EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND METHODS

LECTURES AND ADDRESSES

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PREFACE

THE lectures and addresses collected in this volume have been given at various times within the last few years before different academic audiences in England or America, including the University of Cambridge, the College Association of Pennsylvania, the American Institute of Instruction, the Oxford Conference on University Extension, the College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild, and other bodies interested in educational questions.

In my former volume, 'Lectures on Teaching,' an attempt was made to discuss in succession the principles which should be borne in mind in connexion with each of the subjects of ordinary school instruction, and with the methods of teaching and discipline generally. The present volume is more miscellaneous and less systematic in its character. But it deals with some aspects of educational work to which my own attention, during a long official life, has been specially directed, and which, though not usually dealt with in formal treatises on pedagogy, deserve and often demand the consideration of those who as teachers, school trustees, or legislators possess influence in determining the goal to be attained in public education, and the processes by which that goal can best be reached.

In forming our ideal of the function of a school, we cannot afford to overlook the border-land which separates its corporate life from the larger life of the family and the

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community, nor the light which is shed on educational problems by history, by social and industrial necessities, by religious controversies, and by political events. It has become more and more evident of late that the true science of education of the future must include within its scope the history of former speculations, ideas, and experiments, and the reasons why some of them have succeeded and others failed. I have therefore thought it right to include in this volume two or three monographs on the life and work of prominent teachers. These studies may serve to show how varied are the instruments, and how widely different the motive forces which have in successive periods of our history contributed to the establishment of institutions and to the formation of opinion on educational subjects. They will, I hope, leave on the reader's mind a conviction of the great debt we owe to those who, under divers conditions, with more or less imperfect vision of the future, but with an honest desire to meet the intellectual needs of their own times, brought their best powers and resources to bear on the elucidation of the principles, and the improvement of the practice of public instruction. And if this retrospect also leaves on the mind of the reader a strong sense, not only of the value, but of the inadequacy, of what has hitherto been done, and also serves to show how boundless and full of promise is the field which yet lies open to the future worker and explorer, my purpose in consenting to the collective publication of these occasional lectures will have been amply fulfilled.

EASTER, 1900.

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EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND METHODS

PUBLIC TENN. STATE NORMAL SCHOOL MURFREESBORO

LECTURE I

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE BIBLE[1]

The Bible a teaching book. Teaching by Symbol. Limitations to the value of symbolic acts, in ethical training. Direct injunction. Peremptoriness. The Law repeated with new sanctions and personal appeals. The Sermon on the Mount. Rewards. The true ambition of life. Poetry as a factor in education. Mr Arnold's use of the Book of Isaiah. What poetry is suited for children. Characteristics of Hebrew poetry. Reduplication of thought. Stereotyped formularies and creeds. Proverbs better suited to older than to younger learners. Biography. National portraits. Examples of greatness. Narrative power. Parables. Illustrations from Nature. False and strained moralizing from Nature. Co-operation of teacher and taught in the solution of problems. Vision and meditation. Dreamy and imaginative scholars not to be discouraged. Conclusions.

The Bible a teaching book.

It has seemed to me that in inviting you to enter upon some further considerations on the principles of teaching and on the application of those principles to the practice of your profession, it might not be unfitting to devote one of our meetings to an enquiry into the ways in which the problem has been dealt with in the oldest educational book in the world. The Bible has many claims upon our attention — claims which are universally recognized in all Christian nations at least. There is

[1] Delivered in the University of Cambridge, Lent Term, 1898.

in it history, poetry, philosophy, theology. Critical discussion on these aspects of the Scriptures would be out of place here. Yet it is a collection of books which has had a large share in the education of the world; and while we may properly leave to the antiquarian, to the scholarly critic and to the theologian the duty of commenting on the substance of Bible teaching, we who are in quest of the best methods of communicating truth and of influencing character may well fasten our attention upon the forms into which the sacred writers have cast their lessons, upon the processes by which they have imparted truth, and upon the light shed in those writings on some problems, still, though under altered conditions, constantly presented to those who are concerned with the instruction and moral discipline of the young.

Teaching by Symbol.

Now some of the earliest lessons employed in the education of our race took the form — not of direct moral teaching, but of injunctions relating to specific acts. The patriarchs were instructed to perform sacrifices or to set up a stone or a monument. Abraham, when he needed a lesson on the necessity of obedience and self-surrender, was not lectured on the importance of those virtues, but was bidden to go up to a mountain, and to perform an act of sacrifice. The institution of the Passover and of other Jewish festivals represents to us a form of teaching rather by symbolical acts than by direct explanation or counsel. The Jews were intended to keep in memory their great deliverance, their years of discipline, their dependence on a Divine and governing providence, but long before we hear of any definite exhortation on these points we find a number of ceremonial observances which put all such exhortations in a concrete form. The unleavened bread, the Paschal lamb, the feast of tabernacles carry in themselves their own memories, and their own ethical teaching.

To this hour they serve as the chief bonds of the whole Jewish community, and the main safeguards for the preservation of the historical Hebrew faith. They may remind us that the chosen nation in its childhood was largely taught by means of picturesque and representative acts, and that these acts were to be performed before their full significance was understood, and before the conscience or the power of reflection had been awakened into life by persuasion or argument.

What is true in the infancy of society and of nations is true also of the childhood of every human being. It is at first easier to enforce the observance of particular acts than to make their meaning intelligible. This may be observed in secular life, in domestic life, and in religious life alike. In America there are the Fourth of July and Washington's birthday; in a home the birthday of its members, the little acts of deference to the heads of the household, the simple ritual of family prayer; in the Church the observance of the first day of the week and the outward acts of religious worship. We let our children share in these observances; we do not try to explain all the reasons for them, but we know that latent in them there is teaching which will become intelligible hereafter, and which meanwhile must remain undisclosed. Thus we value Sunday, not only because it is an opportunity for religious instruction and worship, but because by its comparative hush and calm, and by all the social arrangements which separate it from other days, it stands out to the child's mind as a permanent symbol of the claims of the higher life. It is a visible representation and a continual memento of the truths that 'man does not live by bread alone,' that our days must not all be spent in work or in enjoyment, but that thought, rest, and spiritual culture are among the necessaries of life. So all

the outward symbolical acts which imply reverence for sacred things, respect and courtesy to elders have their value. "Manners makyth man" because they beget habits, and habits in their turn form character. Such acts as imply and also encourage self-respect yet self-abnegation and deference to the wishes and feelings of others, when habitually practised in the school or in the home, tend to keep alive in the young scholar a sense of duty, long before any rational principles of conduct, such as he can understand, can be enforced upon him in an explicit form.

Limitations to the value of symbolic acts in ethical training.

We may not forget, however, that there is a deep and very real danger in the multiplication of ceremonial acts, and that life may be rendered complicated and artificial by the use of them. They come in time to be regarded as ends in themselves rather than as means to the higher end of true ethical discipline. It is observable how, both in regard to belief and practice, there is a tendency in human nature to be satisfied with the material symbols of faith and duty, and with the 'outward and visible sign' rather than with the 'inward and spiritual grace.' Forms of superstition have flourished and will continue to flourish in all ages, in just the proportion in which men shrink from the task of exercising their best faculties on great subjects, and take refuge in the performance of a ceremony, the oral recitation of a formula, or the observance of a day. It is always much easier to do any one of these mechanical acts than to think about its meaning, or to appropriate the truth which it embodies. And we shall do well in our intercourse with children to keep in mind the essentially provisional and incomplete nature of all symbolical teaching. It is valuable only in the proportion in which it leads the learner to something better than itself and to a recogni-

tion of its underlying moral or spiritual significance. When it is a substitute for reflection, instead of an aid to reflection, it becomes a fetish. We must deal with it, as Hezekiah found it necessary to do when he brake in pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made, and which had once been a legitimate object of veneration, "because in those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it," and he called it *Nehushtan*, 'a mere piece of brass.'[1] But let us once be sure that the duty or the truth symbolized by some outward form or usage is one in which we entirely believe, and which we wish the young scholar hereafter to make his own, and we need not fear, for a time at least, to adopt the method by which belief was strengthened and conduct shaped in the primitive stage of the world's history. It is observable that Moses in all his injunctions about the Passover ordained that the ritual in all its details should be observed during the wandering in Egypt. "And it shall come to pass that when you be come to the land which the Lord will give you, and when your children say unto you, What mean you by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel when He smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses." That therefore is one of the processes of the Divine education. Practise for the present the representative acts which recall great events, or symbolize great truths and duties, and some day their full meaning shall be revealed to you.

Direct injunction.

Later on we find the great lawgiver employing another method — that of direct and positive injunction. The commandments of the two tables possess two prominent characteristics: (1) they are mainly negative; they denounce certain special forms of wrong-doing, and

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

they say definitely respecting each of them, 'This must not be done.' But (2) with only two or three exceptions no reason is assigned for the prohibition: the sanction on which the Law rests is not discussed. The tables of the Law forbid wrong acts, but they do not enjoin any form of virtue. They tell what a good man should abstain from and not what he should do. And it is remarkable that in the case of the two or three commandments for which Moses furnishes any ethical basis or explanation, the reason given happens to be one which is local, tribal, or temporary, and not one which is of universal application. In the Second Commandment, for example, the prohibition is not directed against idolatry generally, but against the making of images, or the imitation in any form, of natural objects. To Moses, who knew the people well, and who had much experience of their constant relapses into the grosser forms of fetish worship then prevalent among the neighbouring nations, there seemed to be an awful and very real danger in the mere making of a picture or a graven image, whatever might be the use intended to be made of it. To us, all of whose temptations to idolatry lie in other directions, the argument that God is a jealous God, who will not tolerate as a rival a sculptured or a molten image, is scarcely relevant. The warning against idolatry is, indeed, eternally necessary, but it is not in our day the love of the fine arts which is likely to seduce us from our allegiance to the King of kings. The Christian Church has never in any age attempted a literal obedience to the injunctions of the Second Commandment. To do so would betoken on her part a total incapacity for distinguishing between the letter and the spirit, between the temporary and the permanent elements in the Mosaic law. So also the obligation to keep one day in seven

free from work is based by Moses not on general expediency, nor on any considerations respecting the religious value of a weekly respite from ordinary pursuits, but on the statement that "in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested on the seventh day"—an argument which, however weighty to those to whom it was first addressed, has been deprived of much of its significance by all subsequent additions to our knowledge of cosmogony. Again, the Fifth Commandment enjoins a duty which is of perennial obligation, but the particular motive appealed to, "that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," had clearly a special application to a nomadic people on their way to a home in which they hoped to abide. At best, the motive suggested for honouring and obeying parents was founded on considerations of self-interest and not on any one of those higher sanctions which the enlightened conscience in all ages of the world would be most ready to recognize.

Peremptoriness.

We may conclude therefore that the force of the Ten Commandments, and their claim to be still embodied in the service of the modern Church, does not lie in the kind of justification which the lawgiver has in one or two instances attached to them, but in their directness and peremptoriness. There was a stage, a very early stage, in the history of the chosen people, wherein what they needed most was positive injunction respecting abstinence from certain faults, to which, owing to the special circumstances of their lives, they were most prone. There is a similar stage in the lives of the young learners under our charge. The language of the domestic lawgiver or of the teacher must sometimes be that of Moses and Aaron: "Do this, abstain from that, because I am in authority and I tell you. We will not discuss the

grounds of the prohibition. The thing is wrong and must not be done. Some day you will understand why it is wrong. Meanwhile it must suffice for you to know that I forbid it. 'Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness.' That is enough for you."

The Law repeated with new sanctions, and personal appeals.

But even as Moses when he had once promulgated the Commandments was not satisfied to leave the people whom he was called upon to help and guide in a condition of moral serfdom, so the teacher who is rightly impressed with a sense of the obligations of his own office will not be content when he has merely laid down rules and secured submission to them. Observe how Moses, when he was old, set about the further task of explaining the nature and grounds of his precepts, and claiming the intelligent sympathy of those who were called on to practise them. Deuteronomy — the duplicated, re-stated and amplified law — represents a later and most memorable stage in the education of the Jewish people. Throughout the whole of the book bearing that name you will find an effort to vindicate the essential equity of the Divine commands, to abandon the ground of mere authority and to appeal to the conscience, the loyalty, the experience and the good sense of the people themselves. Listen to the voice of Moses, as he enumerates the blessings those people had enjoyed under the Divine government, and seeks to awaken in them a sense of gratitude and of moral obligation:

"For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thine heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and

evil * * * that thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him, for he is thy life and the length of thy days, that thou mayest dwell in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them."[1]

Here is still, we observe, the motive of self-interest — the offered reward of peace and prosperity in the promised land; but it is much less prominent than before. This language may serve as a reminder — a very instructive and powerful reminder — to a teacher, of the kind of sanction he should seek for all the orders and rules he gives. His work as a legislator and administrator in the little world in which he reigns supreme is not accomplished until he has done what Moses did with the people of Israel, appealed to their intelligence and sought to awaken in them a sense, not only of the moral claims of the lawgiver, but also of the necessity and the beauty of law. Enforced obedience does not deserve to be called obedience at all — certainly it cannot be regarded as moral discipline. He who obeys a law because he is obliged under penalty to obey it, is but a slave after all. You want to bring up a race of free agents,[2] of children

[1] Deuteronomy xxx. 11—20.

[2] Here is your child. Wrong as all children are, just because they are human creatures, how shall you set him right? Is not the whole problem of your education this — to educate the will and not to break it. Perhaps it might be easy, with all the tremendous purchase of your parental power, to break your child's will if you chose. But what have you got then? A poor, spiritless, willless creature incapable of good as he is incapable of evil, with nothing to contribute to either side of the great battle of humanity which is going on about him. That is not what you want. To keep the will, to fill it with more and more life, but to make it so wise that it shall spend its strength in goodness — that is your true ambition as the trainer of your child. And when some friend disheartened with your slowness comes to you and says, "Why do

who as they grow will so incorporate into their own lives the law of duty that they will need no physical or external restraint, but will understand something of that spirit of self-surrender, which finds expression in Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty:*

Oft, when in my heart was heard
Thy timely mandate, I deferr'd
The task imposed from day to day;
But thee I now would serve more strictly, if I may.

Through no disturbance of my soul,
Or strong compunction in me wrought,
I supplicate for thy control;
But in the quietness of thought;
Me this unchartered freedom tires,
I feel the weight of chance-desires,
My hopes no more must change their name,
I long for a repose that ever is the same.

Very nearly akin is this language of a nineteenth century poet to the language of the Hebrew king, "Oh how I love Thy law! it is my meditation all the day. Thy testimonies are my delight and my counsellors. Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage. The law of Thy mouth is dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver." All through these and the like outpourings you hear little or nothing about the penalties of breaking the law, or about the good land

you not settle the whole matter once for all by breaking the child's will to pieces and compelling obedience whether he wants to obey you or not?" you reply, "I cannot do that; obedience won in that way would not be obedience. To prevent badness so, would be to prevent goodness also." What is that conversation but the translation into household language of the old conversation of the farmer and his servants: "Wilt thou that we go and gather up the tares?" "Nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them." — Bishop Phillips Brooks.

and the long life of which Moses says so much. Psalmists had got beyond that stage of educational discipline. Read the hundred and nineteenth Psalm, which is a sustained pæan on the majesty and beauty of the Divine law. Consider that the chief literature of the Jewish people — the Talmud and the Targums — consists of comments and amplifications of the statutes and ordinances as given by Moses, and it will be plain that all that is best in Jewish history connects itself with reverence for the Law and with a desire to interpret and to apply it. Grant then that during the period of our pupil's life, before conscience and sympathy can be aroused, many of our commands must necessarily be unexplained; we may not forget that the training of the responsible human being must ever remain incomplete until he is made to recognize the value of the injunctions he is expected to obey. As occasion offers, and as scholars grow in years and experience, we do well to let them see as far as we can why we impose our own will on theirs. We need not fear that doing this implies any loss of dignity, or of personal authority. It merely implies that you are leading them by degrees to rely on something better than your personal authority, upon the intuitions of conscience and on the law of God.

The Sermon on the Mount.

The whole drift and purpose of the Sermon on the Mount lie in this direction. It aims throughout at the substitution of a principle or a general law of action for the authoritative enforcement of specific rules. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment." In this spirit, each of the specific injunctions of the old law is considered in turn and shewn

practically absorbed and superseded by the higher w, which concerns itself with the motives of human action. When once this higher law is duly recognized and welcomed all formal rules and ordinances become well-nigh superfluous. And indeed the whole Sermon on the Mount is characterized by the way in which concrete examples are treated in the light of large general principles, although those principles are not themselves enunciated in an abstract form. On this point Professor Seeley appositely remarks :

"The style of the Sermon on the Mount is neither purely philosophical nor purely practical. It refers throughout to first principles, but it does not state them in an abstract form: on the other hand, it enters into special cases and detail, but never so far as to lose sight of first principles. It is equally unlike the early national codes, which simply formularized without method existing customs, and the early moral treatises, such as those of Plato and Aristotle, which are purely scientific. Of Jewish writers it resembles most the book of Deuteronomy, in which the Mosaic law was recapitulated in such a manner as to make the principles on which it was founded apparent; of Gentile writings it may be compared with those of Epictetus, Aurelius, and Seneca, in which we see a scientific morality brought to bear upon the struggles and details of actual life. It uses all the philosophical machinery of generalization and distinction, but its object is not philosophical but practical—that is, not truth, but good."[1]

The framers of the English Liturgy in one of the collects address Him "Whose service is perfect freedom," and in another, pray that we "may love the thing that thou commandest and desire that which thou dost promise." This certainly was the thought of St Paul when after describing the Law as a schoolmaster he clenched the whole of a memorable argument with the words, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the

[1] *Ecce Homo.*

yoke of bondage."[1] If our schemes of moral discipline do not contemplate this result as the ultimate goal to be attained, however halting and imperfect are the steps by which it is approached, those schemes themselves are necessarily faulty. It is good of course that our scholars should shape their conduct according to the rules which we prescribe, but it is still better that they should acquire the power of self-government and become in the highest and best sense a law unto themselves.

Rewards. In considering the methods of moral discipline adopted or described in the Bible, it is well to refer for a moment to the light thrown by the sacred writers on the manner in which the rewards of life are distributed. Bacon has said, "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity the blessing of the New." He shews that this general statement is subject to some exceptions, for he adds that even "if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols."[2] Long life, corn and wine, flocks and herds, honour and wealth are more frequently referred to as the rewards of obedience in the Old than in the New Testament. But here again the generalization must be qualified. There is a remarkable episode in the life of Solomon, which illustrates the inadequacy of merely material prosperity as an object of ambition. The young sovereign is represented as seeing a vision, and hearing a voice, "Ask what I shall give thee," and his answer was, "'O Lord, my God, I am but a little child * * * Give therefore thy servant a wise and understanding heart, to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge this thy so great people?' And this speech pleased the Lord that Solomon had asked this thing. And God said unto him, 'Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast

[1] Galations. v. 1.

[2] *Essay on Adversity.*

not asked for thyself long life, neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgment; behold I have done according to thy words. Lo, I have given thee a wise and understanding heart. * * * And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour, so that there shall not be any among the kings like thee all thy days.' And Solomon woke and behold it was a dream."[1] But it was a dream of profound significance, for it reveals to us the true and enduring connexion between the duties of life and the rewards of life. Success, wealth and prosperity, if sought for their own sakes, may often elude the seeker; but he who first of all desires the wisdom and the power needed for the right fulfilment of duty is often found to obtain them and also something which he has not asked, both riches and honour. In the New Testament the same great law of the Divine ruler of the world is expressed in the words, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things — what ye shall eat and what ye shall drink — shall be added unto you."

The true ambition of life.

The words used in the parable of the Talents illustrate a further view of the true nature of rewards and punishments. From the unprofitable servant the talent was taken away that he might no longer misuse or hide it, but the diligent and conscientious servant is told, "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." "Have thou authority over ten cities." Herein lies a key to the Divine economy as regards human service, and to the whole philosophy of human ambition. The faithful servant is not offered rest or luxury, or any immediate visible compensation; but more duty, higher responsibility, the rule over a larger

[1] 1 Kings iii. 5—15.

province, power to become a still more honoured and useful servant. I think this is a view of the relations between duty and reward which we shall be wise to keep prominently in view of our scholars, who at the threshold of life are looking wistfully forward into the unknown future, and are filled with vague ambitions and with hopes of success. Books such as those of Dr Smiles, with stories of great engineers and of 'men who have risen,' possess a very intelligible fascination for many boys; but they present, after all, a somewhat ignoble, or at least an incomplete view of life's meaning and purpose. 'Getting on' should be set before the young and hopeful pupil, not merely as rising to higher social rank or larger fortune, though it may and often does mean this; but rather getting to that work which we can do best, and which calls into exercise our highest faculties. The true prizes of life are not gifts or large salaries, or material advantages; but honour, influence, opportunities of usefulness, power to be of service to others, and especially to add to the happiness of those whom we love. Fortunately these prizes are not competitive; no one in winning them prevents another from gaining them. They are accessible to every earnest and honest student, whether he gains school distinctions and a prosperous career or not. In organizing a school, and in assigning duties, a teacher has many opportunities of keeping this principle in view. He is subject to special temptation to over-rate talent — the sort of mental endowment which saves himself trouble as a teacher, and brings repute to his school; but one of his highest duties is to recognize the merit of commonplace abilities, and to furnish full encouragement and opportunity for their use. The worship of mere cleverness is often fatal to the growth of what is morally excellent in a place of education. So although a

good teacher will not deem it necessary to say much on this subject, he will none the less effectually make his pupils aware that in the microcosm of school there is room for the exercise of varied talents and for generous ambition; and that possibilities of being useful to others are within reach of all the scholars, whether distinguished or undistinguished. "To one the Master has given five talents, to another two, and another one," but for all alike there is the promise of the crowning recompense, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Poetry as a factor in education.

The reader of the Bible who traces with care the processes by which the Jewish people were gradually taught and guided, cannot fail to be impressed with the part played by song and poetry in that educational discipline. Recall the exulting song of Miriam, after the first deliverance at the Red Sea, the wild coronach of Deborah the prophetess, the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan, and it will become evident that passion, fervour, melody, and lofty imagery, were often employed by the sacred writers to deepen sentiments of gratitude or patriotism which else would have proved evanescent. Hebrew poetry finds its highest artistic expression in the Book of Psalms, which have proved not only to the Jewish nation but to devout souls in all subsequent ages a help and solace, and a source of spiritual exaltation. The Book of Isaiah also, with its rich and eloquent prophecies of Israel's restoration, may remind us that his glowing language not only bore a large part in the education of the Hebrew race, but also did much to shape its history and its fortunes. He of all the prophets appealed most powerfully to the patriotism, the imagination and the religious instincts of his countrymen, because his lips had been touched with the sacred fire, and because in his utterances instruction became Divine illumination and

hope became rapture. St Jerome called him an evangelist rather than a prophet, and St Ambrose's first counsel to Augustine after his conversion was that he should read the prophecies of Isaiah.

Mr Arnold's use of the Book of Isaiah.

I have elsewhere referred[1] to the use which the late Matthew Arnold desired to make of some parts of the Book of Isaiah as a poetic utterance of which even our own generation could not help feeling the glow and animation. The prophet's profound belief that the great unrighteous kingdoms of the heathen could not stand, and that the world's salvation lay in recourse to the God of Israel gave to his words a dignity which made them of universal application. "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, and that her iniquity is pardoned," is a proclamation not confined in its meaning to the history of the Israelites. And when Matthew Arnold edited the latter portion of the prophecy of Isaiah and cast it into the form of a school reading-book, he did not of course expect that English children would understand all its meaning. He certainly would have been disappointed to know that the book had been 'got up' for analysis, or that its words and allusions had been studied with a view to an examination. But he knew how much the imagination of a child may be kindled by large thoughts and lofty language, and he thought it a sin to overlook the educative influence of the Hebrew poetry, merely because it might be difficult for a modern teacher to interpret the whole of its meaning. As we read the impassioned sentences of the older seers and prophets, listen to the roll and musical cadence of their verse, and mount up with them to the Pisgah heights from which they were able to

[1] *Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their influence on English Education*, p. 195.

survey the history and the destiny of mankind, we become aware that the culture of the imagination plays a great part in determining the character of a race and the development of a human being. A system of teaching which is purely scientific, which deals with no truth but that which is known and can be verified, is essentially incomplete. Herbert Spencer, in his well-known book on Education, dwells with just emphasis on science — reasoned, organized knowledge — as the main object of instruction. But he leaves out of view the "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," the poetry which gladdens and ennobles life, and carries us into the region of the unseen and the conceivable — a region unexplored by the philosopher, the physicist and the moralist, and lying beyond their ken. We have to recognize that there lies, more or less suppressed and overlaid, in every human being, the faculty which responds to noble words and inspiring thoughts, and that it is a high duty of a teacher to find worthy exercise for this faculty. Hence it has come to be generally admitted that the learning of poetry by heart should form part of the course of instruction in all good schools. But we have to take care that what is so learned shall be real poetry, and not ornamental nonsense. The childish narrative and trite morality disguised in pretty rhymes may serve, with very young children, to please the ear and to furnish a relief from graver employments. But as an educational instrument, to be employed with scholars who are old enough to think, the only poetry which has any value is that which does something to refine the taste, to quicken the imagination and to lift the learner on to a higher plane of thought and feeling than that on which he habitually dwells. This condition is not fulfilled when a writer tries to put as much theology as he can into the sacred poetry which children are asked to learn,

What poetry is suited for children.

or when the teacher confines his choice to those verses which seem to him to embody the most valuable moral truths. It is not so much the office of poetry to give instruction as to supply inspiration and to excite right emotion. In all scientific and didactic lessons, harm is done no doubt when we soar beyond the comprehension of the learner, and call upon him to assent to propositions which he does not understand. But in that part of intellectual discipline which concerns the training of the imagination there is no harm, but much advantage in transcending the boundaries of a child's present knowledge and experience, and in filling him with a vague sense of the mystery and the richness of the world which lies beyond them. In choosing a poem to be read or committed to memory, we should beware of taking the scholar's actual mental condition and surroundings as the measure of its appropriateness. We should seek for strong thoughts, for noble or devout aspiration, for a widened horizon, and for artistic beauty of form; and if these be secured we need feel no regret that the poetry is not wholly intelligible by any faculty of the pupil, or wholly explicable by any faculty of ours. Let us leave some room for the exercise of wonderment, for the consciousness of present limitations and inferiority, and for the hope that the meaning, which is now obscure, will some day be disclosed; and then we may rest assured that we have made a substantial addition to the mental and spiritual outfit of the pupil, even though the immediate result of our teaching fails to satisfy any test which we or the most skilful of examiners could devise.

Characteristics of Hebrew poetry.

There is one characteristic of the Hebrew poetry which gives it special value in the eyes of teachers. I mean the way in which the same thought is often repeated in at least two different forms. You do not

need to be reminded that the intellectual influence of poetry is not altogether dependent on the value of the fact or thought which it embodies, but largely results from a certain charm and grace in the form into which it is cast. For example our English verse is distinguished, as to its metrical structure, by the symmetrical arrangement of its lines, by the regular recurrence of accented and unaccented syllables, and by the use of certain verbal assonances which we call rhymes. Take a single stanza from the *Ancient Mariner* in illustration:

> "It ceásed, yet stíll the saíls made ón
> A pleásant noíse till noón,
> A noíse like of a hídden broók
> In the leáfy mónth of Júne,
> Thát to the sleéping woóds all níght
> Síngeth a quíet túne."

We recognize here that the regular recurrence of similar sounds and accents gives a musical setting and an added charm to whatever is attractive in the description itself. In like manner our Anglo-Saxon and Norse forefathers found gratification to the ear in what is called alliteration, the regular repetition of similar sounds at the beginning of the several lines and words. In Greek and Roman poetry the rhythm depended neither on accent nor on rhyme, but on the quantity — the length or shortness of syllables recurring according to a prescribed law, and thus specially suiting the verse for musical accompaniment. But in the Hebrew poetry there are none of these artifices. In their stead we have the regular recurrence of the same thought in two different forms, so that the result is a metrical system rather of ideas than of words and syllables. But this sort of reduplication is not less impressive — nay, it is not less musical when the ear once becomes attuned

Reduplication of thought.

to it — than the more mechanical forms of versification in use among other nations. Even in our English translation this characteristic of the Hebrew poetry is audible to us:

(i) The heavens declare the glory of God,
And the firmament sheweth his handiwork.
(ii) Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night sheweth knowledge.
(iii) I have considered the days of old
The years of ancient time.
(iv) Is his mercy clean gone for ever?
And will he be favourable no more?
(v) Hath God forgotten to be gracious?
Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies.
(vi) Thy word is a lamp unto my feet
And a light unto my path.
(vii) He maketh me to lie down in green pastures,
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
(viii) Thy righteousness is like the strong mountains,
Thy judgments are like the great deep.

As these and the like resounding sentences fall upon our ears we cannot help feeling that the reduplication of the thought is at least as effective a poetical device as any of the merely verbal assonances and uniformities to which we are accustomed in other poetry. But to teachers this characteristic of the Hebrew verse is especially suggestive, for it may remind us of one principle of pedagogic science which is true everywhere and in all ages of the world. Iteration and reiteration are the distinguishing marks of the process adopted by the Bible teachers. But it is the reiteration of thought rather than of words. The image, the precept, the prayer, are repeated, but the language is varied. Now this practice might be defended — if defence were needed — on two different grounds. Minds differ no less in their receptive than in their cognitive powers. Truth, which in one

form finds ready entrance into some minds, needs to be cast into another form in order to appeal to minds of a different stamp. Hence to present the same idea in two aspects and under two or more forms of language is to give it an additional chance of obtaining admission into the understanding of some of those whom we teach. And a deeper reason still is to be found in the fact that every truth admits of being stated in more than one shape, and that the resources of language, great as they are, are far from being commensurate with all the demands of the human reason, or with the many-sided nature of truth itself. There is no one form of words which will adequately embody the whole meaning of any doctrine or precept we wish to enforce; and we ourselves are never quite sure that we have grasped a truth, until we have turned it round in our minds, and learned to express it in different forms.

Stereotyped formularies and creeds.

Herein lies a warning against relying too much on formularies, and against the excessive use of catechisms and memory lessons. They often serve rather as substitutes for real teaching than as aids to it. It is observable that the only formulary in the New Testament is a prayer — a form of devotion, not a creed or an explicit declaration of belief in certain propositions. It was not consistent with our Lord's method of instruction to write a book or to dictate a code or articles of faith. No doubt in the later stages in the development of the Christian Church, it has been found both useful and expedient to put together in a formal shape a group of theological statements, and to require that they should be accepted by the members of the Church as a symbol of religious unity. The Council of Nicæa, the Westminster Assembly, and the framers of the Church Catechism, have set forth detailed declarations of the

articles of Christian belief, and have made the intellectual reception of these articles the condition and the test of Church membership. Experience has shewn the convenience of this practice. The desire for definiteness and certitude is always strong in the minds of many, especially in those who are least instructed and least accustomed to the exercise of thought. Creeds and formularies satisfy this desire. They are easily harboured in the memory, whether they have found their way to the understanding or not. Yet they embody for us only what some society or council has decreed to be the essentials of the Christian faith, and do not profess to have the same authority as the Scriptures themselves. And whatever may be the practical advantages of presenting to the Christian child a condensed summary of the theological propositions to which he is called on to declare his assent, this usage cannot be said to derive any sanction either from the precepts or the practice of our Lord and His apostles.

But in religious teaching, as in all other teaching, the value of formal statements of truth depends entirely on the degree in which they are understood and mentally assimilated. The learning by heart of such formal statements, so far from being a help, is often a mere substitute for thinking, and to that extent a hindrance to the actual acceptance and assimilation of the doctrine involved. And whatever care may have been taken to express a truth in the tersest and most appropriate language, that language itself requires to be paraphrased and restated in the scholar's own language, if it is to be of any real educational value. And herein, as in all else we teach, we have to beware of verbalism, and to abstain from identifying the substance of our lessons with any particular phraseology however choice. In this way we follow the

example of the Hebrew writers who habitually turned the subject round, so to speak, looked at it in several lights, surveyed both facets of the diamond, and thus were enabled to add to the beauty and attractiveness, and also to the moral effectiveness of their teaching.

Whence then cometh wisdom?
And where is the place of understanding?
It cannot be gotten for gold,
Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.
God understandeth the way thereof,
And he knoweth the place thereof.
And unto man he saith,
Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding.[1]

Proverbs. A less effective, but still very prominent instrument of teaching in the Old Testament, is the Proverb. Solomon is generally credited with the authorship of the book, in which his large experience of mankind, and some shrewd worldly wisdom, are concentrated into brief telling sentences generally antithetical in form, and duplicated after the manner of the Hebrew poetry:

(i) A wise son maketh a glad father,
But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.
(ii) The full soul loatheth a honeycomb,
But to the hungry soul, every bitter thing is sweet.
(iii) The wicked flee when no man pursueth,
But the righteous are bold as a lion.
(iv) The full soul loatheth an honeycomb, but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.

There is something very striking in the aphoristic form in which truths and maxims of conduct are here presented, and in all nations proverbs are often quoted and have a recognized value. Why is it however that they are so little effective as means of instruction? The

[1] Job xxviii.

reason probably lies in the fact that there is often in them more of wit than of wisdom, and more of alliteration and of point than of sterling worth. There is apt to be an air of paradox and unreality about them. Truth, as we have said, is many-sided. Present it how you will, it has its *nuances*, its qualifications, its exceptions. You cannot condense it into *formulæ*. The epigrammatic form often hides a fallacy. The proverb enunciates itself boldly, without compromise or misgiving. It probably founds itself on a more or less restricted area of experience, yet it asserts itself as if it were a statement of a permanent and universal law. Moreover, if you study collections such as George Herbert's *Jacula Prudentum*, and the abundant store of Oriental and of Spanish, of Arabic, of French, and of Italian proverbs, you will often find that different proverbs, both apparently true, and indeed containing half-truths, are mutually destructive and contradictory:

(i) Answer not a fool according to his folly,
Lest thou also be like unto him.

(ii) Answer a fool according to his folly,
Lest he be wise in his own conceit.

On this point Mr John Morley has truly said:

"The worst of maxims, aphorisms and the like is that from the sayings of Solomon and the son of Sirach downwards, that for every occasion of life or perplexity, there is a brace of them, the one pointing one way and another the exact opposite. The finger-post of experience has many arms at every cross-way. One observer tells the disciple that in politics perseverance always wins, another that men who take the greatest trouble to succeed are those who are most sure to miss. To-day the one essential appears to be boldness of conception — *Toujours l'audace.* To-morrow the man of detail is master of the hour. To-day the turn of things inclines a man to say that in politics nothing matters; to-morrow some other turn teaches him that in politics everything matters." [1]

[1] Article on Guicciardini, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1897.

Proverbs better suited to older than to younger learners.

Moreover, the proverb is much more interesting and intelligible to older people than to children. It is a generalization often founded on an extensive observation of the world, or a knowledge of good and evil, and it presupposes a much larger experience of life than boys and girls have had opportunities of obtaining. To the young scholar, whatever principles of duty are presented should come in a concrete form and should be connected with the persons and the incidents of his own necessarily restricted life. Aphorisms, abstract truths, large general maxims affecting mankind as a whole have little meaning for him. He has for the present no more interest in mankind as a whole, or in the human race considered collectively, than he has in ethical and political truths set out in the form of universal propositions. He may perhaps arrive at these as life advances, but it is beginning at the wrong end to force them upon his attention in youth. It is observable that very little of our Lord's own teaching took the form of proverbs, or of phrases which were to abide in the memory. He relied much more on stories and concrete illustrations of moral duty and religious truth than on bare and abstract generalizations about either. And we are fain to conclude that of all the manifold devices by which instruction is imparted by the writers of the Bible, the proverb is one of the least important, and is certainly least likely to prove helpful to the teacher of the young.

Biography.

I have elsewhere[1] commented more fully on the use made by the sacred writers of biography as ancillary to the study of history. In fact the historical portions of the Old and New Testaments consist rather of a series of biographies than of a connected chronological narrative of events. What you and I know of the pastoral life of

[1] In *Lectures on Teaching*, Chapter XIII.

the patriarchal times, we have learned in connexion with the story of Abraham and his children. If we have before our minds a vivid picture of Ancient Egypt, its polity, its social and industrial condition, it is not because we have read a treatise on these subjects, but because they are all illustrated incidentally in the story of Joseph and his brethren. So the subsequent events in the Jewish annals are known to us in connexion with the lives of Moses, of Samuel, of David, of Hezekiah, and of Judas Maccabæus. Held in solution, so to speak, in the biographies of these men are not only facts about the national history, but illustrations of human character and duty, and the principles of the Divine government. These illustrations are all the more impressive when thus presented in the concrete, as part of the story of lives in which we are interested, and in which are to be seen records of failures and successes, of great faults and great virtues, "the glory and the littleness of man." If we look into our own experience we shall be reminded that we did not first of all feel an interest in historical events and afterwards enquire who the people were who had a hand in them. What happened was this — we were first attracted to some great person's character or deeds of heroism, and having once felt interested in him, we began to care about the events in which he took part. The practice now adopted in the public elementary schools of England corresponds to this experience. Children in the lower classes are not asked to read connective narratives of events beginning and proceeding by regular sequence from the Ancient Britons to the age of Victoria. But their earliest lessons in history are anecdotal and biographical, and are associated with the most dramatic incidents in the annals of England, and the personal characteristics and adventures of the leading actors. Herein the course of instruction

prescribed by authority in our primary schools, and adopted so largely by good teachers elsewhere, follows the precedent set by the Bible historians; for it presents to the learner a series of biographical sketches as the chief links in the chain of historical testimony, connected with the more conspicuous national events; and it assumes that future and more systematic knowledge will, as it is acquired, fit itself readily into the intervening spaces.

The National Portrait Gallery.

A noble addition has recently been made to the educational resources of London in the form of the National Portrait Gallery, in which are arranged in chronological order the portraits of all the most famous sovereigns, statesmen, divines, writers, and military and naval commanders of the last four centuries. As a means of fixing and strengthening the impressions derived from history, this gallery, though its possibilities of usefulness are at present insufficiently appreciated, has already proved of great value to many London teachers. A class, for example, which has lately been engaged in the study of the Stuart period, is taken to the three Seventeenth Century rooms, and invited to look at the pictures of all the famous men and women of the time, to notice their dress, the insignia of their various offices, and so to recall the parts they have respectively played in the drama of our national history. Thus the personal interest in the actors is awakened or revived, further enquiry is stimulated, and impressions conveyed in class reading, or in oral lessons become more vivid and permanent.

Examples of greatness.

There is a remarkable chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the writer unfolds to his countrymen what is in fact a National Portrait Gallery, as he enumerates, one by one, the heroes and saints of the Jewish history, and adds to his catalogue these inspiring words:

And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of those * * * who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.[1]

And finally he draws this conclusion from his long retrospect:

Wherefore seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us.[2]

How much of the philosophy of history is condensed into that single sentence! It is suggestive to us of the ethical purpose which should dominate all our historical teaching. To what end do we live in a country whose annals are enriched by the story of great talents, high endeavours and noble sacrifices, if we do not become more conscious of the possibilities of our own life, and more anxious to live worthily of the inheritance which has come down to us?

Narrative power.

We are thus reminded of one remarkable characteristic of the sacred historians — their gift of the art of simple and artistic narrative. Read the story of Jacob and his fraudulent acquisition of his father's blessing (Genesis xxxix.), of Samson (Judges xvi.), of Samuel (1 Samuel ii. and iii.), of the calling of David (1 Samuel xvi.), of the death of Absalom (2 Samuel xviii.), of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings x.), of Elijah's sacrifice (1 Kings xviii.), of the building of the Temple (1 Chronicles xxviii. and xxix.), of Solomon's choice (2 Chronicles i.), of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel ii. — vi.); and in the New Testament the narrative of the Passion and the Crucifixion (Matthew xxvi., xxvii.), of the first Whitsuntide (Acts ii.

[1] Hebrews xi. 32—34.

[2] Hebrews xii. 1.

and iii.), of St Paul's defence before Agrippa (Acts xxv., xxvi.), and his voyage and shipwreck (Acts xxvii.); and then consider critically in each case what the writer was simply as a *raconteur*, and how the story is to be regarded simply as a work of art. I think you will be struck with the skill, the reticence, and the clearness by which the narratives are distinguished. All the little incidental facts are kept in their due perspective, and yet contribute to the effectiveness of the main story. The narrator keeps the chief purpose full in view, steers clear of all moralizing or rhetoric, which might impair the unity and force of the impression he wishes to convey, and yet he does not disdain to adorn the narrative with picturesque detail. To all teachers this same power of telling a good story is a very useful gift, and the occasions for its exercise are very numerous. It is a power which seems to come naturally and without effort to some people who are gifted with a vivid imagination and with the dramatic instinct; but it may be acquired or at least greatly improved by any one who begins by thinking the power worth acquiring, and who will study the best models and try to imitate them.

Note, too, that in story-telling there are other differences. Mere sequence of facts in right order does not make a good narrative. Unless there is a guiding *motif*, some purpose in view, some warmth, colour, feeling, the narrative is very ineffective. There were once two men conversing sadly as they walked along from Jerusalem to a village called Emmaus, when a Stranger drew near and talked to them. He heard their story, sympathized with their bewilderment, and, beginning at Moses and the prophets, interpreted to them many things in history and in the Scriptures which they had never perceived before. At the end of the interview, when their

companion had left them, they said one to another, "Did not our heart burn within us" while He spoke. The discourse had been narrative and expository only, not, we may suppose, making any appeal to emotion, yet it made the hearts of the hearers *burn*. You cannot account for the use of this expression without recognizing that there had been a story indeed, but something more than a story—inspiration, and such a presentation of truth as called out responsive sympathy, and appealed to the conscience as much as it informed the understanding. And in like manner our own narrative and historical lessons may become very dry and barren if there does not lie behind them some enthusiasm for what is right and noble, and some scorn for what is base, and some sense that there is a moral and spiritual significance in the facts of human life. "While I was musing," said David, "the fire kindled, and *at last* I spake with my tongue." Mere utterance of words, even the best words, comes to little unless there has been not only the previous musing and study, but also a genuine warmth and strong interest in relation to the subject taught.

Parables.

Of all the methods employed by the sacred writers for elucidating and enforcing truth, one of the most characteristic is the parable or apologue. Jotham's fable about the trees, Nathan's story addressed to David about the rich man and the ewe lamb, are examples of this parabolic teaching in the Old Testament. And such teaching was the sole distinctive feature of our Lord's discourses. "Without a parable spake He not unto them." The reasons assigned by the Evangelists for this practice may not be perfectly intelligible or very obviously consistent with one another. But the impressiveness of the method has been recognized perhaps in

the highest degree by Oriental races, but also in large measure among the less imaginative Teutonic and Latin communities. To this hour Christian children are more attracted by the parables than by any other portion of the Evangelical record; and Christian teachers in selecting for the young such portions of Scripture as do not involve theological controversy or difficulties of belief find the stories which form so large a portion of the Gospels best suited for their purpose. They deal with subjects of universal human interest. Some of them, such as the Parable of the Sower, are striking representations of the facts of spiritual experience. Others, such as the Prodigal Son and the Good Shepherd, are picturesque illustrations of the Divine character and of the relation of the Heavenly Father to His erring children. Others, such as the Good Samaritan, enforce powerfully our dependence on one another for succour in trouble. Every such parable carries hidden in it some ethical or religious significance, but its significance is not set forth in formal language. The preacher does not appear to obtrude His moral: the hearer is left to make the application for himself. Herein lies the special force of the allegorical method of teaching. The learner is attracted by the story, and regards it at first as a story only. Soon he begins to perceive its underlying meaning. He changes the attitude of his mind, transfers the interpretation from the material to the moral and spiritual world, and to the inner sphere of his own experience, and then draws the conclusion which, though unexpressed, was intended by the teacher. David listened to the apologue of Nathan till "his anger was greatly kindled against the man," and he listened to all the more purpose because he did not perceive throughout that the story related to himself. *De te fabula narratur*, "Thou art the man,"

came as a revelation to him, all the more impressive because it was unexpected, and because he had reached by his own efforts a right moral judgment. In a parable the learner finds his own way to a conclusion, and for this reason the conclusion when arrived at is found to be impressive. He has been invited to take a principal share in thinking out the question, and so he feels when the inference is arrived at that it is his own. When a critical hearer put to the Master the question "Who is my neighbour?" the answer was not the direct categorical definition he probably expected, but it took the form of a story about a man on a journey who fell among thieves. And at the end of the story the questioner was himself confronted with the enquiry, "Which now of these three *thinkest thou* was neighbour unto him who fell among thieves?" The apologue had helped the enquirer to discover his own answer to a difficult question in practical ethics. Such an answer was much more likely to be remembered than if it had been given in a direct and didactic form.

The use of allegory in teaching.

And to the end of time teachers will find that fables and allegories form an attractive and useful part of their educational apparatus: (1) because the truth that is hidden in them is not visible at first sight, but has to be discovered by the indirect method of analogy; and (2) because when we thus discover the meaning of a parable we cease to be mere disciples or recipients, and become our own teachers. And he who becomes his own teacher has a very interesting and docile pupil, and his lessons have a better chance than others of becoming effective. There are of course necessary limits to the application of any analogies between the phenomena of the visible and those of the spiritual world. We must not force into allegories meanings which they will not

reasonably bear, nor use unreal stories evidently manufactured for a didactic purpose. This form of instruction must be used sparingly, and only when the story is striking and self-consistent; with its moral honestly interwoven in its fabric and not a *purpureus pannus* tacked on for ornament. Subject only to these precautions, we may well look out in our own general reading for good stories or apologues, and have them ready for use when the suitable occasion offers, and we shall find that the method of instruction adopted by the greatest of all teachers nineteen centuries ago has not lost its force, but may still be employed with excellent effect in English schools and nurseries.

Parables of Nature.

Closely akin to narrative parables are the references which abound in the Bible to the facts and phenomena of Nature as means of enforcing moral and religious truth. Our Lord constantly availed Himself of the familiar incidents of daily life — the blowing of the wind, the farm yard, the birds' nests, the fishing-vessel. "Consider the lillies of the field, how they grow." "Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns. Yet your heavenly Father feedeth them." There are beauty and point here, but there is reticence too. The analogy is not forced, and is not made to sustain more meaning than it can properly bear. As an illustration of the brooding tenderness of the Saviour over His wayward people, the image of the mother-bird protecting her young is felt by all of us to be simple, affecting and appropriate. As a means of confirming belief in the providential care of God over His creatures the references to flowers and trees and to the lower animals, which without forethought are preserved in health and beauty by a care not their own, find their way to the teachable heart and conscience

with great effect. And within the limits which our Lord Himself observed, in using these simple and touching similitudes, good teachers may wisely use Nature's lessons as auxiliary to their own. But there is a temptation among some teachers to overstep the true boundary of analogy and illustration, and to deduce lessons from the facts and aspects of Nature which the premisses will not justify. I hear teachers sometimes who are so bent on 'pointing a moral' that they seem to think it necessary, in every lesson on a plant or animal, to wind up with some moral reflection. Solomon has in part set them the example, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise, which having no guide, overseer or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest." Isaiah too rebukes the "sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers," by reference to the behaviour of the lower animals. "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know; my people doth not consider." In like manner, it has not been uncommon for writers of books for the young to refer to the habits of animals as if they furnished precepts and examples for the conduct of human beings. Here, for example, is an extract from a poem much admired in the eighteenth century:

False and strained moralizing from Nature.

"The daily labours of the bee
Awake my soul to industry;
Who can observe the careful ant
And not provide for future want?
In constancy and nuptial love
I learn my duty from the dove.
The hen that from the chilly air
With pious wing protects her care
And every fowl that flies at large
Instructs me in a parent's charge.

* * * * * *

Thus every object of creation
Can furnish hints to contemplation,
And from the most minute and mean
A virtuous mind can morals glean."[1]

And we are all familiar with Dr Watts's instructive little homilies: *e.g.*

"How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour!
* * * * *
So, like the sun, would I fulfil
The business of the day."

Cowper, moralizing on human vanity, is to the same effect:

"The self-applauding bird, the peacock, see;
Mark what a sumptuous Pharisee is he."

No doubt there is something attractive in these references to Nature; but there is after all little or no basis for the inferences which are often drawn from them. A child of ordinary intelligence and healthy conscience rebels against such teaching. He does not put his objection into words, that would be rude and disrespectful to you. But he knows that the premiss will not sustain the conclusion. The industry of the bee, the forecast of the ant, the skill of the spider or the silkworm, the air with which birds wear rich plumage, he knows to be the results of inherited animal instinct, which has no moral significance at all, and which forms no guide for responsible human beings, who are endowed with power to control their own actions. That the lark rises early in the morning is no reason why we should do the same. That the bee buzzes about all the summer day among the flowers is a pleasing fact in Natural history, but it has no bearing whatever on the industry of your life or

[1] Gay, Introduction to *Fables*.

mine. Let us beware of confusing the moral perceptions of children by assuming a connexion here which does not really exist. We must not mistake illustration for proof. Whatever happens, let us at least be honest with the little ones, and not offer to them arguments which we should reject as invalid, or analogies which we should know to be fallacious, if they were addressed to ourselves. By way of picturesque and occasional references these allusions may have a certain petty appositeness, but if it is seriously proposed to employ them for the enforcement of doctrine or precept, we may easily defeat our own purpose. A formidable Nemesis awaits the teacher or the parent who fails to bear this in mind, for the day soon comes when the young scholar detects that there was a moral falsetto in such teaching, and his confidence in the good sense and honesty of his teacher is permanently weakened.

The co-operation of teacher and taught in the solution of problems.

It is especially instructive to observe the method of our Lord's teaching when enquirers came to Him with difficulties, and with ethical problems to be solved. Men approached Him, expecting to be referred to some definite rule or formula, but were disappointed to find themselves referred instead to some larger principle of action, which they were first to see in all its breadth and then to apply for themselves to the particular case in hand. "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" To this appeal the answer came in the form of a counter question, "What man shall there be of you that shall have one sheep, and if this fall into a pit on the Sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it and lift it out?"[1] In other words, try to see clearly the great law of humanity and duty, and then look at this case in the light of that law. Simon the Pharisee had some misgivings about

[1] Matthew xii. 11.

recognizing a certain sinful woman, and the Master rejoined, "Simon, I have somewhat to say to thee," and He then tells a story about a creditor and two debtors, and appeals to his host to say which of the two, after they have been generously forgiven, will love the creditor most. Afterwards comes the response, "Thou hast rightly judged,"[1] and this is followed up by a clear exposition, not only of the particular course which ought to be taken in this case, but also of the great law of Christian charity and tolerance which ought to dominate all such cases.

In these and many other of our Lord's recorded conversations, it will be observed that He often asked for the co-operation of the learner, and gave him some of the thinking to do for himself. His answer was seldom oracular or conclusive. He did not wish to save the disciple from the responsibility of working out the required conclusion for himself. His attitude was that of one who takes the disciple into his confidence and says in effect: — The question is hard, perhaps harder than it looks. Come and let us examine it together. "How think you?" At another time the question is asked, "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven?" Instead of giving a direct categorical answer He calls a little child unto Him and sets him in the midst,[2] and then leads up to the truth that he who seems to be the greatest is often the least, and that the humblest is nearest to the kingdom of Heaven. "Who do men say that I am?" There are many rumours current, but they matter little. "Who do *ye* say that I am?" Then look at the sequel of that pathetic acted parable recorded among the latest incidents in His life, and you will observe that after girding Himself and washing

[1] Luke vii. 41. [2] Matthew xviii. 1.

the feet of His disciples, He turns to them with the personal appeal, "Know ye what I have done unto you?"[1] Here and often He refused to be didactic, and became conversational and interrogative, challenging the hearer's attention and sympathy at every step and making him take a substantial share in the evolution of the lesson and in the attainment of the result. And thus we have the special sanction of the Master for the main principle of all true pedagogy, — a principle constantly enforced, but still daily overlooked in practice, — that the measure of a teacher's success lies not merely in the amount of useful exhortation and truth which he can pour into the recipient mind, but in the amount of effort he has called forth and in the degree in which the learner is made master of the process whereby, when his teachers are withdrawn, he may be able to discover truth for himself.

How many loaves have ye?

One other striking characteristic of the Gospel teaching deserves special notice. It was our Lord's habit, when an enquirer came before Him, to begin by asking him some question with a view to find out what he already knew. "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" asked one. "What is written in the Law? How readest thou?" was the response. The method of teaching is here seen to correspond closely to that adopted in His beneficent miracles in regard to the supply of man's physical wants. Take for example the story of the feeding the four thousand. How vividly the scene comes before us! The hungry multitude, the desert place, the compassionate Teacher who would not have the people depart at once lest they faint by the way, and who purposes to work a miracle in their behalf. But His first question is, "How many loaves have ye?" What have

[1] John xiii. 14.

you got already? Let us use that provision and make the most of it, and I will then cause the store to be increased.[1] This is the method of the Divine economy in spiritual and intellectual as in material things. Before adding to our present resources, our Lord asks what they amount to and what use we are making of them. He would not work a miracle to provide that which might have been provided by the exercise of ordinary human forethought. And I have often been reminded of this simple and significant episode in the Gospel history when it has been my duty to listen to lessons given by teachers in their classes. Some of these lessons begin by presupposing the possession of knowledge which the scholars have never acquired, and so they merely bewilder them, and completely fail to fulfil their purpose. And others begin by elaborately telling the class what is already known, and these fail in their purpose, too, and may easily alienate and dishearten the learners. What is here needed is the transference to the school-room of the simple enquiry addressed to the disciples in the desert: "How many loaves have ye?" A few minutes may be fitly spent at the beginning of every lesson, in the preliminary questions which will serve to shew the teacher in what state the learner's mind already is, what previous knowledge is actually possessed and remembered, and how the new knowledge intended to be taught can best be linked on to the old. As, in all charitable work, we do not know how to help a man, we certainly cannot help him wisely, until we know him, and have found out what he has got already; so every teacher before he begins to teach is bound to discover and to measure carefully the substratum on

[1] Mark vi. 38.

which he has to build. The neglect of this simple precaution often leads in teaching to enormous waste of time.

Vision and meditation.

Even the most cursory student of the Bible cannot fail to notice how large a portion of the teaching described in it takes the form of visions and revelations. The ladder was seen by Jacob in the wilderness, with the angels of God ascending and descending on it,[1] and on waking he exclaimed, "Surely the Lord was in this place and I knew it not," and afterwards went on his pilgrimage with firmer resolution and surer hope. Samuel and Solomon, too, were among those who "in clear dream and solemn vision" heard things "that no gross ear can hear," and received impressions which changed the course of their whole lives and made them conscious of a Divine call and a new consecration. Other instances are to be found in the visions of Ezekiel, the weird utterances which came to Eliphaz in the time "when deep sleep falleth on men,"[2] the great sheet let down from heaven before the startled eye of Peter,[3] in whose experience it was needful that he should henceforth learn to regard nothing as "common or unclean"; the unclosing of the spiritual eye which was granted to Paul, "whether in the body or out of the body"[4] he could not tell; and the ecstatic vision which was revealed to the aged seer of Patmos when he beheld a "city that had no need of the sun or of the moon to lighten it, because the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."[5] Revelations in these forms do not come to you or to me, but we have all had some experiences which are closely akin to them. There have been moments in our lives, and in those of our pupils, when we seem to be lifted up

[1] Genesis xxviii. 12. [2] Job iv. 13. [3] Acts x. 11.
[4] 2 Corinthians xii. 2. [5] Revelation xxi. 23.

on to a higher plane of thought and emotion than is habitual to us; when great things seem greater, and little things smaller, beauty more beautiful, and evil more hateful than ever, when we feel ourselves capable of something better than we are doing every day, and when the whole atmosphere in which we live becomes suffused with a new sense of the nobler possibilities of life. Such moments are rare, but they come to all of us sometimes. They may be brought about by reading a very powerful or inspiring book, by some scene of extraordinary loveliness, by some domestic or public event which stirs our sympathies profoundly, or perhaps by that strong and indefinable emotion which is produced by the presence of large numbers, all animated by one spirit and controlled by the same overmastering impulse. Whatever be the cause we know well that times of refreshing like these are among the best in our lives. We would fain prolong them. We feel as the three disciples did, when for a moment they were favoured with a glimpse of Moses and Elias and of the upper world. "Methinks it is good to be here." We cannot stay, however, but must presently descend into the arena of daily duty, perhaps to the valley of humiliation.

> "Full soon thy soul shall have her earthly freight,
> And custom lie upon thee with a weight
> Heavy as frost and deep almost as life."

The story of the Transfiguration is a parable revealing the significance of those moments of exaltation which come to most of us at some times in our lives. The brief and transient experience gives us the true measure by which ever after we may judge our powers and our motives. It shews us what our best self is capable of becoming. It leaves in us memories by which all the rest of our life may be brightened and ennobled. Ever after when we

are tempted to be content with a low standard of duty, to waste opportunities, and to let our faculties be 'soiled by ignoble use,' those memories come back to rebuke us and to recall us to the right way. Thus strong emotions, and even the vague sense of undeveloped power, may play an important part in the education of a life.

Dreamy and imaginative scholars not to be discouraged.

Is it not true that children who seem to us a little odd and eccentric, and who indulge in reveries and fancies, are often among the best scholars we have? There was once a family of twelve brothers, of whom eleven were rather hard and prosaic, and perhaps common-place men, who, when the young brother came among them, were wont to greet him with the mocking salutation, "Behold, this dreamer cometh." The boy had indulged in visions which they could not understand; had, in tending sheep in the solitary hills, nurtured great vague ambitions which differed essentially from theirs. Yet this dreamer was he who became the chief of his family, a ruler of men, the saviour of his father and his brethren. It is ever thus. The deeper insight, the inspiring hopes, the 'thoughts that wander through eternity,' when they are granted to us, are great and divine gifts. In the rare cases in which we see evidences of them manifested in childhood let us welcome them as among the best omens, and not discourage the dreamer because his mental activity takes unexpected forms, and because he seems less amenable to ordinary routine discipline than his fellows.

Here then is a hint for us, of the value of genuine appeal to the feelings in dealing with children. All great emotion, provided only that it be unselfish, does something to purify and ennoble character. Incidents occur in a child's life which help to kindle such emotion — the thrill of a solemn music, the first glimpse of the sea,

thanksgiving at a jubilee or for some great national blessing, the sympathy evoked on the occasion of some great social misfortune or public loss. A good teacher is ever on the watch for incidents of this kind in the public life of the nation, or in local events, or in the history of the school itself, such as may serve to rouse the apathetic to enthusiasm, or make one who generally cares for material pleasures only, forget himself for a time at least. The teacher who looks into his own life knows well that he has become what he is, not only in virtue of what he knows and can do, but of what he has felt, and of what he has striven for and imagined in his best moments. In the teacher's profession it is truer than perhaps in any other that the sum of human duty is to aim high and to work hard. Without hard work all great aims are apt to become futile and to evaporate in mere sentiment. But without a high aim, and a noble ideal of what is possible both in ourselves and in our pupils, mere hard work is the purest drudgery, and will inevitably degenerate ere long into a barren and joyless routine.

Conclusions.

Thus we have had before us some of the more prominent methods by which truth has been enforced and character shaped by the Bible writers. They are (1) symbol and ritual, (2) direct injunction, (3) appeals to the intuitions of conscience, (4) iteration and reiteration, (5) proverbs, (6) biography and example, (7) story, figure and parable, (8) poetry, (9) searching questions, and lastly (10) vision and inspiration. These methods are not all equally applicable at all times, or to all learners, or to the same people at every stage in their mental and spiritual development. But all of them have been employed by our Divine teacher from time to time in the education of the race, and every one of them is suggestive to us

of processes which we may in some degree imitate. We may at least infer from this review of the chief characteristics of Bible teaching that the ways of access to the human conscience and understanding are many and varied; that they have not all been found out yet; that new modes of adapting former methods to meet modern needs have yet to be discovered, and that it is the duty of every good teacher to take at least a share in making such discoveries for himself.

LECTURE II

SOCRATES AND HIS METHOD OF TEACHING

State of Athens in the time of Socrates. The intellectual discipline of the Athenians. The art of Oratory. Socrates and his conversations. His disciples and reporters. A Socratic dialogue. Negative results not necessarily fruitless. Investigation of words and their meanings. Some methods more fitting for adults than for young learners. Ambiguity and verbal confusion. Gorgias. Relation of virtue to knowledge. The δαίμων of Socrates. Oracles. Conversation an educational instrument. Need for occasional colloquies with elder scholars. Subjects suited for such colloquies. Handicraft. Physical Science. The doctrine of reminiscence. Pre-natal existence. Socrates a preacher of righteousness. The accusation against him. His death.

We may profitably devote our time to-day to the consideration of the life and influence of the most illustrious of the Greek teachers. Socrates' name is identified with some of the earliest dialectical exercises on record, and the arts of evolving and imparting truth and of establishing a right relation between learner and teacher were the arts to which he devoted his chief attention. These too are the arts which most of my hearers desire to acquire for themselves, and to communicate to others, and although our circumstances, after the lapse of centuries, differ much from those in which he lived, it will be found on examination that there is a substantial

resemblance between the problems with which he was confronted and some of those which we in this age are trying to solve.

State of Athens in the time of Socrates.

At the risk of recounting some things which are already very familiar to most of my audience, it may not be unfitting to remind you of one or two facts respecting the condition of Athens in the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ. The state, of which it formed the capital, was little larger than a moderate English county, and the whole of its subject territories were not equal in area to Great Britain. In the time of Pericles, however, it was the most influential city in the world. Its outward aspect was, as you know, very remarkable. The houses of the private citizens were, for the most part, plain wooden tenements, in striking contrast to all the buildings associated with the public life of the state; for these were costly and magnificent. Near was a fair harbour, teeming with commercial life; and down the slope, leading to the Piræus, were two sturdy parallel walls, which secured access to the sea in time of war, and which, as they betokened the prudence of the citizens, had also borne witness to their prowess in many a conflict. And towering high above the city, overlooking the common paths and homes of men, stood the sacred citadel, the dwelling of the gods. There was the Parthenon, dedicated to the virgin goddess Athene, whose name the city bore; and near it were the temples of Jupiter Olympus, of Theseus, and Apollo — buildings splendid even in ruins, but then all fresh and perfect, overlaid with gilding and bright colour. Yet, 2,300 years ago, the stranger who had sailed from Tyre or from Syracuse, to see the city, would not have gathered from all these outward signs of prosperity a true conception of the power of Athens, or have under-

stood why she dominated the world. The greatness of Athens lay in the character of her people, in her freedom, and in the way in which she maintained it, in her mental activity, and in that desire for new knowledge which, long afterwards, so impressed St Paul when he addressed the people from Mars' Hill. You remember how much struck the Apostle was as he walked through the city or stood on the Acropolis, and saw around him so many signs of restlessness and of intellectual activity and enterprise. The people, St Luke tells us, "spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."[1] That did not mean news in our sense of the word, news from a far country, the story of a great discovery or new fact. It meant a new truth or speculation, some fresh or original opinion about government, about the duties of citizens, the rights of subject states, or the proper use of human faculties in the family and in the State.

Athens had, at the time of Socrates, lately succeeded in baffling the counsels and dispersing the host of the King of Persia. With the little band of confederated Greek patriots, she had resisted an army twenty times the size of her own. The names of Platæa and Salamis were keenly remembered by the Greeks; and the tactics of Marathon and Thermopylæ were often canvassed by them. Indeed, every matter of public concern was freely discussed. It is true the people had no press, either to furnish them with materials for forming their opinions, or to save them that trouble by presenting them with opinions already formulated. All discussion was oral; not only in the legitimate popular assemblies, but in the market-place, in the forum, and under the porticoes of temples, groups of eager dis-

[1] Acts xvii. 21.

putants might be seen anxiously investigating some difficult problem in morals or politics. Every act of the governing body, every detail of administration, every judicial decision, became, in turn, the subject of open public disputation. And the Athenians prided themselves on doing everything with their eyes open, and on being able to give a reason, not only for the acts of themselves and their party, but also for all the public policy of their beloved State. A man who had not an opinion on these matters, or who could not defend it, was considered to be a discredit to the community. "We are the only people," said Pericles, in one of his impassioned orations to the citizens at the funeral of some heroes who had died in a conflict,

"We are the only people who regard him that does not meddle in State affairs as good for nothing. Yet, methinks, we pass sound judgments and are quick in catching the right apprehension of things, and we think that words are not prejudicial to action, but rather the not being prepared by previous debate *before* we proceed to action. Herein lies the true excellence of our people, that in the hour of action we can shew great courage, and yet we debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of other nations may be the result of ignorance or blind impulse; deliberation makes them cowards. But those, undoubtedly, must be deemed to have the greatest souls who, being most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger. * * This whole earth is the grave of illustrious men; but, of all those who are buried in it, there are none nobler than those whom we commit to the ground to-day, for they are the intelligent citizens of a free State."

The intellectual discipline of the Athenians.

The sort of mental discipline through which an Athenian citizen passed, differed very much from that with which we are familiar in the nineteenth century. He could not read or write, but he could listen to the harangues of the orator, or join a group of enquirers who surrounded a philosopher pacing the groves of

Academus. He saw the plays of Sophocles and Aristophanes, of which representations were often gratuitously provided by rich citizens, as an honourable public duty, and as a contribution to national education. "He walked amidst the friezes of Phidias and the paintings of Zeuxis; he heard the rhapsodist at the street corner declaiming about the heroism of Hector or the wanderings of the much-enduring Ulysses. He was a legislator, conversant with high questions of international right and of public revenue; he was a soldier, carefully trained by the State under a severe but generous discipline; he was a judge, compelled often to weigh hostile evidence, and to decide complex questions of right and wrong. These things were themselves an education, well fitted, if not to form exact or profound thinkers, at least to give quickness to the perceptions, delicacy to the taste, fluency to the expression, and politeness to the manners."[1] An Athenian knew that his beloved city was dedicated to Athene, the goddess of Wisdom, and he wished to make the citizens worthy of this distinction. Hence, to many of the people, philosophy was a pastime, and the search after wisdom one of the main duties of life. And, as some men would go to a bath or a gymnasium to brace up their physical energies, others would resort to the rhetor or the sophist to gather strength for intellectual contests, and to practise in the porch or the *agora* the "noble art of self-defence."

The art of oratory.

And here it may not be unfitting to reflect for a moment on the fact that 23 centuries have not, in this one respect, witnessed the improvement which we may hope has been visible in other departments of instruction. Education in citizenship, training in the art of forming and expressing opinions on matters of high public interest, the discipline which helps a man to

[1] Macaulay, Essay on Boswell's Johnson.

explain, and, if needful, to maintain and defend the opinions he is supposed to hold — where is our provision for attaining these objects? Where are the teachers, who, not content with making their pupils receivers of truth, help them also to elucidate it, and to enforce it upon others? I think that from Athens we have still, in this one respect, something to learn.

Socrates and his conversations.

It was in the midst of this busy, prosperous, and inquisitive community that you might have seen, had you lived about 400 B.C., a short, thick-set, and somewhat ugly man, going about from one part of the city to another, entering into conversation with persons of all ranks, and apparently very anxious to extend the circle of his acquaintance. Yet he was no stranger to the people of Athens. They knew him well. He had been brought up among them. His father had been a sculptor of no great repute or wealth, but of good and honourable lineage. He himself had served in early life as a soldier with some credit, and had subsequently filled several of those posts in which the Athenian constitution, like our own, gave, even to undistinguished citizens, opportunities of rendering service to the State. He lived a blameless and somewhat uneventful life, and attracted little public notice until about the age of 40. But about this time he began to be remarked for the frequency and earnestness of the conversations which he held with the leading people of Athens. Wherever a public disputation was going on, wherever any rhetor was discoursing to a group of hearers, this rugged, meanly clad man would be seen attentively listening. In a modest and respectful way, he would venture to put a question to the orator on the subject of his harangue. An answer would generally be given off-hand. On this Socrates would found another question; and, as he very carefully remembered the

several answers, fastened mercilessly on any inconsistency between one answer and another, and would permit no deviation from the matter in hand; he would often embarrass the speaker very much, and make it appear that he was talking about something which he did not understand. Throughout he assumed the rather provoking attitude of a mere enquirer, never that of one who had a theory of his own to propound. Close, searching interrogation was his chief employment, and if the result was unsatisfactory he seemed surprised and disappointed, as one who had expected information and guidance he could not obtain. For Socrates was possessed with the conviction that there is a great deal of unreal and pretentious knowledge in the world. He thought that, down at the root of even the most familiar subjects that men discuss, there lie difficulties which are scarcely suspected. He believed that men come to false conclusions, not because they reason badly or dishonestly, but because their premisses are wrong; because, at the very outset of their argument, they have assumed as true some data which they have never sufficiently examined. He thought that, before any one could attain a high standard of intellectual excellence, he had much to unlearn; and that it was necessary for him to clear his mind, not merely of falsehood or error, but of beliefs which, though they might appear self-evident, were unsupported and unverified. We err, he said, by not taking the true measure of ourselves and of our own ignorance; and, until we have tried to do this, we are not in a condition to receive new knowledge in a right spirit, or to turn it to profitable account. He did not think that men wilfully deceived one another, but rather that unconsciously they deceived themselves. Hence, he regarded it as the first business of a philosopher to convey to the learner, by

some process, however painful, a true estimate of the value and extent of his own knowledge.

His disciples and reporters.

We are to remember that he wrote no book, and that all our knowledge of him is gained from the records furnished by his affectionate disciples Plato and Xenophon. Herein we are reminded of the greatest of all teachers, who is known to us not by any writings of His own, but by His acts and discourses as they have been handed down to us by those who received His teaching. And the parallel is remarkable in other ways. Three of the Evangelists give to us plain matter-of-fact narratives of what they saw and heard. It is true we may trace in Matthew a desire to make the mission of his Lord intelligible and acceptable to the Jews, and in Luke, who wrote under the guidance of Paul, a wish to edify Gentile converts. But in the three synoptic Gospels there is straightforward narrative, biography, reports of conversations and discourses, but little or no reflection or theory. In the fourth Gospel you have an utterance of another kind. The writer of St John's Gospel is essentially a Platonist. He sees the whole of the facts of the Saviour's life through the medium of the large spiritual truths which seem to him of paramount importance. He lays down, in the first words of his book, his theory of the inner relationship of the Father, the Word, and the human soul; and throughout his narrative, particularly in the long discourses between the Great Teacher and His disciples, he accentuates this theory, and keeps steadily in view the ideal of spiritual union, of supernatural agency, and Divine influence. It is thus also with Plato. He is an idealist. He sees all truth of mere fact, in the light of what he conceives to be the larger truths of philosophy. He looks on human and social life as having its own ideal and purpose, no less than each

profession or craft. His views on the ultimate ground of all ethics in science or reasoned truth and on the doctrine of reminiscence are constantly illustrated in the Socratic dialogues, as he presents them. But to Xenophon, a soldier rather than a philosopher, a man of business and of robust common sense, the dialectic of Socrates was chiefly valuable because of the light it threw on the practical problems of life. He was concerned to hear it so often said of his revered master, that his teaching ended in mere doubt and negation. He desired to vindicate Socrates from such a charge, and to shew that, after all his searching questions, he ceased to embarrass his hearer, and gave him, by way of conclusion, counsels of a practical and useful character. And all through the Platonic and Xenophontic representations, as between the narratives of Matthew and of John, and even in the two accounts of the Apology before the judges, you will find the same diversity, — the one dwelling rather on the negative and speculative side, the other on the practical and positive side of the master's teaching; both representations being in a sense fundamentally true, but both coloured by the intellectual medium through which the disciple recognized the truth.

A Socratic dialogue.

Here, for example, is a fragment from one of Xenophon's dialogues, in which you will observe that the moral aim and purpose of the Socratic dialectic is kept prominently in view, and in which the reporter of the conversation is chiefly concerned to vindicate his master against the charge so often made against him of corrupting the Athenian youth. It is an account of a conversation with Glauco, the son of Aristo, who was so strongly possessed with the desire of governing the republic, that

"Although not yet twenty he was continually making orations to the people; neither was it in the power of his relations, however

numerous, to prevent his exposing himself to ridicule. Socrates, who loved him on the account of Plato and Charmidas, had alone the art to succeed with him. For, meeting him, he said, 'Your design then, my Glauco, is to be at the very head of our republic?' 'It is so,' replied the other.

"'Believe me,' said Socrates, 'a noble aim! For, this once accomplished, you become, as it were, absolute; you may then serve your friends, aggrandize your family, extend the limits of your country, and make yourself renowned, not only in Athens, but throughout all Greece; nay, it may be, your fame will spread abroad among the most barbarous nations, like another Themistocles, while admiration and applause attend wherever you go!'

"Socrates, having thus fired the imagination of the young man, and secured himself a favourable hearing, went on,—'But, if your design is to receive honour from your country, you intend to be of use to it, for nothing but that can secure its applause?' 'Undoubtedly,' replied Glauco. 'Tell me, then, I entreat you, what may be the first service you intend to render the republic?'

"Glauco remained silent, as not knowing what to answer. 'I suppose,' said Socrates, 'you mean to enrich it? for that is generally the method we take, when we intend to aggrandize the family of some friend.' 'This is indeed my design,' returned the other. 'But the way to do this,' said Socrates, 'is to increase its revenues.' 'It is so.' 'Tell me then, I pray you, whence the revenues of the republic arise, and what they annually amount to; since I doubt not of your having diligently enquired into each particular, so as to be able to supply every deficiency, and, when one source fails, can easily have recourse to some other.'

"'I protest to you,' said Glauco, 'this is a point I never considered.' 'Tell me, then, only its annual expenses; for I suppose you intend to retrench whatever appears superfluous?' 'I cannot say,' replied Glauco, 'that I have yet thought of this affair any more than of the other.'

"'We must postpone, then, our design of enriching the republic to another time,' said Socrates, 'for I see not how a person can exert his endeavours to any purpose, so long as he continues ignorant both of its income and expenses.' 'Yet a State may be enriched by the spoils of its enemies.' 'Assuredly,' replied Socrates, 'but, in order to do this, its strength should be superior, otherwise it may be in danger of losing what it hath already. He, therefore, who advises war, ought to be well acquainted not only with the forces of his own country, but those of the enemy; to the end that, if he

finds superiority on his side, he may boldly persist in his first opinion, or recede in time and dissuade the people from the hazardous undertaking.' 'It is very true,' returned the other. 'I pray you, then, tell me what are our forces by sea and land; and what are the enemy's?' 'In truth, Socrates, I cannot pretend to tell you, at once, either one or the other.' 'Possibly you may have a list of them in writing? If so, I should attend to your reading it with pleasure.' 'No, nor this,' replied Glauco, 'for I have not yet begun to make any calculation of the matter.' 'I perceive, then,' said Socrates, 'we shall not make war in a short time; since an affair of such moment cannot be duly considered at the beginning of your administration. But I take it for granted,' continued he, 'that you have carefully attended to the guarding our coasts; and know where it is necessary to place garrisons, and what the number of soldiers to be employed for each; that, while you are diligent to keep those complete which are of service to us, you may order such to be withdrawn as appear superfluous.'

"'It is my opinion,' replied Glauco, 'that every one of them should be taken away, since they only ravage the country they were appointed to defend.' 'But what are we to do, then,' said Socrates, 'if our garrisons are taken away? How shall we prevent the enemy from overrunning Attica at pleasure? And who gave you this intelligence, that our guards discharge their duty in such a manner? Have you been among them?' 'No, but I much suspect it.' 'As soon, then,' said Socrates, 'as we can be thoroughly informed of the matter, and have not to proceed on conjecture only, we will speak of it to the Senate.' 'Perhaps,' replied Glauco, 'this may be the best way.' 'I can scarcely suppose,' continued Socrates, 'that you have visited our silver mines so frequently as to assign the cause why they have fallen off so much of late from their once flourishing condition?' 'I have not been at all there,' answered Glauco...."

After many other questions had brought out clearly the need of more accurate, practical knowledge as the equipment of a statesman, Socrates concludes:—

"If, therefore, you desire to be admired and esteemed by your country beyond all others, you must exceed all others in the knowledge of those things which you are ambitious of undertaking; and, thus qualified, I shall not scruple to insure your success, whenever you may think proper to preside over the Commonwealth."

"The school of a philosopher," says Epictetus, "is a surgery. You do not come to it for pleasure, but for pain. If one of you brings me a dislocated shoulder, and another divers disorders, shall I sit uttering trifling exclamations and let you go away as you came?" You observe that Socrates' method of interrogation was often of a humbling and painful kind; it forced home to his collocutor the very unwelcome conviction that he was more ignorant than he supposed. There are three stages in the intellectual history of a man in relation to the knowledge of any subject. The first, and lowest, is unconscious, satisfied ignorance. The next stage is one of ignorance too, but of ignorance unmasked, awakened and ashamed of itself. The third, and highest, is that which follows the possession of clear and reasoned truth. But the second condition is necessary to the last. We cannot vault out of ignorance into wisdom at one bound, we must travel slowly and toilsomely along the intermediate steps; and Socrates thought he did a service to an enquirer if he could only succeed in helping him to reach the second step, and so to be fairly on the right road.

Negative results, not necessarily fruitless.

A very significant feature of his teaching was the great importance he attached to the right and accurate use of words. Many of the dialogues which Plato has recorded for us turn almost wholly on the definition of some word or phrase. Few of us know, until we try, how hard it is to give a concise and perfect definition of even the most familiar word, and how much harder it is to make sure that we always attach precisely the same meaning to it. Now Socrates thought that an examination of these difficulties would be of great use to people generally, and to disputants in particular. So he would take a man who either in his business or in his argumentation was in the habit of employing some particular

The investigation of words and their meanings.

term. He would gently ask him to define that term. Whatever answer was given he would quietly accept and repeat. He would then propose a question or two, intended to illustrate the different senses in which the word might be applied; and, in doing this, would make it evident, either that the definition was too wide and needed to be restricted a little, or that it was too narrow and did not comprehend enough. The respondent would then ask leave to retract his former definition, and to amend it. When this was done, the inexorable questioner would go on cross-examining on the subject, applying the amended definition to new cases, until answers were given inconsistent with each other and with the previous reply. And, at the end of this pitiless cross-examination, it would often appear that the respondent, after vain efforts to extricate himself, admitted that he could give no satisfactory answer to the demand which at first had appeared so simple.

And I am sure that we, as teachers, have a special interest in that part of the Socratic teaching which bore upon the exact connotation and the right use of words. Grammar, verbal and logical analysis, rhetoric, style — all these things will still, notwithstanding the occasional satire and remonstrances of the modern professors of science, hold their own as among the chief instruments in the training of a human being or an active and a thoughtful life. And why? — Because a copious vocabulary is a storehouse of thoughts. Because, whatever we are hereafter to learn, whether about History, Politics, Astronomy, or Physics, must, to a large extent, be learned from books; and because whatever gives us greater command of the language of books, and a more exact conception of the significance of that language, enlarges our resources as thinking beings.

Some methods more fitting for adults than for young learners.

Yet the philosopher's method of pursuing a general term into all its hiding-places, of amending, expanding, and contracting a definition, until it fitted exactly the qualities of the thing defined was — though useful as a method of confutation with grave men, especially with superficial pretenders — not a model for us to imitate habitually in a school. Nor is the Socratic εἰρωνεία a lawful expedient for use in teaching young learners. *They* do not need to have their ignorance exposed. We do not help them by plying them with questions and humbling them with a sense of their own inferiority to ourselves. Occasionally, I have no doubt, it is useful to take a lesson on a single word, — I will say, *constitution*, *virtue*, *experience*, *proof*, *law*, *influence*, — trace it through all the stages of its development, and the shades of its meaning; and then ask the scholar himself, after this inductive exercise, to define the word, and to take care that the definition shall cover all its legitimate applications. We want, of course, that our scholars shall know the meaning of the words they use. But the meaning of a word as learned by heart from a dictionary or a spelling-book is of no value. It is, indeed, owing to its necessary brevity, often worse than useless. The true way to teach young learners the significance of a word is, after a brief explanation, to tell them to take the word and use it. "Write four or five sentences containing the word." "Give a short narrative in which this word shall be used three times in different senses." Or, "Take these two words, which are apparently synonymous, and employ them in such a way as to show that you see the less obvious distinctions in their meaning." The object aimed at by the Socratic *elenchus* among grown-up controversialists may be attained, among young scholars, by this simpler and less irritating process.

Ambiguity and verbal confusion.

But, to the philosopher, the duty of looking straight into the heart of a word's meaning, of stripping it of all the vague associations which might have clustered round it, seemed indispensable as part of the mental purgation which should precede the acquisition of true wisdom. He would not discuss a subject until the exact sense in which the leading words were to be used was fixed. He would allow none of that verbal legerdemain by which the same word could be used in two senses in different stages of the argument. He would not permit the discussion to be mystified by a metaphor, however familiar and apposite, until the limits to which the analogy extended, and the point beyond which it did not extend, were clearly marked. At one time, one of the professors of Rhetoric would be found seeking to attract pupils by declaiming in favour of the art he taught: —

Gorgias.

"'What is rhetoric?' said Socrates calmly to Gorgias one day. 'A grand science,' was the reply. 'But the science of what?' 'Of words.' 'But of what words? Is it the science, for example, of such words as a physician would use to a patient?' 'No, certainly.' 'Then rhetoric is not concerned with all words?' 'No, indeed.' 'Yet it makes men able to speak?' 'Undoubtedly that is its purpose.' 'Does it help them to think, too, on the subject of which they speak?' 'Certainly.' 'But, surely, the science of medicine is designed to help a man both to think and to speak on those matters which concern diseases. Is this science therefore rhetoric?' 'No, indeed.'"

So he goes on mentioning one science after another in which speech and thought are alike necessary, and compelling Gorgias to admit that rhetoric is none of these. At last he takes refuge in the general statement that rhetoric is the art of persuasion, and instances the fact that, in all public movements, a fluent speaker exercises more influence over the multitude than any one else. Socrates proceeds to enquire whether, if the question related to ship-building, a rhetorician or a ship-

builder would be the best guide; and, after a few more questions, convicts his interlocutor of professing an art which seeks to produce persuasion without knowledge, and therefore only useful for the unthinking and the ignorant. Gorgias afterwards shifts his ground, and says that the true province of rhetoric is that persuasion which relates to the highest matters, that which is required in courts of justice, and in determining questions of right and wrong, of virtue and its opposite. A few more questions lead up to the admission that, if this be the case, rhetoricians ought to know more than other people about these great subjects, and to be holier and better persons than their fellow-citizens. Gorgias did not like this. He could only chafe, and fret, and be irritated. He could not deny that it was precisely in this sort of word-warfare it was his profession to be victorious, and that in this case he had not been the conqueror. Perhaps, if he were a vain pedant, he would take care to come no more in the way of Socrates and his pitiless dialectics; but, if he were a modest and sincere searcher after truth, he would be the wiser after all this bewilderment, even though the conversation had only led to a negative and unsatisfactory result. Perplexity is the beginning and first product of philosophy. It is necessary that all excepted truths should be put to the question, and all suppositions given up, in order that they may hereafter be recovered and placed in their true light by means of the philosophic process. This process was in Socrates's time beginning to be applied to moral problems chiefly, and to the recognized hypotheses about ethics and sociology. It was reserved for a later age — for Bacon and for Descartes, and Boyle and Leibnitz, their successors, to see the true function of the sceptical spirit in the domain of physics, and of the natural world.

Relation of knowledge to virtue.

The little dialogue I have just summarized illustrates one feature, and that perhaps the most vulnerable feature, of the teaching of Socrates. He insisted that all virtue was ultimately knowledge, and resolved all vice into ignorance and folly. This is a favourite doctrine of Plato, and is indeed only found in the Platonic dialogues. Aristotle describes him as teaching that all virtues are really sciences (*φρονήσεις ἐπιστήμας εἶναι πᾶσας τὰς ἀρετάς*). Herein, no doubt, Socrates tells the truth, but not the whole truth. A certain state of the affections and of the will is not less indispensable as a condition of virtue than a certain state of the intelligence. Aristotle is justified in complaining that two elements seem to be wanting in the teaching ascribed to Socrates — the *πάθος*, or feeling in favour of what was right, and the *ἦθος*, or the habit of right doing. Still, Socrates was right in insisting that there can be no true virtue without an intelligent consciousness of what we are doing and of the reasons for doing it. Stupid, helpless acquiescence in the mode of conduct prescribed for us by others, may be very convenient to rulers, to schoolmasters, and to parents; but it is not virtue.

On this point Mr Grote has well said,[1] "Socrates meant by knowledge something more than is directly implied in the word. He had present to his mind as the grand depravation of a human being, not so much vice as madness — that state in which a man does not know what he is doing. Against the vicious man securities both public and private may be taken with considerable effect; against the madman there is no security except perpetual restraint...Madness was ignorance at its extreme pitch. There were many varieties and gradations in the scale of ignorance, which if accompanied by false conceit of

[1] *History of Greece*, Vol. VII. p. 136.

knowledge differs from madness only in degree. The worst of all ignorance was when a man was ignorant of himself."

The δαίμων of Socrates.

Perhaps it was in regard to his theory on this point, and to his general view of ethical questions, that Socrates incurred most dislike on the part of the Athenian people, and was most often misunderstood. He was wont to talk much of his *δαίμων* or genius, as if he had within him a divine guide in matters of conduct, a prophetic or supernatural voice nearly always prohibiting or warning, rarely stimulating or instructive — a tutelary influence such as was peculiar to himself, and was not always accessible to others. Hegel truly interprets this, when he says that by it the philosopher only meant to symbolize the peculiar form in which private judgment appeared in Socrates himself. Many Greeks, however fond of merely intellectual speculation, were little used to determine their actions by a process of reflection. Still less were they wont to refer to anything analogous to what we call conscience. Its place was supplied by habitual conformity to law and usage. The path of duty was so accurately marked as to leave little room for hesitation. And as to cases not expressly determined by legitimate authority or custom, neither the State nor its individual members presumed to decide for themselves, but they sought the guidance of the gods by consulting an oracle or by divination. There have been many speculations about the meaning of the Socratic *δαίμων*, but they all resolve themselves into this, that the revolt from public opinion on the one hand, and from oracles on the other, took the form of insisting on individual responsibility, on the need for a clear unclouded judgment, on a belief that the voice of truth, the whisper of moral warning and encouragement, might be heard by those who were rightly prepared and disciplined to listen,

"But while this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it."

It is the analogous doctrine to that which is found in the dreams and visions of the Hebrew prophets, and to the sweet and gracious legend which tells of the music of the spheres. There is the confession of man in all ages, of his need of access to something higher, truer, diviner than himself. Grant that it means nothing but the purified conscience, the truth heard in silence and meditation, — is it not, under all these forms, the Divine voice, audible, like the music of the spheres, to the devout and reverent hearer, and to him alone? And, as you read the dialogues of Socrates, and find him so often appealing to something in his hearer and in himself nearer than a custom, a law, a teacher, or an oracle, you are reminded of One of whom we spoke in the last lecture, who never paced the groves of Academus, but whose steps were in the streets of Jerusalem or over the hills of Galilee, and who, when questioned about some moral or casuistical question, directed His answer straight to the inner conscience of the questioner himself. We saw illustrations of this in our last Lecture. Let me add another, which is curiously characteristic of the Socratic method. A questioner asks: "Who is my neighbour?" and the answer comes, not in a categorical shape, but in the form of a story: "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho," — and then, when the whole story is told, comes the home thrust, "Which now of these three *thinkest thou* was neighbour unto him that fell among thieves?" We, too, may well desire, when dealing with our pupils, to abstain from telling them what, with a little trouble, they might find out for themselves, and to appeal more often from prescription and authority to the inner sense of right, which, however overlaid or silenced,

is to be found deep down in all their hearts. Thus we may feel that we are working in harmony with the greatest teachers in all ages of the world. But this was not the view which the contemporaries of Socrates held about him and his *δαίμων*. To them it seemed that he was setting up a new divine being, and inviting the Athenians to exchange for this object of worship their old gods. And Socrates did not care to correct this impression, although the main accusation made by Anytus at the trial was that he had sought to overthrow the belief in the national divinities and oracles.

Oracles.

He did not, however, denounce oracles, although he did not consult them for himself or recommend his disciples to appeal to them. One day, one of those disciples, named Chærephon, went to Delphi, and proposed to the god the question whether any man was wiser than Socrates. The answer was in the negative. Long after, in his defence at the trial, he described the effect of this news on himself. He said: —

"Why, what enigma is this? For I am not conscious to myself that I am wise, either much or little. What can the god mean by saying that I am the wisest? So I went for myself to one of those who have the reputation of being wise, thinking that there, if anywhere, I should confute the oracle. But, when I came to question him, he appeared indeed to be wise in the opinion of most other men, and especially in his own, though indeed he was not so. So I tried to show him that what he took for knowledge was only opinion and conjecture, and in this way I became odious to him and to many others present. When I left him I reasoned thus with myself: 'I am wiser than this man, for neither of us appears to know anything great or true, but he fancies he knows something, whereas I, as I do not know anything, do not fancy that I do.' In this trifling particular only do I appear to be wiser than he.

Afterwards I went to the poets, but a little close cross-examination brought me to a like conclusion respecting them. But when I went to the artizans, I said to myself, 'Here, indeed, is something in which I am inferior to these men, for they possess some very

beautiful knowledge.' And in this I was not deceived, for they knew things which I did not, and, in this respect, were wiser than I. But even the best of these men, because he excelled in the practice of his art, thought himself knowing in most other matters, and this mistake obscured the wisdom he already possessed. So I asked myself, on behalf of the oracle, whether I should prefer to continue as I am, possessing none, either of their special knowledge or of their ignorant estimate of themselves, or to have both as they have. And it seemed to me, on the whole, that I had best continue as I am."

Handicraft.

You will see that, on one point much discussed among the educational reformers of our time—the educative virtue of mere handicraft—Socrates would probably not have agreed with the current opinion. He would not have regarded manual training as a good substitute for intellectual discipline. He had seen that certain mechanical dexterities might easily co-exist with complete stagnation of mind, with great poverty of ideas, and with a curious conceit as to the proportion and relative worth of the sort of knowledge the artizan did not happen to possess. I think, if he were to be consulted in our day by the advocates of technical education, he would say, "Train people's hands and eyes by all means, but train the understanding at the same time. Let your pupil know well the properties of the materials he is using, and the nature and limits of the forces he employs. Let your handwork be made subservient to careful measurement, to the cultivation of taste and intelligence, to the perception of artistic beauty, and then it will play a real part in the development of what is best in the human being; but, unless you do this, you will get little or no true culture out of carpentering, modelling, or needlework."

Physical Science.

Mr Grote says, "Physics and Astronomy belonged in the opinion of Socrates to the divine class of phenomena, in which human research was insane, fruitless and even

impious." He protested against the presumption of Anaxagoras who had, he said, degraded Helios and Selene into a sun and moon of calculable motions and magnitudes.[1]

Nor from any of those studies which have of late years appropriated the name of Science, did Socrates hope very much. He tells us, in the *Phædo*, that he had in early life felt great interest in enquiries concerning natural phenomena. "I was eager," he said, "for the investigation of Nature. I thought it a matter of pride to know the causes of things. At length, fatigued with studying objects through the perceptions of the senses only, I looked for the ideas, or reflections of them, in the mind, and turned my attention to words and discourses." It must be owned that what he called the investigation of Nature was not physical science in the modern sense of the term — the discovery, recordation, and systematic arrangement of facts. It was rather the search for some primary principles by which the facts of Nature might be explained. Be this as it may, he found the enquiry fruitless and unsatisfying, and he concluded, though somewhat rashly, that the mysteries of the physical world were not fitting subjects for human investigation.

Conversation, an educational instrument.

The example of Socrates is specially instructive, as it regards his method of inviting the co-operation of his disciples in the discussion of difficulties and in the search for truth. Mr Grote has said, "His object was not to multiply proselytes or to procure authoritative assent, but to create earnest seekers, analytical intellects, foreknowing and consistent agents, capable of forming conclusions for themselves; as well as to force them into that path of inductive generalization whereby alone trustworthy conclusions are to be formed."[1] And this object he

[1] Grote's *History of Greece*, Vol. VII. p. 130.

sought to attain not by didactic lectures but by the heuristic and conversational method, by making a theory or a philosophical problem the subject of free talk, by starting difficulties, by citing examples and by what Johnson called a "brisk reciprocation of objections and replies."

Need for free colloquies with elder scholars.

This is not a method adapted for a teacher's use in dealing with young children; but with elder scholars it may often be employed with great advantage. Much of the hesitation and confusion which characterize the average Englishman, in expressing his own thoughts on serious subjects or in public, arises from the fact that in our education there has been, on the part of his teachers, abundant use of monologue, but very little of dialogue. We do not often enough challenge a scholar to tell in his own words what he thinks or what he knows. Still less do we ask him to give a reason for any opinion he holds. Now although much of Socrates's teaching was directed against sophistry, and false rhetoric, there runs through it all a conviction of the importance of clear statement, and the desire to encourage accurate expression for whatever thoughts the learner had in his mind. And the main instrument in achieving this end was conversation. It is manifestly better suited for some subjects than for others. It would seldom be needed for the discussion of facts in physical science, for mathematics, or for the grammar of a language. Nor should we ask a learner to express an opinion on a topic on which he has had no means of forming one. But after lessons in history, or philosophy, or any of the sciences which bear on morals or conduct, an informal colloquy between the teachers and the members of a small upper class will be found to give an excellent stimulus not only to thinking, but also to the practice of correct and forcible expression.

Some subjects suited for such colloquies.

For example, I have known a teacher who reserved half-an-hour a week for a conversational lesson with the highest class on a character in history, on some book, or on the elementary truths of economic science. Such topics as wages, the values of various kinds of work, division of labour, taxes, money, interest, and the conditions of professional success, are specially interesting to elder boys beginning to think about the business of life. The rôle of pedagogue is for the time laid aside by the teacher, and he and his scholars talk round the ethical or the economic problem on equal terms. In like manner, to elder girls of the upper and middle class, who look forward to a life of usefulness, and who have philanthropic instincts, these and the cognate questions of charity, forethought, thrift, the right way of organizing relief, the best way to administer the Poor Law, and to help people to help themselves, are matters of great moment, and are demanding and receiving increased attention. In all this domain of thought and of human experience, there are many current popular fallacies, which a little Socratic investigation would soon detect and remove. A French writer, Frederic Bastiat, wrote a book once called *Ce qu'on voit, et ce que non voit pas*, and exposed by a series of illustrations the difference between what is seen and what is not seen in the practical economy of life. At first sight men conclude, *e.g.* that war is good for trade because it makes the money fly; that the saving and careful master of a fortune is not so good a friend to the community as the spendthrift; that almsgiving is always a virtue; that capital and labour have antagonist interests; that the State ought to have nothing to do with education, with art, with public recreation; and that all these things should be left to private enterprise. It is good that elder scholars at least should learn to think

about these and the like topics, and to balance the considerations which may be urged for and against any general conclusions on such subjects. They need to bring examples and experience together, from different sources, to examine apparent exceptions to general rules, and to suspend judgment. And for all these purposes, conversational lessons are the best — lessons in which the scholars are invited to suggest difficulties, to start hypotheses and to examine plausible fallacies. Here is a feature of Greek education which, to say the truth, is somewhat lacking in ours. One part of school training should be directed to the art of forming conclusions on matters of high public interest, to the discipline which helps a man to explain, and, if needful, to maintain and defend the opinions he is supposed to hold. Here is a region in which one familiar with Socratic dialectics will be at a great advantage over all others, and in which that method of intellectual enquiry will be found specially applicable. Only it deserves to be noticed that to conduct such a conversation to good purpose requires no little skill and alertness of mind on the part of the teacher; and that sympathetic insight and a sense of humour are also indispensable.

A dialogue of search.

The well-known story of the sophist Meno and the slave-boy illustrates one conspicuous feature in the Socratic teaching as it is expounded in Plato. You will remember, Meno has been complaining that Socrates's conversations had the effect of preventing him from feeling any confidence in himself. "You remind me, Socrates, of that broad sea-fish, the torpedo, which benumbs those whom it touches. For, indeed, I am benumbed both in mind and mouth, and do not know what or how to answer." Whereupon, Socrates calls a slave-boy to him, draws on a line two feet long a square

on the ground with a stick, and asks him first whether it is possible to have a square double the size, and next what should be the length of the line on which such a square should be drawn. The boy answers promptly, that for the double square the line should be of double the length, or four feet. Socrates turns to Meno and says, "You see that this boy thinks he knows, but does not really know." He then goes on to draw another square on the double line, and teacher and pupil observe together that this is not twice but four times the size. The boy is puzzled and suggests a line three feet long; but further trial shows that the square thus formed contains nine square feet instead of eight. Whereupon Socrates enquires of the boy, since neither a line of three feet, nor a line of four feet, will serve as the base of the required double square, "What is the true length?" and the answer is, "By Jove, Socrates, I do not know." Here the master again turns to Meno, and says, "Observe, this boy at first knew not the right length of the desired line, neither does he yet know; but he then fancied he knew, and answered boldly, as a knowing person would. But he is now at a loss, and, as he knows not, does not even think he knows." "True," says Meno. "But then," replies Socrates, "is he not in a better condition now than at first, in regard to the matter of which he was and is still ignorant?" "Certainly." "So in benumbing him like the torpedo, and making him speechless for a time, have we done him any harm?" Then by a series of experimental drawings, which Socrates makes partly by help of suggestions on the part of the boy, he comes at last to draw the diagonal of the first square, and to erect a second square on that, and so to reveal clearly to the learner the true method of solving the problem proposed.

Knowledge, implicit as well as explicit.

You will notice one important point in connexion with this dialogue with Meno. Socrates held that all teaching need not come in the shape of teaching. "You see," said he, "that I teach this boy nothing. I only help him to find and express what is already in his mind." The truth is there. It is discoverable if we only put him on the right track. It is better that he should find it for himself, or at least take a fair share in the investigation, than that we should give him any information about it in an explicit or didactic form.

The doctrine of reminiscence.

This belief that a true educational discipline consisted rather in searching and finding knowledge, than in passively receiving it, was a prominent item in Socrates's creed. He thought that a great part of what men wanted to know they might find out by self-interrogation, by meditation, and by purely internal mental processes. And if you had asked Socrates or Plato how he accounted for this fact, his answer would have been a curious one. He would have said that while it was the duty of a teacher to make our knowledge explicit, much of it was in fact implicit, a survival of what had been known in a former state of existence. He believed that the human soul has not only a great future, but also a great past; and that many of our thoughts are, in fact, reminiscences — faint echoes and memories of those which we have had in a former life. There are truths, he said, which, when we search down into the inner mind, we recognize dimly as old acquaintances, and yet which we have never consciously perceived since we were born. All the occupations and interests of this life, no doubt, tend to overlay these truths, — to bury them out of their sight; but they are there, requiring only the purified vision and the dialectical discipline to

bring them into consciousness again. Much of what we call knowledge is, in fact, recollection. It would not be right to say that Socrates formulated this notion of a pre-existent life into a creed, — it was not the habit of his mind to dogmatize on such subjects, — but it seems certain that he believed it, and that he accounted for many of the facts of our intellectual life on this hypothesis. The whole doctrine, however, has, as I need hardly tell you, no place in modern philosophy. It takes no account of experience; none, of associations or the reflex action of sensation and thought; none, of hereditary tendencies; none, of the daily discipline through which the least observant child is passing, even when he is not conscious that he is learning anything. And, as a philosophical theory, it has the serious defect that it offers to us a fanciful and wholly unverified hypothesis to account for mental phenomena which are explicable by much simpler and more natural considerations. What the dialogue really does is, not to unearth buried or forgotten knowledge but only to formulate and bring into clearer vision elementary truths hitherto seen obscurely, half known by intuition and contact with objects, but not known consciously as truths intellectually expressible.

Pre-natal existence.

But, though the doctrine of a pre-natal existence has disappeared from philosophy, it lingers still — where, indeed, the finer aroma and essence of all speculation ought to linger — in our poetry. Perhaps the noblest burst of poetic inspiration which our century has witnessed, is to be found in Wordsworth's ode, "Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood." And in that well-known poem there are some echoes of the Socratic, or rather the Platonic, theory of reminiscence, which, though faint, will yet be very audible to us, as I read some of the lines: —

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God who is our home.
Heaven lies about us in our infancy.
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy;
But he beholds the light and whence it flows,
He sees it in his joy.
The youth who daily farther from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
And, by the vision splendid,
Is on his way attended.
At length the man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day.

"Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own,
Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind,
And even with something of a mother's mind,
And no unworthy aim,
The homely nurse doth all she can
To make her foster-child, her inmate man,
Forget the glories he hath known,
And that imperial palace whence he came.

* * * * *

"Hence, in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,—
Can in a moment travel thither
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

Socrates a preacher of righteousness.

But it is not alone as a dialectician, but as a preacher of righteousness that Socrates best deserves to be remembered. His high ideals, his scorn of unreality and pretence, the constant straining of his eyes after the

discovery of truth, and his efforts to remove all hindrances which conventionalities and prejudices placed in the way of such discovery, are after all the qualities which entitle him to rank among the world's noblest teachers. That is a touching and characteristic picture which Plato gives of the conversation of the old philosopher with Phædrus, as they walked by the Ilissus, and after cooling their feet in the stream and finding a seat under a towering plane tree, occupied themselves during the long hours of a summer's day discoursing of duty, and immortality, of knowledge and ignorance, of truth and falsehood, of holiness and virtue. And at the end of their talk on these high matters they rise to depart homewards and Socrates says, "My dear Phædrus, would it not be well to offer up a prayer to the gods before we go?" And when Phædrus assents, the old sage lifts up his voice and says:

"Beloved Pan and all ye other gods who here abide, grant me to be beautiful in the inner soul, and all I have of outward things to be in harmony with those within. May I count the wise man alone rich. And may my own store of gold be only such as none but the good can bear."

As I read these words you are reminded of another teacher who prayed for those whom he taught and loved that they "might be strengthened with might in the inner man." Paul it is true did not regard Pan and the Sylvan deities as the sources of the help he needed, but he and Socrates were alike in looking for strength and inspiration to the highest source they knew, and opening their hearts to the best and noblest influences which they believed to be accessible to them. What more can any of us hope to do?

The accusation against Socrates.

We all know that Socrates became an object of popular hatred. Men like to see their disbeliefs as well as their beliefs incarnate. Abstract principles excite in

them a comparatively languid interest and but little enthusiasm. But, let principles be represented in the person of a man, and there is at once something to love or to hate, something to adore or to denounce. Now, Socrates stood to the Athenian people as the living symbol of the principle of nonconformity, of intellectual unrest, of the spirit which doubts and questions the perfection of established institutions and the truth of established beliefs. In all ages of the world, such persons are unpopular, because their presence is inconvenient. I suppose in no other city than Athens would the community so long have tolerated a man who belonged to no party, but who regarded some of the pet beliefs of all parties to be equally untenable. Accordingly, you are not surprised that Anytus, Melitus, and Lykon, presented to the Dikastery, and hung up in the appointed place in the portico of the Archon, a formal accusation charging him with the twofold crime of not believing the popular faith, and of corrupting the youth by leading them also to be sceptical. The accusation was made in open court; the case was tried by one of those enormous Athenian juries, which consisted of 550 members, who, by a majority of five, condemned him and sentenced him to death.

His trial. On the circumstances of the trial, on the terms of his defence or *Apologia*, which are to be found, though differently told, in Plato and in Xenophon, I have no time now to dwell. The philosopher disdained to employ any of the usual artifices of rhetoric in his defence, made no appeal to the compassion of his judges, and calmly said that he believed he had a divine calling to the work which he had done, and that even if they would acquit him on condition of his ceasing to interrogate them, he could not accept his liberty on such terms. If, he said, they

really desired to know what was the recompense to which he was entitled, it would be a home in the Prytanæum — a dignified almshouse in which those Athenian citizens who had done the State eminent service, were honourably lodged at the public expense.

During the interval between his conviction and death, some of his friends devised a plan for his escape, and Crito, one of the warmest of them, is deputed to go to him and ask his consent to the scheme. So the master begins calmly to question him in the old way as to the duty of a good citizen in regard to obedience to the laws. He brings Crito to admit that to defy the tribunal which he had always taught men to hold sacred, would be to neutralize all his former teaching: —

"Within my own mind, Crito," he said, "the accustomed voice of my guardian deity, which has led me for nearly eighty years, has been very audible of late. 'Do you think, Socrates,' it said, 'to live for the sake of your children, that you may rear and educate them? What sort of education can you give them in another country, where they will be aliens, and yourself a dishonoured exile? Will they not be better educated by the memory of their father's rectitude, and by the loving care of his disciples and friends? Do not, therefore, be persuaded to set a higher value on your children or your life than on that justice you have so long taught men to respect. For, be assured, that the heroes and sages of our land, who are now in Hades, will receive you favourably if you depart out of this life with honour; and the gods, who gave you your commission, are looking lovingly upon you to see how faithfully you discharge it.' These words, my dear Crito, I have seemed to hear in my solitude, just as the votaries of Apollo seem to hear the music of his divine choir. And the sound of them comes ringing in my ears, and makes me almost incapable of listening to anything else. What say you, my Crito, shall we discuss your plans of escape now?" "Indeed," said the sorrowful disciple, "I have no more to say."

It was on the last day of his imprisonment that

the most memorable of his recorded conversations — the *Phædo* — took place. It related to the immortality of the soul; and in it are to be found, logically drawn out, yet not without an overhanging sense of pathos and sadness, many of the merely natural arguments, on which in later days Christian writers, from St Augustine to Bishop Butler, have relied by way of antecedent proof of the soul's immortality and of the existence of a future state.

His death. The sentence was that the philosopher should die by poison, and that it should be administered at sunset. We may picture to ourselves the scene in the little cell on the afternoon of the final day. Socrates sat upon the side of his bed talking as in old days, and round him were grouped some six or seven of his most affectionate disciples. As the shadows grew longer, and ray by ray the sun descended to the west, the conversation became more earnest, and the voices of the friends became more tremulous. Each looked into himself in search of the parting thought which he could not find; each strove to fashion the farewell words he could not utter. The master alone seemed unmoved. Perhaps a little more eagerness than usual to bring the argument to a point might be observed; but otherwise, he was as of old, disentangling subtleties and fallacies with the accustomed pertinacity, and striving rather to put his hearers in the right way to arrive at truth, than to give them a creed of his own.

When near sunset, the gaoler entered and said, "I am come by order of the archons to bid you drink the hemlock. I have always found you to be the meekest, the most noble man that ever came into this place. Do not upbraid me, therefore, for you know it is not I that am to blame." And, bursting into tears, he withdrew. Turning to his friends, Socrates said, "How courteous

this man is! He has visited me, and proved the worthiest and kindest of men, and now you see how generously he weeps for me. Is the hemlock ready?" One of his friends remarks, "I think, Socrates, that the sun is still upon the mountains and has not yet set, and I have known some men even who have drunk the potion very late, and have had time to sup and drink freely first."

"Those men whom you mention," said Socrates, "do these things with good reason, and I, with good reason, will not do so; for I think I shall gain nothing by drinking a little later, except to become ridiculous to myself in being so fond of life, and so sparing of it, when none remains. And now farewell. We part our several ways, you to live and I to die, but whether the one or the other is the better way none of us yet can know."

This is an ancient and a familiar story — so ancient and so familiar, that I felt a little diffidence in bringing it under the notice of this audience, among whom are some who know it much better than I do. Yet it has not wholly lost its moral significance. Much of the teaching of Socrates is now obsolete. Some of the objects he sought to attain, we have long learned to regard as unattainable. But the difficulties with which he was confronted exist more or less in all ages of the world. He saw around him men who had never harboured doubts simply because they had never examined, who held convictions all the more angrily simply because those convictions had never been verified. The mere associations accidentally connected with the truths men loved, he saw were constantly mistaken for the real living truths themselves. He chose for the objects of his attack opinions without knowledge, acquiescence without insight,

words without meaning, and dogmas without proof. And, until these phenomena shall have become wholly extinct in the world, there will always be use in philosophy for the Socratic dialectics, and an honoured place in our educational history for the life of the philosopher himself.

LECTURE III

THE EVOLUTION OF CHARACTER[1]

Charles Darwin. The main doctrines of Evolution. Their application to social life. Limits to the use of analogy. Character a growth, not a manufacture. Intellectual food and digestion. Punishments. Moral precepts. When general rules are operative. Didactic teaching. Experiences of childhood. The law of environment. The conditions of our life as determinants of character. How far these conditions are alterable at will. The moral atmosphere of a school. Influence of the teacher's personal character. Natural selection. Conscious selection of the fittest conditions. Degeneration. Unused faculties. Progression or retrogression. The law of divergence in plants and animals, and in social institutions, and in intellectual character. Special aptitudes and tastes. How far they should be encouraged. Eccentricity. Evolution a hopeful creed. The promise of the future.

Charles Darwin.

In the great Natural History Museum in London there are illustrations, collected from all lands, of the different forms of animal life, from the tiniest insect to the ichthyosaurus; and in all the halls of that vast and varied collection there is but one representation of man himself. It is a sitting figure in marble of Charles Darwin. Many naturalists before him had investigated the phenomena of the animal kingdom, and sought to classify and describe its denizens; but

[1] An Address to the American Institute of Instruction, Newport, Rhode Island, July, 1888.

to him it was given in a supreme degree to perceive the nature of animal and vegetable existence and to trace some of the laws of its development. Other writers may have dealt skilfully with problems of more or less ephemeral or local interest, with this or that particular country, literature, or religion; but it was Darwin's vocation to search out the nature of life itself — to inquire into the laws of being, of growth, and of development in the animal and vegetable world. And these are subjects of profound and universal interest. They appeal to the living sympathies, the imagination, of all mankind, and to that concern about the past and future of his race which characterizes, in various degrees, every intelligent human being.

The main doctrines of Evolution.

You are all probably familiar with the main items in the modern creed of evolution. Varieties and different species of animals and plants are not accounted for by the hypothesis of separate acts of creation, but are the product partly of the conditions of environment, and partly of natural selection. Certain organs and qualities become strengthened by exercise and more and more fully developed in successive generations; certain others become weakened by disuse, and gradually disappear or survive only in a rudimentary form. Lamarck had pointed out before Darwin that new wants in animals gave rise to new movements which in time produce organs, and that the development of these organs was in proportion to their employment. In the struggle for existence the weaker organisms are conquered, the stronger and the fitter prevail, and transmit their special qualities to posterity. Favourable variations in certain circumstances tend to be preserved and unfavourable to be destroyed, and the result is the formation from time to time of what are called new species and varieties.

Such are in briefest outline some of the generalizations to which the researches of biologists have at present led us. They may possibly be absorbed and superseded hereafter by some larger and more comprehensive inductions; but at present they are accepted by men of science as at least the best provisional hypotheses we possess for explaining the genesis of the various forms of organic life on the earth. And when once the student of Darwin's writings grasps the meaning of these simple statements, he begins to perceive that they are far-reaching, and applicable to other departments of enquiry besides that which concerns the lives of animals and plants.

Their application to social life.

In Herbert Spencer's writings on Sociology you will find analogous methods of enquiry and of reasoning applied to the growth of laws and customs, to the history of institutions, to the development of our social and political life. These things have not been shaped by accident; they have not, so far as we can ascertain, had their forms consciously predetermined by any authority human or divine. They have become what they are by processes not unlike those which operate in the region of animated nature, by the conditions of existence, by climate, soil, circumstance; by the motives which have determined the putting forth of energy; and by the direction in which that energy has exerted itself. Into this wide and fruitful region of speculation we will not now attempt to travel. I am speaking to a body of teachers; to whom the one subject of primary interest is the nature of the material on which they have to work — the mind, the character, the conduct of those whom they try to teach. And the question — the very limited and definite question — we have to ask is, What do the latest doctrines of scientific biology teach or suggest to us? What analogies are there between the

world of the naturalist and the world of the teacher? Can we get from the experience of the deep-sea explorer, of the physicist in his laboratory, or of the observer with his microscope, any practical counsels which will be of service to us in the manipulation of the finest piece of organism in the world, the character of a human being?

Limits to the use of analogy.

Before answering these questions we are confronted with one consideration which may well make us pause. Analogy is very interesting, but it may prove very misleading. We are not to mistake resemblances for identity. There is at least one remarkable difference in the conditions under which the observant teacher and the observant naturalist must work. In the animal and vegetable worlds the separate organs and functions are all susceptible more or less of separate observation and of separate treatment. True, even here, there is what Darwin calls the "law of concomitant variations," in virtue of which change in one part of a complex structure is accompanied by certain marked and often unexpected changes in other parts. And this law actually holds good in a far higher degree in the region of mind than in that of organic matter. We frequently talk of attention, of memory, and of imagination, as if they were separate faculties, and when we are discussing the nature of the human mind we may easily make each faculty the subject of a separate effort of thought. But we cannot experiment upon them separately, or see them at work independently, as a surgeon can treat the eye or the ear, or as a biologist can deal with a seedling or a nerve. The brain is not a congeries of cells with different names and uses each demanding separate treatment. The powers and functions of the human mind are so interwoven, that you cannot in practice treat them apart, or strongly influence any one of them without exerting an important

reflex influence upon others. And hence the need of some caution when we are tempted to push too far the analogy between what goes on in the hot-house, the zoölogical gardens or the biological laboratory, and what goes on in the nursery or the school-room.

Character a growth, not a manufacture.

Nevertheless when we have taken this precaution, there is one cardinal point of resemblance between the world of the naturalist and the world of the schoolmaster. We are safe in taking for certain this one truth, that human character, whether we look at it from its ethical or from its intellectual side, is the result of growth and not of manufacture. It is a living organism, and not a highly delicate and curious machine. And if we can firmly grasp this truth, we shall find it full of useful suggestion. Nothing that you can do to your pupil is of any use unless it touches the springs of his life. You are concerned with what he *knows*, because every fact or truth which is actually received and assimilated is capable of developing, becoming the germ of other knowledge, and so of forming and strengthening his intellectual character. You are concerned with what he *does*, because every act is an exercise of power, and every such exercise of power helps to form a habit, and to make all future efforts of a similar kind easier and more probable. And you are concerned with what he *feels*, because it is on his tastes and preferences, on what he likes and cares about, that his power of moral movement depends. Which of the influences which surround him shall ultimately prove most attractive and which of them he will resist — what in fact will be in his case the kind of natural selection which will control his future destiny — must be determined in the long run by his likes and dislikes, by the strength and direction of such will-power as he possesses. In all these three ways the *life* of the

human organism may be affected, and its future development may be aided. But observe, it is necessary, if this is to be done, that your treatment shall go down deep enough to touch the inner life. A gardener cannot rear a variety of red flowers by painting the petals red, or by putting them under a strong red light. He must adopt quite other methods. So if what your scholar *knows* is only impressed on him by authority, learned without interest, received without sympathy, and accepted with the intention of remembering it only till the next examination and forgetting it directly afterwards, it is not for any true purpose of development *known* at all. And if what your scholar *does* at your bidding is done reluctantly, done because you are looking, and not intended to be done again when the pressure of authority has been removed, the act has not helped to form a habit and has been of no service whatever in the development of character. So too a feeling or emotion in favour of what is right is of little or no formative value if it be merely transient. Unless it affects the permanent character of your scholar's tastes and moral preferences it does nothing, and your labour, in so far as you are seeking to form in him a strong and manly character, is absolutely thrown away.

Intellectual food and digestion.

That which is digested wholly, says Coleridge, and part of which is assimilated and part rejected, is *food*. That which is digested wholly and the whole of which is partly assimilated and partly not is *medicine*. That which is digested but not assimilated is *poison*. That which is neither digested nor assimilated is mere *obstruction*.

This is as true in the spiritual and intellectual as in the physical organism. What is learned in such a way that is neither digested nor assimilated is not food at all, it is mere obstruction, there is no nourishment in it;

its presence disturbs or deranges other healthy functions; it does nothing to affect character or to sustain life.

Punishments.

Now in the light of these general reflections, what have we to say of punishments? They affect conduct certainly. But conduct does not make character unless our acts are habitual, unless it comes to pass that certain forms of action become by degrees more natural to us, so to speak, than others. Single isolated acts have little or no influence on the character. It is the repeated act — the often repeated act, the act so often repeated that it becomes almost automatic and spontaneous, which alone can be said to shape the future life of the man, and possibly to be reproduced in his posterity. We may well think of this if we try to inflict punishment. It may deter, it undoubtedly does deter from certain specific acts, so long as the fear of the punishment or the watchfulness of the person who inflicts it lasts. But the moment these are withdrawn, the motive for doing or refraining from doing a given act disappears; and it is found that the punishment has never touched the inner life of the pupil at all; it has done nothing to affect the character which will be assumed and perpetuated in future. Nay, perhaps it has done something. It may have roused a spirit of rebellion and reaction, in consequence of which the kind of act which you have checked and punished will become more habitual than before.

Moral precepts.

And what are we to say of the moral precepts, those broad general aphorisms about moral conduct, which fill so large a space in all good books, especially those good books that are written for children? To us who are grown people, who have had some experience of life, much of the experience thus gathered up by careful induction assumes the form of general propositions, maxims, rules of conduct. But of what avail are these

to a little child? He has had none of this experience. He is concerned at present with specific acts, but large generalizations about principles of conduct do not affect him. Did you ever hear of a boy who was deterred from quarrelling because he had written "Cancel animosities" twenty times in his copy-book? Do you think Laertes, in his green youth, was much impressed with the aphorisms of his pedantic old father,

> Give thy thoughts no tongue,
> Nor any unproportioned thought, his act?

Do you think that any child in a Sunday School becomes reverent and obedient because he learns by heart a formula enjoining him to "order himself lowly and reverently before his betters"? The truth is that these universal maxims presuppose a riper age, and a larger experience, before they can be felt to have any validity, nay, before they have any meaning. To a few prematurely thoughtful children such maxims may be intelligible and useful. Of an average child it may be affirmed that he knows something of individuals, and can understand something of his relations to them; but about humanity, about mankind as a whole, about the claims of society, he neither knows nor cares. Nor can he, as a rule, appreciate large universal rules of conduct or of human duty in any sense. I can think of only three conditions under which such general rules can influence his character at all. Those who enjoin them may follow them up by such a watchful supervision of specific acts, and by such guarded arrangements for preventing wrong-doing, that in time it may become easier for the scholar to obey than to disobey, and the general law of conduct may fix itself on your pupil, not because he has learned it by heart, but because he has practised it by heart. There is a second condition on which it is possible that

When general rules are operative.

a universal rule or precept may become operative. It is that in expressing it you have so appealed to the intelligence and the conscience of the child, so enabled him to see its meaning or its direct application, that he recognizes its force, admires it, sympathizes with your motive in inculcating it, and makes up his mind that it will be well with him if through life he obeys it. The third possible condition under which a general maxim can be of use is that he who enforces it inspires so much affection and reverence, that without understanding it fully or seeing its bearing on conduct, the pupil accepts it as a matter of course. This is the sort of influence which leads a man to say in after life, "Ah, I remember my dear old master used to tell us, 'If you do not want to be known to do a thing, don't do it.'" So a general maxim of conduct may become impressed on a child by challenging his intelligence, his affection, or his experience. But if it comes to him in none of these three ways, if it is only urged on him by authority, committed to memory, and enforced as an abstract ethical truth, it simply comes to nothing. It may be very satisfactory to you to hear it accurately recited or to see it written down in a copy-book. But it has no vital force, no value, and for the child at the beginning of life, scarcely any interest or meaning.

The bright, audacious Shelley astonished his father at nineteen by some startling expressions of heterodox opinion and by shewing himself in flat rebellion against all the conventional beliefs and usages in which he had been brought up. His father insisted on making Percy read Paley's *Evidences*. When young Coleridge, in the fervour of his young republicanism, had just read Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, and declared himself converted, his schoolmaster, old Bowyer of Christ's Hospital, called

him into his private room and gave him a thrashing.[1] Can anyone suppose for a moment that in either case the boy was tamed or convinced? The remedy was utterly unadapted to the disorder. It was neither nourishing nor medicinal. It was rejected. It left the patient heated, irritated, and rebellious, farther from orthodoxy than ever.

Didactic teaching.

Didactic and formal moral teaching is often strangely overvalued. To those who are unskilled in the art of communicating truth to young children, it appears the most obvious and easy form of instruction. Nothing seems simpler than to set a lesson containing precepts or religious truths to be learned by heart. Yet it is often the least effective of expedients. For after all, acquiescence is not knowledge. It is not even opinion, still less does it deserve to be called faith. We may assent to any number of propositions, without being in the least degree the wiser or better for such assent, if they have not secured the adhesion of the intellect or of the moral sympathies. And such adhesion can only be secured when the proposition is brought into consciousness by clear statement, and by an effort to understand it. "Truths," says Coleridge, "of all others the most awful and interesting are too often considered as *so* true that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bedridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors."[2]

Experiences of childhood.

In seeking to ascertain for ourselves what forms of instruction and discipline are really operative upon the life of a pupil and carry in them the germs of future growth; and on the other hand what teaching it is that touches only the shell and husk of his being,

[1] *Biographia Literaria.*

[2] *Aids to Reflection,* Aphorism 1.

and never penetrates to the sources of life at all, we do well to recur more often than we do to our own experience as learners. Those of you who are young teachers are not so far removed from childhood as to have lost the power to do this. Older teachers must supply the lapse of memory by imagination and experience. But in one way or another we should seek to put ourselves in the attitude of mind which is occupied by our pupils, to hear lessons with their ears and to see illustrations with their eyes. The elementary teacher is going, let us say, to give a lesson on some new fact in Natural History. He gets together his whole formidable apparatus of black-board, pictures, diagrams, and specimens. But the testing question for him is not —"How does the sketch of this lesson look in my notes or on the board? How will the lesson display my powers to the best advantage? In what light will it appear in the eyes of the head master, the inspector, or the adult critic?" but "What should I have thought of this lesson when I was a child sitting on that bench? How would it have impressed me? How should I have liked it? How much of it should I have remembered or cared to remember?" In like manner, it may be, he is about to select a piece of poetry for recitation. He is tempted to think first of its length, the appropriateness of its moral, the ease with which it may be explained, the sort of exercise it will give in elocution and in taste. But it will be well also to put the question, "How far should I have been stimulated and enriched if, at that age, I had learned the same verses? Would they have remained in my memory now? Should I, at any time in the interval, have found my leisure brightened or my thoughts raised by remembering them?" That is a very valuable test. Understand as well as you can contrive to

do, the learner's point of view, and criticise yourself from that stand-point. Ah! if preacher and congregation, if teacher and class could change places now and then, and if those who sit before us could only frankly tell us what they are thinking of us and our teaching, what interesting revelations we should obtain! Perchance that look of dumb bewilderment and vacuity with which we sometimes find ourselves confronted, would, were it to shape itself into articulate utterance, be fain to find expression in some such words, as those once used with a very different meaning: "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep."

The law of environment.

One of the most important of the laws revealed in recent biological researches is that of environment. New variations and new species of plants and animals are evolved, and the nature of their development is largely — though not wholly — determined by the conditions in which they live. Soil, light, climate, the nearness or distance from other bodies, affect the growth of plants.[1] The same conditions and many others affect that of animals, — whether there is an abundance or a scarcity of food within reach, whether the animal is in a wild or

[1] "The process of modification has effected and is effecting decided changes in all organisms subject to modifying influences. In successive generations these changes continue until ultimately the new conditions become the natural ones. In cultivated plants, domesticated animals, and in the several races of men such alterations have taken place. The degrees of difference so produced are often, as in dogs, greater than those on which distinctions of species are in other cases founded. The changes daily taking place in ourselves, the facility that attends long practice, and the loss of aptitude that begins when practice ceases, the strengthening of passions habitually gratified, and the weakening of those habitually curbed, the development of every faculty — bodily, moral, or intellectual — according to the use made of it, are all explicable on this same principle." — Edward Clodd, *Pioneers of Evolution*, p. 112.

domesticated state, whether its habits are solitary or gregarious, — all these are circumstances which have to be regarded in explaining the evolution of new characteristics or of new species. And it is manifest that similar considerations cannot be absent when we are trying to trace the development of human institutions or of human character. In past ages, one of the problems of profoundest interest has always been, "How far are man's character and destiny controlled by circumstances, and how far is it in his power to control them?" The Greek tragedians were continually trying to present this problem in new lights, and to invite their countrymen to reflect on it. You have an Orestes or an Œdipus impelled by a pitiless Fate to the commission of crimes which they abhorred, or a Prometheus enduring unmerited sufferings with heroic dignity, even though he knows that the man who is to deliver him is not yet born; and all the while the gods looking down with sublime impassiveness, or with a pity near akin to contempt. The Greek hero has no alternative. He must either contend vainly against a remorseless fate, or must submit and shew the world

> How sublime a thing it is
> To suffer and be strong.

The conditions of our life as determinants of character

Modern science and experience are presenting to us the same problem in a different form. Mr Buckle has taken pains to demonstrate the uniformity of human action under given conditions. He shews you that the number of murders, of suicides, even the proportion of accidents and follies, is curiously unvarying from year to year. He leaves on you the impression that, granted a certain set of conditions, man's action can pretty well be predicted, in fact that he cannot do otherwise than he does. Another philosopher expounds the doctrine of heredity, and shews how some people come into the

world weighted with the effect of the follies and vices of their ancestors, and practically unable to fight the battle of life on fair terms with their competitors. Thus the conditions of man and of his environment come to be the substitute for the cruel Fate or Nemesis of Greek tragedy; and even as the Athenian was brought to the conviction that it was vain to war against the decrees of the high gods, so the man of the nineteenth century is half persuaded by the sociologists to believe that his life and character are moulded by conditions which he did not make, that he, too, is the sport of Fate and of circumstance, and has no responsibility for either. At first sight this is the most disheartening of all conclusions. One is fain to rebel against it and to say, "I came into the world without my own consent. I did not choose my parents. I find myself encompassed by influences which are very unfavourable to the development of what is best in me, which are shaping me into something I do not approve and have not desired. I cannot fight against these conditions. I succumb to them, and must leave the responsibility to be borne elsewhere."

How far these conditions are alterable at will.

Second thoughts, however, will go far to modify these dispiriting conclusions. Grant that we and our children are the products to a large extent of the conditions under which we live. It is at least in our power to alter those conditions. Say that the amount of theft and of drunkenness is uniform under the existing social arrangements. Everything you do to make those arrangements better, by diminishing temptation, by increased vigilance in detecting crime, — every library you open, every good book you cheapen, every new form of innocent outlet you can find for the natural activity and restlessness which, in the absence of innocent exercise, takes the form of turbulence or vice, is a new factor in the problem, and makes the

conditions of the life of the next generation more favourable than those of the present. Herein lie the solace and the inspiration of all true philanthropists. The character of our successors will be, let us admit, determined not so much by our wishes, nor by our exhortations. It will be largely the resultant of all the powers and tendencies which will make up the conditions of their environment. Then let us improve those conditions. That at least is in our power to do to some extent, for society and for ourselves. Who can tell what effect the multiplication of good schools will have on the next generation? A young man finds himself placed by the accident of his birth in the midst of uncongenial surroundings. He cannot wholly escape from them; but he can do something to alter them for the better. He attaches himself to a society in which there is a higher tone of thinking and of acting than his own. He joins a library, a reading party, or a field naturalist's club. By any one of these acts he does in fact place himself in a new environment, and gives some of his better faculties a new chance for development.

The moral atmosphere of a school.

And what is true of a teacher's own life is true in regard to the life of a school. Given a place of instruction in which there is an unskilled and unobservant discipline, and you may safely predict that there will be a curious uniformity in the percentage of rebellious and even of vicious acts. But alter the conditions. Let the new teacher be wary and watchful, let him be in sympathy with every effort to do right; let him make carefully considered plans and resolutely adhere to them, and the phenomena will be altered and the proportion of wrong acts will steadily diminish. The character of pupils is unconsciously moulded by the sort of moral atmosphere which is breathed in a school. We inspectors and educational critics are sometimes laughed at for talking

of the *tone* of a school. This is, we are told, an intangible entity, incapable of measurement, not to be set down in schedules or reports. That is very true. But the tone of a school is something very real nevertheless. It means, as I understand it, the prevailing spirit of the place, its cheerfulness, the mutual helpfulness of its members, its love of work, its orderly freedom, its well-directed ambition, its scorn of meanness or subterfuge; the public opinion of an organized body of fellow-workers, all in their several degrees helping one another to fulfil the highest purposes of a school. The scholar who enters a community favourably conditioned in these respects, and who inhales its atmosphere, is in a training school of virtue and of self-knowledge, whatever may happen to be the subjects taught or professed in it. Years hence the man may indeed look back and say, I could not recall any lesson I learned in that school in the form in which I learned it; but I shall all my life feel grateful for the bright and encouraging example of the master, for the strenuous and honest spirit in which work was done, for the intellectual stimulus which the place afforded, for the high ideal of duty and of honour which dominated all its work. Let those of us who are teachers, now and then criticise ourselves and our schools from this point of view. Let us ask ourselves not only, What do these pupils learn, how do they succeed in examinations, what triumphs do they win? but also, What sort of influences are those which, though they work unconsciously, make the moral environment of the learner, and will determine his future growth?

Influence of the teacher's personal character.

Nor will a true teacher ever lose sight of the fact that the most important of the factors that make up this moral and spiritual environment is himself. The school is influenced not only by what he says and does,

but by what he is, by his tastes, his preferences, his bearing, his courtesy, the breadth of his sympathy, the largeness and fulness of his life. Boys do not respect their master's attainments unless they are sure that he knows a great deal more than he undertakes to teach. These things are not talked about in a school, but they are felt. So his first duty is to cultivate himself, to give full play to all that is best and worthiest in his character, before he can hope to cultivate others and bring out what is best and worthiest in them.

Natural selection.

And this reminds us of what is, after all, the cardinal article in the Darwinian hypothesis — the doctrine of natural selection. Animals and plants are indeed influenced by surrounding conditions; but from among those conditions there is in almost every organism a selective power; so that the nature of the growth is more influenced by some of those conditions than by others. A flower turns towards the light, a climbing plant stretches forth its tendrils in the direction in which strength and sustenance can be had. The organs of many an animal become in successive generations better and better adapted to its wants, by means of the selection from surrounding conditions of those best fitted for its own needs and development. Slight variations of form, of structure, or of colour occur from time to time; those of them which are most suitable and useful are accumulated and transmitted to successive generations; and it is found that those organisms which have been thus developed and improved have a better chance than others of survival after the struggle for existence. Sometimes this natural selection operates in a mysterious way, almost automatically and without conscious volition at all. The woodpecker or the mistletoe undergoes variations by which its structure is gradually adapted to the various

circumstances of its existence. In regard to the plumage of birds, the perpetuation of particular colours is due to something more like conscious preference, and is explained by Darwin's well-known phrase, sexual selection. But in the case of those organisms which are useful to man, there has often been intentional selection. The breed of race-horses has been improved from time to time by the selection of the fleetest. The gardener finds out the character of the soil and other conditions best fitted to rear plants possessing the peculiar qualities which have the highest commercial value. He wants, for example, to find which varieties of peach will best resist mildew; what kinds of vine culture are best fitted to withstand the deadly attack of the phylloxera, and with this view he tries various experiments in cross-fertilization and in culture. Darwin describes one very significant experiment tried with much success at the time of the prevalence of the potato disease. A farmer reared a great number of seedlings, exposed them all to infection, observed the effect, then ruthlessly destroyed all that suffered, saved those which succeeded best in resisting the infection, and then repeated the process. In this way, he believed it possible to rear a new variety of this vegetable which would resist the attacks of disease more successfully than any variety previously known.

Now to the innumerable phenomena of this kind in the world of the naturalist, is there anything analogous in the world with which you and I are chiefly concerned — the world of human experience and training? Much every way. It is certain that man's powers and faculties may, by due cultivation, be strengthened and transmitted to posterity. It is certain also that of the numerous conditions and circumstances that encompass a human

life, some are favourable and some are unfavourable to the development of what is best in it; and that it is possible by the selection of what is favourable and the rejection of what is unfavourable, a people, a nation, a race, a single being may gradually improve. But what is more important than all, man is, so far as we know, the only being in the universe that knows anything of this law, or is able consciously to use his power of selection with a distinct moral purpose. I say "so far as we know," for it is right to be guarded here against unverified assumptions. As Sydney Smith once said, "The lower animals are at a disadvantage, since they have no lecturers to discourse on our faculties." I wish they had. It would be worth something if we could have only five minutes' insight into the interior of a dog's mind, and learn what view he takes of us, and of the universe. But in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we are at liberty to say that to man alone is it given to use the law of natural selection with a real forecast of its meaning and tendency, and that while with the lower animals there is the struggle for mere existence, it is given only to him to struggle intentionally after a higher and better existence both for himself and for posterity.

Conscious selection of the fittest conditions.

Let us view the bearing of these combinations on the development of human character, and especially on our own efforts after self-improvement. I speak in the presence of some young teachers, who have very recently taken upon themselves the perilous responsibility of managing their own life and fashioning their career. Well, you find yourself surrounded by a variety of conditions, and you know that some of them are favourable and that some are hostile to the development in you of that character which you wish to form. Without entering into the ancient and thorny controversy about the freedom of the will,

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everyone *knows* that it is in his power to choose the good and to refuse the evil. "See," said Moses, "I have set before you this day life and good, and death and evil. Therefore choose life, that ye may live." And this is as true now as in the patriarchal days. You are not bound to drift along in life, succumbing merely to the strongest and nearest of these conditions. It is at least in your power to choose by which of these you mean to be most influenced, and which of them it will be best to resist. You have access to many books. You will not read them all. But you know well that there are some books from the perusal of which you rise refreshed and strengthened, with higher aims and purer resolutions; and there are others, from which you rise with a sense that you have been in a stifling, heated, and unwholesome atmosphere, and which leave you with weakened faculties or a lower ideal of life. You are surrounded by acquaintances and associations. They are not of your making. You are not responsible for this environment. But you are responsible for the selection you make. Among those with whom you are thrown into contact, there are some whose influence you feel to be helpful and ennobling; in whose presence your best qualities are called out into exercise. There are others from whom you get no help, and in whose presence there is nothing to encourage your highest aspirations or your most strenuous efforts. It is by deliberately stretching forth the tendrils, so to speak, of your own nature, by clinging to the best of what is within your reach, and shrinking from that which is worst, that you are able, as the Bible says, to "go from strength to strength"; and to make each step in life a new point of departure for your social and spiritual improvement. It is a trite thing to remind you of Shakespeare's well-worn comparison of the world

to a stage, and ourselves, the men and women in it, to the players. But I do it for the purpose of quoting to you a remark of George Eliot which is not trite, but which seems to me to have a profound meaning. "How happy," she says, "is that man who is called on to play his part in the presence of an audience which habitually demands his best."[1] Now among the surrounding conditions which determine the growth of a character, one of the most potent is the character of the audience before which our work is done. Some of us are compelled to do our work under the fierce light of public criticism — let us be thankful if it is so — but many others live and move in the midst of a sheltered and uncritical community. It is one of the special dangers of a teacher's calling that many hours of every day are necessarily passed by him in the presence of a young audience, which not only does not demand from him his best, but will often be very well content with his worst. We are not in this respect the masters of our own circumstances. But within certain limits, it is in our power to choose the witnesses of our own work; and unless some part of that work at least is performed under the eye of those who challenge the exercise of our best and highest powers, we may be sure that those powers will either be imperfectly exercised or not exercised at all.

Degeneration.

For there is in Nature a law of degeneration working side by side with the law of development. An organ or a faculty may, by constant exercise, be strengthened and perpetuated; or by continuous neglect and disuse it may in time perish altogether. If you abstain for a time from the exercise of any power you possess, you find ere long that this power is well nigh incapable of exercise. There are in the human organism, as in that of many inferior

[1] *Middlemarch.*

creatures, traces and survivals of organs once active, but now existing only in a rudimentary state. I can, *e.g.*, by an effort of will, move my eyelids and the skin of my forehead; but I cannot in like manner twitch or move the skin of the scalp at the back of my head. Yet there are traces of a muscular apparatus — the *panniculus carnosus* — by which other parts of the skin were voluntarily moveable, and probably were moved by some remote ancestor of mine. For centuries, however, my forefathers have failed to make use of this apparatus, and now it is practically dead. I could not bring it into play if I would.

Unused faculties.

Now there is much that is analogous to this in the history of our own minds, and in the mental and spiritual phenomena around us. We sit down to read a novel or a newspaper. The eye glances hastily down the page. All that we want to gain we acquire in the most cursory way and without any consciousness of effort. Let us suppose we do this for a few days together, and that then we try to take in hand a book which demands real intellectual exertion — say Sir William Hamilton's *Dissertations* or John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*. The eye traverses the page at the same rate as before, and we find at the end that we have gained no idea whatever. We have to brace our minds to a real effort of attention, and to begin again. We are startled to discover that the power of concentrating the whole of our mental forces on one subject at a time, and of following the train of a difficult piece of argument seems for the time to have departed from us. At any rate we know well that it has been enfeebled for want of exercise, and that if we go on much longer reading nothing but what is easy and agreeable, that power will perish altogether, beyond reach of recovery. Nature will not be trifled with. She

gives us powers and faculties; but she does not undertake to keep them bright and vigorous and always fit for use. An unused faculty becomes in time an unusable faculty. So the practical conclusion for all those who care about the regulation of their own minds is, that even in miscellaneous reading there should be some subject or some book which challenges the employment of all the best powers, and forces the reader to bring his whole strength to bear in understanding it. Otherwise he will be doing injustice to his own faculties and slowly but surely reducing them to the rank of rudimentary organs in the animal structure, interesting but wholly worthless survivals of what once might have been potent instruments, but will never be so again.

Progression or retrogression.

In the natural world, it must be remembered, evolution does not always imply progress towards perfection. It may mean progress in the other direction. There is, as Mr Huxley once said, "a constant re-adjustment of the organism in adaptation to new conditions; but it depends on the nature of those conditions, whether the direction taken by those modifications is upward or downward. Retrogressive change is quite as possible as progressive change." And this is true and still more manifest in the moral world. Hence every power with which teachers are concerned, as a part of the organic equipment of their pupils, is constantly undergoing change in the direction either of development or deterioration. The process of evolution in a human character never stops. Attention, memory, observation and reasoning power, reverence, affection, aspiration after better things — all the attributes which you want to see exemplified in the life of your pupils, are day by day either enfeebled or strengthened by what happens in your school. You have, it may be, nothing in your course of studies which

specially cultivates observation — the art of seeing carefully, noting resemblances and differences, and describing afterwards with perfect accuracy what has been seen. For all the higher purposes of education, it matters very little what kind of natural objects are selected with a view to the proper exercise of this faculty. Flowers in a field, trees in a forest, pictures in a gallery, statues in a cathedral, machines in a factory, or shop windows in High Street, would all serve the purpose, if only the power of seeing clearly, and of knowing well what had and what had not been seen, were once encouraged. But a school course which includes no one item designed specially to cultivate this one faculty, is seriously deficient as a means of training, however much Latin or mathematics or other useful knowledge has been gained. The boy brought up in such a school suffers from the slow deterioration of his observant faculty, and becomes a less accurate and trustworthy person for the rest of his life.

It is not a little curious to notice that the life of Darwin himself illustrates the way in which certain mental powers and aptitudes degenerate and become useless. In early life he enjoyed poetry, and read Thomson, Byron, Scott and Shelley with genuine delight, but the taste for poetry gradually disappeared. He was once fond of Shakespeare, especially of the historical plays, but in his old age he found the same plays "so intolerably dull that they nauseated him." Long after, he mourned over these limitations and of the loss which he had thus sustained:

> "This curious and lamentable loss of the higher æsthetic tastes is all the odder, as books on history, biographies and travels (independently of any scientific facts they may contain) and essays on all sorts of subjects interest me as much as ever they did. My mind seems to have become a machine for grinding general laws out

of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. A man with a mind more highly organized or better constituted than mine would not, I suppose, have thus suffered, and if I had to live my life again I would have made a rule to read some poetry, and listen to some music at least once every week, for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have been kept active through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness and may possibly be injurious to the intellect and more probably to the moral character by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."[1]

The law of divergence in plants and animals,

There are no facts more familiar to the student of evolution than those which are grouped together by Darwin under what he calls the law of divergence. A plot of land will yield a greater weight if cropped with several species of grass than with one or two species only. "An organism becomes more perfect and more fitted to survive, when by division of labour the different functions of life are performed by different organs. In the same way a species becomes more efficient and better able to survive, when different sections of the species become differentiated so as to fulfil different functions. * * * The more diversified the descendants from any one species become in structure, constitution and habit, by so much will they be better enabled to seize on many and widely diversified places in the polity of nature, and so be enabled to increase in numbers." "In the general economy of any land, the more widely and perfectly the animals are diversified for different habits of life, so will a greater number of individuals be capable of supporting themselves. A set of animals with their organization but little diversified could hardly compete with a set more perfectly diversified in structure.

[1] *Darwin's Life and Letters.* Autobiographical Chapter.

It may be doubted, for instance, whether the Australian marsupials, which are divided into groups differing but little from each other, and feebly representing our carnivorous ruminant and rodent mammals, can successfully compete with these well-developed orders. In the Australian mammals we see the process of diversification in an early and incomplete stage of development."[1]

and in social institutions,

In this respect the history of the human race has closely resembled that of animals and plants. "During the period in which the earth has been peopled, the human organism has grown more heterogeneous among the civilized natives of the species, and the species as a whole has been made more heterogeneous by the multiplication of races and the differentiation of these races from each other." We may see this in comparing primitive and savage races with those which are more civilized. In the former, life is very monotonous. The men hunt and kill, they build huts all of one pattern, the women perform certain household duties, one day is like another; one family like another. "Each portion of the community performs the same duties with every other portion, much as each slice of the polyp's body is alike stomach, muscle, skin and lungs. Even the chiefs, in whom a tendency towards separateness of function first appears, still retain their similarity to the rest in economic respects. The next stage is distinguished by a segregation of these social units into a few distinct classes — warriors, priests, or slaves. A farther advance is seen in the sundering of the labourers into different castes having special occupations, as among the Hindoos. From these inferior types of society up to our own complicated and more perfect one, the progress has ever

[1] *Origin of Species*, p. 40.

been of the same nature."[1] Thus the whole tendency of civilization is towards diversity. New forms of human activity and ambition, new styles of building, new occupations, new interests, come into view. The world becomes enriched by the multiplication of new types of character, of taste, of employment, and of intellectual life. Variation begets variation. I do not think that Tennyson's is a true forecast when he says that

> "The individual withers and the world is more and more."

Uniformity, whether of manners, of pursuits, of conduct, or of belief, is not the goal towards which we are tending; nor, if we consider the matter rightly, is it the goal towards which we should wish to tend. The resources of Nature are not exhausted. In the moral and spiritual world, as in the world of outward nature, there is yet room for the development of new forms of beauty and of worthiness, far transcending any that have hitherto been known or even suspected.

and in intellectual character.

Now in view of this universal experience, let us consider for a moment what should be the attitude of a teacher's mind towards the scholars who surround him and towards their varied idiosyncrasies and types of character. Is he to think it a high triumph to be able to say, "The boys in my school or in my house are all of one mind. They all take an interest in my pet subject; they have all accepted my creed, they all have the *cachet*, the stamp of character which I admire most and which I have sought to impress upon them"? That after all seems a poor sort of professional success. Subject of course to those general conditions as to instruction and discipline which apply to all scholars

[1] Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*.

alike, the more varied the tastes, the aptitudes, and even the opinions of those scholars are, the better. With the voice of all nature as his guide, the wise schoolmaster will be less anxious to enforce on his pupils *the* truth as he knows it than to encourage in them the habit of veracity, the spirit of honest enquiry; the openness and fairness of mind which will enable them to recognize and to welcome all truth, whatever form it may take, and even to discover new truths, hitherto unsuspected. The measure of his success and of the degree in which as a teacher he is enriching the world and posterity, is the amount of variation in the types of ability and goodness which are developed among his pupils. No doubt it is very pleasant and flattering to the natural man to find one's own favourite ideal of excellence reproduced in one's scholars. But the best teachers are those who recognize the fact that there are other possible forms of excellence not contemplated in their own programme, and who rejoice to find any new and unexpected manifestations of the presence of exceptional powers.

Special aptitudes and tastes.

I know how difficult it is for a hard-worked teacher with a large class to concern himself much with the special aptitudes of individual scholars. I know how convenient it is to find all our good scholars good in our own way; and all our clever scholars clever in doing the work which we prescribe. Eccentricity, dreaminess, indulgence in fancies and in impossible ideals — these are apt to be troublesome phenomena to a teacher and to disturb his plans. But they may nevertheless be the very best part of the equipment of the young soul. They may perchance be indications of God-given power and genius, destined, in their after fulfilment, to effect great ends, which are beyond our ken. Let us not discourage

or repress them. One of the most affectionate parents of whom history has preserved a record once said, as you will remember, on an occasion on which her child seemed to be entering on a line of conduct which she had not planned for him, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, we have sought thee sorrowing." And then, as you know, came the grave and tender rebuke: "How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" "Our Father's business!" What boundless possibilities of hope and energy, of high endeavour and noble achievement are comprised in that simple phrase! How far its meaning transcends any conceivable programme of life which the wisest teacher or parent can devise!

How far they should be encouraged.

The practical conclusion from these considerations is that we should try to give to each of the varied powers and aptitudes of pupils—whether they have been already disclosed or are yet latent—a good chance of healthy life. Herein lies the justification of the American plan of 'elective studies'; the multiplication of different alternative departments or triposes in which a degree may be taken in our English Universities; and the establishment of modern sides in our public schools. They all help the differentiation of faculties and of types of character. To this end a teacher has first of all to take care that his ordinary course of instruction includes for every scholar the rudiments of language, of mathematics, and of physical science, and some form of æsthetic or art culture; then as soon as special preference reveals itself, he should encourage the adoption—though not the exclusive adoption—of the chosen line. And for the rest, it is well to surround and supplement the school life with as many and varied encouragements to wholesome activity as possible. Athletic clubs,

dramatic and musical societies, field excursions, a magazine, a workshop, a discussion class, a French conversation class, a sketching club—all these have their use; nearly all of them can easily be provided in a great boarding school, and some of them are found to work admirably in day schools of different grades. Of course no boy will be attracted to them all; but every one of them is a legitimate outlet for mental activity, and for the taste and natural preference of some pupil or other. We need not take too much pains to determine these preferences nor feel disheartened when even our favourite pupils are attracted most to those particular objects which seem to us to be least valuable or appropriate. Let us take care only that all the forms of intellectual activity which are placed within the reach of a pupil are in themselves healthy and free from evil, and then let the law of natural selection operate freely. Congratulate yourself when you find him showing a genuine interest in anything. Despair only when you find him interested in nothing. For then indeed there must be some serious defect in your plans or your influence, and both need to be amended. We are safe at least in deducing this one conclusion from the teaching of natural history—that a human character, like other organisms, thrives best when exposed to variable conditions, for then only has it a chance of selecting those which are most favourable to the development of what is best and fittest in and for itself.

Eccentricity.

But while urging on you the duty of encouraging varieties of character and leaving full scope for the exercise of special gifts I would not have you try to stimulate eccentricity or to aim at the production of abnormal phenomena among your scholars. Monstrosities are nearly always sterile. A giant or a dwarf, or a

two-headed nightingale, is an amusing — nay even an interesting phenomenon, but is in no wise an exemplar. An Admirable Crichton, a John Stuart Mill, who could read Plato at eight, a George Bidder, the calculating boy, who could mentally extract the cube root of a line of ten figures, are exceptional. They are not types which you desire to reproduce. *Natura non facit saltum.* It is not by leaps and bounds, or by the occasional production of prodigies, that the progress of the race is to be attained. It is the healthy, well-nurtured boy, enabled and helped by means of circumstance and training to become a little better than his father, who is most likely in his time to become the parent of something better still. It is disputed among naturalists, whether acquired qualities are transmissible by inheritance. But whether this is so or not in the domain of organic nature, it is certainly true in the realm of the philosopher and the teacher, and in relation to human character. There is a sense in which all the scholars who come within the sphere of your influence may be regarded as your intellectual posterity. For they will certainly inherit from you, scarcely less than from their parents, attributes and tastes which, consciously or unconsciously, will go far to mould the character of those who come after them.

Evolution a hopeful creed.

And from this point of view the Darwinian hypothesis and all the facts which biologists have accumulated are full of illimitable promise for the future of the race, and of encouragement to the true and earnest teacher. It may be that within the narrow span of history known to us we have seen few examples of new physical types, and no tendency to the production of new species of humanity. Yet the law of evolution is visibly at work in the spiritual, the social, and the mental world. New forms of cerebral development,

new types of goodness, wiser forms of philanthropy, new triumphs over the material world, new insight into the moral world, greater knowledge of the forces which are at work around us, greater skill in the manipulation of these forces, broader sympathies, and truer conceptions of the brotherhood of man, — all these are possible. In all these respects, as in nature herself, progress tends towards differentiation, not to uniformity. And every earnest, faithful teacher in the world, however small the area of his work, however humble his sphere, is helping forward this beneficent process.

The promise of the future.

"Say not thou," says the Hebrew king, "what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." In the twilight of history, the outlines of many ugly things become softened, and some good things become magnified by distance. Much of insolence and brutality may have been sheltered under the name of chivalry; a helpless and ignorant acquiescence may easily have assumed the disguise of unity of faith. To an old man with a feeble imagination and strong self-love it seems natural that he should become a *laudator temporis acti;* should be impatient of modern movements; and underneath a general reluctance to change should conceal an unexpressed conviction that a world in the shaping of which *he* can have no part, must necessarily be worse than its predecessor. But I believe that the most hopeful forecasts of the future are on the whole the truest. The wisest old men I know are not those who are ever moaning over the degeneracy of the age, but those who believe that the world is visibly growing better; and that in the midst of many discouragements, the general march of events is steadily towards righteousness and intelligence, towards moral and social amelioration.

In this respect Charles Darwin differed widely from Carlyle and Ruskin. Nothing has struck me more in brief conversation with all three of these eminent persons, than the contrast between the deep gloom and hopelessness with which Carlyle and Ruskin regarded the tendencies of our age and the cheerful hope and faith in the future which marked all Darwin's utterances.

I know no more animating thought for a young man entering life and conscious of power than the reflection that he is not living for himself alone, but that all his own strivings after excellence and after a higher life are distinct even though humble contributions to the improvement of the race to which he belongs. Every truth he learns, every sweet and graceful image which a poet may have helped him to harbour in his heart, every piece of good work he achieves, does something to alter for the better the conditions of life for those with whom he comes in contact. It helps to make the path of duty and of honourable ambition easier, safer, more accessible, more attractive to all who come after him. And perchance it may enable some of them to say years hence, "We are grateful for his memory. This world is a better world for us to live in because he lived in it."

LECTURE IV

THE TRAINING OF THE REASON

The art of thinking. Reason *v.* understanding. Two processes of arriving at truth. The deductive process, *e.g.* in geometry, and in arithmetic. An arithmetical example. Measures and multiples. The number nine. Oral demonstration of arithmetical principles. Inductive reasoning. Practical work essential in the study of the physical sciences. Two neglected branches of physical enquiry. Natural History; Astronomy. Meteorology. Object lessons. Inductive exercises in language. Examples of verbal analysis. Apposition. Induction the test of the value of educational methods. Child study. The three stages of progress in inductive science. The Kindergarten. Religious teaching to be largely judged by its results on character. The School a laboratory. Results.

The art of thinking.

I SUPPOSE it will be admitted that one of the main objects to be attained in education is to teach our pupils how to think — to think consecutively, closely, and effectively — and so to receive the discipline which will enable them to arrive at truth. This is a necessity *au fond*, it has relation not to this or that subject of instruction, but to all subjects alike. Man is a reasoning animal, and the one thing which distinguishes him from all other animals is his power to reflect and to reason. Kant has insisted strongly on the philosophical importance of the distinction between Reason and Understanding, between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*. "The latter," says Coleridge,

Reason v. *Understanding.*

"suggests the materials of reasoning; the former decides upon them. The Understanding can only say, This is or perhaps will be so; the Reason says, It *must* be so." And it is to this "large discourse," this "looking before and after," the power of generalizing, of inferring, of tracing events and facts to their causes and their consequences that Shakespeare refers when he says that "the capability and God-like reason" must not be permitted to rust in us unused. Strictly speaking, there is in the lower animals no such faculty as *reason*, of which traces can be found; but of *understanding*, that is, the knowledge of particular facts, and the power to profit by experience and to adapt actions to circumstances, you have abundant evidence. In different degrees we find the presence of this lower faculty exhibited by dogs, horses, monkeys and other animals; and moreover we discover from inductions supplied by zoölogists that the understanding appears as a general rule in an inverse proportion to the instinct. We hear little or nothing of the *instinct* of what Pope, by a poetic hyperbole, calls the 'half-reasoning elephant,' and as little of the *understanding* of caterpillars and butterflies. But *reason*, in its true sense, appears to be denied equally to the highest and to the lowest of the brutes; "otherwise we should wholly attribute it to them; and with it, therefore, self-consciousness, personality or moral being."[1]

Leaving, however, all speculations as to the degree of mental power possessed by the lower animals, and the proper name which should be given to that power; we are all agreed that the development of the thinking faculty in our pupils is one of our highest duties. Too many of our school lessons address themselves to the memory

[1] Coleridge, *The Friend*, I. 208.

and the receptive power only. So long as lessons are thus restricted, we are dealing with the understanding — *verstand* only. The higher faculty — the reason, *vernunft*, the power of advancing from one truth to another — claims its own special and appropriate cultivation; and demands fuller recognition in our school system. That men and women are richer, stronger, more fit to encounter the problems of life, and to fulfil its duties, in proportion to their power of orderly and accurate thinking, is a truism which we need not discuss, and which we may safely postulate as the basis of our present enquiry.

Two processes of arriving at truth.

It is a familiar truth, that there are two distinct processes by which the mind advances from one acquisition to another, and proceeds from the known to the unknown. They are the *deductive or synthetic* process and the *inductive or analytical* process.

By the former of these we mean the starting from some general and accepted axiom or postulate, and the discovery, by means of syllogism or pure inference, of all the detailed facts and conclusions which may be logically deducible from it. By induction we mean the process of proceeding from the particular facts which observation and experience bring into cognizance, to the larger general truth which co-ordinates and explains them all. In short, the deductive method starts with general propositions and proceeds to investigate them, but the method of induction is an operation for discovering and proving general propositions. It is true that these two methods of procedure are not so sharply divided in practice as in philosophic theory. For the axiom or postulate with which the geometrician starts is itself the product of an induction from experience. That "the whole is greater than its part," that "things which are

equal to the same things are equal to one another," that "seven times four yields the same product as four times seven" are not recognizable as self-evident propositions until a little thought and experience have shewn them to be necessarily true. And such thought and experience are in their nature examples of the inductive process. But once let these and the like fundamental truths be accepted, whether they are dependent on pure intuition, or are general statements seen to be involved even in the very meaning of the terms employed, they are no longer open to discussion and may be safely used henceforth as the legitimate bases of a deductive argument. They are so obviously trustworthy that they stand in no need of further verification from experience.

The deductive process, e.g. in geometry,

Now the typical example of the deductive process and of the methods by which the reasoning power advances from one truth to another by its means, is demonstrative geometry. Here the only hypotheses that can be taken for granted are distinctly and concisely stated at the outset; and nothing else is permitted to be assumed. You are not at liberty to say of two lines that they are equal because if you measure them you find them to be so, or because the diagram before you shews plainly that they look so. I remember my old mathematical teacher Professor De Morgan used purposely to distort the diagrams out of all recognizable shape, before he set us to demonstrate a proposition. He did this on principle, because he would not have us rely in any way on the help of the eye, when the whole exercise was to be one of pure thought and logical inference. There is a story of a student who reading Geometry with a tutor, and sorely puzzled with the 47th proposition, interrupted the lesson with the enquiry 'Was Euclid a good man?' 'Oh yes, I believe so.' 'I mean was he an honourable,

truthful man, who would not willingly deceive any one?' 'I have no reason to doubt it.' 'Well then, don't you think we might take his word for this proposition?' Of course the absurdity of this story lies in the fact that the result, the proved statement, has no value or interest in itself; and that the only use of the exercise is to be found in the process by which the result has been obtained. In that process, the student has been called on to follow a severe course of ratiocination, to shut out from his mind every irrelevant consideration, to proceed from one step to another by strictly scientific processes, and to believe nothing which he cannot prove. And these are experiences through which every one must go, if he would, in relation to any of the problems speculative or practical, which occur in life, understand well the difference between valid and invalid argument, between conclusions which are only plausible and those which are safe and trustworthy.

and in arithmetic.

I have in a former lecture in this place[1] expressed my opinion that intellectual discipline of this kind is in its own way just as valuable to scholars in the earlier as in the later stages of their training, and that even in the humblest schools the subject of arithmetic offers the best material for deductive exercise, and may be made to furnish training in the art of reasoning which relatively to the age of the pupil is fully as appropriate as exercise in the higher mathematics is to an older student. But one's voice is like that of one crying in the wilderness. In this country there is no practical recognition of the fact. Arithmetic is not treated as a branch of mathematics. We teach it as a contrivance for getting correct answers to problems and questions. Our mode of testing the results of arithmetical teaching is to set sums to be worked, and if the answer is right examiners do not

[1] Lectures on Teaching.

enquire too curiously as to the reasons of the methods employed, or as to the principles which those methods presuppose. Hence our methods of teaching are dominated by the methods of examiners, and the science of arithmetic is often unheeded in both. It is otherwise in France. There the humblest examination — that for the leaving certificate at the age of 12 or 13 at the end of the primary school course — requires not only the working out of problems, but a *solution raisonnée*. The notion that mathematical exercises have as their chief object the solution of problems is as little satisfying to the skilled teacher in a French elementary school as it is to a high wrangler. The rationale of arithmetical processes is to him a matter of more importance than with us.

An arithmetical example. Measures and multiples.

So at the risk of repeating an oft-told tale, I ask your leave further to illustrate the way in which even elementary exercises in Arithmetic may be made subservient to the training of young scholars in the art of reasoning. Take the subject of measures and multiples. I purposely choose this, because there is nothing commercial or visibly useful and practical in it, but simply because of its suitableness as an intellectual exercise. You need not begin by giving rules; but simply by describing the thing to be dealt with. Three is called a measure of 12, because a certain number of threes make 12; and 12 for this reason is called a multiple of 3. You call for other examples, 5 a measure of 20, 20 a multiple of 5, and you soon arrive at the proposition that if A is a measure of B, B is a multiple of A. Then in succession, you elicit, through questions and through examples supplied by pupils, the following axioms in succession: —

(1) That if one number measure another it must measure all multiples of that other. For if 3 is a measure of 6 it must be a measure of any number of sixes.

(2) That if one number measure two others it must measure their sum. For if 5 be a measure of 20 and also of 15 · it must be a measure of 35.

(3) That if one number measure two others it must measure their difference. For if 6 be a measure of 48 and also of 12, the difference between these two numbers must consist of a certain number of sixes. Hence

(4) That if a number measure both divisor and dividend it must measure the remainder. For the remainder is the difference between the dividend and a multiple of the divisor.

(5) If one number measure the divisor and remainder it must measure the dividend. For the dividend is the sum of the remainder and of a multiple of the divisor.

With these truths before you, you next ask what is to be done when we want to find the Common Measure of two numbers, say 266 and 637. We do not know and cannot easily tell by simple inspection what is the G. C. M. or even whether they have a Common Measure or not. So we will make one the divisor and the other the dividend :

```
266)637(2
    532
    ---
105)266(2
    210
    ---
 56)105(1
     56
     --
 49)56(1
     49
     --
  7)49(7
     49
     --
```

Proceeding step by step, we observe the number of which we are in search, if it exist, *i.e.* if 266 and 637 have a Common Measure, must also be a C. M. of 266 and 105 (Axiom 4). Apply the same test by making one of

these the dividend and the other the divisor, and it then appears successively that it must also be a C. M. of 56 and 49. But the number seven is found to fulfil this condition. Hence it is a measure of 266 and 637. But it is also the *greatest* C. M. For if there be a greater than 7 let it be x. Then x must be a measure also of 105, also of 56, also of 49, also of 7 itself, and this is plainly impossible. Wherefore the last divisor in such a series is always the Greatest Common Measure of the two numbers. Q. E. D.

The number nine.

Let us take one other example. In old books of Arithmetic much is often said of the properties of the number *nine*. There were rules for casting out nines, puzzles and conundrums were set involving the use of that number, and learners came to regard it as having some mysterious and occult qualities, which might serve as a sort of "Whetstone of Witt," but otherwise were objects rather of curious than of practical enquiry. Now of course there is no mystery or enigma about the number nine at all. What seems to be exceptional about it arises from two facts. (1) That ours is a system of notation which has ten for its base, and (2) that 9 is one less than ten. And on investigation it is seen that if our arithmetic had, say an octary instead of a decimal base, every one of the peculiar properties of the number 9 would belong to the number 7, or if ours were a duodecimal system the property would belong to the number eleven; because in each case the number would be one less than the number chosen as the base. Let us invite scholars to look at a line of figures taken at random:

732,865.

I ask would that number if tested prove to be divisible by nine? I do not know, but I add together the digits $7+3+2+8+6+5$, and I find they equal 31.

Now 31 when divided by 9 would leave a remainder 4. So it is also true that the number itself if divided by 9 leaves a remainder 4. We can test this statement by actual trial. For example,

$$9 \mid 732865$$
$$81429 + 4$$

Why should this be? The result is seen to be a necessary conclusion from the fact that we have a decimal system. For take each figure in succession. The first means 700000, but 100000 is made of 99,999 + 1. If 100000 were divided by 9, it would leave a remainder 1. Therefore if 7 times 100000 were divided by 9 it would leave a remainder 7. In like manner 30000 which is represented by the next figure would if divided by 9 leave a remainder 3, 2000 a remainder 2, 800 a remainder 8, 60 a remainder 6, and the 5 would remain undivided. Every digit in the whole number 732865 therefore represents a remainder after division by 9. Now if we add all these remainders together they make 31, and this number if divided by 9 leaves a remainder 4. Consequently the whole number if divided by 9 would leave the same remainder. Once seen in this way the interpretation of all the puzzles connected with this number becomes simple. Other applications of the same truth would soon become visible if the truth itself were once grasped. And many ingenious exercises might be devised both by teachers and pupils, so as to turn enquiries into the 'properties' of the number nine into a really intellectual discipline.

Oral demonstration of arithmetical principles.

So I counsel teachers when they have once given a demonstrative lesson of this or the like kind, and made their ground sure by questioning, and by the right use of examples furnished by their pupils, to call out one

scholar at a time and bid him take the numbers, and go through the explanation in the presence of the class. It is not enough that he should be able to reproduce a written demonstration in an examination paper. What you want is to secure that close attention, that keen perception of the several steps of an argument, and that due continuity of thought, which is only to be tested orally. In *writing* out a demonstration, there is room for delay, for after thoughts, for correction, possibly for the use of merely verbal memory. But it is only by challenging the scholar to stand up and reproduce your explanation in his own words, that you can secure the promptitude, the clearness of thought, and the stedfast concentration of the mental powers on the one subject in hand, which are necessary to make him a good reasoner; and so get out of mathematical exercise, whether in an elementary or a higher school, all the advantage which such exercise is capable of giving. Nothing struck me so much in the American schools as the large extent to which the scholars are trained to the habit of telling in their own words, and in sentences of their own construction, what they mean and what they know. This is a discipline very insufficiently cultivated here. We in England are often content to get from our pupils answers to questions, often in single words; and to infer from certain marks of sympathy, from the way in which the scholars fill up the *lacunæ* in our own sentences, that they are following us, and assimilating what we have taught. We get the pupil's assent to propositions, and are apt to think that enough. But the true teacher knows that mere acquiescence is not knowledge. So in America the teacher generally insists on having the answers in whole sentences, and it is a common practice to send the scholars one by one to the continuous black-

board which runs all round the class-room walls, and call on each to repeat in the presence of the class the demonstration of a theorem or the explanation of an arithmetical rule. At first, of course, it will be difficult to adopt this practice and it will consume a good deal of time. The pupils will be shy and awkward and unready. It is so much easier to sit in a desk and listen, and to make signs of assent than to face the class, and to draw on one's own resources. But once let the practice be recognized as part of the habitual discipline of the class it will become easier every time and will be found to have an excellent effect. It will not only assure you that what has been taught has been really learned, but also serve to quicken the attention and the intelligence of the scholars, because they know that this form of test is likely to be applied to them at the end of the lesson.

Inductive reasoning.

The other great instrument in thinking and reasoning is the *Inductive* method, that of proceeding from the observation of particulars to the discovery and proof of general propositions. The processes by which this result is attained are (1) observing of facts, (2) recording the facts which have been observed, (3) grouping and co-ordination, (4) suspension of judgment while the facts remain unverified, (5) experiment, (6) openness of mind to receive new evidence, (7) discrimination between relevant and irrelevant facts, (8) what Bacon in the *New Atlantis* calls "raising the result of former discoveries into greater observations, axioms and aphorisms"; in other words, arriving at large general truths, these truths themselves being only held provisionally, since they may possibly be absorbed or superseded by larger generalizations hereafter.

All these mental operations come into play at every

turn in our lives. Their value is most conspicuous in the pursuit of physical science, and no doubt it is in that region that the highest triumphs of the inductive method have been achieved. But we as teachers have also to think of the inductive method of study rather as generating a certain habit of mind, and as calling forth powers which are applicable to our views of history and morals, to our judgments of books and of one another, and to much of the business and conduct of our daily life. And in the formation of our own character and in fitting us to deal wisely with the problems that every day presents, it is of far more consequence that we should know how to use particular experience as a means of arriving at general truths, than that we should argue correctly from given premisses to correct conclusions. We go wrong more often by arriving too hastily at general assumptions, from insufficient data, than by reasoning illogically from data already ascertained. This being so, it behoves us to enquire whether the habits of mind brought into exercise by the inductive method may not be encouraged by ordinary school studies, and made operative on the formation of character even in the early years devoted to instruction. Is there not opportunity for strengthening the inductive powers in connexion with some of the ordinary school studies, as well as in the laboratory of the chemist or the electrician?

Grouping of facts not necessarily induction.

It is well to bear in mind that the mere grouping and collocation of a number of facts does not necessarily deserve the name of induction. I find on looking at the sheep in a field, that all of them have wool of a certain colour, and that the feet of all of them shew a divided formation. But this is merely a collective statement true of all the sheep under observation. There is generalization but no induction, for no light is thrown upon any-

thing beyond the field itself. But if after larger observation and experience, and some knowledge of animal anatomy and physiology, I arrive at the conclusion that all sheep have divided hoofs, I transcend the boundaries of my actual experience, I assume that there is a certain uniformity in Nature, and thus infer that what we know to be true in a particular restricted area, will be true in all cases under similar conditions, and that what may be asserted of the individual members of a class may be safely predicated of the whole class to which those members belong. An induction of this kind includes more than a description and explanation of certain facts. It extends farther than the phenomena actually observed. It gives a key to the interpretation of other facts in Natural History, and to the prediction of what will be found to be true under like conditions. Only in this way does induction become an instrument of reasoning, and a help to the attainment of yet unknown and undiscovered truth.

Practical work essential in the study of physical science.

Intellectual exercise of this kind is specially and richly provided in such studies as Natural History, Physical Geography, Botany, and in each of the Physical Sciences. It would tire you to illustrate in detail the ways in which each of these studies offers opportunities to the learner for bringing his powers of observation, of comparison, of classification, and of generalization into play. But in every one of them it is a mistake to suppose that the facts and the principles of the science are all he wants. He should be made to take his own part in arriving at such facts and principles. The little child to whom you give a packet of various-coloured beads or papers, and who is told to match them and to sort them, has an early lesson in observing, and in comparing, and in classifying. The older learner who is told to dissect

a flower, and to set apart the pistil, the stamens, the corolla and the seed vessels, and to discover how many of the organs in a plant are vital and what are their several functions; the student in a laboratory who makes by himself an analysis of a compound, and knows how to separate carbon from oxygen and from hydrogen, passes through a kind of training which could not be acquired by reading, or by hearing lectures. He learns in this way patience and minuteness of observation; and he thus becomes acquainted not only with the result of other people's investigations into the secrets of nature, but also with the operations by means of which these investigations have been conducted to a successful issue, and by which he himself may hope some day to add to the store of truth which has been accumulated in the world.

All the best modern scientific teachers insist now on the necessity of practical work in the teaching of physics in its several departments. The intellectual discipline to be had in the pursuit of the inductive or experimental sciences is not to be had from books alone, nor even from witnessing the demonstrations of the most inspiring teacher. It can only be obtained by the active co-operation of the student himself, through his mistakes and failures as well as his successes, and through the actual handling of the materials whose properties he wants to discover. A few years ago the earliest exercises we had in mechanics were largely mathematical. One learned the parallelogram of forces, and a number of formulæ respecting impact, friction, statical and dynamical energy and the like. And all this preceded the learner's actual contact with machines. But the modern teacher takes his pupil to look at the piece of mechanism, the printing-press, the air-pump, or the

barometer as a whole. He first asks what purpose it has to serve, then investigates each part, and seeks to show how and why it contributes to the fulfilment of that purpose. And this method of inductive or analytical procedure, from the concrete to the simple, from the whole to the part, is found in practice to be much more effective, and more in harmony with the constitution of the human understanding than that which begins with what are often called the elementary principles of Science. That which seems first in the order of logic, is often last in the order of discovery. So the modern scientific teachers put instruments into the student's hands, make him measure or dissect for himself, require him to keep a written record of such experiments, and to tell afterwards in his own words what he has learned and how he learned it. The best teachers ask that he shall accept nothing on their authority; and they are less concerned with the value and utility of the result attained than with the discipline of the enquiring and even the sceptical spirit, and with the formation of that habit of mind which is ready to accept all verified truths however unwelcome and unexpected they may be.

Two neglected branches of physical enquiry.

As to the material on which the inductive faculty is to work, we may say that there is no one department of human knowledge in which it will not find scope for exercise. Yet it is in the domain of Nature, and in connexion with physical and material forces that, by common consent the true scientific spirit is best to be cultivated. Nevertheless in the modern curricula laid down by Science and Art Departments, and by the University authorities who shape the Natural Science Tripos, as well as in the humbler regulations which prescribe the course of alternative teaching for elementary schools, one cannot fail to notice the practical

exclusion of two branches of knowledge, which afford, each in its own way, an admirable field for careful observation, for recording facts and phenomena, and for the discovery of new and beautiful general laws. I mean Natural History and Astronomy.

Natural History.

The boundless and multiform experience which lies open to the view of the patient and enthusiastic naturalist is well illustrated in Sir John Lubbock's books on Ants and Bees. The child who is led to feel an interest in the lower animals, otherwise than for sport or play, and is shewn how to observe their habits and to learn how their structure is adapted to the life they live, and to the part they have to play in Nature's economy — who makes and arranges his own collection of caterpillars, of leaves, of ferns, or of shells — is unconsciously a minister and to some extent an interpreter of Nature, and is undergoing some of the training in the inductive philosophy which will certainly do much to strengthen his intellectual life. And even if it does not lead to the making of new discoveries, the habit of making collections is one which has a great influence in developing the observant faculty, and in bringing the learner into loving communion with Nature. Mr Ruskin for example has said, "The leaves of the herbage at our feet take all kinds of strange shapes as if to invite us to examine them. Star shaped, heart shaped, spear shaped, arrow shaped, fretted, fringed, cleft, furrowed, serrated, sinuated, in whorls, in tufts, in spires, in wreaths, endlessly expressive, deceptive, fantastic, never the same from footstalk to blossom, they seem perpetually to tempt our watchfulness and take delight in outstripping our wonder." A boy who hunts through the woods and makes a collection of leaves, arranging them according to their shapes, assigning the names to the trees and shrubs that bear

them, who observes how in their arrangement, the length of their stalks and the exposure of their surfaces, they secure to the plant the maximum of light and air, is unconsciously receiving a discipline in the elements — if not of reasoning — at least in the processes by which the material for reasoning and for scientific conclusions may be accumulated and used. But it happens that knowledge of this kind does not "pay." No examination tests it, no form of honour or degree is to be gained by it, no money value attaches to it. And hence perhaps it is that it is so little recognized as an educational instrument, and so seldom practised. There was a remarkable collection of Natural History in connexion with the St George's Free Library in London. It had been open several years, it was admirably arranged, all the objects were duly labelled, grouped and classified, and the whole was under the care of an enthusiastic naturalist who had collected the principal part of the objects, and who was delighted to find any visitors who cared about animal life, and to explain the wonders of the collection to them. Yet he tells me sadly that though a few persons stroll aimlessly through the rooms from time to time, he has hardly known one visitor who shews a genuine interest in the objects and makes them the material for serious systematic study.[1]

Astronomy. And of all the sciences, the grandest and most sublime is Astronomy. No study is better calculated to exalt the imagination, to enlarge the mental horizon, and to give to us a true sense of the richness and vastness of the visible creation, and of our own true place in it. Yet it is far less studied in our schools than it was many years ago. When I was young, I remember in what were

[1] This collection has now been accepted by the London County Council, and forms the Natural History Museum at Hoxton.

called 'seminaries' for young ladies that though much of the teaching was pretentious and absurdly lacking in thoroughness and reality, 'astronomy and the use of the globes' were always put forth in advertisements as integral parts of the school course. It is true that the teaching was unscientific, that the pupils spent much time in learning lists of names, and in finding latitudes and longitudes, and the names and positions of the fixed stars. I believe that this sort of teaching has gone completely out of fashion; mainly, we may suspect, because nobody examines in it, nobody gives prizes for it, and there is no commercial value in the result. Yet after all even the crude and shallow teaching of the use of the globes had its value. It enlarged the horizon of the pupils' thoughts. It gave them a new interest in the mystery of the heavens, a new sense of the grandeur of the universe, and an awed consciousness of 'the silence that is in the starry sky.' It led them to lift up their eyes with the feeling of the old prophet, and to say, 'Who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number, that calleth them all by their names, not one faileth?'[1] It carried the students out of themselves and the smaller and prosaic interests of their own lives, and led them to care about what was vast and eternal and infinitely remote. Both from the moral and the intellectual point of view, this experience is healthful and inspiring. It is worth while to know how to find the polar star, and how to distinguish planets from fixed stars, to look through the telescope and see the moons of Jupiter, and to distinguish the several constellations in the heavens. And the knowledge of these things will go far to cultivate the observant faculty, and to indicate to learners the methods by which the laws of nature have been studied. Astronomy is one of the most disinterested of sciences, because,

[1] Isaiah xl. 26.

if pursued at all, it is not because money is to be made out of it, but simply because of the delight, and the sense of expansion which the study gives.

Meteorology.

Akin to purely astronomical studies there is another matter of inexhaustible and of universal interest — the weather. In travelling through the cities of Europe, especially in Switzerland and Italy, one sees in central public places, a barometer, a thermometer, a rain gauge, a wind register, and a daily forecast of the weather. And I have watched groups of scholars, boys and girls, on their way home consulting it, enquiring and discussing, or copying down a figure to take home with them. It seems to me that in England our municipal bodies do not avail themselves, as they should do, of this simple and inexpensive device for increasing the public intelligence and interesting the young in the phenomena of nature. But in boarding schools, in which the teacher has the control of leisure hours, as well as of lessons, there ought to be kept all these instruments, and if possible a telescope also, and when careful observation is regularly made and organized, and certain scholars are entrusted with the duty of keeping the daily register, a new source of interest and of useful enquiry is opened up. There are many curious popular fallacies current about meteorology; for example, the old and utterly unverified notion that the moon's phases affect the weather. Now, instead of dismissing this as absurd and untrue, suppose you invite the elder scholars to help you in refuting or verifying it; by keeping, say for six months, a careful record of atmospheric changes, as well as of the lunar changes; and seeing by actual experience whether they coincide or not. You cannot fail to give in this way an elementary lesson in inductive philosophy, though you will not call it by so pretentious a name.

Object lessons.

Even in the elementary schools it is possible to make the object lesson an instrument of scientific method. The first thing aimed at in the best schools is to secure accurate observation of familiar things. The senses must first be cultivated. But unless the sense perception is succeeded by what Herbart rather pedantically calls 'apperception,' or rather by mental assimilation; unless the mind recognizes what the eye sees, there is no education in it at all. Hence it is sometimes said that the first stage in teaching physical science is *presentation*, the next *representation*, or the recognition by means of words, of what has been presented, and the third, *reflection* with generalization,—the perception of the truth which the fact illustrates, and of the relation in which the fact stands to other facts. Unless indeed the learner is led by some such steps, to pass from the region of visible experience, into that of intellectual experience, and to perceive the broader truths which underlie the facts, those studies which have of late contrived to appropriate the name of science are of little intellectual value, and will carry the learner no great way.

But there is, in fact, no single subject we teach which does not furnish opportunities for exercise in thinking and for shewing the difference between true and false inference. After all, our minds are not enriched so much by what we know, or by what we are told to remember, as by the degree in which we think and reflect on what we know. In history, for example, how often a wise teacher will pause and say, 'We must not be too hasty in accepting the current estimate of this event or of this man's character. The data are not sufficient. The sources of the testimony are a little suspect and doubtful. This particular act may have been exceptional, not characteristic, it may have been brought about by special

circumstances of which we know but little. We must not treat it as if it were typical, or as if it justified a general statement.' Those who have been accustomed to form their judgments about historical personages, with this caution and reserve, have received a lesson in reasoning which will find itself indirectly but yet effectually applicable to current events, to political partizanship, to the estimates formed of public men, as well as to the opinions formed about one another.

Inductive exercises in language.

Let me borrow one other illustration of the inductive method of advancing through the known to the unknown, from a region of experience, which does not claim the name of Science; I mean from the study of the English language, and particularly that form of mental exercise which we may call verbal analysis. I purposely choose my illustrations to-day rather from the lower than the higher departments of school work. You ask the scholars to give you a few instances of words ending with the letters *tion*. Well, they give you in succession: —

Examination, Addition, Illustration, Composition. You write down on the black-board a list of such words as the pupils supply them. You next take two or three of them and ask to have them placed in sentences. After this you ask in each case what part of speech the word is, and receive in answer that they are all nouns. Next you cut off the final syllable, and ask what is left. In each case you will be told, *examine, add, illustrate, compose,* that the word is a verb. Then you ask, if the noun is derived from a verb, what sort of a noun must it be? It does not represent any visible thing; but an act, an idea, a notion which is in the mind; it is therefore in every case an abstract not a common substantive. You proceed to shew in each case what the word means — the act of doing something, *e.g.* of examining, of adding, of

composing, or the like. You then recapitulate, and with the scholars' help arrive at four conclusions, (1) that the words are all nouns, (2) that they are all derived from verbs, (3) that they are therefore all abstract nouns, (4) that they all mean the act of doing something. Now you add, 'I will tell you a fifth thing about them which you may not already know. They are all derived from Latin, and are not purely English words.' Observe here that you have a very elementary but typical example of induction as an intellectual process. You first find your examples, — the more numerous the better — you next group them together, notice wherein they differ and wherein they are alike, then try experiments upon them by putting them successively into sentences, then generalize upon them, then formulate your results. And these results, when perceived, are found to apply to other cases which are not included in our list. The learner concludes 'when I meet with a new word of this formation, I must seek the origin and explanation of it in the Latin, not the English vocabulary.' Notice too how much the value of the whole operation consists in the fact that teacher and taught have been working together in an effort of discovery; no theory was started at first; the theory as it has been evolved has been suggested by the facts, and has grown out of them. Take another example.

Other examples of verbal analysis.

The syllable *ly* if added to a noun makes an adjective: if added to an adjective makes an adverb. Write down *manly* at the top of a column and *sweetly* at the top of another, put each of them into a sentence, and call attention to its form and use. Then ask for a number of words ending in *ly* and suggested to you at random, and in each case ask the scholars to determine in which column it should be placed and why. The exercise is very simple no doubt; but it is a good example of an

elementary lesson in logical discernment, and in classification, and therefore in the art of thinking. By looking at the groups of words, as they are written down, the scholars, with these *data* before them, will be able to supply the generalized statement in their own words.

That words with certain endings are Greek, that others are always Latin, others purely English, that certain formations are hybrid, and therefore signs of false composition; that in so composite a language as ours there are a few exceptions to almost every general rule; and that therefore our generalizations must be expressed with due reserve;—all these are useful lessons for even the youngest child to learn, and they may be learned in an effective way not alone by observing and classifying the phenomena of the visible and tangible world, but also by dealing with the material which we have always close at hand, the vocabulary of our own native tongue.

Indeed I doubt if teachers have yet realized the importance of the analytical or inductive method in its application to language teaching. The common practice of treating the *word* as the unit, of giving rules and definitions first and their practical applications afterwards, is less effective and certainly far less interesting than the treatment of the *sentence* as the unit, investigating its component parts and their relation to each other, comparing sentences having like characteristics, and deducing all the laws of concord, and of syntactical arrangement as the result of such comparison. Why certain Latin verbs should govern a dative, or certain connective particles should be followed by the subjunctive, and what is the true function of the ablative absolute or of the Greek aorist, is to be found best in the collocation of well-chosen examples, and not by laying down authorita ive rules to be followed blindly. Yet many teachers begin

with definitions, and attempt in the region of language, which is essentially a region of experience, to employ the methods adopted in mathematics, wherein axioms, postulates and general principles may be safely taken for granted at first.

Apposition.

One exercise which has a bracing and healthy action on the power of reasoning was more common and was held in greater esteem in the middle ages than in our time. I mean the practice of public speech and disputation, in which the scholar was called on to affirm or deny a particular proposition, and to give reasons for his opinion. The 'Apposition' at St Paul's and other schools was an occasion for a public exercise of this kind. Pepys tells us how he went to St Paul's School to hear the boys in the Upper form *appose* one another and what he thought of the merits of the *posers*. This form of oral exercise has largely disappeared from schools and survives only in the higher classes of the great public schools and in the 'Union' of the Universities. No one doubts its value as a means of encouraging fluency, self-possession, and mastery in the art of argument. It enforces on the young aspirant the need of accuracy in accumulating facts, of orderly arrangement of his matter, and of logical method and a persuasive style. But there is no good reason why it should not be adopted more frequently in grammar and other intermediate schools, if appropriate subjects are selected, and opportunities found. As a method of calling out latent talent, and furnishing practical discipline in the formation of right opinions, and in helping the holders to maintain and defend them, it well deserves increased attention on the part of teachers. "Nothing," said Robert de Sorbon, the founder of the Sorbonne, "is perfectly known, unless it is masticated by the tooth of disputation." Here again it is necessary to

observe that the business of a school is not to enforce opinions, but to give the clearness and openness of mind, by means of which opinions, if they are worth anything, are alone to be rightly formed. In just the proportion in which a community is composed of intelligent persons, uniformity of opinion becomes less possible and even desirable. But the fearless and honest pursuit of truth, the readiness to follow it wherever it may lead, are in themselves of more importance than any conclusions on disputable points. There is a story of Carlyle who after a long walk and argument with a friend said, "We have had a delightful afternoon, and except in opinion, we agreed perfectly."

Induction a test of the value of educational methods.

We have said that the inductive method is indispensable as an instrument of teaching; but it is not less so as a guide for ourselves in forming an estimate of our own procedure, and of the principles on which our work should be done. Education is said to be a science; but it is essentially an inductive science, a science of observation and experiment. It is not one which will be brought to perfection by the study of speculative psychology alone; by accepting what are called first principles; by walking worthy of the doctrines laid down by Comenius, by Ascham, or Quintilian or Rousseau or Pestalozzi or Spencer or Herbart. All such doctrines have their value, and a very high value to the professional practitioner in the art; but they do not serve alone as the basis for a science, any more than the theory of vortices, or the speculations of Thales about moisture, or the old doctrine that all matter is composed in different proportions of the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water. We must look a little nearer at the actual phenomena the schoolroom presents if we would arrive at a true science of education.

Child study.

From this point of view we may regard with much sympathy and hope the efforts which are now being made in America by Dr Stanley Hall and Mr Barnes, and in our own country by Professor Sully, to observe children's ways and character more carefully and to derive if we can practical guidance, from child-study, as well as from the *à priori* speculations of the philosophers. But though we may regard these experimental enquiries with hope, we must not blind ourselves to possible sources of error, unless those enquiries are conducted with due caution and a careful observance of the laws of inductive science. There is a danger of encouraging introspection and self-consciousness on the part of little children, when we ask them to tell us their motives or their thoughts. There is, in many of the experimental exercises of which I have read reports, a tendency on the part of the teacher to ask children for their opinions on subjects on which they have never thought, and on which in fact they have formed no opinion at all. Hence he sometimes gets random and foolish answers, sometimes mere guesses, and sometimes answers which are framed because the little one has some suspicion of what it is that the teacher wants. More often answers are given so various and so inconsistent with one another, that it is impossible to base any trustworthy conclusion upon them. So although the desire of many teachers to engage in child study evinces a true philosophic instinct we must in pursuing it guard ourselves against its dangers, and must be aware of its limitations. We must not be probing the minds of children to discover what is not there; nor encourage them to attach exaggerated importance to their own little experiences and opinions. We must beware of unreality, of confusing the real relations which should subsist between teacher and

taught. Above all we have to guard ourselves against mistaking accidental and exceptional phenomena for typical facts; against drawing general conclusions too hastily from insufficient data. When I read in American books the contradictory, confused, and grotesque replies which have been so diligently compiled, I am more than ever convinced that generalizations founded on such data may often prove useless and sometimes misleading, and that they need therefore to be held in suspense for the present, until they shall be verified or corrected by a larger experience.

Some of the plans adopted in these investigations seem to me highly ingenious, and a few of the generalizations obtained from them to be fruitful and suggestive. The experiments made in connexion with the earliest and crudest attempts of little children to draw familiar objects have shewn clearly how common it is to attempt to pourtray not what they actually see, but what they know to be there. Such experiments are most instructive to teachers of drawing and design. But when we get into the region of morals, and of conduct, when we seek to measure the forces which are at work in the formation of the child's character and sentiments, it does not appear to me that the enquiries have yet conducted us to any valuable results. This is not a reason for abandoning the quest, or for discouraging researches into this interesting region of experience. But it is a strong reason for caution, and patience, and for resisting all temptation to accept general conclusions while the data are incomplete.

The three stages of progress in inductive science.

Finality has not yet been reached. True progress in the development of educational science can only be attained by means of a fuller application of the inductive method. Comte has taught that there are three stages in the history of science. At first men lay down

large general principles, and expect them to be taken as axiomatic and accepted truths, which contain in them the explanation of all which has to be explained. Next comes the stage at which phenomena are observed and an attempt is made to fit the explanation of them to the first principles which have been already accepted. Lastly comes the sense of dissatisfaction expressed by Bacon or Darwin with these explanations; and the determination to investigate the facts alone, to let them suggest the theories; and to accept no theories which do not grow out of the phenomena themselves and cannot be verified by actual experience. We have however not yet, in educational philosophy, got far beyond the first of these stages. We start from what seem to be first principles—then we look hesitatingly at the facts of experience in our schools and colleges and see how far they can be made to fit into our theories, and are disposed to say if we are unsuccessful—*tant pis pour les faits*. At last we come to the humbler task which we ought to have put at the beginning of our enquiries, and are fain to ask again Charles II.'s question when the Royal Society brought him a scientific discovery, "Are you quite sure of your facts?"

So if the question arises, for instance, Can Psychology help us much? We must answer, "That depends on the other questions, (1) Is it a true psychology? (2) Is it verifiable, and has it been actually verified by the facts of daily experience in our families and schools? and (3) Are the teachers who profess it and have studied it found to be more skilful and more successful than others in the management of scholars and of schools?" To this crucial test all theories ought in the end to be submitted.

The Kindergarten.

Again in determining the educational value of the Fröbelian method of training young children, we cannot come to a right conclusion by speculating on the order

in which the faculties are developed; it would be well also to take two groups of children at the age of ten or twelve, of whom those in one group have, and those in the other have not been subjected to the *Kindergarten* discipline, and ask ourselves on which side the advantage lies, in respect to general brightness and intelligence, desire to learn, and fitness to enter upon the studies appropriate to a later age? I believe that the answer to such questions will be reassuring. I think it will confirm our faith in the value of the Fröbelian training; and will prove that the awakening of faculty, the exercises of eye and hand, and the introduction of activity and joyousness into the early school life, have often served to make the subsequent school exercises easier and more effective. But if this does not prove to be the result, let us honestly confess it and revise our theories.

Manual instruction.

In like manner the educational value of manual and technical as distinguished from literary instruction cannot be estimated *à priori*. We want to know what is the place which such instruction ought to hold in a rounded and complete system of general education; and in order to be sure of our conclusions, it is needful to enquire (1) of teachers, what is the reflex influence of manual work upon intellectual employments, and upon the habits of mind which the scholars are acquiring? and (2) of employers of skilled labour, do they find that the school exercises have been actually helpful in producing more skilled artizans? Have these exercises tended to make the pupils more industrious, more accurate, more open-eyed, and fonder of mechanical work? The true justification of the workshop and the laboratory as adjuncts to the modern school-room can only be found in a satisfactory reply to these questions, and, at present, we await such a reply.

Religious teaching to be largely judged by its results on character.

Even in regard to the highest of all our educational interests — those which concern the discipline of character, and the teaching of religion, we cannot safely shrink from the test of experience. It ought not to suffice for us to reason from what appear to be first principles and to assume, for example, that the religious life is to be formed by the early and authoritative inculcation of certain theological beliefs. It is also necessary that, freeing ourselves sometimes from all prepossessions on this subject, we should look around us and ask, "Are the scholars who have been taught on this hypothesis found to be in after-life attached to the communion to which they owe their special religious teaching?" Can we trace in their subsequent history any enduring results of such teaching? Is any difference recognizable afterwards between those who have and those who have not been subject to a particular kind of dogmatic teaching? And as regards our own personal experience, when we look back on the influences which have shaped our lives, we may profitably ask, Were those which took the form of didactic lessons after all the most potent and enduring? Whether the result of honest self-interrogation confirms our preconceived opinion of the value of creeds and formularies, or leads us to modify that opinion, the enquiry will prove equally valuable.

Gibbon's *naïf* retrospective estimate of the influence of his early studies on the formation of his own tastes and character is an example of a department of literature hitherto very imperfectly explored. To search through the autobiographies of famous writers and statesmen and to learn what in their opinion has been the worth of their school learning would be in itself an instructive study, and a test of the soundness of many cherished opinions. This is a task which yet awaits the enterprising explorer.

Results.

The principle of "*payment* by results" has been by general consent abandoned, as a contrivance for estimating the amount of money-grant which should be awarded to schools from public funds. But the right estimation of results will always be the best way of determining the status of a school and the value of its methods. Grant only that our conception of what constitute the best results is a wide and true one, and also that the mode of estimating the results is duly intelligent and sympathetic, public authorities who may be charged with the supervision of schools on behalf of the State will always be justified in seeking to know what is the outcome of their work. In obtaining this knowledge they will not rely wholly on the quality and the number of written answers to questions, nor wholly on the general impressions of an inspector, as to the methods and discipline and tone of a school. But they will seek to combine the two processes of inspection and examination, and so to get the maximum of advantage from both methods.

The sum of all I have sought to enforce on this point is that education is a progressive science, at present in a very early stage of development. Hence it is the duty of all the practitioners of that science to be well aware of its incompleteness, and to do something to enlarge its boundaries and enrich it with new discoveries. Every school is a laboratory in which new experiments may be tried and new truths may be brought to light. And every teacher who invents a new method or finds a new channel of access to the intelligence, the conscience and the sympathy of his scholars will do a service not only to his professional brethren and successors, but to the whole community.

LECTURE V

HAND WORK AND HEAD WORK

Manual and technical instruction. Why it is advocated. Apprenticeship. *Écoles d'Apprentissage.* Technological Institutes. The Yorkshire College of Science. French technical schools, (1) for girls, (2) for artizans. The Fröbelian discipline. Sweden and *sloyd* work. The *École Modèle* at Brussels. Drawing and design. Educational influences of manual training. The psychological basis for it. Variety of aptitude. The dignity of labour. Limitations to the claims of manual training. Needlework. General conclusions.

Manual training and technical instruction.

I PROPOSE now to invite your attention to the subject of manual training, which of late has been very prominent in public discussion, and will certainly be brought under the notice of young teachers entering now on their profession. Such teachers may soon be confronted with the question in many different ways. But it is one on which it is very desirable that they should make up their minds, and possess themselves not only with opinions but also with the reasons which justify their opinions.

The phrases Technical Instruction, *Hand-arbeit*, and Manual Training, are used in various senses, sometimes with much vagueness, and often by persons who have very different objects in view. But they have become popular, and we do well to think of the two or three very different meanings which are assigned to them.

Why it is advocated.

First of all, we have to reckon with those advocates of manual training who see it chiefly in connexion with different forms of skilled industry. They desire to obtain for the artizan such instruction in handicraft as may prepare him for the special employment of his life, and as may make all the difference between the skilled and the unskilled workman. They say with much truth that the material prosperity of a country depends largely on the skill and knowledge of its workers, and that in this country we have paid too little attention to the sciences which are most closely connected with manual industry. They urge the need of more technical instruction in order to obtain for this country a better place in the labour market and a larger share of the trade and manufactures of the world.

There are others who, without seeking to prepare the young scholar for the particular form of handicraft by which he is to get his living, wish to provide for him the means of obtaining such general tactual skill, such knowledge of the properties of the substances which have to be handled, and such aptitude in the use of tools, as shall make him readier for any form of mechanical industry which he may happen to choose.

A third class of advocates of manual training urge that in all our systems of general education the memory, the judgment, and the purely intellectual faculties have been too exclusively cultivated, and that the discipline of hand and eye and of the bodily powers generally has been too much neglected. The Spartan training of the bow and the *palaestra* proceeded on the assumption that, in fitting a man for the business of life, we have to consider not only what he knows but what he can *do*. Is he deft with his fingers? Can he run and swim, handle tools, use all his physical powers with promptitude and energy?

If not, the Greeks would have said he is not a well-trained or complete man: his education is deficient.

There is a fourth class of persons who rank as advocates of industrial education because they dislike intellectual training for the poor and the humbler classes altogether. They say, in effect, We must have a proletariat. It is fitting that there should be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Let us train the lowest class of our people on the supposition that they are to fulfil this function. For them, strength of limb, hardihood, handiness are needed. Books, and the sort of aspiration which is encouraged by books, would only tempt them into employments wherein, possibly, they might compete with persons of a higher social level, and become inconvenient rivals. The education of the artizan should not be too ambitious. It should be designed to fit him for the humble work to which the circumstances of his birth have called him, and to keep him in this lower rank. This sort of reasoning is hardly avowed, but it certainly underlies some of the arguments we occasionally hear used on this subject. Under the disguise of a solicitude in favour of more practical training for the ploughman or the labourer, there exists in many minds a deep distrust of the value of mental training altogether — a desire to use schools as a means of maintaining the established order of society, and of repressing inconvenient social or intellectual ambition. In short, there is latent in the thoughts of many people, who would hardly like to acknowledge it, a wish to restrict the instruction of artizans to the special work of their trades, not necessarily because they will thereby do that work better, but because it is believed that they will be practically disqualified for attempting anything else.

For the present, we need not dwell either on the

motives or the projects of this last class, except perhaps for the purpose, with which I hope this audience at least will sympathize, of earnestly repudiating them. But we ought not to overlook the fact that the class is neither small nor uninfluential in the world in which we live, and that its existence as a potent though unacknowledged factor in our educational controversies cannot altogether be disregarded.

First of all, it is well to look at the industrial and commercial side of the problem, and to consider how our material wealth may be increased by a fuller and more systematic manual training. This is not the first business of a school teacher, but it is one which cannot be overlooked.

Apprenticeship.

In earlier times the skilled workman was trained as an apprentice. No one could, in the Middle Ages, hope to become a member of any trade guild who had not served a regular apprenticeship under a master. An apprenticeship was a reality. The relations which subsisted between Edward Osborne, or the apprentices of Simon the Glover, in the "Fair Maid of Perth," or young Tappertit, the locksmith's apprentice, and their masters, were, in an industrial sense, those of sons to a parent. The master worked side by side with the youths, cared for them as inmates of his house, and was proud of their successes when they joined the ranks of skilled workmen. That state of things has passed away, never to return. There are, all over England, endowments for apprenticeship, survivals from a time when they served a valuable purpose; but they serve no such purpose now. They are more often disguised doles to parents, contributions to a lad's maintenance before he is able to earn the whole of his living; but they do not help him to obtain systematic instruction in the art and mystery of an honest craft.

The conditions of industrial life are wholly changed. The concentration of manufactures into large establishments, increased use of machinery, the division of labour, the keenness and restlessness of modern competition, are all inconsistent with the old conception of apprenticeship. The master does not live with his young assistants; he hands them over to foremen who are often themselves comparatively untaught mechanics, familiar only with one particular department of work, and incapable of giving instruction in the trade as a whole.

Now, what should be the modern substitute for this interesting but now obsolete system of apprenticeship? We want as much as ever, nay much more than ever, intelligence and good training on the part of our workmen. But it is clear that this must now be sought in a different way. We must begin recognizing that it is discreditable to a man of any self-respect to handle every day materials of whose qualities he is ignorant, and to employ natural forces, machines, and instruments, the nature of which he has never cared to investigate. There is a science underlying every art however humble; and the main difference between the unskilled and the skilled workman is, that the one knows, and the other does not know, something about that science and about the meaning of what he is doing. And for the acquisition of this knowledge, as well as for due practice in the right manipulation of tools and instruments, we must look in these days rather to schools and technical institutes, than to the industrial pupil-teachership which was once known under the name of the apprentice system.

Écoles d'Apprentissage.

On the continent of Europe, especially in France and Belgium, there are institutions known as "Écoles des Arts et des Métiers" which seek to supply this want. I visited, some time ago, a very characteristic establish-

ment of this kind at Courtrai. Its professed object is to encourage the introduction of new industries, to form good workmen and good foremen, to inspire them with the love of work and with habits of order, to impress them with the sense of social and religious obligation, to increase the means of subsistence, and to arrest the progress of pauperism.

The institution with this large and comprehensive programme has an extensive building devoted partly to the purposes of general instruction and partly to the *ateliers* or workshops. The minimum age of admission is twelve, but the ordinary age is fourteen. The course lasts three years. No one is admitted who has not received a fair elementary education.

The course of general instruction comprises, in the first year, Drawing, Arithmetic, French Language, Practical Geometry; in the second year, Drawing, French, Experimental Physics, Mechanics, Geometry, Inorganic Chemistry; and in the third year, Drawing, Applied Mechanics in its application to trades, Knowledge of Materials, Organic Chemistry, Industrial Economy, the Calculus.

Six ateliers are attached to the Institute — (1) Mechanical construction; (2) a Foundry; (3) Furniture; (4) Electricity and its applications; (5) Hosiery; (6) Weaving. Each of these is under the care of a skilled director, chosen partly for his practical knowledge of the business, and partly for his scientific acquaintance with the principles on which the particular industry depends. The workshops are real places of business, and are not educational only. They produce machines, electrical and other apparatus, furniture, and articles of many kinds, which are sold in the market at a profit. A substantial part of every day is spent by each student in the

workshops, the work being regularly graduated in difficulty, and carried on under supervision. But it is notable that from two to three hours per day are devoted to ancillary studies, not exclusively industrial or mechanical, but calculated to secure *pari passu* the development of the students' intelligence. Hence, exercises in language are continued during the whole course. Drawing, design, and geometry are part of the routine prescribed for every student; while courses on electricity, chemistry, strength of materials, mechanics, etc., are given to each group of learners to correspond to the special character of the department of industry to which they are severally attached. In the last year there is a special course of lectures on Economic Science and the laws which regulate industrial life and progress—*e.g.* Production, Division of Labour, Capital, Money, Banking, Partition of Profits, Partnership, Wages, Trades Unions, Strikes, Savings, Investment, Credit, Direct and Indirect Taxation. Visits to neighbouring factories and industrial centres are regularly organized, especially in the third year of training, and after each visit a full account, with illustrative drawings and descriptions, is required of every pupil. An elaborate scientific and general library, with abundance of drawings and plans of famous machines and factories, is accessible to the students.

Now, the object of such an institute is technical instruction in its definite relation to the particular form of skilled industry which the student proposes to adopt as the business of his life. It has an essentially economic and industrial purpose. That purpose is, to provide for the future masters, foremen, and captains of industry a sound professional training. But it is to be observed that, from the first, mental cultivation by means of language and abstract science, and the investigation

of principles, is regarded as an indispensable part of this training. There is, on the part of the enlightened founders of this institution, even though its object is so distinctively utilitarian, no belief in any antagonism or inconsistency between hand work and head work. The two are regarded as inseparably connected.

Technological Institutes.

And the same may be said, in different degrees, of those other institutions which are now coming into prominence on both sides of the Atlantic under the name of Technical or Science Schools. These are in no sense factories, and do not profess to carry on a business, but their aim is more purely educational. The most remarkable example of the kind in the United States is the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston. Here there is a sumptuous building, admirably equipped, not only with chemical and physical laboratories, but also with departments for the study of mechanical engineering, of electricity, of architecture, of biology with a view to the requirements of medical students, of heat and ventilation, of mining and metallurgy. The characteristic feature of the institution is that in every department practical work supplements oral or book-teaching. The student is required, as soon as he knows anything, to *do* something which requires the application of his knowledge. There are upwards of 800 students in the three departments of Practical Design, Mechanic Art, and Industrial Science. All of them must have passed successfully through a good course of grammar and high school instruction before entering; and all of them are looking forward to becoming either masters or superintendents in factories or houses of business.

The Yorkshire College of Science.

In England a characteristic example of the many modern institutions of a similar type is the Yorkshire College of Science. It is situated in Leeds, in the centre

of the great cloth industry, where dyeing, weaving, and cognate processes form the chief employments of the people. Besides costly and elaborate provision in the form of laboratories, lecture-rooms, and libraries, designed both for theoretical and practical instruction, there are large departments especially devoted to dyeing and weaving. In one room you may see a group of students each before his own table manipulating his apparatus, and making his own experiments in the application of different colouring matters to different fabrics. Each student makes a written statement of the nature of the material on which he works, the chemical composition of his pigments, the time occupied by the process, the phenomena of change observable while it lasted. Then he places his memoranda with a specimen of the coloured piece of cloth itself in a book as a permanent record of the experiment for future reference. The weaving laboratory is, in some respects, a still more curious and novel department. Each student has a small hand-loom, on which he himself works, and on which he is encouraged to try all kinds of new artifices for combining warp and woof of different textures and colours, and for inventing new patterns. In another laboratory, which can be wholly or partially darkened for the purpose, there is a special series of investigation into the nature of light and colour, and students are helped to understand truths about the science of optics, not only by actual experiment, but also to a large extent by making for themselves some of the apparatus by which those experiments are conducted. In short, in this and many more great modern institutions than I have time here to enumerate, we have almost a full realization of Bacon's dream in the 'New Atlantis,' of Solomon's House, with its manifold chambers of experiment and observation. It is

a distinct addition to the material resources of our own time, and a solution to many economical difficulties.

The Technical Institute of the City and Guilds of London is in like manner a noble example of an institution in which it is sought successfully to give to those who are to be leaders and captains of industry, a fuller knowledge of the sciences connected with their several trades. Men thus trained will on entering the ranks of labour make fewer mistakes, will initiate more fruitful experiments, and will economize better the materials on which they have to work. But it can hardly be said that at present either in such institutes nor in the various classes carried on with so much vigour by the London County Council, for the teaching of building construction, metal trades, book and printing work, leather, carpentering and other industries, so much attention has been paid as in Germany, in Switzerland, and in France to the need of general mental cultivation as the basis of technical instruction. Our technical schools are for the most part places of manual and scientific instruction only; and the constant complaint of the authorities is that the scholars come to the institutes too soon, before they have received that discipline in general intelligence which is a necessary preliminary for making a right use of the specific training proper to particular trades.

French technical schools,

In France this difficulty is met partly by insisting that no one shall enter the apprentice school unless he or she has obtained the *certificat d'études primaires* testifying that the ordinary primary school course has been successfully completed; and partly by requiring that intellectual exercises shall in all cases be carried on *pari passu* with manual exercises.

On this point let me cite some of my own experience when engaged in an official enquiry into some conti-

nental schools. It is taken from a paper presented to Parliament in the year 1891.

(1) *for girls,*

Of the institutions with a well-defined and directly practical object, the *École professionelle ménagère* in the *Rue Fondary*, for girls, and the *Ecole Diderot* for boys are sufficiently remarkable to justify a brief description here. Each of them may be regarded mainly as an apprentice school in which the pupil is learning the particular art or trade by which he or she intends to get a living. But neither is a mere trade school, for intellectual instruction receives much attention in both. In the girls' school, the day is divided into two parts, the morning being devoted to the general education presumably required by all the pupils alike, and the afternoon to the special businesses which they have respectively chosen. From half-past eight to half-past eleven the work includes advanced elementary instruction generally, exercises in French language and composition, book-keeping (for French women are very largely employed in keeping accounts), one foreign language, English or German at the parents' choice, and such practice in drawing and design as has a special bearing on the trade or employment to which the pupil is destined. Thus, those who are to be dressmakers or milliners draw patterns of different articles of dress, are taught to paint them artistically, and to invent new patterns and combinations of colour and ornament; those who are to be *fleuristes* draw and paint flowers from nature, and group and arrange them after their own designs. Besides this, *l'enseignement du ménage* or household management and needlework form part of the instruction given to all the pupils. Articles of dress are cut out, and made for sale or use, and on certain days clothing which needs repair may be brought from home and mended under the direction of the

mistress. The pupils are told off eight at a time to spend the mornings of a whole week in the kitchen. Since all the pupils take their *déjeûner* daily in the establishment, there is necessarily a large demand for the services of these cooks. The sum to be expended per day is carefully restricted, and the pupils learn under the direction of the head of the kitchen how to prepare a *menu*, and to vary it from day to day, and are expected to go out in turn and make the necessary purchases in the market. The girls who are responsible for the week's provision are required to keep full accounts of the expenditure, and as they become more experienced each is invited in turn to devise a new *menu*, and to suggest ways in which the sum granted by the municipality can be best economized. For their services, the eight chosen pupils of the week receive their own meals gratuitously, all other scholars paying for theirs at cost price. The afternoon of every day is devoted to the practice, under skilled instructresses, of millinery, dressmaking, artificial flower making, embroidery, and other feminine arts. Orders are received from ladies, and articles are made and ornamented by the pupils and sold at a profit.

(2) *for artizans.*

In the *École Diderot* for youths from 13 to 16 a similar general plan prevails. There is an entrance examination, which is practically competitive. The mornings are spent in the class or in lecture-rooms under the care of professors in language, mathematics, chemistry and physics, history, geography, design, geometrical and artistic, and *comptabilité*. The pupil elects one modern language, German or English, at his discretion. Written reports are also required of visits to factories, and descriptions with drawings of machines and instruments. The afternoons are spent in the workshops. During the first year a boy visits each of these in turn, gets some

elementary knowledge about tools and their uses, but does not select his *métier* until the beginning of the second year. Then, when he has been helped to discover his own special aptitude, the choice is before him. There are the forge, the engine house, the carpenter's shop, the modelling room, the turning lathes, the upholsterer's department, and the work-room in which instruments of precision are used for making electrical or other scientific apparatus. When he has selected one of these, he devotes the afternoons of the remaining two years of his course to learning, under a skilled director, the art and mystery of his special craft. In the workshops, articles are made and finished for the market, many of the desks, forms, and black-boards, for example, required in the Paris school-rooms being manufactured in the carpenter's department. In this way some part of the generous provision made by the municipality for affording gratuitous technical instruction is rendered back in the form of profit.

The trade schools not exclusively technical.

The most striking feature of these two great trade schools is the association in them of general and special training. There is in them no attempt to divorce hand work from head work, or to treat the first as a substitute for the second. The girl who is to be a *modiste* or a *brodeuse* is to be that and something more. The boy who is to be a joiner or an engineer is also to know something of literature and science. The morning of every day is devoted to intellectual exercise, and no pupil who fails to attend the morning classes is permitted to enter the *atelier* in the afternoon. "I think," said M. Bocquet, the very able director of the *École Diderot*, to me, "that the training in art, in science, and in literature in our morning classes is the best part of our day's work. I should not value any technical or manual

training which was carried on without it." While I was talking to him a youth brought up a design he had been modelling to shew his master. "Ah!" said M. Bocquet, "I see, that has been done with your hands: there has been no head work in it. Take it back, and think about it a little more, and I do not doubt that you will improve it." It is in this spirit that manual training appears to me to be finding its true place in the French schools, not as a new instrument of education in rivalry with the old, but as part of a rounded and coherent system of discipline, designed to bring into harmony both the physical and intellectual forces of the future workman, and to make them helpful to each other.

Educational value of manual training.

I spoke of a third view of the subject of technical instruction — that which regards hand and eye training *per se* as an essential part of human culture, apart altogether from its value as a help in doing the business of life. The advocates of this view cite Rousseau, and Fröbel, and Pestalozzi, and urge with truth that the brain is not the only organ which should be developed in a school; that, to do justice to the whole sum of human powers and activities, there should be due exercise for the senses, and definite practice in the use of the fingers and the bodily powers. They do not want to specialize the work of the primary school with a view to the production of economic results. One of the ablest writers on this subject, Mr James MacAlister, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Philadelphia, puts the case clearly: "The object of the public school is education in its broadest sense. If industrial training cannot be shewn to be education in this sense, it has no place in the public school. We have no more right to teach carpentry and bookbinding than we have to teach law and medicine. The supreme end of education is the

harmonious development of all the powers of a human being. Whatever ministers to this end is education; whatever interferes with its accomplishment, no matter how valuable it is, lies outside of the province of the school."

I think this is the aspect of the whole controversy which is most interesting and significant to us as teachers. Grant that the Trade School and the Technological Institure are fulfilling an important economic purpose, yet they do not belong to our immediate domain. The question arises, Can hand work claim a place in a well-considered scheme of general school education; and, if so, what place?

The Fröbelian discipline.

Some of the experience in the English elementary schools is very significant in its bearing on this question. In nearly all of these schools there is an infant department or class for scholars below and up to the age of 7. Up to 1880 the main subjects of instruction in these infant departments were the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a few occasional lessons on objects, and on form and colour; and the chief test of the efficiency of such schools applied by the inspector was an examination in the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. But when the Code of instruction was recast in 1881, the requirements of the infant school were so enlarged as to include not only reading, writing, and arithmetic and lessons on subjects and on the phenomena of nature and of common life, but also varied and interesting manual exercises and employments. And since that date no infant school has been able to claim the highest rank unless it satisfied the inspector in this last particular. In other words, the kindergarten system and the little gifts and manual occupations devised by Fröbel have become a recognized part of the system of early training in the English schools. So you have marching and drill, plaiting and moulding, the building up of wooden bricks in

different forms, drawing, cutting little patterns, weaving, and many other employments designed to give delicacy to the touch, keenness to the observant powers, a sense of beauty in form and colours, and the power to use the fingers with dexterity and care. Teachers have been specially warned in the 'Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors' that "it is of no use to adopt the gifts and mere mechanical exercises of the kindergarten unless they are so used as to furnish real training in observation, in accuracy of hand and eye, and in attention and obedience."

Two results have followed the trial of this experiment. It has been found that the infant schools have become much more attractive to the little ones and to their parents, that order is more easily obtained, and that the infant schools are happier and more cheerful places than they once were. And the other result is not less important. It is seen also that children who have been thus trained pass the simple examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic, appropriate to the eighth year, not less satisfactorily and much more easily than before. The withdrawal of some of the hours of the day for varied manual occupations, so far from diminishing the chance of progress in the ordinary departments of school instruction, has had the effect of accelerating that progress, by means of the general quickening of intelligence and increase of power developed by the kindergarten.

Sweden and Slojd-work.

This view of the relation between manual work and general culture may be further illustrated by what is done in Sweden under the name of Slojd. There is much exercise in wood-carving and in the use of tools. At Gothenburg and at Näas, manual instruction is begun at the age of ten or eleven, and the scholars are drafted into the workshops for two or three hours of every week.

There is a carpenter's shop, a forge, a room for the cutting and manipulating of paper patterns and ornaments, a painting and decoration school, and a factory for the making of baskets, toys, and other fabrics. The object of the first year's course is mainly to give to the pupil not merely general aptitude but a respect for manual labour. In this way he is helped in his second year to discover his own *métier* and to devote himself to it. In the words of one of the ablest writers and observers of the system, M. Sluys, of Brussels: — "The object aimed at is purely pedagogic. Manual labour is considered as an educative instrument, holding a rank equal to that of other branches of the programme."

The École Modèle at Brussels.

There is a remarkable school in Brussels called the Model School, which provides for pupils from the age of six to sixteen, and gives a very efficient and liberal education, including language, mathematics, and physical science, according to the most approved modern types. In this school the experiment has been tried of carrying forward the theories of Fröbel all through the classes from the lowest to the highest. Up to six, the ordinary employments of the Kindergarten are systematically pursued. From six to eight, similar exercises of a more artistic character, chiefly modelling, are used. From eight to ten, the chief employments are those included under the general heading *cartonnage*, the cutting out and fixing of paper patterns in all sorts of geometrical and ornamental forms. From ten to twelve, wood-carving is the chief employment; while in the higher classes artistic and decorative work in wood, metal, and other materials is required from every pupil.

Let me give you, from my own evidence before a recent Royal Commission, a description of what was going on in a class of children about ten years old whom

I found at work in the École Modèle. "There was a continuous black-board round the room; it was marked off in sections, and each child stood in front, and had on a shelf, clay, a graduated metrical rule, a little wooden instrument for manipulating the clay, compasses, and chalk. The master stood in the middle of the room and said, 'Now draw a horizontal line five centimetres long,' and he walked round and saw that it was done. 'Now draw, at an angle of 45°, another line three centimetres long.' And so by a series of directions he got them all to produce a predetermined geometrical pattern of his own. 'Now,' he said, 'take clay and fasten it on to the outside, making of it an ornamental framework, and let it be exactly such a fraction of a metre thick.' They worked it round with the help of the instrument. Then he said at the end, 'Now which of you thinks he can do anything to improve it, and make it more ornamental?' And some by means of the compasses, and some by means of the rule or by fixing pieces of clay, placed little additional decoration at the corners or round the border. At the end of the lesson every child had before him a different design. That was throughout an exercise, not in hand work only, but in intelligence, in measurement, in taste, and in inventiveness. It illustrated a real educational process. I should like very much to see something of that sort introduced into the English schools."[1]

We have not, it is true, yet advanced so far. Indeed, it is observable that, even in Belgium, the school I refer to is an exceptional institution, in no sense typical of the ordinary "Communal School." But all the recent regulations of our English Education Department emphasize strongly the importance of drawing, and offer increased

[1] *Report of Royal Commission on Education*, Vol. III., Question 57,667.

encouragement to its universal adoption in our primary schools. And of drawing it may at least be said, that it is the one form of manual art most certainly educational in its aim and character, most generally applicable to all the business of life, and least likely to degenerate into mechanical routine. Carpentering, work in metal, or in paper, may easily, when the difficulty of handling tools has once been overcome, become very unintelligent and monotonous processes. But drawing and design afford infinite scope for new development and varied invention. Whatever educational value they possess at first, they continue to possess as long as they are pursued at all. And this is more than can be safely said of many other forms of hand work.

The chief points noticeable in all these exercises are: (1) That they are always connected with drawing, measurement, accurate knowledge, and some exercise in thinking; and are never isolated, or simply manual. (2) That they are superintended by the director of studies and co-ordinated with other work, not handed over to artizan specialists; and (3) that the manual exercises do not occupy more than two hours a week of the ordinary school course. They supplement the usual intellectual instruction, but are in no sense substitutes for it.

Educational influence of manual training.

I found, for each of the several forms of manual exercise adopted in the École Modèle — for modelling, for basket-making, for wood-carving, and for working in metals — the teachers had been at the pains to make out from the results of their experience a special tabulated report, showing the effect of the exercise on general power, on the habit of attention, on order, on cleanliness, on the æsthetic faculty, on physical vigour generally, and on manual skill. All the exercises did not profess to serve equally the same purpose, but each was found in

its own way to serve one or more of these purposes in different degrees.

The tabulated statement of the results which is here given (p. 165) is not a little curious.

The psychological reason for it.

Some larger principles than those affecting handiness or manual skill are involved when we proceed to inquire whether the modern demand for hand-culture is a passing fashion, or whether it is to be justified by a real insight into the philosophy of education, and the constitution and needs of human nature. I think there is a good answer to this question. A true psychology, when it comes to be applied to the practical business of teaching, shows us that the acquisition of knowledge is not the only means by which the human soul can be enriched and the future man provided with his outfit for the business of life. His training should, of course, enable him to know much that he would not otherwise know; but it should also enable him to see much that he would not otherwise see, and to do what he would not otherwise do. Books alone cannot fulfil this purpose. It is not only by receiving ideas, but by giving them expression, that we become the better for what we learn. A thought received, and not expressed or given out again in some form, can hardly be said to have been appropriated at all. We have long recognized this truth within the limited area of book-study, for we demand of our pupils that they shall use a language as well as acquire it. But, after all, language is not the only instrument of expression. There are many other ways in which thought can find utterance. It may take the form of delineation, of modelling, of design, of invention, of some product of the skilled hand, the physical powers, or the finer sense. Of course, the value of any vehicle of expression depends entirely on what you have to express. If the mind is

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Habileté manuelle générale.	Attention, Intelligence.	Ordre, Correction.	Propreté.	Utilité générale.	Sentiment esthétique.	Pas de division du travail.	Développe la vigueur générale.	Proportionné aux forces corporelles des enfants.	Série progressive.
Travail du fer (forge et serrurerie)	Non	±	±	Non	Limitée	Peu	Non	Oui	Non	?
Vannerie	Non	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Non	Non	Incomplète	Oui
Reliure	Non	Oui	Oui	Oui	Limitée	Oui	Oui	Non	Non	Limitée
Cartonnage	Non	Oui	Oui	Oui	Limitée	Oui	Oui	Non	Non	Oui
Travail du bois (menuiserie et boissellerie)	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui
Sculpture	Non	Oui	Oui	Oui	Non	Oui	Oui	Non	Oui	Oui
Tournage	Non	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui	Oui

barren of ideas, there can be no worthy outcome, either through hand or voice. Ideas and materials for thinking are no doubt largely obtainable from books. But the study of form and colour is in its way as full of suggestion as the study of history. The love of the beautiful is as inspiring and ennobling a factor in human development as the love of the true. Drawing, representation, construction, and decorative work are educational processes as real and vital as reading and writing; they touch as nearly the springs of all that is best in human character. They may have results as valuable and as far-reaching. Professor Fiske has wisely said, — "In a very deep sense, all human science is but the increment of the power of the eye, and all human art is but the increment of the power of the hand. Vision and manipulation — these in countless, indirect, and transfigured forms, are the two co-operating factors in all intellectual progress." We may safely admit all this, and yet not lose sight of the fact that, after all, the main factors in both art and science are the intellectual power, the reflection, the number of ideas, the spiritual insight which lie behind the merely physical powers of vision and manipulation, and which give to those powers all their value.

Variety of aptitude.

One of the strongest arguments which justify the recent popularity of manual training is that, by means of it, we are able to offer an opportunity for the development of special talents and aptitudes for which there is no adequate scope in the ordinary school course. Every school numbers among its scholars some who dislike books, who rebel against merely verbal and memory exercises, but who delight in coming into contact with things, with objects to be touched and shaped, to be built up and taken to pieces — in short, with the material realities of life. And a school system ought to be so

fashioned as to give full recognition to this fact. We cannot permit ourselves, of course, to be wholly dominated by the special preferences and tastes of individual scholars; but we ought to allow them fuller scope than has usually been accorded to them in educational programmes. Every wise teacher knows that in the most perverse and uninteresting scholar there are germs of goodness, aptitudes for some form of useful activity, some possibilities even of excellence, would men observingly distil them out: and that it is the duty of a teacher to discover these, encourage their development, and set them to work. We make a grave mistake if we suppose that all good boys should be good in one way, and that all scholars should be interested in the same things, and reach an equal degree of proficiency in all the subjects of our curriculum. This is, in fact, not possible. Nor, even if it were possible, would it be desirable. So one of the strongest arguments in favour of the recognition of manual and artistic exercises in our schools is, that by them we call into play powers and faculties not evoked by literary studies, and so give a better chance to the varied aptitudes of different scholars. School-boys do not always like the same things. The world would be a much less interesting world than it is if they did. A school course, therefore, should be wide enough, and diversified enough, to give to the largest possible number of scholars a chance of finding something which is attractive to them, and which they will find pleasure in doing.

The dignity of labour.

I think, too, that a legitimate argument in favour of more hand work in schools may be found in the fact that by it we may, if it is wisely managed, overcome the frequent and increasing distaste of many young people for manual labour. In progressive countries there is often a vague notion that such labour is in some way servile

and undignified, and less respectable than employments of another kind. In America, especially, this feeling prevails even to a larger extent than in this country. Perhaps the stimulating climate, the general restlessness and eagerness with which life is carried on, the numerous opportunities for rapidly acquiring wealth, have had a tendency to discourage young and aspiring men and to repel them from handicrafts. There is much in our common conventional phraseology, which implies that physical labour has been imposed on man as a curse, and is a sign of his degradation.[1] It is hard, under these conditions, to awaken in any active-minded community a true respect for the dignity of labour. How is it to be done? Mainly, in my opinion, by associating manual work with intellectual work; by recognizing in our systems of education that all art, even the humblest, rests ultimately on a basis of science, and that hand work, when guided and controlled by knowledge, becomes ennobled, and takes a high rank among the liberal employments of life, even among the pursuits of a gentleman. Take a single example. A century or two ago blood-letting was part of the business of barber-surgeons. They were tradesmen, and their trade was not one of the highest repute. But in time it came to be understood that the operation of bleeding was one which ought neither to be recom-

[1] Jeremy Taylor had learned a higher lore. "If it were not for labour, men neither could eat so much, nor relish so pleasantly, nor sleep so soundly, nor be so healthful nor so useful, so strong nor so patient, so noble nor so untempted. God hath so disposed of the circumstances of this curse, that man's affections are so reconciled to it, that they desire it and are delighted in it. And so the anger of God is ended in loving kindness; and the drop of water is lost in the full chalice of the wine; and the curse is gone out into a multiplied blessing." (Sermon on the Miracles of the Divine Mercy.)

mended nor practised by any but a properly qualified surgeon; and the art, such as it was, ceased to belong to a trade and became part of a profession, and in this way lost all ignoble associations. And, in like manner, it is argued with some truth that, when you make manual dexterity and the right use of tools a part of general education, and duly connect it with a study of form, of beauty, of the properties of the materials employed, and of the laws of mechanical force, you are doing something to surround handicraft with new and more honourable associations, to disarm vulgar prejudice, and to impress the young with a true sense of the dignity of skilled labour.

Limitations to the claims of manual training.

Such are some of the considerations which justify the fuller recognition of finger-training and sense-training generally as parts of a liberal education. But these very considerations are, at the same time, well calculated to warn us not to expect too much from such training if it is not duly co-ordinated with discipline of another kind. The true teacher will not seek to make physical training a rival or competitor with intellectual exercise, but will desire rather to make the whole training of his pupil more harmonious. He will hold fast to the belief that, after all, mental culture is the first business of a school, and ought never to be permitted to become the second. The reaction from excessive bookishness, from the rather abstract character of mere scholastic teaching, is, on the whole, well justified. But the opposite of wrong is not always right; and it would be very easy to make a grave mistake by emphasizing too strongly the value of manual exercise, and making too great claims for it.

What, after all, is the main function of the teacher who is seeking to give to his pupil a right training, and a proper outfit for the struggles and duties of life? It is,

no doubt, to give a knowledge of simple arts, and of those rudiments of knowledge which, by the common consent of all parents and teachers, have been held to be indispensable; but it is also to encourage aspiration, to evoke power, and to place the scholar in the fittest possible condition for making the best of his own faculties and for leading an honourable and useful life.

If this be so, we have to ask, what, among all possible exercises and studies, are the most formative and disciplinal. It has been before shown that, by the law of what are called "concomitant variations," there is such a relation between powers and organs, that the cultivation of one leads, by a reflex action, to the strengthening of the other; you cannot, in fact, call into active exercise any one power without, *pro tanto*, making the exercise of other powers easier. But here we must discriminate. This correlation and this mutual interchange of forces do not act uniformly. Take an example. You want, it may be, to give to a large number of recruits, none of whom have had any previous practice, a knowledge of military evolutions, the power to handle a rifle, and to do the duties of camp life. Say that half of them are clowns fresh from the plough, and the other half are men of similar age who have had a liberal education. Both groups are equally unfamiliar with what you have to teach, but there is no doubt as to which group will learn most quickly. The clowns will need hard work to bring them into discipline. They will misunderstand commands and be clumsy in executing them. The greater intelligence of the second group will be found to tell immediately on the readiness with which they see the meaning of the manœuvres, and on the promptitude and exactness with which they perform them. Here the mental training has been a distinct help to the mere physical exercise. But

it cannot be said in like manner that the handicraftsman is a likelier person than another to take up intellectual labour with zest, and to be specially fitted to do it well. Intelligence helps labour much more than labour promotes intelligence. Nobody who knows the British workman would contend that the practice of a skilled industry — even though it be the successful practice — has carried him very far in the general education of his faculties and the development of his full power as a man and a citizen.

Ever since the time when Socrates paid his memorable visit to the workshops of Athens, it has been a familiar fact of experience that your mere workman may, though skilled, be, so far as his understanding is concerned, a very poor creature, *borné* right and left by the traditions of his craft, and by rules of thumb, and with very confused and imperfect ideas about matters outside the region of his own trade. The truth is that the constant repetition of the same mechanical processes, when practice has enabled us to perform them without further thought, may be rather deadening than helpful to the personal intelligence and capability of the worker. The use of tools, though a good thing, is not the highest, nor nearly the highest thing to be desired in the outfit of a citizen for active life. The difference between a handy and an unhandy man is no doubt important all through life; but the difference between an intelligent, well-read man and another whose mind has been neglected, is fifty times more important, whatever part he may be called on to play hereafter. It is quite possible so to teach the use of tools that the teaching shall have little or no reflex action on other departments of human thought and activity, that it shall appeal little to the reflective, the imaginative, or the reasoning power, and that it may leave its possessor a very dull fellow indeed.

Let us revert for the moment to the experience of Socrates as it is recounted in the *Apologia*. "I betook myself," he says, "to the workshops of the artizans, for here, methought, I shall certainly find some new and beautiful knowledge, such as the philosophers do not possess. And this was true, for the workman could produce many useful and ingenious things." But he goes on to express his disappointment at the intellectual condition of the artizans; their bounded horizons, their incapacity for reasoning, their disdain for other knowledge than their own, and the lack among them of any general mental cultivation or of any strong love of truth for its own sake. He thought that mere skill in handicraft and mere acquaintance with the materials, and with the physical forces employed in a trade, could carry a man no great way in the cultivation of himself and might leave him a very ill-educated person; that, in fact, the man was more important even than the mechanic or the trader, and that in order to be qualified for any of the employments of life, and to be prepared for all emergencies, mental training should go on side by side with the discipline needed for the bread-winning arts.

Needle-work.

We have at hand some more recent experience illustrating the same truth. There has been for many years in our elementary schools one kind of manual and technical work specially subsidized by the State, and indeed enforced as an indispensable condition of receiving any aid or recognition from the Education Department at all. I mean needlework in girls' schools. It fulfils for girls all the conditions which the advocates of technical instruction have in view for boys. It has unquestionable utility. It affords training for eye and hand. It demands attention, accuracy, and dexterity;

and it has an economic value, as one of the means by which the home may be improved, and money earned. It enlists a good deal of sympathy among managers, and the Lady Bountiful or the vicar's wife in a country village is often well content to see the half of every school day spent, not indeed in learning to sew, but in manufacturing garments for home use or for sale. It is thought by many good people to be the most appropriate of all school exercises for girls. It looks so domestic, so feminine, so practical. Perhaps it may seem ungracious to enquire too curiously into the effect of this kind of exercise upon the general capacity of the scholars and upon the formation of their characters. But as a matter of fact, the exercise is often dull and mechanical; it keeps children dawdling for hours over the production of results which, with more skilful and intelligent teaching, might be produced in one-fourth of the time. The place in which the work is done becomes rather a factory than a school, and measures its usefulness rather by the number of garments it can finish than by the number of bright, handy, and intelligent scholars it can turn out. In fact, it is found that proficiency in needlework may co-exist with complete intellectual stagnation, and that the general cultivation of the children, their interest in reading and enquiring has been too often sacrificed to the desire for visible and material results. Some of the sewing is designated with curious irony, *fancy* work. But there is little or no room in it for fancy or inventiveness, or even for the exercise of any originality or taste. So while fully conceding the importance of needlework as an integral part of the primary education of the girls in our schools, I think we are all interested in economizing the time devoted to this work, in seeking to employ better methods of obtaining results, and above

all in remembering that the educational value of mere handiwork is in itself very limited, and that it ought to be supplemented by other discipline if we desire to make the best of our material and to send into the world capable and thoughtful women, ready for the varied duties of domestic and industrial life.

General conclusions.

You will anticipate the inference, which from my own point of view, as an old inspector of schools and training colleges, I am inclined to deduce from these considerations. I entirely admit that our school instruction has long been too bookish, too little practical, and that the friends of technical instruction are fully justified in calling attention to the grave deficiencies in our system, especially to the want of sounder teaching in physical science, and of better training in the application of those sciences to the enrichment of the community and to the practical business of life. And we are all agreed, too, in the belief that apart from the industrial and economic results of better manual instruction, there may be in such instruction a high educational purpose, that it may tell on character, awaken dormant faculty, teach the better use of the senses, and increase the power of the human instrument over matter, and over the difficulties of life. This is the aspect of the problem which naturally is most interesting in the case of scholars who are not intending to get their living by manual industry. Only do not let us exaggerate the educational value of hand work or suppose that all our difficulties are to be solved by turning our schools into workshops. Without co-ordinate intellectual training and development, manual training will only accomplish a part, and not the highest part, of the work which lies before the teachers of the future. There are necessary limitations to its usefulness and it is expedient for us to recognize them.

As to those scholars who are likely hereafter to enter the industrial ranks as the less skilled or inferior workers, we have to bear in mind some of the special disadvantages which are consequent upon modern industrial conditions. Division of labour, specialization of function in factories and workshops, improved machinery, are unquestionable advantages. They are economically valuable; they cheapen production, and we cannot do without them. But educationally they have a narrowing and hurtful effect. A boy or girl set to mind a machine, or feed it with bobbins, a man or woman required to concentrate the whole attention on some minute detail of manufacture or some one article of commerce, fails altogether to obtain that general knowledge of the whole of a trade or business which the obsolete system of apprenticeship demanded, and tended to encourage. He sees parts, he does not see the whole or the relation of his own restricted share of duty to anything larger than itself. He has therefore little or no motive for trying to improve methods, or for concerning himself with the general result. There is no scope for much intelligence or for any inventiveness in connexion with his labour. As Sir Philip Magnus has well said, "Production on a large scale has increased the demand for unskilled labour, and has had the effect of keeping the workman to one routine of mechanical industry, until some machine is devised to take his place."[1] Thus the very perfection to which machinery has been brought has reduced the human machine to a lower position, and has tended to make the work of the rank and file of artizans less interesting to themselves, less helpful in developing the best attributes of manhood, and less relatively important as an industrial factor. Since this result is inevitable, it

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Article, "Technical Education."

behoves us to hold fast by all the means and opportunities of intellectual culture, which are compatible with the changed conditions of modern industrial life.

There are at least two ways in which employers of labour and others who are interested in the career of manual workers can render effective service in the direction here indicated. The first of these is to aim at a higher standard of general knowledge and intellectual discipline in the schools from which technical institutions are recruited, and to insist on evidence of a solid groundwork of elementary acquirement as a condition precedent to the admission of any candidate into the apprentice school or the technical institute.

And a second duty is to urge, whenever possible, upon each of the young people in trade and evening classes, that he should take up one subject at least — it may be history, mathematics, philosophy, poetry, literature, or a foreign language — which has no direct or visible relation to his trade or to the means whereby he hopes to get a living, but is simply chosen because he likes it, because his own character is enriched and strengthened by it, because it helps to give him a wider outlook upon the world of nature, of books, and of men, and because he may thus prepare himself better for the duties of a citizen and a parent, as well as for an honoured place in the ranks of industry.

LECTURE VI

ENDOWMENTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION[1]

Turgot and the *Encyclopédie*. Charitable foundations in France. Avoidable and unavoidable evils. Almshouses. Religious charities: Tests and disqualifications. Colston's Charity in Bristol. The Girard College in Philadelphia. Charities with restricted objects. Doles. Illegal bequests and useless charities. Educational charities. The early Grammar Schools. Charity Schools. Contrast between the educational endowments of the sixteenth and those of the eighteenth century. Causes of decadence. Influence on the teachers. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869. Origin of charitable endowments. The equitable rights of founders. The State interested in maintaining these rights. Endowments may encourage variety and new experiments: but sometimes prevent improvement. Conditions of vitality in endowed institutions: — That the object should be a worthy one: that the mode of attaining it should not be too rigidly prescribed. The Johns Hopkins University. Sir Josiah Mason's foundations. Supervision and needful amendment the duty of the State. Constitution of governing bodies. Publicity. Summary of practical conclusions. England and America.

Turgot and the Encyclopédie.

In a memorable article entitled "Fondations," contributed by Turgot to the French *Encyclopédie* in 1757 but for some unexplained reason — either modesty, or the fear of identifying himself in too pronounced a manner

[1] This lecture was delivered in the Pennsylvania University at the Annual Meeting of the College Association of Philadelphia.

with the enemies of vested interests — not acknowledged by him until many years after, there is a forcible and thoughtful argument respecting endowments and their practical effect. He contends that the motive which leads a founder to perpetuate his own name and his own notions is often to be traced to mere vanity. The testator, he says, is apt to be ignorant of the nature of the problem he desires to solve and of the best way of solving it. He is seldom gifted with a wise foresight of the future and of its wants. He puts into his deed of gift theories, projects and restrictions which are found by his successors to be utterly unworkable. He seeks to propagate opinions which posterity disbelieves and does not want. He takes elaborate precautions against dangers which never arise. He omits to guard against others which a little experience shows to be serious and inevitable. He assumes that his own convictions and his own enthusiasm will be transmitted to subsequent generations of trustees and governors, when in fact he is only placing in their way a sore temptation, at best to negligence and insincerity, at worst to positive malversation and corruption. In fine, Turgot shows by an appeal to history that endowments often foster and keep alive many of the very evils they profess to remedy, and that instead of enriching and improving posterity, they not seldom have the direct effect of demoralizing it.

Charitable foundations in France.

The *fondations à perpetuité* which Turgot had in view when he wrote this remarkable essay were hospitals, convents, religious houses, masses, academies, professorships, prizes, the encouragement of games and sports, and other forms of public benefaction. He did not object on principle to large and generous gifts for such purposes, but it was indispensable, he contended, that such gifts should be made and expended in the donor's lifetime,

and adapted to present needs rather than to conjectural and possibly mistaken forecasts of future events. His whole argument is directed against the perpetuation of rules and ordinances, not against their enactment by benefactors who could watch their operation and see that they were obeyed. Had he lived a century later he might have found the most striking confirmation of his views in the history of endowments in England. A few of these he would have seen were of undoubted public utility, but a great many existed for objects which were manifestly mischievous; others were kept up rather in the interests of those who administered them than of those for whom the original charity was intended; others were designed as permanent remedies for evils which in the course of time had wholly disappeared; while others, though contemplating lawful and even laudable ends, sought to attain them by means so antiquated and cumbrous that they were utterly useless. In short, every successive generation has enriched the history of charities with new examples and new warnings. These things are written for our instruction. They ought to enable men better than in the age of Turgot to discriminate between the wise and the foolish, the useless and the mischievous forms of charitable endowment.

Avoidable and unavoidable evils.

For example, there is no more important distinction to be kept in view by the truly charitable than that between avoidable evils and those which are inevitable. Poverty and all its attendant ills belong to the former class. They cannot always be remedied. But within certain limits they are always preventable. With more skill, more industry and more prudence they might in most cases have been avoided. Yet poverty, as we know, is one of the commonest and most conspicuous of human misfortunes, and it is the one to the cure of

which charity oftenest addresses itself. A benevolent man is distressed as he sees the evidences of it all around him, and he longs to alleviate it. He is unwilling to see that his gifts will probably produce more poverty than they will heal. For they may help to diminish, in the class from which the recipients are drawn, the spirit of self-control and independence, and to give a new motive for idleness to the unthrifty and the vicious. It may be that in early life he has experienced the inconveniences of poverty, and in later life the relief and blessing of competence. He desires that others who have reached the later stage of their journey should enjoy, as he has done, the tranquillity and freedom from care which beseem old age. It may seem ungracious to remind him that he himself has earned his repose by strenuous exertion and self-denial, and that it is this one fact which entitles him to his rest, and gives dignity and appropriateness to it. Yet it is needful that he should consider this, for unless he takes many and wise precautions, his gift may be the means of preventing other men from following his own excellent example; and may, not improbably, be appropriated by idle and shiftless loafers who have never earned the right to honourable retirement, and in whose case old age is without dignity and repose without charm.

Almshouses.

There is, for example, no form of posthumous charity which appeals more impressively at once to the imagination and to the benevolent instinct than an Almshouse or Home for the aged. Pope says admiringly of Kyrle, the philanthropist of his day, well known as the Man of Ross:

> "Behold the market place with poor o'erspread,
> The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread;
> He feeds yon almshouse neat, devoid of state,
> Where age and want sit smiling at the gate."

This pretty picture is one which to the superficial observer is not without attraction, although it cannot fail to bring into some minds the suspicion that the town of Ross, after all, was likely to become the refuge of mendicants from all the country side. However, one sees in many a town in England a quaint and picturesque building, with its quadrangular court-yard, its many gables and its chapel, all dedicated to the repose and sustenance of old people, the decayed members of a trade, a guild or a municipality. But one enters the precincts and finds too often a querulous and unhappy community, chafing under religious and social restraints which are foreign to all their previous habits, and distracted by small jealousies and quarrels. The truth is that a community of old people who have nothing in common but their age and their poverty is a wholly artificial product of so-called benevolence. And it is not a satisfactory product, because it is not founded on a true estimate of the needs of old age. Nature would rather teach us that the proper home for old people is among the young and the happy, from whom, on the one hand, they may receive pleasure and cheerfulness, and to whom they may in turn impart what is best in their own experience. This view receives striking confirmation from the history of Greenwich Hospital, a stately institution of which Englishmen have been for two centuries not a little proud. It occupies a lordly site on the Thames. Macaulay designated it "the noblest of European hospitals, a memorial of the virtues of the good Queen Mary, of the love and sorrow of William, and of the great victory of La Hogue." Until recently this great palatial institution sheltered 1,600 old seamen, who were maintained at a total annual cost of about £125,000, or more than £75 per man. About

half of this sum, however, was found on inquiry to be consumed in expenses of management. The seamen of the better class were unwilling to enter the hospital owing to the domestic restraints which the discipline of the institution imposed, and because they were unwilling to sacrifice the friendships and associations of their lives. When these facts were brought to light, a measure was passed in 1865 enabling the Admiralty to offer to the sailors as an alternative to residence in the hospital a moderate pension, with liberty to reside with their own relatives. The annuity was fixed at £45. The proposal was at once gladly embraced by two-thirds of the inmates, and it is greatly preferred by all the new pensioners. Since the change was made there has been considerable improvement in the health of the men, and the annual death-rate has been much reduced. The sum saved by abandoning the more picturesque for the more prosaic and practical form of benevolence has nearly sufficed to double the number of seamen assisted by the charity.

Religious charities.

There are in England many endowments impressed strongly with a religious character, and designed for the double purpose of relieving distress and of promoting the interests of the religious body to which the founder happened to belong. One need not go far to seek the reasons for the existence of such foundations. A man who is earnestly attached to his own communion feels himself in special sympathy with the needs of his fellow-worshippers and prefers them to any other recipients of such bounty as he may have to bestow. What more natural than that he should bequeath gifts of clothes or doles of bread to be distributed among those who attend the services of his own church! What more reasonable

than for him to suppose that in this way he is not only helping the poor, but that he is also encouraging them to feel an interest in the religious worship which he most approves! But soon a result occurs which he probably has not foreseen. Claimants for his bounty come to the church and profess conformity to its creed, for the sake of obtaining his gifts. I know a London clergyman who found on entering upon his duties a number of poor people regularly coming on Sunday to receive the Sacrament. This seemed to him a gratifying incident in a parish in which there was a good deal of religious apathy and other discouragements. He expressed to the clerk his pleasure at seeing so many poor communicants. "Oh, sir," was the reply, "of course they come for the doles. It has long been our custom to distribute the parochial charities only to those who partake of the Lord's Supper." The new vicar was shocked, and desired it to be made known that for the future attendance at the Sacrament would not be regarded as constituting any claim on the charities, and that absence from it would be no disqualification, but that all future claims on the fund would be inquired into on their own merits, and without any reference to church attendance. From that day not one of these applicants has ever come to church to receive the Sacrament. Cases like this may well remind us how fatal to true religion, as well as to true charity, is any attempt to make the distribution of alms serve even indirectly as a religious propaganda. All bounties and premiums on the profession of belief have an inevitable tendency to profane and vulgarize sacred ordinances, and to encourage insincere religious profession, if not actual hypocrisy and falsehood.

Religious tests and religious

In the history of civil institutions in England, experience has revealed to us the mischief and even the

disqualifications.

profanity of religious tests. It was during a century and a half a national scandal that the Test and Corporation Acts, and all the formidable penalties of the Clarendon Code, made conformity to the Established Church, signing the Thirty-Nine Articles, or participation in eucharistic services indispensable to the holding of offices. One by one all such Acts have, during the present century, been repealed, and the ancient universities have been freed from the necessity of imposing subscription to the Articles or other religious tests on candidates for degrees. But although Parliament has not hesitated to rectify the mistakes of its predecessors, it has always shown reluctance to interfere with the legislation of private founders, and accordingly we have seen illiberal and mischievous regulations surviving in charitable institutions long after the good sense and practical experience of statesmen have succeeded in removing similar regulations from the Statute Book. Let me give to you two illustrations of this assertion, the one drawn from an educational foundation in my own country, and the other from one in this city of Philadelphia.

Colston's charity in Bristol.

Early in the eighteenth century there lived in Bristol one Edward Colston, who, at his death, made large bequests to his native city. To this day his memory is revered by the citizens, and pious orgies in his honour are annually celebrated on his birthday. Among other good works he founded a hospital-school. He was a very zealous member of the Established Church, and he was determined that his new foundation should subserve the interests of that body. In his deed he not only gave orders respecting the learning of the Catechism and the diligent attendance of the children at church twice on every Sunday and saints' days, but further ordained that the apprentice fee to be given to a boy on leaving school should

be paid only if the master to whom he was bound was "in all respects conformable to the Established Church."

He further ordered that "in case the parents of any boy in the hospital shall prevail on him to go or be present at any conventicle or meeting *on pretence of religious worship*, or by word or action prevail with or deter any child from attending the public worship according to the religion established in the Church of England, then it shall be lawful for the trustees to expel such child and to take away his clothing." He proceeds to add several minatory clauses addressed to any possible future trustees who should consent to the education of the boys in any but the fashion thus prescribed, "it being entirely contrary to my inclinations that any of the boys should be educated in fanaticism, or in principles any way repugnant to those of the present Established Church." These ordinances were carried out in all their rigour from 1708 until the enactment of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, under which a scheme was framed revoking many of the trusts, and releasing the trustees from any obligation to give effect to those of the founders' wishes which were plainly out of harmony with the needs and the circumstances, and, indeed, with the public conscience of the nineteenth century.

The Girard College in Philadelphia.

In this city of Philadelphia you have a very noble and richly endowed hospital, called Girard College, which, in its own way, illustrates the point now under discussion. When I went to visit it I was asked first if I was a minister of religion, and a copy of an extract from the will of Stephen Girard, the founder, was put into my hands: "I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary or minister of any sect whatsoever shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College, nor shall any such person ever be admitted as

a visitor within the premises appropriated to the said College." Now it is quite certain that if such an ordinance as this had at any time been enacted by the State legislature, or laid down by a Court, it would have been repealed long ago. Common sense, right feeling and experience would have shown its absurdity. But because Stephen Girard is beyond reach, and there are no means of consulting him and convincing him of its absurdity, and because the superstition which attaches inordinate sacredness to founders' intentions is prevalent in the New World as well as in the Old, whatever evil he may have done by this ordinance of his is practically irremediable. And I suppose this splendid foundation will for years to come be deprived of the services and the sympathy of many persons whose aid would be much valued by the trustees if they were at liberty to invoke it; and that regulations will continue to be in force which are a standing and public insult to all the ministers of religion, and which will cause thousands of children at the most impressionable period of their lives to be alienated not only from communion with Christian Churches, but from religion itself.

Charities with restricted objects.

It frequently happens that a fund is left with strict injunctions that it shall be applied for ever to a very limited purpose; and in due time the fund is augmented till its amount is out of all proportion to the need it is intended to supply. I know a village in England to which a former inhabitant bequeathed the rent of a small estate with directions that it should be annually spent in gifts to the poor widows of the parish. Time went on, a valuable vein of brick earth was found on the estate, the annual income was increased nearly ten-fold; but the population of the village remained stationary. That is to say, it would have remained so but for an extensive

immigration of widows from the neighbouring towns and villages, who have contrived to dislocate all the social arrangements of the little parish, and to introduce into it a disturbing and not always reputable element. The trustees were embarrassed, and after a long time sought relief from the Legislature, with power to enlarge and vary the trusts. But this was a strong and very unpopular measure; the claimants technically entitled under the founder's will, though as a class they were probably lowered and demoralized by his gifts, loudly proclaimed their right to receive them; and long before the trusts were altered grave evils had arisen, and the whole district had learned to look on the endowment as a curse rather than a blessing.

Doles.

Dole funds and small charities for distribution among the poor have been very favourite forms of benevolence, and they are to be found in hundreds of English parishes. Everywhere they are the despair of the clergy and of all who have the real interests of the labouring class at heart. These gifts, it has been repeatedly shown, pauperize the people and destroy their sense of shame. One witness adds: "The poor people spend more time looking after such gifts than would suffice to gain the same sums by industry." In a remarkable speech, in the House of Commons, in 1863, Mr Gladstone said: "The dead hand of the founder of an annual dole does not distinguish between the years of prosperity among the labouring classes and years of distress: in prosperous years it leads those who are not in need to represent themselves to be so; it holds out annual hopes to improvidence, it more frequently excites jealousy and ill-feeling than good-will, both on the part of the recipients towards the distributors of the charity, and among the recipients themselves. For one person who receives

substantial benefit from these doles, many feel their demoralizing effect."

It would be an endless task to enumerate the various forms of charitable endowment which subsequent experience has shown to be either useless or positively harmful. One man provides a house for lepers and an estate the income of which is to be devoted for ever to the maintenance of that house. Another bequeaths a large sum for the redemption of prisoners taken captive by pirates on the Barbary coast. Now it is plain that when it comes to pass that there are no lepers to be found in the country, and that Barbary pirates have ceased to infest the Mediterranean, there arises the need for some new disposition of the testator's bounty. But long after that day arrives it is found that there are persons concerned more or less with the administration of the fund, and interested in its continuance, who plead that perchance the evil provided against by the founder may re-appear, and that meanwhile it is a sin and sacrilege to divert the fund to objects which he did not specify.

Illegal and useless charities.

There are some forms of posthumous gifts which, tenderly as the English law regards the will of testators, are nevertheless held to be illegal and inconsistent with public policy. A sum of money bequeathed to pay the fines of offenders under the game laws was held to be an invalid charity, because it directly encouraged a breach of the law. Another bequest providing funds for the political restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem, to their own land, was ruled by the judges to be illegal, because, if carried into effect, it was calculated to create a revolution in a friendly country and to embroil the English with the Ottoman Empire. At the Reformation, and afterwards, many statutes were enacted declaring void all gifts for "superstitious uses," a term which has been variously

interpreted within the last three centuries, according to the degrees of toleration prevalent at the time, but which still extends in England to masses, and to prayers for the dead. On the other hand, so great a sacredness has attached in England to the intentions of founders, that many bequests have been accepted and scrupulously observed, which nevertheless it would obviously be the interest of the community to reject. A foundling hospital offers a direct encouragement to illegitimate births. A permanent dole fund tempts poor people to falsehood or to exaggeration, and its very existence diminishes one of the motives of thrift and self-restraint. An apprentice fund which was once well adapted to the industrial needs of the community continues to exist long after the system of apprentice premiums has been abolished in ordinary trade. Such funds are found in practice to furnish in disguise a charitable dole to certain parents and to be of no service whatever in qualifying children to become skilled artizans. At a small village in Yorkshire I found an endowment of nearly £1000 a year carefully administered in precise accordance with the will of the founder, who two hundred years ago had enjoined his executors to see that the letter R, the initial of his own name, should be conspicuously embroidered on the dress of all the recipients of his bounty. His injunctions were still obeyed. Three old men, three old women and twelve boys walked about the village thus decorated, in pious remembrance of their venerated founder, and on his birthday listened annually to a sermon extolling his merits. In all these, and hundreds of similar cases, endowments characterized from the first by vanity, by want of true foresight, and by their tendency to aggravate the very evils they profess to remedy, have been permitted to survive whatever of usefulness they originally

possessed. *Eripitur persona, manet res.* The property remains, the short-sighted regulations of a past century continue in force; but the intelligent direction, the spirit of genuine philanthropy which would probably have modified these regulations, has disappeared, and the men of this generation are half reluctant, half unable to find an effective substitute for it.

Educational charities.

But it is in regard to the history of education in England that some of the most remarkable and instructive lessons have been furnished to us as to the working of the principle of endowment. Here, at least, we seem to be in a region in which there is less danger of abuse. Poverty, destitution, crime, are, it may be admitted, evils that may be fostered and increased by gifts which are clumsily designed to prevent them. But ignorance is an evil which admits of a remedy, and which he who suffers from it cannot always remedy without help. Nobody voluntarily becomes ignorant in order that he may share a gift intended to provide him with knowledge. In establishing universities or schools for the young, and in providing instruction of a quality which the parent would be unable to procure for his children, the pious founder would seem at least to be on safer ground, and to be in a position to render a real service to his country. And as a fact, some of the noblest foundations in England are its universities and public schools. They have, on the whole, originated in higher motives, and their founders have been animated by a more enlightened perception of the public interest than charities of almost any other kind. But a brief glance at their history will show that even here the incurable vices that are wont to breed in all foundations have thriven hardly less than elsewhere — stagnation, corruption, negligence, and a fatal incapacity to adapt themselves to the

changed circumstances and needs of successive generations.

The early Grammar Schools.

The ancient "grammar schools" of England owe their origin mainly to the Tudor period. Before the accession of Henry VIII there were but thirty-five such institutions in England, including Eton, Carlisle and Winchester, and a few others, which had been founded as chantries, or were otherwise connected with ecclesiastical establishments. But it was the dissolution of the monasteries which at once gave the impetus to the establishment of such schools, and furnished the means of sustaining them. And it is a fortunate circumstance for England that the same event which set free large resources for these special uses happened to coincide with the revival of learning, with the Protestant Reformation and with the quickening of intellectual energy and of the spirit of inquiry throughout the land. During successive generations, down to the period of the Civil War, nearly eight hundred "grammar school" foundations were created. One uniform purpose is manifest in the testaments, the deeds of gift and the early statutes by which the character of these schools was intended to be shaped. It is to encourage the pursuit of a liberal education founded on the ancient languages — then the only studies which had been so far formulated and systematized as to possess a disciplinal character. It is almost invariably stipulated in the instrument of foundation that the master is to be a learned man; that he shall be apt and godly, qualified to instruct in good letters and good manners; and that he shall receive as his pupils children of all ranks.

Charity Schools.

But it is notable that by the end of the seventeenth century a great change seems to have come over the minds of testators and benevolent people in regard to

this matter of education. The endowed schools, which owe their origin to this period, aim no longer at the general diffusion of a liberal education, or at the encouragement of all classes in the common pursuit of knowledge and culture. They are for a limited number of the poor, but for the poor alone. They are designed rather to repress than to stimulate intellectual ambition; and, consciously or unconsciously, they were adapted less to bring rich and poor together than to set up new barriers between them. There has been no period of our history in which the social separation of classes has been more marked and more jealous than at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The disappearance of the last vestiges of feudalism, under the legislation of Charles II and of William, synchronized with the steady growth among the upper and middle classes of a kind of social and religious conservatism, which was none the less strong because the legal securities for its maintenance were passing away. The Act of Uniformity had been designed to crush out Dissent. The Toleration Act of the next generation was in fact a legal admission that this design had failed, and that Nonconformity was a force which must now be recognized. To the resolute Churchmen of the beginning of the eighteenth century, to such men as Edward Colston, of whom I have already spoken, and Robert Nelson, the author of the "Fasts and Festivals," this was a sad and ominous fact, and they and their friends sought to neutralize its effect by more diligent teaching of the liturgy and formularies of the Church of England in schools for the poor. The prevalence of Dissent, it was feared, would imperil the social order. A fear lest the poor should be encouraged by it to forget the duties of their station and to encroach upon the privileges of the rich is very evident in much

of the literature and some of the legislation of the age. And there is no more significant token of the changed feeling with which the rich had come to regard the poor than the simple fact that, whereas in the sixteenth century Englishmen founded grammar schools, in the eighteenth they founded charity schools.

Contrast between the educational endowments of the sixteenth and those of the eighteenth century.

Schools of the latter class rapidly multiplied during the last century and the beginning of the present. They are founded on a conception of education partly religious and partly feudal, but almost wholly ignoble and humiliating, and some of them exist to our own day in striking contrast to the grammar school foundations of earlier generations. The charity school children were to be sedulously discouraged from learning more than was supposed to be necessary for the discharge of the humblest duties of life. But the scholars in the grammar schools were either to be the sons of gentlemen, or were to be treated as such. They were to be brought within the reach of the highest cultivation that the nation can afford; they were to be encouraged to proceed from school to the universities; and special provision was always made to tempt into this higher region of learning and gentleness the child of the yeoman and the peasant, in order that, if quickwitted and diligent, he too might be trained up to serve God in Church and State.

Yet upon nearly all these institutions alike the curse of barrenness seems to have fallen. An official investigation, in which it was my duty to take an active share in 1865, extended over the whole country and revealed the fact that nearly all these schools, whether designed to furnish a liberal education, or only to give to the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" the humble training supposed to be needed in order to fit them for the meanest duties, were in a lamentable state of decay and

inefficiency. The body of testimony obtained by the "Schools Inquiry Commission" is especially conclusive in regard to the endowed Grammar Schools. The buildings and school furniture were, in a majority of cases, most unsatisfactory; the number of scholars who were obtaining the sort of education in Latin and Greek contemplated by the founders was very small, and was constantly diminishing; the general instruction in other subjects was found to be very worthless, the very existence of statutes prescribing the ancient learning often serving as a reason for the absence of all teaching of modern subjects; and, with a few honourable exceptions, the endowed schools were found, in 1865—7, to be characterized by inefficient supervision on the part of the governing bodies and by languor and feebleness on the part of teachers and taught. I know no more melancholy chapter in English history than is supplied by the ponderous volumes of the Schools Inquiry Commission. It is a history of great resources wasted, of high hopes frustrated, and of means and plans wholly unsuited to the ends proposed to be attained.

Causes of decadence.

When the causes of this decadence came to be investigated, it was found that much of it was owing to the faulty constitution of the trusts. Some were close corporations of private friends, with power of perpetual renewal by co-optation; some were small bodies of vestrymen; others were municipal or trading companies, wholly destitute of educational experience. In some the trustees were too remote from the place to have any vital interest in the welfare of the charity; in others they were so closely identified with the town or village that they were incapable of taking a general view of the interests of the whole district and of its educational wants. In all, they were isolated from each other, self-

controlled, and often practically self-constituted, without motive for activity, or any external aid or guidance as to the form which a wise activity should assume. The masters generally held freehold offices and were practically not removeable, even for serious inefficiency, without costly litigation. Above all, the governing bodies were in every case hampered by traditions, by founders' wills and statutory provisions, which they could not carry out if they would, but which effectually prevented them from making any organic improvement.

Influence on the teachers.

And the pressure of the dead hand on the teachers was not less heavy. One can understand and respect the position of a schoolmaster who takes his stand resolutely *super vias antiquas*, who refuses to be beguiled by modern innovations into a neglect of the clearly expressed will of the school founder, and who steadfastly narrows his own aims in the direction of an ideal of scholarship, which he has learned from Ascham, from Milton, or from Busby. And one may view, not without respect, though perhaps with less sympathy, the teacher who, finding the ancient grammar school theory hopelessly untenable, determines to disregard it altogether, and to lay himself out to meet the importunate and not always intelligent demands of a restless and mercantile age. But the saddest part of the experience of the Commissioners appears to have been the discovery that four-fifths of the endowed schools were fulfilling neither the one purpose nor the other; and that the whole machinery, while in some cases producing positive mischief, by occupying the ground and preventing the establishment of good modern schools, was even in the best cases yielding results sadly inadequate to its costliness, and unsuited to the educational wants of the community for whose benefit it was designed.

The Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

These evils have been to a large extent remedied. The revelations of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners led, in 1869, to the establishment of a new Executive Commission, with large powers to alter the schemes of instruction, to reconstruct the governing bodies, to set free funds for providing scholarships and exhibitions, and generally to bring the endowed schools into harmony with modern needs. But it required a very drastic and revolutionary Act of Parliament to effect this — an Act which shocked many prejudices, and was passed not without difficulty; which came into rude conflict with many venerable and touching local associations, and which could not in fact have been enacted at all had not the evils of the old state of things become intolerable. The Commission which reported in 1894 furnished ample evidence of the beneficent effect of this Act and recommended the continuance and even the enlargement of the powers possessed by public authority to remedy such evils. It showed, too, that the public was being reconciled, far more than it was in 1869, to the freer handling by the State in regard to ancient trusts. But this occasional legislation is not that which a wise statesman prefers, or contemplates with any satisfaction. It is not by the periodical removal of a mountain of accumulated abuses, but by such prudent provisions as shall prevent abuses from accumulating that the true interests of the body politic are best secured. And we shall be helped to understand the nature of those provisions if we look a little further into the origin and the practical working of endowments generally.

Origin of charitable endowments.

It were to inquire too curiously, to peer into the motives in which endowments originate. Mr Lecky in his *History of European Morals* has shown that in very early Christian ages the substitution of devotion for

philanthropy generated a belief in the expiatory or meritorious nature of eleemosynary gifts. "A love of what may be called selfish charity arose," he says, "which assumed at last gigantic proportions, and exerted a most pernicious influence upon Christendom. Men gave money to the poor simply and exclusively for their own spiritual benefit, and the welfare of the sufferer was altogether foreign to their thoughts." And it must be owned that Christian teachers in all ages have done much to encourage the belief that almsgiving and charitable foundations were a profitable form of investment. "Spare not," says Sir Thomas Browne, "when thou canst not easily be prodigal, and fear not to be undone by mercy; for since he who hath pity on the poor lendeth unto the Almighty rewarder, who observes no ides but every day for his payments, charity becomes pious usury, Christian liberality the most thriving industry, and what we adventure in a cock-boat may return in a carrack to us. He who thus casts his bread upon the waters shall surely find it again."[1] Considerations of this cynical kind have been urged with more or less of insistence upon rich people in all ages, and have been found so potent, especially in the near approach of death, that society, notwithstanding its general approval of charity in all its forms, has been compelled in its own defence to enact from time to time laws of *mortmain*, forbidding the permanent alienation of lands to quasi-religious or charitable uses within a year before the donor's death. But when once the gift has taken legal effect the English law, and still more the English custom, have always been in favour of treating with special sacredness and reverence the intentions and dispositions of the giver. And thus it would seem that we actually elevate to the rank of legislators a body of

[1] *Religio Medici.*

men who have had no other qualification to exercise such a function than is represented by the accident that they had money to dispose of. Much of the education of England, and many of its most important public and social interests have, during many centuries, been dominated by a code of laws which has never been deliberately sanctioned by the legislature, but is the creation of a number of amateur statesmen, few of whom possessed much political foresight, and most of whom were destitute of any strong sense of reponsibility to the public. Yet it is to this parliament of dead men, self-constituted, heterogeneous and sometimes incompetent, that we have been accustomed to pay as much deference and to assign as much real power as to King, Lords and Commons put together. We have dealt more tenderly with its caprices, we have sought more anxiously to interpret its utterances, and we have been in far greater dread of overruling or revoking its decisions. The explanation of the deep-rooted instinct which underlies this policy is not far to seek. It is the name of benevolence which beguiles our judgment. We have a natural but rather vague impression that charity, almsgiving and provision for the ignorant or the helpless are very sacred things, and it is exceedingly difficult for us to look with fresh eyes on the question whether after all there is any real sacrifice or self-denial in trying to control the expenditure of our money when it is no longer in our power to enjoy it. Says the Duke to Claudio,

> "If thou art rich, thou art poor;
> For, like the ass whose back with ingots bows,
> Thou bearest thy heavy riches but a journey,
> And Death unloads thee." [1]

But this is precisely the arrangement to which many

[1] *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 25.

a charitable founder declines to submit. He refuses to be unladen by death of his wealth or of the influence which wealth gives. He will not leave his successors at liberty to use their own discretion as to the disposal of what will fall to their share, but claims to control it permanently, and thus to purchase a quasi-immortality for himself. He is more concerned to erect a big, impressive institution which may loom large in the eyes of posterity and bear his name than to enquire what is the wisest and most effective way of providing educational or other help for those he most desires to benefit. In a sense not contemplated by the Apostle, charity is thus often made to "cover a multitude of sins."

The equitable rights of founders.

It is often argued that a man has a right to do what he will with his own, whether what is his own has become so by inheritance or by acquisition. Grant, it is said, that it is for the public interest to leave the privilege of bequest unfettered in relation to children or private friends, and you are equally bound to concede that right in respect to any public objects which the testator may prefer. There is, however, an important distinction here. If a man leaves money to me, or even if he leaves me only a life interest in an estate, I am at least at liberty to spend the income as I will. If, in bequeathing an income to me, he also prescribed minutely the way in which I should spend it — if, for example, he desired that I should employ the whole revenue in the purchase of coats of a particular cut and pattern, with his initials embroidered on the collar, I should probably decline to accept the legacy. But when the community or some section of it is the legatee, it is always assumed that it is bound to accept the gift, and to observe as a sacred trust all the conditions, however fanciful, which the giver has chosen to impose. Endowments come to the public on

a condition which never applies to private benefactions at all; viz., on the condition that the beneficiaries shall spend the annual income in the way prescribed by the giver. In both of these cases he exercises the very reasonable right of nominating his successor. But in one case he does more than this, for he not only names the public as his heir, but he undertakes to determine for all future time, the mode in which the revenue of his estate shall be expended. There is, in fact, no analogy between a private gift or bequest on the one hand, and a permanent endowment for a public purpose on the other. Nor would the equitable conditions of the two kinds of benevolence admit of fair comparison, unless the State, as representing the community, which is after all the legatee supposed to receive the advantage of the benefaction, asserted for herself the twofold right which belongs to every private legatee: (1) To judge for herself whether the conditions attached to the gift are such as to make it worth acceptance; and (2) to spend the income of the endowment in the way which she deems best for her own interest and for meeting her own needs.

This second condition, of course, cannot in practice be fulfilled without undermining the foundation of endowments altogether. If it were, and not until it were fulfilled it would be possible to apply the same reasoning *in foro conscientiæ* to the validity and sacredness of private and of public bequests. But as a matter of fact and of human experience, all civilized States are found in different degrees willing to accept gifts from dying men, and to give to the provisions of their deeds of gift the force of law. It is needless to discuss the question of natural right in this case. Probably if we could look on the question with eyes purged rom all prejudice and consult Nature herself, she would reply that no man has a right

to do more than administer such resources as he possesses; and that when he ceases to live he ceases to be a fitting director of the expenditure derived from property, and ought to leave the control of that expenditure to his heirs, or, failing heirs, to the community as represented for the time being by its responsible government. We may, however, leave to speculative philosophers the discussion of the question, How far is the power of distribution by bequest based on natural right? For practical purposes we know that this power is the creation of law and of expediency, and that all civilized States recognize it and protect its exercise. It is, therefore, open to us to consider, on grounds of expediency and experience only, what are the reasons which justify States in thus protecting the privilege of bequest, and within what limits, if any, that privilege should be restricted.

The State interested in maintaining these rights.

It is obvious, in the first place, that the State is interested in encouraging the acquisition of property. Almost every man who succeeds in amassing a fortune by honourable means must, in the act of amassing it, have put forth power and exercised virtues which have helped to enrich the State. The whole community is concerned to diminish the temptation to idleness on the part of its members, and to put all reasonable bounties and premiums upon those efforts by which wealth is accumulated. And among such bounties and premiums, the legal right to make a man's wishes operative after his death, and so to secure, what we all value, a little share of posthumous influence, a small fragment of immortality, is one of the most effective. Apart, therefore, from all considerations respecting the ultimate value of a gift to a beneficiary, it is certain that the power to dispose of property is itself a great incentive to accumulation, and

is one which, in her own interest, the State does well to provide.

We have all, as citizens, a further motive for giving a reasonable encouragement to public benefactions. It is good that a man should care about some larger interests than those which concern his own person and family. These last have, no doubt, the first claim upon him; but unless his sympathies extend further, he is a poor creature, and unworthy to be the inheritor of great benefits and great traditions. Our debt to parents cannot, of course, be fully paid to parents; the largest part of it must be paid to those towards whom in time we shall occupy the place of ancestors. This is Nature's provision for the transmission of nearly all that is good in the world. Gratitude to one's predecessors must in practice be shown by acts which will excite the gratitude of our successors. And the legal sanction given to endowments is one mode of keeping alive this feeling of moral obligation to posterity, this recognition of the fact that each human being is a link by which what is best in the past should be united with what shall be still better in the future. Without such recognition mankind would slowly degenerate. If there be a man who thinks that, as soon as he has done with the world, it matters not what becomes of it, the sooner the world has done with him the better. The "enthusiasm of humanity," which is the product of the Christian faith, and the sense of duty to posterity which Comte inculcated and which forms one of the cardinal items in the Positivist code, are alike in this, that they seek to awaken in man some solicitude about the future of his race, and some desire to have an honourable share in the moulding of that future. All our polity, legal and social, all our history and all our experience ought gradually to deepen and enlarge this

sense of obligation towards posterity. If it be not deepened and enlarged, then Christianity and civilization alike fail to fulfil their purpose.

Endowments may encourage variety, and new experiments.

Apart from the moral influence on national character and on the spirit of citizenship, which may be maintained by preserving the right of endowment, there is a practical advantage which we cannot overlook. The tendency of all improvement is towards differentiation, not to uniformity.[1] Every nation is interested in encouraging new varieties of enterprise and new forms of experiment in regard to the solution of its public problems. An autocratic government seeks to mould all institutions after one official pattern; undertakes to deal with such matters as railways, poverty, education and religion in accordance with a fixed plan, and thus *pro tanto* discourages all private initiative. But the government which best suits free men welcomes the co-operation of all citizens in efforts for social amelioration. It has no horror of fads and crotchets and new types of institutions. It knows well that the originality and inventiveness of private citizens make up a large part of the public wealth; and that out of experiments, which at first appeared to be useless, and even ridiculous, some of the most valuable results have grown. J. S. Mill has said: "Since trial alone can decide whether any particular experiment is successful, latitude should be given for carrying on the experiment until the trial is complete. For the length of time, therefore, which individual foresight can reasonably be supposed to cover, and during which circumstances are not likely to have so totally changed as to make the effect of the gift entirely different from what the giver intended, there is an obvious propriety in

[1] See *ante*, p. 106.

abiding by his disposition. . . . Within the probable limits of human foresight, the more scope that is given to the varieties of human individuality, the better."[1]

But sometimes serve to prevent improvement.

The energetic plea of Mr Mill for endowments as a means of perpetuating new, original, possibly eccentric and unpopular, but ultimately valuable forms of public benevolence and educational activity would be more weighty if his argument had not been tested in England by centuries of experience. It was my duty to examine and report upon upwards of one hundred endowed grammar schools before the great reform of 1869, and their most notable feature was their curious sameness. Whatever was striking and novel in the original conception of the founder had long ago disappeared; but the restrictions remained in full force. The founder's directions that the instruction should be confined to Latin and Greek had the effect of furnishing a reason why nothing else should be taught; but in very rare cases did they have the effect of teaching even those languages well. The dead hand everywhere repressed originality, discouraged all effort on the part of teachers to get out of the groove; but in no case was it an instrument of improvement. Variety, enterprise, freshness, enthusiasm, even eccentricity, are all of them, in their way, potent factors in the improvement of education. We cannot afford to dispense with them. The more we can have of them the better. But sad experience leads us to conclude that none of these have been produced by endowments. There is nothing more monotonous than the routine practised by mere pedants, who are repressed and hampered by statutes and ordinances to which they must pay a nominal respect, but which it is now

[1] John Stuart Mill, *Dissertations*, Vol. IV. p. 6.

impossible to obey either in the spirit or the letter. For however enlightened the view of the founders may have been relating to the needs of their own contemporaries, the very fact that those views are embodied in statutes and ordinances renders them difficult if not incapable of modification when new and unexpected circumstances arise. Hence come stagnation, rigidity and a sort of dull decorum, a disposition to rest rather upon the traditions of the past than upon any obligations to the present or the future; a vague notion that in some way an ancient foundation is a more respectable institution than one which has to assert its own right to recognition by making itself useful to the present generation. And all these influences combine to produce, not the variety of type which is held in such just esteem by Mill and other abstract thinkers, but a dead level of monotony.

Conditions of vitality in endowed institutions.

With the teaching of history for our guidance, what are the conditions under which charitable foundations can best be made to fulfil their highest purposes and to become blessings rather than curses to posterity? We cannot repress the instinct which leads founders to endow institutions. A wise statesman would not do so if he could. Nor can we safely put any hindrances in the way of new experiments either in philanthropy or education. But we can deduce from past experience a few practical inferences; and so may be helped to guard against the recurrence at least of some of the more serious evils which seem to be inherent in all *fondations à perpétuité* unless due precautions are taken.

That the object should be a worthy one.

The first condition to be filled is that the object or purpose of the gifts should be such that it is for the public advantage that they should be received. The community as a whole should in fact exercise the same right that belongs to any private legatee, — the right to decline

any gift which is clogged by unsuitable and unworkable conditions, or which is designed for a useless object. Private persons, as I have said, can, if a bequest be made to them, choose either to accept or to reject the gift. The State is the only legatee which is ready to accept in the name of the community any gift, and to enforce the provisions of any trust, whether such acceptance is or is not desirable *in se*. We need, therefore, clear conceptions as to the kind of gifts which the public are interested in receiving and those which it would be wiser for the public to reject. All gifts which purport to redress the evils of poverty or improvidence need to be received with much caution and misgiving. The provision of funds for the propagation of the testator's opinions by means of preaching, lectures, publications or other forms of intelligent persuasion are legitimate enough, but all forms of charity which even indirectly operate as rewards or bribes for holding or professing such opinions are clearly mischievous. Charities, limited as regards their future and permanent destination to founder's kin, or to the inhabitants of a particular district, are apt to lead to litigation and other practical evils. But gifts for the blind, for the sick, for the deaf, for the aged; endowments for public instruction in the form of schools, libraries, professorships and the encouragement of research; provision for public recreation in the form of parks, playgrounds, picture galleries and museums — all precautions, in short, against evils and disadvantages which those who suffer from them did not bring upon themselves, and which, therefore, are not likely to be aggravated by the existence of an endowment, are legitimate, and will, under right conditions, always be acceptable gifts to a well-ordered community.

That the mode of

But the true value even of such legitimate provision

depends entirely on the mode in which it is made. The first condition of a useful endowment is that the end it purposes to attain is a worthy one, and conducive to the public advantage. But the second is no less important. It is that the means and machinery by which the end is to be attained shall not be too rigidly prescribed. Unless this second condition be fulfilled it is to little purpose that we secure the first. And in practice, the second is more rarely attained than the first. It is far easier to have a clear vision as to the worthiness of an object than to forecast the best of the many different ways by which that object may be accomplished. Now and then we are fortunate enough to receive gifts from testators who have had the wisdom to recognize this fact and to leave large liberty to their successors to adapt their regulations to future needs. Let me choose two examples of this enlightened liberality, one from each side of the Atlantic.

attaining it should not be too rigidly prescribed.

From an admirable address by President Gilman before the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore I take this extract:

The Johns Hopkins University.

"Johns Hopkins devoted his fortune to a University and to a Hospital, intending that as far as medical education was concerned, the two institutions should be the closest allies, but he did not prescribe the conditions under which these two ideas should be developed. He knew that the promotion of knowledge by charity would call for very large outlays in all future generations, but in planning for the remote as well as for the present, he was sagacious enough to perceive that methods must change with changing circumstances, and he left to the trustees all the freedom which was requisite for the administration of their work, consistently with adherence to the noble purposes which he had in mind. He provided with equal liberality for the promotion of an educational

foundation of the highest name, and for a medical foundation, where the utmost skill should be employed in the alleviation of bodily infirmities. But the mode in which these establishments should be organized he left to the wisdom of others."

Sir Josiah Mason's foundations.

The second example I shall cite is that of Josiah Mason, the eminent and successful manufacturer in Birmingham, who devoted a large part of his fortune to public objects. Perhaps I may, without egotism, best tell his story by an extract from my own evidence given in 1886 before a Committee of the House of Commons, charged with the duty of enquiring into the working of the Charitable Trusts Acts and the Endowed Schools Acts. The questioner was Mr C. S. Parker, a distinguished member of the Parliamentary Committee:—

Evidence before Committee of the House of Commons on educational endowments.

1435. Speaking generally, should you say that since 1869 very great public benefit has been conferred by the revision of educational endowments by public authorities?—Enormous public benefit, I should think.

1436. You are aware, of course, that there have been some strong objections made to that kind of interference; for instance, in such interference there has been necessarily much free handling of the endowments, has there not? much change of the purposes to which they were directed?—Yes, no doubt, and alteration of the trusts under which the governors were bound to carry on the work of a school.

1437. And within certain limits departures from founders' intentions?—Necessarily.

1438. There is one general objection made, that such departure from founders' intentions has a direct tendency to discourage similar foundations for the future; should you say, from your experience, that there is such a result from this public revision of endowments?—I should say that the modern interference with the trusts established by founders *has* probably had the effect of discouraging some of the more selfish and ostentatious forms of endowment, those which the public is least interested in receiving. But I have no doubt that it has given a very remarkable impulse to all the truer and

wiser forms of endowment; and perhaps the best proof of that is to be found in the fact that there never have been in the history of England, as far as I know, such large bequests and gifts to public purposes as within the last few years, and since the Charitable Trusts Acts and the Endowed Schools Acts have been in full operation.

1439. If I understand you rightly, your view is, that with the best class of founders, so far from discouraging, this public supervision positively encourages them to spend their money in endowments? — Certainly, I think the best proof of that is, as I have just said, the very large number of munificent gifts and bequests that have been made within the last few years.

1440. Could you give any striking instances to illustrate that statement? — I may refer to the Peabody Trust; that was not, it is true, for education, but for a very large public purpose; then there were Sir Joseph Whitworth's scholarships; then there is the munificent foundation of Mr Holloway, at Egham; and there are the very remarkable institutions founded by Sir Josiah Mason, at Birmingham; to say nothing of the large number of splendid gifts that have been made to the Universities since University legislation has been in progress. If the chairman will permit me I should like to mention one circumstance which seems to me very significant in relation to the question of the honourable member. In 1869, when I was engaged on a special Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of education in Birmingham, the late Sir Josiah Mason said he should like to show me over his orphanage, which he had then very recently founded, and he described to me on that occasion the very bountiful provision he had made for the future maintenance of this institution. He also told me what schemes he then had in his mind for the endowment of the great Science College which has since been established. I said to him then: "Are you not afraid of leaving such large bequests to posterity when you see the modern tendency to overhaul and revise the wills of founders?" He replied: "That is the very reason why I feel such confidence in leaving these sums of money. If it were not that public authorities are likely to be vigilant and to correct any mistake that I make, and to take care to keep these institutions in full working efficiency, I should feel very much hesitation in leaving such large sums to my successors." It was in this spirit that in the following year, 1870, he introduced into his deed of foundation for the Science College this provision: "Provided always, that it shall be lawful for the said Josiah Mason at

any time during his life, and after his decease for the trustees, within two years after the expiration of every successive period of fifteen years, to alter or vary the trusts or provisions herein contained in all or any of the following particulars." Then he enumerates every one of the particulars, except the general object of the foundation, namely, the improvement of scientific instruction. The obvious intention of this was to take care to provide for the periodical revision and modification of every one of the ordinances and arrangements which he had laid down, stipulating only that the main object of the foundation should be kept in view. I do not want to attach too much importance to a single incident, but I think it significant that this clause occurs in the deed which he executed in the year 1870 for the Science College, and does not occur in the deed which he executed for his orphanage in the year 1868. It was exactly within that interval that all those public discussions and revelations went on in reference to the abuses of ancient endowments and the propriety of revising the founders' wills.

1441. So you think it reasonable to infer that he was partly guided in his latter will by the wish to see public revision from experience of its benefits?—That is certainly the impression I gained from the history of his endowments and from what he said to me.

1442. Do you think that that would be the case with many enlightened and intelligent founders, that they would be more disposed, instead of being less disposed to give their money, if they thought there would be future public revision?—With all the wisest and most truly benevolent founders, I think it would.

But dispositions of this kind are only made when to benevolent instincts are united wisdom, forethought, and modesty. And this is a rare combination. You cannot expect it in all testators, or in very many of them. And society must, when these are wanting, take its own measures to supply a substitute for them.

Supervision and needful amendment, the duty of the State.

Hence, whether the testator provides for the revision of his ordinances or not, it is absolutely necessary that his institutions should not be permitted to survive their usefulness and to cumber the ground. To this end the State should have the power to do what in his un-

avoidable absence it may be presumed that the testator, if he were as benevolent and wise as we like to think him, would himself have done had he lived, *i.e.*, revise his ordinances and adapt them to the changed condition of society. It is a poor compliment to a departed benefactor to assume that, if now living, he would be less amenable to the teaching of experience or less anxious to meet the actual wants of the present than he was in his own time, or than we are in ours. His means and methods, therefore, should both be subject to periodical reconsideration, and, if necessary, to resolute and drastic reform. And so long as the general object and purposes of a foundation — presuming that it is in itself a worthy one — is kept in view, the adaptation of new and improved methods of attaining that object, is the most honourable tribute posterity can pay to a founder's memory; because it is the only condition on which the vitality and usefulness of his charity can be preserved.

Constitution of governing bodies.

But the most important of all the securities for the efficiency of foundations is the provision for a good and responsible governing body. It is to the wrong constitution of the governing bodies that more than half of the evils of endowments have been due. A testator confides the administration of his fund to a small group of trustees, with power to fill up vacancies as they occur. By this process of co-optation or self-election, the body becomes year by year more narrow, whatever of party exclusiveness belongs to the original trustees becomes stereotyped and rendered permanent, and the trust becomes more and more completely out of sympathy with the public and less conscious of responsibility. In fact, it is not uncommon to hear the members of such governing bodies speak of the fund they administer as *their* property, and of the right which they have to administer it in their own

way and without interference. In no European country known to me, except England, is such an arrangement legally possible. In France, *e.g.*, a bequest for a public purpose, whether local or national, must be confided to the care of a municipality, a university, or some public body known to the law and responsible to it. It is not lawful to create a perpetual private trust.

In England, governing bodies composed of various ingredients have been found to work best and to be most congenial to the spirit of our national institutions. Experience has shown that the staple of a good governing council should be provided by members appointed from time to time by election or by responsible public authorities who represent the interests of the several classes for whom the benevolence was designed. The body thus formed should have the power of adding to its own number a limited contingent of outside members, known to possess special knowledge or special interest in the objects of the charity. Co-optation, as we have shown, is mischievous when it applies to the whole of a body, or even to the majority of it, for then it may cause trustees to degenerate into a narrow clique. But co-optation when it affects only a minority among trustees most of whom are themselves the product of popular or official selection is only an indirect form of representative government, and often has the effect of strengthening a trust by enlisting in its management the services of valuable members, who might not for various reasons have been candidates for popular election.

Finally, one of the main safeguards which modern legislation has in England sought to provide, though as yet it has only provided it imperfectly, is that of publicity. It has been found indispensable that every endowed institution should annually publish its accounts, and that

there should be a periodical and public record made of its efficiency and of the kind and amount of public work which it is actually accomplishing. Whatever difference of opinion may exist on the abstract right of the Government as the representative of the community to control an endowment and to override the intentions of founders, there can at least be no room for doubt on one point: the community for whose benefit the endowment has been designed has in its capacity of legatee the strongest interest in learning what use is made of its inheritance, and an unquestionable right to know it.

Summary of practical conclusions.

Such, then, are the antiseptics by means of which, in England, it has been found that endowments, especially those of an educational character, can be kept sweet and wholesome and without which abuses and corruption are inevitable. They are: undoubted public usefulness in the object; elasticity in the means; periodical revision, and, if needful, reconstruction of the scheme of administration; responsibility of governors and trustees to the community for whose benefit the gift was intended; ample publicity and constant vigilance. In fine we need a full recognition of two principles: (1) that the endowment exists only for the benefit of the community and has no other right to exist at all, and (2) that the State, as the supreme trustee of all endowments, has the right though in a cautious and reverential spirit to make, from time to time, such changes in the destination and management of charity estates as the experience of new social needs and circumstances may show to be necessary, and in this way to secure for that community the full benefit of what has been bestowed on it.

England and America.

I am speaking in a land which cannot yet have experienced the mischief attendant on ancient charitable

foundations, but which possesses in a high degree all the materials out of which such foundations are constructed — opulence, public spirit and an honourable desire to be remembered by posterity and to do service to it. In England the man who amasses great wealth often sets his heart on founding a family, on getting a large landed estate and on taking a permanent place for his posterity among the territorial aristocracy. But in this country the possessor of a colossal fortune often conceives the much nobler ambition of founding some great institution for the public benefit, and so of perpetuating his name. I do not presume, in a country whose traditions and experience are so different from those of England, to offer any counsel to the recipients of such gifts. But I have thought it possible that this brief record of a few of our English experiences might serve some useful purpose even here. At any rate, some of the main conclusions which I have ventured to enforce are applicable to both the Eastern and the Western hemispheres, to the twentieth century as well as to the sixteenth. They are briefly these: *First*, That the intellectual and social wants of each age differ, and always must differ, from those of its predecessors, and that no human foresight can possibly estimate the nature and extent of the difference. *Next*, That the value of a gift for public purposes depends not on the bigness of the sum given, but upon the wisdom of the regulations and upon the elasticity of the conditions which are attached to the gift; and *Finally*, That every institution which is to maintain its vitality, and to render the highest service to successive generations of living men should be governed by the living and not by the dead.

LECTURE VII

ASCHAM AND THE SCHOOLS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Modern English school the product of growth, not of manufacture. The influence of religion. Greek served to shape the Creeds and theology. But Latin more studied and valued by the Church. The revival of Greek learning not due to the Church. Pre-Reformation Grammar Schools. Roger Ascham. The Scholemaster. Ascham's royal pupils. His experience in Italy. St Paul's School. Examples of Sixteenth Century Statutes. Chester, Manchester, Louth. Choice of masters. The scheme of Study. Details of the Grammar School curriculum. Disputations. Hours of Study and of Teaching. Vacations. Punishments. Payment of fees. No provision for Girls' education. The Grammar School theory. How should it be modified by later experience? How much of it should survive?

In further illustration of the debt we owe to the founders of ancient educational endowments, it may be well to enquire a little into the state of England at the time of the revival of learning and immediately before it. We may do this in part by considering in a little detail, the life and doings of one typical English scholar, Roger Ascham.

The modern English school a

Before attempting this task we must observe that the educational institutions of England, like its political institutions, and its vocabulary, have been the product of

product of growth not of manufacture.

long historical development, have grown out of the necessities and experience of our forefathers, and have shaped themselves from time to time in conformity with that experience. They have become what they are by a process of growth and evolution, not of manufacture. We cannot point to the period when they originated, or to any thinker or statesman who may be said to have created them. We have no Code Napoleon, nothing in our history analogous to the foresight of John Knox, who founded the parish school system of Scotland and made possible that connexion between the primary schools and the Universities which still exists. We cannot name a Statesman like Stein or Falk in Germany who has organized the whole system of public instruction, nor had we at any time such provision as that made by the Puritan fathers of the New England States, or by the framers of the American Constitution for setting apart for ever land and resources for the maintenance of the common schools. Our system, if so it may be called, is the resultant not of any statesman's or philosopher's insight into the future, but mainly of tradition and accident. It has not the symmetry and completeness of the Swiss or German or French system; and its history is a record of anomalies and compromises, of adaptations to the wants and theories of the hour rather than of large and comprehensive statesmanship. It were idle to regard this as a thing to boast of, on the one hand, or to be ashamed of, on the other. Every nation has its own idiosyncrasy, and must solve its problems in its own way, and in accordance with its own genius and traditions. And the English genius it must be owned is not one which lends itself readily to constitution making, to the framing of a philosophical scheme either of government or of education. It proceeds cautiously and tentatively. In slowly

building its constitutional system it seeks to add what is new to the best of what is old; and it is not ashamed or disappointed when the resulting edifice is found to be rather rambling and shapeless in design, so long as it is roomy and convenient.

The influence of religion.

And so it has come to pass that the history of education in this country is closely associated with the history of religion, and still bears traces of the influences which prevailed when the chief object of all instruction was to fit men for the service of the Church. Before the Reformation, when such educational advantages as were accessible were the privilege of rich men or of priests there were mainly two forms of discipline, that of the cloister, and that of the castle or the manor house. The young squire or nobleman was sufficiently educated if he could ride and hunt, and was skilful in athletic exercises and in the arts of war. Very little book knowledge was accessible to the country gentleman, or would have seemed desirable either to society or to himself. Scott makes the Earl of Douglas express a very prevalent distrust of book learning when he said of young Marmion,

> At first in heart it liked me ill,
> When the King praised his clerkly skill;

and added,

> Thanks to St Bothan, son of mine,
> Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line.

Gawain was designed for the priesthood. The very word "clerk" with its ambiguous modern meaning may remind us that the power to write was once considered the special prerogative of the clergy and of those educated in monasteries.

Greek served to

Indeed it is plain that the whole theory of classical education is closely connected with the relations in

shape the creeds and theology.

which the Greek and Latin tongues have stood in early times to the intellectual, scientific, and spiritual life of Christendom. The treasures of Jewish literature as found in the Old Testament, and the Greek Gospels as found in the New, furnished the equipment of the early Christian Church. Greek was, so to speak, the mother tongue of the Church. St Paul wrote in it; the Founder of Christianity spoke a dialect of it; the Churches which were first established in Europe were Greek religious colonies. The first Councils of the Church were conducted in that language, and, when creeds were first formulated, they, and the speculative discussions out of which they arose, took their shape from the Greek language and Greek forms of thought. The translation of the books of the Old Testament into Greek was one of the earliest tasks of the Christian fathers. The "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius were written in Greek, and for several centuries jurisprudence was the only branch of learning which was cultivated in Latin.

But as the influence of the Church extended farther into the Western world Latin became more and more studied. From the time when Pope Damasus commissioned Jerome to examine and correct such Latin versions of the Gospels as then existed, and to revise the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and thus to produce the authoritative version of the whole Bible which is known as the Latin Vulgate, the language of ancient Rome gradually became dominant. Latin schools were numerous among the Western nations, and Hallam thinks that a knowledge of Latin was more common by the end of the twelfth century than it had ever been before. And it is to be observed that this language was the basis of mediæval education, not merely

because of the beauty or worth of the ancient Roman literature, which was thus made intelligible to a later age, nor because of its value as an intellectual gymnastic, nor indeed because it was regarded as the best mode of obtaining a thorough command of a modern tongue, but because it was the common language of educated people throughout Western Europe — the language, to a large extent, of philosophy and science and even of commerce, but chiefly the language of religious worship and instruction, enforced by authority as the one visible and most effective means of securing the unity of the Church.

But Latin was more studied and valued by the Church.

During a long period the study of the ancient Greek authors — of Plato and Aristotle — was greatly disregarded. The fears entertained by Gregory the Great of the possible dangers of secular learning and of heathen speculations were largely shared by his successors, and from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries the Latin which was learned in the monasteries and schools was not classical, but a debased form of language, written and spoken for practical purposes — for conference, or for ecclesiastical controversy, by persons who were mainly indifferent to literary form. It was not till a later date that Dante's affectionate homage to Virgil, and Petrarch's efforts to resuscitate a taste for the great writers of the Augustan age, helped to make classical Latin again an object of general study, especially in the Universities of Northern Italy.

The revival of Greek learning not due to the Church.

And, with the revival of an interest in the masterpieces of Roman literature, there soon came — under the influence mainly of Italian scholars, and towards the end of the fourteenth century — a corresponding awakening of desire to study the philosophy and the poetry of Greece. It took another century before this revived interest in letters reached our own land, and it is to Luther in

Germany, and to Erasmus and his friends and associates in England, that we must attribute the zeal for classical scholarship which we generally associate with the Renaissance in Western Europe. With these men however it was no indifference to religion, nor any relapse into heathenish modes of thought, which led them to the course they took. In their case it was a profound belief that the interests of true religion would be well served by sounder and more generous education. Luther says, in his famous letter to the burgomasters of Germany: —

> "When first God sent the apostles throughout the world, He gave them the tongues also. Aye and beforehand, by the Roman rule, He had spread the Greek and Latin tongues in all lands, that His Gospel might bear fruit far and wide. So hath He done now. No one knew to what end God was bringing forth the tongues again, till now it is seen that it was for the Gospel's sake. . . . As we hold the Gospel dear then, so let us hold the languages fast. If we do not keep the tongues, we shall not keep the Gospel. As the sun to the shadow, so is the tongue itself to all the glosses of the Fathers. Ah, how glad the dear Fathers would have been if they could have so learned Holy Scripture."

And Erasmus too, whose profound spiritual enthusiasm furnishes the key both to his educational reforms and to his pitiless satires, makes his well-known *Colloquies* the vehicle for denunciations against the corruption of the Church, and shows in other ways that he regarded the light which learning could throw upon religious and Scriptural studies, as of far more importance than the elegancies of scholarship, or of mere literary style.

Indeed there was a fundamental difference between the educational theory of Erasmus and that of Ascham and his fast friend Sturm of Strasburg. The former sought to treat Latin as a living language, and to make his scholars speak and think in it. But Sturm and Ascham regarded it of chief importance to aim at

elegance in the choice and use of Latin as a vehicle of literary expression. And while Melancthon, Luther, and Sturm in Germany, and Erasmus, Ascham, Cheke, Colet, and Smith, in England, were in very different ways urging the claims of Greek and Latin scholarship either as instruments of general cultivation and as aids to religious reform, the Jesuits resolved to fight heresy with the same weapons, and the schools which they established on the Continent differed mainly from others in their insistence on Latin as the great factor in education, to the practical exclusion of Greek. As Mr Charles Parker says in the *Essays on a Liberal Education*:—

"They (the Jesuits) knew but one end, the interests of the Church; one sacred text, the Vulgate; one Breviary, the Roman; one will, their General's. So in their schools, they would have but one spoken language, Latin; one style, that of Cicero; one theology, that of Aquinas; one philosophy, that of Aristotle, read in Latin translations and interpreted when possible by Aquinas. All this was matter of obedience. Read, write, speak Latin, was one rule. Imitate Cicero, was another. An independent style might foster independent thought, which might possibly ripen into independent action. Every class spoke Latin, every class read Cicero for prose, and Virgil for verse. Three classes learned grammar, the fourth humanity, and the fifth rhetoric. The study of Latin was mainly directed to the formation of an eloquent style to be used in the service of the Church."

It must be added that the rules laid down by the Jesuit fathers in the *Ratio Studiorum* contain many wise and valuable suggestions about methods of teaching, and may still be studied with advantage by those who desire to make Latin an effective instrument of literary culture. But schools of this type, founded by the zeal of the first members of the Society of Jesus, after the establishment of that society by Loyola in 1540, were, though common in Germany and France, unable to find a footing in England. The Reformation and the revival of

Greek learning combined to give a definite and peculiar local character to the educational foundations of the sixteenth century in England. Winchester and Eton had been founded by William of Wykeham and by Henry VI. respectively. Both were ecclesiastical foundations, with provision for choristers and chaplains, a warden and fellows — and were rather designed to be communities of adult and youthful scholars than schools in the modern sense. A connexion was established between Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and between Winchester and New College, Oxford. Of the other foundations anterior to the sixteenth century, the greater part were attached to cathedral or other religious foundations.

Pre-Reformation Grammar Schools.

Mr A. T. Leach in his interesting and laborious researches into the history of grammar schools has shown that before the Reformation there were many such schools connected with cathedrals, chantries, monasteries, hospitals, and guilds of various kinds,[1] besides a few founded by private benevolence. Under the Protector Somerset many of these, especially those which came within the provisions of the Chantries Act, were dissolved, rather on religious grounds, because in the view of the Parliament of Edward VI. superstitions and errors were taught in them, than with any desire to discourage or impoverish general education. It was at least the ostensible design of the Edwardian legislation to promote learning rather than to encourage a few men to spend their time in saying masses and singing psalms. A Royal Commission was formed in this reign to secure the continuance of ancient grammar schools on another footing, but it is clear from Mr Leach's investigations that this measure was not always effective, and that in the process of reconstruction and in the attempt to free

[1] Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation.*

the grammar school from ecclesiastical influence, much valuable property was lost or alienated from education, and some abuses crept in. Latimer loudly complained that the Act for the Continuing or Re-forming of the Grammar Schools had not been properly carried into effect. "But now many grammar schools be taken, sold and made away to the great slander of you and your laws, to the grievous offence of the people, to the most miserable drowning of youth in ignorance, and to the decay of the Universities."

Roger Ascham.

Perhaps the best and most characteristic example of the new influences which helped to shape the educational ideals of the sixteenth century is Roger Ascham, a scholar, a man of affairs, an adherent of the reformed faith, as well as a tutor and lecturer. He was born in Yorkshire in the year 1515. He came of an ancient and substantial family, entered the University of Cambridge at what was then the not unusual age of fifteen, and, after a very honourable academic career, was admitted to a fellowship at St John's College. He became a college lecturer, read Greek publicly in the University, and was chosen Public Orator. He also filled the office of instructor in the learned languages to the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards queen, in whose favour he remained until his death in 1568. During three years, from 1550 to 1553, he served as secretary to Sir Richard Morysine at the court of the Emperor Charles V., and in this capacity acquired the experience which was afterwards recounted in his *Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany*. In his absence he was appointed Latin Secretary to Edward VI. — an office which he continued to hold during the two subsequent reigns. It is much to the credit of Mary and of Bishop Gardiner and Cardinal Pole that Ascham, though he adhered to the

Reformed faith, retained his Latin secretaryship through her reign.

Thus his life presented unusual and very varied opportunities of acquiring knowledge respecting the social and intellectual movements of his time. That time was, both in the political and the religious spheres, one of unusual activity and unrest. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks had caused the dispersion of many scholars, some of whom fled to Italy, and became famous teachers, especially of the Greek language and literature. In this way a desire for learning had spread into Europe, and some of the more eminent English scholars — Sir John Cheke, Grocyn, Linacre, Sir Thomas Smith, Latimer, Warham, and Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Dean Colet, the founder of St Paul's School, and Lyly its first headmaster, Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus — became the pioneers of the revival of classical learning in England. With nearly all of these Ascham was intimate. They had, like himself, visited Italy, and studied Greek under professors there. But it is remarkable, and not wholly accidental, that the Renaissance was coincident with the Reformation, and that the group of scholars and thinkers with whom Ascham was associated were all greatly influenced by the teaching of Luther, and by his denunciations of the negligence and corruption into which the Roman Church of that day had fallen. The dissolution of monasteries, and the introduction of Greek teaching in the English Universities, were parts of the same movement which made the sixteenth century so memorable for the emancipation of the intellect of Europe and for the beginnings of English literature. The love of learning, and freedom of thought in religion, were naturally akin.

The book which gives Ascham his chief title to a place in the history of Education was written later, and was not published till after his death. It is called the "Scholemaster; Or, A Plain and Perfect Way of Teaching Children to Understand, Write, and Speak the Latin Tongue." The ends to which his suggestions were directed extended far beyond the limits of the mere acquirement of a language. "In writing this book," he says, "I have had earnest respect to three special points: truth of religion, honesty in living, and right order in learning." The moral aim of all intellectual discipline is conspicuous throughout his pedagogic treatise The character he wants to form is that of one "grave, stedfast, silent of tongue, secret of heart, not hasty in making, but constant in keeping, any promise; not rash in uttering, but wary in considering every matter, and thereby not quick in speaking, but deep of judgment, whether they write or give counsel in all weighty affairs.... His wit should be quick without lightness, sharp without brittleness, desirous of good things without new fangleness, diligent in painful things without wearisomeness, and constant in good-will to do all things well." In reference to school discipline, Ascham's book is an earnest vindication of the need of gentleness and sympathy in dealing with children, and a strong protest against the cruelties often practised by pedagogues of the type of Nicholas Udal, the headmaster of Eton, whose pitiless flogging was a scandal even in that age. A school, Ascham thought, should be, as its name implies, *Ludus litterarum*, — the house of play and pleasure, not of fear and bondage. "Love is better than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning."

The Scholemaster.

The admirable description and analysis of Ascham's method of teaching which is to be found in Mr Quick's

Educational Reformers makes it unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed criticism of the pedagogical teaching of the "Scholemaster." Ascham's discussion of the several values of imitation, paraphrase, and translation, enters into much detail. Language was, in his view, the one staple element in all education, because it was helpful to many other objects than itself, and had relation to all reading, to all acquirement, and to all the experience of life. Other studies, he thought, might in their way be useful, but with some reserve. "Some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred by overmuch study and use of some sciences; namely, music, arithmetic, and geometry. These sciences, as they sharpen men's wits overmuch, so they change men's manners over soon, if they be not moderately mingled and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all mathematical heads which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the world!"

Ascham and his royal pupils.

Apart from the main purpose of the book, some curious flashes of light are shed by it upon the social and religious life of the period. One of these comes from the charming picture of Ascham's interview with Lady Jane Grey, whom he found once at her father's house at Bradgate, in Leicestershire, reading the *Phædo* of Plato in Greek, while all the rest of the courtly company were hunting in the park. On asking her why she denied herself a share in the pastime, the young lady spoke earnestly of the pleasure she derived from her Greek studies, and added, "My book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth me daily more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me." And the panegyric on his own pupil, Queen Elizabeth, though not free from

the exaggeration of a courtier, is interesting as a proof that the ladies of the sixteenth century were not indifferent to the higher learning: "It is to your shame, you young gentlemen of England," said Ascham, "that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together shew not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge as doth the Queen's Majesty herself."

A pleasant light is thrown upon the manners of the time by the story of the old tutor's regular visits to the Queen, that they might read Latin and Greek books together, and diversify their exercises by games of chess and draughts.

His experience in Italy.

It was with less satisfaction that the serious and scholarly Ascham recounted other incidents which accompanied the revival of learning. Italy had become the resort of scholars, and the chief channel through which Greek erudition found it way to Western Europe. But it had also become the favourite haunt of pleasure-loving young noblemen and gentlemen from England, and the state of society and of morals in that country filled him with anxiety. He once spent nine days in Venice, and in that little time he saw in that one city "more liberty to sin than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine years." "Time was when Italy and Rome have been to the great good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well doing in all civil affairs that ever was in the world. But now that time is gone, and, though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do differ as far as black and white,

as virtue and vice." He thought that the atheism, idleness, and extravagance of Italy at that period in our history were of evil example to rich young men coming from England, and were exercising an unwholesome influence on our social life at home; and he denounced some of the new fashions with vigour, and with a grave sadness which had no puritanical rigour in it. "These be the enchantments of Circe brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England."

His other writings.

Of his other writings, the best known were a translation from a commentary on some of the New Testament epistles, and his own Latin letters, of which Fuller, in his "Worthies," says that they were the "only Latin letters extant of any Englishman, — the more the pity." These letters furnish the history of the difficulties and anxieties of the scholar's life, his serious illnesses which twice sorely interrupted the course of his academic duties, and the encouragement he gave to his royal pupil to pursue with avidity her liberal studies.

His place in the history of education is that of one who regarded with sympathy the older classical discipline, as well as the new revival of interest in Greek, but who looked with fresh eyes upon the traditional methods of teaching, and suggested some rational and practical improvements. He was a "humanist" of the same type as Milton, who thought it the first business of teaching to make a man an accomplished and thoughtful gentleman, high-minded, courageous, and industrious in the pursuit of truth, and who considered that the study of language, logic, rhetoric, and the related sciences, were the best instruments for the attainment of this end.

It was to the influence of such men as Ascham and his friends — scholars and statesmen, who were deeply penetrated with the reforming spirit in religion, and who

cared for the promotion of learning for its own sake, and not as a means of promoting the interests of the Church, — that we owe the regenerate educational foundations of the sixteenth century.

St Paul's School.

Of these, Dean Colet's great school of St Paul's (1510) was almost the first which distinctly aimed at a high secular education, and deliberately disavowed any special ecclesiastical purpose. Though the founder was Dean of St Paul's, he gave in his statutes no share of the government to his successors in the Chapter, but confided the whole future administration to a trading guild, to the Company of Mercers, who have since honourably fulfilled for nearly four centuries the duty he assigned to them. His scholars — who were for ever to number exactly 153, in commemoration of the number of fishes in the net of the Apostles — were to be drawn from all nations and countries, and to be instructed freely in the ancient tongues. Scholastic Latin was strictly excluded by the statutes, but Christian writers were admissible, if in good Latin. The High Master was to be "learned in good and clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, *if such may be gotten*." This conditional regulation significantly reminds us that at that date the Greek revival had made but little effective way.

Examples of sixteenth century foundations.

By the end of the century, founders such as Laurence Sherriff at Rugby, and John Lyon of Harrow, felt freer to insist on Greek as a necessary element of their course, Hesiod, however, being the only Greek poet named in the Harrow statutes.

Chester.

The founder of Chester Grammar School, 1558, enjoins: —

> "I will there were always taught good literature, both Latin and Greek, and good authors, such as have the Roman eloquence joined with wisdom, especially Christian authors, that wrote their wisdom

with clean and chaste Latin, either in prose or verse — for mine intent is by founding this school specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God, and good Christian life and manners in the children," and then he enumerates the "Colloquies" and "Institutes" of Erasmus, Ovid, Cicero, Terence, Horace, and Virgil, and "true Latin speech — all Barbaric, all corruption and filthiness, and such abuses as the blind world brought in, to be entirely banished and excluded, so that the master shall only teach what is best, and such authors as have with wisdom joined the pure eloquence."

Manchester. So the Indenture of Feoffment of the Manchester Grammar School sets forth that —

"the liberal science or art of Grammar is the ground and fountain of all the other liberal arts or sciences, which source and spring out of the same; without which science, the others cannot perfectly be had, for Science of Grammar is the Gate by the which all other hath been learned and known." And further the deed complains "that the teaching of children in school had not been practised in that time for want of a sufficient schoolmaster or usher, so that the children having pregnant wits, have been for the most part brought up rudely and idly, and not in virtue, cunning, erudition, literature, and good manners."

Louth. The preamble of the Charter of Edward VI., in founding a grammar school at Louth — a school which in later times has had the distinction of producing the poet Tennyson — sets forth the conception of a grammar school with more of breadth and liberality than was generally expressed, however distinctly intended, by many private founders. It is probable that the views of the Protector Somerset are traceable in the words: —

"Whereas we have always coveted, with a most exceeding vehement and ardent desire, that good literature and discipline might be diffused and propagated through all the parts of our Kingdom, as wherein the best government and administration of affairs consists, and therefore with no small earnestness have we been intent on the liberal institution of youth, that it may be brought up to science in places of our Kingdom most proper and suitable for such functions, it being as it were the foundation and growth of our Commonwealth, and having certain and unquestionable knowledge

that our town of Louth is a place most fit and proper for such teaching and instructing, and is very populous, and well stocked with youth."

And then follow the usual regulations about Latin, Greek, grammatical science, and godly learning generally.

Fifty-one such foundations, including Sedbergh, Birmingham, Tonbridge, Christ's Hospital, and Shrewsbury, owe their origin to the six years of Edward VI. Twenty more were established during the reign of Philip and Mary, and no less than 136 others, including Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Bedford, Bristol, Colchester, Wakefield, and Aldenham in the reign of Elizabeth.

Choice of Masters.

With what seriousness of purpose the early reformers of learning set about their task may be judged from the efforts made by Dean Colet to obtain masters well equipped with the necessary knowledge and teaching power. He had before founding St Paul's made choice, for the first High Master, of John Lyly, the friend and fellow-student of More, who had mastered the Latin language in Italy, and even travelled farther East, and lived in the island of Rhodes, to perfect his knowledge of Greek. He had at one time very nearly accepted the vows of a Carthusian monk; he was, however, thoroughly imbued with the pedagogic spirit, and was, in the opinion of Erasmus, a "thorough master in the art of educating youth." "I have often longed," said Colet, in a letter to Erasmus, "that the boys of my school should be educated in the way in which you say that they should be taught," and having found Lyly to possess needful qualifications, he made, by his statutes, provision for what in those days was a very handsome stipend, in order to show his sense of the dignity of the office.

"But an under-master was not so easy to find. Colet had written to Erasmus in September, 1511, wishing him to look one out

for him. Erasmus wrote in October, and informed him that he had mentioned his want to some of the college dons. One of them had replied by sneeringly asking: 'Who would put up with the life of a schoolmaster who could get a living in any other way?' Whereupon Erasmus modestly urged that he thought the education of youth was the most honourable of all callings, and that there could be no labour more pleasing to God than the Christian training of boys. At which the Cambridge doctor turned up his nose in contempt, and scornfully replied: 'If any one wants to give himself up entirely to the service of Christ, let him enter a monastery.'"

"Erasmus ventured to question whether St Paul did not place true religion rather in works of charity—in doing as much good as possible to our neighbours? The other rejected altogether so crude a notion, 'Behold,' said he, 'we must leave all; in that is perfection.' 'He scarcely can be said to leave all,' promptly returned Erasmus, 'who, when he has a chance of doing good to others, refuses the task because it is too humble in the eyes of the world.' 'And then,' wrote Erasmus, 'lest I should get into a quarrel, I bade the man good-bye.'"[1]

In nearly all the instruments of foundation great stress is laid upon the qualifications of the master; he is always to be a grave and godly man, and of good repute. Archbishop Harsnet, in founding Chigwell, specially records his wish that the headmaster "shall be a graduate of one of the Universities, not under twenty-seven years of age, skilful in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good poet, of a sound religion, neither Papist nor Puritan, of a grave behaviour, of a sober and honest conversation, no tippler nor haunter of ale-houses, no puffer of tobacco, and, above all, one apt to teach, and severe in his government."

The scheme of study.

It will be observed that in all the statutes and testaments of this century the Greek and Latin languages are spoken of as the staple of the instruction to be given in grammar schools. Yet there was no theory about the disciplinal value of linguistic studies, no conscious selec-

[1] Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers.*

tion and preference for such studies, after weighing the claims of physics or mathematics or modern literature. These languages were to be taught because they were the key and passport to all the learning which was then extant, because they formed the only kind of study which had then been formulated and made definite. The *Trivium* — Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, and the *Quadrivium* — Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, besides philosophy, ethics, history, might all in their way be useful parts of a gentleman's education; but no one of them could be learned at all except in the languages of Greece and Rome. Nor was the moral training to be dissociated in any way from the educational system. A serious religious purpose is frequently visible in the ordinances of the founders; grammar, good manners, virtue, religion, and purity of life are constantly enumerated together, not as things to be taught independently by catechisms or creeds, but as objects to be obtained in and through the diligent study of language and the reading of the best ancient authors.

Details of the grammar school curriculum.

When the founders and framers of statutes descended to particulars, they often displayed a curious lack of imagination and forethought, and insisted on details of instruction which appeared to them at the moment the most in vogue, as if they were to become perpetual and were incapable of improvement. The subjects of instruction, and even the books to be used, are often prescribed with great minuteness. For example the Ordinances of St Bees (1583) enjoin

> "the master to make his scholars perfect in the Latin and Greek grammar — using the Queen's grammar and accidence, as set forth by authority — Esop's Fables, then certain books of Cicero, then Sallust and Cæsar, and afterwards Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and the poets, and the Greek Grammar of Cleonard."

At Bruton all scholars were to be taught "grammar, after the form of Magdalen College, Oxford, or St Paul's, London, and not songs or polite learning, nor English reading; but to be made perfect Latin men."

At East Retford (1551) the Statutes framed by an Archbishop of York enter fully into detail, and specify not only the books, but also the exact amount and order of the classical work for each form and class in the school.

"The said Schoolmaster and Usher, or one of them to every Form of scholars, within the said Grammar School, shall teach these books and authors in order hereafter following, that is to say, unto their scholars of the *First* Form within the said Grammar School the figures and characters of letters, to join, write, sound, and pronounce the same plainly and perfectly. And immediately to learn the inflection of nouns and verbs, which, if it be done with diligence, a good and apt nature in one year may attain a perfect reading, pronouncing, and declining of nouns and verbs; and the more prone natures may spare some part of the first year to hear the explication of Tully's Epistles, and write and repeat certain Latin words out of them. Item, in the *Second* Form, after usual repetition of the inflection of nouns and verbs, which is attained in the First Form, a more full explication of the Syntaxis of Construction must be shewed, and the other hours of reading may be spent in the Colloquia Erasmi, and some harder Epistles of Tully, which must be dissolved and discussed verbatim, and the reason of every construction shewed. This Form is required to turn sentences from English to Latin. And further we ordain, that in this Form be taught the Scriptures, both the Old and New Testaments, Sallust, and Justinian's Institutes, if the Schoolmaster and Usher be seen in the same. Item, the said Schoolmaster or Usher shall read and teach unto the *Third* Form of scholars within the said Grammar School, the King's Majesty's Latin Grammar, Virgil, Ovid, and Tully's Epistles, Copia Erasmi verborum et rerum, or so many of the said authors as the said schoolmaster shall think convenient for the capacity and profit of his scholars, and every day to give unto his said scholars one English to be made into Latin. Item, the said Schoolmaster or

Usher shall teach to the *Fourth* Form of scholars within the said Grammar School to know the breves and longs, and make verses, and they of this Form shall write every week some epistle in Latin, and give it to the said Master or Usher at the end of the week. And also the said Master shall teach the scholars of this Form the Greek Grammar, and also the Hebrew Grammar, if he be expert in the same, and some Greek authors, so far as his learning and convenient time will serve thereunto."

Disputations.

Disputations, or public exercises or appositions, were a favourite form of intellectual exercise, and were often insisted on in deeds or statutes: *e.g.*, Sir Roger Manwood (1580), in his regulations for the Sandwich Grammar School, ordains that

"there shall annually be kept in the school disputations from 7 to 9 in the forenoon, and the Master shall desire the Parsons and Vicars of the town, with one or two others of knowledge, to be present, if it please them, to hear the same. The disputation being ended, to determine which three of the whole number of forms have done best by the judgments of the Master and learned hearers."

Then he makes further provision for prizes of silver pens to the best debaters, and wills

"that the whole company go in order decently by two and two to the parish Church, the three victors to come last, next to the Master and Usher, each of them having a garland on his head, and then in the Church to kneel or stand, and to say or sing some convenient Psalm or Hymne, with a Collect making mention of the Church, the realm, the prince, the town, and the founder."

The ordinances of St Bees prescribe that every week two shall be appointed to declaim upon some theme an hour before dinner, and afterwards exhibit verses upon the same theme to the Master.

There were also in many schools contentions as to the principles of grammar capping or "potting verses."

Strype, in his edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, says, speaking of Merchant Taylors' School: —

"I myself have yearly seen the scholars of divers Grammar Schools repair unto the churchyard of St Bartholomew the Priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up and there hath opposed and answered till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down; and then the overcomer taking the place did like as the first, and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards. It made both good schoolmasters and also good scholars diligently to prepare themselves for the obtaining of such reward."

Hours of study and of teaching.

It is very characteristic of the strenuous character of the discipline enjoined in the ancient grammar schools, and of the high — not to say severe — standard of duty and of work set up before the scholars, that the hours of study, and the days of relaxation, are often regulated in a rigid fashion which would be thought intolerable by the schoolmasters and pupils of later and more soft and self-indulgent times. The father of Francis Bacon (Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper in 1570) drew up the statutes of St Alban's School, in which *inter alia* it is prescribed: —

"The Schoolmaster shall every learning day from the 25th of March unto the 30th of September be at the school by the stroke of 6 of the clock in the morning, and from September 30th to March 25th by 7, and continue in teaching until 11 of the clock, and shall be at the school again by 1 of the clock in the afternoon, and shall abide there until 5 of the clock teaching."

Sir Thomas Fanshaw's statutes for Dronfield, in Derbyshire, contain a like limitation as to the lawful holidays: —

"I strictly inhibit the Schoolmaster and Usher, upon penalty of loss of their places, that they grant no *otium* or play days to their scholars upon any pretext, but I appoint that the scholars do every

Thursday and Saturday, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, play of course. And that there be no breaking up nor leaving of school, save only two days before the feast of Easter, two days before the feast of Pentecost, and four or five days before Christmas, and the school to begin again upon the Wednesday in Easter week, the Wednesday in the feast of Pentecost, and the first Monday after the twelfth day in Christmas, without delay."

Vacations.

The long summer vacation, so dear to the modern schoolmaster, was unknown in the Elizabethan times, and if known would have been sternly denounced as effeminate and unreasonable. The Sandwich statutes ordain:—

"That neither the master nor usher, without license of the governors shall absent himself above twenty days in the year from the school, nor so much but upon good and urgent cause, and in that vacant time the one to supply the other's office upon some good convenient allowance as they can agree, so as both at once may not in any wise be absent from the said school."

Indeed, holidays in any form are allowed as a rather grudging concession to human weakness, and when allowed are rather for the teachers than for the boys. Sir John Deane (1558), in the statutes for Wilton School (Cheshire), which he founded, is considerate enough to say:—

"Because nothing that is perpetual is pleasant, I will that the schoolmaster shall have liberty once in every year thirty days to be altogether absent to recreate himself — he always providing that his scholars lose no time in his absence, but they be occupied in their books till his return."

Punishments.

It need hardly be said that the rod was an essential part of the school apparatus. The corporate seals of some endowed schools, *e.g.* of Uppingham (1584) and Louth (1552), represent the master with a rod in his hand. But the Chigwell ordinances, which, as I have

before said, were made by an Archbishop, and were of a later date, were humaner in their protest against severity.

"We constitute and ordain that the schoolmasters do not exceed in their corrections above the number of three stripes with the rod at any one time; that they strike not any scholar upon the head or the cheek with their fist or the palms of their hands upon pain or loss of forty shillings, to be defaulted by the governors out of their yearly wages; that they do not curse nor revile their scholars; that for speaking English in the Latin school, the scholar be corrected with the *ferula*, and for swearing with the *rod;* that monitors be appointed to note and present their rudeness, irreverent and indecent demeanour in the streets, in the church, or their public sports."

Herein we recognize one of the cardinal faults of the grammar school system, or at least one of the serious limitations to its usefulness. Except in Ascham's writings and in those of Mulcaster, who was (1561) the first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, one finds little or no recognition of the importance of a good *method* of teaching. Certainly, there is no evidence that anybody thought it necessary to facilitate the early efforts of a schoolboy, or to make learning interesting or pleasant to him. Ascham indeed was a signal exception to this general rule. So much of the old spirit of monastic austerity — a spirit which measured the value of all discipline by its hardness and painfulness — survived in the schools, that one of the merits often claimed for classical teaching was the difficulty it presented to the learners. Many of the pedagogues of those centuries, down to Ichabod Crane, the switch of whose rod Washington Irving heard through the woods of Sleepy Hollow, as the "schoolmaster urged tardy loiterers over the flowery paths of learning," seem never to have been quite sure that they were doing justice to their scholars unless the lessons were made repulsive and distasteful. The belief

that the *real* difficulties of life are grave enough without burdening it with artificial difficulties, that time and labour might easily be economized by securing the willing co-operation of the student, and by adopting methods which should be pleasant as well as rational, has to some extent, but alas! not yet to the full extent, been at last recognized by modern teachers. But until this belief became prevalent, one could hardly expect that the traditional gerund-grinding and memory work would be greatly improved.

Payment of fees.

But, after all, the characteristic note of the schools of the Renaissance was the generous desire of the founders to make learning accessible to all scholars who could receive and make a right use of it, whether they were poor or rich. Most of the statutes are very imperative on this point. There is often a positive prohibition against the exaction of fees in any form. Sometimes a special fee or gratuity — the cockpenny or an Easter gift — is recognized as legitimate; and sometimes learning other than Latin and Greek — *e.g.*, even reading and arithmetic — are permitted to count as extras, and to be paid for. But, as a rule, *free* grammar schools — although technically the word "free" does not exactly mean gratuitous, but often simply signifies exemption from ecclesiastical control — were understood to be places in which every scholar could claim admission without money or reward. Peter Blundell of Tiverton (1599), the founder of a school still famous, was very explicit in his directions on this subject. He limited the number of scholars to one hundred and fifty, and gave a preference for admission to those brought up in the parish, but adds: —

> "If the same number be not filled up, the want shall be supplied with the children of foreigners if with the consent of ten householders of Tiverton. And my desire is that they will make choice of the

children of such foreigners as are of honest reputation and fear God, without regarding the rich above the poor."

And then, after providing a stipend of £50 to the head-master, and 20 marks for the usher, he adds:—

"And my hope and desire and will is that they hold themselves satisfied and content with that recompense for their travail, without seeking or exacting any more either of parent or children, which procureth favour to givers and the contrary to such as do not or cannot give, for my meaning is that it shall be for ever a *free school*, and not a school of exaction."

It is to Cranmer that we owe the first distinct utterance of the generous policy which afterwards inspired the sixteenth century donors and testators. "It came to pass," says Strype, "that when they should elect the children of the grammar school," in the newly-converted cathedral church of Canterbury, "there were of the commissioners more than one or two who would have none admitted but sons and younger brethren of gentlemen," urging that "husbandmen's children were more meet for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort; for we have as much need of ploughmen as of any other state, and all sorts of men may not go to school." To which Cranmer replied:—

"I grant much of your meaning herein as needful in a Commonwealth, but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning is as much as to say that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow His great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed according to our fancy, and not according to His most godly will and pleasure, who giveth His gifts both of learning and other perfections in all sciences unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth He many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts if they be not thankful. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child, that is apt, enter his room."

And this sentiment of Cranmer's happily remained for generations the chief and most honourable characteristic of the ancient grammar schools. The education they afforded was suited to the sons of gentlemen; but it was not restricted to the sons of gentlemen. It might qualify a boy of any rank to acquire University distinction, and to become a judge or a bishop. But no money was to be required of the pupil; no social distinctions were to be recognizable in the school itself; and it was one of the highest triumphs of the whole system, when the governors of a grammar school were able to point to a scholar of humble origin, who had been led by a love of learning, and tempted by the scholarships and encouragements which the school offered, to quit the rank of artizan or ploughman, to acquire distinction, and to become able to serve God eminently in Church or State.

No provision for girls' education.

But it need not be said, that for the sisters of these favoured scholars the grammar school made no provision whatever. *They* were not wanted to serve God in Church or State. If they are mentioned at all in wills and statutes, it is that they may be definitely excluded from all participation in the benefits of the schools. Thus, John Lyon, in founding Harrow, says expressly, though, as it seems, quite superfluously, that no girls shall be received or taught in his school: and in Peter Blundell's statutes, relating to his foundation at Tiverton, he makes his own meaning on this point clear by stating that there shall be no scholars but boys. The truth is that the ordinary founder thought that there was no chance of mistake on this head, and that his will would be interpreted — as indeed it always was — to apply as a matter of course to boys only. There was generally no intentional or explicit exclusion of their sisters, but the question of their inclusion scarcely ever arose, and does not seem to

have occurred to anyone. At any rate, the Commissioners of 1865, who investigated the history and actual condition of endowed foundations, could not find one which had been deliberately designed to furnish a liberal education for girls, though they found many of the Charity schools of a later date admitting both boys and girls, and giving them the meagre rudiments of instruction supposed to be appropriate for labourers and servants. And if in this age we have arrived at the conclusion that a good and generous education is just as much needed by girls as by their brothers, and that it would in their case be quite as properly provided, and turned to equally valuable account, it is to the later experience, the awakened conscience, and the enlarged conception of duty in the nineteenth century, that the change is to be attributed, and not to any recourse to the measures or the ideals of the sixteenth.

The Grammar School theory.

It is mainly owing to the existence of the mediæval grammar schools, to the explicit directions in their statutes and deeds of gift, and to their intimate connexion with the Universities, that the type of education which they represented has survived so long, and has so dominated the popular conception of what scholarship and learning mean. A man who has been duly instructed in Latin and Greek is regarded as a scholar *par excellence*, however ignorant he may be of other things; and another man skilled in science, accomplished in modern languages, literature, and philosophy, but knowing no Greek, has no claim to be considered a scholar at all.

Yet since the establishment of grammar schools, French, German, and English have acquired a literary character. Each has opened out to the student a noble literature, and has been made the subject of philological investigation. Our own language especially has been

traced to its source. What we still call (in spite of the late Professor Freeman) Anglo-Saxon, with its fuller inflections and synthetic structure, has revealed to the English student the true meaning of those fragments of accidence and syntax which survive in our current speech. And in the presence of our existing resources, it is difficult to deny that the student of *one* ancient language and one modern — say Latin and German, or Greek and French, or either Latin *or* Greek and Anglo-Saxon — is in a better position, as far as philology is concerned, than if he confined all his linguistic studies to Latin and Greek. He will know at least as much of the philosophy of grammar, and of the principles which underlie the structure of all language, and he will certainly not have been less successfully disciplined in accuracy of expression and of thought.

It is impossible for us to overlook the claims of other subjects, and, as a matter of fact, one modern language at least, mathematics, and some acquaintance with the literature and history of the later centuries, form part of every scheme of liberal education, even when the claims of physical science are neglected altogether. But the effect of undertaking to do all this, and at the same time to maintain the superstition that Latin *and* Greek must form the staple of every gentleman's education, is that some of these things must be learned imperfectly. And it often results that Greek and Latin are the subjects so learned. How many of the scholars of the grammar schools, or even of the Universities, could talk, write easily, or think in Latin? What proportion of those who learn Greek, read Sophocles or Homer with ease and pleasure and catch the full flavour and spirit of the language? A very large percentage of the scholars who go out from the Universities have carried their studies

far enough to acquire a knowledge of the grammar, and to read, by means of helps and commentaries, certain well-known and well-annotated authors; but they have stopped short at the point at which the learning of a language becomes a real instrument of literary culture, and produces an educational result at all commensurate with the time and effort expended in acquiring it.

How far should it be modified by later experience?

When schoolmasters and professors insist on the importance of learning both the ancient languages, and talk of them as the keys by which the whole literature of Europe is to be opened, it would seem that they overlook the fact of the great differences in the claims of the two. The praise of symmetry and regularity of form does not apply equally to Greek and to Latin. There is in Greek a frequent tendency to deviate from rules and from the normal type, and to indulge in constructions which are not explicable by formal grammatical rules. The spirit of the Latin language has indeed entered deeply into the heart of our literature; has influenced the structure and vocabulary of our own language, and fashioned the modes of thought of all our greatest writers. But the same cannot be said of Greek. Except in our scientific terminology, Greek has hardly influenced the English vocabulary at all. For the purpose of understanding that terminology it is in no sense necessary to learn the Greek language: a few days would suffice to give to the student enough of a dictionary or vocabulary to enable him to understand every English derivative from Greek. There remains of course the higher aim, that of acquiring an insight into the meaning of the philosophy, the oratory, and the poetry of ancient Greece. And it may well be admitted, that whenever this is possible of attainment, the study may prove of priceless value. But, except to the comparatively rare scholar, it is *not* attain-

able. The literature of any language, if studied to any purpose, should be stimulating; it should give ideas, it should form taste, it should inspire the reader with a love of eloquence and poetry. Can it be seriously contended that the study of Greek in modern grammar schools and Universities carries the rank and file of the students to this point? The school-boy or the undergraduate, if he feels the beauty of ancient writing at all, recognizes the beauty of parts — often of very minute parts — but he sees and knows little or nothing of the literary product as a whole. He is preparing his mind for exercises in composition and verse-making; his attention is devoted to minute points of quantity, to well-sounding epithets, to circumlocutions and mannerisms; and he is forced to regard his author under conditions as unfavourable as possible to the development of a true taste and the habit of just criticism.

This point has been well insisted on and illustrated by Mr Henry Sidgwick, who adds: —

> "It is only at a certain stage in a youth's progress that Latin and Greek begin to give training in literature. In many cases the boy or the undergraduate never becomes able to extract and feed on the beauties of his authors. A mind exhausted with linguistic struggles is not in a state to receive delicate literary impressions; instead of being penetrated with the subtle and simple graces of form, it is filled to the brim with thoughts of gender, quantity, tertiary predicates, and the uses of the subjunctive mood."[1]

Such is the inbred conservatism of English scholarship, that there still remain many who are content with the ideal of the sixteenth century, whose sense of proportion is so imperfect that they look upon any product of more recent thought and experience as necessarily having in it a flavour of the upstart, the *bourgeois*, and the

[1] Essay on the Theory of a Classical Education.

second-rate. Such persons — and they are many — would still maintain, in grammar and public schools, the conception of liberal study, and of the humanities, which prevailed when those schools were founded. That theory may be summed up shortly in three assumptions: (1) That the study of language is not only the one form of discipline which is supremely important, but it is important enough to justify the devotion of from three-fourths to five-sixths of the whole time of a learner from the age of six or seven to the end of his University course; (2) that this discipline can only be rightly obtained by the study of *two* ancient languages; and (3) that in order to obtain a true mastery of these two languages, it is essential that the scholar should not only read them, but write, and, in particular, should compose verses in them.

This is the form in which the ideal of liberal study inherited from the sixteenth century still exists among us. It is not to be believed that the founders of ancient grammar schools, if they lived now and could fashion their plans in the presence of modern facts and experience, would ask us to accept such a theory of education as this. Nor is it easy to believe that the theory in the same form can survive much longer.

How much of it should survive?

What, then, can survive, or ought to survive, from the sixteenth-century scheme of a liberal and humane training? Much, it may be hoped. This in the first place: That the systematic study of language ought to hold a high place, perhaps even the highest place, among formative educational agencies. Moreover, such study is indispensable, not only because language is the instrument for the expression of our thoughts, but because it is the main instrument for accurate thinking on any subject at all. Further, the fullest and best insight into the philosophy of language is not to be had from the study

of a modern and analytic language alone, but is to be best attained by the comparison of such a language with a synthetic and highly inflected language. The best and most fruitful studies are those which are not limited to their immediate object, but those which tend to carry the learner further into other regions of thought, and to shed light on subjects other than themselves. And the study of language fulfils this condition in an eminent degree. For, since all possible human knowledge requires language for its exponent, there are no sciences with which grammar and philology are not concerned, or which do not gain help and light from whatever exercises give precision and clearness to a student's use of words. Lastly, it is to be borne in mind that, of all forms of intellectual exercise, those which touch the imagination, which refine the taste and literary perception, which place the learner in closer sympathy with the great writers and thinkers of former ages, — the humanities, in short — furnish the best possible corrective to much of the materialism of modern science, and are a standing and ever-needed vindication of the truth that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesseth," but chiefly in ideas, in high and large thoughts, in memories of what is best in the past, and in visions of what is best in the future. All this was recognized and aimed at, more or less successfully, by the founders of grammar schools. All this, we may hope, English schools and schoolmasters will continue to aim at for generations yet to come, even though the traditional supremacy of Greek and Latin, and the belief in the educative value of Latin versification, may come to be rudely questioned, and even to a large extent abandoned.

Whatever happens, we may not forget that what the sixteenth century gave to her children was her very best.

The founders of grammar schools and framers of statutes looked round them at such intellectual resources as were then in existence. They asked themselves what had been the influences which had contributed most to the making of the writers, the lawyers, the divines, the statesmen of their time, and they sought to place these influences within the reach of every member of the community who coveted them, and who would know how to use them. No higher standard of duty can be present to us who are their successors. We too are bound to give to our children the best we have. But our best is not the same as that which Colet and Erasmus, which Cecil or Somerset, which Ascham or Sidney knew. Between us and them there lie three centuries of unexampled mental activity and productiveness. The world has been enriched by new knowledge and new thoughts, with material discoveries, with poetry, with history, with speculations unknown to the contemporaries of Elizabeth. We have simply to do with our resources and experience what they did with theirs — what they would certainly have done had they lived in our time. We have to clear our minds of illusions, to ask ourselves which of all these resources is best calculated to help our children in living a noble, useful, and intelligent life. Having done this, it behoves us to use these resources to the utmost, in the full belief that our successors in their turn will be able to emancipate themselves from all which is not really helpful in the traditions of the past, and will shape their plans in the light of their own experience, and of the altered conditions and new wants of the coming generations.

LECTURE VIII

TEACHERS' INSTITUTES AND CONVENTIONS IN AMERICA[1]

Conditions of education in the United States. Teachers trained and untrained. Institutes. Henry Barnard. Scope and aim of the Institutes. Voluntary associations of teachers. Co-operation of the clergy and public men. Summary of general purpose of Conventions. Newport, Rhode Island. The College Association of Philadelphia. St John, New Brunswick. Chautauqua. Reading Circles. Absence of educational politics. The corporate spirit among teachers. The Teachers' Guild and its future.

When I was honoured with a request from your Council to give a lecture at this meeting, I could not help being reminded that since I last addressed any meeting of the Guild, I had enjoyed opportunities of witnessing several gatherings of teachers on the other side of the Atlantic; and it seemed to me that a brief account of some of this experience might not be inappropriate or unwelcome to-day. The Teachers' Guild represents the first serious attempt in England to bring together teachers of all ranks, and to enable them to interchange experience. It aims at helping them to feel

[1] Address at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers' Guild. June, 1889.

confidence in each other, and to co-operate, not so much for the defence of professional interests, as for the furtherance of the public interests — the interests of the children committed to their charge, and the improvement in the aims and methods of education generally. Now these objects are sought in a large degree by many American teachers; but they are attained by means very different from those which would be available in this country. We cannot hope to make true progress by simply imitating the institutions and usages which seem to us admirable in other lands. Every nation has its own problems, its own traditions, and history, and it must shape its course in a wholly eclectic fashion; studying, no doubt, with respectful interest, institutions and methods which have succeeded elsewhere; but using such observations rather with a view to find suggestion and right impulse, than with any intention to become copyists. All institutions which are worth anything must grow and adapt themselves to their environment, and to the special needs and experience of those who have to use them. They cannot be manufactured all at once.

Conditions of education in the United States.

I have, in another place,[1] described in some detail the special conditions under which education is conducted and organized in America. It will suffice here to mention two or three preliminary facts which need to be taken into account whenever we try to discuss educational phenomena in that country. There is, to begin with, no such thing as an American system of education. The Federal Government has accepted no responsibility in the matter of public instruction. Each of the 42 States is, we must remember, in many respects, a sovereign State, making its own laws, raising its own taxes, appointing

[1] In Notes on American Schools and Training Colleges appended to the Reports of the Education Department for 1889.

its own public officers, and perfectly free to form its own conception of what education ought to be, how it is to be provided, and how far it shall be enforced. And even the States are subdivided; for often a single county, or township, and always a city of any consequence, has its own separate Board or School Committee, charged with the administration of the school fund of the district, and practically independent of all other bodies. There is no central authority, which can co-ordinate these various agencies or bring them into harmony. The school system is an essentially local organization. One State or City may be favourable to normal training, and may make a liberal provision for training colleges. Another may be without them altogether. And every normal college is exclusively a local institution. It trains teachers for employment in the particular city or district in which it is established, and its certificate or diploma is valid only in that city or district. There is no generally recognized standard of qualification for the profession of a teacher. Nor, indeed, is any well-known standard of scholarship connoted by a university degree; for every one of the separate colleges and universities in the States confers its own distinctions on its own pupils in accordance with regulations made by itself.

In like manner each of the several provinces of Canada has its legislature, which raises and appropriates the school fund, and makes its own laws. There are normal schools, and arrangements for the certification of qualified teachers; but all these depend on the initiative of the several provinces. So neither the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa nor the Federal Government at Washington is concerned with the organization of public instruction for the whole country. That is the business of the province, the state, the city, or some still smaller

administrative unit. Hence, there are to be found in all parts of the North American Continent, local patriotism, local rivalry, and often very original and vigorous enterprise, but also great inequalities. As in the great broad land itself, so you have in the field of education, many fertile and promising, but some comparatively barren and neglected tracts; and the first duty of everyone who attempts to speak on such a subject is to guard himself against the temptation to generalize too rapidly, or to make comprehensive inductions on *data* in themselves so various and so widely separated.

Teachers, trained or untrained.

Another point which should be borne in mind is, that the number of persons who, in America, devote their lives to the profession of teaching, is, relatively to the population, smaller than in England, and the average stay of teachers in the ranks is proportionately smaller. Unless a man has special ability such as justifies him in expecting to be a master in a high school, or a professor in a college, he is much more likely than his English brother to be attracted, after two or three years' teaching, to commerce, to the press, or to the pulpit. And the period during which female teachers — who constitute about five-sixths of the staff of what in England we should call elementary schools — remain in the profession is much shorter. Very few women remain, or would be allowed to remain, in the profession after marriage, and it is computed that the average duration of their service in elementary schools does not exceed three years. In these circumstances it is not surprising that comparatively few of the teachers are willing to undergo any laborious training by way of preparation for so transitory an employment. As a matter of fact, not more than one-tenth of the teachers in the common schools of America have been specially trained in normal seminaries;

and of these some have devoted two or four years, but some only twelve, six, or only three months to such special preparation. The normal schools are seldom or never residential institutions; much of their training is general and academical, and has no exclusive bearing on professional work; and many of them are attended by considerable numbers of students who do not propose to follow the calling of a teacher, but who wish to avail themselves of the excellent teaching of the lecturers in non-professional subjects.

Nevertheless, a belief in the paramount importance of special preparation for the teacher's office, is very strong throughout all parts of America, and is daily becoming stronger and more general. This belief finds expression in many ways, notably in the existence of institutes, teachers' associations, and conventions, reading circles, and other means whereby the lack of regular normal training and discipline is, in some cases, largely compensated, and the training itself, in the case of those who have enjoyed it, is supplemented and made effective.

Institutes.

By an "institute" in America is meant a normal class, held periodically for the teachers of a district, and furnishing instruction in the art and practice of education, and an opportunity for the discussion of methods. These institutes are, in fact, migratory and occasional academies, and they were brought into existence before any regular normal schools were founded. The first meeting of this kind was held in Hartford, in Connecticut, as far back as 1839, by Henry Barnard, who was the Secretary to the State Board of Education, and who gathered together twenty-six young teachers in the public schools, and provided for them, during several weeks, a course of lectures, reviewing the topics usually

taught in the common schools, and furnishing some instruction in method, supplemented by visits of observation to the public schools of the city. I ought, in passing, to say how much the literature of education owes to Mr Barnard, who has during a long life spent himself, and, I fear, much of his fortune too, in efforts to reprint costly works and monographs on education. It was a great pleasure to me to see this educational veteran at a meeting of teachers in Rhode Island, and to find him still, in his honoured old age, as keenly interested as ever in the advancement of educational science and in the practical improvement of scholastic methods. The example he set was imitated at first in a rather fitful and hesitating way, but afterwards more systematically.

Henry Barnard.

The earliest of these gatherings were purely voluntary on the part of the teachers, and grew out of the endeavour to qualify themselves for their work; but soon, during the first decade, several of the New England States began to make it an obligation on the younger teachers to attend them, and the management of them was placed in the charge of the school superintendents, or other officers appointed for the purpose. By degrees the system spread, at first to the Southern, and afterwards to the Western States, and the "Teachers' Institute" is now a recognized factor in the educational system throughout the Union, and in the Dominion of Canada. The *data* for any safe general statement in reference to them are somewhat scattered, diverse, and obscure. In a few States institutes are not legally required to be held at all; in some, institutes are incorporated into State or District systems, and in others into County systems. In some they are held under State authority, and in others under local authority. In some cases the expenses are paid by State funds, in others by

county funds, in others by contributions from the teachers, and in others by the fees for teachers' licenses. In some cases the institutes are held at a fixed time, when the schools are closed, and in others they are held at any time the local authorities may choose, and when the schools are in session. In some, the schools are closed during the sessions of the institute, in others they remain open. In some, the teachers are paid for attending, or fined for not attending; in others neither course is pursued. Some of them are held by voluntary or private persons, and others — now by far the greater number — by the official superintendent of the district, or under his direction. The time devoted to them also varies materially. In many States provision is made for an annual session of from three to six days, and in a few for a session of two, or even three weeks. In other States the teachers are required to meet monthly, or once in two months, for two or three hours in the evening or on Saturday.

Scope and aim of the Institutes.

But, though diverse in all these respects, the object to be attained and the method of attaining it are practically uniform. They are designed, in the first place and mainly, for the help of the large number of teachers who have not been trained in normal seminaries; and, in the second place, for the help of those who have been so trained. "Their aim," says a recent report of the Commissioner, "is to revive the spirit and confidence of teachers, awaken a pride in the profession, stimulate to self-improvement, and by a progressive course of study and instruction review the branches taught in the schools, and increase the practical requirements of the teachers." Accordingly it is the duty of each official school superintendent, or district inspector, to classify the teachers of his district, and to gather into their several classes those who take up the work of each standard or grade.

A young teacher, it must be observed, is, on admission, examined and certified, with a view to her service in a class of a given grade. She cannot take charge of a higher class without a further examination, and a higher diploma. While attached to a particular class, it is her duty to attend the lessons at the Institute specially adapted to the work of that particular grade, so that in each department the young people are receiving instruction in method, in so far as it is applicable to the work of their own classes. Besides this, collective instruction is given occasionally on larger questions relating to the general principles of teaching and organization. But, on the whole, it may be said that "Institutes," in the American sense, while not designed in any way to supersede regular normal training, furnish, in many cases, a useful supplement to it, and in many more, help in an appreciable degree, to supply the lack of such training. I should add that the various boards and school authorities seldom appoint a man to the office of school Superintendent or Inspector who is not competent to direct and hold such institutes, and to lecture to the teachers on method.

Voluntary associations of teachers.

Besides these local institutes, which are essentially normal classes, engaged in a good deal of merely technical work, there are in America other and larger organizations, of a wholly voluntary kind, which, though mainly, are not exclusively composed of teachers, and which seek to elucidate the higher and more general aspects of education, and to bring the teaching profession into due relations with all the more advanced thought of the country, with the professors of her universities, and with the best of her writers and her clergy. Foremost amongst these was the New England Association of Teachers, which has subsequently changed its name to the American

Institute of Instruction. It was founded in 1830 at Boston, and the first meeting, attended by 300 persons, chiefly from the Eastern States, was presided over by the well-known Dr Wayland, the President of Brecon University. In his introductory address he struck the keynote of the whole enterprise, and foreshadowed with clear insight the future history of an Association, which, after 58 years of growth, is to-day more flourishing and influential than ever. He said:—

"In the long train of her joyous anniversaries New England has yet beheld no one more illustrious than this. We have assembled to-day, not to proclaim how well our fathers have done, but to enquire how we may enable her sons to do better. . . . We have come up here, to the City of the Pilgrims, to ask how we may render their children more worthy of their ancestors, and more pleasing to their God. We meet to give to each other the right hand of fellowship in carrying forward this all-important work, and here to leave our professional pledge, that if the succeeding generations do not act worthily the guilt shall not rest upon those who are now the instructors of New England."

In the four days during which the meeting lasted these were the subjects discussed:—Physical education; the development of the intellectual faculties in connexion with the teaching of geography; the infant school system; the spelling of words, and a rational method of teaching their meaning; lyceums and literary societies, and their connexion with the school; practical methods of teaching rhetoric, geometry, and algebra; the monitorial system; vocal music; classical learning; arithmetic; the construction and furnishing of school-rooms. Very early in the history of the Association it was resolved that the clergy of all denominations, and the representatives of the press in the neighbourhood in which the meeting was held should be invited. Among the lecturers who spoke before the Association, during its early years,

Co-operation of the clergy and of public men.

I find the names of Jacob Abbott, whose books many of us delighted in as children; of Noah Webster, the lexicographer; of George Ticknor; of Spurzheim, the German philosopher; of Calhoun, the statesman, who lectured on the duties of school committees; of Lowell Mason, who advocated the introduction of music into the common school; of Judge Story, on the science of Government as a branch of general education; of Ralph Waldo Emerson, on the best mode of inspiring a correct taste in English literature; of Horace Mann, on the necessity of previous study to parents and teachers; of John Philbrick, on school government; of George Sumner, on the state of education in some countries of Europe; of Gideon Thayer, on the means of awakening in the minds of parents a deeper interest in the education of their children; of Miss Peabody, on Kindergarten, the Gospel for children; and of Henry Ward Beecher, on the New Profession. From the numerous other topics treated at these annual meetings I select a few characteristic examples: —

The study of the classics; training the human voice; the number of hours a day to be devoted to instruction; the sources of personal power; the self-education of the teacher; the legitimate influence of schools on commerce, on agriculture, on manufactures, on civil polity, and on morals; the cultivation of a sense of honour among pupils; the right and wrong use of text-books; the rights of the taught; oral teaching; the co-education of the sexes; drawing not an accomplishment, but a language for the graphic representation of facts and a means of developing taste; psychology in relation to teaching.

Summary of general purposes of such meetings.

As I look down through the annals of this Association I am struck with two or three facts: (1) That it has succeeded in enlisting the co-operation and sympathy, not

only of teachers of all ranks, from the primary school to the University, but of nearly all the most prominent thinkers, public writers, clergy, statesmen, and lawyers in the States. (2) That its peripatetic character has enabled it from year to year to break new ground, to awaken new local interest, and to exercise a missionary influence on the improvement of education throughout the whole country. (3) That the subjects of discussion are mainly practical, and have a direct bearing on the improvement of school methods, but that many of them are of a larger and more speculative kind, selected with a view to enlarge the intellectual horizon of the members, and to find new meeting-points between the world of the school-room and the world of thought and of commercial and intellectual activity outside of the school. (4) That in all the topics of discussion I fail to find one which touches the question of the payment of the teacher or his pecuniary or professional interests.

Meeting at Newport, R. I.

I had the great pleasure in 1888 of attending the 58th annual gathering of this thriving Association. At Newport, in Rhode Island, there were assembled during four days about a thousand members, including the teachers of primary and grammar schools, the professors in the chief colleges and universities in the New England States, the principal teachers and authorities of the normal schools, and nearly all the school superintendents and official inspectors. With these were associated a few public men, such as the Mayor of Newport, and the State Commissioner, members of School Boards and Committees, and the like. There were animated general meetings at the beginning and end of each day, for lectures and addresses on the more popular aspects of education; and throughout the day sectional meetings, in three or four groups, for papers and discussions on

special topics. A simple and touching religious exercise introduced each day's proceedings, and there was at times hearty choral singing, which, with one or two excursions at the end, constituted the only dissipations of the assemblage. The subjects were of the same general character as I have already described, and I was especially struck in observing the terms of perfect freedom and equality subsisting between the teachers of all classes and the public officials concerned in the administration of the various State systems.

The College Association at Philadelphia.

Another very characteristic meeting at which I had the opportunity of being present, was that of the College Association of Pennsylvania, now enlarged in its scope so as to include the Colleges and Universities of the Middle States and Maryland. It was held in the magnificent University buildings in Philadelphia, and after an address of welcome from the Provost of the University, proceeded to discuss seriously, during two or three days, a number of topics especially concerned with higher education. Among these were the place of History in a college course; the influence of Endowments on education; the German University of to-day; Post-graduate courses; Pedagogics as a part of a college curriculum; the education of Women in colleges; the proper requirements for admission to a college course. The treatment of these topics was serious, and both scientific and practical; there was full recognition of great principles, and yet an anxious attempt to see those principles in the light of the actual problems of a professor's life.

St John, New Brunswick.

An equally significant experience awaited us when we crossed the northern boundary of the State of Maine, and found ourselves in the Dominion of Canada. At St John, New Brunswick, was held in July a convention of all the teachers of the maritime provinces of New

Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island. Here, again, the gathering comprehended teachers of all ranks, from the primary teacher to the University principal and professor, the State superintendents, all the inspectors of schools, and a number of public men, including the Governor of the Province, and Ministers both of the Provincial and of the Dominion Governments. There were some twelve hundred persons at the opening and closing meetings. But the sectional discussions throughout the day were largely attended, and were concerned with many important points of detail, which were earnestly debated. There was a special section devoted to the investigation of infant teaching and discipline, and at this meeting some papers, read by female teachers of experience, were of unusual merit and suggestiveness. Another section devoted itself to the consideration of the work of normal schools; another to questions relating to the teaching of different branches of natural science; another to the ornamentation, furnishing, and equipment of the common school, and to the right use of its playgrounds and accessories; and another to the consideration of modes of inspecting and examining school organization and work.

It was interesting to observe, in Canada, no less than in the States, how much of stimulus and encouragement teachers, especially the younger members of the profession, derived from these gatherings; how many new and germinating ideas were disseminated, how many valuable friendships were formed, and to how large an extent public opinion, both within and without the profession, was helped, strengthened, and ennobled. All through the Dominion of Canada, as well as through the States of the Union, scores of such local meetings are to be found seriously at work during the first, second,

and third weeks of the summer holiday; and it was specially cheering to see such eager and enthusiastic companies of hard-worked teachers, who, after a long session, and in the hot weather of July, voluntarily dedicated the first few days of their well-earned vacation to self-improvement and to professional fellowship. It must be owned that the American has a genius for organizing conventions, and that all sections of the community find greater delight in attending them than we of the old world are wont to experience. The popularity of such conventions seems to increase year by year. There is now, besides the various local gatherings in States and in groups of States, a National Educational Association, which organizes every year a collective gathering on a huge scale at some great centre, one year at Chicago, another at Boston, another at St Louis, and once at San Francisco. Some thousands of teachers spent three, four, or five days in travelling across the continent from different parts, in order to attend the great congress, which lasted from the 17th to the 28th of July. The programme is so elaborate that a mere summary of it would — if I were so rash as to attempt to give it — occupy all the time at my disposal to-day. I can only ask those of you who have ever attended a British Association Meeting here at home, and who remember its elaborate arrangements for receptions, sections, departments, sub-committees, public harangues, excursions, and social arrangements, to imagine such a meeting on a still larger scale, if you wish to form a notion of the National Convention of Teachers. Such great gatherings are suited to the soil, and fit in better with the habits and social arrangements of America than with those of England. But I think they grow out of a genuine zeal for the improvement of education, and out of a repub-

lican sentiment that every man who has got anything good to say, or has made a useful invention or discovery, is bound to communicate it to his fellow-teachers, and to invite their criticisms upon it.

Chautauqua.

I have elsewhere described[1] the curious, but very characteristic American institution known as the Chautauqua Summer Assembly. In the north-west of the great State of New York a clearance has been made in the "forest primæval," and near the shore of a little lake. Here during July and August may be seen an encampment of from eight to ten thousand persons, living in tents or wooden cottages, and forming themselves daily into classes and reading parties, working in laboratories, studying in small companies in a library, or listening to lectures. They have a number of separate rooms for different kinds of study or manual work, a gymnasium, and a vast amphitheatre, rudely fashioned on the curved slope of a hill, with a roof, and one wall on the side of which there is an organ and a platform, but otherwise open to the air and the woods. It is one of the most memorable and affecting of my American experiences to have addressed six thousand people in this sheltered place, to have heard their voices as they uplifted a psalm, while the ancient trees waved and rustled all round them in the summer twilight, and to have witnessed the hearty enthusiasm, wherewith the whole of this large company, comprising persons of all ages, shared the simple recreations of the place, and yet seemed all bent on efforts after self-improvement. The Assembly is, as many of you know, the parent of many similar local assemblies, and the headquarters of a vast organization, extending through the whole length and breadth of the Union, and of the Canadian Dominion, and known as the Chautauqua

[1] In the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1888.

Reading Circle. Its members, upwards of 100,000 in number, are scattered all over the American Continent, and their one tie of association is that they all pledge themselves to read every year a certain set of four or five books, to write papers in the form of *résumé*, criticism, or account of what they have read. Afterwards, when opportunity offers, they meet from time to time, to read the books together, to discuss their contents, and, if possible, to obtain from some competent professor or schoolmaster an occasional lecture in elucidation of one of the prescribed books. This is not the occasion for any detailed description of the Association. It has, as many of you know, been a remarkably successful enterprise, has developed among many persons who have had few opportunities of early study a sense of intellectual fellowship with other self-taught and striving students, and has exercised a far-reaching influence on the mental life and thought of the American people. A very characteristic address delivered to the assembled students by the late revered Bishop Phillips Brooks of Massachusetts, contained a passage which well describes the influence exerted by the great Reading Union on the home life of the American community and on its educational ideals:

> "I see busy households, where the daily care has been lightened and inspired by the few moments caught every day for earnest study. I see chambers which a single open book fills with light like a burning candle. I see workshops where the toil is all the more faithful because of the higher ambition which fills the toiler's heart. I see parents and children drawn closer to one another, in their common pursuit of the same truth, their common delight in the same ideas. I see hearts young and old kindling with deepened insights into life and broadening with enlarged outlooks over the richness of history, and the beauty of the world. Happy fellowships in study, self conquests, self discoveries, brave resolutions, faithful devotions to ideals and hopes — all these I see as I look abroad upon this

multitude of faces of the students of the great College of Chautauqua."

But it is notable that the whole movement began 18 years ago in the form of a voluntary association of teachers chiefly connected with Sunday-schools, who met together for the study of the Bible, and for mutual conference about the best mode of giving religious instruction. Very soon it was found that masters and mistresses employed in the primary schools and grammar schools of the States wished to associate themselves with the Assembly; and the *Teachers' Retreat* was organized, partly for summer rest and congenial fellowship, but mainly for the systematic reading of the best educational literature, and for the discussion of the methods and processes of education. So, during the two months of the Assembly, about two weeks are annually appropriated to the members of the teaching profession, and year by year the number of such persons to be found at Chautauqua increases. Out of this experiment grew in time a *Teachers' Reading Union*, for the benefit of those who were too widely scattered to give personal attendance at the meeting. This department of the whole work of the institution is separately organized: —

"It suggests the names of suitable books, facilitates the circulation of them among the members, provides three regular and several advanced courses of professional reading; the book-work being supplemented by written correspondence, and records of experience, and by special counsels forwarded by the professors to the members. For the annual fee of one dollar, each member is entitled to receive during the year seven such communications in answer to questions, or in explanation of difficulties."

This example has been extensively followed. The "Teachers' Reading Circle" is now recognized everywhere as the most valuable agency for the improvement of the rural schools, and as a humble, but not ineffective,

substitute for normal training. The report of the Commissioner of Education says that, in the case of country teachers, "Whatever knowledge they obtain of the theory of teaching, and whatever promptings they receive to enter on the study of mind, and to learn something of the laws of its growth, may be set down largely to the credit of the Reading Circle." President Allyn, of Illinois, says, "The work of the Teachers' Reading Circles is in the direction of healthful mental and moral progress. No one can read a good book without profit, and when such a book is in the line of one's life-work, it is both inspiration and motive power." As these views have prevailed, the system has, during the last seven or eight years, been largely extended. Ohio and Wisconsin were among the earliest States to form State Teachers' Reading Circles. Indiana soon followed, and at present more than twenty States have formally adopted the plan. It is estimated that at least 75,000 teachers in the United States are reading methodically and systematically works having special relation to professional and general culture.

Reading Circles.

I abridge from the last Report presented to Congress by the Commissioner of Education the following particulars respecting the formation and work of these associations: —

"The objects of the State Teachers' Reading Circles are substantially the same, namely, the improvement of the members in literary, scientific, and professional knowledge, and the promotion of habits of self-culture. This end is sought by prescribing a certain course of study, securing books at reduced rates, preparing lists of the best educational publications, by offering advice and direction as to the methods of reading and study, by examinations of the work done, and by certificates of proficiency.

"The act of organizing the State Circle has generally been accomplished at the annual assembly of the State Teachers' Associations, and the work is usually carried on under the control of this

association. Directors and boards of management are chosen, who map out the course and direct the work of the circle. County and local circles are also formed, subsidiary to the general or State circle, and even individual members may pursue the course alone.

"The conditions of membership are liberal, any teacher or other person being received who promises to pursue the prescribed course of study, and pays the small fee — usually 25 cents or 50 cents annually. Meetings of local circles for conference, discussion, and review are held once a week in some States, and bi-weekly in others. The course of study is usually outlined and published in the educational journals, and in the county papers.

"In the preparation of these outlines, a department of study is under the special supervision of some member of the State Board. The object of this study is twofold, namely, professional and general culture. As for the prominence given to one or the other of these subjects, that is determined by the actual needs of the teachers. The fourth year's reading (1886—87) for the Ohio Teachers' Reading Circle is given herewith, to indicate the general scope of such studies.

"*Psychology.* — Sully's 'Teacher's Handbook of Psychology.'

"*Literature.* — 'Hamlet,' and 'As You Like It.' Selections from Wordsworth.

"*History.* — Barnes's 'Brief General History of the World,' or Thalheiner's 'General History.'

"*Political Economy.* — Gregory's 'Political Economy,' or Chapin's 'First Principles of Political Economy,' with at least one educational periodical.

"In a majority of the States provision is made for stated examinations of the work performed, and certificates are awarded with diplomas upon completion of the course.

"The *Union Reading Circle*, a paper published in the interests of this work, reports (June, 1887) three new societies in Georgia, two in Kentucky, five in Iowa, and twelve others in as many different States. Memorial days are now the fashion; the poets Bryant, Longfellow, and Tennyson, with Dickens and other literary men, receiving their share of honour in various places. The Agassiz Society of Philadelphia promises to make the summer vacation an opportunity for scientific research and study, and each one will contribute towards the common museum. The Gesenius, a new circle of Cleveland, makes Hebrew a specialty, as the Xenophon Society carries on the systematic study of Greek. The Curtis

Society of Buffalo, N. Y., studies politics, and discusses all questions of reform. The Tulane Home Study and Reading Society is organized, with headquarters at Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

"Besides the State associations, others claiming a national character have been organized. In 1885, the Teachers' National Reading Circle was legally incorporated under the laws of New York. Prof. W. H. Payne, of Michigan, was chosen President, supported by 18 directors, constituting the official board. This organization provides 18 courses of reading, 6 being professional, 3 in general culture, and 9 non-professional. In the first, 27 books are recommended. Each course includes 3 groups of studies, 2 books in each group, and any course (3 books for the year) may be taken by the reader. Diplomas will be granted to members who pass the three different examinations in some one prescribed course, and who prepare an accepted thesis on some educational topic connected with the reading. . . . One or two of the educational departments of Canada prescribe a course of reading for teachers, purely voluntary, and hence followed by no examinations. The department provides, however, that 'should the teachers of any inspectorial division agree to read the course with this end in view, and should the county board of examiners make adequate provision for such examination, the department would recognize, by special certificate, this additional element of professional culture.'"

Absence of educational politics.

It will be observed that all the organizations I have described — local institutes, general conventions, reading circles, teachers' retreats — set before them two objects, and two objects only, self-improvement, and the improvement of education. There is a remarkable absence in America of discussions on what may be called the politics of education, or on the means of obtaining professional influence outside the profession itself. And it is to this singleness of purpose, to the essentially practical aim of these organized meetings, that one may fairly attribute the interest which is universally shown in them, the warm and respectful welcome which they receive from parents and local authorities as they itinerate from town to town, the large share of importance assigned to the

meetings in the local press, and the extent to which the influence of the teaching body has steadily been enlarged during the last sixty years. Public opinion, after all, evinces a true instinct when it shows — as it always does — a certain distrust of trading and professional associations, obviously designed to keep up the scale of remuneration, to assert corporate rights and privileges, or otherwise to protect class interests. Outsiders have a suspicion that these interests are not necessarily or always identical with the larger interests of the community. The Teachers' Guild in England, we may confidently hope, will do much to dispel this suspicion.

The corporate spirit among teachers.

It cannot, of course, be doubted that the creation of a corporate spirit, a consciousness of brotherly unity among all classes of teachers, is in itself a worthy object to attain. But *esprit de corps*, though a good thing, is a thing of which one can easily have too much, and there are at least some callings in which a body of traditional and professional etiquette has grown up and proved to be rather a hindrance than a help to public usefulness. So, also, it is natural that to some minds the great attraction of a corporate body like this is the hope that it holds out of winning for the teaching profession a higher social position and influence. But, after all, social status and influence are not to be had by demanding them, or by complaining that they are withheld, but simply by deserving them, and by the silent and sure method of improving the personal qualifications of those who wish for them. Much is often said, too, of the importance of an organization which will bring the collective opinion of the great teaching body to bear on the solution of public questions, and enable scholastic authorities to speak with one voice on points on which outside opinion has to be formed, and public measures are

contemplated. There may, no doubt, be times when such expressions of opinion are needed; but they are rare; and when they occur, it will probably be found that unanimity of judgment is as little attainable within the precincts of the profession as without them, and that it is by the utterances of a few of the wisest, rather than by the resolutions of large bodies, that, in the long run, opinion is formed, great measures are initiated, and reforms are effected. There is, for example, the much-debated question, how the aid granted by Parliament should be assessed, and on what conditions it should be distributed among our common schools. There are the relative merits of inspection and of examination as tests of school work. These are, of course, legitimate and interesting subjects of public discussion. But, after all, they chiefly concern Parliament, which makes the grant, and managers, who receive and expend it. It is only in a very limited degree that these matters affect those who, as members of the Teachers' Guild, are concerned chiefly with the interior work and efficiency of schools. Under any imaginable regulations for dispensing the public grant, it will always be true that good teaching is possible, and that improvement is possible. To teachers it will ever be the first duty to make the school efficient, by bringing to bear upon it all their highest powers, their widest reading, and the best of their thought and experience. To examiners, universities, inspectors, and public authorities who are called on to direct education, or to test, or to criticise, the first duty is to be fair and just, to recognize impartially all forms of good work, and to encourage every honest effort. And for all classes alike, the main business is to co-operate cordially in the trial of new experiments, in the making of fruitful discoveries, and in the fulfilment of a great public duty.

The Teachers' Guild.

The Teachers' Guild has before it, I believe, a great career of honour, and of public beneficence. By the comprehensiveness of its aim it may hope to enlist the co-operation of teachers of all ranks, to break down artificial barriers, such as tend to keep the labourers in the different parts of the scholastic field apart, and to show that every true principle in the philosophy of education, when once understood, is applicable alike to all real teaching, from the kindergarten to the universities. By means of its libraries, and its local conferences, as well as in other ways, the Guild can do much to encourage younger teachers in their efforts after self-improvement, and to make them familiar with the best experience of their predecessors. And by the help of its public discussions, by the welcome it gives to all new speculations, by its readiness to diffuse right principles, it can help to make the work of teaching in schools easier, more delightful, and more efficient. It may also sustain, in the teaching profession and out of it, a loftier purpose, and a larger and nobler ideal than has ever yet been realized, of what a complete and generous education ought to be. Other forms of honourable ambition may yet disclose themselves; other claims on public estimation and gratitude may yet be established. Higher claims it can never have. And it is only by stedfastly aiming at the highest that the lower aims, either in the life of a man or of an institution, can be understood in their true proportions, or can ever be successfully attained.

LECTURE IX

EDWARD THRING.[1]

The biographical method of studying educational history. Arnold and Thring. Outlines of Thring's life. His biographers. Fellowships at King's College, Cambridge. Early practice in a National School. True principles of teaching applicable to schools of all grades. Uppingham. Boarding-houses. The School largely the product of private adventure. The Royal Commissioners. The Hegira. Uppingham by the sea. The teaching of English. Every boy good for something. Variety of employment and of games. Encouragement of music and the fine arts. The decoration of the school-room. Honour to lessons. Thring's books. His fancies. Characteristic extracts. Diaries. The Head-Masters' Conference. Head-Mistresses. Women as teachers. Settlement at North Woolwich. The Uppingham School Society. The prize system.

The biographical method of studying educational history.

THE student of educational history and of the opinions which have from time to time prevailed respecting the principles and methods of teaching does well to fasten his attention occasionally on the career of some representative teacher whose doings and ideas may be regarded as characteristic of the times in which he lived, or whose personal influence may have helped to determine the course of thought and of action pursued by other teachers. This is a method of investigation which has been adopted with singular success by Compayré, by

[1] Address before the College of Preceptors.

Mr Quick and by Mr Oscar Browning, and in Mr Heinemann's Series of "Great Educators," and it has the great advantage of setting before us, in a concrete and personal form, views and tendencies which would otherwise be less intelligible.

Arnold and Thring.

Two names will always remain prominently associated with the public school education in the England of the nineteenth century, those of Dr Arnold and Edward Thring. Both men were educated in ancient Grammar Schools, steeped in the traditions of the '*renaissance*' — the one at Eton and the other at Winchester. Both owed their best intellectual possessions to the classical training they had thus received. Yet both were conscious of the defects of that training, and each sought in his own way to enlarge and ennoble the conception of what a great public school ought to be; and while holding fast to the belief that the study of the languages of Greece and Rome should form the staple of a liberal education, both endeavoured to understand the changed circumstances and the new requirements of our own age, and to adapt their systems of teaching and discipline to those requirements. Both were characterized by intense earnestness of purpose, by profound faith in the importance of their own office, and by a religious consecration of their best powers to the duties of that office. But they differed greatly in temperament and in personal gifts; and also in the width and range of their sympathies. Arnold was a fighting Paladin, entering with ardour into the political and theological controversies of his time. Both as a public writer and as Professor of Modern History at Oxford, he was a conspicuous figure in the world outside of Rugby. Thring on the contrary was identified heart and soul with Uppingham, and is known to the outer world only in connexion with it and not as a student or

as an author. All his literary work also had relation to his profession as a schoolmaster; and he is one of that small class of eminent teachers who have not only achieved practical success, but have also written copiously on the principles and practice of the art which they professed. He never obtained or sought ecclesiastical preferment.

All the combative powers of his life were employed in contests with the governing body of his school, with parents, with masters, and with Royal Commissions, and other public authorities. There are few more notable examples in the history of English public schools, of the entire concentration of all the powers and ambition of a life upon one school. I have elsewhere sought to estimate the influence of Thomas Arnold[1] on education; and within the necessary limit of one lecture, we may with advantage try to unfold the reasons why the name of Thring will always be honourably associated with his in the history of this waning century.

Outline of Thring's life.

There is the less reason to enter into general biographical detail, because the story of his life has been written with care and sympathy, and with somewhat unusual fulness of detail, by his friend Mr G. R. Parkin; and has been further elucidated in a volume entitled *A Memory of Edward Thring*, by his affectionate friend — Mr J. H. Skrine, at first a pupil, afterwards a colleague — as master in the School. Another writer, one who knew and understood him well — the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley — has written a small monograph entitled *Edward Thring, Teacher and Poet*, which is characterized by delicate and just appreciation. All these books deserve a permanent place in the hagiology of the scholastic profession. It will therefore suffice for my present purpose to assume

[1] In "Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their influence in English Education."

that their contents are generally known and to recall here in briefest summary the main incidents of his life.

He was born in 1821, and was the son of John Gale Thring, the Rector and Squire of the parish of Alford in Somersetshire. Part of his education was received at the small endowed grammar school at Ilminster, and part at Eton, where he became by the end of his school life the head boy of the Collegers, and Captain of Monten in 1841, nearly the last year of that famous celebration. He proceeded duly to King's College, Cambridge, gained the Porson prize for Greek Iambics, and was elected a Fellow of the College. *Fellowship at King's.* It is very characteristic of him that, being a distinguished Etonian and a Fellow of King's College, he was foremost in denouncing and in ultimately abolishing a special privilege to which, in accordance with the traditions of the University, he was entitled. For three centuries, Scholars of King's had been allowed to proceed to a degree without examination. But Thring while yet in residence as a Fellow, objected strongly to the continuance of this anomalous and antiquated usage, and wrote more than one pamphlet pointing out the mischief done by it to the true interests of learning, and advocating its entire abolition. It was generally believed that had he been subjected to the ordinary degree examination, he would have proved himself the most distinguished Classical Scholar of his year. His protest therefore against the continuance of the exceptional privilege enjoyed by his own College was all the more effective. But Universities are habitually cautious and conservative; and it was not till three years after, in 1851, that the full consent to this reform was obtained from the Provost and Fellows. Ever since the King's Scholars from Eton have obtained their degrees, like other undergraduates, by passing the ordinary examinations of the University.

In 1846 he was ordained, and took a curacy in Gloucester, and after a short interval, in which like Arnold he was engaged privately as a tutor preparing candidates for the public schools, he was appointed in 1853 to be Head Master of the School at Uppingham — an ancient foundation of the sixteenth century, with a modest endowment of less that £1000 per annum, which then sustained a small school in mean and narrow buildings, with twenty-five boys and two masters and very little reputation. How in the course of thirty-four years, he contrived to develop this poor obscure little institution into one of the most influential public schools in England, with upwards of three hundred scholars, thirty masters, eleven boarding-houses, a noble chapel and library, and ample equipment for recreation and teaching, may be gathered from the books I have named. It will here suffice to refer to those features of his life's work, which seem to have special value by way of example and suggestion to those who are to be his successors.

Early practice in a National School.

Among these, one may cite his earliest experience as a teacher. When a Curate in the city of Gloucester it was part of his duty to teach regularly in the elementary school of the parish; and he ever afterwards regarded the experience thus gained as the most important part of his professional training.

"Everything," he said, "I most value of teaching thought, and teaching practice, and teaching experience, came from this teaching work daily in the National Schools. Never shall I forget those schools in the suburbs of Gloucester, and their little class-room, with its solemn problem, no more difficult one in the world: how on earth the Cambridge Honour man, with his success and his brain-world, was to get at the minds of those little labourers' sons, with their unfurnished heads, and no time to give. *They* gave me the great axiom: 'The worse the material, the greater the skill of the worker.' *They* called out the useful dictum with which I ever silently stepped over the threshold: 'If these fellows don't learn, it's my

fault.' *They* disentangled all the loose threads of knowledge in my brain, and forced me to wind each separately in its place, with its beginning and its end. *They* bred in me a supreme contempt for knowledge-lumps, and for emptying out knowledge-lumps in a heap, like stones at the roadside, and calling it teaching. *They* made me hate the long array of fine words, which lesson-givers ask, and pupils answer, and neither really know the meaning of. *They* taught me how different knowing is from being able to make others know. Nay, they taught me the more valuable lesson still, how different knowledge which can be produced to an examiner is from knowledge which knows itself, and understands its own life and growth. *There* I learnt the great secret of St Augustine's golden key, which, though it be of gold, is useless unless it fits the wards of the lock. And I found the wards I had to fit, the wards of *my* lock, which had to be opened, the minds of those little street boys, very queer and tortuous affairs ; and I had to set about cutting and chipping myself into the wooden key, which should have the one merit of a key, however common it might look, the merit of fitting the lock, and unlocking the minds, and opening the shut chambers of the heart."[1]

It may well be doubted whether the truth which accident thus brought home to Thring's life-long conviction is sufficiently recognized by teachers. We are hampered too much by pedantic attempts at the exact delimitation of primary, secondary, and academic education. The members of the teachers' profession themselves are tempted to regard the practitioners in these several departments, as if they formed distinct classes socially and intellectually, having few or no common interests. The truth is that the teaching which seems lowest and most elementary requires the highest gifts and make the largest demands on the genius and power of a teacher. The ways of approach to the intelligence, the sympathies, and the conscience of learners may often be learned more thoroughly among those of the humblest rank, than among those whose standard of life

[1] Presidential Address to the Education Society in 1886.

and thought is already determined by the fact that they come from intelligent homes. And when right methods are discovered, it is always found that they are applicable to all grades of learners alike.

True principles of teaching applicable to all grades of schools.

Thring's personal experience on this point throws some light on a problem which in the near future will demand the serious consideration of educational authorities. We are accustomed to deplore the mistakes made by young assistant masters in public schools, who come fresh from the Universities and try their "prentice hand" upon the lower forms, before attempting to obtain any training or guidance in the art of teaching and even before believing that such training would be of any service to them. Ere long we may hope that the need of systematic preparation for the schoolmaster's work will be as universally recognized in the upper as in the lower regions of educational experience. And in the millennium when this principle is once admitted and the question arises, "What sort of training will best suit the needs of those who are destined to be the teachers in higher and intermediate schools?" it will be seen that a truly scientific pedagogy takes little heed of conventional and social distinctions, and does not care much to enquire to what grade of schools or even to what group of subjects a teacher intends to devote himself. Principles and methods which are right in the primary school, are capable, with very little modification, of being applied in schools of the highest rank and pretensions. After all, natural endowments are happily to be found impartially distributed among children of all ranks. Hence, the young graduate fresh from the contest for University honours, who aspires to the highest place in his profession, will not do well to disdain to spend a little time and gather a little experience in a good elementary

school. He will there learn some things which as a form-master at Eton or Harrow he could not learn. He will gain notions respecting organization and the handling of large classes, and will see in action some devices for planning lessons, and for securing attention and discipline, which will help much to widen his own view of the possibilities of his profession, and to suggest to him some modifications of the time-honoured routine of a purely classical school.

Uppingham.

From the first when at the age of 32 he assumed the ferule at Uppingham he formed a very clear conception of the work of a public school, and determined to make Uppingham in some respects an example of what such a school should be. He thought that most of the schools of the highest rank were too large; and that consequently due regard to the character and needs of the individual scholar was impossible in them. He regarded 300 as the maximum number for such a school, and he resolutely resisted all temptation to exceed 320. Up to this number, every boy added to the efficiency of the school, but beyond this number he deemed every additional pupil was a drag and a hindrance and rendered it less possible for the masters to know and study special capabilities. This maximum was reached in 1865, when he had been in office eleven years. "I have no right," he said, "to take a boy away from his parents and accept the responsibility of training him unless I can know him well." "A mob of boys cannot be educated." "Every boy should feel that he is known." For this reason he also desired to limit the number of boarders in any house to thirty. This rule was very unwelcome to some of his masters, seeing that they derived their chief income from the boarding fees, and it served as an occasion for some friction between him and his staff. His diary, Nov. 3,

1874, contains this entry: "I said to the masters that nothing would induce me to admit an extra boy in any house. This last I think most of; because I feel sure that my work here will be overthrown on this very point of numbers, and I am glad therefore of every opportunity of bearing witness to my conviction that it is destruction of all my work."

Boarding-houses.

In fact the conditions under which the masters were appointed were not without danger. His colleagues were not salaried assistants, but men who possessed capital and had been invited by him to invest considerable sums in the building of boarding-houses, and to contribute liberally to the general equipment and development of the school. They were thus not only assistant masters, but partners in a commercial venture. Probably this was the only way in which Thring could realize his ideal in a school with a small endowment, an apathetic governing body, and no great traditions or repute. But it was not a good way; and the fact that he was obliged to adopt it, illustrates a weak point in the polity of many of our public schools. The masters look to the profits on boarders as their chief source of revenue; their pecuniary success depends at least as much on their skill as caterers and lodging-house keepers as on their gifts and powers as teachers. The fact that they have invested money in a private enterprise gives them a vested interest; and makes it very difficult to dismiss them if they prove educationally incompetent. It is manifest that these are conditions which might prove highly unfavourable to the interests of a school. Boarding-houses should be the property of the school governors, and the masters should be tenants merely holding office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, their tenure being dependent on their proved fitness and personal influence as teachers, and not on any other

consideration. This arrangement was impossible at Uppingham, owing to the special circumstances of its history and resources, and to the financial risks which his colleagues had incurred. But the readers of Thring's diary will be made painfully aware that his relations to those colleagues were often seriously complicated by the conditions under which he was obliged to work, and by the fact that notwithstanding the pains he took to select as colleagues, men in sympathy with his own aims, and qualified by character and enthusiasm, their personal interests were not always identical with what he thought to be the interests of the school, or with the fulfilment of his own most cherished ideal. The truth is that Uppingham School as we now know it occupies the unusual position of a public institution that has largely grown out of a private enterprise.

The school largely the product of private adventure.

In a letter to Lord Lyttelton quoted by Mr Parkin the head-master says truly:[1] "Other schools have as they grew, and it became possible to do so, employed private property gradually, and when any large sum has been thus invested, the expenditure has been spread over several generations and most of the original contributors are in their graves. But Uppingham is an instance of a special school system, based on most distinct principles, being begun when a school was at its lowest ebb, carried out steadily through adversity and prosperity, till all the educational work has practically become quite independent of any necessity of foundation aid, though for reasons other than pecuniary, such aid seems to me very important. The work too has been done in one generation, and the men still live whose property and lives have been thus contributed to the work, when most unex-

[1] Parkin's *Life of Edward Thring*, Vol. I. p. 180.

pectedly Government steps forward to deal with the question." It is not wonderful that Thring should regard the legislation of 1869 as mischievous, or at least inopportune, although the revelations made by the previous Commission of Inquiry showed the absolute need for such legislation, in the case of scores of decaying and worthless educational endowments in all parts of the country. But the case of Uppingham was wholly exceptional. In one sense it was virtually a proprietary school, owing its creation to the genius and courage of one man and to the capital and the personal efforts of his partners and himself.[1] It owed little to the accident of its possessing a small endowment, an ancient foundation, a pious founder, and an external governing body. With these alone, it might have long remained an obscure little country grammar school of the second or third rank. Yet these were the circumstances which brought the foundation within the purview of the Endowed Schools Act, and gave to it its only chance of recognition among the historical public schools of England.

Royal Commissions.

Thring's mistake lay in the supposition that he could secure at the same time for himself all the prestige and influence of a great public institution, and all the freedom and independence of a private schoolmaster carrying on a commercial venture of his own. He did not consider that if Uppingham had been merely the product of his own enterprise and that of his friends, it would have been untouched by legislation or by the Royal Commission. He would have been perfectly free to carry out his own plans, to be the chief manager of a joint-stock establish-

[1] A document prepared by the assistant-masters for the information of the Commissioners stated, that "of the present school-buildings the Trust has contributed $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and Mr Thring and his masters $91\frac{1}{4}$ per cent."

ment which at his death might become extinct, or be sold in the market. But it could not then have aspired to become, what in fact he contrived to make it, a public school. Yet all his life he chafed under the restrictions imposed by his Board of Governors, the requirements of Commissioners, and the supposed intentions of the Endowed Schools Act, some of which he did not even take the pains to understand. Yet these were the only conditions under which the great ambition of his life could possibly be fulfilled. He never ceased to denounce the "dead hand of outside power thrust into the heart-strings of a living work." Speaking of the Schools Inquiry Commission he said: "How ridiculous it will seem in years to come appointing a lot of squires and a stray lord or two to gather promiscuous evidence on an intricate professional question, and sum up, and pronounce an infallible judgment upon it. However, this is the English panacea now,— this witches' caldron, and small hope it gives." * * "I claim that the skilled workers, each in his own trade, shall be well represented in the management of the trade and not interfered with by external unintelligent power in carrying on the trade."[1]

That a strong and sensitive man, conscious of power, justly proud of the success he had achieved, and confident in himself and in the principles on which he had acted, should thus feel a distrust of all outside educational authority, is intelligible enough. He was wholly out of sympathy with all modern movements for the legal organization of secondary education and for the examination and inspection of schools by public authority. All such expedients appeared to him to restrict harmfully the lawful liberty of the teacher. But he left out of view

[1] Letter to Lord Lyttelton, December 6, 1872.

other considerations not less important. Country gentlemen and members of Parliament have after all some interest in the efficiency of national education, and are competent to form some judgment on the feelings and wishes of parents and on the educational needs of the community. A man need not be a tailor, to know whether his coat fits and is well made or not. Nor is it necessary to be a schoolmaster, in order to be a valuable member of the governing body of a school. If all schools were like Uppingham there would be little or no need for legal control; but for the rank and file of teachers and of schools, all the accumulated testimony served to show that some such control is salutary. Moreover, the extent and nature of this control were carefully restricted. There is no conclusion on which the members of Royal Commissions have been more decided, than that it was the business of trustees to elect the best man they could obtain, and that having got him they should trust him and leave him practically responsible and unfettered. Indeed every scheme issued by the Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Act contains the distinct provision that "the Head Master shall have under his control the method of teaching, the arrangement of classes and school hours, and generally the whole internal organization, management, and discipline of the school, and shall have authority over all scholars attending the same in all places and at all times during the school terms." All experience proves that under these provisions, the headmasters of endowed schools enjoy much more of practical independence, than the proprietors of private schools whose only concern is to satisfy the parents of their scholars.

The Hegira.

One memorable incident in the history of the school illustrates well the masterfulness and courage as well as

the administrative skill which distinguished Thring. All was going well in 1875; difficulties — financial and other —had been overcome, the school was full, and was becoming recognized as the pioneer of a new era in public education; but in the autumn symptoms of serious illness began to appear, many boys sickened and three died of what proved to be typhoid fever. It was evident that the drainage of the town, which had been greatly neglected by the local authorities, was responsible for the epidemic, and the boys were hastily dismissed early in November. For three months the unwonted vacation lasted, and during this time some more or less futile efforts were made, though reluctantly, by the ratepayers, to improve the sanitary condition of the town. At the end of the next January the school re-assembled, but in less than a month the danger re-appeared and the final dispersal of the scholars and the financial ruin of the house masters seemed to be imminent; when Thring promptly took his staff into council, and said to them boldly, "We cannot stay here, we must flit." One of them, Mr J. H. Skrine, writing long after, said:—

> "Reader, you perhaps have never spent four or five months watching your fortunes crumble to pieces, while you asked help of local authorities and got vituperation, while at the doors of metropolitan departments you waited on the law's delays; while scribblers in county journals vented an ancient spleen in rancid jokes, and you bit your tongue, while you could neither do anything nor make others do it, though a child could see what wanted doing, but must dangle about in melancholy malodorous streets, or daily tramp to the 'borings' for news of clean water, to be daily disappointed; and all this hateful while must watch an inglorious ruin drawing nearer and nearer for hopes to which men had given the best of a life. Why then you may hardly guess, with what a bound of spirit we sprang at something to do."[1]

[1] J. H. Skrine, p. 177.

Uppingham by the Sea.

With the alacrity and promptitude of a soldier, Thring at once prepared his plan, "I want to dismiss the school for a three weeks' holiday and then call it together on some healthy spot, by the sea if possible, which we must find and get ready for them in that time. You all see the risks and responsibilities of the venture. Will you take them?" And all the members of his loyal staff responded "Aye." Fortunately a little village was found on the Cardiganshire coast, with a big empty hotel, and some unused lodging-houses. Thither he decided to flee. Ten days later a goods' train unloaded there the belongings of three hundred boys, as well as of thirty masters and their families, and in a few days all the needful furniture and equipment of a school were added, so that at the end of the prescribed three weeks, all was ready for opening and the exodus was an accomplished fact. "You are on a campaign," he said to the boys, "and must play the soldier and put up with hardship without grumble. Remember you are making history. This is a great experiment, and perhaps others will some day imitate it. Shew them how to do it!" Hazardous as the experiment was it proved to be signally successful. The boys were loyally determined to adapt themselves to their new circumstances. Parents were stedfast and sympathetic, so that hardly one pupil was withdrawn, and Thring himself rejoiced to find in the mountains and the sea, and the large liberty which could be enjoyed on this remote coast, new educational resources, of which he availed himself to the utmost. Out of the nettle danger, he like many another brave spirit contrived to pluck the flower safety. His exhilaration expressed itself in a characteristic manner in certain "Borth lyrics." Here is a stanza from one of them:—

"East and West and North and South,
As if we were shot from a cannon's mouth.
Hurrah, Hurrah, here we all are,
Never was heard in peace or war,
The first in the world are we.
Never, oh never, was heard before,
Since a ball was a ball
And a wall a wall,
And a boy to play was free,
That a school as old as an old oak tree,
Fast by the roots was flung up in the air,
Up in the air without thought or care,
And pitched on its feet by the sea, the sea,
Pitched on its feet by the sea."

"So Uppingham was left, and faces were set towards Borth. At Borth, of course, everyone was on the *qui vive* about the strange colony that was coming in so suddenly in this rolling lump. Very kind and very willing was the reception given by the little village to the school pioneers; and right well they worked. Workers, indeed, were wanted, for, if anyone wishes for a new experience, let him try the unloading and re-arranging eighteen railway trucks, and the distribution of their contents among twelve or fourteen houses in a fierce match against time. This was all done and finished off between Tuesday, 28th March, and Tuesday, 4th April. The great hotel was arranged to receive 150 boys, the head-master and his family, an assistant-master, and two matrons. A row of lodging-houses flanking the hotel take another 150 boys, and most of the masters; long narrow tables are run down the hotel passage on the ground floor, the large coffee-rooms and the billiard-room below are treated in the same way, and 350 people — boys, masters and masters' families — dine at one time by this extemporized arrangement. Twenty-seven lodging-houses in all, and a large public hall, have been secured for school use. A room, 83 feet by 20 feet, is being put up of rough shingle behind the hotel, in order to hold the whole school when needed. The stables are turned into the school carpentry, the large coach-house shed into a gymnasium; a lavatory, with thirty basins, is being roughly put up; and altogether the school has shaken into place and got its working machinery in most unexpectedly good order. A beach, 4 miles long, with splendid sands, stretches away in front of the hotel, with

plenty of pebbles, and the sea to throw them into. An aquarium will be started this week. An octopus, most liberal of its sepia, has been already caught. The beach is closed on the south by the hills, on the north by the river Dovey and the hills beyond it. These hills seem to form an amphitheatre behind, round a broad stretch of peat which lies between them and the sea. The views are lovely, and the place is suggestive of shells and aquariums and sea-birds in front, and of botany and rambles in the rear, while Aberystwith, with a railway running to it, forms a good base of operations for the colony to shop in and fall back on. Cricket goes on on the sand in a bay, and an excellent field, unfortunately 4 miles off, but on the railway, has been secured for half-holiday practice and matches. Everybody, high and low alike, has given ready help and welcome. The Bishop of St David's, who owns some land near the hotel, has allowed the school to have what they want for cricket there, if practicable ; so Uppingham by the Sea can do something besides throwing stones into the water. One short week saw this all done. It was like shaking the alphabet in a bag, and bringing out the letters into words and sentences, such was the sense of absolute confusion turned into intelligent shape." [1]

"There are many of the old resources at Borth, but, whatsoever pastime may flourish or languish transplanted to this strange soil, there are two sources of enjoyment unfailing here, unknown to the school in its Midland home — the mountains and the sea. The boys wander out from the hotel doors, swarming like bees round a bee-hive, down to the broad reach of shingle and sand. Tea is over, and all the school is flocking to enjoy the sunset and watch the rising tide. They are doing what boys always do on the sea-shore — dodging the waves, hurling pebbles at them as they come in, burrowing in the sand for shells, cracking stones in the vain hope of finding jewels inside, or poring over the wooden reefs that rise so strangely from the sand, as the tide is not yet up — the long-buried fragments, so says the legend, of the lost Lowland Hundred. Those clear colours in the west where the sun sets in the sea, the rippling light beneath the clouds, the scattered groups of figures moving in the twilight somewhat darkly, with a pleasant freshness of boyhood all round, form a scene not easily forgotten. The dusky headlands stand out to seaward, with a white gleaming of broken waves at

[1] Thring's own account in the *Times* newspaper quoted by Parkin, II. p. 49.

their feet ; and landward shadowy mountains beyond the purple still catch a little glory from the sun. The low talk of pensive strollers, the rattle of pebbles, the laughter of those who chase each other in merry vein, all mixed with the roar of the sea, and perchance some strains of music from the choir at practice thrown in, give sights and sounds that may make the school, if not unfaithful to Uppingham it has left, yet more than half-reconciled to the new land.

"New, indeed, and strange enough it all is. The whole scene and circumstances, both in and out of doors, have to be re-adapted to the old familiar work in unfamiliar ways. A partial shaking down has been accomplished; and, as if to make the first week truly represent the old school life, the last football match of the season, a broken-off fragment of the Uppingham left behind, was played out on the Saturday half-holiday; and the champion cup of the year awarded to the winners. So the jerseys, white or red, met in their mimic war in the new land. Thus ended the first week, and its evening closed on a quiet scene of school routine; as if doubt, and risk, and turmoil, and confusion, and fear, weary head and weary hand, had not been known in the place. The wrestling match against time was over, and happy dreams came down on Uppingham by the Sea." [1]

The stay at Borth, though occasioned by a misfortune, brought many compensations with it. It lasted more than a year, since Thring steadily refused to return until every precaution was taken against a recurrence of disease. It is true he had little or no help or sympathy from the Governors. But the whole dramatic incident tested the fidelity of his colleagues, and the confidence of the boys and their parents in the courage and wisdom of the Head Master. It interfered very little with the course of instruction, and opened out new sources of interest and new fields of experience both to scholars and teachers. Moreover it added a new and picturesque chapter to the school's history — one of which Uppingham boys will long be proud. Every school is the richer for possessing great and interesting traditions, and the flight

[1] Parkin's *Life*, II. 50.

for life to Uppingham by the Sea will always remain memorable in the school annals. Mr Skrine, one of Thring's most constant and loyal helpers, has told the story with a simplicity and a charm which leave nothing to be desired, and from it, it must here suffice to take one characteristic extract:—

"We returned to Uppingham in May, 1877, fourteen months after our exodus. We came back to an Uppingham much changed, above ground as well as under. Distance had lent us endearment, and our re-entry was an ovation. The horses were unyoked from the coaches outside the town, and the freight of boys, hauled by the hands of townsmen up the street, under triumphal arches of greenery, enscrolled with mottoes of welcome and union. An address of sympathy was presented to the head-master and his staff, in an historic scene now blazoned on the great window of the school-room under which it was enacted." [1]

"Salt and sand and rocking wave,
Salt and sand and sky,
All ye had to give, ye gave,
But good bye, good bye.

* * * *

Grey old school house consecrate
On thy hill afar;
Chapel keeping solemn state —
Home, we go, hurrah!
Hey the robin, the lark, and the green, green grass,
And the ivy that clings to the wall;
Hey the robin, the lark, and the green, green grass,
And the oak and the ash-tree tall." [2]

His language lessons.

One characteristic distinguishing his language teaching from that of most of his contemporaries, was his insistence on the value of English Grammar as the basis of philology. While finding his highest ideal of training

[1] *A Memory of Edward Thring*, p. 618.
[2] *Borth Lyrics.*

as distinguished from mere instruction, in a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin, he believed that the fundamental laws of human speech admitted of ample illustration in the study of our own vernacular, especially when treated analytically. So early as 1852 he published a *Child's Grammar*, which is an excellent example of the inductive method applied to the elements of English. Instead of beginning with an array of vowels and consonants, and with definitions of parts of speech, he takes first a simple sentence consisting of nothing but a subject and a predicate, helps the scholar to recognize them as the necessary elements in all sentences, and then proceeds to add others, *e.g.* the preposition, 'case-link,' moods, tenses, inflections and amplifications, illustrating each by examples. He thought that the principles of all grammar should be first taught in connexion with our mother tongue, and should afterwards be shown, by constant comparison of idioms and constructions, to be illustrated in Latin and Greek. To many members of his staff accustomed to the traditional method of teaching the Latin grammar by way of synthesis, beginning with rules and definitions, Thring's notions seemed to be flat heresy, and were highly unwelcome. One of his best masters speaks contemptuously of his 'appalling system of analysis' with its unfamiliar terminology.

The teaching of English.

Yet, in the main, Thring was right. "Rules and terms," he said, "which are not thoroughly understood in principle first, may seem to be knowledge but are barriers." What he called 'sentence anatomy' was in fact an elementary lesson in the philosophy of language, and once learned in the investigation and comparison of English sentences, was found to tell on Latin and Greek lessons in an unexpected way. English grammar to him meant "common sense applied to language." He saw

with more clearness than most contemporary teachers, the importance of a thorough study of the mother tongue, and he lamented the neglect into which that study had fallen in some of our public schools. In German and in French colleges and schools of the highest rank, discipline in the structure, history, and right use of the vernacular speech receives far more attention than in our own. The common assumption that the classically trained boy has learned English indirectly and incidentally, through the medium of his Latin and Greek studies, and need not attend much to English, *per se*, is not found to be verified by experience. It is not unfrequently observed that when youths educated in public schools offer themselves as candidates for admission to the public service, their performances are marred by *gaucherie*, by bad spelling and writing, by false and confused metaphors, by colloquialisms and slang, and by that most offensive of all slang, the use of pretentious words and phrases, the exact meaning of which is only imperfectly understood. To whom ought we to look except to those who have had the advantage of a liberal education, to be the chief guardians of the purity of our native language, and exemplars of accuracy without pedantry and ease without slovenliness? Yet at present there is much to be desired, in this respect, even in schools and colleges of the highest standing. On this point Thring was wont to dwell with much emphasis. For example, in his address to the Education Society, of which he was President, he said: —

> "Make every child master of the one instrument by which all human life moves, — speech, the mother tongue. The moment grammar is dealt with as thought working into words, and using the word-creations it gives birth to and making them live, instead of as a kind of strait-waistcoat to pinch thought into shape, a new

world is opened. If grammar is only thought taking shape, grammar is already in the mind, waiting to be called out. And it can be called out without any book work by a good teacher. A class can be made to frame its own rules by a little questioning."

He was fastidious about the perfection of style in all translations into English; but although his methods did not succeed in teaching to write the very best Latin and Greek prose or verse such as a classical examiner desires, "they did teach us," as one of his best pupils acknowledged, "how to exert our minds in attempting it." To English composition practised *pari passu* with composition in an ancient language he assigned an unusually high place in his curriculum.

Every boy good for something.

Another marked characteristic of Thring was his belief that "every boy is good for something." "There is no such thing in the world," he used to say, "as a good-for-nothing boy."

> "There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out."

and the way to 'distil it out' was in his opinion to discover as many chances as possible of doing right and to put them in the way of each scholar, for his voluntary choice. He had, it was said, a power of finding where the spark of fire lay hid in the coarsest human clay. He had in fact the prime requisite of a schoolmaster — the faith that even in the least promising and least interesting scholar, there was a power for good which ought to find exercise, and which it was the business of the teacher to discover.[1] Hence large freedom for special aptitudes and tastes were offered to boys both in work and in play. As to school work, the staple of instruction in the humanities occupied the morning, beginning at 7 and ending at 12; but for the rest of the day provision

[1] See *ante*, p. 109.

was made for mathematics, for drawing, for chemistry, for French and German, for physical science or for music; and among these, options were freely permitted. No attempt was made to fix the choice, and no one was expected to care for all these subjects; but every one was expected to care about something.

Variety of employment,

Herein, I think Thring laid hold of a sound principle, and established a precedent which might well be more generally followed. A modern teacher is apt to be distracted by the importunate claims of new subjects for recognition as part of the ordinary school course. He fears to overweight his time-table and his curriculum. He rightly desires to give fair scope to the abilities of scholars who have different aptitudes and who are looking forward to different destinations. But he also sees the danger of wasting his resources, and sacrificing the unity of his school by encouraging too much and too early specialization. At Uppingham an attempt was made to solve the difficulty by adopting this rule: — Adhere resolutely, and for all scholars alike, to the one course of formative studies, which experience has shown to be the best for the general development of the intellectual character. Devote the best part of every day to these studies. But provide what Americans call 'elective studies' and occupations to meet the special wants of individual pupils. In no other way can you hope to do justice to varied personal gifts, and to give every boy a chance of developing what is best in him.

and of games.

The same principle applies to games and recreations. There are some public schools in which a single game — such as football — is the favourite sport, and every boy who does not happen to like the game is set down as a craven or a milksop. This is often very unjust to scholars, who are not deficient in energy or manliness,

but to whom other forms of activity are more attractive. The school should therefore provide alternative recreations, and when it has done so, the master has a right to assume that the boy who cares for none of them is probably a loafer whose habits need to be corrected. At Uppingham, which under Thring was the first public school in England to start a gymnasium, games were so organized as to suit all the boys and not only the heroes of the cricket or the football field. There was the carpenter's shop, the laboratory, the garden, an aviary, the field naturalists' club, and liberty to wander at will over the Rutland hills and pastures. There was little or no wrong doing. Rules were few, and there were many things to be done more amusing than breaking them.

Thus there was in his mind a clear division of the time of a scholar into main working time and leisure time; or rather into regular scholarly lessons on the one hand, and sub-industries and non-compulsory recreation on the other. Underlying this arrangement was the belief that in the long run the pursuits of leisure often affect the character most. But all this presupposed a knowledge of the idiosyncrasies and the peculiar characteristics of every boy. And it was because such knowledge was not attainable in a large school, that as we have seen he firmly resisted all temptations to increase the numbers, although such increase was much desired by his colleagues, and would manifestly have been convenient on financial grounds.

Encouragement of music and the fine arts.

It is notable also that Thring attached high value to the formative and refining influence of the fine arts. Personally he was deficient in the musical faculty, but he believed that music had been unduly neglected in public school education, and that the pursuit of it would have the effect of interesting boys who had no strong intel-

lectual interests. From the first Mr Parkin tells us he determined that the music given to the boys should be of the best. By the offer of liberal salaries he was enabled to secure men of a high stamp. "We want," said he, "not only a first-rate musician who has made music his profession and is a master in it, but a man of personal power and go, who can inspirit the boys and breathe some enthusiasm into them." One of his most accomplished helpers in this work, Herr David, has thus described the working of this notable and novel experiment :[1] —

"Fifty years ago music had no place whatever in the curriculum of the great English schools, and it may be boldly asserted that Thring was the first of head-masters who fully recognized the value of the subject, and who assigned to it a not unimportant place in his scheme of education. It is true, an organist, who also gave some private lessons, was generally attached to school chapels, and choirs were connected with the colleges of Eton and Winchester. But they were professional and salaried choirs, and no gentleman's son ever thought of joining them. It is also true that school concerts were not quite unknown, but they were merely 'got up' for the annual festivities — they had no connexion with the work of the school — and the programmes usually consisted of music of the lightest descriptions — songs, airs, glees, — now and then, perhaps, an oratorio chorus. The fact was, in those days, music was generally looked upon as an agreeable accomplishment for young ladies ; and as a rule an English boy would as little think of singing or playing as he would of working embroidery or knitting stockings. To do so was considered rather unmanly.

"That Thring, himself quite unmusical, should have been the first to introduce music into such schools is certainly very remarkable. Like every great innovator, he was in this point, as in many others, in advance of his time. That he should have recognized the power of music — the perceptive organ for which, a musical ear, nature had absolutely denied him — is certainly a wonderful testimony to the man's intuitive judgment. But the deficiency caused

[1] Parkin's *Life of E. Thring*, chapter X.

by the absence of a musical ear was with him to some extent balanced by the extreme sensitiveness of his organization, and by that power of human sympathy which pervaded everything he did and said and wrote. Although he would, as a rule, candidly confess his inability to make anything of, or derive any enjoyment from music, yet on some rare occasions he would be deeply impressed, and then invariably by something really great and striking. Nobody who saw his face light up through a spirited chorus like the 'Hallelujah' from the *Messiah*, or 'Rise up, arise' from *St Paul*, could doubt that he was deeply impressed. Certainly the underlying words assisted him in such instances to grasp something of the music, and the manifest enthusiasm of the performers also touched him.

"The means by which he gave to music a prominent place in his school were simple enough. In the first place, he made the attendance on singing classes and music lessons compulsory, and subject to the same discipline as any regular school subject. But, above all, he gave to his music masters his full personal support and sympathy. He would frequently attend the choir rehearsals, and plainly manifest at all times his interest in the musical work done in the school. He especially gave his music masters a completely free hand in the choice of methods and the selection of works to be studied and performed. He knew how true it is that 'for the young the best is just good enough.' As he himself, being quite unmusical, could not judge, he wisely left the management in the hands of those he had reason to believe could judge. He would never listen to outside suggestions and complaints. In early days the cry for more 'popular' and less 'classic' music was not unfrequently raised even within school circles. But, like all men who are really masters of their craft, he had a strong distrust of dilettantism, and in the case of music would not allow it to meddle with the work of the professional musician. The results of this system soon became apparent. Music — good, serious music — became a prominent feature of Uppingham, more so than of any other public school in England, and it may confidently be asserted that the example of Uppingham in this respect has largely been followed elsewhere. Men like the late Sterndale Bennett, Joachim, and Villiers Stanford became warmly interested in Uppingham music, and by their frequent visits to the school, and actual participation in school concerts, gave an invaluable stimulus to the subject."

The decoration of the school-room.

In like manner and for similar reasons Thring attached great importance to the artistic decoration of the school-room and the chapel, and he made ample provision for the study of drawing and design. The various class-rooms were adorned with pictures, photographs, and models; the studio with portraits of various artists; the classical room, with pictures of Athens and of Rome and illustrations of Greek and Roman art; another room with portraits of eminent historians and representations of memorable historic scenes. There was a twofold purpose in this. To surround the scholar in his daily life with graceful ornament, and with examples of artistic colour and design is to furnish a silent yet not ineffective discipline to the tastes; and to help a boy all through his life to detect ugliness and vulgarity and to rebel against them. But a still stronger reason in Thring's mind was that he was doing 'honour to lessons,' by surrounding them with as many dignified and beautiful accessories as possible.[1] This is a point of view too often overlooked. Happily even in our best elementary schools — particularly in some of those under the London School Board — much has been done by means of picture decoration to serve as an unconscious lesson in good taste; but it must ever be remembered to Thring's honour that he was the first head-master of a great public school to perceive the importance of pictorial associations calculated to touch the imagination of the scholar, and to give him a store of pleasant memories for the enrichment of his after life.

Honour to lessons.

Thring's books.

Thring's views on the philosophy and practice of education are set forth with much fulness in his books, which though they do not profess to be text-books or

[1] Lord Carnarvon said on Founder's day, "Since the days of the painted porch in Athens, I doubt whether training has ever been installed more lovingly or more truly, or in a worthier home."

pedagogic manuals of rules and formulæ, have proved eminently inspiring and practical to English-speaking teachers at home and in America. He wrote, in fact, on no other subjects than those which were closely connected with his own profession; and he will deserve to be remembered rather as a man of action, and as one who concentrated his whole force upon the practical problems of school life, than as a contributor to general literature. Yet his books are entitled to a permanent place in all educational libraries. The earliest was written under the pseudonym of Benjamin Place and was called *Thoughts on Life Science*, a work dealing generally with the relation of Christian faith to knowledge and to human progress. His other books, *Education and School*, and *The Theory and Practice of Teaching*, and a posthumous volume of miscellaneous *Addresses* delivered to various bodies of teachers, represent his later convictions on educational science. He cannot be credited in a high degree with the faculty of humour, but he had a very nimble fancy, and in his books and in his teaching he constantly employs metaphor to an extent which reminds one of Sir Hudibras, who

> "could not ope
> His mouth, but out there flew a trope,"

and his peculiar genius thus betrayed him often into the use of paradox and exaggeration. But there was always a serious meaning in what he wrote. As I have elsewhere said,[1] "All his writings are characterized by a deep sense of the moral and religious purpose which should be served in education, by fine enthusiasm, by intuitive insight into child nature, by happy and pregnant aphorisms, and by an active and often grotesque fancy, which,

His fancies.

[1] In the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

though it illuminated his talk and his books, led him to indulge in analogies occasionally remote and, it must be owned, somewhat tantalizing. There are chapters *e.g.* in his book on *The Theory and Practice of Teaching*, headed 'The school-boys' briar patch,' 'Legs not wings,' 'The blurred Chromograph,' 'Run the goose down,' which require the reader to be attuned to the writer's peculiar form of thought before their meaning becomes fully intelligible." It is right to add that his books are also characterized by a melancholy impression that he was fighting for a lost cause; that the liberty which he valued so much for himself was in danger from the interference of statesmen and examiners, and of an imperfectly instructed public. In a private letter thanking me in 1884 for a review which I had written of his book he says, "Pessimist as I am as regards England in this matter, and believing that the cause is already lost, and sadly familiar with the facts which make me believe this, I marvel now how I was induced to break my resolution of holding my tongue, and when I did so, it was with a heavy consciousness of useless effort for the present. * * I have however a foothold in America, Canada, and Hungary which cheers me. I will not thank you, because the help given to me was the outcome of a common cause; but I will thank and trust the common cause which has brought me so valued a recognition."

Characteristic extracts.

Here are a few characteristic sentences by which one may learn to judge of the fertility of his illustration, and the strength of his convictions: —

"I feel more and more disinclined to have anything to do with public life and all its noisy clatter, where everyone is playing his own tune, and barrel-organs which can go with a handle are worth much more than violins which want a soul."

Diary, Dec. 14, 1874.

"Education is not bookworm work, but the giving the subtle power of observation the faculty of seeing, the eye and mind to catch hidden truths and new creative genius. If the cursed rule-mongering and technical terms could be banished to limbo, something might be done. Three parts of teaching and learning in England is the hiding common sense and disguising ignorance under phrases."

Diary.

"Knowledge worship and the lust of the head are deadly enemies to the loving eye and the humble spirit."

Address to the Teachers' Guild.

"Here I spend my days leading jackasses up Parnassus."

"The whole tendency of the present day is to glorify quick returns, various knowledge — cram, in fact, and to depreciate thought training and strength."

Education and School.

"The most pitiful sight in the world is the slow, good boy, laboriously kneading himself into stupidity because he is good."

Address to Teachers of Minnesota.

"All my life long the good and evil of the Ilminster School has been upon me. It is even now one of my strongest impressions, with its misery, the misery of a clipped hedge with every clip through flesh and blood, and fresh young feelings, its snatches of joy, its painful but honest work — grim, but grimly in earnest, and its prison morality of discipline. The most lasting lesson of my life was the failure of suspicion and severity to get inside the boy world, however much it troubled our outsides. * * * It was my memories of that school and its severities which made me long to "try if I could not make the life of small boys at school happier and brighter."

Parkin, Vol. I. p. 13.

"The great point of internal discipline is to make every boy interested in the conduct of his fellows. They are their own law-givers, inasmuch as the more they shew themselves worthy of trust, the more rules are relaxed."

Notes, 1858.

"To-day I signed the contract for the chapel. * * Every stone here is laid in sorrow and fear, and mortared with sweat and blood and perplexity."

Diary, May 17, 1862.

"I have observed lately no unnatural desire here to claim a position among English schools. Now you cannot claim it. It must come. Indeed we are very far from wishing that the school should come forward on the false ground of mere increase of numbers, which may be an increase of shame, for a mob is not an army, or of mere identity with other schools, which is not what has made us what we are. Yet be sure there are the means here of being great. Have you so soon forgotten the motto in your head room:

'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.'[1]

Yes, power must come, and there are two ways for it to come. Most of all, and first, the winning a character for truth and honour. Most of all that no lie in word or deed, no shams, no underhand deceits, shall harbour here — nothing that will not bear the light. Let this be the school character, as I trust it is, and fear not. The school is great."

Address to Boys on the Opening of the New School Building, 1863.

"I don't want the cricket to get too powerful here, and to be worshipped and made the end of life for a considerable section of the school." Diary, May, 1872.

"The distinction between mechanic work and life work, and between force and true power, forms the basis of educational science."

Theory and Practice of Teaching, p. 32.

"The limits are narrow indeed within which the whip is master, whether it be the whip of breadwinning and the hard necessity of working to live, or of intellect and the pride of strength."

Ibid.

"If training is indeed the object, no useless punishment should be inflicted, that is, no punishment which shall not have something in it beneficial in the doing. * * * The common school punishment of setting a boy to write out and translate his lessons signally fails. It is not beneficial, but the contrary. It is wearisome without exercising the mind. This is not good. It injures the handwriting; this is not good. It encourages slovenly habits; this is not good. It contains no corrective element, except that it is a disagreeable

[1] Tennyson's *Œnone*.

way of spending time; but time is very precious; a chief part of training is teaching a right use of time, wasting time therefore is not satisfactory in a good school. The one advantage it possesses, and that is not unimportant, is this, it gives no trouble to masters, and does not take up their time."

Education and School, p. 241.

"Genius is the power of getting inside a subject by loving it, not a power of flying above it."

Theory and Practice, p. 234.

"Notes taken in school should be very sparingly allowed; a note-book is not attention, neither is it a boy's mind."

p. 227.

"If one afternoon a week is set apart for a lecture to the whole school on any subject whatever worth lecturing on, much general knowledge of common but unknown things can be given. Grand battues of carnivorous stags, and other such game, take place, interest is excited, and freshness poured into the school routine. Not the least valuable part of this plan is the advantage it is to the masters themselves. Has any one of them a hobby, a favourite pursuit, he is able to bring it out and air it before an appreciative audience, to exhibit himself as a human being with human sympathies, and not merely a mummified paste of Greek and Latin verbs."

p. 207.

"Attention rises or falls in the barometer in proportion to the master's ability. Inattention is a master's sin. It is a weed which above all others grows on badly farmed ground."

p. 176.

"All speak a language. Everything in the world passes through language. Clear and widen the language-pipe first.

"A teacher is a combination of heart, head, artistic training and favouring circumstances. Like all other high arts, there must be free play or there can be no teaching.

"Any fool with knowledge can pour it into a clever boy, but it needs a skilled teacher to teach a stupid one. Break down the knowledge idol. Smash up the idolatry of knowledge."

Address to Teachers of Minnesota.

"Life is what has to be dealt with, not lessons, or lessons only so far as they inspirit life, enrich it, and give it new powers."

Address to Education Society.

"The best way to form the 'pictorial mind' I believe to be to set a boy before a picture or a scene; tell him to look at it, to fix it in his mind; and then turn him round, make him shut his eyes, and describe what he sees in his mind."

A Workman's Hints on Teaching Work.

His diaries.

It may well be doubted whether the affectionate zeal of his biographer Mr Parkin has not unintentionally done some disservice to Thring's permanent repute, by placing on record so large a number of extracts from his personal diary. They leave on the reader's mind a strong impression, that the keeping of a diary except as a record of memorable facts and incidents is often a grave mistake, especially when, as in Thring's case, the result is given to the world. Mr Parkin's extracts reveal with pitiless candour the weaker and less noble side of his hero's strong and original character—his irritability, his impatience of control, his frequent unwillingness to do justice to the views of other people, and his tendency to exaggerate the importance of petty daily incidents in the school life, and to be needlessly worried by them. Many of these details are given with somewhat disproportionate fulness in the biography, and are ill-calculated to convey a true picture of Thring's character as a whole.

The Head-Masters' Conference.

Although all the activity and ambition of his life were as I have said concentrated on the school, there were two or three external interests which excited much of his enthusiasm, and to which he devoted much thought. One of these was the "Head-Masters' Conference," a thing unknown before 1869, but now well understood to be an institution of great value, and a factor of much importance in the history of English Schools. Thring had thought much about the need of more solidarity in the teacher's profession; and the passing of the Endowed

Schools Act in that year, while it made him feel great distrust of Government and a somewhat exaggerated alarm at the prospect of its action, rendered him more than ever sensible of the need for united counsel on the part of his brethren, and of the advantages which might accrue from the establishment of a sense of corporate union, and from deliberation on the methods of instruction and on the interests of the profession generally. Accordingly it was at his instance and on his invitation that the first meeting was held at Uppingham in December 1869. In his speech he laid down the broad lines and scope of the Conference, dwelt on the pleasantness and profitableness of brotherly intercourse, and proposed that the Conference should become an annual institution. It need not surprise us that among so conservative a body and one whose members were so little accustomed to collective action, many Head-Masters showed much misgiving and reluctance, and that only thirteen of them attended the first meeting: successive gatherings in later years at Winchester, Dulwich, at Eton, Harrow, and Marlborough were attended by increasing numbers, and as the business became systematized, the usefulness and the public influence of the body increased year by year. One of his most distinguished colleagues in a letter to me says, "We always regarded Thring as our founder, and for years he took a leading part in its meetings and on its committees; but being both autocratic and eccentric, he was not an ideal committee man; but then what genius is? Thring had in him, though much alloyed, an element of genius; and I love and respect his memory."

Head-Mistresses.

It was his conviction of the value of such opportunities of mutual intercourse, and his experience of their practical success, that led him to welcome with keen interest the establishment among the Head-Mistresses of Girls'

Public Schools of a similar association; and with characteristic chivalry he invited the whole party of ladies to hold their meeting at Uppingham in June 1887. On that occasion he entertained the late Miss Buss and the principal members of the Conference, and delivered to them a stirring and suggestive address. He had always set a high value on the services of women in education, and he rejoiced much at the many new openings for their usefulness and intellectual influence, which have characterized the present age. In the address which he had written to the American teachers assembled at Minnesota he had congratulated them on the large and increasing number of women engaged in the work of higher education in the States, and had said: —

Women as teachers.

"I hold that nature to be the highest which in a true way has got the farthest in recognizing woman's mission and works, whose simple power it is to undermine and discredit force, to make work lovely, to present a living example of the highest influence depending on gentleness and helpfulness."

From his address to the lady-teachers at Uppingham, it must suffice if I take two or three sentences.

"If spiritual influence is the primary power which sets movement going, the sovereign power of woman in the world is manifest."

"In many fields of refined feeling and delicate power in art and literature, women will excel men when fair play is given them."

"Leave men to do the coarser work. Be content with the queenly power that moulds and rules."

Settlement at North Woolwich.

Uppingham was the first of the great public schools to establish a school mission or settlement in one of the poorest parts of London, and to invoke in its aid the support of the boys as well as the masters. Thring began the work at the North Woolwich settlement in 1869, and the precedent was followed seven years later by Winchester and afterwards by most of the larger public

schools. He saw in the working of the experiment a means of calling out in the boys more sympathy and a higher sense of responsibility towards the poor and others whose intellectual advantages were small; and it interested him keenly on other grounds: "The more I think of North Woolwich the more my heart rests on it. There is such a taste of life in it."

The same desire to interest the boys in philanthropic work led him to form the 'Uppingham School Society' to encourage the efforts after self-improvement made by persons engaged in the different industries of the little town. There were classes, lectures, a cookery school, and other popular devices for interesting the inhabitants. The Society was managed and sustained mainly by old boys; and it has, during many years, proved of much service to the town, and furnished a useful link of association between the school and the residents.

Thus in more ways than one Thring may be regarded as the pioneer of some of the most important educational improvements of our time in regard to methods and aims of teaching, to the enlargement of the curriculum of instruction, to the opportunities for the employment of special faculties, and to the discovery of new relations between the work of a school and that of home and professional life. At a time when the worship of mere cleverness seemed to him unduly in the ascendant, when it was part of the policy of some great schools to compete with each other for the possession of boys likely to distinguish themselves, and by means of severe entrance examinations to discourage the admission of others; and when the usefulness and repute of a school were apt to be estimated by the number of prizes, exhibitions, and academic successes it could win, Thring resolutely vindicated the rights of the rank and file of ordinary

The prize system.

scholars. He thought it a higher triumph to maintain a good average of capable and industrious, even though undistinguished, boys, than to win a few prizes which would help Uppingham to achieve notoriety, and to outstrip other schools in competitive examinations. "Fasten your attention," he would say to his assistants, "on the stupidest and least promising learners, and measure your success by what you can do with them." This was not a view calculated to satisfy the ambition of all his colleagues; and there is evidence in his diary of occasional friction between him and them in consequence.

A masterful, pugnacious, and withal very sensitive man, he had an almost morbid habit of introspection, and a tendency to chafe under small vexations and rebuffs. Disappointments came to him from injudicious parents and from unsympathetic trustees, as well as from colleagues; but the worst disappointment of all was the failure of any boy to sustain either in the University or in after-life, the hope and promise of his early youth. Sometimes in playful sadness he would compare himself to Aaron, who in giving account of the treasure that had been placed in his hands, was fain to own, "I cast the gold into the fire, and *there came out this calf*." But when the details of his failures and successes fall into their true perspective, the fact will remain that his thirty-two years of work at Uppingham left an enduring mark on the history of education in the nineteenth century; and that, except Arnold, there was no one of his contemporaries who did more to raise the popular ideal of what a great boarding-school ought to be and to do; and to illustrate in his own person the spiritual and moral relation which ought to subsist between teacher and taught. The last time in which his voice was heard in the school chapel which he loved so well, was on the

Sunday before his death, when it fell to him to read the concluding verse of the psalms for the evening service, — a passage deeply significant of the work and the secret meaning of his whole life, "*So he fed them with a faithful and a true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power.*"

I ought not to conclude without counselling all my hearers to read, if they can obtain it, Mr Skrine's book, *A Memory of Edward Thring*. It has never I think received either from teachers or from literary critics the recognition it deserves. It is animated by the true spirit of discipleship; and a more graceful, tender, and touching tribute has seldom been paid by a loving pupil and colleague to a lost leader and friend. The book is distinguished not only by literary charm, but by delicate insight and sympathy, and is entitled to a high and permanent place in the bibliography of education. From it the reader will gain even more vividly than from Mr Parkin's fuller and more official biography, a picture of the inner life of Thring and of the meaning and purpose of his whole career.

LECTURE X

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT, AND ITS RELATION TO SCHOOLS[1]

The University Extension Scheme. Its missionary character. Its possible influence on Schools and on Training Colleges. Elementary teachers. Some special disadvantages in their life. Their extra-professional interests. Certificate hunting. The study of history. English literature. Economic science. The study of nature and art. Teachers' societies.

The 'University Extension' Scheme.

I HAVE been asked to say a few words concerning the special bearing of University Extension work on the interests of teachers, and on the expansion and improvement of public education. But I desire first of all to renew the expression of my strong sympathy with the work which, under the name of "University Extension," the ancient foundations of Oxford and Cambridge have of late years taken in hand. I know of no more honourable or cheering fact in our educational history than that these two great Universities, with the traditions of a thousand years behind them, and with many inducements to restrict themselves to the duty of promoting learning by time-honoured academic methods, should nevertheless have made efforts to extend their influence, and to encourage the appetite for knowledge among persons who

[1] Address delivered at Oxford at the Summer Meeting of University Extension Students. August, 1899.

live remote from the great seats of learning, and who are never likely to become graduates, or members of the University in any technical sense. I hope nothing will happen to hinder or discourage this work, or to cause the University authorities to lose faith in the soundness of the principles on which the whole of this Extension movement is based.

Its missionary character.

Pedants may tell you that the people who attend your provincial lectures are not in the strict sense of the word "University" students, and that the University is descending from its true dignity when it concerns itself with the reading and with the more or less feeble efforts after self-improvement of non-residents who never come in any real sense within the sphere of academic influence. But we need not listen to such objections. Every institution in the world which has true vitality in it, possesses the power *ampliare jurisdictionem* and to find new opportunities of usefulness and expansion. And the true test of its vitality is to be found in its readiness to welcome such opportunities, and to make the most of them. In hundreds of places remote from the great centres of learning, the advent of your lecturer and the organization of a series of lectures are memorable and stimulating events. They set people reading, thinking, and enquiring. They promote a higher tone of conversation, and they lift up the standard of intellectual life in the local society. They help your students to take a new and fresh outlook into the world of nature and of books; and they furnish guidance as to the choice of reading and the right methods of study. Whether this sort of missionary effort is, in the historical and conventional sense, "University" work or not, seems to me an idle question. It is good, honest work; it is closely akin to the true intent and purpose of a great University; it

does not interfere in any way with the cultivation of learning by the traditional academic methods and within its ancient and venerable halls; and it opens out to the Scholars and Fellows who have enjoyed the blessings of residence here new possibilities of rendering public service, and of exercising influence on the life of the nation.

Sometimes, too, the effect of a successful course of lectures is to create an appetite for systematic study, to bring recruits into actual touch with the University, and otherwise to establish permanent centres in which, under helpful supervision and sympathy from headquarters, studies of a genuine University type may be regularly pursued. At Exeter, Reading, and Colchester valuable experiments in this direction have already been made, with high promise of future stability and usefulness. By all means, let the University encourage such experiments. But do not let her disdain the humbler work which is being done among students who are not qualified to pass examinations, and whose studies cannot be said to conform to any approved academic type. If you succeed in inspiring such students with new motives for intellectual exertion, and in awakening in them not only an increased interest in high and worthy objects of thought, but also a consciousness of increased power to fashion and regulate their own minds, the University Extension movement amply vindicates its own existence and, in fact, needs no higher vindication. The work originally undertaken and carried on for a time with signal success by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and by the kindred agency of Dr Birkbeck and the Mechanics' Institutes, will at all times be indispensable, though it may be carried on under different names. The University Extension Scheme is the legitimate modern successor to those institutions, and it possesses this

great advantage over them, that its lectures are not single, but *in courses*, that its teachers have the power to deal continuously with a great subject, and to treat it exhaustively, and thus to help real students who are not content to have their intellectual appetites stimulated by occasional lectures on new and unrelated topics.

Its possible influence on Schools.

But I am to-day especially concerned with the influence which the whole scheme may exert on public education generally, and with the way in which it may fit in and become incorporated with the best work of our Schools. It is essential that the 'Extension' movement should not be regarded by any of us as a thing apart. It should become duly co-ordinated with other agencies, and take its place as a permanent and integral factor in the system of national education.

We may admit that for scholars while they remain in great public classical schools, or higher proprietary and intermediate schools, the popular lectures of the University Extension Society are well-nigh superfluous. Such pupils are in daily contact with scholarly teachers, who are quite capable of indulging in an occasional 'excursus' into the region lying all round the prescribed routine of school studies, and who do not need the aid of the University Extension Lecturer to interest their scholars in enquiries beyond those necessarily connected with their "form" work. But even here, the best of our teachers are discovering that the occasional services of outside lecturers on some subject of public interest, on the results of foreign travel and enterprise, or on the history of art, not only afford a welcome relief to severer studies, but have a distinctly favourable effect on the general life of the school, by giving the boys something fresh to talk about, and by inspiring some of them to seek distinction in new fields of action and of thought.

For the elder pupils in schools of a lower and intermediate character, and for the pupil-teachers and assistants in our public elementary schools, there is work to be done which it is specially fitting for the University Extension lecturers to undertake. They should place themselves in communication with all the high schools and local colleges, and learn from their authorized teachers what is the kind of help which would be most appreciated and would act most beneficially on the general interests and life of the students.

Training Colleges.

My own experience as Inspector of Training Colleges has often led me, while expressing a hearty appreciation of the many merits of those institutions, to deplore what I have called a certain 'closeness in their intellectual atmosphere' — a too exclusive absorption of the students' time and thoughts in the prescribed syllabus of examination. This narrowness of view is characteristic of professional seminaries generally; and it can be partially corrected by requiring that some part of the learners' training should be obtained in common with other students who are not intending to be teachers. In this respect, a course of University Extension lectures may render great service. Sometimes when it can be so arranged, such a course may well deal with a subject akin to that prescribed in the syllabus; but if this be done the treatment of the subject should be broad and philosophical, not directed to the purpose of passing an examination, but rather to enable the students to see the bearing of their studies on other than professional necessities or ideals. By thus supplementing the ordinary prelections of the College Professors, the University may often give freshness and much needed variety to the regular and specific normal training.

But after all, it is to the trained teacher, after he or

she has obtained the needful professional diploma, and is fairly occupied with school routine, that the 'Extension' movement is often most valuable. *Elementary teachers.*

Owing to the special circumstances of my own official experience, I feel peculiar interest in the teachers — both head-masters and mistresses and their assistants — of our public elementary schools. Except within the walls of their own school-rooms, they often live very sequestered lives. In country places they have few opportunities of intercourse with fellow teachers. Their social advantages are not great. They cannot, of course, find congenial friends and companions in the class to which their scholars belong, and from which many of them as pupil-teachers themselves have been selected. And they are not always received on a footing of equality into the circles in which men of the learned professions — clergy, doctors, and lawyers move freely and determine the tone and standard of the best social life. However we may deplore the exclusiveness which often dominates English society, we must accept it as a fact: and one result of it is that the trained and qualified elementary teacher, however well instructed and well mannered, occupies practically a rather uncertain and anomalous status, and finds himself both intellectually and socially in a position of isolation, which is not wholly favourable to the development of his best qualities, or to the dignity and happiness of his life.

There are other disadvantages incident to the career of elementary teachers. They have all passed through a prescribed course of study, which to many of them seems laborious. They have been repeatedly examined, and they have passed the examination for a Government certificate. That certificate cannot be truly said to represent a standard of knowledge equivalent to what is *Some special disadvantages in their life.*

understood in other professions to be a liberal education. Yet it represents the irreducible minimum exacted by the Education Department, and when once acquired, it gives to the certificate holder a legal qualification to become the head teacher of any school under Government inspection. What wonder, therefore, if by many teachers this legal minimum is mistaken for the maximum? It satisfies the Government. It satisfies school managers. There is for the average teacher no strong motive for further study or intellectual exertion. His daily duties make no pressing or very obvious demand on him for more knowledge than he possesses. The certificate examination has covered all the subjects he has to teach in the ordinary routine of school duty. He spends his days in the presence of his intellectual inferiors, of children who look upon him as a prodigy of erudition, and who know nothing of his limitations. It is a fine thing for anyone, in playing his part on the stage of life, to perform in the presence of an audience which habitually demands his best. But the schoolmaster works, for the most part, before an uncritical audience, which, so far from challenging his highest powers, and demanding his best, is often well content with his worst.

Their extra-professional interests.

I know many admirable and laborious teachers who are very conscious of the depressing effect of these and the like conditions, and who are making strenuous efforts to improve those conditions, or at least to neutralize their narrowing influence. Many of the most ambitious seek for such scholarly help as is within their reach, and plan out for themselves a course of study which will enable them to pass the open examinations of the University of London, and in due time to attain a degree in art or science. These are very honourable efforts.

They imply diligence, self-restraint, self-conquest; they widen the range of the teacher's knowledge; they bring to him personally, and to the profession to which he belongs, higher public estimation, and they are unquestionably useful as helps to promotion. But it is, after all, only a few exceptional teachers who are competent to undertake this enterprise, and are prepared to make the sacrifices needed to ensure success. For the rank and file of our elementary teachers this particular path of ambition is inaccessible. And it is for them that the University Extension agency is especially appropriate. Yet to them the prospect of more examinations is not attractive. They have been examined enough. At every stage of their career — as scholars in the standards, as pupil teachers, as Queen's scholars, as students in training colleges, and ultimately as candidates for certificates — they have been subjected to official examination, and their success has been measured by their place in a class list or by the report of H. M. Inspector. It is inevitable that they should have come to regard all knowledge — whether their own or that of their scholars — as a marketable or at least as an examinable commodity; something to be enforced, measured, and appraised by an outside authority, rather than as an inner and precious possession for the enrichment of their own lives. I do not see how we can wholly escape from the action of the examination system, and I am certainly not one of those who would denounce examinations as wholly bad; but it is well that we should all recognize fairly the limitations to their usefulness, and the price we pay for whatever good we obtain from them. So, after all, that part of your own arrangement which contemplates the holding of an examination, and the award of a certificate at the end of a course of lectures, however valuable it may be as a

means of giving definiteness to the aims of other students, is not the part which will most commend itself to the elementary teacher, nor the part which will prove most helpful to him.

Certificate hunting.

Certificate hunting is one of the most subtle snares of the public teacher. He is tempted to say of all new knowledge that is presented to him, "What shall I gain by this? What value will be assigned to my certificate by school managers or other public authorities? How will this new knowledge pay, and help my promotion?" And the state of mind which suggests these questions is fatal to any true conception, not only of professional life, but of that higher and larger life which consisteth not in material advantages of any kind, but is made up of ideas, of intellectual hopes and aspirations, of the love of truth, and of the desire to give full scope to our best faculties.

By all means, when the school master or school mistress becomes conscious of the need of further mental cultivation than is contemplated by merely official requirements, and when he is disposed to satisfy this want by joining a Latin, a French, or a Science Class, and reading under the guidance of one of your lecturers, with a view to the passing of an examination, and the attainment of a certificate, let him be welcomed, and let his ambition be encouraged. But I have in view mainly the average teacher, who is not prepared to make this kind of effort and who yet feels the need of some stimulus to exertion, and some enlargement of his intellectual interests. And for him the chief need is not always for regular study on the scholastic lines with which he is already so familiar, but for general mental culture, literary taste, and capacity for self-improvement. The technical studies which have been enforced upon

him, as conditions of becoming recognized as a qualified teacher, have done much for him. But they have in many cases failed to place him on a level with cultivated persons in other professions, or to qualify him to share freely and on equal terms in their talk and pursuits.

Let me mention two or three of the topics which are often handled with conspicuous success by your University Extension lecturers, and which are from this point of view specially valuable to teachers, because they have not been included in official programmes, and have very little to do with pedagogy.

The study of History.

Of these one of the most important is history. Of course, all our teachers have studied it, and have acquired a certain knowledge of its main outlines. But it has not, as a rule, been presented to them in its most attractive aspects. The history read up from text-books and student's manuals is not inspiring. It is not formative and philosophical. It is knowledge of facts only, and appeals rather to the memory than to the imagination, the reason, or the conscience. We must not complain of this. It could not be otherwise. The student who is to enter the higher region of thought which the philosophy of history occupies must first have obtained a substratum of dates and facts; must have had presented to him a *carte du pays*, by means of which he may assign its right place to any new information he may be able to obtain. But this is only the beginning. President Eliot, of Harvard, says truly:

"If any study is liberal and liberalizing, it is the study of history — the study of the passions, opinions, beliefs, arts, laws, and institutions of different races or communities, and of the joys, sufferings, conflicts, and achievements of mankind. Philology and polite literature arrogate the title of 'humanities,' but what study can so justly claim that honourable title as the study which deals with the actual experience on this earth of social and progressive man?

What kind of knowledge can be so useful to a legislator, administrator, journalist, publicist, philanthropist, or philosopher as a well-ordered knowledge of history? * * The study of our own annals in particular shows the young the springs of public honour and dishonour, sets before them the national failings, weaknesses, and sins; warns them against future dangers by exhibiting the losses and sufferings of the past, enshrines in their hearts the national heroes, and strengthens in them the precious love of country."[1]

Now there are some among your Extension lecturers who have shown a real grasp of historical science in this its higher aspect, and who are competent to illuminate our annals by fresh thought and by large and sure generalizations. And this is precisely the kind of help which is most needed by teachers whose knowledge of history has been acquired mainly for examination purposes, and who are yet conscious of the need of something more inspiring. If by your help, such teachers are led to take a stronger interest in the great and critical periods of history, and in the lives of our most famous statesmen, you will have done them a great permanent service, one which will re-act in many unexpected ways on their school lessons, and give additional enjoyment and dignity to their own leisure. Good translations of Herodotus and Thucydides and Tacitus exist, and, if instead of learning our own national story through compendiums, you are able to awaken the appetite for Bacon, for Hume, for Gibbon, for Froude, for Lecky, for Buckle, for Seeley, and for Pearson, so that their books shall be studied at first hand, and not in extracts, there will be an abiding result.

English Literature.

Similar considerations apply to the study of English Literature. There is no need for us to disparage the importance of the course of instruction through which,

[1] Eliot, *Addresses on Educational Reform*, p. 104.

in accordance with the syllabus of the Education Department, the certificated teacher has been required to pass. He has taken up *Comus* or *Lear*, has worked at it line by line, has hunted out all its historical allusions, has studied the etymology of its most difficult words, has read what the best critics have said about the drama, and the place which it occupies in literature, has paraphrased some of the more memorable passages, and analyzed them both grammatically and logically. All this has unquestionable utility, and I do not see how you can dispense with exercises of this kind, while the student is *in statu pupillari*. But it is not necessarily the best — it is certainly not the only — way of generating in his mind an abiding, an affectionate interest in the great masters of literary expression, and in the best that has been written and thought in the world. This can only come when a great masterpiece is studied as a whole and not subjected to verbal and grammatical analysis, when the reader becomes penetrated with its spirit, and finds out for himself the motive and aim of the author, and the place the book holds in literature.

Herein lies the need of personal contact with a scholarly mind, and the inspiration which can only come from the living voice of an effective lecturer. Thus a student may be helped to take a broad and comprehensive view of a great book; and to find his appetite whetted for the fuller enjoyment of it in his leisure. And the true test of the success of a lecture on literature is: Does it send the hearer home with a determination to make at first hand a fuller acquaintance with the poet or the philosopher concerned? Does it make him dissatisfied with critical essays, with "beauties," with extracts, with reviews, and still more with "reviews of reviews" — in a word, with what clever people have said about a great

English classic, and so does it lead him to form his own judgment, and make his own extracts, or still better, his own criticism? It is only when these conditions are fulfilled that courses of lectures on literature can serve their highest purpose. But here is a boundless region of thought and suggestion and usefulness, which many of your lecturers have occupied with signal success, and into which the elementary teacher might be cordially invited. How much the possession of a wider and more intimate knowledge of the great dramatists, and of Milton, of Johnson, of Macaulay, or of Wordsworth, would do to increase the variety of his illustrations, and the interest of his school lessons, it is not necessary for me to say; but it will do much more to add dignity to his leisure, to enrich and enlarge his own thoughts, and to add to the happiness of his life.

Economic Science.

It will often be found that, besides lectures on chemistry, geology, physiography, and other subjects, which have an obvious bearing on the ordinary work of school, a course of good lectures on social and economic science will be especially awakening and helpful to teachers. They occupy a public position and their co-operation and advice are occasionally sought in connexion with the administration of local charities, with efforts for the encouragement of thrift, and even of philanthropic agencies for providing food, clothing, and medical attendance for the poorer children attending the public schools. But the right administration of charity is a fine art; it depends on ascertained and verified facts and on a scientific method of dealing with those facts. It is not a business which can be safely undertaken by persons who have no other equipment than kindliness and sympathy with suffering and who have neglected to trace out the effects, often not visible at first sight, of crude and

inconsiderate schemes of benevolence. The economic laws which concern the right accumulation and distribution of wealth, the nature of the obligations which different members of a community owe to each other, and which each member owes to himself, the need of thrift, forethought, and self-restraint, and the mischief done by any public measures which tend to discourage the practice of such virtues, the proper spheres respectively of the charity provided by public taxation on the one hand and of private and voluntary beneficence on the other — all these are topics which if treated in a philosophic and yet sympathetic spirit, are of great interest to teachers; because in a higher degree than most other men they are likely to have opportunities of turning knowledge of these problems to practical account.

The study of Nature.

There are other wide regions of thought and of intellectual experience, which the lectures of the University Extension Society have made accessible, and yet which have been necessarily excluded from the course of studies as laid down by official authority; for example, the study of nature and the study of art. In particular I may mention the courses of lectures, some of which I have heard, on the history of architecture and the characteristics of the styles prevalent in different ages and countries. The student who follows such a course of lectures has his eyes opened and becomes conscious of a new power, I might almost say a new sense. Every public building he sees has henceforth a new meaning. He knows by what tokens he can recognize its date, its purpose, and the several elements which make up its beauty or utility, and the way in which the building symbolizes the wants, the tastes, or the religious belief of those who erected it. Ever afterwards, when oppor-

tunities of foreign travel come, he knows how to make better use of them.

and of Art. The history of pictorial art, too, the symbolism of the early Christian painters, and the different forms in which national character and belief have found expression in great paintings, is a most stimulating form of mental exercise. Modern facilities for lime-light and other illustrations have done much to increase the interest and value of such lectures. And in fine, for the special purpose I have now in view, it matters little what subject is chosen, or whether it can claim to be visibly connected with the work of the schoolmaster's daily life or not. But it matters much whether or not he can be helped by your lectures to take a strong interest in some form of learning or enquiry outside of his profession, and so to widen his mental horizon as to become conscious of the richness of the world of nature, of art, and of human character, as well as of the world of books. In other words, one chief function of the Extension lectures will be to tempt teachers to over-step the boundaries of that somewhat arid region which is dominated by a code or a syllabus, and to conduct them to "fresh woods and pastures new." In the long run the improvement in our national education must come, not from Royal Commissions and Acts of Parliaments, but from the improved personal qualifications of our teachers, and from the enlargement of their own range of intellectual interests. And this is the work in which the agency of the University Extension is specially fitted to take a leading and honourable part.

Teachers' Societies. Hence, I hope that special pains will be taken by the authorities to keep themselves in close and friendly *rapport* with the various local associations connected with the Union of Teachers: that they will endeavour to

learn what is the form of help which those associations think most likely to prove useful and acceptable to the members; and that they will seek to enlist the services of School Boards and Voluntary managers in making known in each district the subjects of the proposed courses, and the conditions of admission. Where the financial arrangements admit, it may often be a boon if tickets can be granted to assistants and pupil-teachers at a reduced fee. I do not doubt that it is the custom of many of your lecturers to give to their audiences a list of books to be read in the intervals, and also to offer some hints about plans of regular reading and study, the writing of abstracts, comments, and criticisms — not for purposes of examination, but mainly for the purpose of fixing and assimilating the contents of the books read. All this kind of suggestion and guidance will be welcomed with particular interest by solitary teachers engaged in efforts after self-improvement. But these are details.

The main thing to be kept in view is that the teachers of our popular schools form a class who have already acquired habits of application, and who are sometimes in danger of losing those habits. When they desire help in pursuing systematic study, the association should be ready to give it; but even when they desire no such help as may be turned to professional account, but only seek for new intellectual resources by which to occupy their leisure, and give variety, freshness, and happiness to their own domestic and intellectual life, they are entitled to the special sympathy of the University Extension lecturer, and will be able richly to repay any efforts which may be made in their behalf.

LECTURE XI

JOSEPH LANCASTER

Public education in England at the end of the 18th century. Philanthropic efforts. Private adventure schools for the poor. Crabbe's *Borough*. Day schools. Joseph Lancaster. His early life. His first educational experiment. Interview with the King. Successes. Dr Andrew Bell. His work at Madras. The National Society. The monitorial system. Lancaster's plans of discipline. Their defects. His methods of instruction. The schools of the National Society. Training of teachers. The National and Lancasterian systems compared. The treatment of the religious question. Lancaster's disappointments. Efforts of his friends to help him. His removal to America. Characters of Bell and Lancaster compared. Their work estimated.

Public education in England at the end of the eighteenth century.

THE eighteenth century was not distinguished, in our own country at least, by any important educational enterprise. Voluntary associations and endowments had in the time of Queen Anne[1] brought into existence a considerable number of 'Charity' schools providing gratuitous instruction, clothing, and apprentice premiums. In this way a few children selected by local trustees received, under somewhat humiliating conditions, education which though mainly directed to secure the allegiance of the scholars to the Established Church was, so far as all secular

[1] *Ante*, p. 193. Endowments.

subjects were concerned, somewhat narrowly restricted to the humblest rudiments. The provision for higher education of the Grammar or Classical type had not received any material augmentation during the century. Dry-rot — the curse which falls so frequently upon endowed institutions when they are left wholly without supervision — had already begun to reveal itself. The restrictions laid down in testaments and deeds of gift were often found to be unworkable, and ill-adapted to the changed necessities of the time, and there was neither in public opinion nor in legislation any force available for reform. Such laws as the statute-book retained were rather designed to check than to encourage educational experiments.

The provision for general public education was in fact deplorably inadequate in supply, and defective in quality at the end of the century. There were no Government grants, no public arrangements for the supply of necessary elementary schools. It was not till nearly ten years afterwards that the two great voluntary societies — the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society — were founded and entered on what proved to be a career of extensive public usefulness; nor until fifty years later that Parliament began to be sensible of the importance of providing, subsidizing, and directing the schools of the people. Such schools as were accessible to the poor were the product of private enterprise. The character of that enterprise may be inferred from the following extracts. Crabbe, in writing in 1780, describes the schools of his time. Of the Dame School he says: —

Private adventure schools for the poor.

"Where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits
And awes some thirty infants as she knits.
* * * * * *

Her room is small, they cannot widely stray ;
Her threshold high, they cannot run away.
Though deaf, she sees the rebel-hearers shout ;
Though lame, her white rod nimbly walks about.
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
And to her gown the sturdiest rogue can pin.
Aided by these, and spells, and tell-tale birds,
Her power they dread, and reverence her words."

The poet's sketch of the keeper of a boys' school is evidently made from life and is hardly more inviting: —

Crabbe's *Borough*.

"Poor Reuben Dixon has the noisiest school
Of ragged lads who ever bowed to rule ;
Low in his price — the men who heave our coals
And clean our causeways send him boys in shoals.
To see poor Reuben with his fry beside
Their half-checked rudeness, and his half-scorned pride,
Their room, the sty in which the assembly meet,
In the close lane behind the Northgate Street ;
To observe his vain attempts to keep the peace
Till tolls the bell, and strife and troubles cease,
Calls for our praise. His labour praise deserves,
But not our pity ; Reuben has no nerves.
'Mid noise and dirt and stench and play and prate
He calmly cuts the pen or views the slate."[1]

Here is another picture by a contemporary writer, of the elementary schools of the time: —

Day Schools.

"*Initiatory Schools.* These are schools that abound in every poor neighbourhood about London: they are frequented by boys and girls, indiscriminately, few of them above seven years of age; the mistress is frequently the wife of some mechanic, induced to undertake this task from a desire to increase a scanty income, or to add to her domestic comforts. The subjects of tuition are comprised in reading and needlework. The number of children that attend a school of this class is very fluctuating, and seldom exceeds thirty: their pay is very uncertain. Disorder, noise, &c. seem more the characteristic of these schools than the improvement of the little ones who attend them."

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[1] Crabbe's *Borough*, Letter XXIV. Schools.

Second Class of Schools. The masters of these are often the refuse of superior schools, and too often of society at large. The pay and number of scholars are alike low and fluctuating; of course there is little encouragement for steady men either to engage, or continue in this line, it being impossible to keep school, defray its expenses, and do the children regular justice, without a regular income. Eventually many schools, respectable in better times, are abandoned to men of any character, who use as much chicane to fill their pockets as the most despicable pettifogger. Writing-books, &c., scribbled through, whole pages filled with scrawls, to hasten the demand for fresh books. These schools are chiefly attended by the children of artificers, &c., whose pay fluctuates with their employ, and is sometimes withheld by bad principle. Debts are often contracted that do not exceed a few shillings; then the parents remove their children from school and never pay it, the smallness of the sum proving an effectual bar to its recovery: the trouble and loss of time being worse than the loss of money in the first instance. * * * *

"It is not much to be wondered at if these discouraging circumstances often produce deviations from strict rectitude, where principle is not deeply rooted in the mind, which prove very oppressive to parents and scholars, as in some instances, permitting the boys to write five or six copies in an afternoon, obviously that more books may be bought of the master to his profit. In some schools the pens are scarcely ever mended, and in general the poor children are much stinted in this article. It is very essential to their improvement that their pens should be good, and it operates on their minds in a very discouraging manner when otherwise. I am credibly informed that some masters use pinions in their rough state, neither dutched nor clarified; of course they split up, with teeth like a saw, and write just as well. * * * *

"The desks children write at are often badly suited for that purpose, the school-rooms close and confined, and almost all the accommodations unfit for the purpose. Independent of the bad effects such places produce on the children's health, many having to date the ruin of their constitutions from confinement therein; the drunkenness of a schoolmaster is almost proverbial. Those who mean well are not able to do so; poverty prevents it; and the number of teachers who are men of liberal minds, are few; yet, not being sensible of the incalculable advantages arising from system and order, it is no wonder if it is at a very low ebb among them.

The poor parent often becomes sensible that something is amiss, but knows not what; and, induced by this motive, hurries the child from one school to another frequently, and thereby makes bad worse; and is eventually disappointed as much as ever. The want of system and order is almost uniform in every class of schools within the reach of the poor, whose indifferent attainments at school often arise as much from equal impatience and unsettled disposition in their parents, as deficiency of care in the masters, or want of order in their schools. In fact there is little encouragement for masters, parents, or scholars; and while this is the case it is no wonder that ignorance prevails among the poor."

Joseph Lancaster.

These extracts are taken from a pamphlet entitled "Improvements in Education as it respects the industrious classes of the community," which was published in 1802 by Joseph Lancaster, a young man of 24 years of age who had begun to take a keen interest in the education of the poor. He was the son of a Chelsea pensioner, an old soldier who had served in the American War, and his childhood had been passed in a very humble but an orderly and God-fearing household. It is very pathetic to find how early and how deeply his heart was stirred with love to God, and with a desire to be useful to children. One incident will furnish a key to much else in his strange impulsive character, and his wayward and diversified life.

His early life.

At the age of 14, Clarkson's Essay on the slave trade had fallen in the boy's way; and alone, without taking anyone into his counsel, he determined to go to Jamaica to teach the poor blacks to read the Word of God. He quitted his father's house in the Borough Road, without the knowledge of his parents, and determined to walk to Bristol, having only with him a Bible, a *Pilgrim's Progress*, and a few shillings in his pocket. The first night he slept under a hedge and the next under a haystack. On his journey he fell in with a mechanic who was also going

to Bristol. They walked together, and as Joseph's money was all expended, his companion sustained him. On arriving at his destination, he was penniless and almost shoeless. He entered himself as a soldier and was sent to Milford Haven the next morning. "On board he was the object of much ridicule, and was contemptuously styled 'parson.' The captain being absent one day, the officers asked him if he would preach them a sermon. He replied, 'Yes, if you will give me leave to go below for half-an-hour to read my Bible.' They said, 'Oh certainly, an hour if you choose.' When he came up there was a cask placed upon deck, and the ship's company were all assembled. Having placed him on the cask he proceeded to lecture them on their habits of profane swearing and drunkenness, at first much to their mirth and amusement, but after a little they began to droop their heads, when he told them if they would leave off their wretched practices, repent and turn to the Lord, they might still be happy here and hereafter. After the sermon he was treated kindly, no one was suffered to laugh at him or use him ill during the three weeks he remained on board."[1]

By the interposition of friends he soon obtained his discharge and returned home. But he was restless and uneasy, unwilling to devote himself to any trade, and longing to be at more congenial work.

"It was my early wish," he said in his autobiography, "to spend my life to the glory of Him who gave it, and in promoting the happiness of my fellow men. With this view I looked forward to the dissenting ministry at the age of 16, but it pleased God to favour me with such different views of things that I became a frequenter of the religious meetings of the Society of Christians called

[1] Sketches by Henry Dunn.

Quakers, and ultimately a member of that society. Soon after this my attention was directed to the education of the poor."

His first educational experiment.

In 1798, when only 20 years of age, he made his first public effort in this direction. Even this effort was not wholly tentative and experimental, since he had two years earlier already gathered a few children at his father's house, and had been for several months busy in instructing them, and gaining confidence in himself and his work. He hired a large room in the Borough Road, and put up an announcement, "All that will may send their children and have them educated freely, and those who do not wish to have education for nothing may pay for it if they please." This invitation was largely accepted, and even in his twenty-first year he had nearly a thousand children round him. "They come to me for education like flocks of sheep," he said. The attention of several eminent men, among whom were the Duke of Bedford, Lord Somerville, and Mr Whitbread, was directed to him, and the report of his usefulness began to spread. Nevertheless, the undertaking was full of difficulties. Success came faster than he was prepared to meet it. Although a few private friends assisted him with money, the responsibility which came upon him was heavy enough to have appalled a far-seeing or judicious man. Lancaster, however, was neither far-seeing nor judicious. He was elated by his success. He was upheld through all the difficulties of his bold enterprise not only by an earnest faith in his own powers, but by an affectionate interest in the children whom he taught. Like all true teachers, he loved his work, and entered into it with all his soul. "A loving heart," some one has said, "is the beginning of all knowledge." It is also the beginning of all teaching power. There is something

very simple and touching in the stories which are told of his personal intercourse with the poor and ragged little ones whom he gathered from the streets. He rejoiced to share in their play. If he found that any of them were hungry or destitute, he would raise a subscription, and provide dinner for them, himself presiding at their meal. "On Sunday evenings he would have large companies of pupils to tea, and after enjoying very pleasant intercourse, would conclude with reading a portion of the Scriptures in a reverential manner." Nothing delighted him more than to place himself at the head of his whole troop, and to march out with them for a holiday ramble in the country. He was never weary of devising new forms of gratification for them. He thought no personal sacrifice great which helped to increase his own knowledge of the scholars, and to give him greater power of being useful to them. He illustrated in his own person Coleridge's well-known lines: —

> "Sweet is the tear that from some Howard's eye
> Drops on the cheek of one he lifts from earth.
> He that does me good with unmoved face
> Does it but half, he chills me while he aids;
> My benefactor, not my brother man." [1]

To this remarkable sympathy with children was naturally united a rare power of gaining their affections and securing their obedience. It is not surprising therefore, that his friends were very soon able to point to some very striking and tangible results of his scheme. The large school-room in the Borough Road, into which he marched in high triumph at the head of 1000 boys, presented to the visitors who thronged to see it, an orderly and beautiful spectacle. It is true, that for several hun-

[1] Meditative Poems.

dred children there was but one master, but he had for his assistants a picked company of the elder boys, who looked up to him with reverence, and rejoiced to carry out his plans. The material appliances for teaching were of the scantiest kind; a few leaves torn out of spelling books and pasted on boards, some slates, and a large flat desk on which the little ones wrote with their fingers in sand. But such work as was possible with these materials was faithfully and energetically done. It is no small thing to say, that by his method reading, writing, and simple arithmetic were really taught. The children were indeed unpromising and often unshod, and had been gathered together from dirty and ill-ordered homes; but there was a cheerfulness in their deportment, and a military precision in their order and movements which were very remarkable and which formed a striking contrast, not only to the habits from which they had been rescued but also to the usual aspect even of the best schools of the day. Joseph Lancaster had the skill which gains the loyalty of subordinates, and he knew how to inspire his monitors with fondness for their work, and with pride in the institution of which they formed a part. As these youths became more trustworthy, he felt himself more at leisure to accept some of the many invitations which crowded upon him, and to expound his system by lectures in various towns. His popularity increased: his school excited daily more sympathy and public attention, and was visited, as he himself said with pardonable vanity, "by persons of the first rank in the nation."

Interview with the King.

His fortunes may be said to have reached their highest point in 1805, when the King sent for him to Weymouth, and desired to have an account of his doings. The interview is thus described in a memoir left behind him by Mr William Corston, one of Lancaster's most

faithful and disinterested friends: "On entering the royal presence, the King said, 'Lancaster, I have sent for you to give me an account of your system of education, which I hear has met with opposition. One master teach 500 children at the same time! How do you keep them in order, Lancaster?' Lancaster replied, 'Please thy Majesty, by the same principle thy Majesty's army is kept in order, by the word of command.' His Majesty replied, 'Good, good; it does not require an aged general to give the command; one of younger years can do it.' Lancaster observed that in his schools the teaching branch was performed by youths, who acted as monitors. The King assented, and said, 'Good.' Lancaster then described his system, and he informed me that they all paid great attention and were highly delighted; and as soon as he had finished, his Majesty said, 'Lancaster, I highly approve of your system and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible; I will do anything you wish to promote this object.'

"'Please thy Majesty,' said Lancaster, 'if the system meets thy Majesty's approbation, I can go through the country and lecture on the system, and have no doubt but in a few months I shall be able to give thy Majesty an account where ten thousand poor children are being educated, and some of my youths instructing them.' His Majesty immediately replied, 'Lancaster, I will subscribe £100 annually; and,' addressing the Queen, 'you shall subscribe £50, Charlotte; and the princesses £25 each,' and then added 'Lancaster, you may have the money directly.' Lancaster observed, 'Please thy Majesty, that will be setting thy nobles a good example.' The royal party appeared to smile at this observation: but the Queen observed to his Majesty, 'How cruel it is

that enemies should be found who endeavour to hinder his progress in so good a work.' To which the King replied, 'Charlotte, a good man seeks his reward in the world to come.' Joseph then withdrew."

Successes. The success and popularity which attended him may be judged from the fact that in his report for 1810 he sums up his work by stating that he has given 67 lectures, has travelled 3,775 miles, and addressed 23,840 hearers, raised £1,660 in subscriptions after his lectures, besides £1,440 contributed afterwards, and that fifty new schools had been opened, with 14,200 scholars. A deputation from one of the South American republics had visited the Borough Road and afterwards sent young men to learn the system and introduce it into the Caracas. Schools on the monitorial system were introduced into the leading American cities, and the Duke of Kent — our Queen's father — adopted the Lancasterian methods in the Army Schools.

Dr Andrew Bell. All this while, another and parallel movement was going on, in the same general direction, but in a somewhat different spirit. Andrew Bell, the son of a barber in S. Andrews, was 25 years older than Lancaster, and after a short course of education in the University of his native city, went out into the world as a private tutor. He travelled first with a pupil to Virginia, where he contrived by tobacco speculations to make a little fortune of £900 in four or five years. He returned to England, took orders in the Church, and in 1787 went out to India with a rather vague intention of lecturing on natural philosophy and doing other work by way of tuition. He was always very skilful in self-assertion and he achieved unexpected success in bringing his merits under the notice of governors and people of influence. He was appointed to one or two lucrative military chaplaincies,

and also to the office of Superintendent of the Military Male Orphan Asylum at Madras. It was in this institution that owing to the difficulty of getting suitable adult assistants, and of managing and retaining them, he was driven to the device of breaking up the school into small classes and setting the elder boys to teach the younger. The success of this experiment during nine years was unexpectedly encouraging. "I think," he said, "I have made great progress and almost wrought a complete change in the morals and character of a generation of boys."

The Madras system.

The year after returning home in 1796 he published a pamphlet, "An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras, suggesting a system by which a school or family may teach itself under the superintendence of the master or parent." He had during his residence in India succeeded in more ways than one; for by some of those inscrutable methods by which fortunes were sometimes made in India in the old "Company" days, he — a clergyman and a schoolmaster — managed to get together and to bring home £26,000. His pamphlet was dedicated to the Directors of the East India Company and was largely circulated among the clergy, many of whom were becoming awake to the importance of public education. Thus schools on what was called his system began to be founded in various parts of England. It will be seen that in point of time his publication preceded Lancaster's first tract by four or five years. Lancaster read it with much interest, acknowledged his obligations to it for many hints, and wrote to Bell in 1804 mentioning some of his difficulties, asking for advice, and proposing to come down for consultation to Swanage, where Bell had been comfortably installed in a good living. The meeting was friendly, and up to this time no

B. T. S. C. Bora Kkk.

anger or rivalry had arisen. When it did arise, it must be owned that it shewed itself rather in the controversies of the friends and partizans of the two men, than in any personal antagonism between themselves. For by this time the alarm had been sounded in what is technically called the "religious world." Lancaster was a Quaker, his system, though animated by an intensely religious spirit, and though the reading and explanation of the Bible were strongly insisted on, was avowedly unsectarian, and all creeds and formularies of faith, all attempts to turn the school into a propaganda for the tenets of any particular denomination of Christians were rigidly interdicted. Hence to some of the dignitaries of the Church, to Southey and the writers of the *Quarterly Review*, and especially to Mrs Trimmer, a courageous, facile, but narrow and fanatical writer, much in favour with our grandfathers and mothers, the system of Lancaster seemed fraught with terrible peril to Church and State. Lancaster was described as an infidel and atheist by preachers and in archidiaconal and episcopal charges. For example, Archdeacon Daubeny in his Visitation Charge at Salisbury in 1806 denounced Lancaster as an infidel, and his system of education as "deism under the imposing guise of philanthropy, making a covert approach to the fortress of Christianity with a view to be admitted within her walls."

The National Society.

Thus the "system" of Bell, with which, though it was no organic part of his original plan, the rigorous dogmatic teaching of the Prayer Book and Catechism became identified, was believed by many good people to be the only possible system of religious education. In 1811 the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church" set up its head-quarters at the Sanctuary at Westminster,

attracted powerful episcopal and social patronage, and pursued its course in avowed hostility to Lancaster and his system. Exaggerated denunciation of that system as "godless" and politically mischievous, provoked an equally exaggerated estimate of its claims and merits on the other side.[1] Not only Quakers and other dissenters, but liberal Churchmen, Whig statesmen, the *Edinburgh Review*, Sydney Smith, Lord Brougham, and the whole of that educational party which ultimately founded the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the London University College, besides one or two of the Royal princes, notably the Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Kent, identified themselves with Lancaster and his system, and repaid with interest the acrimony of orthodox criticism.

The Monitorial System.

The *Edinburgh Review* said of the Monitorial System that "Lancaster had devised a method and brought it very near to perfection, by which education could be placed within the reach of the poorest." From time to time it was lauded by Whig writers as "a beautiful discovery, an inestimable discovery, a most valuable method."

The Society, at first called the Royal Lancasterian Society, was founded in 1808 and received large subscriptions and constant accessions of powerful friends. In this way the world began to think that there were two fundamentally different "systems" of education

[1] In "algebra and geometry, even the sublime theorems of Newton and La Place may be taught by this method. * * We do not hesitate to say that it is applicable or may soon be applied to the whole circle of human knowledge." — *Edinburgh Review*, 1811. "I confess that I recognize in Lancaster the benefactor of the human race. I consider his system as creating a new era in education." — De Witt Clinton at the opening of a new Free School in New York, 1810.

carried on under the names of these rivals. Yet the differences were not essential but were rather accidental products of later circumstances. Rival societies are very naturally tempted to accentuate their differences and to develop work, even though it be the same work, in different ways. To both men the idea had occurred to teach by means of monitors, and the method of teaching writing on sand desks which had been suggested to Bell by seeing the native boys make drawings with their fingers on the sandy fields of Madras, had been adopted by both of them. Otherwise the two men worked independently.

Lancaster's plans of discipline.

Lancaster, though a "Friend," evolved an elaborate system of military drill, reduced the whole school to companies, and specially prided himself on having solved many practical difficulties by applying to a school the organization of a regiment, with all its evolutions under the word of command. His system of badges, tickets, and rewards were designed expressly to cultivate in every child the ambition to play a useful part in the organization of the whole school. He believed that boys, whose activity when ill-regulated becomes a source of nothing but mischief, liked order, method, and the responsibilities of office, when a little honour and emolument could be had in exercising them. He sought to multiply little offices and to give every scholar plenty to do, and a motive for getting higher, and doing something better. The gradation of ranks among the monitors, the confidence which was placed in them, and the rewards and honours which were accessible to them, rendered the office an object of general ambition. They furnished a stimulus to the efforts of the younger children and fostered in the monitors themselves a spirit of manliness and self-respect, which though apt to assume here and

there the form of tyranny and conceit contrasted strikingly with the sullen, hopeless way in which school work was often done. The discipline of Lancaster's schools was not marked alone by beauty and military precision. The whole tone of the place was joyous, duties were agreeably varied from hour to hour, and though the noise often bewildered and stunned a visitor, it was at least the noise of animated work, and was succeeded in an instant at the word 'Halt' by perfect stillness. Those who remember the aspect of the old Lancasterian School have testified that a brighter and happier scene could scarcely be witnessed; — "a place for everything and everything in its place," a large multitude of children all busy and delighted, and an army of monitors loyal to their master, full of zeal to please him, and proud of the beauty and fame of the spectacle of which they formed a part.

Their defects.

It is impossible, however, for a modern teacher to imitate, or even to justify all his plans of discipline. His dislike of flogging was so great that he taxed his ingenuity to devise other forms of punishment. The result as printed in his tracts is sufficiently grotesque. There are chapters gravely headed "of Logs," "of Shackles," "of the Basket" (a contrivance in which refractory boys were slung up into the roof of the schoolroom by a pulley, and remained suspended there, for the ridicule of the rest, as birds in the cage). These and other expedients by which he sought to avoid the actual infliction of bodily pain appear to us puerile and mischievous. They appealed to the sense of shame only, they must often have wounded sensitive children and hardened rude ones; and they had the fatal defect of encouraging that habit of laughing at wrong-doing and getting amusement out of it, which is so hurtful to the conscience of a child.

His method of instruction.

As to what was called his method of instruction, there is after all little to be said. His aims were very humble, they did not go beyond the reading of the Bible, writing, spelling, and casting accounts. And his notion of the way in which these things were to be taught were somewhat crude and mechanical. There was none of the philosophy of education to be traced in it. Here for example is the account which he gives in his "Improvements in Education" of his method of teaching to spell. After describing the way in which monitors could most expeditiously look over the slates of a large class he says:

"If 20 boys thus spell 200 words each, the same number spelt by 60 boys must produce a great increase of total. Each boy can spell 100 words in a morning. If 100 scholars can do the 200 mornings yearly, the following will be the total of their efforts towards improvement." And then he sets forth in triumph with a note of admiration at the end this multiplication sum:

"100 words
200 mornings

20,000 words spelt by each boy per annum.
100 boys

2,000,000 total words spelt in one year."

This rather absurd calculation, put forth gravely and in perfect good faith, was characteristic of his notion of education. His mode of teaching arithmetic was equally mechanical. A plan which would save the time of boys in computing, secure the supervision needful to prevent copying and so cause a greater number of sums to be *done* in a given time, seemed to him the chief thing to be desired. Of the understanding of the rules there is no hint. If, however, the instruction in the schools was limited to the barest rudiments, if it included little

or nothing which appealed to the understanding or the taste, two or three things must be considered. The work was done at a very small expense and with very poor material. His school of 1,000 boys was carried on under one master at the annual cost of five shillings per head. Moreover the boys and girls did undoubtedly learn to read, write, and bring out the answers in arithmetic, and to do these things well. If to this we add that they also learned order and obedience, acquired the sense of corporate life, became conscious of their duty to others, and were constantly and affectionately addressed by their master about their duty to God, we must own that the results even from an educational point of view were not insignificant.

The schools of the National Society.

In the schools of the National Society, which were conducted on what was called the Madras system, the results were not dissimilar. It is true Bell himself found it necessary very early to soothe the apprehensions of some of his friends, by declaring that the children of the poor ought not to have too much education, and by expressing grave doubts whether writing and ciphering were not rather dangerous arts, which would make the poor too good for their station, and undermine the foundations of society. Rather with a view to reassure some of his influential friends than to express his own convictions, one of his pamphlets contains this sentence: "It is not proposed to educate the poor in an expensive manner; for in Utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge, there is a risk of elevating those who are doomed to the drudgery of daily labour, above their station; and rendering them unhappy and discontented with their lot." To read the Bible and learn the Catechism, and to be taken to church on Sundays, made up a programme which satisfied the supporters of

the National Society for many years. If Lancaster failed to teach Grammar or Geography or the principles of Arithmetic, it was not because he would not gladly have given these things to the poor children if he could; but simply because his resources and his agents were unequal to the work. But Bell's friends, inheriting the feeling towards the poor which was dominant in the mind of the founders of Charity Schools a century earlier,[1] were often wont to describe their own schemes of education as calculated rather to repress than to stimulate intellectual activity. The modest curriculum of the National Schools and of the British Schools alike was limited in its range, but in the one case it was limited by circumstances only, in the other by deliberate intention and on principle. At all events Bell was able to assure those of his supporters who had misgivings about his scheme, that nothing dangerously ambitious or subversive of the social order would be taught in his schools. Otherwise the differences between the two plans were unimportant. Lancaster liked small classes of ten or twelve, standing in a semicircle; Bell arranged a rather larger number in three sides of a square and seated on forms. Lancaster grouped all his writing-desks in one large mass, filling up the middle of the room, and facing a high platform with an "*estrade*" for the master; Bell placed his desks round the walls of the room. Lancaster believed in the stimulus and corporate life which are associated with large numbers. Bell and the National Society preferred schools of moderate size, not exceeding two or at most three hundred.

Training of teachers.

Very early in the development of both experiments, the question how to provide a race of teachers qualified

[1] *Ante*, p. 193.

to carry on monitorial schools became urgent, and each of the two societies made an attempt to train schoolmasters and mistresses for their work. The training, however, was very crude and inadequate, and in the light of modern experience hardly deserves to be called training at all. Men and women went to the Borough Road or to Westminster for three months to "learn the system" as it was termed; and this learning of the system consisted in spending a week or more in each of the classes from the lowest to the highest, and towards the end of the time, spending a few days in taking the general oversight in turns of one section of the school, and finally conducting its collective drill and evolutions as a whole. There were no private studies, no regular instruction for the candidates in the subjects they had to teach, no lectures or exposition of method. The system was to be learned by seeing it in operation, and by that alone. Here, again, there was a difference between the practice of the Lancasterian, and of the National Society's Model School. At the Borough Road, each candidate in training put himself beside the monitor, and after a short time took the monitor's place occasionally, and so became acquainted with all the details of the monitorial work from the bottom of the school to the top. But the National Society made the poor *trainee* take the place of a scholar, in each class in succession, and I have been told by those who have witnessed it, how absurd a spectacle was presented when tall, full-grown men were seen sitting meekly in their places with little children, being often taken down by them to a lower place, and directed in their movements by an upstart little boy who was monitor of the class.

Bell was very proud of his system, seriously believed it to be the grandest and most beneficent discovery ever

made, and went about the country lecturing in order to propagate his views and to encourage the establishment of new Church schools. Yet all the while he had a very keen eye to the main chance, and found that fame and fortune came to him together. In 1801 he became Rector of Swanage, then a valuable preferment. Afterwards he was nominated to the Mastership of a rich endowed Hospital at Sherburn in Durham, then to a Canonry at Worcester, then to a Canonry at Westminster. Mr Meiklejohn, the present able occupant of the Chair of Education in St Andrews University, founded by Bell's Trustees, quotes in his interesting life of Bell a letter from one of his friends who knew him and his character well, "Don't moderate your ambition to Sherburn Hospital, but continue your progress to the mitre. For very little money you may be paragraphed up to the episcopal throne." Indeed there were many people so sensible of the services Bell had rendered to the Church, that he was regarded as a very deserving candidate for the highest ecclesiastical preferment. He himself was strongly of that opinion, but the whole of his ambition was not gratified. He contrived, however, to accumulate a fortune of £120,000. His virtues were lauded in a flattering biography by Southey, and by a yet more enduring monument in Westminster Abbey, representing him seated by the side of a class of poor boys while the monitor is teaching them to read. His life, though privately not happy, nor eminently estimable, was undoubtedly one of much honour, prosperity, and public usefulness.

Lancaster's misfortunes.

Very different was the career of poor Joseph Lancaster. His fortunes reached their highest point in 1805 when he had his memorable interview with the King. Powerful friends took him by the hand; contributions flowed in; but he had never been accustomed to the

management of money and he did not know its value. He had no foresight, and the sums which he could command, though often large, came into his hands in a fitful and uncertain way which only served to encourage his improvident habits. When a good subscription came in he would spend it recklessly in treats and presents to his scholars, or would take a whole party of his favourite youths into the country with him to illustrate his lectures, and show how the system was worked. In 1811 he visited Ireland, gave many lectures, and was instrumental in establishing a model school in Dublin, which was placed under the care of one of his young men from the Borough Road, and which achieved some permanent success. At Hull, Newcastle, York, and Leeds, he was generously welcomed, and during a single year was able to say that a new Lancasterian School had been opened in every week. His letters during this period are filled with expressions of enthusiasm and hope. But the least rebuff or opposition wounded his vain and sensitive nature to the quick, and overwhelmed him with despair. His enthusiastic temperament led him to exaggerate both his failures and his successes, and to fancy that every incident which depressed or gladdened him was a special Divine visitation.

"I called at the Borough Road," wrote one of his friends, "to enquire about the training of a master, and after some conversation with Lancaster relating to the necessary arrangements for the man's attendance, I slipped a £10 note into his hand as an acknowledgment of my obligations. What was my astonishment to see this quiet man with whom I had a moment before been calmly conversing, at once turn pale, tremble, stand fixed as a statue, and then flinging himself upon my shoulder, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, 'Friend, thou

knewest it not, but God hath sent thee, to keep me from a gaol, and to preserve my system from ruin.' "

Fits of deep depression alternated with other fits of wild hope and religious fervour. When pressed for money, he says he cannot believe that if the Almighty has designed the education of the poor of London, a few pitiless creditors can prevent it, "only let the eyes of his friends be opened and they will soon see the mountain full of horses of fire and of chariots of fire round about Elijah." He is arrested for debt, and remains three days in the spunging house and no one has been to see him, but he is as happy as Joseph was in the King's prison in Egypt. After a while, he asked for a sheriff's officer to take him to the King's Bench prison, but obtained leave to call at home on the way thither. When he got home his wife and child, and all his young monitors were assembled, overwhelmed with grief because he was going to prison. After being with them a little he opened the parlour door and said to the man, "Friend, when I am at home, I read the Scriptures with my family, hast thou any objection to come in!" He replied, "No Sir," and went in. After he had read a chapter or two he went to prayer. The man soon became deeply affected and joined in the common grief. After prayer, Joseph rose and said, "Now, friend, I am ready for thee." Greatly touched, the officer on this occasion actually offered to become bail for his prisoner. This was not the only episode of the like kind. In turn poor Joseph experienced the vicissitudes of

> Toil, envy, want, the patron and the gaol.

Efforts of his friends to help him.

In 1808 a few noblemen and gentlemen came to his aid, paid his debts, became his trustees and organized the Society which was at first known as the Royal Lancasterian Society and afterwards as the British and Foreign

School Society. But their generous and business-like interposition did not put an end to his troubles. They found him impatient of control, and incurably wayward and extravagant. They desired to retain his services and to treat him with liberality and respect, but his wild impulses and heedless projects needed constant check, and it was very difficult to make any check effective. He resented every arrangement which sought to restrain his expenses, or to enable him to work with other people. He declared that they degraded him to the position of a hireling. "I thought," he afterwards said bitterly, in referring to his friends who had set up the British and Foreign School Society, "that my sunshine friends had been birds of paradise, but the first winter season proved them to be birds of passage." In a fit of anger he shook the dust from off his feet and betook himself to Tooting, where he set up a private school. This undertaking failed miserably, he became a bankrupt and emigrated in 1818 to America.

His later career.

There he met with a kindly welcome. His courses of lectures in the United States were at first well attended, and a new career of honour and usefulness seemed to be opening before him. He wrote home letters full of bitter reviling for the false friends who he said had betrayed him at home, and declared that for the first time the Divine work which had been entrusted to him would be truly appreciated. But the bubble of his fame soon collapsed. He alienated his new friends, and fell once more into debt and poverty. Sickness overtook him and he went for a time to the warmer climate of the West Indies, and after a few months returned to New York, where the Corporation in pity for his lamentable condition made him a grant of 500 dollars. He was then induced to go to Canada,

and at Montreal recommenced his lectures and basked for a while in new gleams of public favour. But here again he is soon found opening a private school for the means of subsistence and not succeeding very well. It is very pathetic to read his letters and diary, written towards the close of his life. Though he had been disowned by the Friends on account of his pecuniary and other irregularities, and though his wife and children went to church, he could not help yearning after the spiritual privileges of a happier time; and in his bare school-room he would on Sundays hold a "silent meeting," sitting all alone and meditating: and listening, if perchance he might once more hear the Divine voice. "Here," he writes, "I sometimes found the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious influences of the everlasting hills resting indeed on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him who was separated from his brethren, by distance, by faults, by circumstances, and by the just but iron hand of discipline. I longed again and again to come under the purifying and baptizing power of the truth which had been the dew of my youth, and the hope of all my life in its best moments whether of sorrow or joy." A little annuity was raised for him by friends in England and for a time he subsisted on it; but he again became restless, anxious to return to England, and indulging wildly in the prospect of repeating his former triumphs. He describes himself once more as ready to confound all his adversaries, to teach ten thousand children not knowing their letters all to read fluently in three weeks to three months. "The fire that kindled Elijah's sacrifice had kindled his, and all true Israelites would in time see it."

These visions, however, were not to be realized. He was run over by a waggon in the streets of New York, in

October, 1838, and died after a few hours from the effects of the accident, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Characters of Bell and Lancaster compared.

The characters of the two men were as sharply contrasted as their worldly careers. Dr Bell was never overtaken by religious enthusiasm. His whole life was disfigured by vanity and self-seeking. He was to the inner core of his nature what Mr M. Arnold calls a Philistine. He went once to Yverdun to see Pestalozzi, but he caught no inspiration, saw nothing in his methods, and spoke with contempt of a man who wanted several teachers for a hundred boys, while he could have taught twice that number alone. Mr Meiklejohn, whom many of you know so well as the accomplished and able occupant of one of the Chairs of Education founded by Bell's Trustees and endowed with Bell's money, might perhaps be supposed under some official obligation to make the best of the pious founder. Yet he shows a merciless frankness in estimating Bell's character, — a frankness which it must be owned is not usual among endowed professors when building the tombs of the prophets. It is thus that he paints his hero's portrait. "He was not an interesting man. He was not a great man; he had very little insight into human nature, though here and there are to be found glimpses of truth; he was singularly narrow-minded, and he was in several respects a terrible bore. There is in his own mind hardly a trace of education, or the smallest sign of literary culture. He had read Cicero and Quintilian, Milton and Locke, but he had read them only for the purpose of digging out of them mottoes for the chapters of his works or passages in support of his own conclusions. There is no more trace of literature in all his voluminous writings than there is in the minutes of a corporation, or the report of a banking company. He remained to the end of his

days of the opinion which he expressed when he was acting as tutor to his two American pupils, 'I thought that a good handwriting was better than all the Greek or Latin in the universe'; and even after he was a richly beneficed clergyman, he looked upon Grammar Schools and Universities chiefly as places where people 'contract prejudices.' His whole mind and soul were absorbed in the one idea of extending to the whole world the blessings and peculiarities of the Madras system." [1]

The difference in the views of religious education entertained by the two men was profound; and it still survives in a strongly marked form in two sections of the friends of religious education. Bell and his followers believed it to be the first business of a religious teacher to enforce the creed and to attach the scholar to the communion of the Church of England. Lancaster constantly sought to vindicate the need and the possibility of a comprehensive and yet Christian system of national education. Except through his efforts, and those of his friends, all the popular education of this country had been given in connexion with some particular section of the Christian Church; and the catechisms and formularies which are distinctive of sects and Churches, were regarded by the members of those sects as the basis of all possible religious instruction. But Lancaster thought that there were deeper truths than those which Christians regard as disputable, and that it was precisely to those truths that the attention of children ought first to be directed. Though a Quaker, he never sought to appoint persons of his own communion to help him as teachers, and he refused to use his school as a propaganda for the peculiar tenets of the Friends. He believed that national education could be Christian

[1] Andrew Bell, by Professor Meiklejohn.

without being sectarian. He sought in the British schools to teach children to read the Bible, to understand it, to love it, and to take it as the guide of their lives; and at the same time he carefully abstained from dogmatizing on those questions of doctrine and discipline which divide Churchman from Dissenter, or Presbyterian from Baptist. And this scheme was not a political device for conciliating the support of all parties, or for pleasing the wavering and indifferent. It grew out of the experience of a devout and earnest man, who, loving his own form of religious worship with passionate zeal, loved Christianity and the interests of children more earnestly still. In future days when the principle of comprehensive and unsectarian instruction becomes yet more generally admitted than at this moment, it ought not to be forgotten that Lancaster was the first to enunciate it, and that he endured more odium for it than any of his contemporaries or successors.

Their work estimated.

Nevertheless I am afraid we must admit that neither Bell nor Lancaster is entitled to a very high place among the great teachers of the world. Both were vain and ignorant; both saw one particular aspect of educational work in false perspective, and were incapable of taking a large or generous view of the business of teaching and training as a whole. Neither contributed anything of value to the literature of education. I do not really know which to a modern reader are more barren of interest, the pompous and pretentious tracts of Bell, or the incoherent, confused writings of Lancaster, disfigured as they all were by the vehemence with which the writers put forth their personal claims. Each of the two great societies with which their names were identified has since done much valuable work; and during the period from 1846 to 1870 it was mainly through the agency of

these societies that the Government distributed the Parliamentary grant. Each is at this moment playing an honourable, though of course a less relatively important part in the work of popular education. Nearly all the voluntary effort was directed before the Act of 1870 either to 'National' or to 'British' schools; the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee, and the Wesleyan Education Committee, having been formed later for the maintenance of primary schools adapted for the children of their several communions, though otherwise conducted on the same educational lines. But each of the two great societies has long ago abandoned whatever was distinctive in the views of the man who gave it a name; and to say the truth, both societies, though for very different reasons, have become half ashamed of their founders. Bell was the more successful man and was more praised both in life and after death. Lancaster's life was a failure and his death was ignoble. But I think he had the finer nature of the two, and more of the 'enthusiasm of humanity.' He had drunk more deeply of the spirit of Him who said, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones." In the midst of all the distractions of his confused and ill-managed life, I think he honestly tried to listen to the teaching of conscience and the sound of the Divine voice, and with more or less of halting and waywardness to follow its guidance.

"But in a great house, there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth," some being meant for greater and some for lesser honour. And it is a very happy thing for some of us to reflect that in this world to which we have been sent, our great Taskmaster is willing to find a use for very humble services and for very imperfect instruments. The work

of these men was not work of the highest quality. It was sorely marred and tarnished in the handling; but it was in its way honest and good pioneer work; its many failures helped to block up some of the roads to future failure; and it served to make the next steps to improvement easier, safer, and more clearly visible than they would otherwise have been: — What more can any of us hope to do than thus to be a link between the days, to achieve, not that which is supremely the best, but the best within our own power and knowledge, in view of the circumstances, needs, and opportunities of our own time, and then to leave posterity to take as much or as little of it as may prove to be of use? —

"Our little systems have their day,
They have their day, and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O God, art more than they."

More than they! Yes, in the larger and nobler systems of the future, the results of the experiments of Bell and Lancaster will be absorbed or superseded. But something will survive — something always does survive, and ought to survive — from strenuous and honourable endeavour to achieve a right purpose. It is only in the tender twilight of history, that the outlines of obsolete systems are softened, and that controversies can be viewed in their true proportions, so that we become able to see how much was ephemeral and how much in them deserved to be permanent. We can now ask ourselves quite calmly: — What was the monitorial system, or as it was called the *mutual* system, which for a time seemed to the educational enthusiasts of the first half of this century as if it was the greatest discovery of the age? To say the truth it was not a method of teaching. It was nothing but a method of drill, a contrivance for

utilizing a certain rough and imperfect kind of agency.[1] Yet it did not shew the agents how to teach; it revealed no principles as to the difference between good teaching and bad, or as to the way in which knowledge can best find entrance into the mind. But, at a time of great public apathy, it awakened the national conscience in regard to the need of general education for the poor; and it greatly helped this awakening by shewing how certain simple results could be achieved at a very small cost. It unquestionably taught reading, writing, and arithmetic and the virtue and the beauty of order. Each

[1] Here for example is the programme of one of his lectures: —

ROYAL LANCASTERIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

JOSEPH LANCASTER the Inventor of the above System intends to deliver a Lecture on its *Nature* and *advantages*, at the *Freemason's Tavern*, Great Queen Street Lincolns Inn Fields, on the Evening of the Day called *Monday*, the 1st of *Seventh Month*. [July] 1811.

The peculiar advantages of this System are that One Master [often a lad from fourteen to eighteen years of age] can be rendered competent to the government of a school containing from 200 to 1000 Scholars. The Expense of Education for each Individual will also diminish in proportion as the Number under the care of the same master increases.

The System of Order and Tuition serves in lieu of experience and discretion in the Teacher, whose qualification consists only of a small degree of Elementary Knowledge. Five Hundred children may spell at the same time. A whole school however large may read and spell from the same Book. The Master will be wholly relieved from the duty of Tuition and have for his charge that of frequent inspection of the Progress made by the Pupils. In no case will this be more conspicuous than in teaching Arithmetic. The preceding Points will be clearly explained during the Lecture, and parts of the System will be practically exemplified by a number of Boys who will attend for that purpose. A number of Drawings will be exhibited to illustrate the peculiar Principles of Rewards and Punishments, which form Addenda to the System of Tuition.

of the two men, in his own way, succeeded in impressing a decidedly religious character on the voluntary Schools of England. And they had a clear grasp of one cardinal principle, too often overlooked. They regarded a school not merely as a place to which scholars should resort to get knowledge for themselves, but as an organized community for mutual aid and encouragement in the work of instruction. The scholar was made to feel that his first business was to learn, and his next to help others to learn.

And this principle of mutual help, this solidarity, this sense of corporate life, and of the obligation on one who knows to make his knowledge useful to others, is of abiding importance. This principle at least we may hope will survive in all our schools, even when the "monitorial or mutual system of instruction" once so extravagantly lauded, is wholly forgotten.

LECTURE XII

PESTALOZZI [1]

The anniversary. Characteristics of Pestalozzi's teaching. Sense Training. How he differed from Rousseau. His religious purpose. His rebellion against verbalism. No finality in his system.

The anniversary.

THE Son of Sirach introduces a chapter of Ecclesiasticus — a book which is less read than it deserves to be — with the words: "Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us * * leaders of the people by their counsels, and by knowledge and learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions * * the Lord hath wrought great glory by them." And the apocryphal writer then proceeds to enumerate the great Hebrew teachers, heroes, and poets, and to celebrate their achievements. So this commemorative instinct, which leads men to recall the deeds and writings of departed worthies, and which has drawn you together to-night to honour the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Pestalozzi's birth, is a very old instinct — and it is a

[1] Presidential Address at the Memorial Conference in the College of Preceptors on the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Pestalozzi, October 7, 1896.

very true one. We have no better means of keeping alive what is memorable in the history and character of a man, and what is of permanent value in his teaching, than by availing ourselves of these periodical occasions for retrospect, and by recalling from time to time what we owe to those who have gone before us. A jubilee, a birthday, a centenary, furnishes suitable opportunity for doing this, and it is very necessary in the case of those who, like Pestalozzi, are identified with principles peculiarly liable to be overlaid with routine and petrified into formulas, and therefore needing constantly to be reviewed, subjected to new tests, and enforced by help of new illustrations. It is in every way fitting that the task of recalling to this generation what we all owe to Pestalozzi should be undertaken by the authorities of this College, an institution which has for many years been foremost in its recognition of the fact that education is a science, and which has, by means of lectures and conferences, done so much to elucidate the principles, the history, and the art of teaching. And I think those authorities have been well advised in determining that the fittest way to celebrate this occasion is to invite a few persons specially conversant with improved methods of teaching to address you, respectively, on some special aspects of Pestalozzi's work and its relation to the needs of our modern life. This is a sure way of avoiding discursiveness and of giving definiteness to our meeting. Your attention will be directed to-day to the spirit and influence of Pestalozzi's teaching generally, to some features of his personal biography, especially to his failures and disappointments and to his manful and courageous determination to overcome difficulties, to his influence in Germany, and to the development of his principles in our own country. You could not possibly

have the whole subject brought before you under more favourable auspices or on a more practical and business-like plan. The Council of the College has done well to select for the purpose of our discussion some of the most distinguished teachers and thinkers of the younger generation, each of whom in his or her own way has done valuable work in elevating the public estimate of a true and rational education; and each of whom is specially qualified to distinguish between what is ephemeral or obsolete and what is of enduring value in Pestalozzi's work.

Characteristics of Pestalozzi's teaching.

For myself, as one of the older school who has nevertheless not lost his faith in the future, or his deep sympathy with the best and most fruitful of modern educational ideals, my task is a much humbler and simpler one. It is to introduce to you in turn the readers of the several papers, and to bespeak for them that intelligent attention which the audiences in this hall are accustomed to give, and to which both the subject of discussion and the reputation of the speakers are eminently entitled. I will not stand except for a very brief period between you and them. But I may be permitted to refer, in the fewest words, to the two or three features of Pestalozzi's teaching which have always appeared to me among the most valuable, and which, in my opinion, ought never to be permitted to become outworn or obsolete.

Sense training.

The first of these is his insistence on the necessity of training for the senses and for the physical powers as well as for the memory and the understanding. The old doctrine, *Nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*, was with him more than an academic proposition. It was the key to his practical methods. It dominated much of what is called his system. Hence all the simple

devices by which he led children to see clearly, to exercise the faculty of observation, to draw, to touch, to handle, to discover, to imitate, to invent. He did not regard the use of printed words and letters as the true beginning of all knowledge, but he relied rather on intuition, the development of faculty, the rousing of curiosity, as the first objects to be achieved in the education of a child. Now here is a principle of permanent importance, one of which we do not yet see all the practical applications, but one which will guide us in coming to right conclusions, in respect, for example, to the place which manual training ought to hold as part of a scheme of liberal education, as well as to other yet unsolved problems of our own time. Raumer, one of his affectionate disciples, said of him: "He compelled the scholastic world to revise the whole of their task, to reflect on the nature and destiny of man, and on the proper ways of leading him from his youth towards that destiny." This was in fact the main purpose of Pestalozzi's life. He sought to find for himself and to help others to find, a basis for his plans of education, in a fresher study of nature and experience.

How he differed from Rousseau.

Oliver Wendell Holmes once said of Emerson[1] "that he was an iconoclast without the hammer; that the idols he sought to dethrone he took down from their pedestals so gently and reverently that he seemed more like one performing an act of worship." In some sense this is true of Pestalozzi. He too was an iconoclast, but he went about his work in a very different spirit from that which animated Rousseau, to whom he was in other respects so nearly akin. Compare Rousseau's "Emile" with Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude," and you will be conscious of a difference of tone as well as of sub-

[1] Cabot's *Life of Emerson.*

stance. There is in Pestalozzi little or no denunciation, none of the fierce revolt against established notions and usages which characterized Rousseau, only an earnest appeal to parents and teachers — all the more effectual because so restrained and modest — to follow books and traditions less and to study nature and childhood more.

His religious purpose.

You cannot in any survey of Pestalozzi's career overlook the deep religiousness of his nature. To him the teacher's office was a sacred, indeed a priestly, function. The moral purpose of a school was its highest purpose. No teacher or writer on education has ever more strongly emphasized the truth that character is more important even than knowledge, that knowledge is only a means to the higher end, not itself an end; and that the first business of a school, as of a home, is not so much to give formal religious lessons as to provide an atmosphere of love and purity and goodness, in which all that is gracious and beautiful in a child's character may have room to grow. "Man," he said, in one of his latest writings, the *Swan song*, "develops the fundamental elements of his moral life — his love and faith — by the exercise of love and faith, just as those of his intellectual life — his thought and reflection — by the exercise of thought, and those of his practical or industrial life — the power of his organs and muscles — by the exercise of this power." Everywhere you find him insisting on the need of spontaneous activity, and on the fact that the learner is not passively to receive and to reproduce the opinions or the emotions of other people, but to be a free and living agent. A school could on Pestalozzi's principles do nothing better than to place the learner in conditions favourable to the full expansion of whatever is best in his intellectual powers and his moral and spiritual aspirations.

His rebellion against verbalism.

Perhaps the most notable feature of Pestalozzi's system was his earnest and constant protest against verbalism and teaching by rote. He was very sensible of the importance of language culture and of the right use of words, but he desired in all cases to make the word or the technical term come *after* some knowledge of the subject or the distinction which the word represented, and not before it or independently of it. In particular, he warred against the use of formularies, manuals, and text-books which professed to present the whole of what was to be known on a given subject, and so to supersede the necessity of actual intellectual contact between a teacher and pupil. He distrusted all such methods.[7] The habit of putting printed questions and answers in a book to be committed to memory seemed to him deadening and mischievous, and, indeed, destructive to any real and vital communication between teacher and taught. Happily, his opinions on this topic have been generally accepted by all good modern teachers. Except in regard to one subject, books of questions and answers, 'scientific dialogues,' and the like, have been well-nigh abandoned, and are only now used as the last resort of examiners who do not know how to examine, and of teachers who cannot teach. You know well what that one subject is. There is still a fond belief, on the part of many good people, that the method of learning by heart answers to questions which the teacher reads out of a book — a method which has been discredited in all other departments of instruction — is the best method of teaching religion. Some day, perhaps, we may emancipate ourselves from this curious superstition, and learn how to apply the principles of Pestalozzi not only to arithmetic, and grammar, and history, but to the highest and most sacred of all the subjects we have to teach.

No finality in his system.

Meanwhile, one thing remains to be said. There is no finality in the system of Pestalozzi. He was a pioneer only. He saw, with intense clearness, some fundamental truths, but he could not foresee all the practical applications of those truths. His simple life's experience among peasants in Germany and Switzerland did not qualify him to understand thoroughly the needs of great and crowded towns, or to take a full view of the larger educational horizon which we have to deal with now. Had he known London, or Paris, or Manchester, their new intellectual and industrial conditions would certainly have interested him deeply and suggested to him new and fruitful devices for meeting them. It is for us, who have this experience, to adapt what is best in his teaching to the changed circumstances and needs of our own time. We must remember that it is just as possible for Pestalozzianism as for any other system to lose its vitalizing power, to be stiffened into formulas, and to become wooden, pedantic, and uninspiring. I have had occasion, during my official life, to know how easy it is to use all the phraseology of Pestalozzi, to imitate his object lessons, and to accept his *technique* and his theories, and yet to be hopelessly uninfluenced by the spirit of the master, and to fall into unintelligent and unsympathetic routine. The true way to guard against this danger is to perpetuate his spirit as well as his methods, to re-state, from time to time, the principles he advocated, to view them with fresh eyes in the light of later experience, and to seek for the best means of applying and illustrating them. That is the purpose for which we are met to-day, and I congratulate you on the fact that the task has been confided to some of those on whom I have now to call, and who are specially qualified to be the exponents of his principles and the critics of his work.

LECTURE XIII

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE

Voluntary philanthropy in England. Robert Raikes. The changed position of the Sunday Schools. The problem of the future. The Lord's Day and its purpose. The working man's Sunday. Home influence more potent than that of any school. Sunday in our homes. The teacher. Conversation. Reading aloud. The School Library. Religious instruction. A teacher's equipment. Need of preparation. Questioning, Verbal Memory. Formularies. Catechising in church. Work for the educated laity. Children's services. Formation of a habit of attending public worship. General conclusions. The Sunday School not only a place for religious instruction, but a centre of civilization and social improvement.

Voluntary philanthropy in England.

In the history of English education, nothing strikes us more than the large share taken in it by private voluntary agency and the comparatively small part played in it by the Government or by legislation. In this respect our own country differs materially from most Continental nations and especially from Germany; — certainly from America where the Puritan fathers of the Eastern States made it their first business to provide schools, and to set apart a portion of the public land and thus to

[1] Address to the Women's Diocesan Conference at the Church House, Westminster.

secure means for maintaining them. Here at home, some of our educational resources are an inheritance from monasteries, chantries, and other religious houses; for a few we are indebted to the benefactions of kings and nobles, to the pious benevolence of rich men who have founded schools, and to municipal and corporate action on the part of those who as parents or otherwise felt conscious of a public want, and sought to supply it. But the end of the 18th century, and beginning of the present, were distinguished by the efforts of a few men who were not rich, and could not be classed as 'pious founders' in the ordinary sense, but who gave to philanthropic work something better than money — personal service and enthusiasm. The spirit which led John Howard and Elizabeth Fry to visit prisons, and to bring unofficial pressure to bear on prison authorities with a view to the alleviation of the sufferings of prisoners, the spirit which at the same period animated Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the poet Cowper to denounce the African Slave trade, and to claim in the name of humanity the emancipation of our West Indian slaves, indicated the growth of an uneasy feeling in the public conscience in regard to great social wrongs.

Robert Raikes.

In the year 1781 Robert Raikes, a printer, and the publisher of a local journal in Gloucester, distressed to see the large number of untaught and squalid children roaming about the streets of that city, opened a refuge for them on Sunday afternoons, and engaged two or three women at a shilling per day to take care of the children and teach them to read the New Testament. With the help of the clergy, children were induced to come in great numbers, and many voluntary teachers were soon found. The only necessary condition of admission was that the children should come with clean hands and faces. Some

of the parents who could afford it paid small fees. The instruction was of the humblest kind — reading, spelling, writing, and a little simple arithmetic. There were then few day schools of any kind open to the children of the poor, except the Endowed Charity Schools, which often gave clothing as well as gratuitous elementary instruction, and admission to which was obtained by the choice and private patronage of local trustees.[1] The great societies for promoting popular instruction — the British and Foreign School Society, and the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church — did not come into existence till ten years later. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been founded in 1698 but had not established schools of its own. And no obligation on the part of Parliament to concern itself with popular education began to be recognized until the middle of the present century. Raikes' success at Gloucester was remarkable. Among his more influential supporters were Jonas Hanway, John Howard, Henry Thornton, Mrs Trimmer, and Hannah More; but he found imitators in all parts of the country. These were chiefly members of religious bodies, the schools were held in churches and chapels, and so it came to pass that the Bible furnished the staple of instruction in the schools. In later times, as the means of secular instruction have been increased by the multiplication of day schools, the Sunday teaching has become practically limited to religious subjects. But it ought not to be forgotten that the first efforts of Raikes and his friends were wider and more general. They did not think the teaching of spelling and arithmetic a merely secular business inconsistent with the claims or the sacredness of the Lord's day; in fact they regarded the

[1] *Ante*, p. 191.

Sunday afternoon school not as a supplement to a system of day schools, but as the best available substitute for it. It was as an expedient for making a small inroad upon the mass of ignorance around him that the institution founded by Robert Raikes was eminently successful, not only because it brought large numbers of neglected children within the reach of moral and civilizing influences, but also because it awakened among many benevolent and religious people a new sense of their responsibility towards their less fortunate brethren, and enlisted their services as voluntary teachers. In this way a public opinion was gradually formed in favour of popular education, which soon afterwards began to express itself in aiding Bell and Lancaster, and in efforts to establish voluntary day schools.

The changed position of the Sunday School.

It is evident that the history of the present dying century has done much to alter the relative position of Sunday Schools. They are no longer needed to teach reading and writing. The law of 1870 which provides adequate day-school accommodation for all the children requiring elementary instruction — that is to say for one-sixth of the population — and the subsequent legislation which compels the attendance of the scholars, have gone far to render the Sunday School in one sense superfluous. And it must be remembered too, that with very few exceptions, our public elementary schools are all impressed with a religious character. In the voluntary schools, which have been established by the religious bodies, there is systematic instruction in faith and Christian duty, and in the formularies of the several Churches. And in the municipal schools — those controlled by the School Boards — the Bible is nearly always read and explained, and religious instruction, of substantially the kind contemplated in many of the best Sunday Schools,

is regularly provided. The statutory period not devoted to secular instruction, is consecrated under the Time Table Conscience Clause exclusively to religious teaching in Board Schools and Voluntary Schools alike.

The problem of the future.

What then is the area of usefulness still left vacant, which the Sunday School of the future should be ready to occupy? How does the new provision which has under the Education Act become so abundant and so effective modify or how far ought it to modify our views as to the true scope and object of the Sunday School? The answer to this question is not easy. But it suggests to us other enquiries, and some considerations which bear in a very real though at first sight not an obvious sense upon its solution.

The Lord's Day and its purpose.

Why is it that among all Christian communities the recognition of the first day of the week as a time of rest is so much valued? Why and in what manner do we feel it to be precious to ourselves? Of course in the first place it is an opportunity for religious edification and worship. But that is not the whole. Sunday changes the current of our thoughts, releases us for a few hours from the ordinary routine of the week, from our business or profession, and breaks the continuity of that eager, fretful, and anxious struggle which occupies our minds in politics, in industry, and in society during the rest of the week. It gives us leisure for reading, for thinking, and for happy family intercourse. It is a standing symbol to us all of the fact that the 'life is more than meat,' that the higher life has its own claims, that rest, refreshment, change of intellectual employment, are among the necessaries of that life.

The working man's Sunday.

Now it is in the light of our own experience that we are best able to judge, what the Sunday ought to be to children, and especially to the families of those who

belong to the industrial classes. We do not spend the whole of our own Sunday in listening to religious instruction, nor have we any reason to suppose that others are in this respect different from ourselves.

If we try to picture the ideal Sunday for a working man and his household, we should consider how he is engaged during the rest of the week in labour which begins early in the day, and that he often returns home after his children have gone to sleep. Except on Sunday, he scarcely sees his family, or has much opportunity of talking to them. Then when the day comes, the happiest thing we could desire both for him and his children is that he should take the elder ones with him to a place of worship, should sit down with them in the afternoon, and ask them what they are doing at school, should hear them repeat to him the hymns or lessons they have learned, and then talk to them, and encourage them to talk in their turn. He may ask the eldest to read some short story aloud to the rest; or if the day be fine can take them with him for a walk and talk by the way. Does any one of us doubt, that in the strengthening of family affection, in its influence on the characters of the father and mother by drawing out some of their best qualities, and in the enduring memories which will help to form the children's character and habits for life, a Sunday thus spent is far more precious than if passed among strangers, however skilful their theological instruction may be. Let us acknowledge once for all that even the best Sunday School is but a substitute, and a very poor substitute, for the ennobling influence of an orderly Christian home. The sympathetic interest of the father and mother in the children's lessons, in their thoughts, and in their progress, though it be not the interest of skilled or professional teachers, is far more

influential in the development of the religious character, than all the formal lessons of any school however good. And in so far as the existence of Sunday Schools has given to many parents, who are quite capable of exercising such influence, an excuse for evading their own responsibilities and handing them over to others, there is no doubt in my mind that the multiplication of such schools has done harm as well as good. It seems a hard saying in this audience; but in just the proportion in which we can obtain the co-operation of parents in the religious nurture of their children, we may be well content in the next century to see the need for Sunday Schools steadily diminish.

Home influence more potent than that of any school.

Let us begin therefore by recognizing the superior claims and sacredness of the home life; and by a determination to do nothing which will interfere with the legitimate function of the parent and the family, considered as instruments of education, in the best and truest sense. It is very easy for those of us who are interested in a society or an institution which has done great service, to over-estimate it, and to become so enamoured with a particular form of machinery, that we lose sight of the purpose which the machine is meant to fulfil. But we must beware of mistaking means for ends. It is a mistake to become so proud of the extension of our Sunday School system, as to think it a high triumph to record the addition of thousands to the roll of scholars year by year. It would be a much higher triumph if we were able to record that the number of instructed parents and of God-fearing households, among the working classes, had so increased that the Sunday School was becoming a superfluous institution. But unfortunately we are a long way from this goal. The ideal household such as I have described is not always possible. The

children of idle, negligent, and ignorant parents, who are simply glad to be rid of an encumbrance on Sunday afternoons, are still to be found and are likely to be found for a long time to come. For these the Sunday School is a beneficent institution, and for them it is our duty to make the Sunday School as efficient for its purpose as we can.

Sunday in our own homes.

But in trying to do this, we shall do well to fashion our course of procedure, in view of the fact that the school is rather the imperfect substitute for the home, than a supplement, or even a substitute for the day school. We should not like, in the case of our own children, to fill their Sunday leisure with lessons or formal teaching. We prefer for their sake to get rid of the associations connected with the school and its discipline, and to place them within the reach of other influences calculated to awaken their sympathies, broaden their intellectual horizon, and encourage their aspirations after higher and better things than those which challenge their attention all through the rest of the week. With this view we do not encumber them with rigid rules as to what is or what is not permissible on the Sunday; we do not insist on a Puritanical identification of that day with the Jewish Sabbath; but we place within their reach books, pictures, employments, which though they are quite compatible with serious thought do not look didactic and forbidding, or challenge the children for more gravity than can reasonably be expected at their age. Nothing tends more to give to children a sense of unreality in religious lessons, than the habit of exacting from them professions of faith, or acts of worship, which do not honestly correspond to their present stage of religious experience. Above all, we try to establish in their minds happy associations with the day, so that they may

look back on it not as the time of restraint or of gloom but as the most interesting episode in the week, none the less but all the more delightful because of an overhanging sense of seriousness and detachment, which distinguishes the day's pursuits from those of ordinary life. A wise parent does not talk to children about the claims of Sunday, or the obligation of observing it. He rather seeks to let it be seen indirectly that such observance is to be regarded as a privilege and not as a duty. Indeed if it were not felt to be a privilege, we can hardly make children see how it can be a duty.

George Herbert's verses well describe the ideal Sunday in a Christian household:—

"O day most calm, most bright,
The fruit of this, the next world's bud;
* * * * * *
The couch of time; care's balm and bay;
The week were dark, but for thy light;
Thy torch doth shew the way.

Thou art a day of mirth:
And where the week-days trail on ground,
Thy flight is higher, as thy birth:
O let me take thee at the bound,
Leaping with thee from seven to seven,
Till that we both, being toss'd from earth,
Fly hand in hand to heaven!" [1]

Now the more nearly we can approach this ideal in the Sunday School of the future the better. Of course there must be lessons and some formal teaching. But in view of the fact that lessons and formal teaching are accessible to the children all the rest of the week, I am inclined to think that we need less of them in the Sunday Schools of the future, and more of those civilizing and religious influences which though they operate indirectly

[1] The Temple.

The teacher.

go farther in the formation of character. Foremost among these influences is that derived from the presence and the personal qualifications of the teacher himself. He or she should be a person of cultivated mind, one who reads much, and who knows the temptations which assail his scholars. His attainment and manners should be such as command respect, he should have a deep sense of the realities of religion and of its importance, and above all should have a genuine love for children, and faith in the boundless possibilities of good, which lie more or less hidden, even in the dullest and least interesting scholar in his class. He derives great influence from the fact that he is not a paid or professional teacher, but is drawn to the children simply by good will and a desire to be useful to them. His attitude to the children should be less that of an instructor or a lecturer, than that of a friend and companion. Given these conditions, and you may be sure that the mere contact with such a person for an hour or two in the week will do much to raise the tone of the scholars, to awaken in them feelings of loyalty and personal affection, and to produce unconsciously a sentiment of reverence for the religion of which the teacher is for the time the principal exponent and representative. Since the classes in a Sunday School are small there is the possibility of a closer intellectual intimacy between teacher and taught than is possible in a day school, and the character of individual scholars can be better studied.

Conversation.

In such a class, conversation is one of the most effective instruments of culture To sit "a passive bucket to be pumped into," as Carlyle said, is not an exhilarating process, nor, it must be added, a very useful one. The story of great teachers from Socrates down to Arnold and Thring, and even that of the 'Pastor

Pastorum' our great Teacher and Master, shows us how much is done by conversation, by inviting the pupil to express his thought, to state his difficulties, and to take a share in thinking out the subject for himself. How often our Lord abandoned altogether the didactic and imperative method, so dear to all merely mechanical instructors, and became conversational and suggestive. "What think you? How readest thou?"[1] The true measure of our success in teaching religion, as in the teaching of everything else, is not to be found in the number of facts and truths which the scholar has received and learned on our authority; but in the degree in which the teaching has called out power, mental activity, and sympathy on the part of the scholar himself.

Reading aloud.

A part of each Sunday's schooltime might well be devoted to a reading of some story, or poem, some episode from history or some new fact in the annals of our own time; and then to a conversation — not necessarily an examination — upon it. To make this exercise really helpful and inspiring it is very necessary that the teacher should in his own reading, whether in books or newspapers, keep his eyes open and make a note of any incident or anecdote which is likely to interest the children and to set them thinking. There should be a moral meaning — an element of religious edification in it. But this meaning need not be obtrusive. It should be there, held in solution so to speak, and left to make its own impression. We are to remember that the best lessons of our life do not always come to us in the form of lessons; and that all knowledge does not necessarily assume the shape of knowledge. A second requisite is that the teacher should himself acquire the art of

[1] *Ante*, pp. 33, 44.

reading. Children enjoy listening to reading, if the reader knows his art, and can give in a pleasing dramatic yet not theatrical way, the meaning of a story. Of course we can all read; but the power to read with such distinctness and intelligence that no syllable and no part of the meaning of the writer fails to be communicated, and that there is an added charm in the expression which delights the hearer, is a very rare power indeed. It may be acquired by anyone who thinks it worth acquiring, and when acquired it will add greatly to the usefulness of the Sunday School teacher. You want to give the children pleasant associations with the thought of books, and an appetite for reading and personal cultivation when they are at home. So the books you have read, the narrative of a war, examples of valour and self-devotion, the holiday journey you have lately taken, may all in turn be made the subject of a friendly and easy conversational lesson and the means of encouraging the children to talk in their turn. Often the scholars in an elder class may be asked to give their own account of any book they have read, or any new experience they have gained. They might be shown pictures of Bible scenes, of historical incidents, and of domestic life, and asked if they could construct or tell the story which the picture illustrates. They might be invited to write an occasional letter, not as a school exercise to be examined and marked as for competition, but mainly as a means for cultivating reflection, winning and promoting confidence, and enabling the teacher to know better the individual character of his scholars.

Do not let us hamper ourselves with theories as to which of all these devices is likely to be most instructive. Try them all. Make experiments. Discover what it is that interests the scholars, and then use it and make the most of it. For that, after all, is the best and

the fullest of promise, which the young people like and enjoy most.

The School Library.

Then there is the School Library. The teacher should know something of its contents, and be able to advise the scholars especially in the upper classes as to what books they should choose, not necessarily goody nor even what are especially called religious books, but books such as he himself has read with profit and enjoyment. And the scholars who have read a library book might well be asked to talk of it and to say whether and why they liked it. Among the scholars also there will be many who will soon be leaving you, and in whose future you are interested. It is well therefore to acquaint yourself with the Continuation schools, the Young Men's Christian Association, or the Bible Class, the Polytechnics, or the Home Reading circles, or other institutions in the neighbourhood, in order that you may be in a position to give opportune advice to promising and thoughtful scholars. And if you encourage them after leaving the school to write to you and tell you what they are doing, you forge a new link of sympathy between them and yourself. Nothing is more likely to prove a moral safeguard to young people, just entering into the world, than the knowledge that they have one friend in a superior position to their own, a friend who will be glad of their successes, and will be pained to hear of any misconduct. And the poorer and less fortunate in their surroundings the scholars are, the more valuable will such a safeguard become.

It may be said that all this is not the business of a school. Then we should try to enlarge our conception of what the business of a school is and might be, especially of one held on Sunday. Let us ask ourselves what we should like to talk about to our own children on

Sunday at home. And thus we shall be led to admit that our talk would not be all about theology; and that anything which enlarged the range of their ideas, gave them new intellectual resources, gave them a heightened interest in the richness and beauty of the world, in the lives and doings of heroes and saints, and helped to introduce them into the society of great writers, would seem to us to be a legitimate part of the Sunday occupation. But all this comes of free unrestrained intellectual intercourse between parent and child; and it is precisely to that kind of intercourse that we should desire, as far as circumstances will allow, that the relation of teacher and scholar in the Sunday School should be assimilated.

Religious instruction.

But while I desire to emphasize the importance of those features of Sunday School work which differentiate it from the work of an ordinary school; and while I should like to introduce any employments which serve to bring the young people into closer sympathy with cultivated persons, and to promote a real interchange of thought and experience between them, we may not forget that after all the chief *raison d'être* of a Sunday School in the minds of most persons is that it should be a place of religious instruction. Now, viewed in this aspect, there is much to be learned from the experience of good day schools; and it is worth while to consider in what respects that experience should furnish hints and guidance to the voluntary and unprofessional teachers who undertake the charge of our Sunday scholars.

A teacher's equipment.

And the first of the facts which such experience brings before us, is that this business of teaching is not an easy one,— not one to be undertaken without previous thought and preparation, or merely in a kindly amateurish spirit. Teaching is a fine art. It has its rules and principles. There are right ways and wrong ways of beginning and

ending a lesson, of awakening interest, of putting questions, of recapitulation, of finding the nearest avenue to the understanding, the conscience, and the sympathy of children of different ages; and there are reasons to be given why some ways are right and others wrong. In our public schools, whether primary or secondary, we are becoming more and more convinced that some knowledge of these things is indispensable and makes all the difference between the skilled and the unskilled practitioner in his art. The best educational literature, the lives of great teachers, the records of their successes and their failures, and some acquaintance with the laws of mind, the growth of the mental faculties, the conditions on which memory, the reasoning power, and the appetite for knowledge can best be cultivated, are all included in the course of professional instruction laid down in our training colleges, and in the requirements of the Universities for the diploma of competency as a teacher. It would be an unreasonable burden to lay upon the kindly Christian men and women who now undertake Sunday School work, if anyone insisted on their becoming systematic students in this sense. Moreover, any attempt to make an examination in the philosophy or methods of education, a condition of becoming recognized as a qualified Sunday School teacher, would exclude from the ranks many of the most valuable of our workers, — men and women qualified by personal cultivation, by religious conviction, by insight into child-nature, and by a love for children, to exercise in a high degree that kind of indirect influence to which as we have said more importance should be attached than to actual formal teaching. But we cannot hope to secure this kind of influence if we are satisfied to fill the teachers' chairs with persons, who in age, refinement, or social position are only a little

removed from the class to which the scholars belong. Nevertheless it is safer to say to all teachers, however they may be equipped in other ways, that they will become still better fitted to discharge their duties, if they will when opportunity occurs acquaint themselves with some of the best books which have been written on the theory and practice of teaching.

Need of preparation.

One of the first particulars in which the trained is distinguished from the untrained teacher, is that he does not attempt to give an unpremeditated lesson. He thinks out the whole of it beforehand, tries to anticipate the difficulties which may arise as the lesson proceeds, brings together such illustrations, visible or merely oral, as are likely to be useful, determines how long the lesson ought to be, and makes up his mind not to attempt more than can be properly dealt with in the time. It is from this point of view that we value the schemes of systematic Bible lessons which are published periodically by the two great Societies — the Sunday School Union and the Church of England Sunday School Union. Those lessons are consecutive, they are properly linked together, and they are a check upon desultoriness. Nevertheless, it is not well to be enslaved by them or to follow them too rigidly. Occasions often arise when it is well to depart from the prescribed programme, and when some other subject is more appropriate and more useful. But at any rate the formal lesson if given should be well rehearsed in advance. The main test of a lesson is the interest excited on the part of the scholars, and unless they are interested the lesson is a failure. The skilled teacher knows, too, that the needful interest is never aroused unless the scholar is made to *think*, nor unless his faculties are set to work and required to do something. Half the lessons which it was once my business to hear from

students in the Training College erred in attempting to do too much, and in leaving no room, first for a few preparatory questions to ascertain what the children already knew on the subject, and to find what basis there was on which to build the lesson; and next for due recapitulation and for bringing the lesson to such a point, that it left a coherent and definite impression on the memory. And if this is true in secular teaching, it is still more true in moral and religious instruction. A lesson is a good one if it enforces and illustrates some single cardinal truth. It is a bad one if it attempts to enforce more facts or truths than can reasonably be held together in the mind, or than have unity or cohesion of their own. To an inexperienced teacher the easiest and most obvious way of communicating knowledge is to *preach*. But of all methods, this is the least effective to young children. Be sure once for all that preaching in a class is not teaching.

Questioning.

Again, it is one of the most familiar results of experience in good schools that the exercise of questioning is of little or no value, so long as the answers consist of single words only. It is very easy to supply by mere knack or by watching the suggestions of a teacher, a single word which he asks for, without knowing anything of the sentence of which that word forms a part. And questions which require no reply but 'yes' and 'no,' are not in fact questions at all.[1] The answer is purely mechanical; the tone in which you put the question shows what you expect, and when you have got it, you have got what is of little value. For acquiescence is not knowledge. It is not even belief. A good child will assent to any propositions you bring before him. But his mere assent means nothing, and is worth nothing.

[1] *Lectures on Teaching*, Chapter VI.

Hence the practice of the best American teachers, who always insist on receiving whole sentences for answers.

Verbal memory.

Another inference which may be usefully drawn from the experience of good secular teachers is that there is a great difference between good and bad methods of cultivating the verbal memory. Among those who are not familiar with the science of education, nothing seems a more obvious method of teaching than to tell the pupil to learn something out of a book and then come up to "say his lesson." Now of course memory is a faculty which needs to be cultivated; but there is a great deal of difference between remembering the substance of what is taught, and remembering one particular form of words, in which that substance is expressed. What we want most is that the truth, or the argument, or the fact which we value shall be understood, so that the pupil shall be led to think about it, and to make it his own, and to be helped to express it in his own words. Learning by heart a formula of words may easily become a substitute for thinking and not a help to it. The only formulary of words in the New Testament is a formulary of devotion, not of belief. There is no compendium of definite propositions, analogous to our Creed, set forth in Scripture by authority and required as a condition of membership in the Christian Church. We are therefore free to ask ourselves, in the light of experience, what is the share that mere memory lessons, the learning by heart of particular words, ought to take in Christian education? And I think the answer is clear.[1] When the object of the teacher is to explain a truth or doctrine, to picture out a scene or an event, or to enforce a moral lesson, he does well to present the lesson under several aspects, to illustrate it in different ways, and to ask to have it reproduced in the

[1] *Lectures on Teaching*, Chapter V. p. 138.

scholar's own language. But when a truth is expressed in the most concise and clear language of which it is capable, when the words are, so to speak, consecrated by long usage, and by great authority, or when there is beauty of form and expression, which makes it fall pleasantly on the ear, and linger lovingly in our after recollections, then the verbal memory may very wisely be appealed to. These conditions are fulfilled, for example, by many passages of Scripture; but in selecting these for repetition, we should choose only those which are short and which embody in them some one precept or idea, in the clearest and most telling form. So also good hymns and religious poetry have real value in the religious culture of the young. But in selecting verses for repetition, it is well to take only those which are really poetry; where the imagery is of a kind likely to appeal both to the understanding and to the taste; and where the author has not been anxious to pack as much theology as he can into his verse. It is the proper office of religious poetry to purify the religious emotions, to exalt and broaden the imagination, and to touch the heart. It is not the chief function of such poetry to teach doctrinal truth at all. Following our Lord's own precept, we do well to commit to memory forms of prayer, and for this purpose the practice in most Sunday Schools of learning by heart the Collect for each Sunday is worthy of universal adoption. For besides their conciseness and the devout aspiration after holiness which they embody, many of the collects in the Prayer Book are distinguished by singular grace of literary expression, which adds much to their beauty, and to their chance of being permanently fixed in the memory.

I am afraid that some of you will think me a heretic, when I repeat here what I have often said before, that I

Formularies.

attach small value to catechisms, as educational instruments. We never employ them in teaching any other subject than religion.[1] And the reasons are obvious. There are stereotyped questions and stereotyped answers, both in a fixed and unalterable form of words. They leave no room for the play of intelligence upon and around the subject, or for the suggestion and removal of difficulties. They stand between the giver and the receiver of knowledge and do not help either of them much. They rather keep them apart than bring them together. They furnish to all unskilful teachers an excuse for not taking the trouble to frame questions of their own. Moreover a printed question and its answer taken together form a statement, either of doctrine or of fact; but either the question or the answer by itself is only half of that statement. And we ask our children to learn the answer, without learning the question. Thus the passage committed to memory is incomplete and often unintelligible. Here again I would fain appeal to your own experience. We are all tempted to fall back on mechanical methods, on verbalism, and on set lessons. They are all so much easier than real exercises of thought. But, as a matter of fact, do you, or would you if you did not happen to be teachers, find that the fragmentary answers which you learned in the Catechism abide in your memory, and help you much in your religious life? On the other hand, what hymns, texts, and verses are they which have become, as years went on, substantial and permanent factors in the formation of your character, in solacing you in hours of weakness, in helping your devotions, and in inspiring your life? It is to this test that we ought oftener to bring our own theories as to what should and what should not be learned by heart in a Sunday School.

[1] *Ante*, p. 362.

Let us ask ourselves honestly the questions:—Was I aided much in the formation of my religious convictions, by being called upon in youth to stand up and affirm a number of theological propositions which I only imperfectly understood? When religious truths came home to my intelligence or my conscience as a child, did they come more effectively as abstract statements of truth, or in the form of concrete examples? When I look back on the work of my own religious instructors, do I find that I learned most from their formal lessons, or from the influence of their character and their sympathy, the near contact established between their mature and my immature intelligence, and the affectionate interest they showed in my spiritual welfare? The replies to these questions will be found most instructive to those who hope to succeed as Sunday School teachers.

Catechising in church.

The ancient and edifying practice of catechising publicly in the church on Sunday afternoons has fallen in many places into practical disuse. Yet the injunctions of the Church of England are unmistakeable. And you will observe that the rubric does not content itself with the *saying* of the Catechism, but desires the Curate "openly to *instruct* and *examine* the children in some parts of the Catechism." That is to say, he shall take the Catechism, and make it the basis of explanation and of such further questioning as may be necessary to make its meaning clear and effective. No series of good questions can ever be predetermined. There must be room for a reasonable amount of discursiveness, for 'give and take,' for dealing with unexpected difficulties, for letting the new question grow out of the preceding answer; and all this is clearly contemplated by the requirements of the Prayer Book, which would certainly not be satisfied by treating the Catechism as a memory

lesson only, and learning by heart printed answers to printed questions. Catechisms and formularies of faith are only valuable when used for the purpose of showing the points to be aimed at, and the fixed truths round which explanations and spontaneous questions may cluster. But they must not be regarded as self-contained and complete educational instruments.

We may suspect that the real reason why the rubric on this point is so generally disregarded by the clergy, is the undoubted difficulty of the task. To conduct such an exercise well requires exceptional skill, mental alacrity, fertility of illustration, promptitude in dealing with unexpected answers, and building new questions upon them, tact in seizing upon incidents in the public life of the nation, or in the narrower life of the school and the children's homes, in order to show the working out into practice of Christian principles. And thus it comes to pass that the exercise is a hard one for the man who conducts it. I suppose, though I have not tried, that it is rather harder than preaching a sermon. Yet it is one of the best instruments for Christian edification which the Church possesses. Let me frankly own to a wish that some of the zeal shewn by the younger clergy, in the multiplication of Eucharistic and other services for adults, could be diverted into this channel and made to tell on the younger members of their flock. No doubt this means more careful preparation and greater intellectual effort than is called for in ordinary clerical routine, but the effort is worth making and would be richly repaid. We must confess however that this effort is made less frequently than could be desired.

Work for the educated laity.

There is therefore all the more room for the educated laity to take a substantial share in this most necessary work. And to some of those whose piety, refinement,

and personal qualities will be of the highest service, the work will certainly prove no less attractive, because there is no visible honour nor profit to be gained from it, because there is no notoriety or distinction associated with it — nothing to give you assurance of success except the kindling eye and the glowing cheek of the little child who receives a new truth, or becomes conscious of a new power. For the results of the teaching are not tested by examiners, or made the subjects of official inspection or other public recognition. The work is done in a comparatively obscure and unnoticed region, in which personal influence is silently exercised and in which Christian endeavour is its own reward.

Children's services.

Children's services have been introduced very wisely and with excellent effect into many churches. The condition of their effectiveness are that they shall be short, shall enlist from the first the co-operation of the children in singing and in prayer; and that the addresses or short sermons shall be less directed to the exposition of theological truths than to the awakening of the slumbering conscience, to the elucidation of our Lord's life and teaching, to the poetry and the dramatic incidents of Bible story, and to the application of Christian truths to the conduct and daily life of the child. Above all a children's service should excite interest, and give to them bright and happy associations with the act of public worship.

Formation of the habit of attending public worship.

Here is one test by which the efficiency of our Sunday Schools may fairly be measured and from which our teachers ought not to shrink. Do the scholars in our Sunday Schools afterwards become attached to the Church which has instructed them; and when they are free, do they voluntarily attend her services? Unless they do, there is something defective in the methods we adopt, or in the influence we exert. Now let us be quite

candid with ourselves on this point. Considered as an instrument for attaching children to Christian churches and interesting them permanently in public worship, the Sunday School of the past has proved to be a failure. I once met a young workman in whom I had felt some interest, and asked him among other things whether he attended a place of worship on Sunday. "O Sir," he replied, "I have left school now." You see he associated the act of going to church with part of the school discipline. Perhaps he had been required to sit with others in a gallery, and look good, during a long service which was not well suited for him, and which he felt to be wearisome. At any rate, he had failed to acquire a liking for public worship, and to that extent his early school training had proved unavailing to fulfil one of its chief objects, to introduce him into the Christian Church, and to make him desire and value its privileges. What those privileges are and what they are worth, will become clearer to him, in proportion as public worship is made interesting and attractive, and is not enjoined by authority as a matter of obligation.

Theological teaching.

And with regard to that part of your own teaching which is specially religious or theological, it is well to keep ever in view the fact that you cannot hope to convey into the minds of young children convictions stronger than your own, or even as strong as your own. If there be Bible stories, about the historic truth or the ethical value of which you have any private misgivings, do not attempt to teach them. The plea often urged that children should be asked to believe more than adults believe; that it is good for them at first to accept the traditional orthodoxy, even though in after life when the critical faculty is duly awakened, their views will be corrected, is not one which will bear the test of practical experience,

nor indeed is it quite defensible from the point of view of Christian honesty. So if your own knowledge of science or history makes it difficult for you to accept literally the truth of any details of the Scripture narrative, or to see clearly its moral significance, it is wise to confine your lessons to those portions of the Bible about which you have no difficulties, and which you have felt to be of most value in the formation of your own spiritual life. The field thus open to you is still very wide. There are stories and parables, poetry and devotion, the narrative of a Saviour's life and teaching, the deeds of heroes, and the utterances of prophets. If we can teach these things well, and if we find that the teaching of them interests ourselves as well as the scholars, we may be well content to make such topics the staple of our religious instruction. But if we cannot teach doctrines *ex animo* and with the full consent both of our intelligence and of our hearts, it is better not to attempt to teach them. It is above all things necessary that we should observe perfect candour towards the children, and not ask their acceptance of statements of truth which we expect them to unlearn when they grow up. On this point let me commend to you the weighty words of a late American prelate: —

"There is a class of books and teachers — the ordinary Sunday School teacher is often of that sort — who, it seems to me, does very much, partly from timidity, partly from laziness, partly from sensationalism, to keep a certain unreality and insincerity in the religious teaching of the young. Everywhere but in religion — in history, in science — each new and truer view, as soon as it is once established, passes instantly into the school books of the land. Am I not right in saying that there are great convictions about Scripture and the Christian faith which are heartily accepted by the great mass of thinking Christian people now which are not being taught to the children of to-day? If that is so, as I fear it is, then this new

generation has got to fight over again the battle that our generation has fought, and fight it too less hopefully, because there will have been less of sincerity in its education. It is always a better and safer process to outgrow a doctrine that we have been sincerely taught, than to abandon one that had no real hold upon our teacher's mind. In the first case we keep much of the sincerity, even if we let the doctrine go. In the second case, when we let go the doctrine, there is nothing left. Is there not here the secret of much of the ineffective religious teaching of the young, of the way they cast our teaching off when they grow up? No! my dear friends, all of you anywhere who are called to teach, with larger faith in truth, with larger faith in God, with wise love for his children, I beg you to make truthfulness the first law of your teaching. Never tell a child that he must believe what you do not believe, nor teach him that he must go through any experience which you are not sure is necessary to his conversion and his Christian life."[1]

So if much of the current teaching in our Sunday Schools has failed to interest children, let us try to find something that will interest them. We must remember that they need to be humanized, softened, and inspired, as well as taught; and that whatever will effect this purpose is within the legitimate province of a Sunday School. We are safe in resolving to give to them of our best — the best of our reading, of our thinking, and of our experience in life — so long as it is fitted for their age and can be made to tell on their taste and character; whether it is set down in a scheme of formal lessons or not. And as to our very natural wish to make good Churchmen as well as good and intelligent Christians, I think the less prominently we set that before us as the end to be attained the better. Be sure that the indirect influence of your character and sympathy will do more to attract your scholars to the Christian community with which you are identified, than any amount of controversial

[1] Bishop Phillips Brooks of Massachusetts.

teaching consciously designed to combat heterodoxy or to strengthen particular denominational interests.

General conclusions.

The conclusions to which I have sought to lead this audience, among whom I know there are very many devoted teachers in Church Sunday Schools, may be thus briefly recapitulated:—

(1) That the general diffusion of elementary education has profoundly altered the character of the whole problem, and diminished the force of some of the arguments which led to the establishment of Sunday Schools a century ago.

(2) That in proportion to the increase of orderly and God-fearing homes among the people, and to advancing intelligence and sense of responsibility among parents, we might be well content to see the need for Sunday Schools gradually disappear.

(3) That meanwhile it should be the office of the Sunday School to act as a substitute—even though an imperfect one—for a Christian home, rather than as a supplement to the day school.

(4) That, since religious instruction must always be a part of the work of Sunday Schools, the methods of instruction in them should be revised and improved. In so far as they are schools, efforts should be directed to make them good schools, and to adopt the best known devices by which interest is excited and order secured by skilled teachers in good secular schools.

(5) That so long as distinctive religious instruction can be effectively given, it may rightly claim to form the staple of a Sunday School teacher's work. But that if it is not done well, and if the teacher has not the gift of inspiring children with a liking for it, he should not disdain to seek other means of stirring their consciences and attracting their sympathetic attention.

(6) For after all, a Sunday School is not only a place for formal religious teaching, but also a contrivance for exercising personal influence and of bringing the young into nearer relations with some one who lives habitually on a higher plane than their own, and who yet can without any show of condescension put himself or herself into the position of a friend and counsellor, interested not only in the school and the Church, but in the relation of both to the home, and to the conduct and future prospects of the scholar.

(7) Hence it is expedient that one portion of the Sunday afternoon's meeting should be employed in reading and conversation, not necessarily with a didactic purpose, but with a view to open the mind, and to form the love of reading, and to awaken an interest in intellectual pursuits. And in the selection of topics it is well that the teacher should not hamper himself with any formal rules, but should follow to some extent his own tastes and preferences. That which has enriched his own thoughts most, and in which he feels the strongest interest is probably that on which he can talk to his scholars most effectively, and in which he is most likely to kindle in them a responsive interest.

The Sunday School not only a place for religious instruction, but also a centre of civilization and social improvement.

There are among those who hear me, some who have serious misgivings lest in thus widening the area of Sunday School work, they should be departing from the purely religious purpose which has hitherto been understood to control that work. But such persons will do well to consider how very imperfectly even that purpose has hitherto been fulfilled, and how little it is likely to be fulfilled, so long as special religious edification or the promotion of Churchmanship is regarded as something apart from the general character and life of the child, and as constituting the sole business of the first day of the week. They will also recognize the truth that after

all, intellectual culture is closely akin to religion and is indeed part of it. When this is considered, it will be seen that the Sunday School of the future can occupy a place in our system of public education, which the public elementary school can never fill; because its teaching is less formal, more intimate, more inspiring, and can connect itself more closely with the personal character and daily life of the individual scholar.

Every institution which has the secret of true life in it, has in it possibilities of adapting itself to new conditions; and its right to survive depends largely on the degree in which these possibilities are understood and utilized. Here then is part of the task which lies before the Sunday School teachers of the next century. But it demands from them some freshness of mind, and some freedom from traditional ideals and methods, in order that the work may be well done. "The harvest truly is great but the labourers" — the skilled, earnest, and sympathetic labourers "are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he may send forth" more of such "labourers into his harvest."

LECTURE XIV

WOMEN AND UNIVERSITIES[1]

A notable feature in the reign of Queen Victoria. Opening of professions to women. Public employments. Higher education. Women's education not provided by ancient endowments. Defoe's protest. Recent reforms. Why so slowly effected. The Schools' Inquiry Commission. Ancient endowments made available to girls. The Universities' Local Examinations. Girls' Public Day Schools. Social effects of this movement. The University of London. Provincial Colleges of University rank. The older Universities. Girton and Newnham. Health of students. A Women's University. The true intellectual requirements of women. The unused resources of life.

A notable feature in the reign of Queen Victoria.

It is one of the most noteworthy facts in the annals of the beneficent and memorable reign of our present Queen that in it there has been an unprecedented development in the intellectual influence and public usefulness of women. There is peculiar appropriateness in the circumstance that the most renowned of female Sovereigns should have been able to witness this development and to associate it, in a very special sense, with the history of her long reign.

Professions for women.

There are several aspects under which this social revolution — for it is little short of a revolution — may be

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from the *Contemporary Review*.

viewed. Much has been done to open out new industrial careers which were heretofore closed to women. In the medical and literary professions, in engraving and decorative art, in clerkships in the Post Office and other departments of the public service, at the Royal Academy, as book-keepers, journalists, type- and shorthand-writers, secretaries, as skilled hospital nurses, and in other ways, women have of late been admitted to honourable and comparatively lucrative employment. Fifty years ago, almost the only resource open to a girl who was above the rank of domestic servant, and who desired to earn her own living, was the profession of teaching. That profession accordingly became overstocked with practitioners, many of whom had received no adequate preparation, and had evinced no aptitude for the work; but relied mainly on their manners, and their 'genteel' connexions to justify them in opening a 'ladies' seminary' and in soliciting the confidence of parents. Happily the ranks of the teacher's profession are being gradually cleared of these encumbrances, partly in consequence of the higher estimate which the public has at last learned to form of the necessary qualifications of a teacher, but mainly in consequence of the enlarged opportunities for interesting and appropriate employment which are now offered to women in other directions.

Incidentally this enlargement of the range of professional and industrial employment has had a valuable reflex effect on the social position as well as the self-respect and happiness of women themselves. When such employments were unattainable, or much restricted in number, women were sometimes tempted into undesirable marriages, merely in order to secure a home and maintenance. There is now less danger in this direction, and many women, though they have no desire for a life

of independence, are nevertheless enabled, now that they have access to the means of earning a livelihood, to pause before making the most momentous decision of their lives, and to enquire more carefully into the character and qualities of a suitor as well as his means and social position. Anything which makes it more difficult for an idle or vicious man to secure the hand of a good woman will have a useful influence on the standard both of morality and intelligence among men themselves.

Public employments.

The social and intellectual position of women has in the nineteenth century been greatly modified by the large share of public and quasi-public duties which they have been enabled to undertake. As trustees of endowed schools, as members of School Boards, as guardians of the poor, as pioneers and helpers in the organization of charity, ladies are now to be found in all parts of England rendering to the public priceless services which once would neither have been invoked nor appreciated, and which Fanny Burney or Jane Austen would have regarded as inappropriate, if not undignified.

It is not easy, however, to escape from the trammels of long-established tradition, even when reason and experience call clearly for change. In many institutions, a compromise has been adopted by which a small committee of ladies has been formed, to sit separately from the rest of the trustees and to make representations for the consideration of the real governing body composed of men only. Those representations are, however, often entirely ignored. A far better course is adopted when two or three women are elected to serve as members of the governing body itself, and are invested with the same full responsibility for the policy and working of the institution, as that shared by the other Governors. The careful restriction in the duties of one section of a body

of trustees to a particular department of its work, deprives the sectional members of all real responsibility not only for their own special work but also for the efficiency of the institution as a whole.

Means of advanced education.

But a third and most important change — that in fact which has served to make the other two to which I have referred possible — is to be seen in the increased attention paid to the education of girls and women, and in the enlarged facilities which have, of late, been open for placing superior educational advantages within their reach. From the time of Lady Jane Grey down to Mrs Somerville and Miss Anna Swanwick, numerous examples of erudite and accomplished women are to be found, brightening and variegating the history of learning in England. But the instances have been comparatively rare; and when they have occurred they have been traceable to the exceptional opportunities enjoyed, here and there in a scholarly home, or in a literary coterie, and not to any very general recognition of the need of a sound education for women. Mrs Malaprop, who did not wish a daughter of hers to be a "progeny of learning," and whose artless description of a gentlewoman's curriculum, while it excluded Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, and the "like inflammatory branches of learning" extended as far as to a "supercilious knowledge of accounts," to some "knowledge of the contagious countries," and above all to "orthodoxy," was not a bad representative of those who in the eighteenth century dominated the public opinion and set up the educational ideal in relation to girls. And this ideal, when attained, was sought by the help of domestic governesses, or in small sheltered boarding schools, exclusively composed of scholars of one social class, and not by means of any provision of a larger and freer kind, corresponding in character to that provided for boys and men.

Women's education not provided by ancient endowments in England.

Indeed, it cannot be safely said that an advanced or academic education for women was ever recognized as a legitimate object of any of our ancient scholastic foundations. There is no reason to suppose that at any time the English Universities were attended by women. Dim traditions of female professors and pupils exist in connection with the Universities of Bologna and Padua, and in one or two of the Spanish Universities, but nothing analogous to these traditions is to be found in the records of Oxford and Cambridge. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as has been shewn, witnessed the foundation in England of most of the great Grammar Schools.[1] The revival of learning and the dissolution of the ancient monasteries occurred almost simultaneously, the first served to create a new desire for classical education, and the second to provide the means for endowing it. But whether the great endowed schools were enriched by the spoils of older foundations, or provided by private munificence, their design in almost every case was to give to boys such instruction in Latin and Greek as would enable them to proceed to the Universities. The classical culture which was so generously provided by the first founders of the old Grammar Schools was offered to boys only. Their sisters were to have no share in it. They were not meant to proceed to a University, or to enter the learned professions or any public employment.[2] Accordingly they were not to be encouraged to pursue the studies which were characteristic of a liberal education. They might, if their parents chose, obtain instruction privately at home; but of public provision, either in endowed schools or ecclesiastical foundations, there was none. In the long list of charitable endowments for the purpose of secondary education we can scarcely find

[1] *Ante*, p. 192.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 241.

one which deliberately contemplated the admission of girls to the foundation, or which recognized any claim on their part to the letters and good learning so bountifully provided for their brothers.

Some of the most valuable of these endowments owe their origin to the munificence of women. The bequest of Lady Betty Hastings, for instance, which provided a system of exhibitions for the encouragement in learning of the scholars in twelve of the northern schools, and which provided a singularly elastic and skilfully devised scheme of competitive examination, was carefully restricted to the boys of the three counties of Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. It never occurred to this wise and generous lady that children of her own sex might possibly be glad to avail themselves of a superior education, and be able to make a good use of it. But, on the other hand, the Charity Schools were from the first open to boys and girls alike. Girls might be wanted as domestic servants, and they were therefore permitted to learn the horn-book and the Catechism, to be dressed in the picturesque livery of the Charitable Grinders, and to sing hymns in the gallery at church. In so far as the education provided was that suited to domestics, and to the humbler offices of life, the daughters of the labouring class were permitted to share it. But nothing higher or more ambitious seems to have been ever contemplated by the founders of educational endowments.

Defoe's protest.

Nor can I find that this anomaly touched the conscience of any part of the community, or attracted any public remonstrance, or even attention. One solitary voice — that of Daniel Defoe — was raised in 1697 in his pamphlet on the Education of Women.

"I have often thought it one of the most barbarous customs in the world," he says, "considering us a civilized and a Christian

country that we deny the advantages of learning to women. Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew and to make baubles. They are taught to read, indeed, and perhaps to write their names or so, and that is the height of women's education. And I would but ask any who slight the sex for their understanding, what is a man good for that is taught no more ?"

He goes on to speak strongly of the natural capacity of women, and of the rich return which would be reaped for any pains taken with their mental cultivation.

"They should be taught," he says, "all sorts of breeding suitable to their age and quality." Especially he recommends the teaching of history, and wishes girls "so to read as to make them understand the world 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."

It need not be added that Defoe spoke to deaf ears, and that at least a century and a half had to elapse before his views met with any general acceptance or legislative recognition.

Recent reforms.

Thus when in 1867 the Schools Inquiry Commission made its elaborate investigation into the condition of Secondary Education in England ; and, in particular, into the history and condition of educational endowments, that body was fain to report that while in many of the later endowed schools which offered to the children of the labouring poor an education supposed to be suited to their condition[1] scholars of both sexes were to be found, there was hardly a single endowed school in England which had been deliberately designed to offer even the rudiments of a liberal education to the sisters of the boys in Grammar Schools. As a fact no case could

[1] *Ante*, p. 192.

be cited in which at the time of the inquiry an endowed foundation was actually affording to girls an education of a character higher than elementary. Christ's Hospital, the richest educational charity in the country, was indeed reported as one on which girls had an ancient and undoubted claim; but the share of revenue allotted to them had been in the opinion of the Commissioners, "unfairly reduced to a minimum." This is, to say the least, a very temperate and guarded inference from the simple fact that whereas there were then on the foundation 1,192 boys, of whom many were provided with an education adapted to prepare them for the Universities, there were eighteen girls at the Hertford establishment, all of whom were receiving the training and education suited to domestic servants.

Why so slowly effected.

The truth is that so long as the founders of schools regarded it as the main purpose of education to prepare its possessor for a business or profession, it was not unreasonable that provision should be made for boys only. Girls were excluded from the opportunities of higher education, not by any conscious act of injustice, but simply *per incuriam*, and because during many ages the need of advanced education was not present to the minds of English parents or the public. And if this great inequality is now to be redressed, recourse must not be had to the pious founder: he at least will do nothing to help us. We must rely on other and more modern considerations and experience.[1] That human beings, whether men or women, come into the world not only to get a living but to live; that the life they live depends largely on what they know and care about, upon the breadth of their intellectual sympathy, upon their love of truth, upon their power of influencing and inspiring other minds; and that for these reasons mental culture stands

[1] *Ante*, p. 241.

in just as close relation to the needs of a woman's career in the world as to that of a man—all these are propositions which, if not self-evident, are at least seen in a clearer light by the people of our generation than by their predecessors; and it is on those who have arrived at such conclusions that there lies the responsibility of giving effect to them.

The Schools Inquiry Commission.

The Schools Inquiry Commission was the first public body boldly to give expression to these and the like beliefs. "We consider," says the Report, "that in any enactment or constitution that may be brought into operation on this question, the principle of the full participation of girls in endowments should be broadly laid down." And they proceed to recommend in detail many plans for placing the means of a generous and scholarly education within the reach of girls.

Those who would understand the nature of the provision which existed a quarter of a century ago for the education of women, and would measure the remarkable progress which has since been made, would do well to unearth the volume containing the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, published in 1868, and to read in it the clear and striking chapter on girls' schools, contributed to the Report by the late Lord Lyttelton. That report, with its melancholy record of waste and negligence, of the paralysis with which many ancient foundations had been smitten, and of the inadequate and ill-organized provision which existed for intermediate and higher education in England, produced a profound impression on the public; and when in 1869 it became the duty of Mr Forster, as Vice-President of the Council, to introduce the Endowed Schools Act, he found no difficulty in persuading Parliament to assent to the introduction into that statute of the well-known twelfth

section. "In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made, as far as conveniently may be, for extending to girls the benefits of endowments."

Ancient endowments made available for girls.

The Commissioners to whom the administration of the Act has been entrusted have sought with considerable success, though not with so great success as had been generally anticipated, to give effect to this enactment. Local difficulties have, in many cases, proved formidable; the number of scholastic foundations whose resources admitted of division without seriously impairing their usefulness was not found to be large; but the lists presented by the Commissioners from year to year and in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Endowed Schools Act, shew that substantial work has been done. In London and its neighbourhood alone twenty-five endowed foundations have become available for girls' schools in which higher than elementary instruction is provided; and the last Report shews that upwards of a hundred such schools have been established by means of the funds derived from old grammar-school endowments in different parts of the country. The report shews also that in many cases a liberal apportionment of the total revenue of many rich foundations has been made for this purpose. At Bedford, Birmingham, Exeter, Bristol, and Bradford, secondary and higher schools have been founded. Schemes for the greater foundations, such as Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's, have all included in their scope, provision, either present or prospective, for the education of girls. And in many places in which the resources were insufficient for the actual establishment of new schools, the funds set aside for scholarships and exhibitions have been so distributed as to give substantial advantages in fair proportion to scholars of both sexes.

The Universities' Local Examinations.

Concurrently with these reforms, all of which required legal sanction, other movements on the part of public or quasi-public bodies have tended in the same direction. In 1863, a voluntary committee was formed, with a view to secure for girls' schools a share in the advantages which the then new system of Local Examinations was proposing to confer on secondary schools for boys. The University of Cambridge proceeded cautiously and tentatively, and at first simply gave to this committee permission to conduct a trial examination of the pupils in girls' schools with the same papers which had been used for boys. Two years afterwards, the success of this experiment was sufficiently assured to justify the authorities of the University in opening its Junior and Senior local examinations on equal terms to scholars of both sexes. Oxford soon followed, and during twenty-five years the number of school-girls who have presented themselves at the examinations has steadily increased. Since the year 1870, in which the Oxford Local Examinations were first thrown open to girls, the results have continued to justify the experiment, and in 1899 there were 1,293 Senior candidates, of whom 867 passed and 1,885 Juniors, of whom 1,386 passed. The total number of girls within the twenty years has been 34,735, of whom 24,756 have satisfied the examiners. At Cambridge still larger results are recorded, the number during the same period having been 29,078 Seniors and 44,708 Junior candidates, the proportion of those who succeeded in the examination varying from 70 to 80 per cent.

But the influence of this action of the two Universities on secondary education cannot be accurately measured by the mere enumeration of statistics shewing how many hundred pupils annually satisfy the examiners and obtain distinction. The local examinations have set before

the conductors of girls' schools a higher standard of work than that which was recognized before. They have helped pupils to that most valuable of all knowledge — self-knowledge, and a truer estimate of their own standing and acquirements. Above all they have had a beneficent influence on parents, many of whom were slow to recognize the value of a truly liberal education for their daughters. Swift's cynical remark, "the reason why so many marriages are unhappy is because young ladies spend their time in making nets, not in making cages," has not even yet wholly lost its significance.

Girls' Public Day Schools.

The establishment of the Girls' Public Day School Company in 1874, mainly through the energetic efforts of Mrs William Grey, her sister Miss Shirreff, and Miss Mary Gurney, has perhaps had a larger influence on the improvement of feminine education than any single measure. The lines of its action had been traced and much of the pioneer work had been done by the skilful and successful exertions of Miss Beale of Cheltenham and the late Miss Buss of the North London Collegiate School. Following the precedents thus set, the Company has familiarized parents with institutions of a comparatively new type, each under the administration of a responsible governing body, whose duty it is to select skilled teachers, and to remove any who are found to be inefficient. These schools are large enough to admit of proper classification, and as their educational aim has always been high and generous, they have attained remarkable success. The Company has now 34 flourishing schools of its own, with upwards of 7,000 pupils. These figures, however, do not represent the whole or nearly the whole of the work which it has done. For in numerous places independent bodies of local governors have been formed for the establishment of girls' high schools of the same character, though not actually incorporated with the

Company; and at present there is hardly an important town in England which has not its Public Day School for Girls. The whole enterprise has greatly helped to raise the standard of instruction, to encourage the due training and preparation of highly qualified teachers, and to remove from girls' education the reproach which the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867 declared to be well founded: "Want of thoroughness and foundation, want of system, slovenliness, and showy superficiality, inattention to rudiments, undue time given to accomplishments, and those not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner, and a complete absence of proper organization."

Social effects of this movement.

Incidentally, too, the establishment of the public day schools has been attended by beneficent social consequences. Until these schools were founded, girls whose parents could not afford to employ private governesses were generally sent to schools which were conducted on a small scale, and which called themselves "educational homes," although, to say the truth, places of instruction conducted by strangers are very little like any home from which a pupil could come, or which she is likely ever to enter. The average British matron is keenly sensitive on the subject of caste and social position. She objects strongly to any association of her girls with those belonging to a lower stratum of society, although she has no objection to secure for them a place in a school frequented by scholars of higher rank than her own. Hence the typical school thirty or forty years ago was an exclusive "seminary" with about twenty girls, all drawn from the same social class, and presided over by a gentlewoman, who, whether intellectually qualified or not, might be safely relied on for attention to all the *convenances* and proprieties of life. The teaching in such schools was either narrow and uninspiring, or if skilled teachers were

employed was exceedingly costly. Now, the wisest parents are beginning to discover that, if they exercise reasonable care about the associations their daughters form out of school, there is no harm, but much good, to be found in the freer life, the varied intellectual interests, the larger numbers and the better classification of a good day school. In this way much foolish prejudice has been removed; children in different ranks have learned to respect one another, and to help one another; and the sentiment of republican equality, the discipline of a community in which the only recognizable distinctions are those founded on differences of character, knowledge, and ability, has been found to play as useful a part in the education of girls as in that of their brothers in a great public school.

The University of London.

In close connexion with this movement, the steps taken by the University of London may deserve some record here. In 1866, the Senate resolved to establish some special examinations for women; and accordingly courses of instruction were framed, and special regulations adopted for the examination of women in those subjects which, at that period of our educational history, were assumed to be peculiarly appropriate to the sex. Modern languages, history, literature, and certain branches of science were made prominent in the curriculum in obedience to a supposed demand. But it soon became evident that this was not what the best schoolmistresses or their pupils wanted. With unexpected perversity, the women who presented themselves for examination were found to be seeking distinction in the ordinary subjects of a liberal education in classics, logic, mathematics, and physical science, and not in those alternative subjects which had been offered to them as specially feminine. The women's certificates were but little valued by the

public, or coveted by the students, because, rightly or wrongly, they were supposed to be awarded on more lenient terms than the distinctions accessible to men. Experience led to the belief that the true solution of the problem could only be found by the simple expedient of throwing open all the examinations, degrees, honours, and prizes of the University to women on precisely the same conditions as to men; and in 1878, the Senate, with the concurrence of Convocation, obtained a charter from the Crown, enabling persons of both sexes, who fulfilled the necessary requirements, to graduate in all the Faculties.

In June 1879, at the first Matriculation opened to women, 68 entered and 51 passed, of whom eleven were placed in the Honours Division. It should be remembered that the average age of the women was rather higher than that of the men, and that at first only a few women, who had either unusual ambition or had enjoyed exceptional advantages, were tempted to become candidates for University Examinations. Thus the proportion of successful women at the next Matriculation was 68·4 per cent., but as time has gone on the percentage of passes has continuously approached that of the men. If the results up to 1898 be taken, we find there have been 59,275 entries of male candidates, of whom 31,589 have passed, and 9,599 entries of female candidates, of whom 5,185 passed, *i.e.* 53·2 per cent. and 54 per cent. respectively, giving a small difference in favour of women candidates.

During the first twenty years in which degrees have thus become accessible, women have become candidates for every degree the University has to offer except one—the Doctorate of Laws; and every degree to which they have aspired — again except one, the Doctorate of Music — has been obtained by some woman; 5,185 have passed

the Matriculation Examination, 1,383 the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 861 have proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 63 to the higher degree of M.A. In the Science Faculty, 266 have passed the Intermediate Examination, and 145 have obtained the degree of B.Sc. and 9 that of Doctor of Science. In addition to these 120 women have passed the Intermediate Examination in Medicine, 74 have become Bachelors of Medicine, 23 Bachelors of Surgery, and 21 have won the full degree of M.D. Bedford College, London, is now recognized as a constituent college of the newly organized University of London. It receives an annual subsidy of £1,200 from the Government. It numbers 180 female students, and has achieved very remarkable success in examinations.

Provincial Colleges of University rank.

This example has been followed by many other academic bodies more recently constituted. The Durham University, with which the great College of Science in Newcastle is connected, has made special provision for the admission of women to its degrees; the University of Wales, and the Victoria University which unites into one federation the flourishing University Colleges at Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, have also adopted the same liberal provisions; and the proposed new Midland University, of which Birmingham will be the home, and with which the Colleges at Nottingham and others will probably be incorporated, also proposes to open its degrees freely and on equal terms to candidates of both sexes. The great provincial colleges which have of late sprung up in the principal industrial towns, and are distinctly of a University type, have not yet all received Charters of incorporation empowering them to confer degrees; but all of them are likely to be federated with some local University ere long, and meanwhile women are fully

eligible for admission both to the college classes, and to such distinctions as the authorities are able to give.

The older Universities.

But the most remarkable, and in some respects the most effective encouragement which has been given to the cause of women's academic education, is that which has been afforded in the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The authorities of a modern institution like the University of London deserve no special honour for adapting their requirements to modern wants, because they had, in fact, little or no difficulty to surmount. The functions of that institution have been long limited to the framing of schemes of study, and to the examination of students. No conditions of residence, no ancient usages or statutes, existed to obstruct the great reform of 1878, or to hinder the admission of women to full membership of the University, and to the enjoyment of all the scholarships, prizes, and distinctions it had to bestow. But Oxford and Cambridge have behind them the traditions of many centuries. They have been enriched by benefactions at various periods, and have been controlled by Royal Charters and by the terms of founders' deeds. These facts ought to be borne in mind, whether, on the one hand, we may feel disposed to complain of the hesitating and partial measures yet adopted by the older Universities in their corporate capacity, or whether we gratefully recognize, as we have good reason to do, the generous aid and sympathy which leading members of both Universities, and especially of Cambridge, have personally extended from the first to the whole movement.

Girton and Newnham Colleges.

In 1869 the first attempt was made to establish in England a College of University rank for women. A house was taken at Hitchin, so as to be reasonably accessible to tutors both from London and Cambridge, and it was adapted for the reception of six students. In 1869

the College was removed to a new building erected for the purpose at Girton, near Cambridge. Little by little the premises have been enlarged, and the numbers have increased, so that there are now upwards of 100 students. Large and costly additions to the College buildings are now in progress; and there will shortly be ample room for 200 resident students.

Newnham College under its first Principal Miss A. J. Clough began in 1871, when a house was taken for the accommodation of students attending those lectures which were open to women in Cambridge. It expanded rapidly, one hall being opened in 1875, a second called Sidgwick Hall in 1879, and a third called Clough Hall in 1888. The total number of residents in these three halls is now 167; and the list of those who have studied at Newnham, many of whom have proceeded to the Tripos Examination, includes twelve hundred names.

It is, of course, to be noted that these Colleges are not the product of any action on the part of the Universities, but owe their existence to the vigorous initiative of Miss Emily Davies, Miss Clough, Lady Stanley of Alderley, and others, with the help of some resident members of the University. From the first the friends and promoters of the colleges sought recognition by the University, and admission to the degree examinations. But during the early years it was only by a friendly and informal arrangement that the female students were permitted to take the same papers which were set to ordinary candidates, the results being communicated privately to the governing body of the College. Memorials were presented to the Senate praying that the privilege thus granted by way of exceptional favour might be formally recognized under the express sanction of the University, and in 1880 a Syndicate was formed to

report on the whole subject. It was in accordance with the report of that Syndicate that the present regulations of the University respecting women received the final approval of the Senate in February 1881.

Cambridge University regulations.

These regulations concede to the students of Girton and Newnham, and of any similar institution which may hereafter be recognized by grace of the Senate, several substantial privileges. They admit women who may have satisfied the ordinary conditions respecting length of residence and standing which members of the University are required to fulfil, to the Previous Examination or "Little Go," and to the Tripos Examinations, and they provide, for the female students who pass, a published list under the authority of the University, shewing the place in order of standing and merit which such students would have occupied if they had been men. But they do not permit the University actually to confer upon women the time-honoured degree of B.A. or M.A., and they do not admit them to the standing of Members of the University, and so to a share in its government. These privileges could not be granted by a grace of the Senate, nor without obtaining new powers from the Crown. And at present, notwithstanding the good will of a large body of the resident members, the grant of such new powers has not been sought by the University.

Oxford.

The University of Oxford has followed the example of Cambridge somewhat tardily and tentatively but with valuable and encouraging results. Three Colleges for female students have been established — Somerville College, Lady Margaret Hall in 1879, and St. Hugh's Hall in 1886. The University instituted special examinations for women in 1875; and having passed through similar experience to that already described[1] in London,

[1] *Ante*, p. 407.

determined by a new Statute in 1884 to open to women the ordinary examination of the University, for Moderations (Classics and Mathematics), Natural Science, and Modern History. From that time the Special Examinations for women except for English and Modern Languages were abolished and the students were examined in the same papers as those set to undergraduates. In 1886 women were admitted to Responsions; in 1888 to the Honour School of *Literæ Humaniores;* in 1840 to the Honour School of Jurisprudence and the final Examination for Bachelor of Music; in 1893 to the Honour Schools of Theology and Oriental Studies, and in 1894 to the remaining examinations for the degree of B.A.

On the successes which women have obtained and of the use they have made of the privileges accorded to them by the Universities, it would be superfluous to dwell. Every year since 1881 has witnessed an increased number of women attaining distinction in the examinations. Girton alone has received 725 residential students, of whom 468 have obtained Honours according to the Cambridge University standard, 188 having obtained Honours in the Classical Tripos, 127 in Mathematics, and the rest in History, Natural Science, or Mediæval and Modern Languages. In the single year 1899, Newnham sent up 65 students, of whom 12 obtained First Class, 29 Second Class, and 20 Third Class Honours. At Oxford, ten women have already passed in the First Class at Moderations and 36 in the Second Class: while at the Final Honour School 56 have passed in the First Class and 119 in the Second.

The opponents of the proposal to admit women to degrees often aver that women ought to be content with the honorary recognition which the University has

conceded; and that it is unreasonable for them to expect any share in University revenues or emoluments, since the testators and donors who have enriched the University from time to time deliberately designed their gifts for the purpose of helping the education of men, and never contemplated any division of the funds between men and women. But to this it may be replied, that neither did these benefactors contemplate the recognition by the University of women's colleges, or of feminine wranglers. The steps already taken by the University constitute as complete a departure both from the letter and the spirit of ancient deeds and ordinances as would be effected by a readjustment of University revenues. Moreover, the twelfth section of the Endowed Schools Act, to which reference has already been made here, constitutes an important precedent; for it expresses clearly the will of the Legislature in reference to the future appropriation of some share of educational revenues, whatever was their original intention, to the instruction of girls. Those who have the greatest reverence for the "pious founder" will be the last to doubt that if he were as wise and benevolent as we like to consider him, he would probably, had he lived in our time, have shown as enlightened a regard to the wants and special circumstances of our age, as he exercised in reference to the educational requirements of his own. In his absence we are entitled to conjecture that he would not have disapproved, but would probably have welcomed, any modification in the conditions of his gift which would have adapted it more completely to the changed circumstances and new intellectual interests of the present generation.

Health of the students.

Many anxious misgivings were at first entertained even by those who had the strongest interest in the

academic education of women, in regard to its possible effect on the health and physical vigour of the students. It was feared that the opening of new facilities for study and intellectual improvement would result in the creation of a new race of puny, sedentary, and unfeminine students, would destroy the grace and charm of social life, and would disqualify women for their true vocation, the nurture of the coming race, and the governance of well-ordered, healthy, and happy homes. All these predictions have been emphatically falsified by experience. The really fatal enemy to health among young women is the aimless, idle, frivolous life into which, for want of better employment, they are so often tempted to drift. Intellectual pursuits, when duly co-ordinated with other forms of activity, are attested by all the best medical authorities to be eminently conducive to health. Such records as exist in regard to the strength and general capacity of the students, to their marriages, and to the usefulness of their subsequent careers, are curiously contradictory of the dismal anticipations which were at first expressed on this subject. The period over which statistical *data* on this point extend is at present short; and it would be premature to dogmatize confidently on the subject. But those who would learn what experience, so far as it has gone, has to teach us, would do well to consult the weighty testimony collected by the late Mrs Emily Pfeiffer from medical and educational authorities in her interesting volume entitled, "Women and Work," or the still more striking facts and figures which have been collated by Mrs Henry Sidgwick, in her pamphlet, entitled, "Health Statistics of Women Students of Cambridge and Oxford, and of their sisters." It will be plain to all who will study this evidence, that there is no antagonism between serious study and a healthy and

joyous life ; and that the widening of women's intellectual interests is more likely to add to the charm and grace and happiness of the home than to diminish it.

A Women's University.

It has been publicly urged by some persons of influence that the desire of women for academic privileges would best be satisfied by the creation of a separate Women's University with which the various Colleges for women might be federated. But this would be a very unsatisfactory solution of the problem, and would certainly prove to be unwelcome to women themselves. Degrees conferred by a feminine University upon women only, would be universally regarded as inferior in value to others. In so far as the standard of attainment was concerned, it would be difficult to persuade the public that there was no exceptional leniency and lowering of the standard to meet the students' needs. And in so far as the degrees depended on a different curriculum or a specially devised selection of subjects, the system would be based on a wholly unverified hypothesis.

For one truth has been brought into clear light by the history of educational development in England during the last thirty years. It is that in our present state of knowledge and experience all attempts to differentiate the studies and the intellectual careers of men and women are premature and probably futile. Education is essentially an inductive science, a science of experiment and observation. *A priori* theories are as much out of place here as in chemistry or astronomy. What knowledge will prove of most worth to women, what they will value most, what they will best be able to turn to account, and what is best suited to their own intellectual and spiritual needs, we do not know, and cannot yet safely judge. Neither the philosophers nor the practical teachers have yet been able to formulate a

coherent scheme of doctrine on these points. The tentative and empirical efforts of those who have tried their hands at framing a course of study exclusively adapted to women have all proved failures. As we have seen, the special women's examination of the University of London was not greatly valued, and was soon abandoned. The University of St Andrews, which has invented a special distinction — that of LL.A., for female candidates only — would have proved more generally useful, and certainly more attractive, if it had simply offered to candidates of both sexes examinations of the same academic value and under the same conditions.

The true intellectual requirements of women.

It would of course be rash to affirm that there are no differences in the moral and mental endowment of men and women which ought to exercise an influence on our methods of education. In some future age, it may become possible to map out the whole field of human knowledge, and to say what part of it should be cultivated by one sex, and what part by the other. But at present the materials for a decision do not exist, and any assumption that we are in a position to decide will serve only to make the future solution of the problem in a wise and satisfactory way more difficult. Meanwhile, women have a right to say to all in authority — "Make your own schemes of instruction and your tests of scholarship for men as perfect as you can. Devise as many new and effective forms of mental discipline, and courses of instruction, as you think can be wisely offered to men of various aptitudes and careers; and then permit us, if we fulfil the same preliminary conditions, to exercise the same choice, and to avail ourselves of just so much of your system as we feel will be helpful to us. We do not want your ideal of a liberal education to be lowered or modified to suit us. But we want to know how far our

own aims and achievements correspond to that ideal, and we ask leave to be measured by the recognized tests."

Men will be helped in giving a wise and generous response to this appeal in just the proportion in which they view it in the light of their own personal history and experience. If a man who is destined, for example, to the Law or the Church were to take up some subject, such as Botany or Chemistry, were to write a treatise on Grimm's law, or on the Fourth dimension, and if any public authority were to interpose with a reminder that such studies had no relation to the proper business of his life, and ought therefore not to be undertaken, he would regard such interference as impertinent. He would claim to be the best judge of his own interests. In like manner we are not entitled to affirm respecting any one department of intellectual effort that it is unsuited to the nature or to the probable destiny of a woman. There is no kind of knowledge, if honestly acquired, which may not be found available in unexpected ways, for the enrichment and the adornment of life, whether the life be that of a man or of a woman. And even though the knowledge or power which are the product of a liberal education may seem to have no bearing at all upon the special career or definite duties of a woman, yet if it be felt by its possessor to make life more full, more varied, and more interesting and better worth living, no other justification is needed for placing the largest opportunities within her reach. She has a right to exercise a free choice, and to solve the problem for herself. Neither the professional duty of a man nor the domestic duty of a woman occupies the whole of life. Beyond it lies a wide region of activity, of honourable ambition, and of possible usefulness. There is leisure to be filled, thought and

taste to be nurtured, influence to be exerted, and good to be done. And it is the business of man and woman alike to recognize the claims of this larger life, and to become qualified to make a right use of such occasions as fortune may offer for meeting those claims.

The unused resources of life.

There is no more familiar fact in human experience, nor one which suggests more pathetic reflection, than the large store of unused capacity in the world. Hundreds of men and thousands of women carry with them down to their graves great gifts which are well nigh wasted, noble aspirations which are unrealized, powers of usefulness which are unsuspected by the world and hardly known to their possessors, simply because the right means for development and encouragement have not been supplied, and because opportunity has been wanting. It cannot be doubted that in the intelligence of many women, in their desire for truth, in their high aims, and in their power to render service to the world in which they live, there is a great store of wealth, which has never been adequately recognized or turned to profitable account. The world is made poorer by every restriction — whether imposed by authority, or only conventionally prescribed by our social usages — which hampers the free choice of women in relation to their careers, their studies, or their aims in life. It is probable that in many ways yet undiscovered — in certain departments of art, of scientific research, of literature, and of philanthropic work — the contributions of women to the resources of the world will prove to be of increasing value to mankind. And it may also be that experience will prove certain forms of mental activity to be unsuitable. Nature, we may be sure, may be safely trusted to take care of her own laws. The special duties which she has assigned to one half of the human race will always

be paramount; but of the duties which are common to the whole human race, we do not know, and cannot yet know, how large a share women may be able to undertake. It is probably larger than the wisest of our contemporaries anticipate. If there be natural disabilities there is all the less reason for imposing artificial disabilities. Hitherto every step which has been taken in opening out new forms of active work and increased influence to women has been a clear gain to society, and has added much to the happiness of women themselves. It is, therefore, not merely the chivalry nor even the sense of justice but also the enlightened self-interest of man, that are concerned in the solution of this problem. It is not his duty to urge women in the direction of employments they feel to be uncongenial to them. But it is his duty to remove as far as possible all impediments and disqualifications which yet remain in restraint of their own discretion, to leave the choice of careers as open to them as it is to himself, and to wait and see what comes of it. Nothing but good can come of it.

LECTURE XV

THE FRENCH LEAVING CERTIFICATE[1]

Certificat d'Études Primaires

The French law authorizing the award of leaving certificates. Its influence on the attendance of scholars. Constitution of the local Commission. The standard of examination. *Les Écoles primaires supérieures.* The examinations not competitive. Statistics. Practical results. The English Problem. Our Standards. Individual examination. Its uses and defects. Certificates for special subjects. Labour certificates. The Scotch certificate of merit. The ideal primary school course. Optional subjects. Oral examination. The relation between school and home.

The law authorizing the award of certificates.

By the Law of March 28, 1882, the Minister of Public Instruction in France was empowered and directed to provide, both in the capital and in the provinces, for the award of certificates to scholars at the end of the primary school course. The purpose of this measure was partly to attest that the holder had received a fair elementary education, and partly to facilitate his entrance into the ranks of labour.

This law has now been in operation for sixteen years, and has proved to be highly successful. Its influence on the social and industrial condition of the people, on the schools, the teachers, and the parents, has been so

[1] Reprinted with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, from the Special Reports on Educational Subjects issued by the Education Department, 1897.

marked that it well deserves the serious attention of English teachers and public authorities, and of all others interested in the expansion and improvement of our own school system.

Former report on the subject.

In a Parliamentary paper which I was instructed to prepare in 1891, I gave the following account of the working of the plan up to that date:—

"The most potent instrument in maintaining a high standard of school attendance in France is probably the *certificat d'études* or leaving certificate, for it applies not merely to the picked scholars who prolong their education in the higher grade schools but to the rank and file of French children. Any boy or girl, however or wherever educated, can, after the age of eleven, be presented to the local authority, and can claim, after passing a successful examination in elementary subjects, a certificate which will exempt him from the legal obligation to attend school and qualify him to obtain employment. The plan came into use as early as 1836, but was not legalized until the statute of 1882, which provided in every part of France for the establishment of a local tribunal or 'jury' empowered to examine candidates and to grant certificates. In that year the number of boys presented was 80,301, of whom 53,156 passed, the number of girls being 54,138, of whom 47,077 passed. During the last decade the numbers have steadily increased, and in 1889 123,598 boys and 97,012 girls were examined, of whom 90,663 boys and 74,458 girls passed, making a total of 165,211 children between the ages of 11 and 16, who in a single year satisfied the requirements of the examiners and received certificates. A similar leaving examination has been devised for the end of the course in the higher grade schools, and in 1889 there were

2,550 candidates (1,652 boys and 898 girls) presented at these examinations, of whom 1,491 (960 boys and 531 girls) were successful. In Paris alone in 1888 the total number of candidates for the advanced leaving certificate was 5,873 boys and 4,427 girls, 81 per cent. of the former and 78.3 of the latter having succeeded in the examination. It is to be observed that the proportion of successful scholars from the private or unaided schools is not less favourable than that of pupils from the public schools.

"The local jury or board empowered by law to issue these leaving certificates is variously composed of official and representative personages; but in every case much of the practical business of examination is done by the Government inspector, aided by the head teachers of the district, provision being made in every case that no teacher shall examine his own pupils. The law does not permit any child under 15 to work in a factory or workshop more than six hours a day, unless he or she has obtained the certificate. In Paris the examination extends to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of geography, history, and natural science, and a composition on some familiar subject, especially the rights and duties of citizens — a branch of instruction much insisted on in French schools. A scholar of 13 or 14 unprovided with his *certificat d'études* has no chance of admission to a higher grade or technical school, and year by year such a scholar finds himself at a greater disadvantage when he presents himself in the industrial market. Employers everywhere seem to value the certificate, and the number of such employers who regard its possession as a condition to be fulfilled by applicants increases every year. It is hardly necessary to say that in public companies, in most large business establishments, and in all branches of the public service, the certificate is indispensable.

M. Gréard speaks strongly of its moral effect: 'C'est le bénéfice des examens du certificat d'études qui tiennent les esprits en haleine et concourent ainsi à développer les habitudes de persévérance et de ponctualité dans le travail.'

"There can be little doubt that the leaving certificate system and the state of public opinion which sustains it, combine to exercise a strong influence on the regular attendance of the children. A scholar who is irregular has little chance of succeeding at the examination at all, and has certainly no chance of obtaining it so early as 11 or 12, and so of acquiring the right to go to work before he is 13. And since the scholars of the private and confessional schools are all alike eligible for the examination and have the same motives for attending it, the indirect effect of the law of 1882 is to improve the character of the instruction in those schools, and to secure a high average of 'frequentation' in them, although they are not directly subject to any State control. The one criticism which I have heard most frequently in France on the working of the system is that the local authorities often grant the certificate on rather too easy terms, especially where the demand for juvenile labour on farms is active. But the standard of proficiency is said to be improving." [1]

Further inquiries and experience have since confirmed the hopeful forecast which was thus expressed, and justify a fuller explanation of some administrative and other details.

The law prescribes that in every canton there shall be an Examining Commission composed of: (1) The

[1] Memorandum on the working of the Free School System in America, France, and Belgium. 1891.

Inspector of Primary Schools for the district, who acts as president, (2) several head teachers of Primary Schools, (3) two or more persons, *e.g.* lawyers, doctors, professors, or other local residents, specially nominated by the Rector of the Provincial Academy and known to be interested in the schools. These Cantonal Commissioners form a Board, which meets regularly at the end of each scholastic year. *Constitution of the local* commission d'examen.

It is expressly enjoined that the level of the educational requirements shall not rise above the *cours moyen* of a good primary school. The examination is partly oral and partly written. It includes:— *The standard of examination.*

(*a*) A dictation exercise of about fifteen lines of print, which serves also as a test of handwriting.

(*b*) Questions on arithmetic, the metric system and its simple applications, *avec solution raisonnée*.

(*c*) A composition exercise on one of these subjects: (i) Moral and Civic Duty; (ii) History and Geography; (iii) Elementary notions of Science and its applications.

(*d*) For girls an exercise in needlework, and for boys in rural schools an examination in agriculture, and in urban schools, one in drawing and design.

The oral part of the examination includes reading aloud, recitation of some choice literary extract, either in prose or verse, with questions on its meaning, besides general questions in history and geography.

A scale of marks is officially prescribed, and no candidate receives his certificate unless he scores at least half the marks attainable under each of the heads of the examination.

Besides these obligatory subjects, the candidate may present himself or herself for an additional examination in one or two optional (*facultative*) subjects, *e.g.* drawing and design. Special mention is made on the certificate of any success thus attained.

The higher leaving certificate for scholars of the école primaire supérieure.

Besides the ordinary leaving certificate, another of a like kind has been provided for scholars of the higher grade school. No candidate is admissible to this examination who has not previously obtained the elementary certificate; and therefore no minimum age has been fixed for admission. The Commissioners to whom the higher duty of awarding this certificate has been entrusted are named in each Department by the Rector of the Provincial Academy. They include inspectors, professors in colleges or secondary schools, and lecturers in training colleges. Two ladies at least are nominated as members of each Commission, and are specially charged with the direction and supervision of the examinations for girls.

The examination for these higher certificates is attended for the most part by scholars at the end of the fifteenth or sixteenth year, who have pursued their studies in some higher grade school. It is open, however, to other candidates who fulfil the necessary conditions as to age and previous certification. These higher grade schools are, as has been fully and very clearly shown by Mr Morant,[1] not secondary schools, but primary schools with a developed programme, intended to carry forward the elementary school work on the same lines up to the age of 16. As I have explained in the Memorandum already quoted: "They are officially described as designed for those scholars for whom elementary education

[1] The French System of Higher Primary Schools, p. 287 in Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1897.

properly so called is not sufficient and for whose needs secondary education would be inappropriate." They are not, in fact, secondary schools, the instruction in them is perfectly gratuitous, and they form an integral part of organized primary instruction. No Latin or Greek is taught in them; they stand in no relation to the *lycées* or the colleges, and they form no part of a scheme providing a "ladder" from the *Kindergarten* to the University. Their aim is not to lift the pupil out of the ranks of the industrial class, but to enable him to occupy a higher and more honourable place within that class. They seek to provide education specially fitted for the skilled artizan or merchant's clerk, and their chief attention is given to drawing, to *comptabilité*, to science, especially to physics, chemistry, and mathematics; and to the acquisition of one modern language. In several of these schools special attention is given to manual training, to the use of tools and instruments, and to the learning of trades.

The subjects and standard of examination.

This being the general aim of the higher grade primary school, the *Certificat d'Études primaires supérieures* corresponds in the main to the curriculum of those schools. The examination, which is partly oral and partly by written papers, extends to five subjects:—

(*a*) A composition in French, consisting of a letter, a narrative — (*récit, compte rendu ou rapport, développement d'une maxime, etc.*).

(*b*) A paper on history and geography.

(*c*) An exercise in mathematics and in the elements of physical and natural science.

(*d*) Design and geometrical drawing.

(*e*) An exercise in one modern language at the choice of the candidate, German, English, Italian, Spanish, or Arabic. An easy piece of translation is given of some passage not prescribed beforehand, but the candidate is permitted to use a lexicon.

Under each of these five heads there are three distinct forms of examination corresponding to three several programmes adopted in the schools, viz.:— (1) the section for general instruction, (2) the industrial section, and (3) the commercial section. Candidates in inserting their names at the outset are required to specify the section in which they severally desire to be included. The fifth (*e*) of the departments of the examination (modern languages) may be dispensed with in the case of those who select the industrial or agricultural section, but is obligatory on all who present themselves in section (1) or (3). There are further special practical tests of proficiency in music, manual work, or gymnastics; and success attained in one of them is recorded to the credit of the student. The certificates thus awarded are delivered to the candidates in a public ceremony by the Rector of the Provincial Academy, and in the presence of the municipal authorities and the parents.

The leaving examination not competitive.

It is an important feature of the whole scheme that the examinations are not competitive, and are not designed to single out scholars for special distinction. That purpose — a very legitimate one — is to be fulfilled, if at all, by other agencies. On this point M. Gréard says: —

"Que certaines récompenses soient mises au concours, cela est désirable et n'a rien de dangereux. Mais, trop souvent renouvelé et appliqué au résultat proprement dit des études, le concours a pour effet d'incliner les maîtres et les élèves à la recherche des succès

d'éclat, et rien ne serait plus préjudiciable au développement sagement entendu de l'instruction primaire. Les élites arriveront toujours à sortir du rang. C'est sur la masse des enfants que l'intérêt social commande d'exercer une action efficace. Qu'ils sachent que c'est par le travail de tous les jours, par la bonne conduite de tous les jours, sous les yeux de leurs camarades ordinaires et de leurs maîtres habituels, leurs juges à l'examen, qu'ils obtiendront l'avancement de classe proposé à leur application ou le certificat qui en constate le profit suprême: c'est là seulement que peuvent être la force et la moralité des études primaires."[1]

Statistics.

The extent to which this system prevails in France may be estimated from the fact that during the sixteen years in which it has been in existence the number of candidates and the proportion of successes have steadily increased. In 1897 the total number of scholars presented for examination was 236,859, of whom 129,460 were boys and 107,355 were girls. The number of certificates awarded was 101,309 to boys and 84,726 to girls, making a total of 186,035, and showing an average of 78.5 per cent. of successful candidates. Besides these, the number of scholars presenting themselves for the higher examination was 2,064, of whom 1,224 passed and obtained the diploma.

The practical effect of the system.

In practice, the system is found to fulfil several important purposes. It gives to teachers a clearly defined standard of the proper work of an elementary school, and indicates the goal which ought to be reached in the twelfth or thirteenth year by every fairly instructed child in such a school. It strengthens the hands of the teacher by supplying his scholars with an additional motive for diligence, and with a new interest in their own improvement. It is specially valued by parents, as an attestation of the progress of their children, and as a passport to

[1] Éducation et instruction par Oct. Gréard, Vice-Recteur de l'Académie de Paris, Membre de l'Académie Française, p. 85.

honourable employment. It serves as an entrance examination for admission to higher and technical schools, and prevents those schools from being encumbered by the presence of pupils who are deficient in the rudiments of learning. It is year by year more highly appreciated by the heads of firms and other employers of labour, who are accustomed to ask for it before admitting young people into their service. Moreover it furnishes a measure of the efficiency of the primary schools, and a means of estimating the comparative success and ability of the teachers.

A very effective illustration of the actual working of the system, and its influence on the home life of the industrial population, is furnished to me in a letter just received from a friend who has been travelling some time in rural France. He says:—

"While in France, I came across, in a little village home, an interesting proof of the value set by parents and children on the primary certificates, and a young girl gave me a graphic account of the incidents of, and questions set in the examinations which she and her sister had in different years succeeded in passing. She was now about seventeen, but the examination five years before had evidently been one of the most important events of her life. I was much struck by the effect which this all-round test had evidently had on the course of her education. So far as her training went, she was an educated girl, her school studies had not been patchy or disconnected, but formed a well-balanced whole.

"I shall never forget the delightfully refined peasant mother, the beautifully clean living-room of the cottage, the neatly framed certificates on the wall, or the radiant pride with which she spoke when I noticed them: and then our talk with the young girl herself, one of the

daughters who had won the certificates, — her self-possession, her modest pleasure in recalling all the circumstances of that memorable examination, and the cultivated balance of mind and bearing which shewed itself in all her conversation."

The bearing of this experience on the problems that have yet to be solved in England.

This French experience is not without a special significance for ourselves at the present stage of our educational history. We have arrived by a series of tentative efforts at a point at which it is desirable to review the work of our elementary school system; to ask whether it has accomplished all that it was hoped to achieve or is capable of achieving; and to set before ourselves a more clearly defined ideal of the purposes which a good primary school ought to fulfil.

Our standards.

Hitherto the Education Department has sought to attain its end by laying down with great precision the steps by which the elementary course should be graduated and by defining the subjects and the degrees of attainment which are appropriate respectively to the years of study from the seventh year to the age of fourteen. For a time, these regulations were practically enforced through the plan of assessing the amount of public grant payable to each school by counting the number of passes after individual examination. Although this plan has been abandoned, the amount claimable by the several bodies of local managers, as their share of the Parliamentary grant, is still to some extent determined by the number of subjects taken up in a school, and by the results of individual examination, as recorded in the Inspector's report. Experience has shown that these regulations have had some effects, both favourable and unfavourable, on the general progress of education.

On the one hand, it has been found that prescribed

Their defects.

standards of examination and attainment for each year, even with the large range of options permitted by the Code, often interfered injuriously with the liberty of classification, and with the teacher's power to adapt his methods to the varied requirements of his scholars. The connexion of the results of each examination with the award of a money payment, and often with the amount of a teacher's salary, introduced a disturbing mercenary element into his calculations, and sometimes tempted him to adopt measures designed too consciously rather with a view to obtain the maximum grant than to subserve the best interests of the scholars.

Their advantages.

On the other hand, schedules of graduated instruction such as appear in the appendices to the English Code have their value, as showing what is the amount of acquirement which can reasonably be expected of children at the successive stages of their school career. They serve as a guide both to teachers and inspectors; they give definiteness to the plans of all the members of a school staff; and they could not be dispensed with except at the risk of much looseness and incoherence, both in the aims and in the practice of primary instruction.

Individual examination.

Moreover, individual examination, though an unsatisfactory method of computing a money grant, unquestionably acts as a safeguard for thoroughness and exactness, and as the best measure of a scholar's progress. It is held to be indispensable in all higher schools and universities, that such examination should be conducted, in part at least, by external authority and not wholly by the teachers themselves. Nobody proposes to substitute a mere general inspection of methods and organization for actual individual examination in our secondary and public schools. No parent in such a school would be

satisfied to learn that his son belonged to a class which was certified by an inspector to be well ordered and taught. He would desire to know in fuller detail the *status* and progress of the particular pupil in whom he was most interested.

It is to be feared that the association in the minds of English elementary teachers between individual examination and a wrong and discredited mode of distributing public money, has led to a belief that the examination of the actual attainments of individual scholars is in itself an error in our educational policy and even a grievance to teachers. Yet it is one of the truest tests of the efficiency of an educational system. The inductive method of investigation and verification, which is now employed in all departments of science, which judges the worth of theories and methods, by asking what is their practical outcome and result, and which refuses to assume that any one method is necessarily the best until it is subjected to the test of experiment, must ever find its due place in any system of organized public instruction. Provided that we secure in the first place a right conception of the results which ought to be attained, and in the second a skilful and impartial method of appraising those results, schools and educational processes must always to some extent be estimated by the results which they can produce. Careful individual examination is needed for the due satisfaction of parents and of school managers, for the proper award of any prize or distinction which the school may provide, and for the protection of the interests of the less forward scholars who are not likely to win any distinction. And it is difficult to see how responsible public authorities can dispense with it, if they would maintain a high standard of excellence in either the work or the methods of our schools.

The limitations to its usefulness.

But it is desirable that we should recognize fairly the necessary limits to any system of individual examination. All good teachers know that the best part of their work cannot be measured by any examiners, however skilful and sympathetic. The kindling of interest, the formation of taste and character, the habits of observation and of application, the love of reading, and the aspiration after further knowledge and self-improvement are among the best and highest results of school training. Although these things are of supreme importance, they are precisely the results which cannot be adequately tested by examination. At the same time the history of the past shows that these results are generally secured incidentally and most effectively in those schools in which the intellectual level is highest, and in which work of the ordinary educational type is most honestly and systematically done. We have to admit, once for all, that there is an inevitable and very serious drawback to the usefulness of examinations. We can only measure what is measurable. Yet while some of the more precious and less palpable results of instruction may escape observation and defy the analysis of examiners, the part of education which takes the form of direct instruction and is capable of being tested by individual examination, is, though not the highest part, yet a very substantial factor in the education of the child. We have learned by experience that it is a mistake to make a *fetish* of the examination system, or to regard it as a satisfactory or final solution for all our educational problems. But we may yet have to learn that it would be an equally grave mistake to discard it altogether, or to lose sight of its legitimate uses. The opposite of wrong is not necessarily right, and it must be manifest to all who are intimately acquainted with the subject that in our present stage of

educational progress we cannot safely part with an instrument which constitutes the most effective safeguard we have yet known both against superficial teaching and inadequate inspection.

An English leaving certificate for elementary schools.

This paper is written in the belief that such a safeguard may be provided by one thorough and well-considered final examination, adapted to test the result of the primary school course, at its ordinary termination about the fourteenth year. If the standard which a well-instructed child ought to reach by that age is once clearly defined, and teachers become substantially agreed as to the end to be attained, the necessity of an authoritative annual examination in standards to a large extent disappears; the freedom of classification and the choice of methods remain with the teacher, and such communication to parents as is desirable respecting the details of a scholar's advancement from year to year may be left wholly to the local school authorities. But it is essential that the Education Department, which is responsible not only for the distribution of large public funds, but also for the maintenance of a high and improving ideal of elementary education in the country, should know from year to year what is the outcome of the methods pursued in the schools, and how many scholars are turned out fairly equipped with the instruction needed for the business of life.

Certificates of attainment in special subjects.

Separate certificates for proficiency in certain selected subjects, such as the Science and Art Department has been accustomed to award, do not wholly meet the need. The encouragement which has been given to elder scholars and pupil teachers to work for a science certificate, and as soon as it is obtained to try for another in a different subject, has not been helpful but often mischievous in its influence on the general education of the

student. The practice of dealing with the parts of instruction piecemeal and making separate reports and payments in respect of each subject, has often served to dislocate the plans of good teachers, and to prevent them from considering the education of the scholar as a whole. The plan adopted by the Scotch Education Department of awarding to the scholar from a secondary school leaving certificates, *e.g.* in mathematics, in Latin, Greek, or English, at the choice of the candidate, may be justified by the fact that he has generally reached the age at which it is legitimate for him to select the subject in which he desires to distinguish himself. But such a leaving certificate carries with it no assurance that the holder possesses a good general foundation for a liberal education. And it would clearly not be a suitable precedent for the leaving certificate of the elementary school.

Labour certificates.

Nor can the labour certificates at present awarded by the Department be regarded as a satisfactory test of school work from an educational point of view. So long as the Elementary Education Act of 1876, and the several Acts which regulate the employment of children in factories and workshops remain in force, the award of what are called "certificates of proficiency" must continue under the present conditions. But these certificates attest nothing but a meagre outfit of reading, writing, and arithmetic. To "reach" a standard which will satisfy the Act of Parliament or by-laws of a School Board district is to give little or no evidence of general knowledge or intelligence; and the state of the law and of public opinion which accepts the passing of the third or fourth standard in the three elementary subjects as a reason for the early withdrawal of a child from school to labour for which he is ill-prepared is as injurious in its effect on the schools as it is inimical to the true interests

of the scholars and their parents. A legal minimum is often interpreted by poor parents as if it were the maximum, or at least as if it were sufficient; and the official use of the word "proficiency" in connexion with the bare requirements of a low standard according to the first schedule in the appendix of the Code sometimes conveys, to those whose sympathy with educational authorities it is of the utmost importance to secure, a false and misleading impression. Moreover, the fact that the labour certificate has a pecuniary value and that to withhold it from a family struggling with poverty seems unkind or inconsiderate, often causes a not unreasonable leniency in the examination, and materially diminishes the educational value of the certificate. It may well be doubted whether the imposition of legal restraints and disabilities on ill-instructed children, or the encouragement of early exemption from school attendance in the case of scholars who happen to be precocious is a wise expedient for securing the true improvement which we all desire. Probably it will be found in the long run that we may rely more safely on measures serving to keep prominently in public view the goal which ought to be reached, and a just estimate of the work which throughout its whole course a good school ought to do for its pupils.

The Scotch certificate of merit.

From this point of view, the merit certificate provided in the regulations of the Scotch Education Department deserves the attentive consideration of school authorities on this side of the Tweed:—Article 29 of the Scotch Code contains this provision:—

> "A certificate of merit will be granted once only by the Department to any scholar over 12 years of age who satisfies the Inspector that he has attained a standard of thorough efficiency in the three elementary subjects, as well as in the class subjects (at least two) professed in the school.

"The managers will furnish a list (on a schedule supplied by the department on special application by the managers) of the scholars to be presented for merit certificates; and the teacher must certify to the character and conduct of each pupil admitted to the examination.

"The merit certificate will attest thorough efficiency in the three elementary subjects, and will state the class subjects and specific subjects (if any) taken by the scholar to whom it is granted. No merit certificate will be issued to a scholar who has not mastered all the standards set forth in Article 28 (elementary subjects) or who does not shew ease and fluency in reading, considerable fluency in writing and composition, and the power of applying the rules of arithmetic in a way likely to prove useful in the common affairs of life. Some test of mental arithmetic will also be applied."

Conditions to be fulfilled in applying this experience to England.

Thus the experience gained in Foreign countries, especially that of the *Certificat d'études primaires* in France and Belgium, coincides with that acquired in the northern part of our own island, and reveals the existence of a want which our English system does not supply. In seeking to apply this experience to our own special circumstances and needs, two or three preliminary considerations appear to deserve some weight:—

(1) The examination should not be competitive, and should not have for its prominent object the discovery or reward of exceptional merit. Its purpose should be to set before schools and scholars generally the nature and scope of a good elementary education, and to offer such a test as a boy or girl of average diligence and intelligence ought to attain.

(2) No prize or immediate pecuniary advantage should be associated with it. No legal enactment need enforce it, and no penalty should be incurred by those who do not possess it. Its value should depend entirely on the quality of the attainments it professed to attest,

on the fairness and thoroughness of the examination, and on the increased appreciation year by year of the worth of a good education on the part of parents and the public. Considered as an instrument for raising and maintaining the standard of instruction, the award of a leaving certificate should be regarded as an educational measure only; and the less teachers and examiners are liable to be influenced by compassion to individuals, or by regard to the pecuniary effect of the award, the better.

(3) In measuring the claims of a scholar to receive a certificate regard should not be had to the number of subjects he takes up, or to the grants he has enabled the school to earn. Nor should any authority fix the relative importance of certain subjects, or seek to enforce, *e.g.* in rural districts, the study of agriculture, or in great towns the study either of commercial account keeping or of any particular local handicraft. The chief objects to be kept in view are to secure that a satisfactory use has been made of a good elementary course, and that this course, while including all the necessary rudiments of learning, shall leave room for optional subjects adapted, in different places, to the local requirements and to the particular aptitudes and qualifications of teachers.

The ideal primary school course.

These general conditions being premised, it remains to consider what it is that education — so far as its results are ascertainable by examination — should have accomplished for a scholar who quits an elementary school at the age of thirteen or fourteen. We cannot escape the enumeration of details or the authorization of some sort of syllabus, although we may admit that the attention of teachers has too often been directed rather to the list of separate subjects than to a rounded and complete scheme of discipline and training as a whole.

Now the curriculum of every school ought to comprise: —

(1) Reading, writing, and arithmetic, as laid down in the several standards of the Education Department, up to the seventh.

(2) The English language, with the elements of grammar and exercises in English composition.

(3) The outlines, at least, of British geography and English history.

(4) The rudiments of physical and experimental science.

(5) Some acquaintance with good literature, and the learning by heart of choice passages from the best authors.

(6) Drawing, needlework (for girls), and for boys some other form of manual instruction.

(7) Moral and religious instruction.

This item is not placed last through any doubt of its supreme importance, but simply because of the impossibility of estimating it accurately, and because, even if it admitted of exact measurement, the officers of the State are not the persons to perform the task.

Some optional subjects.

In regard to the items marked 1, 2, 3, and 5, it is reasonable to expect that satisfactory evidence of a tolerably uniform kind might be expected from all candidates alike. As to 4 and 6, considerable diversities of plan and practice may properly be looked for and encouraged. In science, for example, one school may cultivate mechanics, chemistry, or some other subject having a visible and immediate application to industry and to success in business; and another may prefer the sciences which, intellectually, have a higher value though they have no obvious bearing on money-getting, or the

business of life. It may suffice to mention two examples of what is here meant. Natural history — the study of plants and animals, the classification and arrangement of specimens — is well calculated to exercise the observant faculty, and to train the scholar to accuracy and to systematic thinking, although its immediate utility is not obvious at first sight. Astronomy, too, has been strangely neglected in school *curricula*, probably because it is of no commercial importance and no prizes are obtainable for pursuing it. Yet there is no study better calculated to exalt the imagination, to enlarge the mental horizon of the student, and to help him to know the universe he lives in, and his own place in it. A teacher who is interested in this subject, and who helps his scholars to observe the motion of the stars, to discriminate fixed stars from planets, and to know something of the moon and its phases, ought to find that his efforts are encouraged and that any results he can achieve are duly recognized.

Besides its regular course of lessons, as prescribed in its time-table, every good school ought to do something to call forth latent power and sympathy, and to stimulate the love of reading and enquiry, and the desire for further knowledge. The teacher who devises any new plan for securing these objects should have the opportunity of submitting his plan to the official examiner, and securing due credit for any optional subject which has a truly formative and educational character. In no other way can we hope to escape from a stereotyped and barren routine, and to enlist in the development of national education the sympathies, the inventiveness, and the varied knowledge of the best teachers.

Oral examination.

It is highly desirable that some part of the examination should be oral, and should be designed rather to

test a scholar's general intelligence, his knowledge of the meaning of what he reads, and his interest in his school work, than the accuracy of his information. It is also important that a certificate of good character and attendance at school should be a condition precedent to admission to examination.

The relation between school and home.

One great need in our present social and educational arrangements is the establishment of closer relation between the school and the scholar's home. The public opinion which in Scotland, and in France, Germany, and Switzerland, has led to a high appreciation of the blessings of a good education, hardly exists to the same extent among the poorer English parents, although it is yearly becoming more pronounced. It is greatly helped by school lending libraries, by school savings banks, by scholarships and exhibitions obtainable by merit, and tenable in technical or other higher schools. It was in some degree assisted by the now disused duplicate schedule, which furnished year by year particulars accessible to the parents, and enabled them to tell the progress of their children. It would probably be helped yet more, if as in America the parents were annually invited to a public ceremony, at which opportunity was afforded to see something of the methods pursued in the school, and of the results produced. But it would be most effectually encouraged, if there were — clearly set forth, and intelligible to the public — a standard of attainment which every scholar ought to reach before quitting the elementary school, and if the co-operation of the parents were sought in the efforts of school authorities to maintain that standard. It is to be feared that among the wage-earning classes there is at present a very imperfect recognition of the fact that the practical difference between the successful and the unprosperous man is largely

dependent on the time spent in preparation for the business of life. Every year at school adds to the worth of a youth on entering the labour market, and gives him a better chance of future advancement. And as it would be a serious mistake to increase the inducements to shorten the period of school life, the Leaving Certificate should in no case be granted before the thirteenth year, and should always be given on conditions which presuppose regular application up to that age.

The Certificate to be granted by the State, rather than by local authorities.

It may be added that the value of the certificate would be far greater, if it were granted under the direct authority of the State, than if School Boards, Managing Committees, or individual teachers awarded it. There would be better security for the maintenance of a uniform and impartial standard, and for the absence of local and personal influence. Moreover, allowance must be made for a very natural and not unreasonable sentiment, which causes the average parent and scholar to regard a certificate signed by a public officer, such as Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, as a document possessing special dignity and as an object of honourable ambition.

In summing up the arguments of this brief paper, it is not difficult to forecast some of the consequences which might be expected to follow from the official issue of leaving certificates by the Education Department to the scholars in public elementary schools. It would certainly have the effect of defining more exactly the course of instruction which should be adopted in such schools; and would afford an additional and much-needed safeguard for thoroughness and exactness in instruction. It would help teachers in securing discipline and regular attendance, if they were able to say that without these they would not feel justified in certifying

that the scholar was eligible to be examined. It would arouse the interest and sympathy of the parents, and give them a new motive for co-operating with the school teachers. It would greatly faciliate the work of secondary and technical schools, by furnishing them with an appropriate entrance examination. It would help the employers of labour to discriminate among the applicants for situations. And it is not too much to hope that by degrees the influence of the system would serve to make clearer in the eyes of the public the relations between character, knowledge, and intelligence, on the one hand, and, on the other, the honour, prosperity, and usefulness of the citizen's life.

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