Academy. M. Villemain very appropriately remarked on this occasion: "Thus is realized whatever there was practicable in the theories and

wishes of some speculative men. The object is not to establish a chimerical and oppressive community amongst men, but to give a safe support to the commencement of life in order to render its after-course easier and better. Here as everywhere the work of humanity is a political work. It prepares for the family and the state a more numerous, a healthier, and stronger population, accustomed from earliest infancy to habits of order, which are the germs of all social discipline."

What favor these institutions found with the public may be inferred from a work by M. Jules Delbruck, whose name is worthy to be placed side by side with that of the founder, entitled: "Visit to the Model Cradle-School," and his "General Report on the Cradle-Schools of Paris," both published towards the end of 1846, in which he counts already nine institutions of this kind, containing 180 cradles, and receiving as many as 223 infants.

The example of Paris was soon followed by other cities, viz.: Bordeaux, Brest, Melun, Metz, Nancy, Nantes, Orléans, and Rennes, and it was likewise soon imitated by other countries, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Austria, China, and America.

February 25th, 1847, M. Dupin, senior, inaugurated the "Society for Cradle Schools," which aids in founding and maintaining such establishments in the Seine Department. The clergy also sanctioned and encouraged these efforts; men like Thiers, Dufaure, de Fallou, de Melun, lent their aid, and Emile Deschamps made them the subject of some of his most touching poems.

The central and administrative authorities no less favored the work. An imperial decree of February 26, 1862, placed the cradle-school in the same rank as the "Maternal Society" and the "Asylums." The empress herself took them under her protection, and the Minister of the Interior, M. de Persigny, sent his order concerning these schools to the Prefects (dated June 30, 1862). The Prefect of the Seine Department likewise strongly recommended them in his order of January, 1863.

At the Universal Exposition of 1867, on the day of the opening of the Exposition, the Model Cradle-School of Sainte-Marie was opened in the grounds of the Exposition for the reception of infants, and was in successful working order till the closing of the Exposition. It had a committee of administration, a ladies' committee, and a medical committee, and was amply supplied with every thing required, linen, kitchen and washing apparatus, and all the implements for nursing as well as amusing infants. Special mention is due to the ingenious invention of M. Jules Delbruck, called by him *la Pouponnière*, which must be seen to be fully appreciated. He thus describes it: "This piece of furniture I call *la pouponnière*, from the word *poupon* (an endearing name for quite a small child). It forms his first field of activity, as the cradle is his first place of rest. The children, if they do not wish to sleep any longer, find here: 1. A place where they are safe from all danger; 2. Something to lean upon whilst making their first steps; 3. A gallery with a double bannister, where they can make their first tour of the world; 4. A dining-room, where one woman suffices to distribute to them their food, as to a nest-full of little birds." Whilst the *pouponnière* serves as a dining-room and playground for children who are no longer in the cradle, and who, stretched out on a soft carpet, amuse themselves in a manner totally unknown to the victims of the old swaddling-clothes system, M. Marbeau provides also an exercise for the larger children by an invention which he calls *la petite diligence*, "the little mail coach." Six children who cannot yet

walk are placed in it, three who are old enough to do so, and who are glad to serve as horses, are attached to it; three more push behind, whilst others, armed with innocent little whips, gallop alongside of the vehicle, and all this, superintended by a nurse, results in a healthy exercise for some of them, and a capital amusement for the others.

We may safely assert that the object for which the "Cradle-School" was placed in the Exposition was fully attained. It was constantly crowded with visitors, and not a single objection was raised to its practical operation. In six months it threw more light on the wants of the infantile age, and the powerful influence of the earliest education, than could otherwise have been done in twenty years. It demonstrated how to counteract the dreadful mortality of infants (17 per cent. on an average during the first year), which to a large degree may be traced to the system of sending children to be nursed away from home, or to their careless treatment at home.

ASYLUMS FOR CHILDREN.

The idea of instituting asylums for children from the age of three years to seven years is of much older date than the cradle-schools. As early as 787 of the Christian era we find that a priest (Dateo) founded such an asylum at Milan, where poor children were kept, fed, clothed, and instructed up to the seventh year of their age. The object of this asylum was to open a place of refuge for children of poor parents, to secure them from the dangers of being left at home alone, or of roaming about the streets, and to offer an opportunity to the parents of following undisturbedly their daily avocation. This benevolent idea in founding such asylums is therefore many centuries old, but the educational idea is more modern; we find it mentioned by Diderat, in France, 1763; Betzky, in Prussia, 1775; Oberlin and Louisa Schaeppler, 1770; Madame de Pastoret, in France, 1801; Robert Owen, in Scotland, 1819; in the letters written by Pestalozzi (Switzerland) to M. Greaves in London, in 1818, and in the masterly speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, May 21, 1835.

Institutions of this kind were started under different names in various countries. In Germany as "Kleinkinderschule," by the Princess of Lippe-Detmold (1807), and the Queen of Wurtemberg (1816); in Scotland and England as "Infant Schools," by Robert Owen (1819); in Italy as "Scuole Infantile," by Ferrauta Aposti (1829); in Belgium as "Ecoles Gardiennes" (1827).

Before entering on the history of these asylums in France we will quote the words of Madame Mallet, very clearly defining their object (written in 1835): "The asylum receives the child of the poor during the daytime, whilst the mother is working away from home; here it is carefully guarded and instructed; here it is happy, and learns to know its duties; it receives its first religious impressions, and contracts pure and peaceful habits; secure from the dangers of isolation and bad example, it grows in strength of body and mind, and when the moment arrives of leaving the asylum, and being cast on the wild sea of life, it is better able to keep a clear course amidst its roaring waves. The object of the asylum is not only a moral and religious one, but eminently a social one, because by guarding the children from all the dangers to which they would otherwise be exposed, we prevent them from becoming dangerous to society in after years. The education which the child receives here is the same which a good and faithful mother would give during the first years of her child's

life, if she, being endowed with the necessary moral and intellectual faculties, could devote all her time to it."

The first impetus toward establishment of such asylums in France was given in 1801 by Madame de Pastoret, but it did not lead to any important results. When, however, in 1826, it became known in France that "Infant Schools" had been established in England, it was determined to imitate this example at once. A committee was appointed under the direction of Abbé Desgenettes, superintendent of Foreign Missions, and Madame de Pastoret. This committee of ladies published a prospectus and solicited contributions, which during the first year reached the amount of 6,901 francs. As this sum was not sufficient, an application for aid was sent to the "General Council of Hospitals," which, in May, 1826, made a donation of 3,000 francs, and gave a house situated in the Rue du Bac, where soon eighty children (from 2 to 6 years) were instructed by Sisters of Providence de Fortieux. As however the system had not yet been fully understood, only two English pamphlets on the subject having been translated, enquiries had to be instituted anew. It was at this time (1827) that M. Cochin, who, without knowing anything about these efforts of the ladies' committee, had privately inaugurated a similar school on a small scale in the Rue des Gobelins, was first brought in connection with it. He entered heart and soul into their undertaking, and procured an active and persevering person, Madame Millet, who was sent to England for the express purpose of studying practically the system pursued in the infant schools of that country. M. Cochin shortly after went there himself. Having studied the system theoretically, whilst Madame Millet had gone through a practical course, they both returned to France. This lady at once undertook the superintendence of an asylum in the Rue des Martyrs, and M. Cochin, at his own expense, founded the great free asylum for 1,000 children, which since March 22, 1831, has been called after his name, and which has not yet been surpassed in excellence by any other institution of the kind. During the first two or three years the ladies' committee founded three asylums, where 600 children were kept every day. This of course soon exhausted their slender funds, the contributions diminished, and in the month of June, 1829, things came to such a pass that there were only 1,250 francs in the treasurer's hands, whilst the annual expenses for Paris amounted to about 16,000. No other course was left open but to apply again for aid to the "General Council of Hospitals." This appeal proved not in vain, for by a decree of this council, published October 23, 1829, and sanctioned by the Minister of the Interior, the government took the whole work under its protection, and the ladies' committee was charged, February 3, 1830, with the superintendence of all the asylums in the city of Paris. The work now lost its private character, and became a public institution, receiving a sure support from the government, thus establishing it on a firm basis.

In July, 1836, a rescript by the Minister of Public Instruction placed the asylums from January 1, 1837, under the administration of the school authorities, created by the law of June 28, 1833. The legal existence of the ladies' committee thus reached its end, after a period of eleven years, during which time it had received, by charitable gifts and subscriptions, the sum of 247,912 francs 37 centimes, and gradually founded 24 asylums. In spite of this change, the ladies of the committee were invited to continue their functions, under the title, "Ladies' Directress," and, joyfully consenting, have since that time devoted all their leisure hours to this work. When in 1837 a "Committee on

Asylums" was appointed, all of them found a place in it. Since that time the "Asylums for Children" have been reckoned among the primary schools; their future has been fully secured, and little remained to be done but to give a public exhibit of their advantages, and the best way of founding and directing them. This was done in 1833 by M. Cochin, who in that year published his "Manual for Primary Infant Schools or Asylums." Though this standard work thoroughly exhausts the subject, it was nevertheless thought advisable to promulgate the ideas contained in it still further, and a journal was consequently started by M. Cochin and M. Batelle, called "*L'ansi l'enfance*" ("The Infant's Friend,") which has been published by M. Hachette (Paris) from January 1, 1835, to December 31, 1840, and has thoroughly treated every subject of interest concerning infant schools. For a short time it ceased to appear, because it was thought that sufficient knowledge of the subject had been diffused. When the whole work of infant schools extended to such a degree that new methods and regulations became necessary, the journal was taken up again in 1846, under the auspices of M. de Salvandy, May 16, 1854 (by an imperial decree). The asylums were placed under the protection of her Majesty the Empress, and under the direction of a central committee, presided over by the Archbishop of Paris. In this same year a third series of the journal was commenced by M. Eugène Rendre, and has in its new form continued to appear to the present day. It has been a perfect success, and has been the means of continually throwing more light on the subject, and suggesting new improvements. One of these has been the so-called "*Kindergarten,*"* first introduced by Froebel, a pupil of Pestalozzi, which has found special favor in Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. Thus, theoretically and practically much has been done to further "infant education," and with the constant development of science in all its various spheres, we can joyfully look into the future, hoping that this plant, rooted in a fertile ground, may constantly bear richer fruits, spread its branches over all parts of the world, and continue to be a blessing to humanity.

NORMAL SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS OF INFANT ASYLUMS.

To complete this sketch, we add some remarks on "The Normal School" now connected with the asylums. Till December 22, 1837, the day which gave official sanction to these establishments, the only means of instruction were the advice given by Madame Millet and the excellent manual of M. Cochin; as for the rest, only a good moral reputation was required of the directresses and teachers. The royal decree now obliged them to undergo an examination, and obtain a certificate of qualification, which of course implied the necessity of a regular course of instruction. Nothing was done, however, till the year 1847, when Madame Pape-Carpentier, directress of an asylum at Mans, published her work, "Suggestions for the Direction of Asylums," which was very well received by the public and the authorities. M. de Salvandy, then Minister of Public Instruction, took the matter in hand, and at his suggestion Madame Jules Mallet and Madame Pape formed a ladies' committee. A small room was hired in the Rue Neuve-Saint-Paul, and arrangements made to receive five pupils, which number soon increased to ten. Madame Pape was the directress.

*The Kindergarten of Froebel, was first brought to the notice of French philanthropists and teachers by the Baroness Marenhaltz Balow through a series of Letters and Lectures, afterwards published in a volume entitled *Die Asbeit Labour.*

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REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1854.

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

THE first general law of Parliament relating to Reformatory Schools was passed in August, 1854, 'for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders in Great Britain.' This was followed by the Irish Act of 1858. These are now merged in the Acts of 1866* and 1868† respectively. Under their provisions, it is enacted that the Secretary of State in England, or the Chief Secretary in Ireland, may upon the application of the managers of any Reformatory School for the better training of youthful offenders, direct one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons, who shall be styled the Inspector of Reformatory Schools, to examine into the condition and regulations of the school, and to report to him thereon; and, if satisfied with said report, the Secretary of State, or Chief Secretary for Ireland, as the case may be, may, by writing under his hand, certify that such school is fitted for the reception of such youthful offenders as may be sent there in pursuance of the Acts, and the same shall be a Certified Reformatory School. It is provided that the Inspectors of Reformatories shall, from time to time, visit these schools, and report thereon to the Secretary of State, or the Chief Secretary, the continuance or withdrawal of whose certificate shall depend on such reports. The Inspectors' reports, with the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of such schools, and of certificates granted and withdrawn, must be annually laid before both Houses of Parliament.

Any juvenile offender convicted of an offense punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment, who, in the opinion of the court, justices, or magistrate, before whom he is charged, is under the age of sixteen years, and who is sentenced to imprisonment, of not less than ten days in Great Britain, or not less than fourteen days in Ireland, may also be sentenced to be sent, at the expiration of his

* 29th & 30th Vict., c. 117, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Acts relating to Reformatory Schools in *Great Britain*.' (August 10, 1866.)

† 31st & 32d Vict., c. 59, 'An Act to amend the Law relating to Reformatory schools in *Ireland*.' (July 16, 1868.)

period of imprisonment, to a certified reformatory school, to be there detained for a period of not less than two years and not more than five years.*

Many are of opinion that, generally speaking, it is desirable that juvenile offenders should not be exposed to the contamination of a jail; but it would appear that the above short term of imprisonment, at least, was considered by the framers of the Acts a necessary test of the offenders being of the class for whom reformatory schools are intended. In the Irish Act, it is provided that 'the term of imprisonment shall be directed to be carried out and spent as far as possible in strict separation.' In the English Act, which is of two years' older date, this wholesome provision is not to be found.

An obviously wise provision of the Acts is, that juvenile offenders shall be sent only to Reformatory Schools, which are under the exclusive management of persons of their own religious persuasion. The Irish Act is positive on this point.† In the English Act, it is provided that, in choosing a certified reformatory school, the Court shall endeavor to ascertain the religious persuasion to which the youthful offender belongs, and, so far as is possible, a selection shall be made of a school conducted in accordance with that persuasion.‡ It is further enacted that parents, guardians, or, if none, other nearest adult relatives, may apply to the Court, or the visiting justices, to have offenders sent to a school conducted in accordance with said offenders' religious persuasion, provided, first,—that the application be made before the offenders have been sent to a certified reformatory school, or within thirty days after their arrival at such a school; and, secondly, that the applicants show, to the satisfaction of the Court or visiting justices, that the managers of the schools named by them are willing to receive the offenders.§

Under the Acts, the managers of Reformatories are empowered to place out juvenile offenders, on license, with trustworthy and respectable persons who are willing to receive and take charge of them—the license to be in Great Britain for three months at a time, but renewable until the expiration of the offenders' periods of detention; and in Ireland, twelve months at a time. In Great Britain, no offender can be so placed out until after the expiration of eighteen

* Where an offender is under ten years of age, he or she can not be sent to a Reformatory School except by a Judge of Assize or Court of Quarter Sessions in England, or in Scotland by a Circuit Court of Justiciary or Sheriff. There is no such restriction as to very young offenders in the Irish Act.

† 31st & 32d Vict., c. 59, sec. 12.

‡ 29th & 30th Vict., c. 117, sec. 14.

§ Ibid. sec. 16.

months, and in Ireland, of one-half the time, of his period of detention. The managers have also the power to apprentice offenders, notwithstanding that their periods of detention have not expired. In this manner, many boys who would otherwise, in all probability, swell our pauper or criminal population, become good shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, or farm laborers, and many girls, who it is to be feared, but for the Reformatory training, would lead lives of idleness or crime, become useful domestic, or farm servants.

As regards the expenses of Reformatory Schools, it is enacted that the Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury may contribute, out of moneys provided by Parliament, such sum, in Great Britain, as the Secretary of State may recommend, toward the cost of the custody and maintenance of any offenders detained in a certified reformatory school, and, in Ireland, either the whole cost, at such rate per head as shall be determined by them, or such portion of the cost as shall be recommended by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The treasury grant to the several reformatories in Great Britain, in 1870, was an average of 5*s.* 11¾*d.* per head, per week, and in Ireland 5*s.* 7½*d.*; viz.:—

	Number of Certified Reformatories	Number of Offenders therein	Amount of Treasury Grant	Average per head, yearly			Average per head, weekly	
			£	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Great Britain...	64	5,433	84,422	15	10	9½	5	11¾
Ireland........	10	856	12,550	14	13	3	5	7½*

Under the Acts of the prison authorities in England, the county boards in Scotland, and the grand juries of counties and councils of boroughs in Ireland, are empowered to contract with the managers of any certified reformatory school for the reception and maintenance of juvenile offenders therein. The moneys required for this purpose are deemed, and defrayed as expenses under the Prisons Act (1865) in England, the Prisons Administration Act (1860) in Scotland, and the Acts for defraying the ordinary current expenditure of the jails in Ireland.

These moneys, which go toward supplementing the Treasury capi-

* I am obliged to confine myself to the reports for the year 1870, as the Irish report for 1871 has not yet been laid before Parliament. In the report for Great Britain for 1871, the figures are pretty much the same as those of 1870. Thus in 1871, there were in Great Britain 65 Reformatory Schools, in which the numbers actually were 5,419, and the Treasury grant amounted to 83,761*l.* Those out on license or at large are not charged for by the managers; but, in the case of Reformatory Schools, the Treasury pays about 2*l.* per head for boys or girls sent out on license, toward outfit, &c. Therefore, strictly speaking, some such deduction should be made from the Treasury grant, in making the above calculation. This would reduce the above amounts a little; viz., the Treasury grant for 1870 would average in Great Britain 15*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, or 5*s.* 10*d.* weekly, and in Ireland 14*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*, or 5*s.* 6¼*d.* weekly, per head of those actually under detention in the *Reformatories.*

tation grant, vary in the several districts in each country. The average all over Great Britain in 1870 was 1*s.* 4½*d.* per head, per week, and in Ireland 2*s.* 4¼*d.*; viz.:

	Number of Certified Reformatories	Number of Offenders therein	Contributions from Rates £	Average per head, yearly £ s. d.	Average per head, weekly s. d.
Great Britain	64	5,433	19,372*	3 11 4	1 4½
Ireland	10	856	5,248	6 2 7½	2 4¼

Where a parent, step-parent, or other person, legally liable to maintain any youthful offender detained in a certified Reformatory School, is of ability to do so, magistrates are empowered to summon such person, and, on hearing the case, to make an order on him for the payment of a weekly sum, not to exceed five shillings a week.

Every such payment, or a proper proportionate part thereof, must go in relief of the charges on Her Majesty's Treasury. The Secretary of State, or in Ireland the Chief Secretary, may remit, either wholly or partially, any payment so ordered.

The total amounts collected from parents, and (for Scotch Industrial Schools) from parochial boards, in aid of the maintenance of children under detention, were for the year 1870—

	Great Britain	Ireland
For Reformatory Schools	3,295 10 10	405 10 6
For Industrial Schools	4,539 13 3†	— — —

The total number of young offenders under sentence of detention in the 64 Reformatory Schools of Great Britain, on December 31, 1870, was 6,562; viz., 5,301 boys, and 1,261 girls.‡ Of this number, 9 § were in prison, 112 ‖ were at large, having absconded, and not been as yet recovered, and 1,008 ¶ were out on license, preparatory to discharge. Therefore, the number of inmates actually in the different schools at that date was 5,433, being 4,315 boys and 1,118 girls.**

The total amount expended in the Reformatory Schools of Great Britain in the year 1870 was 123,015*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*,†† under the following heads‡‡:—

* The contributions from rates in Great Britain in 1871 were 19,219*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

† These amounts in Great Britain, in 1871, were, for Reformatory Schools, 3,559*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*, and for Industrial Schools, 5,181*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

‡ 'Fourteenth Report of the Inspector of the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain' (The Reverend Sydney Turner), p. 5. The numbers in 1871 differ very little from these. § 7 boys and 2 girls. ‖ 88 boys and 24 girls. ¶ 891 boys and 117 girls.

** In all calculations as to the average amount per head of the Government grant, and contribution from rates, and the cost of the maintenance of the children, I take the actual numbers in the schools, as those out on license are supported by the persons with whom they are placed.

†† 'Report.' p. 14. This amount in 1871 was 127,234*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

‡‡ 'Report for 1870,' p. 14. The above division into maintenance of inmates and staff charges is not in the Report.

MAINTENANCE OF INMATES.

	£	s.	d.			
Food of inmates	39,140	3	7			
Clothing do.	13,490	9	10			
Washing do.	6,796	12	4*			
Medical	1,776	7	6			
Sundries	2,443	6	0			
Disposal	6,015	10	2			
Traveling and police	1,323	9	5			
				70,985	18	10

STAFF AND HOUSE CHARGES.

Salaries and rations to officers	25,066	19	2			
Repairs, rates, &c	5,650	12	9			
Furniture	5,105	13	10			
Printing	3,174	5	1			
Rent	2,603	11	9			
Building	10,377	9	6			
Loss on industrial department	50	16	5			
				52,029	8	6
Total expenditure				£123,015	7	4

The total receipts of the Reformatory Schools of Great Britain in the year 1870, were 129,694*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, classed as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Treasury payments	84,422	13	8
Subscriptions, legacies, &c	8,599	15	10
Contributions from rates	19,372	10	4
Do. from voluntary associations	650	9	6
Sundries	1,668	14	10
Profit on industrial departments	14,980	1	4
	£129,694	5	6†

From the foregoing figures it appears that the average cost of each juvenile offender in the Reformatory Schools of Great Britain, in the year 1870, was 20*l.* 14*s.* 7½*d.* per annum, or 7*s.* 11½*d.* weekly; viz.:—

Number of offenders	Total cost per year £	Average annual cost per head £ s. d.	Ditto weekly s. d.
5,433	112,638‡	20 14 7½	7 11½

The contributions toward this expenditure were:—

	Per head, yearly £	s.	d.	Ditto weekly. s.	d.
Treasury grant	15	10	9½	5	11¾
Payments from rates	3	11	4	1	4½
Profit on industrial departments	2	15	1½	1	0¾
Other sources above specified	2	0	2	0	9¼
	£23	17	5	9	2¼

* 'Washing' includes fuel and light, soap and utensils, and washing the linen, credit being taken in the industrial department on the last item.

† 'Report for 1870,' p. 15. The total receipts in 1871 were 129,413*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

‡ Deducting 10,377*l.* expended on building.

This left a balance of 17,056*l.*, available for building purposes, furnishing, and other such charges.

We learn from the Report that the total annual expenditure for the maintenance and management of the inmates of Reformatory Schools in Great Britain, in 1870, averaged, per head :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
English boys' schools	18	17	9
English girls' schools	17	17	10
Scotch boys' schools	17	1	3
Scotch girls' schools	13	13	6

The same item in the Irish Report is* :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Irish boys' schools	19	13	1
Irish girls' schools	19	7	1

This expenditure is exclusive of rent, the cost of the disposal of the inmates by emigration or employment, and building expenses in Great Britain, and the sums spent for the disposal of inmates, for buildings, and the profit or loss on industrial departments, in Ireland.

In my calculations, I deduct only the item of building expenses —as a non-recurring charge—my object being to arrive at the average total annual cost of each child in the Reformatory schools in Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

The 64 Reformatory Schools of Great Britain stood as follows, as to religious denomination, on December 31, 1870 :—

England:	SCHOOLS.
Boys, Protestant†	32
" Catholic	4
Total	36
Girls, Protestant	12
" Catholic	3
Total	15

Scotland:	SCHOOLS.
Boys, Protestant	7
" Catholic	1
Total	8
Girls, Protestant	4
" Catholic	1
Total	5

Making a total of 64 institutions, of which 44 are for boys and 20 for girls.

The total number of juvenile offenders, under sentence of detention, on December 31, 1870, was 6,562, viz., 5,301 boys, and 1,261 girls, distributed as follows :—

English Schools:			
Boys, Protestant	3,246	Catholic	984
Girls, "	784	"	197
Scotch schools:			
Boys, Protestant	754	Catholic	317
Girls, "	181	"	99

* 'Irish Report for 1770,' page 14.

† In addition to the provision made for Catholic boys in the five reformatories of their own persuasion, we learn from the 'Report,' page 4, that boys of this denomination committed from the

The satisfactory results attained will be best seen in a perusal of the Inspectors' reports of the several schools. The following return, however, will enable us to form a fair idea of these results :—

Discharges from Reformatory Schools in Great Britain in the year 1870 :—

	Boys	Girls	Total
Placed in service or employment	360	142	502
Placed out with aid of relatives	407	106	513
Emigrated	151	6	157
Sent to sea	184	—	184
Enlisted	26	—	26
Discharged on account of disease	21	3	24
Discharged as incorrigible	15	2	17
Died in schools	50	13	63
Absconded and sentence expired	29	6	35
	1,243	278	1,521

'Report for 1870,' page 5. In 1871 the numbers were :—

In 53 English schools:			
Boys, Protestant	3,321	Catholic	984
Girls, "	764	"	196
In 12 Scotch schools:			
Boys, Protestant	740	Catholic	324
Girls, "	188	"	95

If we deduct 63 who died in schools, and 24 discharged on account of disease, we have, of the 1,434 that remain, no less than 1,382 placed out in service or employment, or with aid of relatives, or becoming emigrants, soldiers, or sailors; whilst, on the other hand, there are only 52 incorrigible and absconding; the proportions per cent. being :—

Disposed of satisfactorily	96·37
" unsatisfactorily	3·63

In the following summary, we may still better see the results of Reformatory Schools in Great Britain, as shown by the present character and circumstances of the young offenders discharged in the three years 1867, 1868, and 1869.

The discharges for the three years amounted to 3,740; boys, 2,970; girls, 770.

Of these, 102 boys and 21 girls absconded and were not recovered, and 63 boys and 30 girls were discharged as diseased or incorrigible.

Of the remaining 2,805 boys, 53 enlisted, 544 went to sea, 298 emigrated, and 1,910 were placed in employment or service from the school or by help of their relations.

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counties of Durham and Northumberland are received into the North-eastern Reformatory at Netherton, near Morpeth, special arrangements being made for their instruction by a priest, and for their attendance at Catholic worship.

Of the remaining 719 girls, 15 emigrated, and 407 were placed in service or employment.

Of the 2,970 boys, 76 have since died, leaving 2,894 to be reported on. Of these, 1,954, or 67·5 per cent., are doing well; 92, or 3·2 per cent., are reported doubtful; 494, or 17 per cent., have been convicted; and 354, or 12·3 per cent., are unknown.

Of the 770 girls, 23 have since died, leaving 747 to be reported on. Of these, 511, or above 68·5 per cent., are doing well; 84, or 11·2 per cent., are reported doubtful; 83, or 11·1 per cent., have been convicted, and 69, or 9·2 per cent., are unknown.*

The industrial profits varied in the boys' schools from above 10*l.* per head at the Monmouth and Bedford Reformatories, to about 10*s.* per head at Castle Howard, and to a loss of nearly 1*l.* per head at Cumberland; the average being for English boys' schools 2*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* per head; and for Scotch boys' schools 2*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* In the girls' schools, the profit (mostly from laundry work) varied from 7*l.* 10*s.* at Ipswich, to 1*l.* 3*s.* 5d. at Red Lodge; the average being for English schools 3*l.* 1*s.* 3d., and for Scotch schools 2*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*† The industrial profits, of course, must vary according to the situation of the school, the opportunities of employment it affords, and the rent of the land. Thus, we are told, the boys at the Dorset, the Northampton, and other small farm schools, have been largely hired by the neighboring farmers; whilst, on the other hand, as a rule, the boys on board the school ships are employed only in the making and mending of their clothing. In the girls' schools the age of the inmates greatly affects the profit of their work—this item being very small indeed where the children are very young.‡ For the same reason, the profits can not be expected to be as large in Industrial schools as in Reformatories, where the inmates are more grown.

But far more important and more valuable than the amount of money thus realized, toward reducing the expenses of the establishments, is the industrial training the children receive, and the habits of order and industry they acquire. Each of these boys and girls, after a sojourn of three or four years, leaves the school a skilled worker, and is likely to become a useful self-supporting member of the community. To this, no doubt, the moral training and religious instruction imparted very largely conduce.

The total number of Certified Reformatory Schools in Ireland on

* In the Report of 1871, these figures are:—Boys doing well, 70·3 per cent., against 67·5 in 1870. Girls doing well, 66·7 per cent., against 68·5 in 1870.

† 'Report for 1870,' p. 16.

‡ Ibid.

December 31, 1870, was 10.* In these there were 995 young offenders under sentence of detention; viz., 810 boys, and 185 girls. Of this number, 5 were in prison; † 9 were at large, having absconded, ‡ and 118 were out on license preparatory to discharge. § The number of children actually in the schools during the year 1870, was 856, being 681 boys, and 175 girls. ‖

The total amount expended in the Reformatory Schools of Ireland, in the year 1870, was 18,275*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, under the following heads:—

MAINTENANCE OF INMATES.

	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Food of inmates	6,393	17	2			
Clothing	1,951	11	9			
Washing	1,181	18	2			
Medical	287	11	7			
Sundries	406	17	11			
Disposal	688	7	3			
Traveling and police	266	9	7			
				11,176	13	5

STAFF AND HOUSE CHARGES.

	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Salaries and rations to officers	3,604	2	4			
Repairs, rates, &c.	904	19	9			
Furniture	870	13	4			
Printing	368	13	3			
Rent	364	15	1			
Building	877	3	5			
Loss on industrial departments	108	4	10			
				7,098	12	0
Total expenditure				18,275	5	5 ¶

The total receipts of the Reformatory Schools of Ireland, in the year 1870, were 19,807*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*, classed as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Treasury payments	12,550	1	5
Subscriptions, legacies, &c.	1,014	11	10
Contributions from rates	5,248	1	11
Sundries	10	7	2
Profits on industrial department	984	11	8
	£19,807	14	0*

From the foregoing figures it appears that the average cost of each juvenile offender in the Reformatory Schools of Ireland, in the year 1870, was 20*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per annum, or 7*s.* 10*d.* weekly, viz.:—

* 'Ninth Report of Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Ireland' (John Lentaigne, Esq.), p. 10.

† 5 boys. ‡ 6 boys and 3 girls. § 117 boys and 1 girl. ‖ 'Report for 1870,' p. 11.

¶ 'Report for 1870,' p. 14. The above division into 'Maintenance for Inmates,' and 'Staff and House Charges,' is not in the Report.

* 'Report for 1870,' p. 14.

Number of offenders	Total cost per year	Average annual cost per head	Ditto weekly
	£	£ s. d.	s. d.
856	17,398*	20 6 6	7 10

The contributions toward this expenditure were :—

	Per head, yearly			Ditto weekly	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Treasury grant......................	14	13	3	5	7½
Payments from rates................	6	2	7½	2	4¼
Profit on industrial departments.......	1	3	0	0	5¼
Other sources above specified.........	1	3	11½	0	5½
	23	2	10	8	10½

This left a balance of 2,409*l.*, available for building purposes, furnishing, and other such charges.

The industrial profits varied in the boys' schools from 3*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* per head at Rehoboth Reformatory, Dublin, to 1*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* at Malone, Belfast, and to a loss of nearly 6*s.* 8*d.* at Glencree, county of Wicklow, the average being a gain of above 12*s.* 7*d.* per head.†

In the girls' schools, the profits (mostly from laundry and needlework) varied from 7*l.* 14*s.* at Limerick to 4*s.* 7*d.* at High Park, county of Dublin; the average being 2*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*‡

The 10 Reformatory Schools of Ireland stood as follows as to religious denomination, and numbers under sentence of detention, on December 31, 1870 :—

	Number of Schools	Number under Sentence of Detention	Average Numbers
Boys, Protestant...	2	131	65
" Catholic.....	3	679	226
Girls, Protestant...	1	18	18
" Catholic.....	4	167	42
Total....	10	995	99½

The satisfactory results of the system will be best seen in a perusal of the Inspectors' reports of the several schools. The following return will enable us to form a fair idea of those results :—

The discharges from Reformatory Schools in Ireland, in 1870, were 145, viz., 111 boys, and 34 girls. §

Of these, 35 were placed in service or employment, 51 were placed out with aid of relations, 35 emigrated, 4 were sent to sea, 10 enlisted, 1 was discharged on account of disease, 1 as incorrigible, 7 died in school, and 1 absconded, sentence expired. ‖

If we deduct 7 who died in school, and 1 discharged on account of disease, we have, of the 137 that remain, no less than 135 placed out in service or employment, or with the aid of relatives, or be-

* Deducting 877*l.* expended on building.
† 'Report for 1870,' p. 15.
‡ Ibid.
§ 'Report for 1870,' p. 11.
‖ 'Report for 1870,' p. 12.

coming emigrants, soldiers, or sailors, whilst there are only 2 incorrigible or absconding—the proportions per cent. being:—

Disposed of satisfactorily..................	98·54
" unsatisfactorily...............	1·46

The permanent results of reformation will be best seen in the following summary of the present character and circumstances of the young offenders discharged from the Reformatories of Ireland in the three years 1867, 1868, and 1869:—

The discharges for the three years amounted to 494; boys, 410; girls, 84.

Of these, 7 (boys) absconded and were not recovered—no girls; and 16 boys and 4 girls were specially discharged on account of disease, &c.

Of the remaining 467 (387 boys and 80 girls), 23 boys enlisted, 15 went to sea, 136 emigrated, and 213 were placed in employment or service from the school, or by the help of their relations. 12 girls emigrated, and 68 were placed in service.

Of the 410 boys, 10 have since died, leaving 400 to be reported on. Of these, 275, or 68·8 per cent., are reported to be doing well, 20, or 5 per cent., as doubtful, 21, or 5·2 per cent., to have relapsed and been convicted, and 84, or 21 per cent., as unknown. Of the 84 girls, 5 have sinced died, leaving 79 to be accounted for. Of these, 55, or 69·6 per cent., are stated to be doing well, 8, or 10 per cent., as doubtful, 6, or 9·1 per cent., have, since their discharge, been convicted of crime, and 10, or 12·7 per cent., are unknown.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

The Industrial Schools Acts* have the same scope as the Acts respecting the Reformatory Schools—with this difference, that the class for which they are intended are not those young people convicted of an offense punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment, but those exposed, by their mode of life and their neglected and destitute condition, to danger of becoming offenders against the law.

An Industrial School is described, in the Acts, as a school in which industrial training is provided, and in which children are lodged, clothed, and fed, as well as taught.

A school can not be at the same time a certified industrial school and a certified reformatory school, under the respective Acts.

* 29th & 30th Victoria, chapter 118, 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Acts relating to Industrial Schools in *Great Britain*' (10th August, 1866); and 31st Victoria, chapter 25, 'An Act to Extend the Industrial Schools Act to *Ireland*' (29th May, 1868).

With reference to the classes of children to be detained in Certified Industrial Schools, it is enacted, that any person may bring before two justices and a magistrate* any child apparently under the age of fourteen years that comes within any of the following descriptions:—

That is found begging or receiving alms (whether actually or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale any thing), or being in any street or public place for the purpose of so begging or receiving alms;
That is found wandering, and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence;
That is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment;
That frequents the company of reputed thieves.

The justices or magistrate before whom a child is brought, as coming within one of these descriptions, if satisfied, on inquiry, of that fact, and that it is expedient to deal with him under the Act, may order him to be sent to a certified Industrial School.

They may also order a child to be sent to a certified Industrial School, in any of the three following cases—in the first in Great Britain and Ireland, but only in Great Britain in the other two:—

Where a child, apparently *under the age of twelve years*, is charged before them with an offense punishable by imprisonment or a less punishment, but has not been in England or Ireland convicted of felony, or in Scotland of theft;
Where the parent or step-parent or guardian of a child, apparently under the age of fourteen years, in Great Britain, represents to them that he is unable to control the child, and that he desires the child to be sent to an Industrial School:
Where poor-law guardians or boards of management in Great Britain represent to them that any child, apparently under the age of fourteen years, maintained in a work-house, or pauper school or poor-house, is refractory, or is the child of parents either of whom has been convicted of a crime or offense punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment, and that it is desirable that he be sent to an industrial school.

The mode of certifying industrial schools by Government; their inspection, at least once a year, by one of her Majesty's inspectors; the powers of the Commissioners of the Treasury and of the rating authorities to aid them; † the provisions for compelling parents, who can afford it, to contribute to the support of their children confined in these schools; the power of permitting children to live out, by license under the managers' hands, with trustworthy and respectable persons willing to receive and take charge of them; the power

* The term 'two justices' means in *England* and *Ireland* two or more justices in Petty Sessions. It also means the Lord Mayor, or an Alderman, of the City of *London*. It does not apply to Scotland. The term 'magistrate' means in *Scotland* a sheriff, sheriff-substitute, justice of peace of a county, judge in a police court, and provost or baillie of a city or burgh, and in *Ireland* a police magistrate acting in any police court for the Dublin Metropolitan police district. It does not apply to *England*.

† Where, in Great Britain, children are detained in industrial schools on the application of their parents, step-parents, or guardians, the Treasury grant, left to the discretion of the Secretary of State in other cases, is limited, not to exceed two shillings per head per week.

of apprenticing the children;—all these are the same as the corresponding provisions of the Reformatory Schools Acts already recited.

The provisions also are the same as to sending children to schools conducted in accordance with their religious persuasions. Moreover, it is provided in both the British and Irish Industrial Schools Acts, that a minister of the religious persuasion specified in the order of detention as to that which the child appears to the justices or magistrate to belong may visit the child at the school, on such days and at such times as are, from time to time, fixed by regulations made by the Secretary of State, or Chief Secretary, in Ireland, for instructing him in religion.

A person who has attained the age of sixteen years can not be detained in a certified industrial school, except with his or her own consent in writing.

The Secretary of State, or in Ireland the Chief Secretary, has power to order a child to be transferred from one certified industrial school to another—but the whole period of his detention is not to be by such transfer increased. In the Irish Act it is added that the removal shall only be to some industrial school under the management of persons of the same religious persuasion as that to which he might have been originally committed.

On December 31, 1870, there were in Great Britain 91 certified Industrial Schools, containing 8,280 inmates. The number of children under order of detention, that day, was 8,788, viz., 6,598 boys and 2,190 girls. Of these, 230 boys and 95 girls were out on license, and 157 boys and 26 girls were absent or absconded and not recovered; leaving 6,211 boys and 2,069 girls actually in the schools.*

The total expenditure of the certified Industrial Schools of Great Britain, for the year 1870, was 188,778*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*, classed under the following heads:—

MAINTENANCE OF INMATES.

	£	s.	d.			
Food of inmates	52,166	19	8			
Clothing ditto	21,341	3	7			
Washing, fuel, and light	8,318	5	5			
Sundries	20,533	1	0			
Disposal	2,364	11	7			
				104,724	1	3

* 'Report for 1870,' p. 19. On 31st December, 1871, there were in Great Britain 95 certified Industrial Schools, actually containing 9,421 children—7,025 boys and 2,396 girls. The total number of children under order of detention was 10,070; viz., 7,517 boys and 2,553 girls. Of these, 335 boys and 134 girls were out on license, and 157 boys and 23 girls were absent or absconded and not yet recovered.

Brought forward	104,724	1	3

STAFF AND HOUSE CHARGES.

Salaries and rations for officers	31,439	9	4
Repairs, rates, taxes, &c.	9,126	16	9
Rent	5,399	17	9
Building	38,040	11	8
Industrial loss	47	18	1
	84,054	13	7
	£188,778	14	10*

The total receipts of the certified Industrial Schools of Great Britain, for the year 1870, were 193,534*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, under the following heads:—

	£	s.	d.
Treasury allowance	92,962	6	0
Subscriptions, legacies, &c.	59,309	13	7
Payment from rates	21,129	2	2
Payments for voluntary inmates	3,701	12	1
Sundries	8,529	11	2
Industrial profit	7,902	9	3
	£193,534	14	3 †

From the foregoing figures it appears that the average cost of each young person under detention in the Industrial Schools of Great Britain, in the year 1870, was 18*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per annum, or 7*s.* 0*d.* weekly; viz:—

Number of Inmates	Total cost for year	Average cost per head, yearly	Ditto weekly
	£	£ s. d.	s. d.
8,280	150,738 ‡	18 4 1	7 0

The contributions toward this expenditure were:—

	Per head, yearly £	s.	d.	Ditto weekly s.	d.
Treasury payments §	11	4	6	4	3¾
Payments from rates	2	11	0	1	0
Subscriptions, legacies, &c.	7	3	3	2	9
Payments for voluntary inmates	0	9	0	0	2
Sundries	1	0	7	0	4¾
Industrial profits	0	19	1	0	4½
	23	7	5	9	0

* 'Report for 1870,' p. 26. The expenditure in 1871 was 182,923*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, the item for building being 17,813*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*, or not one-half as much as that of 1870. The above division into 'Maintenance of Inmates' and 'Staff Charges' is not in the reports.

† Ibid., p. 26. The corresponding items in 1871 were:—

	£	s.	d.
Treasury allowance	109,681	12	0
Subscriptions, legacies, &c.	37,085	12	9
Payment from rates	16,250	1	5
Payments from school boards	2,982	9	4
Payments for voluntary inmates	3,717	11	1
Sundries	5,698	8	7
Industrial profit	10,407	12	1
Total	£185,823	7	3

‡ Deducting 38,040*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* expended on building.

§ In the beginning of 1872 the Treasury grant was reduced to 3*s.* for children under ten years of age. No change has been made in the grant for children between 10 and 15. It remains at 5*s.*

This left the large balance of 42,796*l.* available for building purposes, furnishing, and other such charges.

The average total annual expense of maintenance and management, exclusive of rent, disposal, and building, for each inmate of the Industrial schools of Great Britain, in 1870, is given as follows in the Report:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
English boys' schools	17	13	8*
English girls' schools	15	9	11
English mixed schools	12	19	0
Scotch boys' schools, girls' schools, and mixed schools, average	10	12	1†

As the greater number of the Irish Industrial Schools were opened only in the course of the year 1870, and the Report for 1871 has not been yet laid before Parliament, it is impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the cost per head of the inmates, but this may be taken as about the same as in the Industrial Schools of Great Britain.

In the Reports of the Government Inspectors, all charges connected with the superintendence, food, clothing, and lodging of the inmates of Reformatory and Industrial Schools are classed and summed up separately. The result gives the cost of maintenance and training. Rent of school premises, the cost of the disposal of inmates by emigration or employment at home, and building expenses, are taken as a separate item. I have, however, taken all together, save building expenses, so as to arrive at the total actual cost, which may safely be set down, for Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Great Britain and Ireland, at under 20*l.* per annum, or about 8*s.* 0d. weekly—all expenses included—in a series of years.

In this estimate the annually increasing cost of living, or, in other words, the gradually diminishing value of the pound sterling, is taken into account; but, against this may be set the lightening of staff-charges, which are now a heavy item per head in newly established schools, but will in time become a smaller proportion, with the increased average number of inmates in each institution.

The mixed schools, for both boys and girls, are for very young children. As the boys grow up, they are drafted to male schools. Those who are best qualified to form an opinion are strongly in

* The three school-ships are not included. For the 'Southampton' at Hull the cost per head on 155 boys was 15*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; for the 'Wellesley' at South Shields, the cost on 200 boys was 20*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* The 'Formidable' at Bristol, was too recently established to be estimated.

† The two school-ships are excluded; the 'Mars' at Dundee, costing 26*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* per head, on 176 boys; and the 'Cumberland,' in the Clyde, costing 29*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, on 296 boys.

favor of schools for boys, up to the age of nine, being under the charge of females.

Many young boys, whose age vary from six to nine years (says Mr. Lentaigne), are ordered by magistrates for detention in Industrial Schools. It is impossible that these young children can be properly cared and trained in a school where the more advanced boys are educated. They interfere with the discipline, and are themselves neglected. In girls' schools, the elder inmates who have an aptitude for the work, have a certain number of their younger companions placed under their charge. They teach, wash, dress, and train them, and are thus themselves prepared to become afterward nursery maids in respectable families. This system can not satisfactorily be carried out in male schools; and it has now been arranged that very young boys shall be taught in mixed schools, managed by females. Boys of these tender years who are ordered to be sent to an Industrial School, consist for the most part of orphans found destitute, and derelict children, who have acquired inveterate habits of vagrancy, and a perfect contempt for law and order; the sons of abandoned characters also, and drunken, dissolute parents, who never have known a mother's care and solicitude, and who require the greatest attention to wean them from their bad and filthy habits, and the evil influences with which they have been surrounded. Under the humanizing management and training of women of a superior class, and formed to tidy habits, gentleness, order, and strict cleanliness, these become susceptible of the best impressions, which secretly and silently lead them to good; and when transferred to the school where they are to labor with the more adult boys, they will remember their former teachers with affection, and not easily forget the lessons which they have been taught.*

There were in England, on December 31, 1870, 62 certified Industrial Schools, viz., for boys, 19 Protestant, and 7 Catholic; for girls, 15 Protestant, and 4 Catholic; and mixed, boys and girls, 17 Protestant. In these, the numbers were, boys, Protestant, 3,158, Catholic, 929; and girls, Protestant 754, and Catholic 490, making a total of 5,331.†

There were in Scotland, on the same day, 25 schools, viz., for boys, 5 Protestant, and 1 Catholic; for girls, 4 Protestant, and mixed, boys and girls, 14 Protestant, and 1 Catholic. In these, the numbers were, boys, 2,076 Protestant, and 308 Catholic; and girls, 810 Protestant, and 147 Catholic, making a total of 3,341.‡

In addition to these, there were certified late in the year, 4 schools, 3 in England, and 1 in Scotland, of which we have not the particulars.

The following analysis of the ages and previous circumstances of children admitted into the Industrial Schools of Great Britain in 1870, will prove interesting:—

Ages	Boys	Girls	Total
Between 6 and 8 years	128	108	236
" 8 " 10 "	414	156	570
" 10 " 12 "	691	157	848
" 12 " 14 "	817	128	945

* 'Ninth Report of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Ireland,' p. 24.

† In these are included 200 on license, and 44 retained in school, sentence expired.

‡ In these are included 125 on license, and 23 retained in school, sentence expired.

Previous circumstances	Boys	Girls	Total
Illegitimate	119	45	164
Both parents dead	291	107	398
One parent dead	672	171	843
Deserted by parents	251	89	340
One or both parents criminals	113	52	165

The discharges from the Industrial Schools of Great Britain, in the year 1870, were 1,139, viz.:—

	Boys	Girls	Total.
Placed in service or situations, or returned to relatives or friends, who found employment for them	530	189	719
Emigrated	41	8	49
Sent to sea	78	—	78
Enlisted	44	—	44
Discharged on special grounds	24	22	46
Discharged on account of disease	11	2	13
Committed to reformatory schools	36	12	48
Absconded, and not recovered	45	2	47
Died	62	33	95
	871	268	1,139

Deducting 95 who died in schools, and 59 discharged on special grounds or on account of disease, we have, of the 985 that remain, no less than 890 placed out in service, in employment, or with relatives who have found employment for them, or becoming emigrants, soldiers, or sailors; whilst, on the other hand, there are only 47 absconding, and 48 committed to Reformatory Schools; the proportions per cent. being—

Disposed of satisfactorily	90·36
" unsatisfactorily	9·64

The inspector complains that the returns furnished to him of the present character and circumstances of the children discharged, in the three years 1867–8–9, from the Industrial Schools of Great Britain, are still in many points much less complete than he hopes future returns will be. He justly observes—'Reports of the operations of schools and institutions are too frequently confined to the general statement that the Committee have much reason to be thankful for the success which has attended their efforts, or to the details of three or four highly encouraging cases selected from the general number. In such a work as is carried on in the Certified Industrial Schools, the public have a right to know what has become of each individual committed for detention in them, and what fruits the money paid from the Treasury for each individual, amounting usually to 70*l*. or 80*l*., and sometimes to 100*l*., has produced.'

The results of the returns obtained may be thus summarized:—

The total number discharged from the Industrial Schools of Great Britain, in the three years 1867–8–9, was 1,729, viz., 1,341 boys and

388 girls, exclusive of 110 boys and 10 girls who were committed to Reformatory Schools, and for whose subsequent character and conduct the managers of the Industrial Schools are not accountable. Of these, 1,030 boys and 351 girls were placed in, or helped to, employment in England; 22 boys and 2 girls emigrated; 37 boys enlisted; 86 boys went to sea; 57 boys and 18 girls were specially discharged as diseased or unsuited to the schools; and 109 boys and 17 girls absconded and were not recovered.

Of the whole number 44 have died (33 boys and 11 girls), 1,175 are doing well (906 boys and 269 girls), 138 are of doubtful character (93 boys and 45 girls), 102 have been convicted of crime (92 boys and 10 girls), 270 are unknown (217 boys and 53 girls).

These figures show that, taking the aggregate of those now alive, 69 per cent. of the boys, and 71 per cent. of the girls, are doing well; 7 per cent. of the boys, and 12 per cent. of the girls, are doubtful; 7 per cent. of the boys, and 2½ per cent. of the girls, have been convicted of crime; and 16½ per cent. of the boys, and 14 per cent. of the girls, have been lost sight of, and are unknown.*

There were 32 Industrial Schools in Ireland, on December 31, 1870; viz., 3 for boys (1 Protestant and 2 Catholic), 25 for girls (3 Protestant and 22 Catholic), and 4 mixed for girls and young boys (Catholic).†

The number of children under order of detention on that day was 1,529 (246 boys and 1,283 girls). Two girls, who had absconded, had not then been recovered. None were out on license, owing to the recent establishment of the schools. The numbers actually in the schools were 1,527 (246 boys and 1,281 girls).

The following are the particulars of the ages and previous circumstances of the children admitted into the schools during the year:—

Ages	Boys	Girls	Total
Under 7 years of age	22	144	166
" 7 to 9	75	292	367
" 9 to 11	79	313	392
" 11 to 13	53	328	381
" 13 to 14	13	94	107

Previous circumstances	Boys	Girls	Total
Illegitimate	5	72	77
Both parents dead	95	305	400
One parent dead	118	615	733
Deserted by parents	23	123	146
One or both parents destitute	125	551	676
One or both parents in jail	4	16	20

* In the Report for 1871, the per centages for the years 1868, 1869, and 1870, are; boys doing well, 71·3; girls, 70·8; doubtful, boys 5·25, girls 8·8; convicted or committed to Reformatory Schools, boys, 8·1; girls, 2; and unknown, boys, 15·3; girls, 18.

† 'Report for 1870,' p. 20. A great many more have been certified since then.

Industrial Schools in Ireland were of so recent a foundation that definite results could not be ascertained for the Report of 1870, 'but I have no doubt that the training in the majority,' says the Inspector, 'will produce the best consequences, especially in the female schools; more particularly those in connection with the National Board of Education, and above all in places where there is sufficient land, and dairy and farmyard husbandry are cultivated.'

When the Report for 1871 is issued, these anticipations, no doubt, will be found to have been fully realized.

In one respect, there is a considerable difference between the British and Irish Acts for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, greatly to the disadvantage of Ireland. In Great Britain, the rating authorities, besides the power of contributing to the maintenance of the inmates, have the power to contribute such sums as they think fit toward enlarging or building schools, or purchasing land for sites on which to erect them.* In Ireland, the rating authorities have no such power, and can only contribute to the support of the inmates.† Ireland, being a poor country, is far less able to purchase sites and erect schools, by private contributions, than the sister island. Therefore, with a view to extending the great advantages of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools system, the Irish Acts ought to be assimilated, in this respect, to those of Great Britain.

We have seen that the average annual cost of each child in the Reformatory and Industrial Schools in the United Kingdom is under 20*l.*, which sum is not confined to maintenance, clothing, and lodging, but includes staff expenses and all charges, save building. This for four years, which may safely be taken as the full average period of detention, would amount to 80*l.*

Now, we are told by a competent authority, that every convict costs the State, on the average, from 100*l.* to 150*l.*, that the aggregate cost will not be less than 2,000,000*l.* per annum, and that this sum by no means covers the pecuniary loss. 'In Liverpool, it is estimated that the value of property thus lost is 700,000*l.*, and I should think this greatly under estimated. The public are, therefore, much interested in correcting the vicious. As a mere money question, it is clearly better to reclaim the vicious than punish the

* Reformatory Schools' Act, *Great Britain*, 1866, sec. 28. and Industrial Schools' Act, *Great Britain*, 1866, sec. 12. Moreover, by the Elementary Education Act, 1870, *England and Wales*, sec. 28, a School Board may, with the consent of the Education Department, establish, build, and maintain a Certified Industrial School, within the meaning of the Industrial Schools' Act, 1866—the means to be furnished by the rating authority.

† *Irish* Reformatory Schools' Act, 1868, secs. 8 and 10, and Industrial Schools' Act, *Ireland*, 1868, sec. 9.

criminal, and, no doubt a penny spent in teaching will save a pound in punishing. . . . I am sure that I do not exaggerate, when I estimate the saving to the community upon every boy rescued from evil courses, at from 200*l.* to 300*l.*

Let us take even the lesser sum. Here we have, on the one hand, the child reformed and restored to society, at a cost to the public of 80*l.*, and, on the other hand, the criminal costing nearly three times that sum. But we must go further in estimating the difference. The former, once reformed, helps to build up our social fabric; the latter's tendency is to pull it down. One turns to a useful employment, whether as a field laborer, or a tradesman, or a sailor; and, in this, producing more than he consumes, he not only supports himself, but, in his accumulations, makes an addition—small it may be individually, but considerable in the aggregate—to the common stock, or capital of the country. The other, even when it is no longer in his power to do mischief, is a drone in the hive, subsisting on the results of other men's industry. Precisely the same remarks apply to the girl, who, after some three or four years' training in the school, becomes a workwoman, a farm or domestic servant, or a shop assistant.

But far more important is the moral, than the economic or mere material view of the question. The corrupting influence of a juvenile criminal element in our population, especially among the poorer classes, is so obvious as to require no comment; and the rich suffer from it in many ways besides the drain on their pockets.

Then, there is a still higher consideration. In the hall of the great Reformatory of Mettray is the inscription:—'Ce n'est pas la volonté de votre père qui est au ciel qu'un seul des ces petits périsse.'* It is in this spirit, especially, these Acts are availed of by the nuns of the Good Shepherd and other religious institutes. The work of Reformatories and Industrial Schools may be said to be yet in its infancy; but there is good reason to expect that, in the course of time, as the system extends, religious communities will stand high in general estimation, as administrators of such institutions.

First, without any disparagement to several excellent officials, we may, as a rule, fairly look for most zeal and devotion to their work in those whose sole motive is the love of God, and the love of their neighbors for God's sake. Secondly, a religious community always carries out an uniform and well planned system—the result of ex-

* Matthew, chapter xviii., v. 14.

perience; and even though the members should change, from time to time, the system continues the same: while in the case of officials, each may have his or her own peculiar ideas or crotchets, and so with the change of managers, there will necessarily be, more or less, a change of system—which, generally speaking, must be any thing but beneficial to the institution and its inmates. Thirdly, and above all, it is universally admitted that religion must be the basis of reformation: and by whom can the truths and precepts of religion be more successfully inculcated than by the ministers of the Gospel, or the members of religious communities; or from whose lips will they be more readily and reverently received?

The preservation of young girls exposed, by want and neglect and evil association, to the danger of falling into bad courses, and the bringing back to the paths of duty those who have so fallen, is indeed a blessed and most useful work. It is moreover a work of no small difficulty; and demands, not alone patience, perseverance, and devoted zeal, but much prudence and sound judgment in those to whom it is intrusted. On this point Miss Carpenter remarks:—

> A school for boys is necessarily different in many respects from one for girls. They are to be fitted for independent active life; and when the tone of the institution is once established, '*le clef des champs*,' as De Metz calls it, should be the only one employed.* But girls are to be fitted for *home;* and while the same preparation for an independent life is not required for them, a far greater degree of neatness, order, and propriety of demeanor is desirable.
>
> The requirements of convicted children of the female sex have been hitherto overlooked; nor would it appear to be generally understood how many of these exist, and how dangerous is their position both with regard to themselves and the community. . . .
>
> The *fact* that girls of the *criminal class* are far more degraded, dangerous to society, and difficult to control than boys, is well known to those whose experience has enabled them to compare the both sexes. The proofs and causes of this state of things can not be here entered on; the fact is in part referable to the greater natural delicacy and susceptibility of the nature of girls, which renders them open to a deeper impress of good and evil. They have also been more directly exposed to the evil influences of bad homes, and the affections, which are very strong in these girls, are therefore in close sympathy with vice. Their desire for excitement of every kind is strong, as also for the gratification of their senses. They are generally devoid of any good principles of conduct, particularly addicted to deceit, both in words and actions. of fine but misdirected powers, of violent passions, extremely sensitive to imagined injury, and equally sensitive to kindness.

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* 'Every successful Reformatory institution of which I have any knowledge,' says Mr. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, 'has made the cultivation of land a leading object of attention. and much of each day has been spent by the pupil in the garden or the field, to his great improvement in body, mind, and spirit. The handicrafts ancillary to the cultivation of the land offer themselves as an excellent variety of occupation, whether in regard to the exhilaration which attends a change of employment, or for engaging the willing industry of those to whom out of door labor is, for any reason, unfit, or to whom it is unwelcome. Every lad ought to be able to mend his clothes and his shoes, not necessarily that he may become either a tailor or a shoemaker, but that he may always be able to keep himself in a state of neatness, and thus to preserve, under the most adverse circumstances, a decent appearance.'

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS UNDER RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Rev. Sydney Turner in his (15th) Annual Report as Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Great Britain for the year 1871, includes accounts of several Catholic institutions under the care of Sisters of different Orders, who prove eminently successful in the reformation of girls of the neglected and criminal class.

YORKSHIRE CATHOLIC GIRLS' REFORMATORY, HOWARD HILL, SHEFFIELD.

Under the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

Number of inmates on day of inspection, October 4, 1871, 71, and 15 voluntary inmates, four of whom are girls whose term of detention has expired.

State of premises.—Thoroughly clean and in good order. A chapel was in course of erection, built chiefly by the munificence of the Duke of Norfolk.

Health and general condition.—Very fair. There had been cases of fever and ophthalmic affection in the winter; and two girls had died, but the inmates looked generally well and healthy.

Conduct and discipline.—Very satisfactory. The management is at once kindly and judicious. The manner and general expression of the girls are thoroughly natural and satisfactory.

Educational state.—A good deal above the average of girls' Reformatories. The girls (especially in the first and second classes) acquitted themselves very creditably in ciphering and dictation. The reading and spelling were very good.

Industrial training.—The laundry affords full employment for the elder girls, and the needlework shows great proficiency.

General remarks.—Miss Crauford has established a cottage close to the school, as a home for girls temporarily out of place, which is a most valuable appendage to the institution. It is a great advantage that the rules of the Order of Charity, to which the Sisters belong, allows of so much more freedom and intercourse with the every day life of the world.

Staff.—Miss Crauford, and nine Sisters of Charity.

Average number maintained, 86. Total cost for 1871, 1,991*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*

Comparative cost per head on ordinary maintenance and management, 19*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*

Net cost per head, including profit or loss on industrial departments, 15*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

Industrial profits, 501*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1868, 1869, and 1870:—Of 51 discharged in 1868–70, there are doing well, 39, doubtful 6, convicted of crime 5, unknown 1.

DALBETH REFORMATORY FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, GLASGOW.

Under the Nuns of the Good Shepherd.

Number of inmates on day of inspection, July 1 and October 19, 1871, 83.

State of premises.—In excellent order; all thoroughly clean and well arranged.

Health and general condition.—The girls had generally been in good health during the summer and autumn. There had been two deaths, one from heart, the other from brain disease.

Conduct and discipline.—The girls' conduct had generally been good, but their manner during my examination was not very satisfactory.

Educational state.—Very fair, on the whole. The first class contained 30 girls (in two divisions), the second 13, the third 12, the fourth 12. These read from the Second and Third Books (and Sequels) of the Irish series. The ciphering was creditable, the copy writing very fair, that of the older girls mostly good; the dictation of the first class, fair.

Industrial training.—Laundry, needle, and house work. The girls seemed to be generally well employed.

General remarks.—The appearance and dress of the girls struck me as much improved. It is a matter of regret that from the somewhat conventual character of the institution, they can not have more out door exercise, and be made more familiar with the outside world.

Staff.—Twelve Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd.

Average number maintained, 86. Total cost for 1871, 1,648*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*

Comparative cost per head on ordinary maintenance and management, 14*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*

Net cost per head, including profit or loss on industrial departments, 13*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*

Industrial profits, 328*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1868, 1869, and 1870:—Of 63 discharged in 1868–70, there are doing well 40, dead 2, doubtful 6, convicted of crime 9, unknown 6.

It is highly desirable that there should be attached to every Reformatory and Industrial School sufficient ground for exercise and suitable employment of the inmates in the open air. Where this can not be, the inclosed orders who can not accompany the children in walks outside the convent grounds might meet the views of the Inspector by employing trustworthy female assistants to take care of them on such occasions, as is done by the Carmelite nuns at their Industrial School, Sandymount, near Dublin.

ST. JOSEPH'S REFORMATORY SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, BALLINASLOE.

Under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy.

Average daily number of inmates during 1870 25

State of premises.—I found the school when I made my inspection kept with much care and attention. It is situate on eight acres of land, with large garden attached, in the town of Ballinasloe, and is capable of accommodating a much larger number of children than are inmates of the institution.

The health and general condition of the children have been satisfactory; no serious illness or death occurred during the year, or since the founding of the institution; even scrofula soon yields to treatment in the institution, and the children become robust and healthy. The girls have a bright and cheerful appearance. They are neatly and tidily clothed.

Conduct and discipline.—An excellent spirit prevails in this institution, which has more the appearance of an Industrial School than a Reformatory, except that the girls are much older. The school being very small individualization is more complete; the character of each child being known, the means for reformation can more easily be obtained. The punishments consist of cellular confinement, but are unfrequent.

The manager reports that 'when a child first enters the institution she is generally awed by the strictness and regularity which she sees around, and has sufficient cunning to conceal her natural propensities, and it is only after some time, when her true character is developed, that reformation begins.' 'Any corporal chastisement hardens and degrades. The system of marks is the most powerful agent for reformation, and red, green, and blue ribbons are worn by the different classes.'

Educational state.—The scholastic instruction consists of reading, dictation, spelling, writing, arithmetic, singing, and a little geography. The Third and Fourth Books of the National Board are taught.

Industrial training.—The girls are employed in the laundry and at needlework. They have the care of poultry and pigs, cook, and are practically taught the duties of household servants. They make their own dresses, and understand the use of the sewing machine.

General remarks.—The great secret in the successful management of this institution is, that the Sisters themselves manage the Reformatory; they sleep in the girls' dormitory, and never leave them day or night.

Average number maintained, 25. Total cost for 1870, 548*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*, of which 495*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* was for ordinary maintenance and management, making the average cost on *ordinary charges* 20*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per head. Net cost per head, including industrial departments, 20*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* Industrial profit, 33*l.* 12*s.*

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1867, 1868, and 1869:—Only six girls were discharged during the period; one has since died, the rest are all doing well; one emigrated. She was sent to a kindred institution in New York, where, after a residence of three months, she was placed in a situation, which she has since kept, and is favorably reported on. The others were placed with friends or in situations as domestic servants; one is on license. From this it would appear that 83 per cent. are doing well, and none reconvicted of crime.

The next is a most interesting institution, the charity of the religious community by whom it is conducted having led them to open a Reformatory School for all the most obdurate and seemingly incorrigible subjects, whom the managers of other schools find they are unable to reform under the system that suits the great majority of children committed to Reformatories. The great advantage of such a school is, that all the worst characters can here be trained together—girls who require a special uniform treatment. The exertions of the Sisters of Saint Louis, who devote their lives to this arduous office, have already been rewarded with considerable success. At this school are also received girls laboring under various diseases, who are refused by the managers of Reformatories elsewhere, and for whose care special arrangements are made here; and we are told that the Sister Superior has given the Inspector of Reformatory Schools 'authority to admit, without distinction, all young offenders who are sentenced to detention in a Reformatory School by legal authority.'

SPARK'S LAKE REFORMATORY SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, MONAGHAN.

Staff.—Sisters of Saint Louis.

Average daily number of inmates during 1870...................... 47

State of premises.—I found the building on my different visits to the school always in good repair and well cared. The girls are divided into two classes, which are kept always apart, so that they do not mix. The accommodation is for 60 inmates, but that number has never been reached.

Health and general condition.—I found the girls, on all the occasions when I visited during the year, enjoying good health; and every care is taken of their sanitary state both by diet and medical treatment.

Conduct and discipline.—This institution has particular difficulties to contend with; all the most corrupt and refractory girls found incorrigible in other institutions are received here, as well as those laboring under various diseases, who are refused by the managers of Reformatories elsewhere; and Mrs. Beale, the manager, has given the Inspector of Reformatory Schools authority to admit, without distinction, all young offenders who are sentenced to detention in a Reformatory School by legal authority. Her success in their treatment is generally satisfactory, but occasionally some of the most depraved resist all efforts for reformation, and either endeavor to escape from the school, or return to their abandoned life on discharge. These, however, are few; and Mrs. Beale has succeeded in thoroughly reforming girls who had been considered incorrigible in other schools, but who are now well conducted, and hold a respectable position in life.

Educational state.—Reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic are taught, and the instruction given is far in advance of that in some other Roman Catholic Reformatory Schools for girls in Ireland.

Industrial training.—Embroidery and lace work, as well as plain needlework, are taught. The girls are likewise employed in the laundry, the dairy, and the farmyard. They milk cows, feed pigs, and do other duties of farm servants. Some nice work by girls belonging to this school is now exhibited in the London Exhibition for 1871.

General remarks.—The advantages of a penal Reformatory School for girls are great; some belonging to professional gangs of thieves are taught to simulate epilepsy and other diseases so as to deceive the most skillful; hence the necessity for this institution. All epileptics, cataleptics, and others, are sent to it, and some pronounced incurable by competent medical authority, and recommended for discharge on that ground, has never shown the slightest symptom of the disease since removal here. A peculiar diet is given, open air exercise, and other sanitary arrangements are adopted, under which the health rapidly improves, and with it the general condition of the patient. The girls are encouraged to work; employment is never made a punishment, but rather a reward and a duty.

Average number maintained, 47. Total cost for 1870, 898*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*, of which 786*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* was for ordinary maintenance and management, making the average cost on *ordinary charges* 16*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* per head. Net cost per head, including industrial departments, 17*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* Industrial profit, 69*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*

Results on cases discharged during the past three years, 1867, 1868, and 1869:—Sent to service as household servants, 15; returned to friends, 9; emi-

grated, 4; total, 28. Of these 18 are doing well, five are doubtful, three have been, since their discharge, convicted of crime, two have been lost sight of, and their present position is unknown. From this it would appear that 64 per cent. are doing well, and 11 per cent. have been reconvicted of crime.

There are also the following Reformatory Schools for girls, conducted by nuns, favorably spoken of in the Inspectors' Reports:—

Arno's Court (Roman Catholic) Reformatory for girls, near Bristol, certified April 22, 1856, inspected June 7, 1871, conducted by the nuns of the Good Shepherd.

Lancashire Reformatory for Roman Catholic girls, Blackbrook, St. Helen's, certified June 23, 1869, inspected May 31, 1871, under the Sisters of Mercy.

High Park Reformatory School for Roman Catholic girls, Drumcondra, Dublin, certified December 21, 1858, inspected July 29, 1870, conducted by the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge.

St. Joseph's Reformatory for Roman Catholic girls, Clare street, Limerick, certified January 25, 1859, inspected June 10, 1870, conducted by the nuns of the Good Shepherd.

We next come to Industrial Schools for girls. These appear to be peculiarly suitable for the administration of nuns. In Ireland alone, of the thirty-three female Industrial Schools, mentioned in the Report of the year 1870, no less than twenty-nine are conducted by religious communities; and, every year, it is likely that this number will increase, as the zeal and charity of the nuns will induce them to open new schools for poor destitute girls, and to administer them wherever it is feasible. The Reports of the Industrial Schools present many interesting features. We have room for only a few:—

ORPHANAGE FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, FALKNER STREET, LIVERPOOL.

Under the Sisters of Notre-Dame.

Number of inmates on day of inspection, September 18, 1871, 110; of these 93 were committed cases, 17 voluntary.

State of premises.—Very orderly and well arranged. Perfectly clean and comfortable.

Health and general condition.—Satisfactory I found three consumptive cases, and two scrofulous. Many of the girls are young. They looked cheerful and well cared for.

Conduct and discipline.—Comparatively few difficuities. The school is well managed in every respect. The girls are treated with much consideration and good judgment.

The educational state is above the average. The school work is well arranged; classification well carried out. The instruction is systematic and effective. The younger children as well as the elder get a full share of attention. Vocal music is successfully cultivated.

Industrial training.—The elder girls are employed in laundry and house work; the younger are well taught in needlework of every kind. Good habits of order, neatness, and tidiness are strongly enforced.

General remarks.—Some of the elder girls looked to me quite old enough to be earning their own living.

Staff.—Sister Powell, and six Sisters of the Order of Notre-Dame.

Average number maintained, 109. Total cost for 1871, 1,527*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*

Industrial profits, 53*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1868, 1869, and 1870:—No discharges in 1868–70.

ST. ELIZABETH'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, BRECKFIELD ROAD SOUTH, LIVERPOOL.

Under the Sisters of Mercy.

Number of inmates on day of inspection, September 19, 1871, 77; of these, 15 were voluntary cases, 62 under detention.

State of premises.—Very suitable. All in perfect order, and comfortable.

Health and general condition.—Very satisfactory. The girls looked well, and seemed kindly treated.

Conduct and discipline.—The former superintendent, Miss Gordon, was under the necessity of resigning her superintendence, having other claims upon her services. The school is now managed by Sisters of Mercy. Some difficulties occurred during the change of superintendence, but I found the school going on well at the time of my visit, and the girls in excellent order.

Educational state. The girls passed a very creditable examination. The instruction given is of a superior kind, and calculated to rouse the intelligence. All the classes were receiving a due share of attention.

Industrial training.—Laundry work, needlework, training for domestic service. The institution has always taken a high place in this respect; and the present managers will not, I trust, fall behind their predecessors.

Staff.—Two Sisters and four assistants.

Average number maintained, 70. Total cost for 1871, 1,129*l.* 9*s.*

Industrial profits, 27*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1868, 1869, and 1870:—Of 9 discharged in 1868–70, there are doing well 6, unknown 3.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ORPHANAGE FOR GIRLS, ABERCROMBY STREET, GLASGOW.

Under the Sisters of the Order of St. Francis.

Number of inmates on day of inspection, June 30, 1871: under detention, 146, voluntary 12.

State of premises.—Very clean, and in excellent order. The sick room and the laundry much improved.

Health and general condition.—Good. Several girls with coughs, but only one regularly sick (a consumptive case).

Conduct and discipline.—Very satisfactory.

Educational state.—Very good. The girls are well taught, and show much intelligence. The first class contained 26 girls, the second 27, and the third 16, the fourth 39, the fifth, of the smallest and youngest inmates, 50. The reading throughout the first four classes (from the Fourth Standard, 'Burns' Catholic Series,' to the Second) was good; and the ciphering and writing from dictation very creditable, much, in fact, above the average.

Industrial training.—Needlework, house work, and washing. I was glad to find that the girls now do the washing for the boys' school.

General remarks.—The girls looked bright and cheerful, and sang very well.

Staff.—Sisters of the Order of St. Francis.

Results on cases discharged in the three years 1868, 1869, and 1870:—Of 56

discharged in 1868–70, there are doing well 42, dead 3, doubtful 1, convicted of crime 2, unknown 8.

ST. ALOYSIUS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, CLONAKILTY.

Staff.—This school is managed by the Sisters of Mercy under the superintendence of Mrs. M. T. Murray, Mother Superior.

Average number of inmates under detention in 1870	74
Voluntary inmates	4
Externs who attend the national school	366

State of premises.—These fine schools are built on a rising ground outside the town of Clonakilty, and are managed under the National Board of Education. Situate on twenty-five acres of land, the children have many advantages; the site is remarkably healthy. The dormitories, school-rooms, and day-rooms are well ventilated, lofty, and kept with scrupulous care and attention.

Health and conduct remarkably good.

Educational state.—Very satisfactory. The children mix with their fellows in the school, and often hold high positions in their classes. The resident magistrate of the district reports to me that the establishment of this school has been of immense service in the district, and the paternal action of the Government in doing so is fully appreciated. The District Inspector of National Schools reports favorably of the progress of the children:—297 present at his inspection, October 26, 1870; 549 on roll; Hullah's system of music is taught.

Industrial training.—Lace making, needlework, and machine work are taught, besides dairy and farmyard management, cooking, baking, and the duties of household servants; eight cows are kept for dairy purposes, and the butter which the children make is excellent. Some of the elder girls who are trained to be children's maids have each a certain number of their younger companions under their charge, whom they wash, comb, clean, and dress. The work of the children of this school was most conspicuous in the London Exhibition for 1871, and elicited the highest praise.

General remarks.—When any child from the town of Clonakilty, whose parent is very depraved, is ordered for detention by the magistrates of the district, the child is not sent to this school, but to some other at a distance, so that she is not degraded in the eyes of her fellow pupils, as it is the earnest endeavor of the managers to raise the status of the children as much as possible; hence the children hold a high place in the opinion of the inhabitants of the district, and the more respectable pupils who attend the school freely associate with them.

Average number maintained, 78. Total cost of establishment in 1870, 1,658*l.* 17*s.* Average annual cost of each inmate, 18*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*, on 1,451*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*, the expenditure for *ordinary charges.*

There was a loss of 3*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* on the industrial department in 1870.

HOUSE OF CHARITY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC BOYS AND GIRLS. DROGHEDA.

Under the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Average number under order of detention in 1870	24
Voluntary inmates	1
Extern pupils attending National school	210

State of premises.—This institution is well placed for the accommodation of the very young children, extern pupils belonging to the town, in Fair street, Drog-

heda. It has a large garden at the rear which will give employment to the Industrial School children. Independently of the benefits which the Industrial School brings to Drogheda, the opening of the infant school for extern pupils is of immense advantage to the numerous poor of the town, who hitherto had no such school for very young boys. The managers have therefore a double claim on the sympathies of the inhabitants of Drogheda. When the school was certified, the Sisters at once commenced to build additions to the premises, and placed the school under the Commissioners of National Education. I regret to add that their appeal to the public for pecuniary aid has not been sufficiently responded to, which has considerably crippled their resources.

Health and general condition.—In consequence of some children suffering from a bad form of skin disease having been transferred to this school, much inconvenience was felt by the Sisters. They had to take a house for an hospital, in which the boys were treated; afterward smallpox showed itself in the school, and one of the boys who had been transferred died from the disease.

Educational state.—The Inspector of National schools reports that on the day of his visit, in September, 1871, 115 males and 13 females were present; the method of conducting the school-room very fair, and the school progressing.

General observations.—Very young boys who require the care of females, are sent from the Dublin Police Courts to this school. This arrangement is very advantageous, and conducive to the well-being of the children.

Staff.—The Sisters who manage this school are a branch of the order which has been in charge of the Industrial School for boys at Beacon lane, Liverpool, and which has met with the approval of the Inspector of English schools.

The receipts for this school in 1870 were *nil;* the expenditure amounted to 248*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*, ordinary charges, and 11*l.* for rent; total 259*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*; profit on industrial department, 1*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*

OUR LADY OF MERCY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, KINSALE.

Under the Sisters of Mercy.

Average number of inmates in 1870	86
Voluntary inmates	4
Externs who attend National school, on roll	528

State of premises.—This school is well situated on the rising ground over the town of Kinsale, and in it the greater part of the female population of this district are educated. The buildings are of a superior description, and the large schools are amongst the best under the Commissioners of National Education. There are five acres of land attached to this school, which are utilized to the best advantage, for the training of the children.

Health and condition.—The health of the children generally has been good during the year; no epidemic prevailed, but one child died of croup in 1870.

Conduct and discipline.—The conduct of the children, always under the eyes of the Sisters, is reported to be excellent, and it is impossible to visit this school without being struck with the cheerful and happy appearance of the children, their orderly and steady conduct, as well as the spirit of industry which prevails.

Educational state.—The teaching in this school, which is in connection with the National Board of Education, is excellent; and the Inspector of National Schools in his Report in March, 1871, observes:—'Present on inspection, 251; average number on roll, 532; character of instruction and progress of pupils very satisfactory, and a large number are now ready for promotion; vocal

music, drawing, and needlework very good; cleanliness, order, and punctuality good, and method of teaching satisfactory.'

Industrial training.—In no school in Ireland is the training of household servants more effectively carried on than here. The manager has taken up the conduct of this school with much ardor, and I have no doubt that when results can be expected, they will be highly satisfactory. The children are taught baking, washing, and the ironing of fine linen, as well as lace work, needle, and machine work, and other useful employments. Cottage cookery, the making of vegetable soups, pies, puddings, and other comforts often enjoyed by the English and Continental poorer classes, are also taught, so as to prepare the children to become, with a little additional training, good cooks and economical housekeepers, at the same time that the lace work and embroidery by the girls of this school, exhibited in the London exhibition for 1871, show that those who have taste for the more delicate works of female industry are educated to execute them.

Every girl is individually instructed in domestic duties, so as to render her capable of earning her bread, and of contributing to the order and comfort of her future home. The main object which the managers have in view—the well-doing of each individual after her discharge—must be defeated, if this individual training be not accomplished. For this purpose a register of manual work is kept, which shows the duties through which each has to pass, and how she acquits herself of them.

The employments which all must learn are plain work, including cutting out ordinary articles of clothing, dressmaking, sufficient to enable each to cut out, fit, and make her own dresses, and children's plain, ordinary clothing; plain knitting, laundry work, making bread in small and large quantities, housework, and cooking. Machine work, shoemaking, fancy work, farm and dairy work, care of poultry, &c., &c., are regarded as extra, and are confined to individuals for whom training in these shall be considered useful.

In the register every employment in which each girl is engaged, and how she has discharged the duty, is noted, so that each goes through the full course of training, and the manager can form a correct judgment of her abilities. A movable card, showing the present employment of every girl, is arranged at the beginning of the month, and hung up in the school.

An asylum where young women of good character are prepared for service, is attached to the establishment, where girls who have completed their term may remain until suitable employment offers, and find a home when out of employment afterward.

Staff.—Sisters of Mercy, having secular workmistresses under them, superintended by Mrs. Bridgeman, the Mother Superior.

Average number maintained, 86. Total cost of establishment in 1870, 1,456*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* Average cost per head of each inmate during 1870, 11*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, on 977*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, the expenditure for *ordinary charges.*

Loss on industrial department, 17*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* As soon as a girl has acquired proficiency in one branch of industry, she is changed to another, in order to extend her capacity for self-support, by fitting her for as many employments as possible. This prevents the industrial department from being as remunerative as it would otherwise be, if each girl were confined to the one branch in which she had become efficient.

ST. MARTHA'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, MONAGHAN.

Under the Sisters of Saint Louis.

Average number of inmates under order of detention in 1870	49
Voluntary inmates	2
Externs who attend the National school, on roll	221

State of premises.—I found the premises clean and well kept, with good National school and farm offices attached. They are too close to the Spark's Lake Reformatory, but the inmates never come in contact, and are quite as distinct as a young ladies' boarding school and a day school for paying pupils, which are also taught by the Sisters; however, I am very desirous that the school should be removed to another locality on the sea-side, which would be peculiarly suited to the class of children sent to this school.

Health and general condition.—Children suffering from scrofula, skin and other diseases, epileptics, and those who can not be treated in other schools, are drafted here. Some, likewise, of filthy habits, ill-tempered and ill-conditioned, are also received into this institution, and with constant care their habits and dispositions become quite altered. As Spark's Lake Reformatory holds the place of a penal reformatory for girls, so, likewise, all cases under the Industrial Schools Act that can not be managed elsewhere are transferred to this school. Many have been for months under medical treatment, and they necessarily are given an abundant supply of nutritious food, which, with great cleanliness and constant care, brings them round.

Conduct and discipline.—Some of the children transferred from Dublin gave much trouble to the managers, but have latterly become orderly and good.

Educational state.—The schools are placed in connection with the Board of National Education, and their District Inspector reports:—'Present on inspection, 149. General proficiency satisfactory, and the school is progressing. The method of conducting the school is good, and the teachers competent. Vocal music upon Wilhelm's system is taught for two hours in each week.'

Industrial training.—The manager reports that scarcely half a dozen could hold a needle or knew the use of a sweeping brush when received into the school. Many are now becoming skillful in needlework, and I saw some very fine specimens of their work in the London Exhibition for 1871. Eight or ten of the strongest girls work at the laundry for two days in the week, and some are employed in the dairy and farmyard, others in cooking, and those who have an aptitude for the work care the young and delicate placed under their charge.

The *Staff* consists of Sisters of St. Louis, who are earnest and devoted to their work, and I have good reason to expect favorable results from their teaching. The Sisters join with the children in their amusements and little plays, and gradually acquire an influence over them, leading them to good.

Average number maintained, 51. Receipts during the year, 408*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* Expenditure—Ordinary charges, 832*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*; buildings and rent, 550*l.* Average cost of each inmate, 16*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, on 832*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*, the expenditure for *ordinary charges.* Profit on industrial department, 17*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

ST. BRIDGET'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS, LOUGHREA.

Under the Sisters of Mercy.

Average number of inmates under order of detention in 1870	65
Voluntary inmates	30
Extern pupils who attend the National school	236

State of premises.—This school is situate on twelve acres of rich land in the town of Loughrea, and arrangements are being made to obtain another field of six acres adjoining. A considerable expense has been incurred in building dormitories, school, and class-rooms, as well as farm offices. There are now on the premises six milch cows, which the girls milk, besides calves, pigs, and poultry, which they care, and are thus taught the duties of farm servants.

Health and general condition.—There has been no case of serious illness in the school since it opened; the children are bright, cheerful, and happy; the elder girls have charge of a certain number of their young companions, whom it is their duty to comb, wash, and care.

Conduct and demeanor.—The girls wear a neat uniform of scarlet and black plaid in winter, and shepherd's plaid in summer, and are tidy and orderly; a good spirit prevails throughout the establishment; punishments are few, and none for serious offenses; they generally consist of deprivation of marks: promotion to the class of honor is the greatest reward to which they aspire.

Educational state.—The children attend the National school on the premises, mix freely with the extern children in the classes, and are fairly up to the programme. They write from dictation, and are well instructed in singing; a drawing class is formed of some who show a taste for the art. There are three large school-rooms and two class-rooms in the schools, which have 456 boys and girls on the roll. The District Inspector of National schools reports, September 18, 1871, that there were present on inspection 50 boys, 218 girls. 'The course of instruction and proficiency fair; the school progressing moderately; Hullah's system of vocal music is taught for half an hour daily; needlework taught for three hours daily to the classes in rotation, with satisfactory results.'

Industrial training.—Laundry and dairy work, farmyard management, cooking, and the duties of household servants are taught, besides needlework, machine work, and the manufacture of guipure, point, and other lace. The Sisters impress on their pupils the importance of labor and the necessity to do their work well. I saw some nice gilding and stenciling done by the girls, showing that more refined tastes are cultivated.

General remarks.—On my last visit, I found girls who had formerly been extern pupils of the National school, but having lost their parents and becoming destitute, would have been driven to the work-house had not the Sisters admitted them as voluntary inmates. The Sisters support them out of their private resources and the sale of their work, and they are clothed in the uniform of the Industrial school. I found twenty-four such in the institution, and was pointed out a fine child, whose parents had lately died, and who was to be also received. These orphans are known to belong to the respectable classes of the district, and their association with the Industrial school children, and wearing their uniform, tends to raise the tone of the institution in the eyes of the people, and prevents any stigma possibly being attached to it. One of these girls had just passed her examination as monitress of the school, and I was much pleased with her demeanor and acquirements.

Average number maintained, 65. Receipts in 1870, 596*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*; profit on industrial department, 21*l.* 9*s.*; expenses during the year (including 1,080*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* for building and land), 2,164*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*; average cost per head, 15*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, on 1,034*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, the expenditure for *ordinary charges;* industrial profit, 21*l.* 9*s.*

SISTERHOODS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY JOHN NICHOLAS MURPHY.

FIRST INSTITUTION OF NUNS.*

Early in the history of Christianity, we read of men anxious to serve God with greater perfection, retiring into solitude, to devote themselves exclusively to prayer and manual labor. Thus was it with Saint Paul, 'the first hermit,'† Saint Antony,‡ Saint Pachomius,§ and other solitaries, who dwelt in the deserts of Egypt, and notwithstanding their desire to lie hidden from the world, made 'the wilderness blossom like the rose,' and shed the light of holiness far and wide. Ere long, they had imitators of the other sex. The monastic life commenced in Egypt in the third century; and about the same time we read of 'houses of virgins.' Thus, when Saint Antony retired from the world, about the year 276, as we learn from Saint Athanasius,‖ he placed his only sister in a house of virgins, παρθένων; and, further, when Antony visited her, many years afterward, in her old age, she was, as we are informed by the same authority, the mistress or guide of other virgins, καθηγουμένην ἄλλων παρθένων.

* A nun is a virgin, or a widow, consecrated to God by the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and obliged to live in a convent. under a certain rule. We find the word in various languages, viz., Saxon, *nunne;* German, *nonne;* Dutch, *non;* Danish, *nunne;* Swedish, *nunna;* French, *nonne.*

† Saint Paul, 'the first hermit,' was born in 229, and died in 342, aged 113. He spent 90 years in the desert in Lower Thebaïs in Egypt, whither he had retired in his twenty-third year.

‡ Saint Antony was born at Coma, a village near Heraclea in Upper Egypt, in 251, and died in 356, being 105 years old. Having sold his goods, and distributed the amount among the poor, he retired into solitude in his twenty-fifth year. He is considered the institutor of cenobitic life, or of persons living in community, under a certain rule. His rule was oral, not written.

§ Saint Pachomius, abbot, was born in Upper Thebaïs, about the year 292, and died in 348. He was the first who drew up a monastic rule in writing. His rule was translated into Latin by Saint Jerome, and is still extant.

‖ Saint Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria and Doctor of the Church, was born at Alexandria in the year 296, and died in 373. He ably combated the errors of Arianism; and his zeal for the Catholic faith drew down upon him many years of persecution and exile. His principal works are in defense of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Creed which bears his name contains his doctrine; but is generally considered not to have been drawn up by him. It is ascribed to St. Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, in the fifth century, by Dr. Waterland, in his 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.' St. Athanasius's Life of Saint Antony was written in 365.

In the fourth century, Saint Basil* speaks of convents of nuns governed by a mother superior, and he recommends them to fulfill the same duties, and observe the same practices of devotion as the monks. He himself established several convents of men, as well as of women. One of the latter, at Pontus, was governed by his sister Macrina. He drew up his Ascetic Works, which consist of his Longer and Shorter Rules for Cenobites, or monks living in community, about the year 362. His are the most ancient written rules, in use, for the government of religious communities. Some authorities are of opinion that the actual rule of Saint Basil, embodying his constitutions, was written after his time. It is, at present, the rule which is generally followed in the East.

Saint John Chrysostom† again testifies, in the fourth century, that in Egypt the congregations of virgins were almost as numerous as the houses of religious men. At this period, not only were there houses of virgins and widows living in common and leading holy lives, but there were several women who led devout retired lives in the houses of their parents. In time, it appeared desirable, and was recommended by the clergy, that all women who desired to lead such lives should be assembled in convents, and live under an uniform rule.

As to the precise period, when these religious began to make a solemn profession of virginity and to receive the vail and habit at the hands of the bishop, we can not speak with accuracy. The first authenticated instance is that of Saint Marcellina, who received the habit and vail at the hands of Pope Liberius, in the Church of Saint Peter on Christmas day 352, in presence of a great number of people. On the occasion, the Pope exhorted her to love only Our Lord Jesus Christ, the chaste spouse of her soul, and to lead a life of continual abstinence, mortification, and prayer, behaving in the church with that reverential awe, which the presence of God should always inspire. His Holiness reminded her and the congregation of the example set by a pagan, a page of Alexander the Great, who, during some ceremony in a heathenish temple, suffered a piece of melted wax, which fell on his hand, to burn him to the bone rather than disturb the religious rites which were being performed. Saint Marcellina, however, did not reside in a convent, but

* Saint Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Doctor of the Church, was born in 329, and died in 379.

† Saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, and Doctor of the Church, was born in 344, and died in 407. He was named Chrysostom, ('golden-mouthed,' from the Greek), on account of his eloquence.

led a life of great holiness and mortification, with another virgin, in a private house.

Of religious women distinguished by their vail and habit from all others of their sex, we find mention made by Saint Jerome,* Saint Ambrose,† Optatus of Milevium,‡ and other writers of the period.

Saint Jerome, especially in his letters and sermons, gives many details of the lives of these holy women, several of whom were under his spiritual direction in Rome. One of these was Saint Marcella, whom he styles 'the glory of the Roman ladies.' Her husband died seven months after their marriage; and she refused the suit of Cerealis the Consul, uncle to Gallus Cæsar, and entered a religious life. Another was Saint Lea, a widow, honored by the Church on March 22. She presided over a community of virgins, whom she taught more by her edifying example than by words, spending whole nights in prayer. Formerly, a lady of rank and wealth, and the mistress of many slaves, she now led a life of mortification, penance, and humility, acting rather as the servant than the superioress of the Sisters she governed. She died in the year 384. Saint Jerome eloquently contrasts her holy death with that of the Consul Pretaxtatus, a heathen, suddenly carried off about the same time.

But perhaps the most remarkable of the religious women mentioned by Saint Jerome, were Saint Paula, and her daughter Saint Eustochium. Saint Paula was born on May 5, 347. She was a lady of most illustrious race, numbering among her ancestors, on the mother's side, the Scipios, the Gracchi, and Paulus Æmilius, and, on the father's, tracing her descent from Agamemnon; whilst her husband Toxotius derived his pedigree from Æneas and Iulus.§ In her thirty-second year she lost her husband. From that time forward, acting on the advice of Saint Marcella, she devoted herself altogether to a religious life. She spent her time in prayer, fasting, and works of mercy to the poor.

After a while, she visited the holy places in Palestine. She built an hospital near Bethlehem, also a monastery for Saint Jerome and his monks, and three convents for religious women, which formed but one house, as all the nuns assisted together, in the chapel, to recite the Divine office. All the Sisters were obliged to know the whole psalter, which they daily sang, observing the canonical hours

* Saint Jerome, priest and Doctor of the Church, was born in 342, and died in 420.
† Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan, and Doctor of the Church, was born in 340, and died in 397.
‡ Saint Optatus, bishop of Milevium, wrote about the year 370.
§ Sancti Hieron. Epist. 27, Ad Eustochium.

of prime, tierce, sext, none, vespers, complin, and matins immediately after midnight. They lived most austerely; they made all their own clothes, which were of the coarsest materials. Paula and her daughter Eustochium set an example of mortification, humility, and sweetness of manner to the whole community, taking on themselves the most troublesome and menial offices. Eustochium was chosen abbess, on the death of her mother in 404. She was especially the pupil of Saint Jerome, whose treatise on Virginity, addressed to her and called his Letter to Eustochium, was composed in the year 383.

Toward the close of the 4th century, Saint Augustine,* after his consecration as bishop of Hippo in Africa, established a community of nuns there; and his sister, who was anxious to devote herself to the service of God in her widowhood, was chosen the first abbess. On her death, Felicitas, the oldest nun, was elected her successor; but, some members of the community having expressed a preference for another, Saint Augustine addressed two letters to Felicitas and all the nuns, and the priest Rusticus, who acted as their spiritual director. In the first letter he exhorts them to union, regularity, fasting, public prayer, holy poverty, and obedience to their abbess and director. In the second, he gives them a written rule. This rule, written in 423, is adopted, with some additions, by the Austin Friars or Hermits, and the Canons Regular, as well as by the Augustinian nuns, and a great many other orders and congregations of religious men and women.

About two hundred years after monastic life had been introduced in the East, by Saint Antony, Saint Pachomius, Saint Basil, and Saint Augustine, Saint Benedict,† who had lived many years in solitude, wrote his rule for the monastery which he had founded on Monte Cassino, between Rome and Naples. This rule was approved of by Pope Gregory the Great, in 595; and, being less austere than those followed in Eastern countries, it was considered suitable for the West; and was generally adopted in Europe; especially in England. It is the basis of many of the particular rules, since formed in the Western portion of the Christian world. Its essential principles are silence, solitude, prayer, humility, and obedience.

A monastic rule is defined as a collection of laws and constitu-

* Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and Doctor of the Church, was born at Tagaste, in Numidia, in 354. He was consecrated coadjutor bishop of Hippo in December, 395, and succeeded to that see the following year. He died in 430. He is one of the most illustrious of the Doctors of the Church.

† Saint Benedict, Abbot, was born at Norcia in Italy, about the year 480. He founded his monastery of Monte Cassino, in 529. He died in 543.

tions, according to which the religious of a house or order are obliged to live, and which they have made a vow of observing. All the monastic rules require to be approved of by the ecclesiastical superiors, and even by the Holy See, to impose an obligation of conscience on religious. When a religious can not bear the austerity of his rule, he is obliged to demand a dispensation from his superiors, or permission from the Holy See to enter a more mitigated order.

In the early ages of Christianity, although several communities followed a common rule, whether that of Saint Basil, Saint Augustine, or some other holy priest or bishop, each convent was governed altogether by its own mother superior; for it was only in later times, with the increased facilities of inter-communication, that the principle of all the houses of a particular order being directed by a generalate could be introduced.

At first, those who embraced the religious life had no other design than to serve God with greater perfection, and to sanctify themselves by prayer, silence, work, mortification, and the exercise of mutual charity. This was the origin of the religious orders of both men and women. But in the course of time, as the necessities of mankind required it, a combination of the active and contemplative life was introduced, and several religious congregations were established: and thus, besides the praise of God, and the sanctification of their own souls, all the offices of Christian charity are now discharged, and every necessity of mankind is ministered to, by these devoted daughters of religion.

Nearly all the ancient orders aoapting themselves to the age, now undertake active duties, chiefly the education of youth, in these and other countries.

THE BENEDICTINE NUNS.

This very ancient order was established by Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict, at Plombariola, about five miles south of Monte Cassino, in 529. She died in 543. They are cloistered, and take perpetual vows. The habit is black, over a tunic of white undyed wool. There are now eight convents in England, with boarding schools attached. Oulton, near Stone; Princethorpe, near Rugby; Stanbrook, near Worcester; Teignmouth; Colwich; Ramsgate; and East Bergholt.

THE AUGUSTINIAN NUNS.

There are two convents of this order in England,—Saint Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, Devon; and a second at Burgess Hill, Sussex, devoted to the treatment of mental maladies.

POOR CLARES OR FRANCISCAN NUNS.

This order takes the name of their foundress, and are also called Minoresses. Clare was the eldest daughter of a renowned soldier in Assisium,—born in 1193,—and of a devout frame of mind, which was confirmed by the teaching and influence of the founder of the Franciscan order. He confirmed her in her resolution to abandon the world, and devote herself altogether to God. Her parents had in view for her an honorable match; but this she declined, pleading her fixed intention to renounce the world. On the evening of the Monday after Palm Sunday, in the year 1212, Clare privately left her home, accompanied by another devout young woman, and went to the small church and convent of Portiuncula, about a mile outside the town, where Saint Francis and his monks resided. She was received at the church door by the community, holding lighted tapers in their hands, and singing the 'Veni Creator Spiritus.' Here, before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, she put off her rich apparel; and Saint Francis cut off her hair and gave her the habit, which was of coarse cloth, with a cord for a girdle. He then placed her with the Benedictine nuns of Saint Paul, who gladly received the young novice, until a convent could be established for the new institute.

She was soon after removed to another Benedictine convent, that of Saint Angelo, near Assisium, where, after equally strong opposition from the members of her family, her sister Agnes also took the vail. Eventually, Saint Francis fitted up for the two sisters a new house close by the church of Saint Damian at Assisium, where they were joined by their mother, then a widow, and fifteen other ladies, some of whom were their own relatives, and three of whom were members of the noble family of Ubaldini of Florence. Clare was appointed the mother superior. She rapidly extended the institute, establishing the convent of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Rome, and houses in several other cities of Italy and Germany.

The order was approved of by Pope Innocent III., and confirmed by Honorius III. in 1223. The rule at first was extremely austere, being drawn up by Saint Francis on the model of that which he had prepared for his religious men. The Sisters went barefooted, observed perpetual silence, and practiced severe fasts. They were also debarred from possessing property, even in common. Great numbers joined this poor and austere order, including a long line of noble ladies, amongst whom were Agnes, daughter of the King of Bohemia, in 1240; Joan, daughter of the King of Navarre; Isabel,

sister of Saint Louis; Blanche, daughter of Philip of France; Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian; and Marie, sister of King Philip of Spain. The rule, being considered too austere for the weaker sex, was mitigated by Pope Urban IV., in 1263. He gave permission to the Clares to possess income. The nuns of Saint Damian's and some others, being unwilling to avail themselves of these mitigations, continued to observe the strict rule of Saint Francis. Hence arose the distinction between the Urbanists and the Damianists or Poor Clares.

Among the Urbanists even, or Mitigated Clares, many houses returned, in time, to the stricter observance. The principal of these were the Colettines, who followed the reform introduced in the fifteenth century by the Blessed Colette, who was born at Corbie in Picardy, and died in 1447. Whenever there was a reform of the Franciscan Friars, there were to be found Clares ready to embrace a life analogous and equally austere. Thus arose the Cordelières, called in Paris Filles de l'Ave Maria, the Capuchinesses, the Récollettes, the Tiercelines, or Penitents of the Third Order, known in Paris as Filles de Sainte Elizabeth, and other congregations.

The habit of the Poor Clares is gray, with a cord as a girdle; over which they wear a cloak when they go out.

They have eleven convents in the United Kingdom; five in England, and six in Ireland. Several primary schools for girls are conducted by the Sisters in both countries; and there is a flourishing certified industrial school attached to the convent of Cavan.

DOMINICAN NUNS.

The Dominican nuns of the second and third order were founded about 1215, and approved by Honorius III. They have now fifteen convents in Great Britain. Young ladies' and middle class boarding schools, extensive primary schools for girls, infant schools, night schools, Sunday-schools, female orphanages, crèches, hospitals for incurables, and an admirably conducted female Deaf and Dumb Asylum, are the works which principally engage the devoted zeal of the Sisters in these countries. In England, they undertake, in addition, the visitation of the sick poor. One of their circulars adds:—

> There are two charities in which we are most deeply interested, our Crèche and our work class. For the greater part of the last seven years we have had a Crèche for babies. In this school we receive infants from six weeks old, and take charge of them from six o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. They are the children of poor working women, who are employed all day in the factories, or at other manual labor. Our object is to save these poor children from the want of wholesome food, exposure to the damp and cold of the streets, and from the terrible effects of the bad nursing of mere children. Often, too,

they are left in the charge of old women, who, to escape the trouble of these infants, dose them with opiates, sometimes poisoning them to such an extent, that even if they recover, their brains are injured for life.

The establishment of a work or sewing class for young girls is our other charity that we have very deeply at heart. The dreadful state of vice and immorality into which the laboring classes are plunged is most distressing. Young people are herded together in the large factories, and one contaminates another, so that it requires a miracle of grace for any young girl to continue innocent.

The habit is a white robe and scapular, over which is worn a black cloak or vail. The nuns of the third order, on account of their active out-door duties, assume a black habit, beneath which is worn the white scapular, which is a special badge of the Dominican order.

CARMELITE NUNS.

The Carmelite nuns were instituted about the middle of the fifteenth century. The rules of Saint Dominic, Saint Francis, and Saint Augustine had been embraced by numerous communities of religious women; when John Soreth, a Carmelite monk of great sanctity, and the twenty-sixth general of the order, desirous that the rule of Mount Carmel also should be followed by nuns, founded a female institute under that rule, in 1452. He established five convents, of which the first was at Liége, and the second at Vannes in Brittany. The latter was built by Françoise d'Amboise, Duchess of Brittany, who, in 1457, after the death of her husband, Peter II., took the habit in this convent. The institute was approved of by Pope Nicholas V. in a bull, issued in 1452.

About one hundred years later, some relaxations having crept in, Saint Teresa, a religious of the convent of Avila in Castile, undertook the reform of the nuns of her order.* After encountering great difficulties, she succeeded; and her new constitutions were approved of by Pope Pius IV. in 1562. She introduced a rule of great austerity. The nuns observed perpetual silence, wore habits of coarse serge, and sandals instead of shoes, lay on straw, and never ate flesh meat. Saint Teresa's reform was immediately carried out in several of the communities of Carmelite monks by Father Antony of Jesus and Saint John of the Cross.

* The reform in religious orders consists in efforts to bring back the strict observance of their original rule, which either had been mitigated, with the approval of the Holy See, or from which they had gradually fallen away in the long lapse of years, the original and the reformed have been always considered as two distinct orders: that is, the latter has been regarded as a new order, of course subject to the approval of the Pope. Thus, certain members of an order will desire to follow the strict observance of the rule of the founder, which has been mitigated, or modified, and will, with the consent of their superiors, proceed to carry out their views in separate monasteries; whilst, again, others, whose bodily and mental constitutions are unsuited to a life of such extreme austerity, will prefer remaining as they are. Both, being approved of by the Holy See, are thenceforward distinct orders, the new institute taking a new name. Such, for instance, were the monks of Cluni, the Cistercians, and other reforms of the great Benedictine order, above enumerated, all constituting distinct orders, and approved of, each respectively, by the Pope of the day.

CEREMONIES OF RECEPTION AND PROFESSION.

Reception, or Taking the White Vail.

The lady who is to take the religious habit, having made the usual preparation, receives the Holy Communion on the morning fixed for her Reception. The same morning, all the nuns offer up their communions for her intention.

At the appointed hour, all the nuns assemble in the outer choir, clad in their church cloaks, with lighted candles. The nuns on the right side hold the candle in the right hand, those on the other, in the left. When the procession is being formed, the Novice Elect, now attired in a secular dress, usually of the richest white silk or satin, kneels to ask the blessing of the Superioress, and the name she is to receive in Religion.*

When the Bishop and his assistants are ready, intimation is given to the chauntress, and she commences the hymn, 'O Gloriosa Virginum,' which is sung by the choir. After the first verse, the procession enters the choir:—

Cross-bearer.
Postulants, two and two.
Novices.
Professed Nuns.
Mother Assistant. Novice Elect. Mother Superior.

On arriving at the grate,† they genuflect before the Blessed Sacrament. Then the Mother Superior and Mother Assistant retire to their places, leaving the Novice Elect on her knees.

The hymn being finished, the Bishop, whose mitre has been taken off by the attendant, sings the versicle and prayer. He then blesses the wax candle, which is laid on the epistle side of the altar. He next incenses the candle, and sprinkles it with holy water, after which he approaches the grate with his assistants, and presents it lighted to the Novice Elect, who receives it kneeling, first kissing the Bishop's hand and then the candle, and remains until the following prayer is ended:—

Accipe, filia charissima, lumen corporale, in signum luminis interioris, ad repellendas omnes tenebras ignorantiæ, vel erroris: ut lumine Divini sapientiæ illustrata, cum fervore Sancti Spiritus, Jesu Christi, Ecclesiæ sponsi, æternum consortium merearis, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo Patre, in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Receive, dearly beloved daughter, this corporal light, as an emblem of the inward light, to dispel all the darkness of ignorance or error; that, illuminated by the light of Divine wisdom, with the fervor of the Holy Ghost, thou mayest deserve to be eternally united with Jesus Christ, the spouse of the Church, who liveth and reigneth with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

The sermon follows, the Novice Elect being seated in the middle of the choir.

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* This is a matter of form, as the novice generally selects her own name in religion, of course consulting the mother superior, and taking a name not already borne by another member of the community. All nuns take the name of Mary in honor of the Blessed Virgin, to which they add severally their distinctive names; such as sister Mary Joseph, sister Mary Xavier, &c.

† The grate is a small lattice-work door or window in the open-work screen separating the choir from the chapel.

The sermon being ended, the Novice Elect is conducted by the Mother Superior and Mother Assistant to the grate, where, kneeling, she is interrogated by the Bishop (who wears his mitre) as follows:—

Bishop.—My child, what do you demand?

Novice Elect.—The mercy of God, and the Holy Habit of Religion.

Bishop.—Is it with your own free will and consent you demand the Holy Habit of Religion?

Novice Elect.—Yes, my Lord.

Bishop.—Reverend Mother, have you made the necessary inquiries, and are you satisfied?

Mother Superior.—Yes, my Lord.

Bishop.—My child, have you a firm intention to persevere in Religion to the end of your life; and do you hope to have sufficient strength to carry constantly the sweet yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ, solely for the love and fear of God?

Novice Elect.—Relying on the mercy of God, I hope to be able to do so.

The mitre being taken off, the Bishop rising says:—

Bishop.—Quod Deus in te incœpit, ipse perficiat.

Novice Elect.—Amen.

Bishop.—Exuat te Dominus veterem hominem cum actibus suis.

Novice Elect.—Amen.

Bishop.—What God has commenced in you may He perfect.

Novice Elect.—Amen.

Bishop.—May the Lord banish from you the old man with his works.

Novice Elect.—Amen.

The Novice Elect then retires, accompanied by the Mother Superior and Mother Assistant, to put off the secular dress. Meanwhile the CXIII., XV., and LXXXIII. Psalms are sung by the choir.

The Bishop blesses the habit, sprinkles it with holy water, and incenses it. It is then given to one of the nuns to take to the Novice Elect.

The Bishop next blesses the vail, which is of fine white linen, sprinkles it with holy water, and incenses it.

The novice re-enters the choir, clothed in the habit, bearing in her hand the wax candle lighted, and accompanied by the Mother Superior and Mother Assistant. Meanwhile the antiphon 'Quis est ista' is sung.

The Novice, on her return, makes a genuflection to the Blessed Sacrament, and kneeling, receives the Bishop's blessing.

She next receives the cincture from the Bishop, and is girded with it by the Mother Superior, while the Bishop repeats the following prayer:—

Cum esses junior, cingebas te, et ambulabas ubi volebas; cum autem senueris, alius te cinget: in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

When thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself, and didst walk where thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old another shalt gird thee: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Novice again kneels, while the Bishop places the blessed vail on her head saying:—

Accipe velum candidum, signum internæ puritatis, ut sequaris agnum sine maculâ, et ambules cum eo in

Receive the white vail, the emblem of inward purity, that thou mayest follow the Lamb without spot, and may-

albis; in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

est walk with him in white; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Novice remains kneeling, while the Mother Superior fastens the vail. She then receives the church cloak, which she presents to the Mother Superior, who clothes her with it, the Bishop saying the following prayer:—

Reddat tibi Dominus stolam immortalitatis, quam perdidisti in prævaricatione primi parentis—in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

May the Lord restore to thee the robe of immortality, which thou didst lose in the prevarication of thy first parent—in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Novice, thus clothed, makes first a bow to the Mother Superior, then genuflects to the Blessed Sacrament, and afterward places herself on her knees. The Mother Assistant gives her the wax candle, and the Bishop sprinkles her with holy water, and, extending his hands over her, says aloud:—

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et hanc famulam tuam, cui in tuo sancto nomine habitum hujus sacræ Religionis imposuimus, benedicere digneris, et presta, ut, te largiente, devota in Ecclesia persistat, et vitam æternam mereatur, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Attend, O Lord, to our supplications, and vouchsafe to bless this Thy servant, whom, in Thy holy name, we have arrayed in the habit of this holy order, and grant that, by Thy bounty, she may devoutly persevere in the Church, and merit eternal life, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Novice, standing, says:—

Regnum mundi, et omnem ornatum sæculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.

The kingdom of the world, and all the grandeur of this earth, I have despised, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have seen, whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, and toward whom my heart inclineth.

The choir repeats the same.

The Novice retires a few steps, and sings alternately with the choir:—

Novice.—Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea Regi.

Novice.—My heart has uttered a good word: I speak my works to the King.

Choir.—Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.

Choir.—Whom I have seen, whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, and toward whom my heart inclineth.

Novice.—Elegi abjecta esse in domo Domini mei, Jesu Christi.

Novice.—I have chosen to be an abject in the house of my Lord Jesus Christ.

Choir.—Quem vidi, &c., as before.

Choir.—Whom I have seen, &c., as before.

Novice.—Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Novice.—Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Choir.—Quem vidi, &c., as before.

Choir.—Whom I have seen, &c., as before.

Here the Novice kneels down, gives her candle to the Mother Assistant, and prostrates herself. The clergy and nuns kneel, and the hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus' is sung by the choir.

The hymn being finished, the clergy and nuns rise and turn to the altar; the Novice still remaining prostrate, while the Bishop recites the appropriate prayers.

The Bishop then sprinkles the Novice with holy water; the Mother Assistant directs her to rise, making with her a genuflection to the Blessed Sacrament, and conducts her to the Mother Superior, to whom she kneels, and who raises and cordially embraces her. The Novice then embraces the other nuns, making an inclination before and after to each, as she does so. She receives her candle from the Mother Assistant, and takes her place among the nuns.

The candles are lighted, and the choir sings the CXXXII. psalm.

Ecce quam bonum, et quam, jucundum, habitare fratres in unum, &c.

Behold how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity, &c.

After Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, all retire processionally, as they entered.

Reception, or Taking the Black Vail.

On the day of Profession, all the Sisters offer up their Communions for the Novice to be professed. She communicates at the Mass which is celebrated at the ceremony. The black vail, and ring, of plain silver, are left near the altar, also pen and ink, and the Act of Profession.

The procession takes place, the same as in the ceremony of Reception, and the hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus' is sung by the choir.

The Novice kneels near the grate, holding a lighted candle.

The Bishop blesses the vail, and sprinkles it with holy water.

He then blesses the ring, and sprinkles it with holy water.

The following gospel is then read, or sung by the deacon:—

Saint Matthew, Chapter xvi., 24–28.

In illo tempore dixit Jesus discipulis suis, Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me. Qui voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam. Quid enim prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro animâ suâ? Filius enim hominis

At that time, Jesus said to his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and he that shall lose his life for my sake shall find it; for what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his

venturus est in gloriâ Patris sui, cum angelis suis; et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus.

Father, with his angels, and then he will render to every one according to his works.

The Sermon follows; after which the Novice is conducted to the grate by the Mother Assistant, when the Bishop, seated, wearing his mitre, interrogates her as follows:—

Bishop.—My child, what do you demand?

Novice.—My Lord, I most humbly beg to be received to the Holy Profession.

Bishop.—My child, do you consider yourself sufficiently instructed in what regards the vows of religion, and the rules and constitutions of this institute; and do you know the obligations you contract by the Holy Profession?

Novice.—Yes, my Lord, with the grace of God.

Bishop.—Det tibi Deus in hoc sancto proposito perseverantiam, illudque ad optatum effectum perducere suâ benignitate dignetur. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Bishop.—May God grant you perseverance in this your holy resolution, and may He deign in His mercy to complete what He has begun. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost is said, except the Feast be a Double or a Sunday, in which case the Mass of the day is said.

After the 'Domine non sum dignus' the Mother Superior says aloud:—

Immola Deo sacrificium laudis.

Offer to God the sacrifice of praise.

The Nuns answer:—

Et redde Altissimo vota tua.

And pay thy vows to the most High.

In the meantime, the Mother Assistant takes the candle from the Novice, and gives her the Act of Profession. The Novice rises, and, advancing a step, says, in an audible voice:—

Vota mea Domino reddam, in conspectu omnis populi ejus, in atriis domûs Domini.

I will pay my vows to the Lord in the sight of all His people, in the courts of the house of the Lord.

The Novice then kneels down, and the Confiteor is said at the altar, after which, the Bishop approaches the grate, bearing the Blessed Sacrament, and says the 'Domine non sum dignus' three times. At the third repetition, the Novice makes a profound adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, which the Bishop raises a little, whilst she pronounces her vows as follows:—

Act of Profession.

In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and under the protection of His Immaculate Mother, Mary, ever Virgin, I, (N. N.) called in religion Sister Mary (N.) do vow and promise to God Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and to persevere to the end of my life in Inclosure in this Institute, for the Charitable Instruction of poor girls, according to the Rules and Constitutions of this Order of the Presentation of Our Blessed Lady, approved of and confirmed by the Apostolical authority of our Holy Father Pope Pius the Seventh, under the authority and in presence of you, my Lord, and Right Reverend Father in God, (N.), Bishop of this diocese, and of our Reverend Mother (N.), called in Relig-

ion Sister (N.) Mother Superior of this Convent of the Presentation of Our Blessed Lady, on this day of in the year of our Lord .*

As soon as the Novice has read the Act of Profession, the Mother Assistant gives her a pen, to make a cross after her signature. This done, the Bishop gives her the Holy Communion, saying:—

QUOD Deus in te incepit, ipse perficiat; et corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

WHAT God has commenced in thee, may He himself perfect; and may the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul to life everlasting. Amen.

After a few minutes, the newly Professed is conducted by the Mother Assistant to the Mother Superior, to whom she presents the Act of Profession, on her knees.† She then resumes her place at the grate.

Mass being finished, the Bishop takes off his chasuble, and, putting on a cope and mitre commences the 'Veni Sancte Spiritus,' which is continued by the choir.

The Bishop then sprinkles the newly Professed with holy water in the form of a cross, saying: 'In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'

After the appropriate versicles sung alternately by the newly Professed and the choir, she is conducted by the Mother Superior and Mother Assistant to the grate, and kneels, while the Bishop, having his mitre on, places the black vail on her head, saying:—

Suscipe velum sacrum, pudoris et reverentiæ signum, quod perferas ante tribunal Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Receive the holy vail, the emblem of chastity and modesty, which mayest thou carry before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life, and mayest live for ever and ever. Amen.

The Mother Superior fastens the vail, while the Mother Assistant removes the white vail. The newly Professed, having been given her candle, retires a few steps from the altar, and sings:—

Posuit signum in faciem meam.

He has placed His seal on my forehead.

The Choir:—

Ut nullum, præter eum, amatorem admittam.

That I should admit no other lover but Him.

She then kneels before the grate, and the Bishop takes the blessed ring in his right hand, and puts it on the third finger of her left hand, saying:—

DESPONSO te Jesu Christo, Filio summi Patris, qui te illæsam custodiat. Accipe ergo annulum fidei, signaculum Spiritus Sancti; ut sponsa Dei voceris,

MAY Jesus Christ, Son of the supreme Father, who has now espoused thee, protect thee from all danger. Receive then the ring of faith, the seal

* In the Act of Profession the form varies after the word 'Obedience,' according to the objects of the order. Thus in the Order of Mercy, the words run:—' And the service of the Poor, Sick, and Ignorant, and to persevere until death in this Congregation of our Lady of Mercy, according to its approved rule and constitutions; under the authority and in presence of you, my Lord,' &c.

† The newly Professed is furnished with a copy of her Act of Profession. The original, which she has signed, she never sees again; but, on her death, it is placed in her hands when she is laid out in her habit, and is buried with her.

et si ei fideliter servieris, in perpetuum coroneris. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

of the Holy Ghost, that thou mayest be called the Spouse of Christ, and if thou art faithful, be crowned with Him for ever. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Bishop solemnly blesses the newly Professed, who, rising, says, or sings:—

Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum sæculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.

The kingdom of the world, and all the grandeur of this earth I have despised for love of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have seen, whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, and toward whom my heart inclineth.

The choir repeats the same.

The newly Professed retires a few steps, and sings alternately with the choir 'Eructavit cor meum,' &c., as already given.

The newly Professed then gives her candle to the Mother Assistant, and prostrates, and remains prostrate while the 'Te Deum' is sung, and the succeeding versicles and prayers are said.

The Bishop sprinkles the newly Professed with holy water; the Mother Assistant directs her to rise, makes with her a genuflection to the Blessed Sacrament, and conducts her to the Mother Superior, to whom she kneels. The Mother Superior raises, and cordially embraces her. She then proceeds to embrace the other nuns, bowing to each as she does so, and receives her candle from the Mother Assistant. During this time is sung the CXXXII. psalm, 'Ecce quam bonum,' &c.

The psalm being finished, the nuns retire processionally, as they entered.

Divestment of all Property.

Persons who are about to join a regular order undergo a period of probation, or novitiate, varying from one to nine years in length, during which the rules of the regular orders leave to them the possession and free disposition of any property they may be entitled to. When that period of probation is over, a person intending to join a regular order is 'professed,'—that is, takes the solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, common to all the regular orders. The vow of poverty being inconsistent, conscientiously speaking, with the retention of any property, the intended religious must, before profession, divest himself, by legal means, of all that he possesses. A portion is commonly reserved to the community which he is about to join, and which is thenceforth to maintain him. The rest is disposed of by him in any manner he may think best. If any property should come by inheritance to a religious person after profession, the rules of the regular orders require him to dispose of that property in favor of those persons who would have succeeded to it if he had been dead. If, on the other hand, property is left by will to a member of a regular order by name, he is entitled under the rules of the order to retain it, not for his own benefit, but for that of the community to which he belongs. It may be taken as a common feature of all the regular orders, that the members of them, once professed, do not hold or retain any income or property for their own benefit. If any property devolves upon them by gift, or operation of law, they are bound by their vows to divest themselves of it by some legal means; these legal means are determined by the law of this country, which of course regards their capacity and power of disposition as wholly unaffected by their religious vows. These observations apply equally to the members of the male and female orders.

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HONORA NAGLE AND PRESENTATION NUNS.

BY JOHN NICHOLAS MURPHY.

MISS HONORA NAGLE.

Miss Honora Nagle, the pioneer of Catholic education for girls in institutions professedly Catholic in Ireland, was born at Ballygriffin, on the banks of the Blackwater, near Mallow, in the year 1728. Her father, Garrett Nagle, Esq., was of the family of Sir Richard Nagle, knight of the shire for the county of Cork, Attorney-General, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the Parliament of King James II., which sat in Dublin in 1689. Her mother was one of the Mathews of Thomaston, a name since rendered illustrious by the Apostle of Temperance. She was also closely related to the Right Honorable Edmund Burke.*

Notwithstanding the pains and penalties attaching to Irish Catholics who attempted to procure for their children in foreign countries the education which was denied them at home, she was sent by her parents to be educated in Paris. Her course being finished, she remained on a visit with some friends there, and, in due time, entered freely into the gaieties of that brilliant capital. The fair young Irish girl, who, in the words of a cotemporary, 'united with an agreeable person the most engaging manners and the more lasting attractions of a cultivated mind,' was greatly admired, much sought after, and flattered; but, young and lively as she was, her head was not turned. It is recorded of her that, from her earliest years, she evinced such good sense and piety that when occasionally complaints were made of her little faults, such as are incidental to childhood, her father used to remark that his 'little Nano would yet be a saint.'

At the period of which I now write, and, indeed, up to near the close of the last century, the condition of the Irish Catholic was truly deplorable. By the statute law, he was prohibited the possession of landed property, denied all political and municipal privileges,

* This great statesman, whose mother was Mary, daughter of Patrick Nagle, Esq., of Shanballyduff, was two years the junior of his cousin.

and jealously excluded from every avenue of social advancement. It was only by sufferance he worshiped God, in hidden places, according to the faith of his fathers, and by sufferance he was able stealthily to educate his children in that faith. Not only was his religion banned by law, but, up to the year 1782, he was bound, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to appear before two justices of the peace, and testify on oath 'where and when he heard the Popish mass celebrated, and also the names of the persons celebrating and present at it.'* Up to the same period, Catholics, or, as they were termed in the several statutes, Papists, were forbidden to teach school, either publicly or in private houses, except to the children of the family, under a penalty of 20*l.* fine and three months' imprisonment.† They were also prohibited sending their children to foreign countries to be educated, under the penalty of disability to sue in law or equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, or to take a legacy, or deed of gift, or to bear office, and forfeit of goods, and also lands for life.‡

It is true that latterly such enactments were but rarely enforced; but the Catholics of Ireland—being close on nine-tenths of the population of the country—felt that those enactments were the law of the land in which they lived, and might at any moment be put in motion against them. Therefore, their religious worship, and the education of their children, were conducted in fear and trembling. The state of affairs at the time will be best illustrated by the following fact. On a Sunday morning in the year 1745, while mass was being secretly celebrated in a loft of an old store, in Cook street, in Dublin, the floor gave way, and the officiating priest, Father Fitz-Gerald, and nine of his congregation, were killed, and several others were severely injured. On this, the Viceroy, Lord Chesterfield,§ declared that, the law to the contrary notwithstanding, the Catholics should be allowed to open their chapels, and, accordingly, some relaxation took place, as far as Divine worship was concerned. The difficulties of education, however, continued as great as ever.

The poor naturally suffered most from this ill-judged tyranny. The rich might themselves teach their children, or they might have

* 8th Anne, c. 3, sec. 21, A.D. 1709.—'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 201.

† 7th William III., c. 4, sec. 9, A.D. 1695.—'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 259. This law was not repealed until 1782, when the 21st & 22d of George III. c. 62, was passed, being 'an Act to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of Papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children.'—'Irish Statutes,' vol. xii. p. 388.

‡ 7th William III. c. 4, sec. 1, A.D. 1695.—'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 254.

§ Philip Dormer, the fourth and celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, served as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from August 31, 1745, to September 13, 1747.

teachers to attend them in their own homes. But the poor had no such advantages. Teaching school by a papist was a serious offense in law, and, in the few rare cases in which it was attempted, was overlooked only through the kind feeling of the authorities. Hence to realize her idea was a matter of no small difficulty and risk to our Irish young lady. That idea was the gradual opening of schools for poor girls in the south of Ireland, an idea which, in the course of time, was further developed in the daring project of the reëstablishment of conventual institutions as the best machinery for the education of the female youth of the country.

The difficulties of Miss Nagle's undertaking were very much increased by the necessity of keeping it secret from even the members of her own family. For, although steadfast Catholics, they would naturally be apprehensive of the fatal results likely to accrue to themselves of any relative of theirs so flagrantly violating the law as to open a 'Popish' school and teach therein. How, undeterred by the gravest discouragements and dangers, she ventured stealthily to open her first little school; how she struggled on for a long time almost single handed in her noble work; how, from early dawn till late at night, she taught, and labored, and spent herself for those poor neglected girls, whom a sadly mistaken spirit of legislation would keep in darkness and ignorance for ever; how, as if by the design of Divine Providence, her wealthy uncle bequeathed to her his ample fortune, and thus opportunely supplied her with means most wanted for the accomplishment of her plans; how she prevailed on four Irish young ladies of her acquaintance to enter the novitiate of the Ursulines in Paris, and thus qualify themselves for the establishment of a convent for educating poor girls in the city of Cork; how, this machinery proving insufficient, she further founded the Order of the Presentation; how, for many weary years, she toiled, and prayed, and suffered for this her darling project; and how, at length, she rejoiced in its realization—all these details may best be read in her simple, unaffected correspondence, preserved in Dean Murphy's '*Life of Nano Nagle.*' The spirit of this entire correspondence is seen in the following extracts from a letter addressed to Miss Fitzsimons, then making her novitiate in the Ursuline convent of Saint Jacques, Paris, for the projected foundation in Cork. She tells her friend, who had requested she would give her a particular account of how she began her schools, that, with a view to carrying out the project, she accepted a very kind invitation of her sister-in-law to live with her in the city of Cork. She then proceeds :—

When I arrived, I kept my design a profound secret, as I knew if it were spoken of I should meet with opposition on every side, particularly from my own immediate family; as, to all appearance, they would suffer from it. My confessor was the only person I told of it; and, as I could not appear in the affair, I sent my maid to get a good mistress, and to take in thirty poor girls. When the little school was settled, I used to steal there in the morning. My brother thought I was at the chapel. This passed on very well until, one day, a poor man came to him, to speak to me to take his child into my school; on which he came in to his wife and me, laughing at the conceit of a man who was mad, and thought I was in the situation of a schoolmistress. Then I owned that I had set up a school; on which he fell into a violent passion, and said a vast deal on the bad consequences that may follow. His wife is very zealous, and so is he; but worldly interests blinded him at first. He was soon reconciled to it. He was not the person I most dreaded would be brought into trouble about it: it was my uncle Nagle, who is, I think, the most disliked by the Protestants, of any Catholic in the kingdom. I expected a great deal from him. The best part of the fortune I have I received from him. When he heard it he was not at all angry at it; and, in a little time, they were so good as to contribute largely to support it. And I took in children by degrees, not to make any noise about it in the beginning. In about nine months I had about two hundred children. When the Catholics saw what service it did, they begged that, for the convenience of the children, I would set up schools at the other end of the town from where I was, to be under my care and direction; and they promised to contribute to the support of them. With this request I readily complied, and the same number of children that I had were taken in; and at the death of my uncle, I supported them all at my own expense. I did not intend to take boys, but my sister-in-law made it a point, and said she would not allow any of my family to contribute to them unless I did so: on which I got a master, and took in only forty boys. They are in a house by themselves, and have no communication with the others. At present, however, I have two schools for boys and five for girls. The former learn to read, and, when they have the Douay catechism by heart, they learn to write and cipher. There are three schools where the girls learn to read, and when they have the catechism by heart, they learn to work. They all hear mass every day, say their morning and night prayers, and say their catechism in each school, by question and answer, all together. Every Saturday they all say the beads, the grown girls every evening. They go to confession every month, and to communion when their confessor thinks proper. The schools are opened at eight; at twelve the children go to dinner; at five they leave school. I prepare a set for first communion twice a year, and I may truly say it is the only thing that gives me any trouble. In the first place, I think myself very incapable; and, in the beginning, being obliged to speak for upward of four hours, and my chest not being as strong as it had been, I spat blood, which I took care to conceal, for fear of being prevented from instructing the poor. It has not the least bad effect now. When I have done preparing them at each end of the town, I feel myself like an idler that has nothing to do, though I speak almost as much as when I prepared them for their first communion. I find not the least difficulty in it. I explain the catechism, as well as I can, in one school or other, every day; and if every one thought as little of labor as I do, they would have little merit. I often think my schools will never bring me to heaven, as I only take delight and pleasure in them. You see it has pleased the Almighty to make me succeed, when I had every thing, as I may say, to fight against. I assure you, I did not expect a farthing from any mortal toward the support of my schools; and I thought I should not have more than fifty or sixty girls, until I got a fortune; nor did I think I should have had a school in Cork. I began in a poor humble manner; and though it pleased the Divine will to give me severe trials in this foundation, yet it is to show that it is His work, and has not been effected by human means..

It is more than a hundred years since this letter was written. In its graphic and affecting lines we have presented to us a pleasing

picture of these several schools, crowded with poor children, yearning for knowledge, struggling toward that light from which the Penal Code would exclude them; anxious parents beseeching the good lady to admit their little ones into the happy circle of her pupils; the teachers stealthily, and, in many an instance, tremblingly, performing those duties which might at any moment subject them to 20*l.* fine and three months' imprisonment; the surprise and delight of the entire Catholic population at the success of that which we are told was 'His work, and not effected by human means;' their request to have the schools extended, and ready promise of subscriptions to support them; and, though last not least, the presiding spirit of the good work, passing from one school to another, at opposite ends of the city, reanimating by her presence the zeal of the teachers, dissipating their fears, instructing the poor girls, preparing them for the sacraments, speaking for upward of four hours daily, until her health gives way, and then concealing her illness from her family, lest her work of charity should suffer any interruption. But to complete the picture, more is required; and for this we are able to draw on tradition, which has preserved many interesting details of the life and good works of this excellent woman, as well as of the manners and customs of the people of her day. These details I now proceed to lay before my readers.

The city of Cork at that date (1770) presented a large field for the eminently practical charity of Miss Nagle. Her schools engaged her attention from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the evening. But the closing of the schools did not terminate her labors of the day. There were children to be looked after in different parts of the city—some confined by illness, and others absent from school through the carelessness of their parents. Moreover, there were several grown girls requiring counsel and instruction; there were her sick poor to be visited; and there were aged women to be called on, a class which she made her peculiar care, and for which she eventually established an asylum, still subsisting. Then there was her monthly collection to support her schools, organized and conducted by herself.

At the time, there were no public lamps in the streets of Cork, and several spots were dangerous, owing to the ruinous state of the parapet walls along the canals. Besides, as we have seen, there were frequent riots and robberies at night. Yet these dangers did not deter her; and, on many a cold winter's morning before dawn,

going to Mass at the Cathedral, then called the 'North Chapel,' and, on many a bleak winter's evening, visiting her poor clients, she might be seen, moving along in wind and rain, carrying a lantern in one hand and holding her cloak tightly around her with the other. No matter what lawless characters might be abroad, it may well be conceived no one would molest *her*. There is something in the human heart which intuitively recognizes and pays homage to true greatness of soul—that greatness which, wholly divested of self, labors, and endures, and lives only for one's indigent and suffering fellow-creatures. And thus, oftentimes, when that poorly-clad figure appeared, although sensitively shrinking from observation, it is recorded that the brawler's voice was instantly hushed, and many a head was reverently uncovered, and many a fervent blessing followed in her path, as she silently passed along, on her mission of charity.

May we not well imagine, too, that more than one child of sin and shame was converted by such an example; that the careless liver, when he beheld this delicately nurtured lady thus sacrificing herself for the welfare of her poorer fellow-creatures, became thenceforward 'a wiser and a better man;' and that, in many an humble home, when the innocent little children returned from her schools, and repeated at night the prayers which she had taught them, and, on first awaking in the morning, offered their hearts and the actions of the day to God, the better nature of the parents asserted itself, and, strengthened and upheld by supernatural grace, led them to turn toward Him, for whom she lived and labored, and in whom, even though careless and erring they might be, they firmly believed.

The Ursuline Convent and School at Cork.

As years moved on, Miss Nagle's incessant labors necessarily began to affect her constitution. Although she bore up bravely, and, as we can gather from her letters, persuaded herself that her health was excellent; 'the spitting of blood' and failing strength reminded her that something must ere long be done to insure the perpetuation of the good work after her lifetime. She therefore resolved to put into execution as speedily as possible her long cherished project of establishing a convent in Cork, and to this object thenceforward, without her schools being neglected, her fortune, her energies, her untiring exertions were devoted. From certain clergymen she received most valuable coöperation, especially from her confessor, the Rev. Mr. Doran, S.J., and from the Abbé Moylan, afterward Catholic Bishop of Cork. Four Irish young ladies generously consented to

devote themselves to this arduous mission, and for the purpose, entered the novitiate, in the Ursuline Convent of Saint Jacques, Paris. Their names were, Miss Fitzsimons, the special friend and correspondent of the foundress; Miss Nagle, her relative; Miss Coppinger, of the Barryscourt family, and cousin of Marian, Duchess of Norfolk; and Miss Kavanagh, related to the noble house of Ormonde. Meanwhile, Miss Nagle was busily engaged in Cork about her new foundation. She built the convent in Douglas street, and made all the necessary arrangements for the reception of the young community. As a measure of prudence, she proceeded in the affair, for a considerable time, without the cognizance of even her own family, and informed them of it only when it was in such a forward state as to make success certain. This we learn from her letter, writen to Miss Fitzsimons, from Bath, on July 20, 1770. She states that she had gone over for the purpose of seeing her brothers, and informing them of her project. She describes their amazement and apprehension at first, but how, in the end, they rejoiced at what she had done, when they found that the undertaking gave such promise of success. 'It gives them all great pleasure,' she continues, 'that I should be the means of promoting such a good work, and my sisters-in-law are as eager to get good subjects for it as we could be. I hope you will approve of my manner of acting, as the less noise is made about affairs of this kind in this country the better.'

In another letter written to Miss Fitzsimons from Cork, later in the same year, she expresses her anxiety that the ladies making their novitiate in Paris for the Cork house should fully qualify themselves as teachers, in order to be able to impart suitable secular instruction to the young ladies who would be sent to their pension school, 'as there is such a general complaint, both in this kingdom and in England, that the children are taught only to say their prayers. As for spiritual matters, I am sure the nuns will take care of these.'

Toward the close of the spring of the year 1771, the Abbé Moylan proceeded from Cork to Paris, to conduct the young community to its destination. As the four young ladies had received only the white vail, and as the mother superior of a convent must be a professed nun, a difficulty arose, when it was found that not one of the French professed sisters of Saint Jacques was willing to accompany them to Ireland. This might well have been expected; for, bad as were the penal laws by which Ireland was then oppressed, foreigners must naturally have entertained even exaggerated notions of the dangers awaiting a religious community daring to establish itself in

that country. But the difficulty was removed by the charity of an Irish lady, Mrs. Margaret Kelly, a professed nun of the Ursulines in Dieppe, who consented to proceed to Cork with the young community, and preside over them until their profession, when one of their number could take her place, and enable her to return to France. After a protracted journey, very different in every respect from the easy traveling of the present day, they arrived at Cove, Cork Harbor, on May 9, 1771. Their convent not being quite completed, they occupied meanwhile an adjoining house in Douglas street. It was on September 18, 1771, they entered their convent; and this is the date of the establishment of the Ursuline order in Ireland—of the reintroduction into the United Kingdom of conventual institutions, suppressed at the Reformation.*

The Ursuline order was founded at Brescia, a city of northern Italy, by Saint Angela of Merici, in 1532, for the education of young girls, rich and poor. It was approved of by Pope Paul III., as a religious congregation, under the name of Saint Ursula, in 1544, and was obliged to inclosure, and declared a religious order, under the rule of Saint Augustine, by Gregory XIII., in 1572, at the solicitation of Saint Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. Its special function is the education of young ladies, although there is generally a school for poor girls also, attached to each convent of the order. The new Ursuline community of Cork opened their school for young ladies in January, 1772, commencing with twelve pupils. These numbers rapidly and largely increased, as the opportunity was eagerly availed of by parents in different parts of Ireland, who previously had been obliged either to send their children for education to the Continent, or to have them taught in their own homes. The community also took charge of Miss Nagle's poor schools, adjoining the convent.

The Cork Ursuline community rapidly grew and prospered. Several ladies immediately joined it. One of the first was Miss Moylan, sister of the future bishop, who entered December, 1771, in her eighteenth year. She lived to the venerable age of ninety, having spent seventy-two years within the convent walls, and filled, several times, the office of Mother Superior.

A branch of the order, a filiation of the Cork house, was established in Thurles in 1789, and one in Waterford in 1816. There

* Some few convents, on a reduced scale, of Dominicanesses, Poor Clares, and others, as we shall see further on, secretly existed in some parts of the United Kingdom; but this special foundation of Miss Nagle, for educational purposes, may be regarded as the reintroduction or revival of conventual institutions in these countries.

are also convents in Sligo and Upton, near Stratford. All have large boarding schools for young ladies, besides free schools for poor girls.

In 1825, the Cork Ursulines removed from the convent in Douglas street, originally built for their reception by Miss Nagle, to a fine residence, with extensive grounds attached, on the banks of the Lee, at Blackrock, about two miles below the city, as being more suitable than the house they first occupied for the main object of their institute—the education of young ladies.

THE NUNS OF THE PRESENTATION.

Greatly as Miss Nagle rejoiced at the success of her foundation—at the vast good certain to accrue from the labors of the Ursuline institute in Cork, and its gradual extension throughout the country—she found, after a few months' experience, that the order was not adequate to meet the peculiar necessities of the times; inasmuch as its main function was the education of the children of the rich, and although the nuns labored assiduously in her beloved poor schools, this with them was but a secondary work, and they could not devote themselves to it exclusively, as she had intended they should, without a violation of the constitutions of their order. This was to her a grave disappointment; and yet, in the designs of Divine Providence, although she did not see it at the time, the community which she had established afterward largely contributed, as indeed it was essential, to the success of her great project; for it became the nursery of that order of which she was yet to be the foundress, and, for many years, furnished from among its pupils subjects for the several convents of the Presentation in Ireland.

Retiring to a house next the new convent, along with some pious ladies who had joined her for the purpose, she formed a society, to be named 'Of the Presentation of our Blessed Lady in the Temple.' The objects of the society were—going through the city, looking after poor girls; inducing them to attend school; and instructing them in their religion; and, further, visiting, relieving, and consoling the sick poor in their own homes, and in the public hospitals—duties analogous to those now discharged by the Sisters of Charity, and Sisters of Mercy. This association, approved of by the Bishop of the diocese, commenced its work on Christmas day, 1777, when fifty poor persons were entertained at dinner by the foundress, who, with her associates, waited on them at table. This practice she continued for life.

About this time she established her Asylum for aged females.

The stranger now visiting the neighborhood of the South Presentation Convent in Cork, will be struck by a handsome building of red stone, with limestone dressings, abutting on the street, and, on inquiry, will be informed that it is Miss Nagle's Asylum for old women; but who she was, his casual informant will probably be unable to tell. For ninety years now, this good work, like her other good works, has been going on ; and thus, during that lengthened period, many a respectable aged woman has been saved from either the work-house or slow starvation, and enabled to close her life in ease, ministered to by the good nuns of the Presentation order.

The establishment of a house of refuge for fallen women, to be supported by the labor of the inmates, was her next undertaking; but this she was not destined to accomplish. Her mission had been already fulfilled; and it was time she should be called to her reward. In the commencement of 1784, an incessant cough and other ailments gave warning of her approaching end. Thenceforward she rapidly declined; and on April 26, of that year, fortified by the rites of the church, and surrounded by her little community, to whom, on being urged to say something, she addressed, as her last exhortation, the words, 'Love one another as you have hitherto done,' she calmly expired in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirtieth of her heroic career of charity.

After Miss Nagle's death, the Sisters of the Presentation fully carried out the precepts, and acted up to the example, bequeathed them by their beloved foundress. So abundant was the fruit of their labors, that the Bishops of other dioceses were anxious that the good work should be extended to their flocks. With a view to this, Doctor Moylan, Bishop of Cork, made application to the Holy See for its approval of the congregation, which, thus far, had existed only by episcopal sanction.

In the Catholic Church, no religious order or congregation can be permanently established or extended, unless it is approved of by the Pope, who, for this purpose, must be fully informed and satisfied as to its scope, objects, and rule and constitutions. Then, if, after the experience of some years' further working, it is still approved of, it is confirmed by the Holy See.

Conformably with the petition thus made to him, Pope Pius VI. addressed a brief, under date September 3, 1791, to Francis, Bishop of Cork, approving of the pious institute of Charitable Instruction, established in the city of Cork, and authorizing him to extend the same to all other cities, towns, and places in Ireland, with the con-

sent of the ordinaries.* The brief directed that the religious should observe rules and constitutions approaching, as near as possible, to those of the Order of Saint Ursula, and, also that, having completed the time of probation, they should make simple vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and a vow of persevering in the said holy purpose of charitable instruction. The nature of simple and solemn vows will be explained further on.

In a few years, the mother house in Cork sent forth five colonies, which, among many others, are, to this day, flourishing institutions; viz., to Killarney, in 1793; George's Hill, Dublin, in 1794; the northern district of the city of Cork, in 1799; and Waterford and Kilkenny, both in 1800.

In the year 1805 it appeared desirable to the Bishops, and to the several communities themselves, that, to meet the educational necessities of the times, as well as to insure the consolidation and perpetuity of the institute, it should be formed into a religious order, with solemn vows and a law of inclosure, and should confine itself exclusively to the work of charitable instruction, necessarily omitting the visitation and relief of the sick poor in the public hospitals and their own homes, which heretofore formed part of its objects.

Accordingly, application having been made to the Holy See, his Holiness Pope Pius VII., on April 9, 1805, issued a brief addressed to his venerable brother, Francis Bishop of Cork, approving of the members of the Institute of Pious Instruction being transferred from the state of members of a simple congregation to that of a religious order, under the title and invocation of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of their being admitted, on the expiration of the time of probation, to the profession of solemn vows, with the addition of a fourth vow, namely, that of educating and instructing young girls, especially the poor, in the precepts and rudiments of the Catholic faith. The brief recites, at full length, the rules and constitutions, confirms the same, and directs that the religious in future shall live under these rules, be subject to the ordinary, and observe the law of inclosure.

It may be well to explain here that it is only inclosed or cloistered nuns, such as the Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicanesses of the second order, Poor Clares, Augustinians, the other ancient orders, the Ursulines, and the Presentation Nuns above mentioned, are religious *orders*. Those who go out to minister to the sick, to

* An ordinary is one having ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical, such as a Bishop in his diocese, or the dean or vicar-capitular, should the see be vacant.

visit hospitals, to relieve the poor in their own homes, and to fulfill other extern offices of charity, are *congregations*. This is the general rule. However, there are a few institutes, such as the nuns of the Good Shepherd, observing the law of inclosure, which are simply congregations.

The vows taken by nuns belonging to religious orders, bound by a law of inclosure, and thus entirely segregated from the world, are called solemn vows, and are invariably taken for life. To constitute a solemn vow, it must be prescribed and accepted as such by the Holy See.

The vows taken by the members of religious congregations, which, with a few exceptions, are not bound by the law of inclosure, and are a later institution in the Church, are called simple vows. Simple vows are either for life, or for a certain number of years, or for one year. Thus, the Irish Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Nuns of the Good Shepherd, take simple vows for life; while the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul take simple vows for one year only, annually renewable. It is scarcely necessary to observe that a simple vow is fully as binding as a solemn vow, in the religious life.

Rules and Constitutions of the Presentation Order.

The Rules and Constitutions of the Presentation Order drawn up by Doctor Moylan, Bishop of Cork, in close conformity with those of the Institute of Saint Ursula, and corroborated by the suffrages of other Irish Bishops, August 15, 1793, were confirmed by an Apostolic brief, April 9, 1805.

They commence as follows:—

1. The Sisters admitted into this Religious Congregation, besides the principal and general end of all Religious Orders, such as particularly attending to the perfecting of themselves in the way of the Lord, must also have in view what is peculiarly characteristic of this institute, that is, a most serious application to the instruction of poor female children in the principles of Religion and Christian Piety. In undertaking this very arduous, but meritorious task, the Sisters, whom God is graciously pleased to call to this state of perfection, shall encourage themselves, and animate their fervor and zeal, by the example of their Divine Master, who testified on all occasions a tender love for little children, expressed the greatest pleasure on their approaching Him, and declareth that *Whosoever receiveth these little ones in His name receiveth Himself.* They shall also consider, that in cultivating the tender minds of young children, by impressing on them a horror for vice and the love of virtue, and by instructing them in the duties of religion, they are associated to the functions of those heavenly spirits, whom God has appointed guardian angels, to watch over and direct them in the ways of eternal salvation.

2. It is a duty incumbent on the Sisters, to teach the children daily the Catechism, which they shall explain to them briefly and simply, adapting their language to the age and capacity of the children.

3. They shall teach the children to offer themselves up to God from the first

use of reason, and, when they awake in the morning, to raise up their hearts to Him, adore his Sovereign Majesty, return thanks to Him for all his favors, and arm themselves with the sign of the cross. They shall instruct them how to offer all their thoughts, words, and actions to God's glory, implore his grace to know and love Him, and to fulfill his commandments, how they are to examine their consciences every night, and to honor and respect their parents.

4. They shall teach them how to prepare for Confession, and to confess their sins with all sincerity and contrition. They shall be ever attentive to dispose them for the sacrament of Confirmation, and for their first Communion.

5. As the poor are the main object and particular end of this pious institute, it is hereby enacted as a statute, inviolably to be observed, that the Sisters of this religious institute shall admit none into their schools but poor children: nor can they receive money or any other temporal emolument for instruction, contenting themselves with the glorious retribution promised to those *who instruct many to justice.*

6. Should, however, this institute be established in villages, or country towns where there are no proper schools for the education of girls, then it may be allowed, with the express leave and approbation of the Bishop of the diocese, to admit the children of persons in easy circumstances into their schools; but the emoluments received on those occasions are not to be applied to the use of the Sisters, but to the relief of the poor children. If the poor children be so numerous as to require the whole attention of the Sisters, they are not, under any pretext, to charge themselves with the care of others. Pensioners or lodgers, whether young or old, shall not, on any account, be received into their Convents, with an exception in favor of a Foundress, or a very principal benefactress.

The second chapter of the Rules and Constitutions, having immediate reference to 'the schools,' is of much interest. It runs thus:—

Of the Schools.

1. The schools for the poor children shall be within the inclosure, and shall be proportioned to the number of religious capable of attending, without too much overcharging or distressing themselves.

2. The Sisters appointed by the Mother Superior to attend the schools shall with all zeal, charity, and humility, purity of intention and confidence in God, undertake the charge, and cheerfully submit to every labor and fatigue annexed thereto, mindful of their vocation, and of the glorious recompense attached to the faithful discharge of their duty.

3. When the mistresses enter the schools they shall lift up their hearts to God, and to the Queen of Heaven, and then salute with all reverence interiorly the Guardian Angels of the children, recommending themselves and the dear little ones to their care and protection. They shall endeavor to inspire the children with a sincere devotion to the passion of Jesus Christ, to his real presence in the most Holy Sacrament, to the immaculate Mother of God, and to their Guardian Angels.

4. The scholars in each school shall be divided into classes of ten or twelve, according to their total number; and over every class the mistress shall appoint one of the most advanced and most regular scholars as a superintendent, to watch over the others, to keep them in order, make them give an account of their lessons and catechism, inform her of the absentees, and acquaint her of any impropriety they may be guilty of, either in or out of school.

5. In every school there shall be a book, in which the mistress shall register the names and ages of the children at their entrance, the names of their parents, their occupations in life, and places of abode, and the year, month, and day in which the children were received into the school.

6. The children shall be taught reading, writing, needlework, and spinning. The hours of the school shall be, in the morning, from nine untill twelve and a quarter; and in the evening from one till half past three o'clock.

7. At a quarter before twelve, silence shall be observed in the schools, to accustom the children to recollect themselves in the presence of God; and to

afford the Sisters an opportunity of making their particular examen. Then the *Angelus Domini*, with the acts of contrition, faith, hope, and charity, shall be said.

8. Half an hour before the school breaks up in the evening, a spiritual lecture shall be delivered to the children out of some instructive book, suited to their capacity; or a meditation not too sublime for their understanding, in order thus to forward and direct them in true and solid piety. For this purpose such books alone shall be chosen, as shall be deemed proper and approved of by the Ordinary. The day's studies to conclude by prayer.

9. The schools shall be kept as clean and as airy as possible. The Mother Superior, or her assistant, shall visit them at least once a week.

10. This section simply specifies the times of vacation.

11. On the days of vacation, and whenever the Sisters are disengaged from the schools, they shall be always ready to instruct such poor ignorant women as may be recommended to them by the parochial clergy, in their prayers and the principal mysteries of religion, in the commandments of God, and of his Church, in the acts of contrition, faith, hope, and charity, and in the necessary dispositions for a good confession and a worthy communion.

Besides the active duties of charity here referred to, the rules and constitutions treat, at length, of the paramount obligation, incumbent on the Sisters, of laboring, assiduously and incessantly, in the sanctification of their own souls. There are several chapters bearing on this important subject; such as those on the office and mental prayer, on the religious vows, on spiritual retreats and the annual renewal of vows, on the employment of time, on humility, on union and charity, and on the perfection of their ordinary actions. Of these it will suffice here to quote the two last, in which, to a great extent, the others are comprised, and which appropriately illustrate the spirit of the religious life—that spirit which animates all orders and congregations of women in these countries.

The Perfection of the Ordinary Actions.

1. The perfection of the Religious Soul depends not so much on doing extraordinary actions, as on doing *extraordinarily well* the ordinary actions and exercises of every day. In this particularly consists the difference between the perfect and imperfect in every religious community. Their daily duties and exercises are common, and the same for all—the manner of performing them distinguishes the one from the other.

2. The Sisters of this religious congregation shall therefore endeavor to acquit themselves of the ordinary duties and functions of their institute with all possible care and attention, according to the advice of the Holy Ghost, *The good you ought to do, do it well;* viz., their daily prayers, their examen of conscience, their assisting at mass, their office,* spiritual lectures, school duties, meals, recreations, and their respective employments. By performing all and every one of these duties *well*, they shall perfect themselves, and their day shall be *full* of merit and good works.

3. But in order to perform these ordinary exercises *well*, with a view to their own perfection, they must, in doing them, have the *purest intention* of pleasing God. God, and God alone, must be the principal motive of all their actions. It is this *pure intention* of pleasing God. that characterizes the good work, and renders it valuable and meritorious. Without this, the most laborious functions of the institute, the greatest austerities, the most heroic actions and sacrifices are of little value, and are divested of that merit which flows from a pure and upright intention; while, on the contrary, when they are accompanied by it, actions, which are the most trivial and indifferent in themselves, become virtu-

* Office. Certain prayers and psalms recited by all nuns, every day.

ous, valuable, and meritorious of eternal life. Nothing is lost—every work and action fructifies—the religious soul enriches herself every moment, and lays up treasures of glory for an endless eternity.

4. The Sisters should consider this purity of intention in all their works, not merely as a simple practice of piety, but as an essential duty of religion. They shall therefore most studiously watch over themselves, and guard against the insinuations of *subtle self-love*, lest they lose the merit of their labors and good works, by self-complacency or vain glory, or by having some other motive or end in view in their actions than to please the Almighty God. They are never to act from mere inclination, whim, or caprice, much less from passion; but their every action should be performed with regularity and exactness in all its circumstances, and, with the utmost fervor, be referred by them solely to the Divine honor and glory, in union with the most holy actions and infinite merits of Jesus Christ. They shall therefore not only make a general offering, in the morning, to God of the works and actions of the day, but also at the commencement of every action in particular, purify their motive, by offering it up to God, having always in mind and engraved on their hearts, this important advice of the Apostle,—*Whether you eat, or whether you drink, or whatever else you do, do all for the glory of God, and in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

5. The means by which the Sisters may preserve this purity of intention, and perform *well* all their actions, both ordinary and extraordinary, are:—1. To perform all their actions in the presence of God, considering that God sees them, and that on the manner in which they perform these works He will pronounce sentence on them. 2. To do every work in particular, as if it were the only work they had to do. By this they will avoid all hurry and precipitation in their actions. 3. To do the duties and works of every day, as if that day were to be the last of their mortal life; ever mindful of this advice of their Heavenly Spouse. *Watch—be always prepared—you know not the day nor the hour, in which you may be called upon.*

On Union and Charity.

1. *Love one another as I have loved you.*—This was the special command of Jesus Christ to his Apostles; and in the accomplishment of this divine precept, inseparably united as it is with the grand precept of the love of God, consists, according to the Apostle, *the plenitude of the Law.* This mutual love our blessed Saviour desires may be so perfect as to resemble, in some manner, the love and union which subsists between himself and his Heavenly Father. This He inculcated, in the strongest terms, at the last conference of his mortal life with his beloved disciples. This was his last dying injunction, which, as a most valuable legacy, He bequeathed to all his followers; and by this they were to prove themselves to be really his disciples.

2. This mutual union and love should, therefore, eminently characterize religious souls. This should distinguish them above all others, as faithful spouses and servants of Jesus Christ. The Sisters of this pious institute, founded and grounded on charity, should therefore make that favorite virtue of their Divine Master their own most favorite virtue. This they should study to maintain, and cherish so perfectly among themselves as to live together as if they had but *one heart and one soul in God.* This love for one another should be such as to emulate the love and union of the blessed in heaven.

3. They shall, therefore, in conversation, manners, and conduct, most cautiously avoid whatever may in the least disturb their union, or lessen in the smallest degree their mutual love and charity.

4. They shall be ready on all occasions to help and assist one another, bearing with patience and charity each other's defects, weaknesses, and imperfections. They shall never enter into disputes or altercations; but, should they happen to differ in opinion on any subject, they shall propose their reasons with coolness, moderation, and charity.

The above extracts from the Rules and Constitutions of the Presentation Order apply equally to all orders and congregations. In reading them, even the most unreflecting must be convinced that

the great essential of a religious life—the sanctifying of one's own soul, the constant aiming at perfection—is a powerful aid toward fulfilling and carrying out, perseveringly to the end, those active duties of charity to their neighbors which the Sisters have undertaken. What paid servants, what volunteers, no matter how good or how zealous, whose attention is divided between such duties and worldly affairs, can discharge the holy offices of Christian charity in the manner in which they are ever discharged by those who devote their whole lives, their every thought, and every aspiration, to the performance of those offices, from the sole motive of the love of God?

The Presentation is essentially and exclusively an order for the education of the poor. Although this is not the main function of several other orders and congregations of religious women, they nearly all have poor schools, and follow the same system, or one like it.

The Convents are those of the city of Cork, South, opened in 1777, in which is also an Asylum for Aged Women; the city of Cork, North; Bandon; Doneraile; Youghal; Middleton; Fermoy; Mitchelstown; Limerick; Killarney; Tralee; Dingle; Milltown; Cahirciveen; Millstreet; Listowel; Castleisland; Thurles, attached to which is also a certified Industrial School; Cashel, with an orphanage, and a certified Industrial School; Fethard; Ballingarry, in the center of the colliery district; Waterford; Dungarven; Clonmel; Carrick-on-Suir; Lismore; George's Hill, Dublin; Roundtown, near Dublin; Maynooth; Clondalkin; Lucan; Kilkenny; Castlecomer; Mountcoin; Carlow; Mayborough; Kildare; Bagenalstown; Clane; Stradbally; Portarlington; Mountmellick; Wexford; Enniscorthy; Drogheda; Rahan; Mullingar; Granard; Tuam; Galway; and Oranmore; being fifty convents in Ireland.

There is one convent in England, that of Livesay street, Manchester, opened in 1835. It has a female orphanage, and poor schools, attended by 475 day and 500 Sunday Scholars. The Presentation Nuns of Manchester are most favorably spoken of by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, as teachers, and also as trainers of schoolmistresses; and, furthermore, that their Infant Schools are assigned a place in 'the first rank, under very successful mistresses.'

All the communities follow the same rule, and are animated by the same spirit; but there is no generalate, each community governing itself, and being under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese in which it is situated. Some of the convents in Ireland accept the aid of the National Board of Education for their schools; others do not.

DAUGHTERS OF THE CROSS.

The Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, was founded at Liége, in Belgium, in 1833. It was approved of by the Holy See in 1845, and its constitutions were confirmed in 1851. It is composed of choir Sisters and lay Sisters;* and is governed by a Superioress-General, who resides at the mother house at Liége. The novitiate is for two years. The end of the institute is 'the glory of God and the sanctification of the Sisters, by means of external works of charity, performed in an interior spirit.' No work of mercy, of whatever kind, is considered foreign to this.

I.—THE MOTHER HOUSE, LIEGE, 1833.

The distinguishing characteristic of the mother house naturally consists in its being the center of the congregation, and the establishment where the young Sisters are formed to the spirit of the institute, and trained to the works of charity in which, later on, they will be employed. One of the best means of attaining this end has been found to be the instruction of children, both on account of the self-devotion which this occupation demands, and because of the habits of order, firmness, and exactness, which the discipline of the schools tends to produce.

The mother house possesses several important educational establishments. These are, the poor schools, founded in 1833, and attended by about 300 children; a day school for the upper and middle classes, numbering from 130 to 140 pupils; and another for a less wealthy class, of nearly the same number.

The Sisters also superintend a work-room, where young girls, besides being taught work, receive lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

During a great part of the year, religious instruction is given, after school hours, to children who are unable to attend the schools.

There is also a Sunday school for young girls.

The sick poor are daily visited at their own homes, at the request of the parish priest, or of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

A boarding school for young ladies was opened in 1864 at the mother house. There are now fifty boarders, of whom the greater number are about the age of fifteen. The building and grounds of this establishment are extensive and beautiful. The boarders have no communication whatever with the day scholars, the classes for both being quite distinct.

II.—PRISON OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT, LIEGE, 1841.

The direction of the female prisoners, intrusted to the Sisters, who reside in the prison, has proved a frequent source of conversions. The aids of religion, by which these unhappy women are surrounded, lead them quickly to perceive where they ought to seek for peace and happiness. Every day they receive religious instruction; they are helped to make a good confession; they approach

* Choir Sisters, so called because they recite the Divine office in the choir, are those who perform the general functions of the order, such as the education of girls, rich and poor, ministering in the hospitals, visiting the sick, &c. Lay Sisters are taken from a lower class, and are engaged in the menial duties of convents.

the sacraments; and, when their time of detention has expired, those who desire to lead a new life, and who, being still young, might be exposed to dangerous occasions, find an asylum ready to receive them in the Refuge, which has been opened for liberated prisoners.

III.—HOUSE OF REFUGE, LIEGE, 1842.

The object of this establishment is to bring back to the paths of virtue young girls who have gone astray. Women who have fallen, and liberated prisoners, are received here, when they show sentiments of sincere repentance.

From the opening of the Refuge, on the 1st of April, 1842, to the 31st December, 1868, there have been received into it 1,508 penitents, of whom 578 have returned to their families, after giving proofs of amendment, 458 have been placed in service, 113 have been sent to other establishments, 37 are dead, 15 are married, 185 have left at their own request, 33 have been expelled for insubordination. The number of inmates amounted to 89 at the end of the year 1868.

A Society of Ladies interests itself in the work of the Refuge, and collects subscriptions for the support of the establishment.

IV.—PARISH OF STE. VERONIQUE, LIEGE, 1842.

In this parish, the Sisters conduct an educational establishment similar to that of the mother house. It is situated at the opposite extremity of the town. The schools for the upper classes number about 120 pupils, and the average attendance at the poor schools is about 240.

Here also is a work-room for young women, to whom an hour's instruction is given daily, and a Patronage, or agency for procuring employment, frequented by about 120 young girls.

V.—HOSPITAL FOR FALLEN WOMEN, LIEGE, 1851.

The Sisters in this establishment devote themselves to the conversion of the most degraded members of society. Many of these poor creatures had scarcely heard of God before their unhappy fall. Once in the hospital, they assist daily at the holy sacrifice of the Mass, in a room opening on to the chapel, and receive religious instruction. Every year, a large number of these poor women, moved by the holy influences of the place, and touched by the untiring charity of the Sisters, who are there only to labor for their salvation, after cutting off their hair as an outward token of their conversion, repair to the House of Refuge above mentioned, to begin in it a new life; others return to their families, or are placed in suitable situations. There are few works of charity in which the conversions are so numerous or so remarkable.

VI.—PARISH OF ST. MARTIN, LIEGE, 1851.

House of Preservation for Young Girls—Poor Schools.—The object of this establishment is to rescue young girls, of from 13 to 17 years of age, from the dangers attendant on extreme poverty, or from any perilous position in which they may find themselves placed, to give them suitable instruction, especially in their religion, to teach them trades, to form them to habits of industry, and generally to make them useful members of society. This work is one of preservation, as the Refuge is one of reformation.

The number of these children is generally about 50.

On leaving the establishment, the young girls are placed either in service or

in business, according to their capacities, by the ladies who are associated together for the support of this good work.

The girls' poor schools of this parish, conducted by the Sisters, are attended by over 200 children.

VII.—PARISH OF STE. FOI, LIEGE, 1865.

Middle Class and Poor Schools.—For more than twenty-five years, three Sisters went daily from the mother house to the parish of Sainte Foi, a mile distant, to teach the schools there. Owing to the increase of pupils, it was found necessary to establish a community on the spot in 1865.

The average number attending these schools is 300.

VIII.—CHENIE, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1842.

The works here are:—Instruction of Children; Visiting the Sick Poor· and a Boarding School.

The schools are attended by about 300 pupils.

IX.—REICKHEIM, PROVINCE OF LIMBURG, 1843.

Work-house and Government Schools.—The work-house of Reickheim contains from four to five hundred individuals of both sexes. The women's quarters, which are quite separated from those of the men, have been intrusted to the care of the Sisters, who give the women religious instruction, and direct the sewing and spinning departments, as well as the whole domestic economy of the house. The Sisters have, besides this, the charge of the men's and women's hospital, and of the quarters set apart for the infirm.

It is well known that a work-house contains within it every kind of human suffering. The Sisters find there a wide field for the exercise of their zeal and charity, having to alleviate both the spiritual and corporal miseries of the inmates.

The greatest consolation which they experience in this mission arises from witnessing the pious and edifying deaths of the poor inmates, who die, for the most part, in the best dispositions.

Two Sisters teach the Government schools of the place. The number of pupils is about 140.

X.—STAVELOT, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1844.

Home for the Aged and Infirm—Orphanage—Upper Class Schools—Poor Schools.—This fine establishment is an ancient Benedictine Abbey.

From 40 to 50 aged poor of both sexes are received into the Home, and about the same number of orphans.

The schools are attended by about 150 pupils.

XI.—SPA, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1847.

Home for the Aged, Infirm, and Sick—Government Schools—Night School.—The Home is for the aged of both sexes. Some rooms are set apart for the sick poor of the town, and for strangers who visit Spa during the season.

The Government schools are also confided to the Sisters, and are attended by 370 pupils.

There is also a night school, which numbers from 60 to 80 young girls.

Two Congregations, one for ladies and the other for young ladies, are held weekly in the school-house.

XII.—PEPINSTER, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1857.

Day Schools—Infant Schools—Night School for Factory Girls.—The total number of pupils is about 250.

XIII.—ST. TROND, PROVINCE OF LIMBURG, 1859.

The Sisters, who were invited here by the Bishop of Liége, occupy a building adjoining the Little Seminary. They superintend the domestic economy of this establishment, and attend the seminarists when ill; the infirmary forming part of the premises occupied by the Sisters.

XIV.—SPA, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1862.

Boarding School.—At the request of the inhabitants of this town, the Daughters of the Cross opened a boarding school in 1862. The establishment is a fine one and beautifully situated.

XV.—MONS, VILLAGE IN THE PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1862.

The Sisters have schools frequented by more than 100 pupils. A night school is also numerously attended.

XVI.—WAREMME, PROVINCE OF LIEGE, 1866.

Boarding School—Day Schools.—These schools are numerously attended.

RHENISH PRUSSIA.

XVII.—ASPEL, NEAR REES, LOWER RHINE, 1851.

German Novitiate—Boarding School—Free School.—To this magnificent establishment, where the young German Sisters are formed, there is annexed a boarding school for young ladies.

A school for poor children has been established there, at the expense of the Sisters. At Christmas time there is a general distribution of clothes to these poor children, made by the young ladies of the boarding school.

XVIII.—REES, 1851.

Hospital—Visiting the Sick—Upper Class School—Poor School—Infant School.—Rees, a small town, a short distance from Aspel, possesses an hospital for the sick of both sexes, under the care of the Sisters. The sick are also visited and nursed in their own homes.

The Sisters have besides an upper class school for young ladies, containing about 30 pupils, a Government school, of 150 children, and two infant schools.

XIX.—DUSSELDORF, 1852.

Hospital—Nursing the Sick at Home—Visiting the Poor.—The house at Dusseldorf is an old Carmelite convent, beautiful and spacious. There is a public church attached to it. The Sisters have charge of a large Hospital. Some of them nurse the sick at home, and some are employed in visiting the poor.

XX.—WESEL, 1853.

Upper Class Schools—Government, and Infant Schools.—The Sisters have:—

1st.—Classes for higher instruction, numbering from 70 to 80 young ladies.

2nd.—The middle schools and infant schools, containing 180 children.

3rd.—A Government school, frequented by 230 pupils.

XXI.—EMMERICH, 1854.

Upper Class Schools—Government and Infant Schools—Orphanage.—These schools are precisely similar to those at Wesel.

In 1861, a fine Orphanage, until then under the charge of lay persons, was confided to the Sisters.

Since January, 1863, the Government schools have been placed under the direction of the Sisters.

These different schools are attended by about 500 pupils, of whom more than 80 follow the upper classes or higher branches of instruction.

XXII.—MALMEDY, 1854.

Boarding School—Upper Class Schools—Orphanage—Government Schools—Infant Day Asylum.—Malmedy, the principal town of the small Walloon part of the Rhine Province, required a religious community, containing members who could speak both German and French.

The Sisters have charge of all the educational establishments for girls and infants in the town. These schools, under different heads, are attended by about 400 pupils.

Besides the poor school, there is a day asylum, where little children are taken care of by the Sisters, from half past seven in the morning until five or six o'clock in the evening. Since 1864, an Orphanage has been intrusted to them.

XXIII.—XANTEN, 1855.

Upper Class School—Government and Infant Schools—Hospital—Nursiug of the Poor at Home.—The Sisters have charge of the Government and infant schools of the whole town—number of pupils 400.

They also conduct the upper class school, since 1862. They have charge of the Hospital, and nurse the sick at home, and visit the poor.

XXIV.—RATH, NEAR DUSSELDORF, 1857.

Boarding School—Training School—Government Schools.—The German and French boarding school contains from 60 to 70 boarders. Attached to it is the training school for schoolmistresses.

The Sisters teach the Government schools, frequented by about 170 scholars. They have also a Sunday school, and superintend a work-room for the young girls of the village.

XXV.—WERDEN, 1857.

Hospital—Upper School and Poor School—Work-Room for Young Girls—Visitation of the Poor.—The upper class school numbers 30 pupils; and the poor school from 70 to 80.

A large Hospital has been intrusted to the Sisters.

The Sisters have a wook-room for young girls. They visit the poor.

XXVI.—PEMPELFORT, SUBURBS OF DUSSELDORF, 1859.

This house was begun with a poor school, which numbers more than 60 children. The Sisters visit the sick and poor of the locality. They have a House of Refuge established in 1862, after the model of the Refuge at Liége.

XXVII.—WESEL, 1863.

Orphanage.—This is the second house of the Sisters in the town of Wesel. It is in a different parish from the other house.

It is a fine establishment, where orphans of both sexes are received.

A work-room for young girls is annexed.

XXVIII. AND XXIX.—DUISBURG AND FELDMARKT, 1865.

Government Schools—Private Schools—Work-Room.—In 1865, the Daughters of the Cross were invited to take charge of the Government schools established in the town. They opened at the same time private schools.

In 1867, a second establishment of the same kind was opened in another part of the town. No less than 942 children attended the schools in 1868.

XXX.—MALMEDY, 1866.

Home for the Infirm—Hospital for the Sick—Visiting the Poor.—This second house has been established at Malmedy, at the request of the members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, for the above mentioned works.

XXXI.—DUSSELDORF, 1868.

Day Schools.—In January, 1868, the Sisters opened a second establishment in this town, exclusively destined for the education of children. A large number of pupils belonging to the higher class attend these schools.

EAST INDIES

XXXII.—KURRACHEE, SCINDE, 1862.

Boarding School—Day Schools—Work-Room.—This foreign mission was undertaken at the request of Bishop Steins, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay. The Sisters conduct a boarding school for young ladies, day schools for the upper classes, and a work-room for poor girls.

XXXIII.—BANDORA, NEAR BOMBAY, 1864.

Asylum for Aged Poor—Orphanage—School.—On the arrival of the Sisters at Bombay, at the request of the bishop, in January, 1864, they began by receiving into a temporary asylum the aged poor, and the children who were confided to them. Some months later, they were established at Bandora, where a suitable building was erected for them, in which they take care of aged women, orphan children of both sexes, and little ones abandoned by their parents. The Orphanage contains 110 children. They have, besides, a school attended by English children and natives.

XXXIV.—BELGAUM, 1867.

Boarding School for Young Ladies—Day School.

XXXV.—CALCUTTA, 1868.

Asylum for Aged and Infirm Women—Home for Children.—Immediately on being transferred from Bombay to Calcutta, Archbishop Steins applied to the Superiors at Liége for Sisters to take charge of two new foundations in his vicariate: viz., one at Calcutta and one at Balasore, which they did in 1868.

XXXVI.—ENGLAND.

Boarding School—Day School—Poor School—Visiting the Sick.—Besides their private schools, in which superior instruction is given by competent mistresses, both English and foreign, the Sisters have the entire charge of the girls' poor school, at Cheltenham, which is under Government inspection.

Day Boarding School—Day School—Orphanage.—At Saint Wilfred's convent, Bond street, Chelsea, the Sisters conduct a day boarding school for young ladies, a day school for children of the middle classes, and an Orphanage, now containing seventy-eight girls, mostly work-house children. There is accommodation in the Orphanage for a much greater number.

7-7

THOMAS BEWICK AND ART CULTURE.

BIRTHPLACE AND SURROUNDINGS.

[THOMAS BEWICK was born at Cherry-burn House, near Eltringham, in 1753—the eldest son of a native who was a farmer, and rented also a colliery on Mickley Bank—a man of worth and positive character which was impressed deeply in the son's organization. As a boy he could not brook the restraints of home or school, of parents or teachers; and of the rude discipline of both he received a large share. But from his earliest years he was a close observer of the habits of animals, and of the curious phenomena of nature and life. In winter evenings he delighted to listen to traditional tales and songs, which in those days abounded in Northumberland. The artistic element in his organization found expression in rude scratching of figures with a pin, on the book-board, during church service, and at other times and places, of forced silence and quiet. The following extracts are from his Autobiography, composed after he attained the age of seventy, and published by his daughter in 1862.]

CHERRY-BURN HOUSE, the place of my nativity, and which for many years my eyes beheld with cherished delight, is situated on the south side of the Tyne, in the county of Northumberland, a short distance from the river. The house, stables, &c., stand on the west side of a little dean, at the foot of which runs a burn. The dean was embellished with a number of cherry and plum trees, which were terminated by a garden on the north. Near the house were two large ash trees, growing from one root; and, at a little distance, stood another of the same kind. At the south end of the premises was a spring well, overhung by a large hawthorn bush, behind which was a holly hedge; and further away was a little boggy dean, with underwood and trees of different kinds. Near the termination of this dean, toward the river, were a good many remarkably tall ash trees, and one of oak, supposed to be one of the tallest and straightest in the kingdom. On the top of these was a rookery, the sable inhabitants of which, by their consultations and cawings, and the bustle they made when building their nests, were among the first of the feathered race to proclaim the approaching spring. The cornfields and pastures to the eastward were surrounded with very large oak and ash trees. Indeed, at that time the country between Wylam and Bywell was beautified with a great deal of wood, which presented the appearance of a continued forest; but these are long since stubbed up.

To the westward, adjoining the house, lay the common or fell,

which extended some few miles in length and was of various breadths. It was mostly fine green-sward or pasturage, broken or divided, indeed, with clumps of 'blossomed whins,' foxglove, fern, and some junipers, and with heather in profusion, sufficient to scent the whole air. Near the burns, which guttered its sides, were to be seen the remains of old oaks, hollowed out by time, with alders, willows, and birch, which were often to be met with in the same state; and these seemed to me to point out the length of time that these domains had belonged to no one. On this common—the poor man's heritage for ages past, where he kept a few sheep, or a Kylse cow, perhaps a flock of geese, and mostly a stock of bee-hives—it was with infinite pleasure that I long beheld the beautiful wild scenery which was there exhibited, and it is with the opposite feelings of regret that I now find all swept away.

My Country Neighbors and Recreations.

These cottagers (at least those of them I knew) were of an honest and independent character, while at the same time they held the neighboring gentry in the greatest estimation and respect; and these again, in return, did not overlook them, but were interested in knowing that they were happy and well. Most of these poor men, from their having little intercourse with the world, were in all their actions and behavior truly original; and, except reading the Bible, local histories, and old ballads, their knowledge was generally limited. And yet one of these—'Will Bewick'—from being much struck with my performances, which he called pictures, became exceedingly kind to me, and was the first person from whom I gathered a sort of general knowledge of astronomy and of the magnitude of the universe. He had, the year through, noticed the appearances of the stars and the planets, and would discourse 'largely' on the subject. I think I see him yet, sitting on a mound or seat, by the edge of his garden, regardless of the cold, and intent upon viewing the heavenly bodies; pointing to them with his large hands, and eagerly imparting his knowledge to me with a strong voice, such as one now seldom hears. I well remember being much struck with his appearance—his stern looking brows, high cheek-bones, quick eye, and longish visage; and at his resolution (upon another occa sion) when he determined upon risking his own life to save that of another man. The latter, in the employ of my father, while at work as a pitman, had lost his way in the coal workings, and was missing for perhaps a day or two (my father being from home), when our old neighbor, just described, who was also a pitman and knew the

workings, equipped himself with every thing he thought necessary for so hazardous an undertaking; and, when he was about to go down the pit shaft, I felt much distressed at seeing my mother trembling in great agitation of mind for his safety and that of his lost associate. After traversing through the old workings of the colliery for a long time—so long, indeed, that it was feared he had also lost himself—he found the man alive, when, with his well known thundering voice, he called from the bottom of the shaft, 'All's well!' to the inexpressible joy of all who crowded the pit's mouth.

The conversations of the Nimrods of that day, in which the instincts and peculiar properties of the various wild animals were described in glowing terms, attracted my keenest attention; and to their rude and lengthened narratives I listened with extreme delight. With me they made a winter's evening fly fast away. At holiday times—and at other times, when prevented by the floods of the Tyne from getting across to school—I was sure, with the most ardent glee, to make one of the number in the hunting parties which frequently took place at that time: whether it might be in the chase of the fox or the hare, or in tracing the foumart in the snow, or hunting the badger at midnight. The pursuing, baiting, or killing these animals never at that time struck me as being cruel. The mind had not as yet been impressed with the feelings of humanity. This, however, came upon me at last; and the first time I felt the change happened by my having (in hunting) caught the hare in my arms while surrounded by the dogs and the hunters, when the poor, terrified creature screamed out so piteously—like a child—that I would have given any thing to have saved its life. In this, however, I was prevented; for a farmer well known to me, who stood close by, pressed upon me, and desired I would 'give her to him;' and, from his being better able (as I thought) to save its life, I complied with his wish. This was no sooner done than he proposed to those about him 'to have a bit more sport with her,' and this was to be done by first breaking one of its legs, and then again setting the poor animal off a little before the dogs. I wandered away to a little distance, oppressed by my own feelings, and could not join the crew again, but learned with pleasure that their intended victim had made its escape.

The 'musical din' of the hounds still continued to have its charms, and I still continued to follow them; but from that day forward I have ever wished that this poor, persecuted, innocent creature might escape with its life. The worrying of foxes, the

baiting of foumarts, otters, badgers, &c., did not awaken in me similar feelings; for in the fierce conflicts between them and the dogs, there was something like an exchange of retaliation, and not unfrequently the aggressors were beaten; and I have with pleasure seen that wonderfully courageous animal, the badger (with fair play), beat the dogs of a whole neighborhood, one after another, completely off.

In the vermin hunting excursions in the depth of winter, while the whole face of Nature was bound in frost and covered with deep snow, in traversing through bogs, amidst reeds, and rushes, I have often felt charmed with the sight of birds,—flushed, and sometimes caught by the terrier dogs,—which I had never seen or heard of before; and I am still in doubt whether some of them have not escaped being noticed as British birds.

I have before noticed that the first time I felt compassion for a dumb animal, was upon my having caught a hare in my arms. The next occurrence of the kind happened with a bird. I had, no doubt, knocked many down with stones before, but they had escaped being taken. This time, however, the little victim dropped from the tree, and I picked it up. It was alive, and looked me piteously in the face; and, as I thought, could it have spoken, it would have asked me why I had taken away its life. I felt greatly hurt at what I had done, and did not quit it all the afternoon. I turned it over and over, admiring its plumage, its feet, its bill, and every part of it. It was a bullfinch. I did not then know its name, but I was told it was a 'little Matthew Martin.' This was the last bird I killed; but many, indeed, have been killed since on my account.

As soon as the bushes and trees began to put forth their buds, and make the face of Nature look gay—this was the signal for the angler to prepare his fishing-tackle. In doing this I was not behindhand. Fishing rods, set gads, and night lines were all soon made fit for use, and with them, late and early, I had a busy time of it during the summer months, until the frosts of autumn forbade me to proceed. The uneasiness which my late evening wadings by the waterside gave to my father and mother, I have often since reflected upon with regret. They could not go to bed with the hopes of getting to sleep, while haunted with the apprehension of my being drowned; and well do I remember to this day my father's well known whistle, which called me home. He went to a little distance from the house, where nothing obstructed the sound, and whistled so loud through his finger and thumb, that in the still hours of evening it might be heard echoing up the vale of the Tyne to a very

great distance. This whistle I learned to imitate, and answered it as well as I could, and then posted home.

In that season I was also sometimes better employed in looking after a small flock of sheep on the fell, a part of which was my own. The extremity of the weather had taught them to seek a place of shelter under a steep but low 'brae,' overhung with whins, under which, in such weather, I was almost certain to find them and their associates all huddled together. To this place, through wreaths of snow, I early bent my way, with a bundle of hay on my back, and my pockets sometimes filled with oats, which I distributed amongst them. Upon these occasions, though at other times extremely wild, they were quite tame, and seemed to know me.

At that time of life, every season had its charms; and I recollect well of listening with delight, from the little window at my bed head, to the murmuring of the flooded burn which passed my father's house, and sometimes roused me from my bed to see what it was like. After this, my first and common employment was to 'muck' the byer; and when the servant girl did not come soon enough, I frequently tried my hand at milking the cows; and I was always particularly keen of being there in snow storms. When this was the case, within the byer door, I snugly watched the appearance of various birds which passed the little dean below, and which the severity of the weather drove from place to place in search of shelter. With the sight of my intimate acquaintances, the robins, wrens, blackbirds, sparrows, a solitary crow, and some others, I was not much attracted, but always felt an extreme pleasure and curiosity in seeing the more rare visitants,—such as the woodcock, the snipe, and other waders, with the red-wings, fieldfares, &c.

Engraver's Apprenticeship at Newcastle.

The first of October (1767) was the day fixed upon for the binding. The eventful day arrived at last, and a most grievous one it was to me. I liked my master (Ralph Beilby); I liked the business; but to part from the country, and to leave all its beauties behind me, with which I had been all my life charmed in an extreme degree,—and in a way I can not describe,—I can only say my heart was like to break; and, as we passed away, I inwardly bade farewell to the whinny wilds, to Mickley bank, to the Stobcross hill, to the water banks, the woods, and to particular trees, and even to the large hollow old elm, which had lain perhaps for centuries past on the haugh, near the ford we were about to pass, and which had sheltered the salmon fishers, while at work there, from many a bitter blast.

For some time after I entered the business, I was employed in copying 'Copeland's Ornaments;' and this was the only kind of drawing upon which I ever had a lesson given to me from any one. I was never a pupil to any drawing master, and had not even a lesson from William Beilby, or his brother Thomas, who, along with their other profession, were also drawing masters. In the latter years of my apprenticeship, my master kept me so fully employed that I never had any opportunity for such a purpose, at which I felt much grieved and disappointed. The first jobs I was put to do was blocking out the wood about the lines on the diagrams (which my master finished) for the 'Ladies' Diary,' on which he was employed by Charles Hutton, and etching sword blades for William and Nicholas Oley, sword manufacturers, &c., at Shotley Bridge. It was not long till the diagrams were wholly put into my hands to finish. After these, I was kept closely employed upon a variety of other jobs; for such was the industry of my master that he refused nothing, coarse or fine. He undertook every thing, which he did in the best way he could. He fitted up and tempered his own tools, and adapted them to every purpose, and taught me to do the same. This readiness brought him in an overflow of work, and the work place was filled with the coarsest kind of steel stamps, pipe molds, bottle molds, brass clock faces, door plates, coffin plates, bookbinder's letters and stamps, steel, silver, and gold seals, mourning rings, &c. He also undertook the engraving of arms, crests, and ciphers, on silver, and every kind of job for the silversmiths; also engraving bills of exchange, banknotes, invoices, account heads, and cards. These last he executed as well as did most of the engravers of the time; but what he excelled in was ornamental silver engraving. In this, as far as I am able to judge, he was one of the best in the kingdom; and I think upon the whole he might be called an ingenious, self-taught artist. The higher department of engraving, such as landscape or historical plates, I dare say was hardly ever thought of by my master; at least not till I was nearly out of my apprenticeship, when he took it into his head to leave me in charge of the business at home, and to go to London for the purpose of taking lessons in etching and engraving large copper plates. There was, however, little or no employment in this way in Newcastle, and he had no opportunity of becoming clever at it, so he kept laboring on with such work as before named, in which I aided him.

While we were going on in this way, we were occasionally applied to by printers to execute wood-cuts for them. In this branch my

master was very defective. What he did was wretched. He did not like such jobs; on which account they were given to me; and the opportunity this afforded of drawing the designs on the wood was highly gratifying to me. It happened that one of these—a cut of the 'George and Dragon' for a bar bill—attracted so much notice, and had so many praises bestowed upon it, that this kind of work greatly increased, and orders were received for cuts for children's books; chiefly for Thomas Saint, printer, Newcastle, and successor of John White, who had rendered himself famous for his numerous publications of histories and old ballads. With the singing of the latter, the streets of Newcastle were long greatly enlivened; and, on market days, visitors, as well as the townspeople, were often highly gratified with it. What a cheerful, lively time this appeared to me and many others! This state of things, however, changed when public matters cast a surly gloom over the character of the whole country; and these singing days, instead of being regulated by the magistrates, were, in their wisdom, totally put an end to.

My time now became greatly taken up with designing and cutting a set of wood blocks for the 'Story-teller,' 'Gay's Fables,' and 'Select Fables,' together with cuts of a similar kind, for printers. Some of the Fable cuts were thought so well of by my master that he, in my name, sent impressions of a few of them to be laid before the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c., and I obtained a premium. This I received shortly after I was out of my apprenticeship, and it was left to my choice whether I would have it in a gold medal or money (seven guineas). I preferred the latter; and I never in my life felt greater pleasure than in presenting it to my mother.

Vocation at Cherry-burn, 1774–6.

This was a time of great enjoyment, for the charms of the country were highly relished by me, and after so long an almost absence from it, gave even that relish a zest which I have not words to describe. I continued to execute wood-cuts and other jobs, but often rambled about among my old neighbors, and became more and more attached to them, as well as to the country. In the storms of winter, I joined the Nimrods as of old. In spring and summer, my favorite sport of angling was pretty closely followed up. About Christmas, as I had done before when a boy, I went with my father to a distance to collect the money due to him for coals. In these rounds, I had the opportunity of witnessing the kindness and hospitality of the people. The countenances of all, both high and low,

beamed with cheerfulness; and this was heightened every where by the music of old tunes, from the well known, exhilarating wild notes of the Northumberland pipes, amidst the buzz occasioned by 'foul-pleughs' (morrice or sword dancers) from various parts of the country. This altogether left an impression on my mind which the cares of the world have never effaced from it. The gentry, the farmers, and even the working people, of that day had their Christmas home-brewed ale, made only from malt and hops. This was before the pernicious use of chemical compounds was known, or agricultural improvements had quickened the eyes of landlords, banished many small farmers, soured their countenances, and altered for the worse the characters of the larger ones that remained.

Mastership in London.

London appeared to me to be a world of itself, where every thing in the extreme, might at once be seen: extreme riches, extreme poverty, extreme grandeur, and extreme wretchedness—all of which were such as I had not contemplated before. Perhaps I might, indeed, take too full a view of London on its gloomy side. I could not help it. I tired of it, and determined to return home. The country of my old friends—the manners of the people of that day—the scenery of Tyneside—seemed altogether to form a paradise for me, and I longed to see it again. While I was thus turning these matters over in my mind, my warm friend and patron, Isaac Taylor, waited upon me: and, on my telling him I was going to Newcastle, he inquired how long it would be before I returned. 'Never,' was my reply; at which he seemed both surprised and displeased. He then warmly remonstrated with me upon this impropriety of my conduct, told me of the prospects before me, and, amongst many other matters, that of his having engaged me to draw in the Duke of Richmond's Gallery; and he strenuously urged me to change my mind. I told him that no temptation of gain, of honor, or of any thing else, however great, could ever have any weight with me; and that I would even enlist for a soldier, or go and herd sheep at five shillings per week, rather than be tied to live in London.

Having, from the time that I was a school-boy, been displeased with most of the figures in children's books, and particularly with those of the 'Three Hundred Animals,' the figures in which, even at that time, I thought I could depicture much better; and having afterward very often turned the matter over in my mind, of making improvements in that publication—I at last came to the determination of making the attempt. The extreme interest I had always

felt in the hope of administering to the pleasure and amusement of youth, and judging from the feelings I had experienced myself that they would be affected in the same way as I had been, whetted me up and stimulated me to proceed. In this, my only reward besides was the great pleasure I felt in imitating nature. That I should ever do any thing to attract the notice of the world, in the manner that has been done, was the farthest thing in my thoughts, and so far as I was concerned myself at that time, I minded little about any self-interested considerations. These intentions I communicated to my partner, Mr. Beilby; and though he did not doubt of my being able to succeed, yet, being a cautious and thinking man, he wished to be more satisfied as to the probability of such a publication paying for the labor. On this occasion, being little acquainted with the nature of such undertakings, we consulted Mr. Solomon Hodgson, bookseller and editor of the 'Newcastle Chronicle,' as to the probability of its success, &c., when he warmly encouraged us to proceed.

Such animals as I knew, I drew from memory on the wood; others which I did not know were copied from 'Dr. Smellie's Abridgment of Buffon,' and other naturalists, and also from the animals which were from time to time exhibited in itinerant collections. Of these last, I made sketches first from memory, and then corrected and finished the drawings upon the wood from a second examination of of the different animals. I began this business of cutting the blocks with the figure of the dromedary, on the 15th November, 1785, the day on which my father died. I then proceeded in copying such figures as above named as I did not hope to see alive. While I was busied in drawing and cutting the figures of animals, and also in designing and engraving the vignettes, Mr. Beilby, being of a bookish or reading turn, proposed, in his evenings at home, to write or compile the descriptions. With this I had little more to do than furnishing him, in many conversations and by written memoranda, with what I knew of animals, and blotting out, in his manuscript, what was not truth. In this way we proceeded till the book was published in 1790. The greater part of these wood-cuts were drawn and engraved at night, after the day's work of the shop was over.

[His 'History of British Birds' was published in 1797, and 1804. In 1812, during a severe illness with which he was visited, he determined, if he recovered, to go on with the publication of 'Æsop's Fables.']

As soon as I was so far recovered as to be able to sit at the window at home, I began to draw designs upon the wood of the fables and vignettes and to me this was a most delightful task. In impa-

tiently pushing forward to get to press with the publication, I availed myself of the help of my pupils—my son, William Harvey, and William Temple—who were eager to do their utmost to forward me in the engraving business, and in my struggles to get the book ushered into the world. Notwithstanding the pleasurable business of bringing out this publication, I felt it an arduous undertaking. The execution of the fine work of the cuts, during daylights, was very trying to the eyes, and the compiling or writing the book by candlelight, in my evenings at home, together injured the optic nerve, and that put all the rest of the nerves 'out of tune,' so that I was obliged for a short time, to leave off such intense application until I somewhat recovered the proper tone of memory and of sight. Indeed, I found in this book more difficulties to conquer than I had experienced with either the 'Quadrupeds' or the 'Birds.' The work was finished at press on the first of October, 1818. It was not so well printed as I expected and wished.

[The indefatigable and self-taught Thomas Bewick died in 1828, aged seventy-five; he was buried at Ovingham, which he has rendered memorable by its associations with his earliest years.]

Mr. Leslie, in his *Hand Book for Young Painters*, pays the following tribute to Bewick, 'the admirable designer and engraver on wood':—

[The wood-cuts that illustrate his books of natural history may be studied with advantage by the most ambitious votary of the highest classes of art—filled as they are by the truest feeling for nature, and though often representing the most ordinary objects, yet never, in a single instance, degenerating into commonplace. The charming vignettes that ornament these books abound in incidents from real life, diversified by genuine humor, as well as by the truest pathos, of which the single figure of a shipwrecked sailor saying his prayers on a rock, with the waves rising around him, is an instance. There is often in these little things a deeper meaning, that places his art on a level with styles which the world is apt to consider as greatly above it, in proof of which I would mention the party of boys playing at soldiers among graves, and mounted on a row of upright tombstones for horses; while for quaint humor, extracted from a very simple source, may be noticed a procession of geese which have just waddled through a stream, while their line of march is continued by a row of stepping-stones. The student of landscape can never consult the works of Bewick without improvement. The backgrounds to the figures of his Quadrupeds and his Birds, and his vignettes, have a charm of nature quite his own. He gives us, in these, every season of the year; and his trees, whether in the clothing of summer, or in the nakedness of winter, are the trees of an artist bred in the country. He is equally true in his little home scenes, his farmyards and cottages, as in the wild coast scenery, with the flocks of sea-birds wheeling round the rocks. In one of these subjects there stands a ruined church, toward which the sea has encroached, the rising tide threatening to submerge a tombstone raised 'to perpetuate the memory,' &c. Bewick resembles Hogarth in this, that his illustrations of the stories of others are not to be compared with his own inventions. His feeling for the beauties of nature, as they were impressed on him directly, and not at second-hand, is akin to the feeling of Burns, and his own designs remind me, therefore, much more of Burns than the few which he made from the poet.]

SUPERIOR INSTRUCTION IN IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

From the earliest period of Christian civilization in Ireland mention is made by her historians of great seats of learning in different parts of the country, conducted on the basis of the old Roman education. The school of Armagh is said at one time to have numbered as many as seven thousand students; and tradition assigns a university town to the locality where the Seven Churches still preserve the memory of St. Kevin. Foreigners, at least Anglo-Saxons, frequented such schools, and, so far, they certainly had a university character; but that they offered to their pupils more than the glosses on the sacred text and the collections of canons, and the Trivium and the Quadrivium, which were the teaching of the schools of the Continent, it is difficult to suppose; or that the national genius for philosophizing, which afterwards anticipated or originated the scholastic period, should at this era have come into exercise. When that period came, the Irish, so far having its characteristic studies already domiciled among them, were forced to go abroad for their prosecution. They went to Paris or to Oxford for the living traditions, which are the ordinary means by which religion and morals, science and art, are diffused over communities, and propagated from land to land. In Oxford, indeed, there was from the earliest time even a street called 'Irishman's Street,' and the Irish were included there under the 'Nation' of the Southern English; but they gained what they sought in that seat of learning, at the expense of discomforts which were the serious drawback of the first age of universities. Lasting feuds and incessant broils marked the presence of Irish, Welsh, Scotch, English, and French in one place, at a time when the Collegiate System was not formed. To this great evil was added the very circumstance that home was far away, and the danger of the passage across the channel; which would diminish the number, while it illustrated the literary zeal, of the foreign students. And an additional source of discontent was found in the feeling of incongruity, that Ireland, with her literary antecedents, should be without a university of her own; and, moreover, as time went on, in the feeling which existed at Rome, in favor of the multiplication of such centres of science and learning.

Another perfectly distinct cause was in operation, to which I was just now referring. The Dominicians, and other orders of the age, had had a preëminent place in the history of the universities of Paris and Oxford, and had done more than any other teachers to give the knowledge taught in them their distinctive form. When then these orders came into Ireland, it was only to be expected

* Newman's Rise of Universities.

that they should set about the same work there, which had marked their presence in England and France. Accordingly, at the end of the thirteenth century, the question of a university in Ireland had been mooted, and the establishment was commenced in the first years of the fourteenth.

University of Dublin projected in 1311–12.

This was the date of the foundation of the universities of Avignon and Perugia, which was followed by that of Cahors, Grenoble, Pisa, and Prague. It was the date at which Oxford in consequence lost its especial preëminence in science; and it was the date, I say, at which the University of Dublin was projected and begun. In 1311 or 1312, John Lech or Leach, Archbishop of Dublin, obtained of Clement the Fifth a brief for the undertaking; in which, as is usual in such documents, the Pope gives the reasons which have induced him to decide upon it. He begins by setting forth the manifold, or rather complex, benefits of which a university is the instrument; as father of the faithful, he recognizes it as his office to nurture learned sons, who, by the illumination of their knowledge, may investigate the divine law, protect justice and truth, illustrate the faith, promote good government, teach the ignorant, confirm the weak, and restore the fallen. This office he is only fulfilling, in receiving favorably the supplication of his venerable brother, John de Lecke, who has brought before him the necessities of his country, in which, as well as in Scotland, Man, and Norway, the country nearest to Ireland, a 'Universitas Scholarum,' or 'Generale Studium,' is not to be found;—the consequence being, that though there are in Ireland some doctors and bachelors in theology, and other graduates in grammar, these are, after all, few in comparison of the number which the country might fairly produce. The Pope proceeds to express his desire that from the land itself should grow up men skilled and fruitful in the sciences, who would make it to be a well-watered garden, to the exaltation of the Catholic faith, the honor of Mother Church, and the advantage of the faithful population. And with this view he erects in Dublin a *Studium Generale* in every science and faculty, to continue for 'perpetual times.'

And, I suppose no greater benefit could have been projected for Ireland at that date, than such a bond of union and means of national strength, as an Irish University. But the parties, who had originated the undertaking, had also to carry it out; and at the moment of which I am speaking, by the fault neither of Prelate nor Laity, nor by division, nor by intemperance or jealousy, nor by wrong-headedness within the fold, nor by malignant interference from without, but by the will of heaven and the course of nature, the work was suspended;—for John de Lecke fell ill and died the next year, and his successor, Alexander Bicknor, was not in circumstances to take up his plans at the moment, where de Lecke had left them.

Seven years passed; and then Bicknor turned his mind to their prosecution. Acting under the authority of the brief of Clement, and with the sanction and confirmation of the reigning Pontiff, John the Twenty-second, he published an instrument, in which he lays down on his own authority the provisions and dispositions which he had determined for the nascent university. He addresses himself to 'the Masters and Scholars of our University,' and that 'with the consent and assent of our chapters of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick.' I think I am correct in saying, though I write without book, that he makes no mention of a Rector. If not, the Chancellor probably, whom he does mention, took his

place, or was his synonym, as in some other universities. This Chancellor the Regent Masters were to have the privilege of choosing, with a *proviso* that he was a 'Doctor in sacrâ pagnâ,' or in 'jure canonico,' with a preference of members of the two chapters. He was to take the oath of fidelity to the Archbishop. The Regent Masters elected the Proctors also, who were two in number, and who supplied the place of the Chancellor in his absence. The Chancellor was invested with jurisdiction over the members of the university, and had a court, to which causes belonged in which they were concerned. There was, moreover, a university chest, supplied by means of the fines which were the result of his decisions. Degrees were to be conferred upon certificate of the Masters of the Faculty, in which the candidate was proceeding. Statutes were to be passed by the Chancellor, in council of Masters Regent and Non-regent, subject to the confirmation of the Archbishop. The schools of the Friars Preachers (or Dominicans) and of the Minorities (or Franciscans) were recognized in their connection with the university, the Archbishop reserving to himself the right of appointing a lecturer in Holy Scripture.

Such was the encouraging and hopeful start of the university; the Dean of St. Patrick was advanced to the Doctorate in Canon Law, and was created its first Chancellor; its first Doctors in Theology were two Dominicans and one Franciscan. The Canons of the Cathedral seem to have been its acting members, and filled the offices of a place of education without prejudicing their capitular duties. However, it soon appeared that there was somewhere a hitch, and the work did not make progress. It has been supposed, with reason, that under the unhappy circumstances of the time, the university could not make head against the necessary difficulties of a commencement. Another and more definite cause which is assigned for the failure, is the want of funds. The Irish people were poor, and unable to meet the expenses involved in the establishment of a great seat of learning, at a time when other similar institutions already existed. The time had passed when universities grew up out of the enthusiasm of teachers and the curiosity and eagerness of students; or, if these causes still were in operation, they had been directed and flowed in upon seats of learning already existing in other countries. It was the age of national schools, of colleges and endowments; and, though the civil power appeared willing to take its part in endowments in furtherance of the new undertaking, it did not go much further than to enrich it now and then with a stray lectureship, and wealthy prelates or nobles were not forthcoming in that age, capable of conceiving and executing works in the spirit of Ximenes two centuries afterwards in Spain.

In 1358 the clergy and scholars of Ireland represented to Edward the Third the necessity under which they lay of cultivating theology, canon law, and the other clerical sciences, and the serious impediments in the way of these studies which lay in the expense of travel and the dangers of the sea to those who had no university of their own. In answer to this request, the king seems to have founded a lectureship in theology; and he indirectly encouraged the university schools by issuing his letters-patent, giving special protection and safe-conduct to English as well as Irish, of whatever degree, with their servants and attendants, their goods and habiliments, in going, residing, and returning. A few years later, in 1364, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, founded a preachership and lectureship in the Cathedral, to be held by an Augustinian.

Efforts in 1465 *and* 1496.

A further attempt in behalf of a university was made a century later. In 1465, the Irish Parliament, under the presidency of Thomas Geraldine, Earl of Desmond, Vicegerent of George, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of the English King, had erected a university at Drogheda, and endowed it with the privileges of the University of Oxford. This attempt, however, in like manner was rendered abortive by the want of funds; but it seems to have suggested a new effort in favor of the elder institution at Dublin, which at this time could scarcely be said to exist. Ten years after the Parliament in question, the Dominican and other friars preferred a supplication to Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in which they represent that in Ireland there is no university to which Masters, Doctors of Law, and Scholars may resort; that it is necessary to go to England at a great expense and peril; and consequently they ask for leave to erect a university in the metropolitan city. The Pope granted their request, and, though nothing followed, the attempt is so far satisfactory, as evidencing the perseverance of the Irish clergy in aiming at what they felt to be a benefit of supreme importance to their country.

Nor was this the last of such attempts, nor were the secular behind the regular clergy in zeal for a university. As late as the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the year 1496, Walter Fitzsimon, Archbishop of Dublin, in provincial Synod, settled an annual contribution to be levied for seven years in order to provide salaries for the lecturers. And, though we have no record, I believe, of the effect of this measure, yet, when the chapter was reëstablished in the reign of Philip and Mary, the allusion made in the legal instrument to the loss which the youthful members of society had sustained in its suppression, may be taken to show that certain scholastic benefits had resulted from its stalls, though the education which they provided was not of that character which the name of a university demanded.

Establishment of Trinity College in 1591.

In 1568, Sir Henry Sidney attempted to restore and continue the work begun by Bicknor, but in vain; and it was reserved to Sir John Perrot, in 1589, to propose to convert the Cathedral of St. Patrick into an Inn of Court for the judges and lawyers, and to appropriate the revenues of the church into a foundation of two universities, with two colleges for residence in each.' His proposition was not immediately acted upon, but after his recall by Queen Elizabeth, Archbishop Loftus, to save his interests in the long leases and estates of the Cathedral, succeeded in obtaining from the corporation of Dublin a piece of ground which had belonged to the Augustinian monastery of All-Saints, a Priory of the Aroasian Canons, founded in the year 1166, by Dermot M'Murrough, King of Leinster, for the projected university.

In December, 1590, a grant of the Abbey lands was made for the foundation of a college, and in March, 1591, letters patent were issued for the erection of a college, under the name of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy Trinity founded by Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, for the education, institution, and instruction of youth in the arts and faculties, with authority to make laws for the government thereof, and confer the degrees of bachelor, master, and doctor.

(*To be continued.*)

CHARTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

The following are the provisions of the Letters-patent passed in due form, March 3, 1591:

First, A college is appointed to be erected to be a *mother* of a University in a certain place called Allhallows near Dublin, *for the education, institution, and instruction of youth in the arts and faculties*, to endure for ever.

Secondly, That it be called COLLEGIUM SANCTÆ ET INDIVIDUÆ TRINITATIS JUXTA DUBLIN A SERENISSIMA REGINA ELIZABETHA FUNDATUM.

Thirdly, That it consist of ONE PROVOST and THREE FELLOWS, in the name of more, and of THREE SCHOLARS, in the name of more.

Fourthly, That Adam Loftus, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland, be first Provost of said College, and Henry Ussher, A.M., Luke Challoner, A.M., and Launcelot Moyne, A.B., be the three first Fellows, and Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White, be the three first Scholars, respectively in the name of more.

Fifthly, That the said Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, and their successors for ever, be a body politic and corporate, by the name of THE PROVOST, FELLOWS, AND SCHOLARS OF THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY TRINITY, FOUNDED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH, NEAR DUBLIN; and that they and their successors be, by that name, capable to purchase, take, and possess any manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to them or their successors for ever; either from the Queen, her heirs and successors, or from any other person, for their support and maintenance, to the value of four hundred pounds; notwithstanding any statutes of mortmain, (so as such lands be not held of the crown immediately, or *in capite*, in demesne or service), and that they may sue or be sued, implead or be impleaded, by such name, in all causes and actions, real, personal, and mixed, and in all courts, spiritual and temporal, in Ireland or elsewhere; and further, that they have a common seal for transacting their business.

Sixthly, That when the vacancy of the Provostship shall happen, either by death, resignation, departure, deprivation, or otherwise, *that the surviving fellows and their successors*, or the major part of them, *may elect another fit provost*, within three months after such vacancy; and upon the vacancy of any fellowship or scholarship, the provost and surviving fellows, or the major part of them, may elect one to succeed, in two months after such vacancy.

Seventhly, *That the provost, fellows, and scholars may make and constitute laws and statutes* from time to time, for the better government of their body, and may select such out of the statutes of Oxford and Cambridge as they shall judge proper for their purpose; and especially that nobody else should profess or teach the liberal arts in Ireland, without the Queen's special license.

Eighthly, That the students of the college may have the power of obtaining the degree of bachelor, master, and doctor, and all the arts and faculties at a proper time from their admission; provided that when *the fellows* thereof should have *completed seven years in their office*, from the time of their taking their degree of master of arts, that they may be *displaced from their fellowship* and others elected in their room; for the benefit of the church and kingdom at large.

Ninthly, William Cecil, Baron of Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England, being appointed by the patent the first CHANCELLOR, it was provided, that from time to time, *the provost and major part of the fellows should have the election of a chancellor*, which chancellor or his vice-chancellor, together with the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the vice-treasurer, the treasurer at war, the Chief Justice of the Chief Place in Ireland, and the Mayor of the City of Dublin, all for the time being, or the major part of them, who shall be called VISITORS, *shall determine all strifes, actions, and controversies arising in the college, which the provost and major part of the fellows can not compose*; and shall have the power *to correct and punish all the more grievous offenses* which shall be left unpunished by the Provost and Fellows.

Tenthly, That for obtaining all degrees among themselves, they have the liberty of performing all acts of sholastic exercise in such manner as the Provost and major part of the Fellows should think proper, and for that purpose may elect all necessary officers, whether vice-chancellor, proctor, or proctors.

Eleventhly, That the Queen's subjects and officers have full liberty for the granting such aids for the better constituting, maintaining, and supporting the said college as they shall think proper.

Twelfthly, That all the goods, chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments belonging to the PROVOST, FELLOWS, AND SCHOLARS of the said college, *shall be for ever after exempted from all burdens, taxes, talliages, cesses, subsidies, exactions, compositions, and demands whatsoever*, whether in time of war or peace.

The site of the new College, as passed by the Charter, was within the precincts of the Augustinian Monastery of All Saints, founded in the year 1166, but which, on the suppression of monasteries by Henry VIII., passed by legal grant to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Dublin.

The first stone of Trinity College, Dublin, was laid March 13, 1591, by the Mayor of the city; and on the 9th January, 1593, the first students were admitted. The first commencement was celebrated in February, 1601; and in 1603, the first purchase of books for the library was made out of a subscription of 1,800*l.* by military men in the army employed in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Kinsale, as a testimony of their esteem for literature, and a continual memorial of the gallantry of the army. This sum was expended in London, at the same time Sir Thomas Bodley was making purchases for his newly instituted library at Oxford.

In 1613 the privilege of sending two members to Parliament was accorded by James I. to the University of Dublin, and in the instrument Trinity College is mentioned in connection 'with other Colleges or Wards in said University, which may be hereafter founded or established.'

The following account of the Commencement ceremonies, which took place on the 18th of August, 1616, in the choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral, 'because the college rooms were very small,' indicates the growth of the institution, and the Cambridge model which the instruction and ceremonial followed.

The number of doctors that proceeded that day were, in theology, 5, videlicet:

Dr. Jones, Lord Chancellor, and
Dr. King, Bishop of Elphin, } By Grace.

Dr. Ussher,
Dr. Richardson, and
Dr. Walsh, } In public disputation.

Bachelors of Divinity, 3.
Masters of the Arts, 15.
Bachelors of the Arts, 17.

Being in all 38 Graduates that commenced, with two others incorporated.

'The manner of this Commencement was accomplished in the following order:—First, Dr. Hampton, Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh and "Primate of all Ireland," who having many years before proceeded Doctor in Theology, in the University of Cambridge, was now, at this Commencement, incorporated into the University of Dublin, and was senior Doctor and moderator of theological acts in the commencement: so upon the day appointed, (18th of August,) the said Dr. Hampton, Lord Primate, together with the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the House, passed from the College, through the City of Dublin, in very stately order, for the Lord Primate and other ancient doctors, and also

those that were to proceed doctors, were every one attired in scarlet robes with doctors' hoods: also the Bachelors of Divinity, the Masters and Bachelors of Arts, were attired in such other scholarlike attire as appertained to them—which made a very beautiful appearance to the sight of all men; and they were farther graced with the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor. Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Knt., Treasurer, and the Treasurer at War, with divers other of the council who followed after them, and sate in the cathedral to hear their disputations and discourses, which were performed as followeth:

'First, on entering St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Masters and Bachelors of Arts sat down in the places appointed for them, each according to his degree. Likewise, Doctor Dunne, being a Doctor in the Civil Law, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, took his place which was appointed for him in the choir.—and then Mr. Anthony Martin, Proctor for the College, ascended up into one of the pulpits, as Moderator of the Philosophical Acts; and the Lord Primate, who was Father for the day, of the Theological Acts, with those three who were to proceed in the public disputation, as also two Bachelors of Divinity, did ascend up to their places which were appointed for them on the right side of the choir; and when the Lord Deputy, and the Lord Chancellor, and the Council were placed, and all things in good order, Dr. Dunne, the Vice-Chancellor began an oration in Latin, being as an introduction into all the Acts of that day's dispensation, which he performed learnedly; and when he had ended his oration, the Primate began another, also in Latin, commencing the Act of Divinity, and those that were to commence doctor.

'This oration contained a long discourse, in which he administered four academical consequences as here do follow in order:

'1st. He set them in his chair.

'2nd. He gave them square caps.

'3rd. He delivered to them the Bible.

'4th. He put rings upon their fingers.

'These ceremonies were ministered separately to each of them. First, to Dr. Ussher, then to Dr. Richardson, and lastly to Dr. Walsh. The Lord Primate expounding to them the signification of each ceremony.

'This manner of commencement was never used in Ireland before this time.

'Now all things being thus performed by the Lord Primate, Dr. Ussher went down into the choir, and ascended up into one of the pulpits, where he made a sermon-like oration upon the text, "*Hoc et corpus meum*," and after a long discourse thereon, the other two doctors (Richardson and Walsh) disputed with Dr. Ussher upon the same point; in which disputation, the Lord Primate, who was Father of the Theological Acts, was also Moderator; and having finished the Act, they rose up and returned to Trinity College, where a stately dinner was provided for the Lord Deputy and Council, and thus were completed all things concerning the acts of commencement in the University of Dublin, to their high credit and commendation.

'The total sum of all the graduates that have commenced in this University from the first foundation thereof to the present year, 1616, inclusive, containing the space of 23 years, viz.—In Divinity, 7; in Civil Law, 1; in Physic, 1; Bachelors in Theology, 7; Masters of Arts, 38; Bachelors of Arts, 53; Bachelors of Music, 2. Total graduates, 109.

'Besides 1 Doctor and 2 Masters of Arts who were incorporated.'

From the above list of members who commenced Doctors and Bachelors, it is inferred that the ordinary instruction of a University of the time was provided in Trinity College, although a regular Professorship of Divinity was not instituted till 1621, and of Law, till 1668, and there does not appear to have been any Professorship of Medicine, distinct from the Medical Fellowship. The probability is that all the work of instruction in College was done by the Fellows in accordance with the original conception of their office.

In the wholesale forfeitures which followed the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, viz., the six counties of Ulster, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan, were declared confiscated, and the estates were parceled out among Presbyterians and Episcopalian Protestants. In this division of the spoils of the vanquished and the recusant, Trinity College received thirty thousand acres. In consequence of the persecutions which became the order of the day, and was openly practiced by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Archbishop Usher, who declared that 'to grant the papists a toleration, or to consent that they may fully exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrines was a grievous sin,' and when Catholic schools were forbidden by law, Catholic Irish seminaries were established at Salamanca, Compostella, and Seville, in Spain; at Louvain, Antwerp, and Tournay; Lisbon; Bordeaux, Toulon, and Paris.

*Irish Students Abroad.**

The efforts of Queen Elizabeth to build up the Protestant Faith in Ireland by a liberally endowed university, which should attract and proselyte the sons of the Catholic gentry, were not successful. They sent their sons abroad, and at this period, to Salamanca, where there existed a college specially devoted to Catholic youths from Ireland. This college, in 1602, was presided over by an English Jesuit named Thomas White, who was thought by the Irish Catholics to have prejudices against them. The Catholics of the Pale and of the other English colonies in Ireland had the entire favor of the president secured to them. They were taught to be loyal to Queen Elizabeth, a criminal and heretical offense of the deepest dye in the minds of the Irish Catholics, who were, therefore, treated with much severity, and were kept out of the college to make room for the Catholics of the Pale. O'Donel, Prince of Tyrconnell, accordingly brought the matter before the King of Spain in the shape of a memorial, stating the several grievances he complained of, and praying for the removal of the president. From this document we make brief extracts to show the spirit of the age.

There are several colleges and seminaries for the instruction of Irish students, who, through the persecution of the heretics, can not, in their own country, be instructed in sound Catholic doctrine. That in particular your Majesty has a college at Salamanca, which is maintained for this purpose by the charity of your Majesty, added to the funds set apart for the purpose by the bishops and titulars of Spain.

Over this college presides a member of the Irish order of the Jesuits, and a native of those provinces that are subject to the Queen, and consequently schismatical. This Jesuit does not entertain a pious affection for the open and avowed Catholics of Ulster and Connaught, who have for so many years held arms for the defense of the faith, and on this account the said Jesuit does not wish to receive the students of these provinces; the truth being, that they, more than any others, ought to be sustained by the alms of the faithful because of their having remained true Catholics and vassals of the church and of your Majesty, on which account it may be expected that they will produce better fruit than those who have been reared on such bad milk as obedience to the

* The following sketch is abridged from Dublin University Magazine, 1873, vol. lxxxii., p. 190.

Queen and an affectionate love of her interests and for persons outside the pale of the church; the result being that, when they return among their own people, they will let themselves be carried with the current, and thus do more evil than if they had not studied at all, because they teach that it is permissible to obey the Queen, and to take arms against your Majesty; and those that do so, they confess and absolve and admit to mass and the divine offices.

But those students are usually the sons of rich merchants who could be educated at the expense of their parents, and who, if it were not to save the cost, would be sent to pursue their studies in England, like others of the same class. Even in Ireland itself, in those provinces subject to the Queen, *there are considerable facilities for study*, but our Catholics of Ulster and Connaught are true Catholics, who from their cradle abhor the accursed sect of the Queen and proclaim against it. Owing to continual wars, in Ulster and Connaught, they have no means or opportunity of study; those who come to Spain are the sons of the nobles, who have lost their properties for the faith, and have no means of obtaining the advantage possessed by others.

The King of Spain complied with the prayer of this memorial, dismissed the president, and decreed that one-half of the places for students should be reserved for the Catholics of Ulster and Connaught.

James I.

James I., in a letter issued soon after his accession to power, to dissipate the hopes of his Irish subjects inspired by his being the son of the Catholic Mary of Scotland, observes:—'It hath been told to us that some of our Irish subjects imagine that we were about to grant them liberty of conscience, which was soon followed by a proclamation, commanding "the Popish clergy to depart from the realm;"' and to strengthen his influence in the Irish Parliament, he accorded to the University the privilege of sending two members, as he did to forty new boroughs created by him, many of them paltry villages, which were sure to represent his will and wishes.

Condition in 1627.

In 1626 the Catholics were encouraged by Lord Falkland (the Lord-Deputy), to expect some mitigation of the penal statutes from the well known moderation of Charles I., but he accepted a subsidy, going no further than to turn over to the Jesuits two buildings in Cork street (belonging to some suppressed religious house) in which a Catholic university and church were established. These were soon, under the penal statutes, closed, and the buildings were granted to Trinity College—each became a hall and had a master and scholars.

In 1627, William Bedell, a graduate of the University of Cambridge, was appointed Provost of Trinity College. He had resided in Italy and was a man of learning and of great administrative ability. He found the situation distracted and discouraging—the Fellows in open quarrel, the Communion Service unperformed for eleven years in a society principally made up of members in holy orders, the revenues lent to the Senior Fellows and never repaid. In a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, dated October 9, 1627, he writes:—

Having taken upon me the office of Provost of Trinity College, I have endeavored to sew up the rent between the Fellows, and to that end have appointed a communion the next Sunday, a thing intermitted these eleven years. I then

ordered the members of the governing senate, I mean the Seniors, removing—as by our charter we were bound—such as by time after their degree of Master of Arts were to be removed. Next we chose officers, gave graces in the House for degrees, reformed some abuses in the chapel and hall, as the evening prayers were said in the hall, and philosophical acts in the chapel. But my next care was about the statutes, which being part in Latin and part in English, and in sheets of paper, some stitched together, some loose, a heap without order, with long preambles, and sometimes unnecessary, and in many things defective; with the consent of the greater part of the Seniors, I digested into a new form, and at last perfected, as I hope, and published in the chapel.

The state of the College in respect of the revenue I should have next entered into consideration of. But it required a long time. And this, in short, I found, that there was not money enough in the chest to pay for the dinners and the stipends when the day should come. I consigned into the hands of the Vice-Provost (Mr. Lloyd), and the auditor (Sir James Ware), desiring him to set me down the estate of the College, especially in respect of arrears, which hitherto he said he could never do, inasmuch as he had not so much as a rental of the college revenue, but had made up every year's account only out of what was taken out of the chest and disbursed. Wherein, notwithstanding sundry bursars had left in their hands large sums of the College money never satisfied. And to mend the matter, a custom was brought in of giving to the Senior Fellows at their departure a *viaticum*, as they call it; which also was demanded by those Fellows who now left their places. But to those viaticums I have, I hope, given a viaticum. And I hope to look a little better after the accounts, when I return to the house, and, if it be possible, to recover some of those hundreds which I do already, by a superficial view, perceive are unjustly withheld from the College—partly received and never accounted; partly lent, as is pretended, but without assent of the greater part of the Seniors; partly lent, indeed, but never repaid, and as it is now hoped to be granted as a viaticum to the former Provost. So that you may perceive what a world of business I am put into, yet I repent me not of my journey, though I have not there since my arrival one hour void of pain, trouble, or thought.

Bedell worked with success to bring order out of the confusion in which he found the revenues, and reduced the conflicting statutes to a new code, which was confirmed and adopted by the new Chancellor, the celebrated Laud, who was appointed in September, 1633.

Statutes of 1637.

The new statutes devised by Bedell, and accepted by Laud, were sanctioned after much delay by the Fellows, and included several important modifications:—

1. Fellowships were made tenable for life.
2. The power of enacting and repealing Statutes was taken from the Fellows and reserved to the Crown.
3. The number of Fellows was increased to sixteen, and the number of Scholars from three to seventy, was approved and rendered permanent, and the nine Probationer Fellows were continued with all the corporate rights of Junior Fellows. The government of the College, however, was committed to the Provost, and seven Senior Fellows, who were empowered, in cases not provided for by the Statutes, to make new Statutes, not repugnant to those granted by the king, which new Statutes were to be confirmed by the Visitors, and to remain in force until the Provost and majority of the Senior Fellows, with the consent of the Visitors, should think proper to rescind them.
4. The power of electing the Provost was reserved to the Crown.
5. Any vacancy happening amongst the Senior Fellows to be supplied within three days after the vacancy became known by the Provost and Senior Fellows; and any vacancy occurring amongst the Junior Fellows to be filled up by the election of a successor, to be made by the same persons on the Monday after Trinity Sunday.

6. The mortmain licenses enlarged to 200*l.* a year more than in the former license.

7. The election of officers as Chancellor, Provost, &c., was continued to the Provost and Senior Fellows, the Chancellor being permitted to elect the Vice-Chancellor.

8. The Visitors of the University by the new charter were diminished in number, from eight to two, viz., the Chancellor, or in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Dublin. It was enacted also that in case the Visitors disagreed, that nothing should be done without the consent of the Chancellor of the University.

9. That after the reception of the new Statutes the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars should solemnly, in the Chapel of the College, and in the presence of the visitors, take the oath prescribed by the Statutes to their order.

10. That no person should in any other place, within the kingdom, teach the liberal arts without special license from the king.

On the day fixed for receiving the new Statutes (June 5th, 1537), the Visitors, the Archbishop of Armagh and Dublin entered the College chapel about three o'clock in the afternoon; the Provost and Fellows then took the prescribed oaths. The changes introduced by these enactments had a very beneficial effect on a clergy then plunged in the lowest depths of degradation. For the state of the *reformed* clergy was, indeed, at this time melancholy in the extreme. Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, speaks of them as ignorant, and, we may presume, untaught, in the University. 'The clergy of the Established Church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship.' While Lord Wentworth, in a letter to Archbishop Laud, Chancellor of the University, described them as an 'unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen; the churches unbuilt, the parsonages and vicars' houses ruined, the people untaught, the rites and ceremonies run over without decency or order, the possessions of the Church aliened, the bishops aliening the principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers, and farming out to mean and unworthy persons; the Popish titulars exercising at the same time a jurisdiction much greater than theirs.'

Cromwell and the University.

In 1647 Cromwell landed at Dublin, and the policy inaugurated by him and the Commissioners of Parliament was for the time as revolutionary to the Protestant Episcopal Church as that had proved to the Catholics, and although apparently to the advantage of Trinity—the cause of liberal studies was not advanced during this period of civil and religious turmoil.

In 1651, Samuel Winter, a man of strong Puritanical opinions, and Chaplain to the English Parliamentary Commissioners, was appointed Provost, and confirmed by Lord Protector Cromwell, as follows:—

By virtue of authority given unto me by Act of Parliament, entitled 'An Act for the better advancement of the Gospel in Ireland,' I do hereby nominate and appoint Samuel Winter to be Provost and Master of the College, in or near the City of Dublin, commonly called Trinity College, for and during his natural life, or for and during such times as he shall well and faithfully behave himself in

the said place and trust, and I do hereby give power and authority to the said Samuel Winter, to take into his care and government the said College, together with the Fellows and Scholars there, all whom he is to endeavor to be caused to be trained up and educated in learning, and in the fear of God, and the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to exercise and put in practice such discipline or other things, in or concerning the well government of the said College, as any former Provost or Master, by any lawful or good constitution thereof, have been accustomed to do, or as shall hereafter be directed by any Act or order of Parliament, or other directions from myself under my hand or seal, and the said Samuel Winter is hereby authorized to receive for himself, and of the public revenues belonging to the said College, such allowance and other perquisites as of right belong to the Provost or Master there. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 3rd day of June, 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

In 1660, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, was made Vice-Chancellor, and by a stretch of authority, and manifest irregularity of election, reorganized the society, and compiled a body of Statutes known as *Regulæ Universitatis Dubliniensis*, under which the lectures and disputations were re-established, and degrees were conferred. About this time a movement was on foot to consummate the establishment of *Trinity Hall and the College of Physicians.*

TRINITY HALL AND THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

Trinity Hall came into the possession of Trinity College in 1616, and was occupied by students, until in the general confusion of the Civil War, it was deserted by them, and possession was about to be resumed by the city authorities, as they had a right to do in case of collegiate desertion, when Dr. Stearne, a Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer, proposed to the Provost and Fellows, to keep the property in repair on condition that he might have his own lodgings in the building and convert the remainder to the use of the Physicians. He was accordingly, in 1654, made President of the Hall for life; but owing to some disagreement with the Provost and fears as to the stability of his position, he resigned his Fellowship, and did not come into active management of the Hall, 'for the advancement of physic in Ireland,' till 1661. In 1662 Dr. Stearne was elected Public Professor of Medicine in the University of Dublin, and in 1667 a charter was obtained, constituting himself and thirteen other Doctors of Medicine the College of Physicians, with jurisdiction over practitioners in physic in Dublin and within seven miles thereof, with the usual corporate powers; and securing to Trinity College the right of appointing to the Presidency, provided Trinity Hall and the land belonging to it were settled on the College of Physicians. In the deed of settlement (1667), there is a stipulation on the part of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, that they shall receive medical advice and attendance from the President and Fellows of the College of Physic, without fees, when they or any of them happen to be sick or diseased. It was not long before the religious difficulty—the chronic disturbance of Ireland, came in. On the death of Dr. Stearne, the College of Physicians desired the election of a President of their own nomination—Dr. Crosby · but as he was a Roman Catholic, the Provost and Fellows

persistently refused—when, in consequence of this difference, the charter of 1667 was surrendered, and in 1692 a new one obtained, in which the election of their President was given to the Physicians; and Trinity Hall reverted to Trinity College.

Charles II.—King's College in 1662.

Amongst the various attempts to introduce the English system of many colleges in one university, was one provided by the act of settlement in 1662 (14th and 15th Charles II., chap. 2, sec. 219), whereby it was enacted that the Lord-Lieutenant should have full power to erect another college 'to be of the University of Dublin,' to be called the King's College, and to be endowed with a yearly allowance of 2,000*l.* a year, 'by an equal charge upon every one thousand acres or lesser quantity proportionably,' of lands forfeited during the preceding twenty years to the Crown. The foundation of the King's College, however, does not appear to have been proceeded with; the framing of the act of settlement further showed their appreciation of the teachings of Trinity College by a grant (section 104), 'to the Provost of Trinity College, near Dublin, out of the forfeited lands in the Archbishopric of Dublin, and to his successors for ever, the sum of 300*l.* *per annum*,' a sum amounting to 2,400*l.* of our money. The forfeiture was declared, during Puritan ascendancy in 1647, 'for the increase of learning and the true knowledge and worship of God.'

The lands spoken of in the act of settlement (which has no parallel in the English acts) as forfeited lands, had been the properties of the Catholic proprietors exclusively, no other sect, not even the regicides had their properties filched from them as the Catholics had, and it was out of those forfeited lands that the Provost had 300*l.* a year secured to him.

The University under James II.

Unbounded was the joy of the Irish Catholics on the accession of James II., and in like proportion the depression of the Protestants, as the title of the College to its vast estates would be questioned, which might work restoration in one direction, and deprivation in the other. In the College itself there was a movement to convert all movable property into such shape that it might be divided readily among existing occupants. Lest the Fellows in occupancy might be dealt with as was the Friars in the Priory of All-Hallows, a century and a half before, they resolved to put their house in order, and accordingly applied to the Visitors for permission to sell a quantity of plate lying in the College chest, and for this purpose to send the same to England. Permission was given, and the plate was shipped. But before the vessel left the dock, the new Lord-Deputy was sworn in, and the plate was seized and lodged in the Custom-house.

When the King was on his way to Ireland, he was met by a deputation of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, expressing their loyalty, and 'their thankfulness for the great quiet and freedom we enjoy under your most gracious protection and government,

to improve both ourselves and others in all manner of virtue and good literature.' The King arrives in Ireland in 1689, and in less than a month the College was deserted, the Fellows had fled, and '200*l.* ordered to be sent to England for any Fellow that may be forced to fly,' which, instead of being sent by ship or post, 'was divided among the Fellows, paying them their salaries, which will be due at the end of the current year, together with allowances for commons for the current quarter'—so reads the College record of the year 1689. And then follows memoranda of the appointment of Rev. Dr. Moore,* a Catholic priest, to the Provostship; and divers acts on the part of the King, showing a purpose on his part to go back to first principles, and restore the original site of Trinity College to that Church for whose service the Friars of All-Hallows five hundred years before had received it. But the battle of the Boyne in which William III. defeated James II. arrested all further proceedings in that direction

Botanic Garden, 1710.

In the month of June, 1710, ground was set apart within the college park for a botanic garden, laboratory, and anatomy school. The place selected for the botanic garden was a narrow strip of ground extending for 200 yards along the wall which divides the Fellows' Garden from the park, by 100 yards in breadth, and commencing at a point where the present descent into the underground chamber for heating the library is placed; while directly opposite the eastern end of the library, and within the botanic garden, stood the anatomy school, which was opened in the following year, when lectures were delivered on anatomy, chemistry, and botany.

Lending Library.

In 1716 Claudius Gilbert was elected Vice-Provost (having been Fellow in 1693 and Professor of Divinity in 1710), which he held till 1735, when he obtained the living of Ardstraa. He subsequently bestowed on the College thirteen thousand volumes, a number of manuscripts, and fourteen marble busts to the library, besides medals, coins, and mathematical instruments, the whole being valued at 12,000*l.*; together with a sum of 2,450*l.* to buy books for a lending library, which his munificence then caused to be established, and which is in existence to this day. The junior dean has charge of the library; to him must those students apply who wish to borrow books, and this officer is to receive a deposit to the full value of the work, of which he has a priced catalogue. If the book is not returned in good condition, or in due time, the deposit is forfeited.

* Dr. Moore did not continue long in office, having given offense to the King in a sermon preached before the King, in which he attributes the miscarriage of His Majesty's affairs to the Jesuits by applying the words of his text—'Let them alone: They are blind and leaders of the blind, and if the blind lead the blind both fall into the pit.' For this liberty the preacher was obliged to vacate the Provostship. He was subsequently made Rector of the College of Montefiascone in the Roman States, and in 1701 Principal of the College of Navarre in Paris, and Professor in the Irish College, to which he gave his library in 1726.

Library Building.

The Queen, Anne, in 1709, made a grant of 5,000*l.* towards a new building for the library, and in 1717 and in 1721 the House of Commons voted two sums of 5,000*l.* (£10,000) for the same object.*

Professorships of Natural Philosophy, and of Oratory and History.

In 1718 Archbishop King bestowed the sum of £500 to found a Lectureship of Divinity, to which he bequeathed a like sum at his death.

In 1724, two new Professorships, one of natural philosophy and the other of oratory and history, were founded in the University, under the 'Act for the further application of the rents and profits of the lands and tenements formerly given by Erasmus Smith, Esq., deceased, for charitable uses.' Erasmus Smith, a citizen of London, and a member of the Merchant Tailors' Company, having the command of some capital, purchased several estates in Ireland, and being desirous of turning the hearts of the Irish people from the 'abominations of the Church of Rome,' founded several schools called 'grammar schools' throughout the country, and to such scholars of those schools, tenants of his estates, as should enter the University of Dublin, be provided a sum of 10*l.* a year during their four years' college course.

Under the Act of 1724, thirty-five exhibitions for poor students, and three new fellowships were established in the College. The governors were also enabled to make grants to the College for new buildings of a sum of 4,200*l.*, and in later years, they were enabled to purchase for the College the splendid collection of books, known as the Fagel library, numbering 17,600 volumes, which belonged to the pensionary Fagel, in Holland, and who had been all his life collecting it. When Holland was threatened with a French invasion in 1794, he sent this superb collection of books to London, where it was afterwards sold by his executors. Agents from many parts of Europe were authorized to give various large sums for it. Even Bonaparte was desirous to add this library to the stock of rare literature in France. But Trinity College was declared the purchaser at 8,000 guineas, which was given for this purpose by the trustees of Erasmus Smith's estates, 'bequeathed for charitable uses and the promotion of learning.'

In 1762 three new Professorships were instituted by the same trustees —of Mathematics, History, and Oriental languages.

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* The Library now numbers over 130,000 volumes, and is one of the national libraries entitled to a copy of every book copyrighted.

Among the benefactors of the College at this period was Richard Baldwin, D.D., who left his estate worth 1,686*l.* a year, and the sum of 36,000*l.*—the more remarkable as he began his life as beggar boy in the streets of Dublin. One day, as he sat crying from hunger on the steps of a door, his weakly and delicate frame was taken notice of by a coffee house keeper in the neighborhood. He asked the child, who appeared to be very intelligent, to come in, and he gave him employment as a pantry boy. The little fellow conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of his employer, that he recommended him to the Provost (Huntingdon), who took him into his establishment as stable boy. In this humble position he remained for several months. Showing, however, that he was fitted, by his talents and taste for learning, to move in a higher sphere, the Provost had him instructed in the entrance course, and in due time he passed the entrance examination, and was now a student on the high road to preferment. In 1693 he became a fellow, in 1713 Vice-Provost, and in 1717 Provost.

Jonathan Swift—Oliver Goldsmith—Bishop Berkeley.

Jonathan Swift, whose *Drapier Letters* (1724) have endeared him to the people of Ireland, and who, from his birth in Dublin, is often spoken of as the great Irish author, although by the father and mother he was of English descent—was admitted to Trinity College April 24, 1682, where all his early academic life was marked by an almost uninterrupted succession of irregularities and punishments. From an Essay by Vice-Provost Barrett (1808), his offenses were non-attendance at chapel and absence when the night-roll was called. For the latter, besides numerous fines, he was publicly admonished in 1687, and in the year following, on the day in which he completed his 21st year, he was suspended from his final degree, with several others, for insulting behavior to the junior dean (Owen Lloyd), and restored only by asking pardon in the public hall on bended knees—an indignity which his proud spirit never forgave, either to the person or the College. He does not appear to have proceeded to his Masters Degree in Dublin; but several years later (June, 1692), was admitted to Hart Hall (now Pembroke College) Oxford, where he was made M. A. in July following. In his satirical 'Account of the Duke of Wharton,' he treats Lloyd with much severity.

On the 11th of June, 1744, a young student, whose name was Oliver Goldsmith, entered the University of Dublin as a sizar. Oliver, being thoughtless and unguarded, had the rashness to give a supper party in his rooms, for which he had issued invitations to many ladies and gentlemen of his acquaintance. At the appointed time his guests assembled, but when the music was at its loudest strains, a knocking came to the door; this was his tutor, the Rev. T. Wilder, who had rushed over to put a stop to the merriment; forcing his way in, he attacked Goldsmith in unmeasured terms, nor did this reverend divine confine his abuse to mere idle words, for he concluded a volley of personal abuse by rushing at his pupil and inflicting severe manual chastisement upon him before the whole company. Unlike his successor, Frank Webber, in his last night in Trinity, Goldsmith said not a word, but calmly submitted to the disgraceful treatment he had received, and next day he disposed of his books and clothes and left the College, resolved to go on board ship at Cork. Before taking his departure for the sea-port town, he lingered about Dublin until he had only one shilling left in his pocket. On this shilling, as he afterwards affirmed, he supported himself for three days; he then changed his mind, and turned his thoughts towards home, having informed his brother of his forlorn situation—that brother, to whom he was deeply attached, and of whom he afterwards wrote:—

> Where'er I roam, whatever lands I see,
> My heart, untravel'd, fondly turns to thee—
> Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
> And drags, at each remove, a lengthening chain.

His brother promptly hastened to relieve him, brought him back to the College, and effected in some degree a reconciliation with his tutor; but they were never after on terms of cordiality or friendship.

In 1747 Goldsmith took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and his connection with the University then ceased, but his memory lives there as elsewhere, not only in his own productions, but is daily quickened by the monument erected on the College grounds, in the year 1864.

George Berkeley, D.D., entered Trinity College in 1699, he was elected a Fellow in 1707, became Senior Fellow in 1717, and was afterwards, in 1733, consecrated Bishop of Cloyne. When nine years in that see, this learned and amiable prelate had the misfortune to witness one of those dreadful famines that periodically afflicted the country. It was while under the impression of the terrible scenes of suffering he had witnessed, that Berkeley wrote his celebrated pamphlet, entitled 'The Querist,' which sets forth, under the forms of Questions without answers, the Bishop's views of the evils and requirements of his country. He bestowed on the College a sum of 120 guineas with a medal die, from which gold medals were to be struck, as prizes for Greek scholarship.

In 1728, having laid the foundation of an endowment by subscriptions, and the promise of a grant of £20,000 from government to found a College in Bermuda to convert the savages to Christianity, he left Ireland, and settled temporarily on a farm (Whitehall) near Newport, on Rhode Island. On his return to Ireland he gave his farm to Yale College, which is now the basis of the *Berkeley Scholarship.* His visit inspired the '*Verses on the Prospect of Arts and Learning in America*,' closing with

> Westward the course of Empire takes its way:
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Berkeley removed shortly before his death to Oxford, where he died on the 14th of January, 1753. His remains were interred in Christ Church, in that University, and an elegant marble monument with an inscription was erected to his memory by his widow. One line from Alexander Pope gives, *multum in parvo*, the character of this prelate,

> 'To Berkeley every virtue under Heaven.'

Debating Club—Edmund Burke—Historical Society.

The year 1770 is remarkable in the annals of the College for the foundation of the College Historical Society. Previous to that time there existed a debating club, which met in George's lane, off North King's street, which was founded on the 21st of April, 1747, by four young men, students of the University, one of whom was Edmund Burke, (born at Dublin in 1730, and entered pensioner in 1744, and took the degree of Bachelor in 1749). The original record of the proceedings of this club still exists in the handwriting of Edmund Burke. Sir J. Napier (the Vice-Chancellor), in a lecture on this eminent graduate, remarks:

> Here we can trace Burke from week to week—busy in speech, diligent in composition—now an essay on society, afterwards on painting—at times speaking in a historic character—again the critic of Milton. There is the substance of an extempore comment of great excellence on the 'Sermon on the Mount.'

The Debating Club of George's lane was the germ of the Historical Society. This last was the scene of many animated debates, in which

Plunket, Emmet, Moore, Curran, and other eminent Irishmen took part. It was dissolved in 1792, but revived in 1794, to be again suppressed in 1815, and revived once more in 1844.

On the 11th September, 1790, a resolution was passed by the Board of Trinity College, 'that an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred on the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke.' Burke had then lately returned from Paris—in a visit to that capital he had seen and heard what rendered him apprehensive of the consequences of the doctrines propagated and the measures pursued by the National Assembly of France; and in answer to a letter from a French gentleman in justification of them, Burke wrote his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France;' which were published in the beginning of November, 1790. No political work, probably, was ever read with such avidity on its appearance. It is said that above 30,000 copies were sold before the first demand was satisfied.

The resolution passed by the Board of Trinity College, is as follows:—

That an honorary degree of LL.D. be conferred on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, as the powerful advocate of the Constitution, as the friend of public order and virtue, and consequently of the happiness of mankind, and in testimony of the high respect entertained by the University which had the honor of his education, for the various endowments of his mind, and for his transcendent talents and philanthropy.

This resolution was communicated to him by the Provost, and he received it on the morning of the 17th December, the very day that the important discussion began as to the abatement of the impeachment against Warren Hastings by the dissolution of Parliament; but he found time to acknowledge the honor, and the strength which this appreciation of his Alma Mater gave him in the effort he was about to make in behalf of national honor outraged in the acts of this great criminal.

New Professorships—The Observatory.

In 1785 the lectures on Anatomy, Chemistry, and Botany were made University Professorships by the Act of Parliament establishing a corporate School of Physic in Ireland. In 1794 the Donelan Lecture was established by a legacy of Mrs. Donelan. In 1868 the Professorship of Surgery was raised to the rank of a Regius Professorship.

In 1791 the Observatory was completed, out of 3,000*l.* bequeathed by Provost Andrews in 1774, and 5,000*l.* out of the College funds. A register of observations was not kept till 1808.

In 1798 the western front of Trinity College, with other additions and improvements, was begun and prosecuted at large cost, to which Parliament voted the sum from time to time of 55,000*l.*

Catholic Disabilities in part removed.

In 1793, Roman Catholics were admitted by statute (33 Geo. III. c. 21, s. 7) to graduate or be a Professor or Fellow in any college thereafter to be founded in the Dublin University, and Roman Catholics may thenceforward be members of any lay body corporate, except Trinity College, without taking the oath of allegiance, &c., or subscribing declaration, or receiving the sacrament. And by the 9th section, Catholics were

especially excluded from being either Fellows or Provosts of the University of Dublin; and by the 13th section, which takes a distinction between Trinity College and the University, it was enacted that from and after the 1st of January, 1793—

> So as to enable persons, professing the Roman Catholic Religion, to enter into and take degrees in the University of Dublin; it shall not be necessary for any person taking degrees in the said University to take any oaths save those of allegiance and abjuration.

Catholics were thenceforward admitted to enter, and compete for honors as many of them have done, though they were excluded from the Provostship, Fellowships, and Scholarships of the Foundation until 1873.

In 1724 three Fellowships were founded out of the funds left by Erasmus Smith, in 1761, two, and in 1808 three Fellowships were created, and in 1840 ten Fellowships were added to the existing number, leaving the full board at ten Senior and twenty-six Junior Fellows.

In 1851 a Royal commission, under the great seal, was appointed to inquire into the discipline, the studies, and the revenues of the College. In the report of the commissioners, which was laid before Parliament in 1853, they recommended, amongst other matters, that the Statutes should undergo a complete revision. This recommendation was carried into effect by Letters Patent, dated 31st January, 1855; and various alterations in the Statutes were at the same time introduced, of which the principal was the power given to the Provost and Senior Fellows to found, with the consent of the Visitors, new professorships, and to fix the time and subjects of the examinations Scholarships and Fellowships.

By Letters Patent, dated July 24, 1857, the Senate of the University is made to consist of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor (or Pro-Vice-Chancellor), for the time being, and such Doctors or Masters of the University as shall keep their names on the books of Trinity College, in accordance with the regulations of the Provost and Senior Fellows. The Caput of the Senate is made to consist of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor (or Pro-Vice-Chancellor) the Provost, (or in his absence the Vice-Provost), and the Senior Master, non-regent, who is elected by the Senate. Every grace must pass the Caput before it can be admitted to the Senate.

In 1858 fourteen studentships were founded, at a salary of 100*l.* per annum for each, tenable for a period not exceeding seven years, and open to candidates of all religious denominations.

In 1873 the great offices of the University which had, since the Revolution, been closed against Catholics, Dissenters, and Jews, were thrown open, by an Act of the Legislature, to all religious denominations.

Trinity College possessed in 1851 landed property to the extent of 199,573 acres, and other property in stocks and shares, yielding an annual income, in 1873, of over 65,000*l.* To this should be added 23,000*l.* received from payments for Fees and College dues—making a net annual income of 87,000*l.*

IRELAND.

The sum of £215,200 granted to the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, was distributed to the following objects: the bare enumeration of the amount and object shows the magnitude which the system has attained from the first grant of £4,328 in 1831, in aid of 789 elementary schools.

Object	Amount
1. Normal Establishment at Dublin for training Male and Female Teachers, viz.,	
For 2 Professors and 2 Assistants, on the art of Teaching, &c.,	£1,440
For Board and Travel of Teachers under training—Males,	5,000
For " " " "	1,250
For Central Model School Department—Male School,	823
Female School,	465
Infant School,	325
For West Dublin Model School, - - - -	585
For Glasnevin Model Literary and Industrial School at Glasnevin,	285
2. The Albert Agricultural Training Establishment and Model Farm at Glasnevin, for 90 Agricultural pupils,	4,925
3. The Glasnevin Model Garden, including Conservatory,	2,000
4. Nineteen Model Agricultural Schools, &c., - - -	8,700
5. In aid of building and furnishing ordinary School-houses,	5,000
6. " " District Model Schools, - - - - -	18,540
7. Salaries of Teachers in National Schools, - -	117,938
8. Premiums in encouragement of neatness and cleanliness, -	1,000
9. Gratuities to aged and infirm Teachers, - -	2,000
10. Inspection Department—6 Head Inspectors, at £400, 10 First Class Assistants, at £325, 40 Second Class " at £280, 6 Sub-Inspectors at £200 and expenses, - -	19,900
11. Book Department, - - - - - - -	10,250
12. Official Establishment at Dublin, - - -	13,000

THE ENDOWED SCHOOL COMMISSION. A Commission appointed by Parliament has been for some time engaged in inquiring into the management and condition of endowments for educational purposes in Ireland. The inquiry already embraces fifteen hundred endowments, from which it appears that vast funds are either locked up, or diverted from their original channels, or so administered as to be useless for the education of the community at large. In some instances the land bestowed for the support of the school, has been converted into private property; and in others, the income passes through so many hands, that it is absorbed before it reaches the object for which it was given. The inquiry thus far shows that there is a disposable annual income of near $500,000; a sum sufficient to support a scheme of secondary education for each county, supplementary to the national and other elementary schools, and preparatory to the higher institutions. The commission is now engaged in looking into the facilities of education enjoyed in each county, with a view of recommending a plan for the better use of the income of these endowments.

UNIVERSITY—1875.

Chancellor, Hon. Lord Cairns, LL.D., T.C.D., D C L., Oxon, L.L.D., Cantab.
Vice-Chan., Hon. Sir Jos. Napier, LL.D.
Members for the University, Hon. J. T. Ball (1858); Hon. D. Plunket, Q.C.
Provost, Humphrey Lloyd, D.D.
Vice Provost, Rev. J. L. Moore, D.D.
Proctors, George Ferd. Shaw, LL.D., Francis A. Tarleton, LL.D.
Censor, Rev. William Roberts, M.A.
Deans, Thomas Stack, M.A., Benj. Williamson, M.A.
Registrar, Andrew S. Hart, LL.D.
Bursar, Rev. Joseph Carson, D.D.
Auditor, Andrew S. Hart, LL.D.
Librarian, Rev. J. Malet.
Sec. to the Sen., J. A. Galbraith, M.A.

PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS.

1607—*Divinity* (*Regius*), G. Salmon, D.D.
1718—*Divinity Abp. King's Lect.*) W. Lee, D.D.
1668—*Civil Law* (*Regius*), T. E. Webb, LL.D.
1761—*Feudal and English Law* (*Regius*), Hon. Mountifort Longfield, LL.D.
1761—*Greek* (*Regius*), J. K. Ingram, LL D.
1724—*Oratory and Eng. Lit.*, E. Dowden, M.A.
1847—*Natural Philosophy*, Rev. R. Townsend.
1724—*Natural Philosophy* (*Erasmus Smith*), Rev. John R. Leslie, M.A.
1762—*Mathematics* (*Erasmus Smith*), Michael Roberts, M.A.
1762—*Modern History* (*Erasmus Smith*), Jas. W. Barlow, M.A.
1637—*Hebrew* (*Regius*), Geo. Longfield, D.D.
1783—*Astron. Royal*, Robert S. Ball, LL.D.
1832—*Political Economy*, Robert Donnell.
1837—*Moral Philosophy*, James McIvor, D.D.
1838—*Biblical Greek*, George S. Smith, D.D.
1850—*Ecclesiastical Hist.*, R. Gibbings, D.D.
1840—*Irish*, Thaddeus O'Mahony, M.A.
1856—*Arabic*, Mir Aulad Ali.
1856—*Sanskrit*, Robert Atkinson, LL.D.
1637—*Physic* (*Regius*), William Stokes, M.D.
1785—*Anatomy*, B. G. M'Dowell, M.D., Ch.M.
1852—*Surgery* (*Regius Prof.*), R. Adams, M.D.
1849—*Surgery*, Edw. Heilbron Bennett, M.D.
Comparative Anat., A. MacAlister, M.B.
1785—*Chemistry*,
1785—*Botany*, E. P. Wright, M.D.
1844—*Geology*, S. Haughton, M.D., F.R.S.
1845—*Mineralogy*, James Apjohn, M.D.
Music, Sir Robert P. Stewart, Mus.D.
Professor of German, A. M. Selss, M.A.
Prof. Romance Lan., R. Atkinson, LL.D.
Prof. of Zoölogy, A. MacAlister, M.B.
1785—*University Anatomist*, T. E. Little, M.D
Director of Museum, A. Macalister.
Curator of Anatoml. Museum, J. Connor.

SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING.

Mathematics, William Roberts, M.A.
Mechanics, J. A. Galbraith, M.A.
Principles of Physics, Rev. J. R. Leslie.
Geology, Samuel Haughton, M.D.
1852—*Pract. Engineering*, S. Downing, LL.D.
Chemistry.Constructive, J. Apjohn, M.D.
Draw. and Survey., S. Downing, LL.D.

Registrars.

University, Andrew S. Hart, LL.D.
Law School, Thomas E. Webb, LL.D.
School of Physic, Rev. S Haughton, M.D.
School of Engineering, J. R. Leslie, M.A.
University Electors, Mr. Chs. Miller.

THE whole government of the University is committed to the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College; the place of an absent Senior Fellow being supplied by the Junior Fellow next in order of seniority.

The Provost and Senior Fellows (or the Provost and a majority of Senior Fellows, viz., *four*,) thus assembled, determine all elections of Fellows, Scholars, and College Officers, and grant *graces* for all University Degrees.

Degrees are publicly conferred by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor in the Senate or Congregation of the University. All Masters of Arts and Doctors having their names upon the College Books, and resident in the College, are members of the University Senate or House of Congregation.

The CAPUT SENATUS ACADEMICI is a council consisting of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, the Provost (or, in his absence, the Vice-Provost,) and the Senior Master non-regent, resident in the College. Every grace must pass the Caput before it can be proposed to the rest of the Senate, and each member of the Caput has a negative voice.

The grace of the House for a Degree in any Faculty must be granted by the Provost and Senior Fellows, before it can be proposed to the Caput. Those who have thus been admitted to a degree are then *presented* to the Vice-Chancellor and the whole University, at a public congregation, by the Regius Professor of the Faculty in which the degree is to be taken; or, if it be a Degree in Arts, by one of the Proctors. If no member of the Caput objects, the Proctor, in a prescribed form of words, *supplicates* the Congregation for their public grace; and, having collected their suffrages, declares the assent or dissent of the House accordingly; if the *placets* be the majority, the candidates kneel before the Vice-Chancellor, who confers the degree according to a formula fixed by the University Statutes.

Commencement and Terms.

Public Commencements are held in this University on two days in every year, viz., Shrove Tuesday and the first Tuesday in July. No degrees excepting such as are merely honorary are ever conferred privately.

The Terms of the University are three:

MICHAELMAS, or October Term, begins on the 10th of October—ends on the 20th December.

HILARY, or January Term, begins on the 10th of January—ends on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

TRINITY, or Midsummer Term, begins on the 15th of April—ends on the 30th of June.

Terms and Exercises required for Degrees.

To take the Degree of *Bachelor of Arts*, the student, if a pensioner, must keep four academic years, i.e., he must keep at least eight Terms; with at least four Catechetical Terms or Examinations. Terms may be kept by diligent attendance on the Lectures in Science and Classics; or by passing satisfactorily every Term Examination. After said ordinary Term Examination, special examinations are held of those students who are qualified to become candidates for honors.

The Scholastic exercises necessary for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts are two *declamations*, one in Greek and one in Latin, and a thesis, also in Latin, *in laudem philosophiæ;* these must be read by every candidate, whether he be a Moderator or not. At a convenient time before the day fixed for performing the exercises, the Junior Proctor delivers to the Moderator three papers, each containing four questions in Logics, Natural Philosophy, and Morality. The Moderator, having selected a set of three candidate Bachelors, appoints them each to defend one of the three papers of questions, and to oppose the two others. Thus each disputant is in his turn *opponent* and *respondent;* he *opposes* the papers which the other two disputants respectively have undertaken to defend, by bringing an argument, consisting of three syllogisms, against each of the eight questions contained in those papers; he defends his own paper by briefly pointing out the errors contained in the syllogisms of his opponents, and also *responds* in two brief Latin theses on any two questions, not consecutive, of the paper he has undertaken to defend.

A Master of Arts must be A.B. of three years' standing. The exercises are three declamations, similar to those read by Bachelors, one in Greek, the others in Latin: together with one Respondency and one Opponency.

The requirements for the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, Laws, Medicine, and Music are substantially the same as in the English universities.

The amount of the fees for each Degree is:

	£	s.	d.
Artium Baccal.—Nobilis,	£33	0	0
Soc. Comm.,	17	5	0
Pens.,	8	17	6
Siz.,	3	5	0
——— Magister,	9	16	6
Mediciniæ Baccal.,	11	15	0
——— Doctor,	22	0	0
Legum Baccal,	11	15	0
——— Doctor,	22	0	0
Mus. Baccal.	11	15	0
——— Doctor.	22	0	0
S. Theologiæ Baccal.,	13	15	0
——— Doctor,	26	0	0

TRINITY COLLEGE.

The several orders in the College are the following:

1. The PROVOST or Head of the College; who must be in Holy Orders, and a Doctor, or at least a Bachelor in Divinity, and not less than thirty years of age.

2. FELLOWS; who are all bound to enter into Priest's Orders, except five; one of whom is elected *Medicus*, by the Provost and Senior Fellows; and two others are elected *Jurista juris Civilis* and *Jurista juris Anglici*, respectively.

3. NOBLEMEN, SONS OF NOBLEMEN, and BARONETS; who are matriculated as such under the title of *Nobilis*, *Filius Nobilis*, and *Eques*. Noblemen and Sons of Noblemen are entitled to the degree of Bachelor of Arts *per specialem gratiam*.

4. DOCTORS in the three Faculties, BACHELORS IN DIVINITY, and MASTERS OF ARTS. All Doctors and Masters of Arts, Ex-Fellows, and Ex-Scholars, having their names registered as Electors, are entitled to vote at the election of Members to represent the University in Parliament, but having no collegiate privileges or duties, unless their names are kept on the College Books.

5. BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW, and PHYSIC, and BACHELORS OF ARTS. They are not required to keep their names on the University or College books in order to entitle them to proceed to the higher degrees.

6 FELLOW COMMONERS; who have the privilege of dining at the Fellows' Table; the number of Term Examinations required of them for the degree of Bachelor of Arts is one less than the number required of Pensioners.

7. SCHOLARS, who are on the foundation, being members of the Corporation of the College; they have their commons free of expense, and their rooms for half the charge paid by other Students; they pay half tuition fees, but are exempted from College charges or *decrements*, and receive from the College an annual salary. They hold their Scholarships until they become, or might have become, Masters of Arts, their standing being counted from the time of their election to Scholarships. The number of Scholars is Seventy, of whom thirty were formerly termed natives (*Hibernici*,) but this distinction has been abolished.

8. NON-FOUNDATION SCHOLARS, whose emoluments and tenure of office are the same as those of the foregoing class of Students, but who are not members of the Corporation, and do not enjoy the University franchise.

9. PENSIONERS, who pay the regular fees and enjoy no pecuniary aid.

10. SIZARS are Students of limited means, who have their commons free of expense, and are exempted from annual fees. They were formerly nominated, one by each Fellow, and eight or more (provided the number of thirty were not exceeded) by the Provost. They are now elected annually by an examination, and if they enter College as Sizars, they are entitled to hold their Sizarships for four years. In the event of any person who is already a Student of the College being elected a Sizar, the duration of his Sizarship shall not exceed four years from the Sizarship Examination next succeeding his entrance into College. Sizars, who fail to keep their class, or who drop a class without the express permission of the Board, *ipso facto* vacate their Sizarships.

Classification of Undergraduates.

Students in their undergraduate course are classified as follows. Students in their first and second years are denominated Junior and Senior Freshmen; in their third and fourth years, Junior and Senior Sophisters. To rise from the class of Junior to that of Senior Freshman one Term at least must be kept by

examination; that is, either by attending the daily lectures or by passing the examination in the same subjects at the beginning of the succeeding term. To pass from Senior Freshman to Junior Sophister, the Student must pass the General Examinations of Senior Freshman held at the beginning of Michaelmas Term. During his two Freshman years, he must attend the Catechetical Lectures held every Saturday morning, or pass an examination in the same. The final Degree Examination is held at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term of the Senior Sophister year.

College Charges.

College payments (I., an entrance fee, and II., a half-yearly charge, which includes tuition, and is exclusive of rooms and commons), and fees:

	I.	II.
Nobleman	£60 0 0	£30 0 0
Fellow Commoner	30 0 0	15 0 0
Pensioner	15 0 0	7 10 0
Sizar.*	5 1 3	0 0 0

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

There are four Professional Schools in the University, viz.: Divinity, Law, Medicine, and Engineering. The Diplomas or Testimonials of these Schools can only be obtained by attending prescribed Courses of Lectures during two or more years, and passing a final Examination.

Students seeking credit for a Term by Lectures must, at the commencement of such Term, duly register with the Clerk of the Books their places of residence for that Term, and during Term notify a change of residence; if this rule be not observed, credit for the Term can not be allowed.

Divinity School.

Students in Divinity must keep six Terms—three with Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, and three with the Regius Professor.

Law School.

Students in Law must keep six Terms—three with the Regius Professor of Civil Law, and three Terms with the Regius Professor of Feudal and English Law. Five-sixths of the Lectures of each Term, *at least*, must be attended in order to get credit for the Term.

School of Physic.

The School of Physic was instituted by Act of Parliament (40 Geo. III. c. 84,) and consists of the three University Professors, viz., the Professor of Anatomy—the Professor of Chemistry—and the Professor of Botany; together with the King's Professor of the City of Dublin, on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun, viz., the Professors of the Institutes of Medicine—the Practice of Medicine—and the Materia Medica and Pharmacy. The University has added to these a Professor of Surgery, and the College af Physicians has added a Professor of Midwifery, and one of Medical Jurisprudence.

School of Engineering.

The School of Engineering was established in 1842. The Student must be a member of the College, and subject to its general discipline, and attend the Academic Course of Arts throughout the first, or Junior Freshman year. The Professional Course occupies three years, partly by Lectures, and partly in Laboratory, and partly in the Field.

Mr. Gladstone in his speech in the House of Commons, in moving for leave to bring in a Bill relating to University Education in Ireland, March, 1873, thus recognizes the University of Dublin as the national institution, whose powers and resources should include other Colleges, as well as Trinity.

I propound with some confidence to the House that the University of Dublin, as distinct from Trinity College, is the ancient, historic, national University of the country, that its constitution is in a state of the strangest anomalies, that it calls for reform, and that it is this University within the precincts of which the reform now projected for Ireland ought to take effect.

For 150 or 200 years all efforts to found a University alone had been in vain; again and again it had dissolved into thin air. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a completely different policy was adopted, and instead of beginning with the University, it was determined to begin with the College. They, therefore, founded a College, and it was incorporated; but they did not incorporate the University, which, as a University, remains to this day unincorporated. I think that policy was a wise and sagacious one. The men of that time appear to have reasoned thus: 'Hitherto, the University has pined and died from want of the proper material to sustain it. We will supply the material which will feed the sacred flame; for it is not here as it was in England, where the University grew, as it were, spontaneously, in obedience to demand, to supply a thirst for learning. If we plant firmly a nucleus of teachers and scholars, around it will gather a body of men, out of which a real and solid University will hereafter grow.' They, therefore, planted their College and called it *Mater Universitatis*, meaning thereby that from the College a University was to spring up, and that other colleges were to appear from time to time within its precints.

In 1600, the College (*Trinity*) having only begun to take students in 1593, the first 'commencement,' as it is termed, was held, showing that the University was in action as distinct from the College, and this at the close of the first period, when a course of study had been completed by the very first pupils. In 1615, or some say a little earlier, the University Statutes were published, and by them, with modifications, the University has been governed to this day. This was done by the College. It was to be a *Mater Universitatis*, and it was not unfaithful to its trust. Undoubtedly, and it is a large part of the case I have to state, the original design has not been fulfilled; but I do not say it was the fault of the persons connected with the College. It was the fault and misfortune of the times, for not only were efforts made to found new colleges in Dublin in the 17th century, but those efforts took some effect; and I find that no less than four colleges and halls are on record. One was founded as soon as 1604, only eleven years after the commencement of the practical operations of Trinity College—namely, Woodward's Hall. Trinity Hall was founded in 1617, and that, I think, is the one which took some root as a Medical College, and subsisted down to about 1689. In 1630 New College was founded, and in the same year St. Stephen's or Kildare Hall. It is shown by these imperfect foundations, made at a time when the mother-College was itself still immaturely established, that those, who followed the founders of 1593, were anxious to give effect to their design of multiplying colleges around Trinity College, which should share in the enjoyment of the same privileges; and thereby to bring into existence the true idea of a University, as it had been understood, and as it already existed in England, which was the model they had before their eyes.

In 1613 James I. gave the University of Dublin the right of being represented by two members in the Irish Parliament, and in giving it, after mentioning Trinity College, he speaks of '*aliorum collegiorum sive aularum in dicta Universitate in posterum erigendarum ac stabiliendarum.*' In his view, therefore, other colleges were to be founded in Dublin. In 1662 the Act of Settlement empowered the Lord Lieutenant to erect another college, to be of the University of Dublin, to be called King's College, and to be endowed with any amount of property from the forfeited estates not exceeding the then very large sum of 2,000*l.* a year. The last, and perhaps the most curious, indication I will give is of the date of 1793. The disabilities which excluded Roman Catholics from Trinity College and the University of Dublin were then removed by law; and an Act was passed which, while it provided that they might enter Trinity College, but not share in the endowments of the College, further provided that

'Papists might take degrees, fellowships, or professorships in any college to be hereafter founded under that Act,' subject to the double condition that such college was not to be founded for the education of Papists alone, excluding all other persons, and that it was to be a member of the University of Dublin.

The Relations of Dublin University and Trinity College.

This constitution is in everything almost exactly the opposite of that which, according to admitted rules, it ought to be. The University of Dublin is in absolute servitude to the College of Dublin. But when, twenty years ago, we began to think about the reform of the English Universities, what was the first thing we endeavored to do? We endeavored to emancipate the University from the exclusive sway of the Colleges; and that we did in Cambridge, where there were seventeen Colleges and Halls, and in Oxford, where there were twenty-four—this immense diversity producing, of necessity, a great variety and play of influences. But here we have the case of a single University, with a single College, and the University is in absolute servitude to the College. When I say, 'in servitude to the College,' what does that mean? The College is a large and illustrious body. Does it mean in servitude to the whole assembly of the College? Certainly not. It means eight gentlemen who elect the other Fellows, who elect also themselves, and who govern both the University and the College. That is the state of things which we find in the University of Dublin and in Trinity College. The Provost and seven Fellows are the persons who appoint, to begin with, the Chancellor of the University. He is not elected, as in Oxford and Cambridge, and, I think, in some or all of the Scotch Universities; nor is he appointed by the Crown. He is appointed by the Provost and seven Fellows. But, when he is appointed, what can he do? What is there the Chancellor of the University of Dublin ean do except by the command or with the assent of the Provost and seven Fellows? As I understand, one of the great functions of the Chancellor of the University is to convoke the Senate of the University; but at Dublin he can not do this except upon the requisition of the Provost and seven Fellows. And when the Senate is convoked, the Provost and the seven Fellows, or the Provost alone, have the power at any moment by absolute veto to stop any of its proeeedings. Now that is the position of the University of Dublin in reference to Trinity College. No degree, again, can be granted by the University of Dublin unless it receives a proposal to that effect from the College; that is, from the Provost and the seven Fellows. On the other hand, when it has received this permission, it can not refuse to grant the degree, unless it votes in the negative three times over, when the matter stands for further consideration at the next meeting of the Senate. Well, sir, these things are singular. They are hardly credible. And now, to crown it all, let me give you the truly Irish consummation. It is, then, a fact that the Senate of the University of Dublin was formally incorporated by letters patent in 1857; and it has been acting, as has been always supposed, upon the strength of those letters patent ever sinee. They have been referred separately to two of the ablest lawyers in Ireland—Sir Abraham Brewster, the ex-Lord Chancellor, and Baron Fitzgerald; and both of those eminent lawyers entertained the gravest doubts whether—or rather, I should say, they evidently are of opinion that—the letters patent are invalid, and not worth the paper on which they are written.

Principles of the proposed University Reform in Ireland.

Parliament has been recently engaged in reforming the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; it has laid down very sound principles with respect to these Universities; these principles have not reached their fullest development, but still there they are; they have received deliberate sanction, and it is upon these principles that we propose to go with respect to the University of Dublin and Trinity College. What, then, are the great principles upon which Parliament has acted with respect to the English Universities? First of all it has abolished tests. Upon this point there is practically no difference of opinion, because while the whole Liberal politicians of the country have desired that abolition for its own sake, under the circumstances of the time that boon is freely offered with an open hand by the authorities of Trinity College and the University of Dublin itself. But this is a negative rather than a positive reform. The next principle

has been to open endowments. Where endowments are tied up by particular provisions in such a way as to render them the monopoly of comparatively few, Parliament has endeavored to widen the access, and to increase the number of those who may compete for them, with the conviction that that is the way to render them more fruitful of beneficial results. The next and perhaps most important principle has been to emancipate the University from the Colleges. That is what we did at once in Oxford, and we did it in two ways. The first of them was the establishment of a new governing body. In Cambridge, the *Caput*, supplemented by conventional meetings of the Heads of Houses, in Oxford more formally the Hebdomadal Board, composed almost wholly of the Heads of Colleges, were in practical possession of the initiative, and were the rulers of the University. We abolished the Hebdomadal Board in Oxford and the *Caput* in Cambridge, and carried over the powers in each case to the Council. And now, similarly, that we should establish a new governing body for the University of Dublin is evidently the conclusion to which both principle and policy should bring us. The other great measure of emancipation consisted in the introduction within the Universities of members not belonging to any college at all. Until within the last few years no one could belong to the University of Oxford or of Cambridge without belonging to some College or Hall within it, just as now no one can belong to the University of Dublin without belonging also to Trinity College. Parliament enabled the English Universities to enlarge their borders by taking in members not belonging to any college or hall. Speaking for Oxford, I rejoice to say that Act has been fruitful of good; and already, although the change is a very recent one, there are 120 young men to be found in the University enjoying all the benefits of careful training, but all able to pursue a social scheme of their own, to live as economically as they please, to seek knowledge in the way they like best, provided they conform to the rules of the University; and we may reasonably expect that a very powerful element of University life will in this way ultimately be established. Another method by which we have proceeded, I will not say to emancipate the Universities, but to make the colleges conducive to the purposes of the University, is a very important one, and that is, to use a very emphatic little word, by 'taxing' the Colleges for the benefit of the Universities. That is a principle which has already received in Oxford a considerable development. We already oblige Corpus Christi, Magdalen, and All Souls colleges to maintain professors out of the College Revenues, not for College but for University purposes; and as for Christ Church, with which I have been myself connected, though a poor college in comparison with Trinity College—I greatly doubt whether it is half as wealthy—yet in Christ Church five professorships of divinity, at a cost of probably between 7.000*l.* and 8,000*l.* a year, are maintained out of the property of the College for the benefit of the University.

These, sir, are the principles of academic reform on which we have proceeded in England. There are other principles which it would be necessary to observe in Ireland, in consequence of her peculiar circumstances; yet these are the main ones. But there are two points among those which the special case of Ireland brings before us, that I must particularly notice. To the one I would refer with some satisfaction, at least as regards Trinity College; to the other with pain. It is this. If we are about to found a University in Ireland in which we hope to unite together persons of the different religious persuasions into which the community is divided, we must be content to see some limitations of academical teaching. It would not be safe, in our opinion, to enter with one's eyes open into largely controverted subjects. In theology no one would wish the University of Dublin, if it be reformed, to teach; and we also think there are some other subjects with regard to which it will be necessary to observe limitations that I will presently explain. There is another matter on which we must pursue a course somewhat different from that taken in England, when we reformed the Universities, we may say we did nothing to increase the influence of the Crown. In Ireland, as far as Trinity College is concerned, I should not propose to increase the influence of the Crown. It appears to me that it may be safely limited. But if we are to have an effective and living Dublin University with a new governing body, I am afraid it will be

necessary to introduce for a time the action of Parliament and of the Crown in consequence of the unbalanced state of the University at the present moment, a state which must continue at all events for a time. When the University arrives at a condition in which the nation can be said to be fairly represented in it, then I think the desire of Parliament will be to carry over to the University itself, as far as may be, the power of electing all its own officers and governing body, and to see it thrive upon those principles of academic freedom which have been allowed so much of scope in this country, on the whole, with such beneficial results.

These are the principles on which we propose to proceed. And, now, if the committee will still have the kindness to follow me, I will endeavor to describe the mode in which those principles will be applied to the University of Dublin. And first, sir, I must say it is necessary for clearness that the committee should carefully keep in view three separate periods of time. The first period of time laid down in the Bill is the 1st of January, 1875. It is on the 1st of January, 1875, that we propose that the powers now exercised by the Provost and seven Senior Fellows of Trinity College as towards the University shall be handed over to the new governing body, just as in the English Universities the powers of the Hebdomadal Board and less exactly those of the Cambridge Heads were handed over to the new governing bodies, which represented mixed and diversified academic forces. The second period, after the 1st of January, 1875, is one of ten years, which we look upon as a provisional period, during which it will be necessary to make some special provisions that I will, bye-and-bye, state summarily to the committee. After the 1st of January, 1885, we think we may reckon that the new scheme will in all likelihood have developed itself so largely and so freely, that the permanent system of government of the University may with safety be brought into play.

I now proceed to explain the leading provisions of the Bill. First of all, the University is to be incorporated by the present Bill, a process which it has never yet undergone. The Universities of this country are incorporated; and it is more convenient and seemly that they should be incorporated than that a particular part—namely, the Senate, as now—should be incorporated in a manner quite contrary to the analogy of our academical history. The second provision I will name is this—the separation of the theological faculty. We propose to sever the theological faculty both from Trinity College, and from the University of Dublin.

It is as nearly as possible analogous to the method pursued under the Church Act in the case of Maynooth College. We hand over the care of the theological faculty to the Representative Body of the Disestablished Church. We make provision, I hope ample provision, for the vested interests of the persons now holding office in the theological faculty, or discharging duties in that faculty, as far as those duties are concerned. We provide that private endowments which have been created for the purpose of the theological faculty shall pass over to the Representative Body, that Body to be subject to the same responsibilities as Trinity College will lie under, if the Bill be adopted, with reference to the private endowments in Trinity College. With regard to the rest of the change affecting the theological faculty, we propose to follow exactly the analogy of Maynooth. We ask you to grant 15 years' purchase of the annual expense; that is, a sum equal to 15 times the annual expense is to be handed over to the Representative Body, to be administered in trust for the purposes for which the theological faculty has existed. And, lastly, as the theological faculty, severed from the University and from the College, will no longer appear nor have accommodation in the building already existing, we propose that there should be a charge on the property of the College of 15,000*l.* to provide buildings for the theological faculty. So much as to the theological faculty.

The principal parts and organs of the University of Dublin, as we propose that they should stand in its detached and reformed condition, are these: First of all there is the Chancellor of the University. The case of the Chancellorship of the University of Dublin is a very peculiar one, in this respect, that he is scarcely—I speak subject to correction—more than a nominal officer so far as regards the University. He has indeed the privilege of appointing the Vice-

Chancellor, but then the Vice-Chancellor is, unfortunately, no less nominal than himself; for all that they can do is, when they are permitted by the College, to preside in the Senate; and when they preside there they are liable to be stopped at any moment by the action of the authorities of the College. But, although he is a nominal officer as to the University, he is not so as to the College. In virtue of his office of Chancellor of the University, he is Visitor of the College. As Visitor of the College, he has all the ordinary powers of the Visitor of a college; and besides those ordinary powers, he has another real and important power—namely, that his assent to the statutes of the College is required, I think, in certain rather important cases, to give them validity. And so we have had to consider, in detaching and severing the College functions from those of the University, what course to pursue as to the Chancellor. The course we recommend is this:—We think it better, under all the circumstances, to continue the Chancellor of the University as (if I may so speak) an ornamental officer of the University, and, that being so, to attach the Chancellorship to the person of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being. This is not a question of making over an operative State influence. If it were so, the case would be materially altered. But viewing all the difficulties which beset any other manner of proceeding, we recommend this as least open to objection. The Vice-Chancellor we propose to leave it to the new Governing Body to elect from among themselves. He will, therefore, be a real officer, with real functions—namely, those which attach to the Chair of the Governing Body.

A new Governing Body will be substituted for the old one, and as a necessary step in the process of emancipating—I do not use the word in any invidious sense—or detaching the University. But in the case of Oxford and Cambridge we had, already supplied to our hands, a large, free, well-balanced and composed constituency, to which we could at once intrust the election of the new Governing Body. This, it is evident, is not the case with respect to the University of Dublin. Were the new Governing Body to be elected at once by the Senate of the University of Dublin, it would represent one influence and one influence only. We have, therefore, determined to introduce an intermediate or provisional period, and we shall not ask Parliament to place in the hands of the Crown the nomination of the Council which is to govern the University for that period, but, passing by the Crown, shall ask the Legislature itself in the main to nominate the list of persons for that purpose.

The University Council will consist of 28 ordinary members, appointed

7 by the Crown.
7 by the Council.
7 by the University of Professors.
7 by the Senate of the University.

These names of ordinary members we shall endeavor to submit to Parliament, not as representatives of religious bodies as such, but on wider grounds. For we think that the lists should be composed—without excluding any class or any man on account of his religious profession—from among all those persons in Ireland who, from their special knowledge or position, or from their experience, ability, character, and influence, may be best qualified at once to guard and to promote the work of academic education in Ireland.

On the 1st of January, 1875, the Council will take over those powers of ordinary government which have hitherto been exercised by the Provost and seven Senior Fellows of Trinity College. It will have the power to admit new Colleges over and above those named in the Act; it will have a general power of governing the University, and the function of appointing professors and examiners; and it is only in respect to the method of its own election that it will remain under an intermediate or provisional constitution until it reaches the year 1885, when its constitution will assume its permanent form.

The vacancies should be filled alternately by the Crown and by co-optation on the part of the Council itself. At the expiration of the ten years it will come to its permanent constitution, and I will describe what that, as we propose it, is to be; and then the committee will be able to judge of the meaning of what I said when I stated that our desire was that the University of Dublin should be founded, as far as possible, on principles of academic freedom. After

ten years, we propose that service on the Council shall be divided into four terms of seven years each, four members retiring in each successive year. There will, therefore, be four vacancies among the twenty-eight ordinary members to be filled up every year, and these four vacancies we propose shall be filled in rotation—first, by the Crown; secondly, by the Council itself; thirdly, by the Professors of the University; and fourthly, by the Senate of the University. There is a separate provision with regard to casual vacancies in the Council, to which I need not now more particularly refer. The ordinary members will constitute, according to the proposal of the Government, the main stock or material of the Council or Governing Body of the University; but we have been very desirous to see in what way that which we aim at may meet the general wants and wishes of the people of Ireland; and, considering how desirable it is to prevent the action of too strong an unitarian principle—I have, I believe, ample authority for using that word, which is familiar in the present politics of Germany—we have been very anxious to discover in what manner it might be possible to give to those bodies, which I have described as Colleges of the University, a fair opportunity, not of governing the action of the Council by any exertion of influence or combination among themselves, but of being heard in the Council, so that all views and desires with respect to education might be fairly brought into open discussion, and that right might have the best chance of prevailing. It is evident we could not adopt the system under which any one College should be allowed to send to the Council a large number of members. It is also evident that it would not be safe to adopt a system under which Colleges, insignificant in magnitude, should be permitted to claim a representation in the Council. What we wish is this—that considerable Colleges, which represent a large section of the community and of its educating force, should have a fair opportunity of making their voice heard in the Council. With regard to all those dangers which would be likely to arise from too great a rigor of unity in the examinations, or too narrow a choice in their subjects and tone, though we introduce several other provisions on the point into the Bill, it is to the freedom and elasticity of the Council itself, I think, that we should look as the main security against any thing either inequitable or unwise. We propose, then, that there shall be in the Council from the outset—that is to say, from the 1st of January, 1875—a certain number of what we call collegiate members, the basis of whose position in the Council will be that any College of the University which has fifty of its matriculated students, those students being *in statu pupillari* matriculated also as members of the University, may send one member to the Council, and if such college have 150 students, then it may send two members. That would be the *maximum;* and this element, so far as we can judge, while it ought to be and will be secondary in point of numbers, would become very valuable and necessary for the purpose to which I have just adverted.

The Senate of the University of Dublin, as it now exists, does not, I may observe, discharge one of the living and standing duties which a University is called upon to perform. I mean the election of representatives to be sent to Parliament. The election of representatives for the Dublin University is mainly conducted by gentlemen who, except for that purpose, do not belong to the University at all—that is to say, who have ceased to belong to it, and who are empowered to exercise with regard to it no other function. What we propose is that henceforward the Senate shall elect the representatives of the University. The Senate will, of course, consist of all those who are now in it, and of all the doctors and masters who may hereafter have their names kept on it according to the rules which may be in force. I need not add that care will be taken that all those individuals who are now intrusted with the privilege of the franchise will have their rights preserved; but for the future we should lay down the principle that the members for the University ought to be elected by the Senate as they now are by the Senate of Cambridge and the Convocation of Oxford, and by them alone. As to the duty of the Senate, it will be to discharge the duties heretofore discharged by the old Senate of the University, and to share in the election of the Council in the manner I have described after the provisional period has passed, and the permanent constitution comes into play.

FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIPS, STUDENTSHIPS, AND PRIZES.

There are now thirty-two Fellows (seven Senior and twenty-five Junior), who are members of the corporation of Trinity College.

Fellows are now elected to any vacancy in the general result of an examination. Candidates must have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The examination continues through ten days from 9 to 12 A.M., and from 2 to 5 P.M., on subjects arranged in three principal courses:—

1. Mathematics, pure and applied,—highest value answering	...	1,000
Experimental Science, " " "	...	250
2. Classics, " " "	...	650
Hebrew and Cognate Languages, " " "	...	100
3. Mental and Moral Science, " " "	...	500

There are seventy *Scholars on the Foundation*, being members of the corporation of the College, who have their commons free of expense, and their rooms at half the fixed price, and receive an annual salary.

There are fourteen University Studentships in Trinity College, open to candidates of all religious denominations. They are tenable for seven years, and the salary of each is 100*l.* per ann. Two of these Studentships are filled up annually, one from the Senior Moderators in Mathematics and Physics, and one from the Senior Moderators in Classics.

No Fellow can be elected to a Studentship; and a Studentship is vacated by acceptance of a Fellowship.

Two or more Non-Foundation Scholars, not exceeding four annually, are elected since 1854, for merit in Science or Classics—the former in all the pure and applied Mathematics of the under graduate course, and the latter in the classics of the entrance course, and of the under graduate course to the Trinity examination of the Junior Sophister year, inclusive. These Scholarships are open without restriction on account of religious denomination, and receive the same emoluments as the Foundation Scholars, without being members of the corporation.

MADDEN'S PRIZE is given to the candidate second in merit, at each Fellowship Examination, but who is disappointed of the Fellowship. Its value is about 250*l.* Other premiums are also awarded to deserving candidates.

COMMENCEMENT MEDALS, in gold, were given to every Student who had answered with honor every Examination from his entrance to the taking of his B.A. degree, but Moderatorships are now substituted for these, and Gold Medals are given to the Senior Moderators, and Silver Medals to Junior Moderators.

BISHOP LAW'S MATHEMATICAL PRIZES consist of 20*l.* to the Junior Bachelor most proficient in Algebra, &c., and 10*l.* to the second best Junior Bachelor.

BISHOP BERKELEY'S GOLD MEDALS are awarded to the best and second best candidates at an examination in the Greek Language and Literature.

LLOYD'S EXHIBITIONS are two in number, of about 16*l.* each, tenable for two years only, awarded to the best candidates belonging to the rising Senior Sophister Class, at an examination in Mathematics and Physics.

M'CULLAGH PRIZE of 30*l.* is awarded annually to the best answerer at an Examination on some important Mathematical or Physical subject which is published in the University Calendar about a year before the Examination.

WRAY PRIZE is awarded to the Student in the Senior Sophister Class who shall answer best in an Examination on Metaphysical subjects, value 20*l.*

Two Theological Exhibitions, of 60*l.* and 40*l.* per ann. each, tenable for 3 years, are awarded to the best answerers at a Theological Examination, comprising candidates of not more than one year's standing as M.A.

Wall Biblical Scholarships, consisting of five of 20*l.* per ann. each, are awarded after examination in Hebrew Biblical Literature. One Scholarship is awarded annually.

Downe's Divinity Premiums consist of one of 20*l.* and one of 10*l.* for written Sermons or Discourses, one of 12*l.* and one of 8*l.* for Extemporaneous Speaking, and one of 8*l.* and one of 4*l.* for reading the Liturgy.

The Primate's Hebrew Prizes are awarded to the best answerers of the Senior and Middle Classes in the annual Examination in Hebrew.

Elrington Theological Prize of 30*l.* in books is given annually for the best Theological Essay composed by B.A.'s of not more than 3 years' standing.

Prizes in Biblical Greek, of the value of 15*l.*, are awarded annually to the best answerers at an Examination by the Greek Professors.

Prizes in Ecclesiastical History of 10*l.* and 5*l.* per ann. or more are given to the most deserving Students in the Class of the Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Archbishop King's Prizes, of the value of 12*l.* and 8*l.*, and two Divinity Composition Premiums, of the value of 2*l.*, are distributed annually.

Prizes to the extent of 20*l.* are awarded annually to the Students who distinguish themselves in the Irish Language; and besides these, one of 100*l.* per ann. (the Bedell Scholarship), and the Kyle Irish Prize of 7*l.* 13*s.* per ann., are given to Students competent to preach in the Irish language.

Prizes in Civil Law and in Feudal and English Law, of the value of 30*l.* annually, are given to the best Students.

Medical Scholarships and Exhibitions, worth 20*l.* per ann. each, are also given.

Vice-Chancellor's Prizes are 4 of 20*l.* each, given annually, for the best compositions on proposed subjects in English, Greek, or Latin Prose and Verse.

The Arabic Prize of 10*l.* and the Sanscrit of 5*l.* are awarded annually, as also of one of 10*l.* and one of 5*l.* for Political Economy.

Erasmus Smith's Exhibitions consist of 20 of 8*l.* and 15 of 6*l.* (late Irish currency) per ann., belonging to Schools at Drogheda, Ennis, Galway, and Tipperary. The Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools have supplemented one of each class, and raised them to 40*l.* and 35*l.* per ann. respectively.

Thirty Royal Scholarships or Exhibitions, consisting of 15 of 50*l*, 10 of 30*l.*, and 5 of 25*l.* per ann. each, tenable for 5 years, were presented by the Royal Commissioners of Education in Ireland to the Royal Schools of Armagh, Dungannon, Enniskillen, and Cavan. There are 2 Royal Scholarships of 30*l.* and 20*l.* per ann. each, now belonging to Middleton School.

Foyle College Exhibitions consist of 5 of 30*l.* per ann. each, tenable for 5 years, by pupils sent up from Foyle College, Londonderry.

Numerous Exhibitions, varying in value from 10*l.* to 4*l.* 12*s.* annually, are awarded by the Provost and Senior Fellows to poor Students.

Trinity College has 21 benefices in its gift.

About £20,000 are distributed annually in the payment of Fellowships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes—besides the income of 21 benefices, the total value of which is about £5,000 more.

STUDENT LIFE AT JENA.

[Russell's Tour in Germany, 1820, 1821, and 1822.]

CLASS-ROOM LIFE.

The mode of teaching is almost entirely the same as in the Scottish Universities. The students live where they choose, and how they choose, having no connection with the University, except subjection to its discipline, which they do not much regard, and attendance at the appointed hour in the Professor's lecture-room, where nobody knows whether they be present or not. The lectures are given in German; and, after a small theatre, like that of Weimar, there are few surer means of mastering this beautiful but difficult language, than to attend the prelections of a Professor on some popular topic, such as history. There is no particular university building set apart for the classes; at least, the building which bears the name is not applied to that purpose; it contains only the library and the jail. Such of the Professors as have small classes assemble them in their own dwelling-houses. Others, who can boast of a more numerous auditory, have larger halls in different parts of the town. There is not a class-room in Jena, which would contain more than two hundred persons; and, now that its honors have been blighted, that is a greater number than any of its learned men can hope to collect. Till of late years, however, the Professor of History, an extremely able and popular gentleman, used to have a much more numerous auditory. When he occasionally delivered a *publicum*, the overflowing audience filled even the court; the windows were thrown open, and his resounding voice was heard distinctly in every corner.

Nothing can exceed the orderly behavior of the students; they seem to leave all their oddities at the door. Savage though they be esteemed, a stranger may *hospatize*, as they call it, among them in perfect safety, even without putting himself under the wing of a Professor. Every man takes his seat quietly, puts his bonnet beneath him, or in his pocket, unfolds his small portfolio, and produces an inkhorn, armed below with a sharp iron spike, by which he fixes it firmly in the wooden desk before him. The teacher has notes and his text-book before him, but the lecture is not properly read; those, at least, which I heard were spoken, and the Professor stood. This mode of communication is only advisable when a man is thoroughly master of his subject, but is perhaps susceptible of much more effect than the reading of a manuscript. Above all, Martin, the Professor of Criminal Law, and Luden, the Professor of History, harangue with a vivacity and vehemence which render listlessness or inattention impossible.

Thus the hour is spent in listening, and it is left entirely to the young men themselves to make what use they may think proper, or no use at all, of what they have heard. There is no other superintendence of their studies than that of the Professor in his pulpit, telling them what he himself knows; there are no arrangements to secure, in any degree, either attendance or application. The received maxim is that it is right to tell them what they ought to do, but it would be neither proper nor useful to take care that they do it, or prevent them from being as idle and ignorant as they choose.

The Burschen—Students' Songs.

Once outside of the class-room, the Burschen show themselves a much less orderly race; if they submit to be ruled one hour daily by a professor, they rule him, and every other person, during all the rest of the four and twenty. The duels of the day are generally fought out early in the morning; the spare

hours of the forenoon and afternoon are spent in fencing, in *renowning*—that is, in doing things which make people stare at them, and in providing duels for the morrow. In the evening the various clans assemble in their commerz-houses, to besot themselves with beer and tobacco; and it is long after midnight before the last strains of the last songs die away upon the streets. Wine is not the staple beverage, for Jena is not a wine country, and the students have learned to place a sort of pride in drinking beer. Yet, with a very natural contradiction, over their pots of beer they vociferate songs in praise of the grape, and swing their jugs with as much glee as a Bursche of Heidelberg brandishes his *romer* of Rhenish. Amid all their multifarious and peculiar strains of jovialty, I never heard but one in praise of the less noble liquor:*

> Come, brothers, be jovial, while life creeps along;
> Make the walls ring around us with laughter and song,
> Though wine, it is true, be a rarity here,
> We'll be jolly as gods with tobacco and beer.
> Vivalleralleralleia.
>
> Corpus Juris, avaunt! To the door with the Pandects!
> Away with Theology's texts, dogmas, and sects!
> Fort, Medicine, begone! At the board of our revels,
> Brothers, Muses like these give a man the blue devils.
> Vivalleralleralera.
>
> One can't always be studying; a carouse, on occasion,
> Is a *sine qua non* in a man's education;
> One is bound to get muddy and mad now and then;
> But our beer-jugs are empty, so fill them again.
> Vivalleralleralleera.

A band of these young men, thus assembled in an ale-house in the evening, presents as strange a contrast as can well be imagined to all correct ideas, not only of studious academical tranquillity, but even of respectable conduct; yet, in refraining from the nightly observances, they would think themselves guilty of a less pardonable dereliction of their academic character, and a more direct treason against the independence of Germany, than if they subscribed to the Austrian *Observer*, or never attended for a single hour the lectures for which they paid. Step into the public room of that inn, on the opposite side of the market-place, for it is the most respectable in the town. On opening the door, you must use your ears, not your eyes, for nothing is yet visible except a dense mass of smoke, occupying space, concealing everything in it and beyond it, illuminated with a dusky light, you know not how, and sending forth from its bowels all the varied sounds of mirth and revelry. As the eye gradually accustoms itself to the atmosphere, human visages are seen dimly dawning through the lurid cloud; then pewter jugs begin to glimmer faintly in their neighborhood; and, as the smoke from the phial gradually shaped itself into the friendly Asmodeus, the man and his jug slowly assume a defined and corporeal form. You can now totter along between the two long tables which have sprung up, as if by enchantment; by the time you have reached the huge stove at the further end, you have before you the paradise of German Burschen, destitute only of its Houris; every man with his bonnet on his head, a pot of beer in his hand, a pipe or segar in his mouth, and a song upon his lips, never doubting but that he and his companions are training themselves to be the regenerators of Europe, that they are the true representatives of the manliness and independence of the German character, and the only models of a free, generous, and high-minded youth. They lay their hands upon their jugs, and vow the liberation of Germany; they stop a second pipe, or light a second segar, and swear that the Holy Alliance is an unclean thing.

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* It is scarcely necessary to say that these rude rhymes are not translated from any idea that they possess poetical merit, but merely to show the character of the Burschen strains, and of the academicians, perhaps, who compose and sing them.

The songs of these studious revellers often bear a particular character. They are, indeed, mostly convivial, but many of them contain a peculiar train of feeling, springing from the peculiar modes of thinking of the Burschen, hazy aspirations after patriotism and liberty, of neither of which have they any idea, except that every Bursche is bound to adore them, and mystical allusions to some unknown chivalry that dwells in a fencing bout, or in the cabalistical ceremony with which the tournament concludes, of running the weapon through a hat. Out of an university town, these effusions would be utterly insipid, just as so many of the native Venetian canzonetta lose all their effect when sung anywhere but in Venice, or by any other than a Venetian. Thus, their innumerable hymns to the rapier, or on the moral, intellectual, and political effects of climbing up poles, and tossing the bar, would be unintelligible to all who do not know their way of thinking, and must appear ridiculous to every one who cannot enter into their belief, that these chivalrous exercises constitute the essence of manly honor; but they themselves chant these tournament songs (*Tournierlieder*) with an enthusiastic solemnity which, to a third party, is irresistibly ludicrous. The period when they took arms against France was as fertile in songs as in deeds of valor. Many of the former are excellent in their way, though there was scarcely a professional poet in the band, except young Korner. These, with the more deep and intense strains of Arndt, will always be favorites, because they were the productions of times, and of a public feeling, unique in the history of Germany. Where no reference is made to fencing tournaments or warlike recollections, there is nevertheless the distinct impress of Burschen feelings.

The following may be taken as a satisfactory example of the ordinary genus of university minstrelsy. It is, by way of eminence, the Hymn, or Burschen-Song, of Jena; it contains all the texts which furnish materials for the amplifications of college rhymsters, and shows better than a tedious description how they view the world.

Pledge round, brothers; Jena forever! huzza!
The resolve to be free is abroad in the land;
The Philistine* burns to be joined with our band,
For the Burschen are free.

Pledge round, then; our country forever! huzza!
While you stand like your fathers as pure and as true,
Forget not the debt to posterity due,
For the Burschen are free.

Pledge round to our Prince, then, ye Burschen! huzza!
He swore our old honors and rights to maintain,
And we vow him our love, while a drop 's in a vein,
For the Burschen are free.

Pledge round to the love of fair woman! huzza!
If there be who the feeling of woman offends,
For him is no place among freemen or friends;
But the Burschen are free.

Pledge round to the stout soul of man, too! huzza!
Love, singing, and wine, are the proofs of his might,
And who knows not all three is a pitiful wight:
But the Burschen are free.

Pledge round to the free word of freemen! huzza!
Who knows what the truth is, yet trembles to brave
The might that would crush it, is a cowardly slave;
But the Burschen are free.

Pledge round, then, each bold deed, forever! huzza!
Who tremblingly ponders how daring may end
Will crouch like a minion, when power bids him bend;
But the Burschen are free.

* That is, the people.

> Pledge round, then, the Burschen forever! huzza!
> Till the world goes in rags, when the last day comes o'er us,
> Let each Bursche stand faithful, and join in our chorus,
> The Burschen are free.

If they ever give vent in song to the democratic and sanguinary resolves which are averred to render them so dangerous, it must be in their most secret conclaves; for, in the strains which enliven their ordinary potations, there is nothing more definite than in the above prosaic effusion. There are many vague declamations about freedom and country, but no allusions to particular persons, particular governments, or particular plans. The only change of government I ever knew proposed in their cantilenes, is one to which despotism itself could not object.

> Let times to come come as they may,
> And empires rise and fall;
> Let Fortune rule as Fortune will,
> And wheel upon her ball;
> High upon Bacchus' lordly brow
> Our diadem shall shine:
> And Joy, we'll crown her for his queen,
> Their capital the Rhine.
>
> In Heidelberg's huge tun shall sit
> The Council of our State,
> And on our own Johannisberg
> The Senate shall debate.
> Amid the vines of Burgundy
> Our Cabinet shall reign;
> Our Lords and faithful Commons House
> Assemble in Champaign.

Only the Cabinet of Constantinople could set itself, with any good grace, against such a reform.

Landsmannschaften.

But, worse than idly as no small portion of time is spent by the great body of the academic youth in these nightly debauches, this is only one, and by no means the most distinguishing or troublesome, of their peculiarities; it is the unconquerable spirit of clanship, prevalent among them, which has given birth to their violence and insubordination; for it at once cherishes the spirit of opposition to all regular discipline, and constitutes an united body to give that opposition effect. The house of Hanover did not find more difficulty in reducing to tranquillity the clans of the Highlands of Scotland, than the Grand Duke of Weimar would encounter in eradicating the *Landsmannschaften* from among the four hundred students of Jena, and inducing them to conduct themselves like orderly, well-bred young men. The *Landsmannschaften* themselves are by no means a modern invention, though it is believed that the secret organization which they give to the students all over Germany has of late years been used to new purposes. The name is entirely descriptive of the thing, a *Countrymanship*, an association of persons from the same country, or the same province of a country. They do not arise from the constitution of the university, nor are they acknowledged by it; on the contrary, they are proscribed both by the laws of the university and the government of the country. They do not exist for any academical purpose, for the young men have no voice in anything connected with the university; to be a member of one is an academical misdemeanor, yet there are few students who do not belong to one or another. They are associations of students belonging to the same province for the purpose of enabling each, thus backed by all, to carry through his own rude will, let it be what it may, and, of late years, it is averred, to propagate wild political reveries, if not to foment political cabals. They are regularly organized; each has its president, clerk, and councillors, who form what is called the Convent of the Landsmannschaft. This body

manages its funds, and has the direction of its affairs, if it have affairs. It likewise enjoys the honor of fighting all duels *pro patria*, for so they are named when the interest or honor, not of an individual, but of the whole fraternity, has been attacked. The assembled presidents of the different Landsmannschaften in a university constitute the *senior convent*. This supreme tribunal does not interfere in the private affairs of the particular bodies, but decides in all matters that concern the whole mass of Burschen, and watches over the strict observance of the general academic code which they have enacted for themselves. The meetings of both tribunals are held frequently and regularly, but with so much secrecy that the most vigilant police has been unable to reach them. They have cost many a professor many a sleepless night. The governments scold the senates, as if they trifled with or even connived at the evil; the senates lose all patience with the governments, for thinking it so easy a matter to discover what Burschen are resolved to keep concealed. The exertions of both have only sufficed to drive the Landsmannschaften into deeper concealment. From the incessant quarrels and uproars, and the instantaneous union of all to oppose any measure of general discipline about to be enforced, the whole senate often sees plainly that these bodies are in active operation, without being able either to ascertain who are their members, or to pounce upon their secret conclaves.

Evils of Secret Societies.

Since open war was thus declared against them by the governmeut, secrecy has become indispensable to their existence, and the Bursche scruples at nothing by which this secrecy may be insured. The most melancholy consequence of this is, that, as every man is bound by the code to esteem the preservation of the Landsmannschaft his first duty, every principle of honor is often trampled under foot to maintain it. In some universities it was provided by the code that a student when called before the senate to be examined about a suspected Landsmannschaft ceased to be a member, and thus he could safely say that he belonged to no such institution. In others it was provided that such an inquiry should operate as an *ipso facto* dissolution of the body itself, till the investigation should be over; and thus every member could safely swear that no such association was in existence. There are cases where the student, at his admission into the fraternity, gives his word of honor to do everything in his power to spread a belief that no such association exists, and, if he shall be questioned either by the senate or the police, steadfastly to deny it. Here and there the professors fell on the expedient of gradually extirpating them by taking from every new student, at his matriculation, a solemn promise that he would not join any of these bodies; but where such principles are abroad, promises are useless, for deceit is reckoned a duty. The more moderate convents left it to the conscience of the party himself to decide whether he was bound in honor by such a promise; but the code of Leipzig, as it has been printed, boldly declares every promise of this kind void, and those who have exacted it punishable. Moreover, it invests the senior convent, in general terms, with the power of giving any man a dispensation from his word of honor, if it shall see cause, but confines this privilege in money matters to cases where he has been enormously cheated. Thus the code of university Landsmannschaften, while it prates of nothing but the point of honor, and directs to that centre all its fantastic regulations, sets out with a violation of everything honorable. Such are the tenets of men who chatter unceasingly about liberty and patriotism, and have perpetually in their mouths such phrases as "the Burschen lead a free, honorable, and independent life in the cultivation of every social and patriotic virtue." Thus do moral iniquities

become virtues in their eyes, if they forward the ends, or are necessary to the continued existence of a worthless and mischievous association; and who can tell how far this process of measuring honor by imagined expediency may corrupt the moral sense? Is it wonderful that Sand, taught to consider deceit, prevarication, or breach of promise as virtues, when useful to a particular cause, should have regarded assassination in the same light, when the shedding of blood was to consecrate doctrines which he looked upon as holy?

The students who have not thought proper to join any of these associations are few in number, and, in point of estimation, form a class still more despised and insulted than the *Philistines* themselves. Every Bursche thinks it dishonorable to have communication with them; they are admitted to no carousal; they are debarred from all balls and public festivals by which the youth contrive to make themselves notorious and ridiculous. Such privations would not be severely felt, but they are farther exposed to every species of contempt and insult; to abuse them is an acceptable service to Germany; in the class room, and on the street, they must be taught that they are "cowardly slaves," and all this, because they will not throw themselves into the fetters of a self-created fraternity. However they may be outraged, they are entitled neither to redress nor protection; should any of them resent the maltreatment heaped upon him, he brings down on himself the vengeance of the whole mass of initiated; for, to draw every man within the circle is a common object of all the clans; he who joins none is the enemy of all. Blows, which the Burschen have proscribed among themselves as unworthy of gentlemen, are allowed against the "Wild Ones,"—for such is the appellation given to these quiet sufferers from the caution with which they must steal along, trembling at the presence of a Comment Bursche, and exiled, as they are, from the refined intercourse of Commerz-houses to the wilds and deserts of civilized society. Others, unable to hold out against the insolence and contempt of the young men among whom they are compelled to live, in an evil hour seek refuge beneath the wing of a Landsmannschaft. These are named *Renoncen*, or Renouncers. Having renounced the state of nature, they stand in academical civilization a degree above the obstinate "Wild Ones," but yet they do not acquire by their tardy and compelled submission a full claim to all Burschen rights. They are merely entitled to the protection of the fraternity which they have joined, and every member of it will run every man through the body who dares to insult them, in word or deed, otherwise than is prescribed by the Burschen code. By abject submission to the will of their imperious protectors, they purchase the right of being abused and stabbed only according to rule, instead of being kicked and knocked down contrary to all rule.

Intestine Strife.

Associations are commonly formed for purposes of good will and harmony; but the very object of the *Landsmannschaften* is quarrelling. So soon as a number of these fraternities exist, they become the sworn foes of each other, except when a common danger drives them to make common cause. Each aspires at being the dominant body in the university, and, if not the most respected, at least the most feared, in the town. They could be tolerated, if the subject of emulation were which should produce the greatest number of decent scholars; it would even be laudable if they contended which should be victor at cricket or foot-ball. But unfortunately, the ambitious contest of German Burschen is simply who shall be most successful at *renowning*, that is, at doing something, no matter what, which will make people stare at them, and talk about them; or, who shall produce the greatest number of *scandals*, that is, who shall fight the greatest number of duels, or cause them to be

fought; or, who will show the quickest invention and the readiest hand in resisting all attempts, civil or academical, to interfere with their vagaries. If opportunities of mortifying each other do not occur, they must be made; the merest trifles are sufficient to give a pretext for serious quarrels, and the sword is immediately drawn to decide them, the "consummation devoutly to be wished," which is at bottom the grand object of the whole. At Jena the custom has been allowed to grow up of permitting the students to give balls; the Senate has only tried to make them decent, by confining them to the Rose, an inn belonging to the University, and therefore under its control. If they be given anywhere else the Burschen cannot expect the company of the fashionable ladies of Jena, the wives and daughters of the professors. Now, a Landsmannschaft which gives a ball *renowns* superbly; it makes itself distinguished, and it must, therefore, be mortified. The other Burschen station themselves at the door, or below the windows; they hoot, yell, sing, whistle, and make all sorts of infernal noises, occasionally completing the joke by breaking the windows. This necessarily brings up an abundant crop of scandals; and it can easily happen that as much blood is shed next morning as there was negus drunk the night before. A Landsmannschaft had incautiously announced a ball before engaging the musicians; the others immediately engaged the only band of which Jena could boast for a concert on the same evening. The dancers would have been under the necessity of either sacrificing their fête or bringing over an orchestra from Weimar; but the quarrel was prevented from coming to extremes by the non-dancers giving up their right over the fiddlers, on condition that the ball should be considered as given by the whole body of Burschen, not by any particular fraternity. A number of students took it into their heads to erect themselves into an independent duchy, which they named after a village in the neighborhood of Jena, whither they regularly repaired to drink beer. He who could drink most was elected Duke, and the great officers of his court were appointed in the same way, according to their capacity for liquor. To complete the farce, they paraded the town. Though all this might be extremely good for sots and children, in students it was exquisitely ridiculous; but it attracted notice; it was a piece of successful *renowning*, and their brethren could not tamely submit to be thrown into the shade. A number of others forthwith erected themselves into a free town of the empire; took their name from another neighboring village; elected their Burgomaster, Syndic, and Councillors, and, habited in the official garb of Hamburgh or Frankfort, made their procession on foot, to mark their contempt of ducal pomp, and point themselves out as industrious frugal citizens. The two parties now came in contact with each other; and it was daily expected that their reciprocal caricatures, like angry negotiations, would prove the forerunners of an open war between his Serene Highness and the Free Town.

The individual Burche in his academical character is animated by the same paltry, arrogant, quarrelsome, domineering disposition. When fairly imbued with the spirit of his sect, no rank can command respect from him, for he knows no superior to himself and his comrades. A few years ago the Empress of Russia, when she was at Weimar, visited the University Museum of Jena. Among the students who had assembled to see her, one was observed to keep his bonnet on his head and his pipe in his mouth as her Imperial Majesty passed. The Prorector called the young man before him, and remonstrated with him on his rudeness. The defence was in the genuine spirit of Burschenism: "I am a free man; what is an Empress to me?" Full of lofty unintelligible notions of his own importance and high vocation, misled by ludicrously erroneous ideas of honor, and hurried on by the example of all around him, the true Bursche swaggers and renowns, choleric, raw, and overbearing. He

measures his own honor, because his companions measure it, by the number of *scandals* he has fought, but neither he nor they ever waste a thought on what they have been fought for. To have fought unsuccessfully is bad; but, if he wishes to become a respected and influential personage, not to have fought at all is infinitely worse. He, therefore, does not fight to resent insolence, but he insults, or takes offence, that he may have a pretext for fighting. The lecture-rooms are but secondary to the fencing-school; that is his temple, the rapier is his god, and the Comment is the gospel by which he swears.

The Comment, or Students' Code.

This *Comment*, as it is called, is the Burschen Pandects, the general code to which all the Landsmannschaften are subject. However numerous the latter may be in a university, there is but one comment, and this venerable body of law descends from generation to generation, in the special keeping of the senior convent. It is the holy volume, whose minutest regulations must neither be questioned nor slighted; what it allows cannot be wrong, what it prohibits cannot be right. "He has no comment in him," used to be a proverbial expression for a stupid fellow. It regulates the mode of election of the superior officers, fixes the relation of "Wild Ones" and "Renouncers" to the true Burschen, and of the Burschen to each other; it provides punishments for various offences, and commonly denounces excommunication against thieves and cheaters at play, especially if the cheating be of any very gross kind. But the point of honor is its soul. The comment is, in reality, a code, arranging the manner in which Burschen shall quarrel with each other, and how the quarrel, once begun, shall be terminated. It fixes, with the most pedantic solicitude, a graduated scale of offensive words, and the style and degree of satisfaction that may be demanded for each. The scale rises, or is supposed to rise, in enormity till it reaches the atrocious expression *Dummer Junge* (stupid youth), which contains within itself every possible idea of insult, and can be atoned for only with blood. The particular degrees of the scale may vary in different universities; but the principle of its construction is the same in all, and in all "stupid youth" is the boiling point. If you are assailed with any epithet which stands below *stupid youth* in the scale of contumely, you are not bound immediately to challenge; you may "set yourself in advantage,"—that is, you may retort on the offender with an epithet which stands higher than the one he has applied to you. Then your opponent may retort, if you have left him room, in the same way, by rising a degree above you; and thus the courteous terms of the comment may be bandied between you till one or the other finds only the highest step of the ladder unoccupied, and is compelled to pronounce the "stupid youth," to which there is no reply but a challenge. I do not say that this is the ordinary practice; in general it comes to a challenge at once; but such is the theory of the Comment. Whoever submits to any of these epithets, without either setting himself in advantage, or giving a challenge, is forthwith punished by the convent with *Verschiss*, or the lesser excommunication; for there is a temporary and a perpetual *Verschiss*, something like the lesser and greater excommunication in ecclesiastical discipline. He may recover his rights and his honor by fighting, within a given time, with one member of each of the existing Landsmannschaften; but if he allows the fixed time to pass without doing so, the sentence becomes irrevocable; no human power can restore him to his honors and his rights; he is declared infamous forever; the same punishment is denounced against all who hold intercourse with him; every mode of insult, real or verbal, is permitted and laudable against him; he is put to the ban of this academical empire, and stands alone among his companions, the butt of unceasing scorn and contumely.

The Duel.

In the conduct of the duel itself, the comment descends to the minutest particulars. The dress, the weapons, the distance. the value of different kinds of thrusts, the length to which the arm shall be bare, and a thousand other minutiæ, are all fixed, and have, at least, the merit of preventing every unfair advantage. In some universities the sabre, in others the rapier, is the academical weapon; pistols nowhere. The weapon used at Jena is what they call a *Schlager*. It is a straight blade, about three feet and a half long, and three-cornered like a bayonet. The hand is protected by a circular plate of tin, eight or ten inches in diameter, which some burlesque poets, who have had the audacity to laugh at Burschenism, have profaned with the appellation of "The Soup Plate of Honor." The handle can be separated from the blade, and the soup plate from both—all this for purposes of concealment. The handle is put in the pocket, the plate is buttoned under the coat, the blade is sheathed in a walking-stick, and thus the parties proceed unsuspected to the place of combat, as if they were going out for a morning stroll. The tapering triangular blade necessarily becomes roundish towards the point; therefore, no thrust counts unless it be so deep that the orifice of the wound is three-cornered; for, as the Comment has it, "no affair is to be decided in a trifling and childish way merely *pro forma*." Besides the seconds, an umpire and a surgeon must be present; but the last is always a medical student, that he may be under the comment-obligation to secrecy. All parties present are bound not to reveal what passes, without distinction of consequences, if it has been fairly done; the same promise is exacted from those who may come accidentally to know anything of the matter; to give information or evidence against a Bursche in regard to anything not contrary to the Comment, is an inexpiable offence. Thus life may easily be lost without the possibility of discovery; for authority is deprived as far as possible of every means by which it might get at the truth. It is perfectly true that mortal combats are not frequent, partly from the average equality of skill, every man being in daily practice of his weapon, partly because there is often no small portion of gasconade in the warlike propensities of these young persons; yet neither are they so rare as many people imagine. It does not often happen, indeed, that either of the parties is killed on the spot, but the wounds often superinduce other mortal ailments, and still more frequently lay the foundation of diseases which cling to the body through life. A professor, who perhaps has had better opportunities of learning the working of the system than any of his colleagues, assured me that instances are by no means rare of young men carrying home consumption with them in consequence of slight injuries received in the lungs. On the occasion of the last fatal duel at Jena, the government of Weimar gave this gentleman a commission to inquire into the affair. He declined it, unless he were authorized, at the same time, to act against the Landsmannschaften generally. On receiving this power, he seized a number of their *Schlager*, and sent to jail a score of those whom he believed to be most active in the confraternities. But the impression of this unwonted rigor was only temporary; they became more secret, but not at all less active.

Yet, let it only become necessary to oppose the inroads of discipline, to punish the townsmen, or to do some extravagant thing that will astound the governments, and these bodies, which thus live at daggers-drawing with each other, are inseparable. They take their measures with a secrecy which no vigilance has hitherto been able to penetrate, and an unanimity which has scarcely been tainted by a single treason. The mere townsmen are objects of supreme contempt to the Bursche; for, from the moment he enters the univer-

sity, he looks on himself as belonging to a class set apart for some peculiarly high vocation, and vested with no less a privilege than that of acknowledging no law but their own will. The citizens he denominates Philistines, and considers them to exist only to fear, honor, and obey the chosen people of whom he himself is one. The greater part of the inhabitants are dependent, in some professional shape or other, on those who attend the university, and must have the fear of the Burschen daily and nightly before their eyes. To murmur at the caprices of the Academic Israel, to laugh at their mummeries, or seriously resist and resent their arrogance, would only expose the unhappy Philistine to the certainty of having his head and his windows broken together; for he has no rights as against a Bursche, not even that of giving a challenge, unless he be a nobleman or a military officer. When the Burschen are in earnest, no civil police is of any earthly use; they would as little hesitate to attack it as they would fail of putting it to flight. I saw Leipzig thrown into confusion one night by the students attempting to make themselves masters of the person of a soldier who, they believed, had insulted one of their brethren in a quarrel on the street about some worthless woman. Although it was late, the offended party had been able speedily to collect a respectable number of academic youth to attack the guard-house; for a well-trained Bursche knows the commerz-houses where his comrades nightly congregate to drink, smoke, and sing, as certainly as a well-trained police officer knows the haunts of thieves.

Burschenschaft.

The most imminent danger which the Landsmannschaften have hitherto encountered, arose from the students themselves. The academical youth seemed to have brought back from the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, a spirit of more manly union; and, perhaps, an earnest contest against French bayonets had taught them to look with less prejudiced eyes on the paltriness of their own ridiculous squabbles. A few leading heads at Jena proposed that the Landsmannschaften should be abolished, and the Comment abrogated; not, however, with the view of crushing all associations, but that the whole body of the students might be united in one general brotherhood, under a new and more reasonable constitution. The Landsmannschaften did not yield without a struggle, but the Burschenschaft (for so they baptized the new association, because it comprehended all Burschen) finally triumphed; renowning dwindled away, and venerable dust began to settle on the Comment. It is agreed on all hands, that during the existence of this body the manners of the university improved. In the investigation afterwards instituted by the Diet, the Professors bore witness that greater tranquillity, order, and respect for the laws had never been manifested in Jena than under the Burschenschaft. There was nothing compulsory in it; no constraint was used, no insult or contempt was permitted towards those who did not choose to join it. So far was it already advanced in civilization, in comparison with the former brotherhoods, that besides prohibiting the introduction of dogs into its solemn assemblies, it would allow no man either to smoke or to remain covered in them. It was even provided that the orator should turn his face to the Burschen while he was addressing them, and take his seat again when he had finished. This spirit of uniformity, going out from Jena, shook the old institutions in other universities; till at length, when the students had assembled from every corner of Germany, in 1817, to celebrate on the Wartburg the anniversary of the Reformation, and the battle of Leipzig, the destruction of the Landsmannschaften was unanimously voted, and the all-comprehending Burschenschaft was to take their place. But this proved its ruin. It had been resolved not merely to melt into one organized association the whole body of students in

their respective universities, but to form a supreme council of delegates from them all, to direct and give unity to the whole. The fears which the governments had long entertained, that political objects were concealed beneath the Burschenschaft, now became certainty. The organization of the body, and the regular contributions by which funds were to be created; the resolution to wear the sword and plume as the proper ornaments of a chivalrous student, and to adopt a sort of uniform in the singular dress which is still so common among them, were all regarded, if not as indications of dangerous designs, at least as instruments which could easily be used for dangerous purposes. The very language in which they announced their objects, so far as any distinct idea could be drawn from its mystical verbosity, covered them with political suspicion. The words country, freedom, and independence, were perpetually in their mouths; and people naturally asked, How is this new Germanic Academic Diet to benefit any one of the three? What means this regular array of deputies and committees among persons who have no duty but that of prosecuting their studies? To what end this universal Burschen Tribunal, which is to extend its decrees from Kiel to Tübingen, and direct the movements of a combined body from the shores of the Baltic to the foot of the Alps? These questions were in everybody's mouth; and it is unjust to say that they were merely politic alarms sounded by the minions of suspicious and oppressive governments. He must be a credulous man who can believe that from eight to ten thousand students, animated by the political ardor which of late years has pervaded all the universities of Germany, could be thus organized without becoming troublesome to the public tranquillity; and he must be a very imprudent man who could wish to see the work of political regeneration, even where it is needed, placed in such hands. Members of the University of Jena itself, who are no lovers of despotism, do not conceal their conviction, that, although the founders of the Burschenschaft were sincere in their desires to abolish the old murderous distinctions, yet they labored after this union, only with a view of using it as a political instrument. The governments denounced the new associations; in Jena they had first breathed, and in Jena they first expired. The Burschenschaft obeyed the order of the Grand Duke for its abolition. The Landsmannschaften immediately came forth from their graves; the Comment once more became the rule of faith and life; renowning and scandalizing reassumed their ancient honors; and, as formerly, the Burschen still quarrel and fight, and swear loudly to make good their "academical liberty."

[To the above picture of Student Life at Jena in 1820–23, we subjoin a sketch of University Life by Mayhew in 1864.]

Burschenschaften in 1864.*

There are three such *Burschenschaft* institutions in Jena, each of such societies having special principles to work out, and all of them being distinguished by certain colors, displayed either in the striped ribbon (called the "band") which the members wear across their breast, or in the bit of similarly-striped ribbon dangling from their watch (called the *Bier-zipfel*, or beer-lappet), or else in the colors of the gold-embroidered cap, which is like an inverted flower-pot saucer in shape, and worn immediately over the right temple, rather than on the crown of the head—being kept in its place by means of a small piece of elastic that is slipped over the back of the skull. This is known by the name of their "*cerevis-* (or beer-) cap," and it is customary for the Boys to swear by it; for instead of attesting any solemn declaration by the words "upon their honor," or "upon their 'davy," after the manner of other youths, it is the habit of the Jena students to vouch for the truth of any point that

* German Life and Manners as seen in Saxony, 1864. Henry Mayhew. London. 1864.

may be doubted, "upon their grand cerevis" (Latin, *cerivisia*, "beer") or their "little cerevis," according to the importance of the occasion. But it will be seen by the curious beer-usages given hereafter, that it is forbidden for any student to pledge his grand cerevis to a *negative* proposition; that is to say, he dare not assure any one that he did *not* see or hear such and such a thing, by means of this form of adjuration. For, say the beer-laws, with all the pomposity of an Act of Parliament, at §19, "as the grand cerevis takes the place of an oath, so must it not be used thoughtlessly. Moreover, a positive fact only can be certified by the grand cerevis, and it must never be given to attest the truth of a negative one" (*nie darf das negative Cerevis gegeben werden*).

Each of such student-clubs or *Burschenschaft* institutions has, moreover, not only its distinctive tri-colored ribbons and cerevis-caps, but its special monogram, or literal device, made up of the initials of the words standing for the main principles which it is respectively sworn to uphold; and such device worked in gold-thread on the crown of the cerevis-caps worn by the members of the club, and also in the centre of the large silk flag, which is kept by the *Fahne-wart* (banner-warden) of the society, and carried at the head of the unions during any grand procession. These same monograms, moreover, are chalked on the floor of the hall, previous to any duel being fought, so as to mark the sides or places of the two combatants.

1. The "Armins," or "Arminians," whose colors are black, *red*, and gold; the word here printed in italics being expressive of the distinctive hue by which the members of the club are characterized; that is to say, their caps are of a scarlet tint, with merely a narrow stripe of black and gold round the band of them. These "boys" have for their motto the words—

"FREEDOM, HONOR, AND FATHERLAND!"

(Freiheit, Ehre, und Vaterland!)

2. The "Germans," or "Germanians," who have for their colors a *white* ground, with a border of black, red, and gold, and whose motto is—

"GOD, FREEDOM, HONOR, AND FATHERLAND!"

(Gott, Freiheit, Ehre, und Vaterland!)

3. The "Teutons," or "Teutonians," and these have *blue* for their principal color, and white and gold for the additional hues, while the words of their motto are—

"LONG LIVE THE CIRCLE OF TEUTONIA!"

(Circulus vivat Teutonia!)

Now, the cerevis-cap above described, emblazoned with the gold monogram on the crown, and with a border of golden vine-leaves running round the side of it, constitutes, together with the tricolored ribbon across the breast, and the like tricolored *Bier-zipfel* dangling from the watch in the waistcoat-pocket, the principal characteristics of the costume, not only of a Jena student, but of those belonging to the *Burschenschaft* institutions at the other Universities of Germany; for such student-clubs are not peculiar to the Saxe-Weimar College alone, but ramify throughout the colleges of the entire country. Add, then, to the above distinctive articles of student costume, a pair of *Kanonen-stiefel*—or, in other words, hunting-boots, as long as a cannon—and a short black velvet surtout got up in the "old German" style, all befrogged, and bebraided, and belaced, and with festoons of plaited cord dangling from each shoulder, after the fashion of a footman's *aiguillettes;* and the reader will have a tolerably vivid notion of a German student in "full dress"—especially if he conceives the *Bursche* to carry a lady's gray checked

shawl folded upon one arm, and an ivory-headed and ivory-tipped cane in the hand; for each and all of such articles—from the punnet-like cap down to the ivory-tipped walking-stick—are the indispensable accompaniments of every Jena student, pretending to the least "style" at the present day.

To become a member of these *Burschenschaft* institutions is a matter that is beset with some slight difficulty. In the first place, no foreigners are ever permitted to enter the select circle; since they are supposed to have nothing in common with the interests of the Fatherland. True, strangers are allowed to join the club, as *tolerated* members, but they are never suffered to take any active part in the business of it; nor can they so much as wear the red, blue, or white cerevis-cap peculiar to the members of one or other of the three *Burschenschaft* institutions. Moreover, even the youths who are natives of the country have to undergo a six-months' course of probation, before they can be admitted as regular members to the society; and if, during the probationary term, their company or their principles be found to be uncongenial to the rest of the youths, they are politely informed, at the end of their novitiate, that there are certain secret objections to their joining the club. Nor is such a novice allowed to enter upon the course of probation, until the code of the laws, as well as the declaration of the principles of the union in question, have been placed in the hands of the candidate for admission, so that he may study them at his leisure; and it is only after the youth has had several days to ponder over the whole matter, that he is asked whether he is inclined to subscribe to them, and feels that he has strength and will enough to uphold them.

Further, there are still other sacrifices to be made. Not only has every member of the club to give up a certain percentage of all the money sent to him by his parents, for the maintenance of the society (the usual amount contributed by each being about 40 thalers, or 6*l*, each half-year), but he is also bound to devote considerable time to attending the various drinking-bouts, conferences, fencing-exercises, and duels, in which the members of the union have to take part. He is expected, indeed, to be present at each of the drinking-bouts, which occur twice every week and last from eight till ten in the evening, and also to conform to all the drinking ceremonies usual on such occasions; and though he is not strictly *bound* to join in the *Ex-kneipe* (additional weekly or fortnightly drinking-bout) which is generally held somewhere in the suburbs, on the Sunday evenings during each *Semester*, or half-yearly course of study, it would, nevertheless, be considered "unboylike" not to do so. Again, he must be present every day for an hour or two at the "fencing loft," and practise there diligently with the small swords, so as to qualify himself to defend his own honor, or that of any brother, in case of emergency. Over and above this, too, he must be ready to take part in the watch at the bedside when any brother member of the society has been seriously wounded in a *Mensur* (or measuring of weapons),—for such is the usual German phrase for a duel. Nor is this all. The member of such a *Burschenschaft* institution has to be present at every meeting called by the "*Sprecher*," or speaker of the society; such meetings being always secret ones, and held with closed doors, within which none even of the tolerated members are allowed to enter. These occur often twice and thrice in the week, and continue no short time; so that the repeated inroads upon the time of a youth who has come to the University to study are such as to make the attention to the club-business a matter of onslight sacrifice on his part.

Let us suppose, however, that a youth has just had his name placed by his parents on the College books, and that he has expressed a wish to some friend whom he knows, to enroll himself as a member of the Arminian Burschenschaft —a society with which we profess to have more particular acquaintance than

with any other; for it is the peculiar custom at Jena and other such institutions, that he who fraternizes with one club cannot be permitted to associate with the members of another; so that on visiting the town the stranger must do, as we were obliged to do, *i. e.*, select his friends, and abide by them, since every society is utterly distinct from, if not absolutely at war with, almost every other.

Well, we will suppose, as we said before, that the new-comer has chosen, like us, the Armins for his friends; and then, after having taken part, for some few nights, in the drinking-bouts with the "Boys," he has a copy of the principal laws placed in his hand for his due consideration and adoption, before being admitted within the exclusive circle.

We asked to be allowed to make ourselves acquainted with the character of such rules; and though it was by no means usual for strangers to have such a privilege vouchsafed to them, the favor was at length granted, and we were furnished with the following curious abstract of the leading tenets of the institution in question.*

Introduction to the Rules of the Arminian Club at Jena.

Convinced that the noble self-consciousness of the German nation—their brotherly love and their desire for national unity (now that the latter feeling has been newly awakened by the late glorious wars for liberty)—must meet with a lively expression on the part of the academic youths of Jena, a considerable number of the students accordingly founded and joined, on the 12th June, 1815, the institutions now known as the *Burschenschaft.*

They felt satisfied that any academic union, which would be fitting to the purpose and principles of the University, must necessarily be based upon that high spirit which alone can ensure that which, after God-seeking, is the holiest and noblest aspiration of man: the freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

This union was named by them the *Burschenschaft*, or Guild of Boys.

Therefore, the first and holiest object of the Guild of Boys was to give fresh life and vigor to German customs and feelings; to excite German energy, as well as to promote chastity; to induce their compatriots, in their common love of the Fatherland, to sacrifice every worldly interest to it; to give up to war and destruction every power which opposed the freedom and independence of the nation; to annihilate every base sentiment that was antagonistic to the proper regulation and diffusion of such a high-minded spirit, and, finally, to bring about the re-establishment of concord and brotherly love among the University students.

Whoever struggles for so high an object can tolerate only the society of brave and honorable youths.

Therefore, as the first condition necessary for the attainment of such ends, the founders of the Guild of Boys demanded of each member, who was desirous of belonging to it, compliance with the following forms of existence:—*Moral living; stern upholding of personal dignity; and acting in conformity with a true, manly, chivalrous spirit, such as knows how to defend, and how to maintain, right and honor, at the cost even of life or blood.*

By these principles of patriotism, morality, and nobility, the Boys' Guild increased and became stronger and stronger, despite every impediment, and

* We should add, however, for our own credit's sake, that we are guilty of no breach of faith in the publication of them; since we stated at the time that our object was to make the English public, in some measure, acquainted with the principles of societies to which they were utter strangers. We were informed, at the same time, that the matters supplied to us was merely a portion of what the members had to subscribe; but whether the rest was withheld on account of its being a mere matter of uninteresting form, or because it was of a more private and secret nature, we are not in a position even to conjecture. As it was given to us, so do we present it to the reader.

the machinations of those who worked with ill-will against it. It grew to be a power, important and salutary, for the development of patriotic life. It has maintained itself, through the infusion of an ideal spirit into the youths of the country, even to this day, despite the alteration of the times.

Now we, the members of the Boys' Guild called Arminia, assembling at the Borough-Cellar, are faithful and true successors of the original Boys' Guild in Jena.

We have not only immutably kept its external marks of distinction, but we have also lineally inherited its spirit. We acknowledge its aim to be the most generous of all objects, as well as the most worthy for the academic youths of this period to endeavor to carry out; and we adhere to the idea of its principles with unshaken fidelity.

In order, therefore, to accomplish our purpose the more surely, to put an end to all individual dissension, and to bring about the perfect rule and regulation of our Boys' Guild, we have, after careful and mature consideration, set down the following laws as the basis of our constitution, and as the fundamental principles to which all our members are expected to subscribe.

§ 1. We devote our life and strength to the service of the united German Fatherland. For the welfare of Germany, we will cultivate our youthful energies with earnestness and perseverance; for the freedom and independence of Germany, we will stand up with manly courage; for the unity of Germany, we will work with one heart and soul. And for what we have thus striven in our youth, we hereby pledge our faith to defend and promote zealously, with all our bodily and mental strength, when we are men and citizens.

§ 2. Therefore, this Boys' Guild, being in its constitution and aspiration essentially a German fraternity, in the best sense of the word, those students only should be admitted to it who are the sons, not alone of German parents, but of citizens of the German Fatherland. Nevertheless, considering that there are nations the people of which, though belonging to an extraneous body-politic, partake of the German nature on account of their having been born to the German language, and educated after German manners, we cheerfully receive into our union students of this kind, upon the understanding that they are willing to subscribe to the German patriotic principle set down in Section 1—although they are expected to do this only so far as it agrees with their extra-German patriotic views.

§ 3. Bearing in mind the endeavors of the original Boys' Guild to combine the whole of the academic youths of Germany into one large patriotic union, we regard this as the object for which we are to strive with all our force—"that is to say, to bring together the scattered elements of the real and united student mind, throughout all Germany, and first of all in Jena." So, further, do we declare, that we will never acknowledge, but rather combat, by all means in our power, every society opposed to the aim and object of the student-union; especially the so-called "Husbandmen" (*Oekonom*) and "Corps," *who are a type of a base life among students, and animated by no sense of patriotism whatever.*

§ 4. Upon each member of the Student Guild a moral and honorable mode of action and thought are enforced as a duty. This, indeed, can be the only foundation of every noble aim, and by such means alone can the respect and honor of the whole Student Guilds be secured. *In particular, the preservation of chastity is demanded of the members as a national and truly German virtue, in accordance with the pure and holy purpose of the Student Guilds.*

§ 5. In all matters of honor we regard the duel as a purifying ordeal; that is to say, we consider that by such means the student has restored to him the honor which, in the eyes of his fellow-students, had been injured by some

opprobrious offence. Therefore, every one belonging to our society is obliged not only to purify his own honor with the customary weapons, provided he can obtain no other satisfaction for the wrong that has been done to him, but, in order to comply with the principle of justness, he is expected to be ever ready to give satisfaction to those whose honor he has injured, and that with such weapons as his adversary may select. Nevertheless, the Student Guild makes it a special duty to endeavor to prevent, by all fitting means, any *wanton* provocation being offered by its members to those of another society.

§ 6. In order to manifest also in our outward appearance that we are the true successors of the ancient Student Guild, we maintain to this day, as the only colors of our banner, the "venerable black, red, and gold." Further, the sole object of our ambition we express in the following words :—"HONOR, FREEDOM, AND THE FATHERLAND;" and by that motto we will ever bear in mind that as our inward honor is our holiest good, so, also, will we devote our property and our life-blood to the defence of what we value quite as highly—the outward honor of our country; and even so, indeed, will we give up our whole energies to our Fatherland, for which, alone, we will live and die.

§ 7. Satisfied, moreover, after mature consideration, that these laws, in their integrity, constitute the intrinsic conditions of every well-regulated Student Guild, we declare they shall ever be regarded as sacred, and preserved intact by us. On their inviolability the duration of this Student Guild is made to depend. Still we enjoin, further, the following immutable laws :—

§ 8. Each member of our society who wilfully infringes these statutes, as well as every member who, openly or secretly, seeks to change or reject but one single paragraph of them, is to be looked upon as an enemy to the Guild, and to be excluded from it forever.

§ 9. If, too—as we can hardly anticipate—it should ever come to pass that the majority of the members should vote for the abolition or alteration of these laws, then the faithful *minority alone* is entitled to continue in operation as the Student Guild of the Arminians, and to them, and *them only*, shall remain the name, the colors, the motto, and the property of the said society.

Now every unprejudiced person must admit that there is a world of fine youthful and glowing beauty, as well as of ardent boyish nobility, in the above principles; and every one who wishes to see Germany and her people rise out of the mire of all kinds of social and political degradation, in which she is now left to wallow, can only lament that the pledge given by the warm-hearted lads in Section 1 (wherein they promise to work "for the good of the Fatherland, even when they shall become men and citizens") should be *so* utterly forgotten and unheeded in after life, that at the time of the King of Prussia's late arrogant rejection of his Parliament, there were none, among the thousands of ex-students who had, in their youth, sworn to devote "*their property and their life blood to the defence of what they valued as highly as their own inward honor—the outward honor of their country*"—to volunteer for the "forlorn hope," and to cheer the flagging spirits on, to take by assault the tumble-down citadel of the antiquated Government itself. But so it is. *Wortschwallerei*, or wind-bag bombast, prevails throughout Deutschland on every side; whilst action, the only proof of earnestness in such matters, is utterly wanting. Indeed, whenever the so-called *National Verein* (National Union) held one of its do-nothing meetings in Eisenach, one had only to listen to the five-minute speeches (for this is the utmost stretch of a German's oratorical powers) to know that all was as hollow and insincere as if the speakers had been so many plaster images rather than men. For the wretched donkeys who came to feast their mind with the rhetoric, were treated to nothing but the same old dry chopped-straw (vulgarly denominated "chaff"), in the form

of the eternal aspirations for "*Einigkeit, Freiheit, Frommigkeit, Fröhlichkeit*,"—for such, as we have said before, is the invariable *Blatherums-keit* of such assemblies. No *practical* result, indeed, ever came from them; nothing but talk, and very poor talk, too, was the consequence; for the low-minded and tricky attorneys of the town were sure to make their appearance on the platform, and to spout their vapid froth about the Great-grand-fatherland, in the hope of "lining" the silly birds of citizens, as clients, by such sugary balderdash.

Nevertheless, we must in all justice, acknowledge that, from what we saw of the Jena boys, they were, heart and soul, wedded to the principles to which they had subscribed; and as noble and earnest—aye, and let us say as moral and honorable—young men as we ever had the pleasure to know.

Admission—Fox—Fox Major.

After the novice has read, and given his assent to, the principles and laws above quoted, he is allowed to become a member of the society; though even then he is not permitted to take part in its formal proceedings, but is regarded as one in a state of probation, whom the Boys have still the right of refusing admission into their circle; provided, as we said before, they should consider either his habits or his sentiments, or even his manners, uncongenial to them. While in this state of probation, the young student is denominated a "Fox," and handed over to the care of the "Fox Major," who is duly elected for the purpose, to be initiated and trained in the "art and mystery" of the drinking customs of the *Burschenschaft;* and it will be seen hereafter, when the reader comes to study the beer-usages of Jena (and some such beer-usages, we should add, prevail, more or less, in every German university), that the principal education of the so-called "Foxes" consists in their being bound to drink out of a full glass (*ex pleno*), and to drink to the end of it, too, whenever called upon by a "Boy" to do so; and, moreover, that the "Fox Major" is at liberty to command the united "Foxes" at each of the drinking-bouts, which take place twice or thrice in the week, to swallow after him as much beer as he may be able to toss off at one draught, and to do the same as often as he pleases in the course of the evening.

These Foxes almost invariably join the society at the commencement of a "semester" (or half-year), and the occasion upon which they are admitted into the *Burschenschaft* is called the *Eintritts-kneipe* (literally "the entrance drinking-bout").

Baptism of a Fox—Fox-Riding.

In the month of June the "*Stiftungs-commerce*" (or foundation festivity) is held, and at this feast the ceremony of the baptism of each of the newly-inducted members takes place, and the Fox receives the nickname that he is ever after to be known by at the University.

The Abbot, who is the officiating minister on such occasions, forms part of the beer State officers in connection with the student clubs of Jena, and is elected annually for the office. The reader sees him in the engraving duly got up in his canonicals (for the Jena students love masquerading as dearly as boys in general delight in costuming) and in the act of pouring a can full of beer on the head of the new member—as the fitting unction with which to anoint the novice who is to be taught to regard it ever after in the light of "holy water."

At these *Stiftungs-commercen* (foundation festivities) there ensues another comic ceremony, which is known by the name of the "Fox-riding" (*Fuchs-ritt*). What may be the meaning of the sport we are at a loss to divine, though we imagine it is supposed to represent a rude attempt at a fox-hunt; but as the Foxes themselves are the riders rather than the creatures ridden after, it is

difficult to see either the sense or the fun of it. However, the boys themselves enjoy it, for, with the fine spirits of youth, it wants but a straw or a feather to tickle lads into laughter.

At the head is the "Fox Major," with his huge French hunting horn across his breast, got up like Gallic huntsmen in general, and as utterly unlike an English one as British tars are different from the dandy seamen seen at masquerades; while the Foxes themselves are shown riding astride the tavern chairs, in which manner the whole body of them go cantering round the room, while the "Boys" black the faces of the riders with burnt cork as they go by.

On these occasions, too, a special song is sung. The melody of this is exceedingly lively, and by no means disagreeable; the principal fun of the words consisting in the application of the epithet *ledernen* (literally leathern, but figuratively simple, stupid) to a number of different and incongruous objects.

"*Corps*"-*burschen*.

We have now to speak of the other student societies that prevail also at this University. Such societies bear the name of "*Corps*" in contradistinction to the *Burschenschaft* or boy-guilds of the town; and if the reader will take the trouble to refer to §3 of the laws before given in connection with the club called the Arminians or Armins, he will readily understand the utter difference of principle between the boy-guilds and the societies termed the corps, of which we are now about to speak.

In the declaration of the Armins the following words occur: "We declare that we will never acknowledge, but rather combat by all means in our power, every society that is opposed to the aim and object of the boy-guilds—especially the so-called 'husbandmen' and 'corps,' *who are a type of a base life among students, and animated by no sense of patriotism whatever.*"

Of these Jena corps we profess to know nothing but what we heard from the Arminians themselves; and they all spake of them as youths who gave up the prime of their life to all manner of debauchery, and described the societies to us as being mere convivial unions, with no idea but that of drinking and singing to bring them and bind them together. It is, too, the diametrically opposite feelings existing between the two antagonistic institutions of the *Burschenschaft* (boy-guilds) and the *Corps-burschen* (student corps) which lead to the continual feuds, resulting in the duels that are almost daily occurrences in the suburbs of Jena.

So far as we could learn, the youths belonging to the boy-guilds are mostly the sons of Lutheran ministers, or of small tradesmen, or well-to-do peasant proprietors, whereas those in connection with the corps generally belong to a higher class; and the consequence is that the aristocratic element of the one body is wholly at variance, and ever at war, with the democratic or patriotic principles of the other. Moreover, the expenses of each member in connection with any one of the student corps are considerably greater than those appertaining to the boy-guilds; indeed, we were assured that the sum levied by the corps out of the receipts of each student belonging to them amounted to as much as 60 thalers, or 9*l.*, for the first half-year cut of the money they were allowed by their parents. Further, the members of the corps are sworn in no way to chaste or pure lives; and from what we could glean from the students belonging to the boy-guilds, this, as well as the unpatriotic character of their sentiments, was the main cause of the hatred existing between the two different institutions.*

* As an instance of the immorality of the corps-students of Jena, we learnt, during our stay in the town, that one of these societies' account at the apothecary's for a single semester included a quarter of a pound of lunar caustic supplied to the club. The story, however, came to us from persons devoted to an utterly opposite course of life, and the medical reader will, of course, receive it *cum grano salis*. It is cited here merely as an example of the wholly different lives led by the two distinct classes of Jena students.

There are three distinct societies comprised under the general head of the Jena corps. These are the Franks, the Westphalians, and the Thuringians; and each of them have their distinctive colors displayed in their caps, their bands, and their *Bier-zipfel* (beer lappets), as well as in their monogrammatic device—in the same manner as the members of the boy-guilds before described. The colors of the Franks or Franconians, for instance, are *green*, red, and gold, green being the distinctive hue, and the others merely the accessories, worn in the form of stripes. Their motto is—

"LONG LIVE THE CIRCLE OF THE BROTHERS OF FRANCONIA !"

(Vivat Franconiae fratrorum circulus !)

The Thuringians, on the other hand, have *black* for their principal color, with white and red as accessories, their motto being—

"LONG LIVE THE CIRCLE OF THE BROTHERS OF THURINGIA !"

(Vivat fratrorum Thuringiae circulus !)

Finally, the Westphalians are distinguished, like the Franks, by *green* as their principal color, but contradistinguished from them, at the same time, by having black and white for accessory hues, rather than red and gold. The motto of this corps is—

"LONG LIVE THE CIRCLE OF THE BROTHERS OF WESTPHALIA !"

(Vivat Swestphaliae fratrorum circulus !)

About one half of the entire students may be said to be members of one or other of the three Jena corps, or else of the three boy-guilds of the town. So far as we could ascertain the proportion was as follows: Belonging to each of the *Burschenschaft* institutions, there are, upon an average, some thirty odd members, or about a hundred in all, which is upwards of one fifth of the entire collegians. On the other hand, the number of students connected with each of the more aristocratic corps may be taken at twenty; so that one seventh of the university students are attached to them. Besides these, there are the "husbandmen" (*Oekonoms*) studying at the college, who are admitted without any previous examination, and of whom there are about eighty altogether at Jena.

The remainder of the boys at the University are lads without either democratic or aristocratic principles to maintain—who are neither wedded to chaste lives, nor, on the contrary, delighting in depraved ones; and who are classed together by the rest of the students under the opprobrious name of *Finks* (the literal meaning of the word being finch, which is described in the dictionaries as a small singing bird); and who, so far as we are able to judge, after a three weeks' stay in the university town, were harmless youths who had come there to study, and were the sons mostly of people who could ill afford the expenses of the hard-drinking customary in the several student societies. These Finks, or Finches (who are almost the type of our Sizars) wore always a black cap, without any accessory stripes, as a distinctive mark of their non-adhesion to any particular club; and if our memory serves us, they were deficient also in the breast-band and the beer-lappet that the other Jena boys delight to carry.

Expenses at Jena.

To the poor scholars belonging to no society whatever, the cost may be set down at 120 to 150 thalers (or 18*l.* to 22*l.* 10*s.* of our money) per annum. Those, on the other hand, who are members of one or other of the Jena corps, spend upon an average from 400 to 600 thalers (or from 60*l.* to 90*l.*) the year, whilst the expenses of the *Burschenschaft* lads usually come to between 300 and 400 thalers (or from 45*l.* to 60*l.*) annually. One American youth, whose acquaint-

ance we made in the town, told us that the cost of his attendance at the University amounted to 60 thalers (or 9*l.*) a month, which is at the rate of upwards of 100*l.* the year; but, then, it should be remembered that his lodgings were more expensive than those of the generality of students, and, may be, he would not put up with the fare that Germans are willing to submit to. However, we were assured that the average might be fairly struck at 300 thalers (or 45*l.*) per annum.

The usual custom is for the students to take their meals at some tavern or hotel in the city, the cost of which is generally about 5 thalers (or 15*s.*) a month, *i. e.*, 4*s.* 9*d.* the week.

The expenses of attending the different lectures are 6 thalers (18*s.*) each course, every half-year, for those who are studying either theology or jurisprudence, and 30 thalers the course (4*l.* 10*s.*) for those who desire to be instructed in chemistry or medicine; so that if we assume that the lodging of a Jena student costs 2½ thalers the month, or say 4*l.* 10*s.* the year, and that his living amounts to 5 thalers a month, or say 10*l.* the year, while the cost of attending the several courses of lectures comes, on the average, to 20 thalers the half-year, or 6*l.* annually, we have the gross yearly expense of the students fairly estimated at 130 thalers, or 19*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Hence, we can readily understand how many of the Finks or Finches who have "stipends," as they are called, from the college funds, can manage to get a university education for 20*l.* the year; and, moreover, what must be the amount of money wasted in beer among the other students, when the bare necessary outlay is 19*l.* 10*s.* per annum, and the customary annual expenditure as much as 45*l.* or 60*l.*

One of the Armin Boys furnished us with the following estimate of his own expenses for each semester: His lodging cost him 17 thalers (2*l.* 11*s.*), his dinners 30 thalers (or 4*l.* 10*s.*), his college 20 thalers (3*l.*), his club 40 thalers (6*l.*), his beer and suppers 60 thalers (9*l.*), and his extra expenses 20 thalers (3*l.*), which, added together, gives a sum total of 187 thalers (or 28*l.* 1*s.*) as the cost of each six months' term at Jena; and this is at the rate of 56*l.* odd per annum, without either clothes or washing. We were assured, however, that, as a rule, 60*l.* per annum may be taken as the fair average expense of those "Boys" whose fathers are well-to-do, and 15*l.* to 20*l.* the cost of the poorer scholars who are in receipt of some "*stipendium*" from the college.

Beer-Drinking Customs.

Beer-drinking among the Jena students can hardly be regarded as wanton indulgence; for there are so many forms and ceremonies connected with it—such rights and duties attached to the "drinking *to*" and "drinking in *response* to" another—and it constitutes so intrinsic a part of the academic life of every German university, that the revelries associated with it partake more of the semi-religious orgies of the Bacchantes of old than they do of mere unmeaning, sensual feasts; and as the dancing of the Natch-girls in India forms part of the rites at the festivals of the Brahmin devotees, and singing, also, remains connected with the worship of many a modern church, we doubt much whether among the old pagans the kindred pleasure of drinking was not originally a purely sacred observance, and practised, in the first instance, only on those primitive holy days or sacred feasts in celebration of some reverend event, which time has changed into mere *holidays* or insignificant merry-makings.

In Jena, beer alone is the main drink among the youths at the University. In France, wine generally prevails upon such occasions; and we must remember that history tells us that Charlemagne was the first to introduce the growth of the grape into Germany, prior to which time the Germans had been accustomed solely to the drinking of malt liquors; and we know, moreover, from

the tables of Alexander Humboldt, that even now it is principally in the Rhenish district that "potable" wine can be produced. In all other parts of the Fatherland beer is still the customary drink of the nation; and there is not the least doubt that, in our own land, this same malt liquor was the original beverage of our British forefathers. True that, among the Welsh a certain fermented compound of honey and malt liquor called "mead," or "metheglin" (we have tasted it many a time, during our residence in Wales, and very indifferent stuff it is), was indulged in at special festivities; still beer, throughout the countries incapable of producing wine, was, and is yet, the general beverage of the folk.

This word beer, like bread and water, and such other primitive terms, is what the Germans call a "strong word," and its derivation can be carried no further back than the Celtic languages—the Romans and the Greeks having no cognate expression for it. In Welsh it is written *bir*, and in Armoric, *byer* and *ber*. We are of opinion, however, that this term is the same as the Anglo-Saxon *bere*, signifying barley, and the Hebrew בר (*bar*) corn, and that the word originally meant nothing more than corn-wine; even as the Germans, to the present day, call the ordinary fermented liquor of the country *Korn-branntwein*, and by stenoëpy, *Korn* alone.

The beer of Germany remains to this day of an exceedingly light character; so much so, indeed, that it is impossible to preserve the brewings of each town even to the end of the twelvemonth. In Eisenach, it invariably happens that the city brewage is drunk out before the end of the Summer, and that then "strange" beers have to be brought into the city, to slake the thirst of the inhabitants. Indeed, the German beers are, generally speaking, of so delicate or weak a character, that they will not keep the twelvemonth through, even in the coolest cellars, and that four-and-twenty hours after a cask is tapped, the remainder is utterly undrinkable. So that when an Englishman tells the German folk he has drunk (as we have in the late Duke of Devonshire's cellars) beer at least a hundred years old, and that it is the custom of our noblemen to brew, immediately an heir is born, so many barrels that are to be partaken of on the son's attaining his majority, they shrug their shoulders in incredulity, for they cannot understand how it is possible for a stronger decoction than their own to be kept a longer space of time.

The greater part of the German beers, indeed, approximate in character to what we call "table-ale," or "intermediate," as such kind of dilute malt liquor used, some time ago, to be styled. They are by no means unpleasant, and, so far as our experience goes, they contribute when taken in moderation to an improved action of the vital functions. Indeed, in America, where the naturalized Germans have begun to brew such beers for the enjoyment of their own countrymen, on the other side of the Atlantic, they are often prescribed by the physicians as the best of medicine for those who are in a weakly condition. That they are by no means so heady as our ales, the English reader can well understand, after having been assured that it is not unusual for a youth of not yet twenty years of age to drink some thirty pint glasses in the course of an evening. Generally, each city has its own peculiar beer, which bears the name of the place where it is brewed. Such beers are mostly called by the general term *Lager-bier*, or, literally, beer that can be kept in store.

The Jena beer, however, is of a very peculiar kind, and brewed only at the little village of Lichtenhain, which immediately adjoins the University town. This Lichtenhainer, as it is called, is a species of white beer, or, rather, a decoction made from wheat, instead of barley, and is more the color of champagne than ordinary malt liquor. The flavor of it is far from pleasant at first, for it tastes not unlike the smallest English small beer, that has turned

slightly sour, and gone somewhat flat. Indeed, the only thing to which we can compare it is a mixture of cider and water, with a dash of camomile tea added to it. The students, however, assure you that the taste for it is a growing one, and ultimately becomes so strong that persons who are accustomed to drink Lichtenhainer, prefer it to beer of any other kind. We are inclined to believe, however, that this is very much on a par with the eulogies of the Germans respecting their black bread; for as your true Deutscher always eats white bread when he can get it *gratuitously*, so do the Jena students, when any grand feast is given, generally prefer to drink the more expensive Lager-beer of the country. On ordinary occasions, however, Lichtenhainer is assuredly the usual drink of the Jena students; and the reason of this is, we are of opinion, because quantity is desired rather than quality; for the Lichtenhainer beer is of so exceedingly mild a character as to admit of some score or more of pints of it being swallowed at one sitting, with scarcely any intoxicating effect. Moreover, price, we think, is one of the main elements in the consideration, since the ordinary Lager-beer of the country costs from a penny to three-halfpence the pint, and the same quantity of Lichtenhainer can be had for three farthings.

The Jena Beer Can.

Lichtenhainer is usually drunk, not out of glasses, as Lager-beer is, but out of white wooden cans, or "stoops;" and the cause of this strange custom, you are told, is that the pale and uninviting muddy look of the stuff would not be particularly pleasant to contemplate. These wooden cans are coated with rosin inside, and are not unlike miniature English churns, fitted with a wooden handle at the side. Every student possesses one of these, and indeed such a beer-can forms as much an indispensable part of the Saxon academic paraphernalia, as does a porcelain pipe, with the arms of the club to which the student belongs, emblazoned on the bowl, or an ivory-handled cane, or indeed the little gold-embroidered muffin-cap carried by the members of every German University. This wooden beer-can is always kept in readiness at the tavern where the club, of which the student is a member, is in the habit of holding its meetings, and in the passages of the University beer-houses, hundreds of them are to be seen, early in the morning, stuck upon the projecting prongs of huge perpendicular stands that are like hat-trees, while the cans themselves seem to be the big blossoms at the end of each of the branches.

Such a beer-can is always presented to the student by some friend, immediately after his coming to the University; and on the wooden lid the nick-name of the donor, as well as of the donee (for *soubriquets* are an invariable custom among the Jena boys), is printed in red sealing-wax; while in the middle appear the letters *s / m. l.* standing for "*seinem lieben*"—that is to say, to his beloved So-and-so—after the following fashion—the subjoined being the inscription upon such a can presented to our son by one of his Jena friends:—

Kanne.

s / m. l.

Bim.

Further, on the front of the can is cut the word "Jena," with the date annexed, and the letters filled up with red sealing-wax as before; whilst inside the lid there is always engraven the following curious device:—

§ 1 1.

What on earth this meant we could not, for the life of us, at first conceive; and what made the matter still more puzzling was, that you would be sure to see, go into whatever beer-house you might, this same Section Eleven painted conspicuously on the rafter in the middle of the ceiling; or else, may be, upon the protuberant stomach of some plaster image of Lablache in the character of Figaro. What did this all important section refer to? Was it to form the principal point in the long-looked-for Magna Charta of United Germany, that it was found thus inscribed on the tavern walls and under the lid of every tankard, so that every German might have it continually before his eyes even in his merry-makings? Nor was it till we came into the possession of the book of beer-customs, published for the guide of the Jena students, that the mystery was thoroughly cleared up to our mind.

Now, this book of beer-customs is designed, as the title-page tells us, "for the use and profit of academic conviviality" (*Zu Nutz und Frommen akademischer Gemüthlichkeit entworfen*), and is formally issued under the authority of the commissioners appointed for the revision of the beer laws (*Die zur Revision des Biercomments niedergesetzte Commission*). In the preface, too, we are informed that the "commission" determined to perfect its labors, in order to supply a common and deep-felt want; and we are assured that the "commissioners can, with propriety, take upon themselves to say that they are, at least, no novices in the noble art of barley-juice drinking" (*in der Kunst dem edlen Gerstensaft*).

The matter of the book itself is pompously divided, with all the pedantry of the German schoolmen, into "general" and "special" parts; and these again respectively sub-divided into chapters and sections, each headed with a capital or small letter, or with a Roman or Arabic numeral, till the whole classificatory machinery of I., II., III., 1, 2, 3, and A, B, C, a, b, c, as well as § and ¶ is utterly exhausted; while, under such heads, the rules are given concerning the rights and duties of beer obligations, or the loss of beer honors, or the forms necessary in drinking to, or drinking in response to, or the power of bidding a person to drink out of a full glass, as well as of beer-duels and beer-impotence. Moreover, every separate paragraph of the book is duly marked §1, or §2, up to §118, as though it were an elaborate scientific treatise; and it is by reference to §11 of this highly ceremonious handbook of beer-etiquette, or most systematic code of beer-laws, that we are enabled to discover the significance of the mysterious symbols inscribed under the lid of every beer can, and painted on the ceiling of nearly every beer house. For there it stands:—

§ 11.

Es wird fortgesoffen.

Anglicè. It is (the duty of all) to swill on.

No one, until he has duly studied the student life of Germany can thoroughly understand the character of the German folk, or the reason of many a German custom; for as the usages of the several universities give the tone to the middle and higher portion of German society, and citizens and nobles think it grand or "fast" to imitate the doings of the "boys" (*Burschen*) at the different colleges, so you find such citizens and others on every occasion, wittingly or unwittingly, affecting the manners of the German students.

Object and Stability of the Beer Customs.

The Jena beer customs—begins "The New Jena Beer Comment," published in 1858—are particular rights which, when incorporated into a digest of positive laws, could be placed beside any new systems of jurisprudence; as, for example, the Code of Napoleon, or the Prussian Land Rights.

The purpose of the incorporation of the beer customs is to establish the beer rights of the Jena boys, to lay down positive rules and laws for all things connected with beer, and upon the breach of such rules to determine the general punishments, as well as those which, in every concrete case, the offender is to suffer.

Every Jena student must acknowledge these beer customs, and in case of refusal a perpetual beer-excommunication hangs over him, without mercy.

The same rules hold good in every place where Jena boys are assembled at drinking-bouts, with the exception of a few beer villages, in which a peculiar custom has arisen, as well as on the hills surrounding Jena, where the noble mountain customs (*Burg-brauch*) take the place of the ordinary beer usages with perfect lawfulness.

Sources of the Beer Customs.

The sources of the beer customs are mostly old deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; nor have the usages which Tacitus records concerning the customs among the ancient Germans at the drinking of the noble barley juice been in any way disregarded.

Of the Regulation of Time in Connection with the Beer Rights.

Of the Beer Minutes.—The leading principle with regard to the regulation of time in connection with beer business is the duration of the five beer minutes.

The five beer minutes are generally reckoned as three civil minutes; but as it would not be agreeable to make use of Philister watches at drinking-bouts and the like, and as it might happen in many cases that none of the beer-honoraries carried a chronometer about with him, so should it generally be left to two beer-honorable boys to decide at beer convents and other assemblies whether the five minutes have elapsed or not.

Of the Tempus Utile, or Well-occupied Time.—The *tempus utile* is every space of time during which a person is kept from fulfilling his beer obligations by some important business.

The expiration of the five beer minutes, which are generally calculated by natural computation, can only be interrupted by the following *tempora utilia*:—

The time in which any one is sitting as a beer judge in a beer convent (or beer court). The time in which any one is giving his evidence as accuser, witness, or accused in such a beer convent.

The time in which a song given out by the President is being sung at the drinking-bout, or while the *Hospitium*, or tavern song, is being chanted by another; and principally the whole time during which *Silentium* reigns.

The time that any one requires for making expectorations of all kinds.

Of the Rights of Persons.

Every person admits of being divided into physical and juridical. A physical person is every Jena student who can be regarded as being subject to the beer rights.

Persons physical fall, according to the student's age, under the head of either "Boys" or "Foxes." Only the "Boys" are properly lawful; and these are sub-divided into "Young Boys," "Old Boys," and "Moss covered Heads" (*bemooste Häupter*). A "Young Boy" is one between his third and fourth *semester* (half-year). Every student is so regarded from the beginning of his third half-year to the commencement of his fourth. After this, he becomes an "Old Boy;" and finally, at the beginning of his sixth *semester* he rises to the reverence of a "Moss-covered Head."

The Foxes are divided into "Raw Foxes" (*crasse Füchse*) and "Branded Foxes" (*Brandfüchse*), according as they are remaining in Jena for their first or second *semester* of study

A juridical person is, according to generally-received notions, every ideal personage who, with the exception of beer-honorable students, can be considered as a subject of the beer rights, and is acknowledged by the State.

Of Beer Illness.

According to another principle of division, we arrange (as many great authorities have done before us) the persons physical into beer-drinkers and beer-invalids, or those on the beer sick list.

If anybody should be prevented by illness, such as a cold or other bodily ailment, from strictly following the injunctions of the beer customs, he must have himself announced as being on the beer sick list by the President (*Präsis*); or, where none exists, by a beer-honorable boy—that is to say, by one who is not under beer-excommunication. The announcement is made as follows:—"Silentium! Müller is beer sick, or beer impotent." The invalid thus loses the right to drink (so long as the company lasts) either *to* or in *response* to any one, and, above all, to mix himself up in beer-duels. Moreover, a beer-invalid must not bid another, in a state of beer-robustness, to drink out of a full glass, "*ex pleno*," as it is called.

Of Specially Privileged Persons.

Of the President.—The Präsis, or President, is that boy who has to keep peace and order; and so that he may the better obtain this end, he has certain rights which take precedence of those of the other boys.

The President has a right to bid any one, *pro pœnâ* (by way of punishment), for disturbing the order, or breaking the ordained silence, or committing any other impropriety, to drink up to a "pope" (an entire measure full of what the offender may be drinking at the time). If the culprit does not drink after the third summons—which is just the same as that when a person is bidden to drink out of a full glass—then the President can put him in beer-excommunication.

Further, The President has the right, after every song (provided he be "recommended," as it is termed, to do so), to call upon a certain person to drink a given quantity, either because he has sung badly, or because he did not sing at all, or because he disturbed the singing, or for other valid reasons. If the offender does not drink after the third summons, he has the beer ban put upon him.

The President, moreover, on the evenings of the drinking-bouts (*Kneipabend*) generally permits three songs to be sung; and between the second and third he calls on any student that he pleases, to sing the *Hospitium* (the tavern song); but he can alter the order of the songs according to his discretion, if there are good grounds for his so doing. At "commerces" (or those drinking-bouts in which the members of the other student clubs are invited to take part) there are, as a rule, three solemn songs sung, and at the end of these the *Landesvater* (or Fatherland song) is chanted.

The tavern song, or *Hospitium*, is demanded after the following manner. When the introductory song has been sung and the President has given out another, he challenges any person he pleases to sing, by saying to him, "*Vivat Müller!*" If Müller, however, does not sing, then excommunication is chanted to him; whilst, if he commences a song that has already been heard, he is warned by the "One, two, three!" of the President; and if he does not then sing a proper song by the time that the third warning is given, excom-

munication is likewise chanted; as indeed is also done if he commences singing three songs, one after the other, which have already formed part of the evening's entertainment.

When a *Hospitium* is sung, every beer honorable boy must sing in chorus; and it can, on no account, be permitted that any one drinks at such times in silence, or indulges in the more solemn songs sung at the time of "Commerce-meetings."

The President, moreover, has not only the right to determine when a song or *Hospiz* shall be sung, but it is for him to say when "a Salamander shall be rubbed" (at which times the beer cans before drinking are rubbed round and round upon the table, as though the united company were grinding colors). If another boy wishes to have a Salamander rubbed, he must pray for *Silentium*, which, as a rule, the President has no right to refuse.

The theory of the Salamander cannot be given in these beer customs.

Of the Fox Major.—The Fox Major (or eldest of the Foxes) has, on the evenings of drinking-bouts, various rights over his brother Foxes. He may order the assembled Foxes each to drink any quantity he pleases *to* him; but he must drink, in response to them, the same as each has previously drunk.

Of the Rights of Things.

Beer things may be divided into principal things (or customary articles), subordinate things (or uncustomary articles), and appurtenances.

The principal things are "Lager-beer," "black Cöstritzer-beer," "Lichtenhainer-beer," and all other white beers. He only who drinks the principal things can become "beer-honorable;" but should the beer-honorable boy declare himself to be beer-impotent, there is no necessity for him then to partake of them.

Secondary things are those drinks like sugar-water, lemonade, coffee, or such other watery messes, which have sprung out of the over-nice taste of the present time.

Appurtenances are cans, "doctors" (measures so called), "popes" (ditto), "beer planes" (the students' term for the clouts with which the tables are rubbed down), chalk (with which the beer-scores and beer-penalties are inscribed), slates (on which the names of those put into beer-excommunications are written), tables, chairs, benches, and other things of that sort.

Property, in the meaning of the beer-customs, can only come out of the possession of the principal things; and the best way of becoming possessed of them is to order the waiter to bring them forthwith.

Injuring or destroying property is punished by beer-excommunication. Therefore, whoever throws beer over another has the beer ban put upon him, unless he uses immediately afterwards the words "without throwing away beer," in which case he is penalty free.

Also, whoever, on purpose or by accident, makes away with his property, or, to speak technically, spills beer, and does not say, immediately afterwards, "without wasting beer," has likewise the beer ban put upon him.

Of the Rights Arising from Obligations.

An obligation, according to the Roman laws, could ensue as well from an undertaking to perform a certain thing as from a dereliction or failure in the performance of it. Nevertheless, according to the beer customs, all derelictions can be punished with beer-excommunication, and from this the duty of purification by the beer ordeal by battle arises, as the chief consequence; for it is difficult to discover what the *variæ causarum figuræ* of the old Romans have to do with the beer customs of Jena, and, therefore, beer-rightly considered, an undertaking can be the only ground of an obligation.

An undertaking or contract consists in the union of two beer-honorable boys towards one common voluntary object, entered into with solemn forms, through which the beer-righteous position of the contractors to one another is, in the concrete, brought more closely together. Particular acts of agreement are the contracts of drinking *to* and drinking in *response* to—the beer-youngsters' contract—and finally the beer duel contracts.

Of Drinking to and Drinking in Response to.—If any one wishes to drink *to* any one, he must give evidence of such a desire by the words "Müller, something is lifted up (in honor) to thee" ("*Es steigt dir etwas*"), or, "I advance with something to thee" ("*Ich komme dir was*"), or in the like manner. Simple nodding or whistling does not suffice for this purpose. After the person drunk to signifies his acceptance of the drinking *to* him by the words, "Drink, bless thee" ("*Prosit*") or, "It is good!" the first takes any quantity he pleases, but, at the least, one "cow-gulp" (*Kuh-schluck*). If the drinker to drinks before the one drunk to has accepted the pledge, the latter need not drink in response to the former.

If anybody wishes to drink a definite "*quantum*" to another, he must always mention the quantum in his proposal, saying, for instance, "Müller, a half-measure (called a Doctor) is lifted up to thee," or, "I advance to thee with a whole pope." More than one "pope" at a time need not be accepted, unless the double quantity is "clapped on" (*übergestürzt*), or unless there is a desire to "spring in the air," as it is termed (*in die Luft zu sprengen*), that is to say, when a number of boys unite together to drink a certain quantum, collectively, to another; whereupon each of the party drinks such a quantity as he likes, but so that the *sum* of the quantities drunk by the whole number makes up one "pope" or more. In such a case the proposal must be accepted up to three popes or six doctors of Lichtenhainer; but these need not be drunk all at once by the person responding, but only at every other five beer minutes. The desire to "spring in the air" is announced, generally, in the following terms: "Müller! Schulze and I would spring in air with thee to the extent of two popes."

Everybody is bound, after the third challenging, to accept the proposal to drink any quantity, in conformity with the beer customs, which he may be challenged to take; and in case of his refusal, the beer ban may be put upon him. But the acceptance to drink does not alone suffice; for the one drunk to is bound also, on pain of excommunication, to drink off, in response, the same quantity as he has accepted, and to do that after the third "step" (*Tritt*), or challenge to fulfill his beer duties—which, however, can only occur at the expiration of five beer minutes. A step, or *Tritt*, is announced in the following words: "Müller is, for the first time, demanded to follow me with a half," or as the case may be. A Fox, on pain of beer-excommunication, may not take "such a step" towards a beer-honorable boy.

The act of drinking in response is made known by the following words: "Schulze, I follow thee!" or in like manner; and when Schulze simply says, "Drink, bless thee!" then Müller (or the one drinking in response to the other), drinks merely alone. But if Schulze (or the one who has before drunk *to* him), replies, "Drink, bless thee—in the world;" or if, while drinking to Müller, Schulze had, at first, added these most significant words, "in the world" (which, nevertheless, stand only for something less than a whole quantum), then the person drinking in response to the other is at liberty to drink to a third party with the quantum he has to take. But he is bound, nevertheless, to allow this third person, in his turn, to drink, "in the world," with another person, too. More than three quantums cannot be going on "in the world" at once, nor need any one accept to drink a quantum twice which he has already drunk "in the world," in response to another.

To every person proposing to drink a specified quantity to another, double that quantity can be "clapped on" (*nach gestürtz*) by the person challenged. This after-clapping-on, however, or doubling the quantity that a Boy proposes to drink to another, is forbidden to Foxes, and that on pain of beer-excommunication.

Of Bidding to Drink ex pleno.—The ancient worthy institution of drinking *ex pleno*, or out of a full glass, was introduced many "gray years" ago by our wise forefathers, and is still the most practical method of restraining, in some measure, the luxurious habits of the Foxes. Every boy can bid every Fox who gives himself wanton or luxurious airs to drink out of a full glass. But as the Foxes generally indulge in legions of luxuries, so they cannot be severally mentioned here; and it must, therefore, be left to the discretion of every boy to judge concerning each concrete case of a Fox's luxuriousness.

The solemn act of bidding a person drink *ex pleno* is performed in the following manner: The bidder challenges the offending Fox three times thus, with the words: "Müller, drink *ex pleno* for the first time; Müller, drink *ex pleno* for the second time; and Müller, drink *ex pleno* for the third and last time;" whereupon the bidder takes a sip out of his own glass. Then, if the party challenged does not drink immediately after the last challenge is given, the challenger can have him sent to Coventry (*bei-stecken*) there and then, without having to wait for the customary five beer minutes. Moreover, on no account can any lazy excuses be admitted at such times, such as "I will first fill my pipe," or "Let me first take a pinch of snuff," or any other similar phrase; for if such idle subterfuges are offered, the infliction of the beer-excommunication will follow without mercy. If the culprit has no liquor in his glass, he must, on pain of being put into beer-excommunication, order a fresh glass to be brought to him.

If the drinker breaks off while drinking his full glass, then any one else can challenge him to drink further, in the following manner: "For the first time of breaking off: Müller, drink on for the first time; Müller, drink on for the second time; Müller, drink on for the third and last time;" and in the same manner if he breaks off a second or third time. If then he does not drink immediately, or he should break off more than three times while in the act of drinking his full glass, the *ex pleno* bidder can have him at once put into beer-excommunication.

Of Beer-youngsters.—A beer-youngster is made out in the following manner. One taunts the other with the words "Müller, you are a beer-youngster," whereupon Müller is bound, on pain of beer-excommunication, to fill his glass within five beer minutes, and be ready to drink unless he has reasonable excuses to the contrary, such as older suits, or beer duels.

Then the one who has taunted the other calls "One!" whereupon the other cries "Two!" immediately after which the first party says, "Three!" At Three! both must drink out as quickly as they can, and the one who can first call the other a "beer-youngster" has beaten him (*ihn angeschissen*).

Of Beer Duels.—A beer duel is brought about in the following way: One says to another, "Müller, thou art learned." If the other does not think it worth his while to improve upon this, then must the speaker repeat the preceding words for the first, second, and third time, and afterwards wait for five beer minutes; when if the one to whom the words are addressed does not improve upon them in that time, the ban is put upon him. If, on the other hand, he *does* think it worth while to improve upon them, he must either challenge the assertion, which he makes known merely by the word "Challenged!" or else he must "clap on" to them with the phrase "Schulze, thou art a doctor." Schulze, in that case, can either challenge in return or "clap

on" further, by adding "Müller, thou art a pope;" and so on, the degrees of "clapping on" being as follows: A "learned man" is equal to half a "doctor;" a "pope" to two "doctors;" the "seraphim" to four doctors; "Christendom" to eight doctors; and a "church-yard" to sixteen doctors.

Directly the word "Challenged!" has been uttered, the dispute is at an end, except upon "thou art learned," for he who has grumbled upon (*auf gebrummt*) those words, need not content himself with merely challenging, but can force the other to a higher challenge by means of the following words, which must be three times audibly spoken: "Schulze, I revoke on beer fright (*Biermanschetten*). Thou art bullying!" If Schulze does not then immediately clap on "learned man," to the other (whereupon Müller can, in return, afterwards clap on "doctor"), the beer ban is put upon Schulze. Directly any one has challenged upon clapping on, he may on no account recall the challenge in order to have the opportunity of clapping on to a higher extent, but the affair is then finished without anything else being done.

Duels, brought about in such a manner, must be determined in from five to ten beer minutes, according to priority. If any one is too slow, his opponent can, after five beer minutes, challenge him to fulfil his beer duties (*treten ihn*) by saying three times, "Müller, I am fixed upon the beer ordeal by battle for the first, second, and third time." Then, if the other (unless he has some reasonable excuse) does not immediately "go loose" (proceed to fight out the matter), the beer ban is put upon him. But he has a reasonable excuse, provided there is any older beer duel against him, and in such case he must bring to a conclusion the other duels in from five to ten beer minutes. If both the disputants are ready for the decision of the duel, each chooses a second, and he who has clapped on to the highest point selects the equalizer, while the challenger chooses the commander. After the equalizer has been summoned three times by the words, "Equalizer, make the weapons equal between Müller and Schulze, for the first, second, and third time," he must do so conscientiously in five beer minutes; and in case of his failing in this, the beer ban is put upon him. Then the commander is summoned, and he must perform his office after the third calling, on pain of beer-excommunication also, by uttering the words, "Grasp the doctors, or popes, as the case may be. Clink your glasses! your lips to the vessels! drink out!" At "Clink your glasses!" both parties to the beer duel knock on the table, but not against a wooden measure. At "Your lips to the vessels!" they put the weapons to their mouths, and at "Drink out!" they proceed to toss off the quantum as quickly as possible.

If one proceeds to drink out before the command is given, both seconds have the right to cry "Halt!" and in this case the equalizer must again adjust the weapons; so likewise must the commander again give the command. If, however, "Halt!" is not called, the contest proceeds, and both drink on. On no account may the weapons be changed.

If both the disputants have drunk out (which must happen within five beer minutes for a "Christendom," and within ten beer minutes for a "church-yard," upon pain of beer-excommunication), then the equalizer, on pain of the same punishment, must give within five beer minutes his verdict, which must be either that both have drunk in time (*a tempo*) or that one is defeated (*angeschissen*). "Defeated" is the verdict given against—

Whoever sets his glass on the table later than his opponent. A wooden vessel does not count as a table.

Whoever lets it fall or breaks it.

Whoever has clinked on the table or not at all.

Whoever has left as much beer among the froth in his glass as will nearly cover the bottom.

Whoever commences to drink before the command is finished.

Whoever "bleeds" (that is to say, allows the beer to run out of the corners of his mouth) more than by drops, has the ban put upon him, unless he directly says, "Without beer spilling."

Whoever cheats in any way at a beer duel, or if the equalizer gives his verdict unjustly, or the commander commands three times improperly, he has the ban put upon him.

Whoever, during a beer duel, breaks off more than three times while drinking out a "pope" or more, has the ban put upon him.

Of the Duties of the "Foxes."

The "Foxes" hardly come within the scope of the beer customs. The limits of the laws under which they are bound are as follows:

Foxes dare never take a "step" (*selbst treten*) or make a demand upon a boy, for the first, second, or third time, *i. e.*, they can never challenge him to fulfil his beer rightful duties to them or any other; and every "step" or demand of a Fox shall be reckoned as such, even if the words be added "Without wishing to make any demand myself" as a means of keeping off any beer-excommunication that might follow.

Foxes cannot sit as beer judges (*Bier-richter*) in a beer convent (*Bier-convent*); but it is allowed (exceptionally) for "Branded Foxes" to do so, provided there be not enough beer-honorable boys to form such a convent, and the calling of it does not admit of delay. If a Fox, on this account, sits as beer judge, the accused can immediately reject the decision of the beer convent, on account of improper judgment (*verhorresciren*); and if the special beer convent notwithstanding declares itself competent, he can appeal to a general beer convent against it.

A Fox dare never challenge a grumbling boy on the retort termed "learned," but must "clap on" to it. Among themselves, however, Foxes have a right to do so without any difference. On the other hand, if a Fox *should* challenge a boy on the retort "learned" (*Sturz gelehrt*), he dare not revoke upon "beer-fright" (*Bier-manschetten*), nor make him "the bully reproach" (*Renoma-gevorwurf*). Whoever transgresses these rules has the ban put upon him. A Fox, however, may, on a boy's drinking to him, "clap on" (*nach-stürzen*) the double quantity in response.

A Fox himself can never put any one into beer-excommunication, or call a beer convent, or fight out (*heraus-pauken*) any one who has been so excommunicated; nor can he give the command at such times, but he must let all such business be transacted by a beer-honorable boy. Above all, he may never call "Silentium!" at the drinking-bouts, and in case of his doing so the ban may be put upon him. Moreover, the Fox must and shall drink when bidden, out of a full glass, or, in other words, *ex pleno*.

Of Revoking.

In general, any transaction in accordance with or in violation of the beer customs can be made as if it had never happened, by revoking it.

Of the Beer Convent or Beer Court.

The beer convent is a law court which every one who feels himself wronged in the matters of beer can call together and lay his complaint before, and to whose infallible verdicts plaintiffs as well as defendants must submit without a murmur.

Such wrongs, as a rule, can occur only when a person is put into beer-excommunication unlawfully; as in all other cases, where the person has been excommunicated through his own fault, no appeal is allowed. The beer

convent has two courts of law. The first court is represented through the medium of the special or simple beer convent. Nevertheless, whoever is not quieted by the verdict of this court, or wishes to denounce the failings of it, as regards certain necessary forms, can appeal to the second court, which constitutes the general beer convent.

Of the Means of Confirming the Beer-lawful Affairs, and especially of the Grand Cerevis.—As the Greeks and Romans swore to the truth by Zeus or Jupiter, and the gods by the gates of the Infernal Regions, so is the "Son of the Muses" to confirm the truth of what he speaks with the words—"upon my grand cerevis," that is to say, he is to pledge himself upon the beer cap, or ribbon, which forms the distinctive point in the student's costume—the word "cerevis" being merely a contraction of the Latin *cerevisia* (beer).

As the grand cerevis takes the place of an oath, therefore it must not be used thoughtlessly. Moreover, a positive fact only can be certified by the grand cerevis, for a negative one can never be vouched for by it; as, for instance, it is not admissible to assure another upon one's grand cerevis that such and such a thing did *not* take place. The grand cerevis, however, can be given as a pledge that the party speaking did not see or hear of such and such an event.

If any one is of opinion that another has been so thoughtless as to pledge his grand cerevis falsely, he can have him sent to beer Coventry; but if the person thus accused believes himself to be wronged, he is at liberty to call a beer convent to have the case investigated, and such beer convent is to inquire into the matter by means of the evidence of two witnesses who are to be appointed by the accuser.

No one can give his *contra* to another's grand cerevis—that is, no one has the right to say nay to it—on pain of beer-excommunication.

[We have already devoted too much space to the beer customs, although we have not exhausted the details of Mr. Mayhew's chapters on Student Life in Jena. We must omit what he says on "Witnesses," "Special Beer Convents," "Beer-excommunications," "Restitution of Beer-honors," the four "Commerces or Drinking-bouts," &c. We cannot even follow him in his account of the more rational amusements of Boating, Fishing, Driving, and Fencing,* and the characteristic student's songs, and the imposing ceremonies which mark the final departure of the older students to their homes, and to the real business of life. Glimpses of these phases of University customs will be found in our notices of Heidelberg and Göttingen. The author devotes considerable space to the drinking-bouts (*kneip-abend*) which celebrate the doctorship of a popular member, or the departure of some "moss-covered head" (older student).

Under the chapter head of "*Three Fights in Jena,*" the author describes his visit to a tavern in Wöllnitz, a suburb of Jena, to witness the disgusting preparation and brutal details of a duel between an Arminian and a Westphalian lad; another between a Frank and a Teuton, and a third between another Arminian and another Westphalian. There appears to have resulted considerable bruising and hacking, but no loss of ears, or defacing slits and gashes on the faces of the combatants. These encounters occurred in open day, in the presence of numerous spectators, and with a mock heroic display of sentiment and personal courage which if real would not have redeemed the affair from being classified with the brutal prize fights of his own country. Even fatal results are visited with merely nominal punishments.]

* The Fencing master is better paid than the most erudite or eminent Professor in the University, and every student not only takes a course of twenty lessons, but pays a regular assessment every half year towards the expense of the fencing hall, and keeps himself provided with all that Jena required in practice.

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Brunswick,	209	217	
Hanover,	227	249	
Hesse-Cassel,	268	275	273
Hesse-D'mst,	282	290	297
Prussia,	428	473	502
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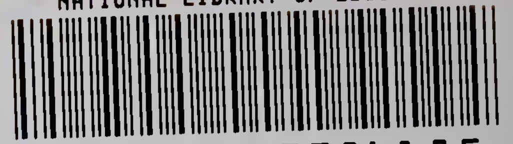
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