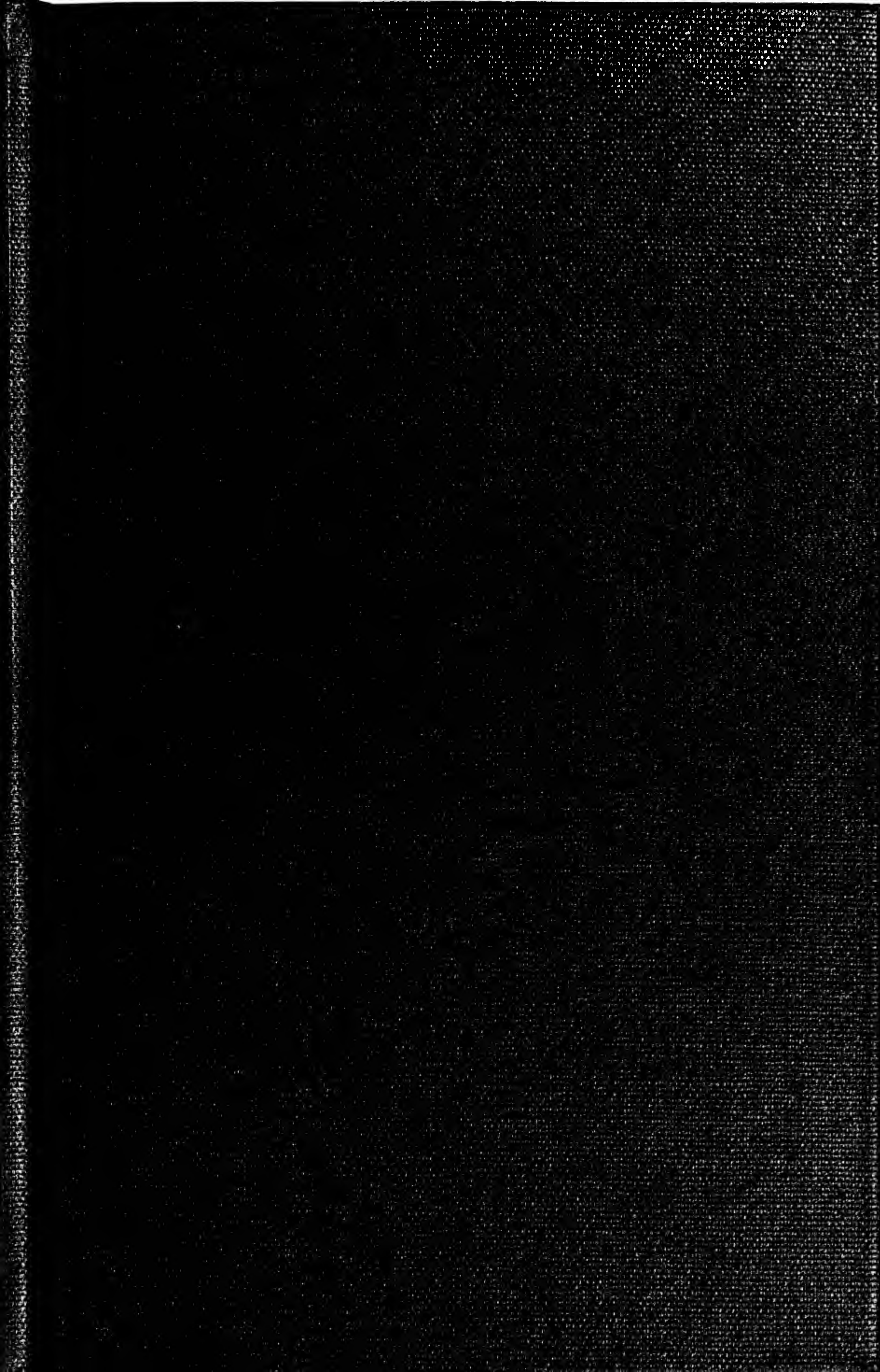

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MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE

SPEECH

OF

LORD ASHLEY, M.P.,

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1843.

On Moving, "That an Humble Address be presented to her Majesty, pray-
" ing that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and
" serious consideration, the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings
" of a moral and religious education amongst the working classes of her
" people."

LONDON:
JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL MALL.
1843.

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SPEECH.

SIR,—The question, that I have undertaken to submit to the deliberation of this House, is one so prodigiously vast, and so unspeakably important, that there may well be demanded an apology, if not an explanation, from any individual member who presumes to handle so weighty and so difficult a matter. And, Sir, had any real difference of opinion existed, I should probably have refrained from the task; but late events have, I fear, proved that the moral condition of our people is unhealthy and even perilous—all are pretty nearly agreed that something further must be attempted for their welfare; and I now venture, therefore, to offer, for the discussion, both matter and opportunity.

Surely, Sir, it will not be necessary as a preliminary to this motion to enquire on whom should rest the responsibility of our present condition—our duty is to examine the moral state of the country; to say whether it be safe, honourable, happy, and becoming the dignity of a Christian kingdom; and, if it be not so, to address ourselves to the cure of evils which, unlike most inveterate and deeply-rooted abuses, though they cannot be suffered to exist without danger, may be removed without the slightest grievance, real or imaginary, to any community or even any individual.

The present time, too, is so far favourable to the propounding of this question, as that it finds us in a state of mind equally distant, I believe, from the two extremes of opinion; the one, that education is the direct, immediate, and lasting

panacea for all our disorders; the other, that it will either do nothing at all, or even exasperate the mischief. That it will do every thing is absurd; that it will do nothing is more so; every statesman, that is, every true statesman, of every age and nation has considered a moral, steady, obedient, and united people, indispensable to external greatness or internal peace. Wise men have marked out the road whereby these desirable ends may be attained; I will not multiply authorities; I will quote two only, the one secular, the other sacred.—"I think I may say," observes the famous John Locke, "that, of all the men we meet with, nine parts in ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind." "Train up a child," said Solomon, "in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it."

Now, has any man ever shewn by what other means we may arrive at this most necessary consummation? If it be required in small states and even in despotic monarchies; much more is it required in populous kingdoms and free governments;—and such is our position—our lot is cast in a time when our numbers, already vast, are hourly increasing at an almost geometric ratio—our institutions receive, every day, a more liberal complexion, while the democratic principle, by the mere force of circumstances, is fostered and developed—the public safety demands, each year, a larger measure of enlightenment and self-control; of enlightenment that all may understand their real interests; of self-control that individual passion may be repressed to the advancement of public welfare. I know not where to search for these things but in the lessons and practice of the Gospel: true Christianity is essentially favourable to freedom of institutions in Church and State, because it imparts a judgment of your own and another's rights, a sense of public and private duty, an enlarged philanthropy and self-

restraint, unknown to those democracies of former times, which are called, and only called, the polished nations of antiquity.

Sir, I do not deny, very far from it, the vast and meritorious efforts of the National Society; nor will I speak disparagingly of the efforts of some of the dissenting bodies; but in spite of all that has been done, a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, "a great and terrible wilderness," that I shall now endeavour to lay open before you.

Sir, the population of England and Wales in the year 1801 was 8,872,980; in 1841 it had risen to 15,906,829, shewing an increase in less than half a century on the whole population of 7,033,849. If I here take one-fifth (which is understated, one-fourth being the ordinary calculation,) as the number supposed to be capable of some education, there will result a number of 3,181,365; deducting one thirdas provided for at private expense, there will be left a number of 2,120,910; deducting also for children in union workhouses, 50,000; and lastly deducting 10 per cent. for accidents and casualties, 212,091; there will then be the number of 1,858,819 to be provided for at the public expense. Now by the tables in the excellent pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. Burgess, of Chelsea, it appears that the total number of daily scholars, in connection with the Established church, is 749,626. By the same tables, the total number of daily scholars, in connection with dissenting bodies, is stated at 95,000; making a sum total of daily scholars in England and Wales, 844,626: leaving, without any daily instruction the number of 1,014,193 persons. These tables are calculated upon the returns of 1833, with an estimate for the increase of the Church of England scholars since those returns, and with an allowance in the same proportion for the increase of the dissenting scholars. But if we look forward to the next ten years, there will be an

increase of at least 2,500,000 in the population; and should nothing be done to supply our want, we shall then have in addition to our present arrears, a fearful multitude of untutored savages.

Next, I find as a sample of the state of adult and juvenile delinquency, that the number of committals in the year 1841 was, of persons of all ages, 27,760; and of persons under the age of sixteen years, the proportion was 11½ per cent. I quote these tables in conformity with established usage and ancient prejudice; but they are, with a view to any accurate estimate of the moral condition of the kingdom, altogether fallacious—they do not explain to us whether the cases be those of distinct criminals, or in many instances, those of the same individuals reproduced; if the proportion be increased we have no clue to the discovery whether it be real or fictitious, permanent or casual; if diminished, we congratulate each other, but without examining how far the diminution must be ascribed to an increased morality, or a more effective Police—it is very well to rely on an effective Police for short and turbulent periods; it is ruinous to rely on it for the government of a generation.—For after all, how much there must ever be perilous to the state, and perilous to society, which, whether it be manifested or not, is far beyond the scope of magisterial power, and curable only by a widely different process! I will not, therefore, attempt a comparison of one period of crime with another; if the matters be worse, my case is established; if better, they can be so only through the greater diffusion of external morality. That morality, then, which is so effective even on the surface of the nation, it should be our earnest and constant endeavour to root deeply in their hearts.

Having stated this much in a general way, I will now take a few of those details which form a part of the com-

plement of this mass of wickedness and mischief—we shall thus learn the principal seats of the danger, its character and extent locally, and in a great degree, the mode and nature of the remedy.

Sir, there have been laid upon the table within the last few days, a report by Mr. Horner and Mr. Saunders, inspectors of factories; and also the second report of the Childrens' Employment Commission; from these documents I shall draw very largely; and I wish to take this opportunity, as their final report has now been presented, of expressing to the commissioners, my sincere and heartfelt thanks for an exercise of talent and vigour, never before surpassed by any public servants.

The first town that I shall refer to is Manchester—some of those details I shall now quote I stated in the last session; but I shall venture to state them again as they bear immediately on the question before us. By the police returns of Manchester made up to December, 1841, we find the number of persons taken into custody during that year, was 13,345. Discharged by magistrates without punishment, 10,208; of these, under 20 years of age, there were males, 3,069; and females, 745. By the same returns to July 1842, (six months), there were taken into custody, 8,341; (This would make in a whole year, were the same proportion observed, 16,682;) of these, males 5,810; females 2,531. Now as to their instruction; with a knowledge of reading only, or reading and writing imperfectly, males, 1,999; females, 863. Neither read nor write, males, 3,098; females, 1,519;—total of these last 4,617. At 15 and under 20, 2,360; of these, males 1,639; females 721. But take what may be called the "curable" portion, and there will be, at 10 years and under 15, 665; males 547, females 118. Discharged by the magistrates in 182, without punishment (six months), 6,307, or at the

rate of 12,614 in a year. Can the House be surprised at this statement, when the means for supplying opportunities to crime and the practice of debauchery are so abundant? It appears that there are in Manchester—Pawnbrokers, 129; this may be a symptom of distress; beer houses 769; public houses 498; brothels 309; ditto, lately suppressed, 111; ditto, where prostitutes are kept, 163; ditto, where they resort, 223; street-walkers in borough, 763; thieves residing in the borough who do nothing but steal, 212; persons following some lawful occupation, but augmenting their gains by habitual violation of the law, 160; houses for receiving stolen goods, 63; ditto, suppressed lately, 32; houses for resort of thieves, 103; ditto, lately suppressed, 25; lodging-houses where sexes indiscriminately sleep together, 109.

But there is another cause that aids the progress of crime which prevails in the town of Manchester. I will mention the fact that a vast number of children of the tenderest years, either through absence or through neglect of their parents, I do not now say which, are suffered to roam at large through the streets of the town, contracting the most idle and profligate habits. I have here a return that I myself moved for in the year 1836, and I see that the number of children found wandering in the streets, and restored to their parents by the police in 1835, was no less than 8,650, in 1840 it was reduced to 5,500—having heard this table the House will not be surprised at the observations I am about to read from a gentleman of long and practical knowledge of the place. "What chance," says he, "have these children of becoming good members of society? These unfortunates gradually acquire vagrant habits, become beggars, vagrants, criminals. It does not appear unfair to calculate that in the borough of Manchester 1,500 children are added to

'les classes dangereuses' annually. Besides," he adds, "the moral evil produced by these 1,500, let a calculation be made how much moneyper annum this criminal class costs the state."

I will next take the town of Birmingham; and it will be seen by the police returns for 1841, that the number of persons who were taken into custody was 5,556, of these the males were 4,537, and the females 1,018. Of these there could neither read nor write, 2,711; who could read only and write imperfectly, 2,504; read and write well, 206; having superior instruction, 36. I feel that it is necessary to apologise to the House for troubling them with such minute details; nevertheless, details such as these are absolutely indispensable. Now from a report on the state of education in the town of Birmingham, made by the Birmingham Statistical Society—one of those useful bodies which have sprung up of late years, and which give to the public a great mass of information, that may be turned to the best purposes—I find that the total number of schools of all kinds in the town of Birmingham is 669; but then the society calls everything a school where a child receives any sort of instruction, perhaps in a place more fitted to be a sty or coal-hole. Now out of the whole mass of the entire population of Birmingham there were 27,659 scholars. A vast proportion of these schools are what are called "dame schools;" and what these are in truth, may be known by the surveyors' report, who says of them, "moral and religious instruction forms no part of the system in dame-schools. A mistress in one of this class of schools on being asked whether she gave moral instruction to her scholars, replied 'No, I can't afford it at 3*d* a week.' Several did not know the meaning of the question. Very few appeared to think it was a part of their duty."—This, then, being the number of the schools for

educating the young, and the character of the education imparted to them, I may now be allowed to state what are the means for the practice of vice. From the police returns for 1840, it appears that the number of these places is 998, and they are thus distributed:—Houses for reception of stolen goods, 81; ditto for resort of thieves, 228; brothels where prostitutes are kept, 200; houses of ill-fame, where they resort 110; number of houses where they lodge, 187; number of mendicants' lodging houses, 122; houses where sexes sleep indiscriminately together, 47—998; add to this, public-houses, 577; beer shops, 573. I will close this part by reading to the House an extract from a report, made by a committee of medical gentlemen in Birmingham, who, in the most benevolent spirit, devoted themselves to an examination of the state of Birmingham; and who, looking to the removal of the growing evils that threaten the population, assert, that ' the first and most prominent suggestion is, the better education of the females in the arts of domestic economy. To the extreme ignorance of domestic management, on the part of the wives of the mechanics, is much of the misery and want of comfort to be traced. Numerous instances have occurred to us of the confirmed drunkard who attributes his habits of dissipation to a wretched home."

I will next take the town of Leeds; and there it will be seen that the police details would be very similar in character, though differing in number, to those of Manchester and Birmingham—the report of the state of Leeds for 1838, is to this effect:—"It appears that the early periods of life furnish the greatest portion of criminals. Children of seven, eight, and nine years of age are not unfrequently brought before magistrates; a very large portion under 14 years. The parents are, it is to be feared in many instances, the direct causes of their crime."

" The spirit of lawless insubordination (says Mr. Symons the sub-commissioner) which prevails at Leeds among the children is very manifest: it is matter for painful apprehension." James Child, an inspector of police, states that which is well worthy of the attention of the House: He says there is " a great deal of drunkenness, especially among the young people. I have seen children very little higher than the table at these shops. There are some beer-shops where there are rooms up stairs, and the boys and girls, old people, and married of both sexes, go up two by two, as they can agree, to have connection. . . . . I am sure that sexual connection begins between boys and girls at 14 and 15 years old." John Stubbs, of the police force, confirms the above testimony. " We have," he says, " a deal of girls on the town under 15, and boys who live by thieving. There are half a dozen beer shops where none but young ones go at all. They support these houses."

I will now turn to Sheffield :—The Rev. Mr. Livesey, the minister of St. Philip's, having a population of 24,000, consisting almost exclusively of the labouring classes, gives in evidence,—" Moral condition of children . . . . in numerous instances most deplorable. . . . . On Sunday afternoons it is impossible to pass along the highways, &c. beyond the police boundaries, without encountering numerous groups of boys, from 12 years and upwards, gaming for copper coin . . . . the boys are early initiated into habits of drinking. But the most revolting feature of juvenile depravity is early contamination from the association of the sexes. The outskirts of the town are absolutely polluted by this abomination; nor is the veil of darkness nor seclusion always sought by these degraded beings. Too often they are to be met in small parties, who appear to associate for the purpose of promiscuous intercourse,

their ages being apparently about fourteen or fifteen." The Rev. Mr. Farish states, "There are beer houses attended by youths exclusively, for the men will not have them in the same houses with themselves." Hugh Parker, Esq. a justice of the peace, remarks, "A great proportion of the working classes are ignorant and profligate . . . . the morals of their children exceedingly depraved and corrupt . . . . given, at a very early age, to petty theft, swearing and lying; during minority to drunkenness, debauchery, idleness, profanation of the Sabbath; dog and prize-fighting." Mr. Rayner, the superintendent of police, deposes, that "Lads from twelve to fourteen years of age constantly frequent beer-houses, and have, even at that age, their girls with them, who often incite them to commit petty thefts . . . . vices of every description at a very early age . . . . great number of vagrant children prowling about the streets . . . these corrupt the working children. . . . . The habits of the adults confirm the children in their vices." George Messon, a police officer, adds, "There are many beer-shops which are frequented by boys only . . . . as early as thirteen years of age. The girls are many of them loose in their conduct, and accompany the boys. . . . . I remember the Chartist attack on Sheffield last winter. I am certain that a great number of young lads were among them—some as young as fifteen: they generally act as men." All this was confirmed by Daniel Astwood, also a police officer; by Mr. George Crossland, registrar and vestry clerk to the board of guardians; by Mr. Ashley, master of the Lancasterian school; by Dr. Knight, and by Mr. Carr, a surgeon. Mr. Abraham, the inventor of the magnetic guard, remarks, "There is most vice and levity and mischief in the class who are between sixteen and nineteen. You see more lads between seventeen and nineteen with dogs at their

heels and other evidences of dissolute habits." Mr. James Hall and others of the working people say, the "morals of the children are tenfold worse than formerly . . . . There are beer shops frequented by boys from nine to fifteen years old, to play for money and liquor." Charlotte Kirkman, a poor woman of the operative class, aged 60, observes; and I much wish here to draw the attention of the House, because it is extremely desirable that they should know in what light, the best and most decent of the working people regard these things, "I think morals are getting much worse, which I attribute in a great measure to the beer-shops. . . . . There were no such girls in my time as there are now. When I was four or five and twenty, my mother would have knocked me down if I had spoken improperly to her. . . . Many have children at 15. I think bastardy almost as common now as a woman being in the family-way by her husband. . . . . Now it's nothing thought about." "The evidence (says the sub-commissioner), with very few exceptions, attests a melancholy amount of immorality among the children of the working classes in Sheffield, and especially among young persons. Within a year of the time of my visit," he continues, "the town was preserved from an organised scheme to fire and plunder it, merely by the information of one man, and the consequent readiness of the troops. A large body of men and boys marched on it in the dead of the night; and a very large quantity of crowsfeet to lame horses, pikes, and combustibles were found on them, at their houses, and left on the road. Several were pledged to fire their own houses. I name this, as a further illustration of the perilous ignorance and vice prevailing among that young class between boys and full grown men, who were known to be among the chief actors in these scenes."

Mr. Symons—and I shall the more effectively quote his

opinions, because he is most strongly opposed to the political views which I venture to hold—further says, and it is right that I should state it in justice to so excellent a body of men: "If vice increases in Sheffield, the blame assuredly rests not on the clergy; few towns are blessed with so pious or active a ministry. It is not for want of exertion on their parts, if the churches and chapels are unfilled, and the schools scantily attended; and this remark applies also to part of the Wesleyan and some other religious denominations."

I shall now proceed to another district, to Wolverhampton, and there I find Mr. Horne giving the following description:—"Among all the children and young persons I examined, I found, with very few exceptions, that their minds were as stunted as their bodies; their moral feelings stagnant. . . . . The children and young persons possess but little sense of moral duty towards their parents, and have little affection for them. . . . . One child believed that Pontius Pilate and Goliath were apostles; another, fourteen or fifteen years of age, did not know how many two and two made. In my evidence taken in this town alone, as many as five children and young persons had never heard even the name of Jesus Christ. . . . . You will find boys who have never heard of such a place as London, and of Willenhall, (only three miles distant,) who have never heard of the name of the Queen, or of such names as Wellington, Nelson, Bonaparte, or King George." "But," (adds the commissioner) "while of scripture names I could not, in general, obtain any rational account, many of the most sacred names never having even been heard, there was a general knowledge of the lives of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard, not to mention the preposterous epidemic of a hybrid negro song."—This we may suppose is an elegant periphrasis for the popular song of "Jim Crow."—Mr.

Horne goes on to say—"The master of the British School deposes, 'I have resided, as a teacher, for the last six years, during which I have observed that the character and habits of the numerous labouring poor are of the lowest order.' The master of the National School says 'besotted to the last degree.'"—Sir, there are many things of an extremely horrid description to be detailed concerning the physical condition of the children in these parts, but I forbear to touch them at present, being engaged only on their moral deficiency.

I now go to Willenhall, and there it is said,—"A lower condition of morals cannot, I think, be found—they sink some degrees (when that is possible) below the worst classes of children and young persons in Wolverhampton; they do not display the remotest sign of comprehension as to what is meant by the term of morals." Next, of Wednesfield, it is said the population are "much addicted to drinking; many besotted in the extreme; poor dejected men, with hardly a rag to their backs, are often seen drunk two or three days in the week, and even when they have large families." The same profligacy and ignorance at Darlaston, where we have the evidence of three parties, an overseer, a collector, and a relieving officer, to a very curious fact; I quote this to shew the utter recklessness and intellectual apathy in which these people live, caring little but for existence and the immediate physical wants of the passing hour; they state, "that there are as many as 1,000 men in Darlaston who do not know their own names, only their nicknames." But it is said, that in Bilston things are much better. It is remarked that the "moral condition of children and young persons on the whole was very superior to that in Wolverhampton;" he excepts, however, "the bank-girls, and those who work at the screw-manufactories." Among them, "great numbers of bastards;" the bank-girls drive

coal-carts, ride astride upon horses, drink, swear, fight, smoke, whistle, sing, and care for nobody." Here I must observe, if things are better in Bilston, it is owing to the dawn of education, " to the great exertions of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, and the Rev. Mr. Owen, in the church; and Mr. Robert Bew, (chemist,) and Mr. Dimmock, (iron merchant,) among the dissenters." Next, as to Sedgeley, "children and young persons," says the rector, "grow up in irreligion, immorality, and ignorance. The number of girls at nailing considerably exceeds that of the boys; it may be termed the district of female blacksmiths; constantly associating with depraved adults, and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and drink, smoke, swear, &c. &c. and become as bad as men. The men and boys are usually naked, except a pair of trowsers; the women and girls have only a thin ragged petticoat, and an open shirt without sleeves."—Look to Warrington; the Honourable and Reverend Horace Powys, the rector, says, and there is no man more capable, from talent and character, of giving an opinion,—"My conviction is—and it is founded on the observation of some years—that the general condition of the children employed in labour in this town is alarmingly degraded, both religiously, morally, and intellectually." And here, too, is the evidence of the Rev. John Molyneux, a Roman Catholic priest, who began by stating his peculiar qualifications to give testimony, having a congregation of three thousand persons, and chiefly among the poorer classes. "Children in pin-works," he said, "are very immoral—they sit close together, and encourage each other in cursing and swearing, and loose conversation, which I grant you they do not understand,"—a conclusion in which I can not agree:—" but it renders them he adds prone to adopt the acts of immorality on which they converse."—" Those girls

who from very early labour at pins go to the factories, do not ever make good housekeepers: they have no idea of it; neither of economy, nor cooking, nor mending their clothes."

Next, Sir, I will examine the Potteries. Mr. Scriven, the sub-commissioner, uses these expressions:—"I almost tremble, however, when I contemplate the fearful deficiency of knowledge existing throughout the district, and the consequences likely to result to this increased and increasing population. . . . . It will appear," he adds, "by the evidence from Cobridge and Burslem, that more than three-fourths of the persons therein named can neither read nor write. . . . . It is not from my own knowledge," he continues, "that I proclaim their utter, their absolute ignorance. I would respectfully refer you to the evidence of their own pastors and masters, and it will appear that, as one man, they acknowledge and lament their low and degraded condition." Mr. Lowndes, clerk to the board of guardians of the Burslem union, says: "It is with pain that I have witnessed the demoralizing effects of the system, as it has hitherto existed. . . . . It appears to me fraught with incalculable evils, both physical and moral." Mr. Grainger, a sub-commissioner, in his report respecting Nottingham, writes: "All parties, clergy, police, manufacturers, workpeople, and parents, agree that the present system is a most fertile source of immorality. . . . The natural results . . . . have contributed in no slight degree, to the immorality which, according to the opinion universally expressed, prevails to a most awful extent in Nottingham. Much of the existing evil is to be traced to the vicious habits of parents, many of whom are utterly indifferent to the moral and physical welfare of their offspring." "Education of the girls more neglected even than that of boys. . . . . Vast majority of females utterly ignorant. . . . . Impossible to overstate evils which result

from this deplorable ignorance." . . . . "The medical practitioners of Birmingham forcibly point out the 'misery which ensues; improvidence, absence of all comfort, neglect of children, and alienation of all affection in families, and drunkenness on the part of the husband.'" And here I have to call the attention of the House to the testimony of a most respectable person, a simple mechanic; and I am very anxious to put forward the views of this individual; because, his statements are the result of long and personal experience. I refer to the evidence of Joseph Corbett, a mechanic of Birmingham. I confess that I should like to read the whole of the report. I recommend it strongly to your attention; it will be found in the appendix to Mr. Grainger's report. I cannot, however, refrain from quoting one or two passages of it. "I have seen," he says, "the entire ruin of many families from the waste of money and bad conduct of fathers and sons seeking amusement and pastime in an alehouse. From no other single cause alone does half so much demoralization and misery proceed." He then adds, "from my own experience," and here he spoke with feeling on the subject, for he referred to what he had seen in his own home, and what he had witnessed with respect to his parents:—"My own experience tells me that the instruction of the females in the work of a house, in teaching them to produce cheerfulness and comfort at the fireside, would prevent a great amount of misery and crime. There would be fewer drunken husbands and disobedient children. . . . . As a working man, within my observation, female education is disgracefully neglected. I attach more importance to it than to anything else." I cannot think that any one will be displeased to hear such sentiments coming from a man in the situation of Joseph Corbett. Take this as a proof of what the working people may be

brought to, if they cease to be so utterly neglected. This is an instance, among many, to shew what thousands of right-hearted Englishmen, if you would but train them, you might raise up among the ranks of the operative classes.

This, Sir, is pretty nearly the whole of the statements which I have to make as to these districts; but there are other opinions, by persons of great authority on this subject, and which, with the permission of the House, I will read, although I have not permission to give the names of the writers. One gentleman, whose opportunities of observation are unequalled, speaks of "the present existence of a highly demoralised middle-aged and rising generation, worse and more debased than, I believe, any previous generation for the last three hundred years." A clergyman, writing from one of the disturbed districts, says:—"The moral condition of the people is as bad as it is possible to be. Vice is unrebuked, unabashed; moral character of no avail. * * * A spirit of disaffection prevails almost universally — magistrates, masters, pastors, and all superiors, are regarded as enemies and oppressors." Another, in writing from the disturbed districts, states:—"I took down myself the following words, as they fell from the lips of a Chartist orator—'The prevalence of intemperance and other vicious habits was the fault of the aristocracy and the mill-owners, who had neglected to provide the people with sufficient means of moral improvement, and would form an item of that great account which they would one day be called upon to render to a people indignant at the discovery of their own debasement.' Another remarked:—'A working man's hall is opened on Sundays; and in this, 300 poor children are initiated into infidel and seditious principles.' Another said:—'A wild and satanic spirit is infused into the hearers.'" An officer of great experience to whom I

put the question—" What are the consequences to be apprehended if the present state of things be suffered to continue?" replies—' Unless a speedy alteration be made in the manufacturing districts, a fresh and more extensive outbreak will again occur, threatening loss to the whole nation.'"

Sir, I must now remark, that this condition of things prevails, more or less, throughout the whole of England, but particularly in the manufacturing and trading districts. The evil is not partial, it is almost universally diffused over the surface of the country. The time I might be allowed to occupy would be insufficient for me to travel through the whole of the details; but the House will find, in the second report of the Children's Employment Commission, which is devoted to the statement of their moral condition, the proof that it everywhere afflicts the country—it is nearly universal throughout the whole of the coal and iron-fields of Great Britain and Wales.— Look to the east of Scotland—one clergyman says:— " The condition of the lower classes is daily becoming worse in regard to education; and it is telling every day upon the moral and economic condition of the adult population." Another clergyman remarks:—" The country will be inevitably ruined, unless some steps are taken by the Legislature to secure education to the children of the working classes." Of North Wales we see it stated:— " Not one collier-boy in ten can read, so as to comprehend what he reads:" while of South Wales it is observed:—" Many are almost in a state of barbarism. Religious and moral training is out of the question. I should certainly be within bounds by saying that not one grown male or female in fifty can read." In the West of Scotland I find the same class of persons described as follows:—" A large portion of the colliery and ironwork

hands are living in an utterly depraved state, a moral degradation, which is entailing misery and disease on themselves, and disorder on the community." There is an equally lamentable state of things existing in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, North Staffordshire and Cumberland. The replies of many of the children who were questioned by the commissioners, shewe a state of things utterly disgraceful to the character of a Christian country. One of the children replied to a question put to him: "I never heard of France; I never heard of Scotland or Ireland; I do not know what America is." James Taylor, a boy eleven years old, said that he "has never heard of Jesus Christ; has never heard of God, but has heard the men in the pit say 'God damn them;' never heard of London." A girl eighteen years old, said, "I never heard of Christ at all." This indeed, the commissioner adds, is very common among children and young persons. She proceeded to say, "I never go to church or chapel;" again, "I don't know who God is." The sub-commissioner who visited Halifax, has recorded this sentence: "You have expressed surprise, says an employer, at Thomas Mitchell not having heard of God; I judge there are very few colliers here about that have."

Now can it be possible that such a state of things should exist without being attended with the most pernicious consequences? but, I will go further, and rejoice that it is not possible—an evil unfelt is an evil unseen; nothing but an urgent and a biting necessity will rouse us to action from our fancied security.

First, Sir, observe the effects that are produced by the drunken habits of the working-classes; you cannot have a more unanswerable proof of the moral degradation of a people. I know it is frequently asserted that inebrietv has yielded, in many instances, to greater habits of tem-

perance; but suppose it to be so; the abatement is merely fractional; and no guarantee is given, in an improved morality, that those persons will not return to their former vicious courses—the abatement, however, has not taken place, at least in those districts which were lately subjected to the enquiries of the Commissioners. Will the House now listen to some statements on this subject, which, lamentable as is the condition they disclose, describe but a tenth part of the evils springing out of this sad propensity? In the year 1834 a Committee was appointed on the motion of Mr. Buckingham, to investigate the causes and effects of drunkenness. That Committee produced a report, which, by the by, has never received a tithe of the attention so valuable a document deserved; from that report we learn that the sum annually expended by the working-people in the consumption of ardent spirits is estimated at twenty-five millions! and "I have no doubt," says a witness of great experience, "that it is, in fact, to a much larger extent." I wrote to the chaplain of a county jail, a gentleman of considerable observation and judgment, and put to him the following question,—"How much of the crime that brings prisoners to the jail can you trace to habits of intoxication?" Now mark his reply; "In order to arrive at a just conclusion, I devoted several nights to a careful examination of the entries in my journals for a series of years, and although I had been impressed previously with a very strong conviction, derived from my own personal experience in attendance on the sick poor, that the practice of drinking was the great moral pestilence of the kingdom, I was certainly not prepared for the frightful extent to which I find it chargeable with the production of crime: I am within the mark in saying that three-fourths of the crime committed is the result of intemperance." In corroboration of this, I will appeal to the very valuable evidence

given by Mr. J. Smith, the governor of the prison in Edinburgh. That witness states—"Having been for a number of years a missionary among the poor in Edinburgh, and having for two years had the charge of the house of refuge for the destitute, I have had, perhaps, the best opportunities of observing how far drunkenness produced ignorance, destitution, and crime; and the result of my experience is a firm conviction that, but for the effects of intemperance, directly and indirectly, instead of having five hundred prisoners in this prison at this time, there would not have been fifty."

The next document to which I shall refer, I regard as of a most important nature, and as one which deserves the most serious attention of the House. It is a memorial drawn up by a body of working men at Paisley, and addressed to their employers. It bears assuredly a remarkable testimony as to the moral effects of intemperance. I entertain a strong opinion of the great value of this paper, not only from the opinions which it expresses, but because it developes the sentiments of that class who are the agents and victims of this disastrous habit, and who speak, therefore, from practical knowledge. It states that "drunkenness is most injurious to the interests of the weavers as a body: drunkards are always on the brink of destitution. There can be no doubt that whatever depresses the moral worth of any body of workmen, likewise depresses their wages; and whatever elevates that worth, enables them to obtain and procure higher wages." This, Sir, in my opinion, is as sound political economy as ever has been spoken, written, or published. Again, I find it stated in the report of Mr. Buckingham's committee, that the estimated value of the property lost or deteriorated by drunkenness, either by shipwreck or mischiefs of a similar character, was not less than £50,000,000 a year.—These are the financial

losses; and it may be easy to estimate, with sufficient accuracy, the pecuniary damage that society undergoes by these pernicious practices; but it is not so easy to estimate the moral and social waste, the intellectual suffering and degradation which follow in their train. To that end I must here invite the attention of the House to evidence of another description; I will lay before them the testimony of eminent medical men, who will shew what ruin of the intellect and the disposition attends the indulgence of these vicious enjoyments—we shall see how large a proportion of the cases of lunacy is ascribable to intoxication; but we shall draw, moreover, this startling conclusion, that, if thousands from this cause are deprived of their reason and incarcerated in mad-houses, there must be many-fold more who, though they fall short of the point of absolute insanity, are impaired in their understanding and moral perceptions. The first medical authority to which I shall refer, is a very eminent physician, well known to many members of this house, I mean Dr. Corsellis, of the Wakefield Lunatic Asylum: "I am led," he says, "to believe that intemperance is the exciting cause of insanity in about one-third of the cases of this institution;" and he adds, "the proportion at Glasgow is about twenty-six per cent., and at Aberdeen eighteen per cent." Dr. Browne, of the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, says—"The applications for the introduction of individuals who have lost reason from excessive drinking continue to be very numerous." At Northampton, the superintendent of the asylum says—"Amongst the causes of insanity intemperance predominates." At Montrose, Dr. Poole, the head of the asylum, says—"Twenty-four per cent. of insane cases from intemperance." Dr. Prichard, who is well known, not only in the medical, but also in the literary world, writes to me that—"The medical writers of all countries reckon intemperance among the

most influential exciting causes of insanity. Esquirol, who has been most celebrated on the continent for his researches into the statistics of madness, and who is well known to have extended his enquiries into all countries, was of opinion that " this cause gives rise to one-half of the cases of insanity that occur in Great Britain." Dr. Prichard adds that " this fact, although startling, is confirmed by many instances. It was found that, in an asylum at Liverpool, to which four hundred and ninety-five patients had been admitted, not less than two hundred and fifty-seven had become insane from intemperance." It is confirmed as a scientific fact by statements of American physicians almost without exception. Dr. Rensselaer, of the United States, says, that, " in his opinion, one half of the cases of insanity which came under the care of medical men in that country arose more or less from the use of strong drink."—These things, Sir, not only inflict misery and suffeirng on a very large class of the present community, but they entail a heavy loss on the country at large. It cannot be denied that the state has an interest in the health and strength of her sons; but the effects of various diseases on one generation are transmitted with intensity to another! I may also mention, to support these opinions, that the number of admissions to the Somerset Hospital, Cape Town, in the course of a year and nine months, was 1,050, and of these not less than 763 were the result of intemperance. It was also found, by *post mortem* examinations, that in the same period the number of deaths in that hospital, which was caused by intemperance, was not less than eight out of ten. Now look to the pauperism it produces; one instance shall suffice: Mr. Chadwick gave in evidence before the Committee on Drunkenness, in 1834,—"The contractor for the management of the poor in Lambeth, and other parishes, stated to me that he once investigated the cause of pau-

perism in the cases of paupers then under his charge. The inquiry, he says, was conducted for some months, as I investigated every new case, and I found in nine cases out of ten the main cause was the ungovernable inclination for fermented liquors."

Next, Sir, vice is expensive to the public; Mr. Collins, in his valuable statistics of Glasgow, observes,—"The people will cost us much, whether we will or not; if we will not suffer ourselves to be taxed for their religious instruction, we must suffer to be taxed for the punishment and repression of crime." I will now just give a short estimate of the amount of the expense to which the country is subjected directly for the suppression of crime. I find that the expense of jails in 1841 was £137,449; during the same period the expense of houses of correction was £129,163; making together a total of £256,612. The expense of criminal prosecutions in 1841 was £170,521; the charge for the conveyance of prisoners was £23,242; the charge for the conveyance of transports to the hulks, &c. £8,195; and the expense for vagrants £7,167. These items make together the sum of £209,125. The expense of the rural police, and it should be remembered that this is only for a few counties, is £139,228. Thus the charges under the three heads which I have mentioned, amount, in a single year, to £604,965. But here, Sir, is a document well deserving, I think, of the attention of the House,—a curious illustration of the facts we are asserting; I have not been able to verify it myself, but I will take it as stated—In the county of Lancaster, in 1832, the number of criminal cases tried at the assizes was 126, and the average charge for each of them £40. The number of cases tried at the sessions was 2,587, and the average charge for each of these was £7. 19*s*. The aggregate amount of charge was £25,656. Now in addition to this average charge, let us take the

estimate cost for the transportation across the seas of each person convicted at £25. This would be a gross sum for the cost of each prosecution of £65;—if the calculation, then, of Mr. Burgess be correct, that eleven shillings in the year will supply the education of one child for that term, we must confess that for the expense of a single convict, we might, during the space of twelve months, give moral and religious education to one hundred and seventeen children. Nevertheless, Sir, it is a melancholy fact, that while the country disburses the sums I have mentioned, and more too, for the punishment of crime, the State devotes but thirty thousand a year to the infusion of virtue; and yet, I ask you, could you institute a happier and healthier economy in your finances, than to reduce your criminal, so to speak, and increase your moral expenditure? Difficulties may lie in your way; mortifications may follow your attempts, but you cannot fail of raising some to the dignity of virtuous men, and many to the rank of tranquil and governable citizens.

I have not here included an estimate of the loss inflicted on society by plunder, violence, and neglect; nor can I arrive at it; it must, however, be necessarily very large. Let us use as an approximation, a statement made by a late member of this House (Mr. Slaney) that, in one year, in the town of Liverpool alone, the loss by plunder was calculated at the enormous sum of seven hundred thousand pounds.

Thus far, Sir, I have endeavoured to lay before you an outline of our present condition, and to collect, into one point of view, a few of the more prominent mischiefs. A partial remedy for these evils will be found in the moral and religious culture of the infant mind; but this is not all: we must look further, and do more, if we desire to place the working-classes in such a condition that, the lessons they have learned as children, they may have freedom to practise as adults.

Now, if it be true, as most undoubtedly it is, that the State has a deep interest in the moral and physical prosperity of all her children, she must not terminate her care with the years of infancy, but extend her control and providence over many other circumstances that affect the working-man's life. Without entering here into the nature and variety of those practical details, which might be advantageously taught in addition to the first and indispensable elements, we shall readily perceive that many things are requisite, even to the adult, to secure to him, so far as is possible, the well-being of his moral and physical condition. I speak not now of laws and regulations to abridge, but to enlarge his freedom; not to limit his rights, but to multiply his opportunities of enjoying them; laws and regulations which shall give him what all confess to be his due; which shall relieve him from the danger of temptations he would willingly avoid, and under which he cannot but fall; and which shall place him, in many aspects of health, happiness, and possibilities of virtue, in that position of independence and security, from which, under the present state of things, he is too often excluded.

Sir, there are many evils of this description which might be urged; but I shall name three only, as indications of what I mean, and as having a most injurious and most lasting effect on the moral and physical condition of an immense portion of our people. I will briefly state them; and there will then be no difficulty in shewing their connection with the present motion; and how deep and how immediate is their influence on the morals of infants and adults, of children and parents; and how utterly hopeless are all systems of education, so long as you suffer them extensively to prevail.

The first I shall take is the truck system. Now hear what Mr. Horne, the sub-commissioner, says on this subject:—"The truck system encourages improvidence, by

preventing the chance of a habit of saving, for nobody can save food. It prevents a family from obtaining a sufficient supply of clothes, and more comfortable furniture, in proportion to the possession of which it is always found that the working-man becomes more steady, industrious, and careful. It therefore amounts to a prevention of good conduct." In another place, he says: "The poor working man never sees the colour of a coin, all his wages are consumed in food, and of the very worst quality; and to prevent the chance of his having a single penny in his possession, the reckonings were postponed from week to week, until sometimes two or three months had elapsed." Now, as to the corrupting effects of this system, Mr. Horne, in his report, emphatically says:—"One final remark should, however, be made on the particular evil of the system, which principally relates to the moral condition of the children and young persons, nothing can be worse than the example set by the truck system—an example which is constantly before the eyes of the children, and in which they grow up, familiarised with the grossest frauds, the subtlest tricks, and the most dishonest evasions, habitually practised by their masters, parents, and other adults, in the very face of law and justice, and with perfect impunity." Such is the result of this part of the inquiry made by Mr. Horne. That gentleman uses the emphatic language that the truck system not only familiarises the mind, and the mind too of the child, with the grossest frauds, but that it tends to prevent the practice of any of the moral virtues. See, too, the effect as stated in the evidence produced before Parliament. It is notorious that the system has led to the most serious effects in several parts of the country. The whole man suffers; his experience; his thrifty habits; his resolutions of forethought; he is widely and justly discontented, becomes a bad subject, and ripe

for mischief. In 1834 the existence of the truck system drove the mining districts of South Wales into open rebellion; it produced the disturbances that took place in Staffordshire in 1842; and no one can calculate the flood of the moral and physical mischiefs that devastated those counties as the result of their outbreak.

I will take, in the second place, the payment of wages in public-houses, beer-shops, and localities of that description. You have recognised the principle of interdicting such a practice in the Colliery-bill of last year; let me shew how necessary it is that a law of that kind should become universal:—"Payments of wages in cash," says Mr. Horne, "are made in a public-house (for the convenience, they pretend, of change), where it is required that every man shall spend a shilling as a rule, which is to be spent in drink. Boys have also to spend proportionately to their wages (generally sixpence), and either they thus learn to drink by taking their share, or, if they cannot, some adult drinks it for them till they can. The keeper of this house generally delays the settling of accounts, so as to give more time for drinking previously." Now, Sir, I have frequently heard discredit thrown on the exertions that have been made to promote the improvement in the moral condition of the working classes, in consequence of the criminal conduct of some who had received a moral and religious education. No doubt it is true that persons may be found in jails who have received their education in Sunday and other schools; but there is many a man who will trace his ruin to the practice I mention; whole families have been pauperized; and, by a perverted logic, moral teaching itself is declared to be useless, because the system we allow has made moral practice next to impossible.

The third, is the state of the dwellings of the poor—I

will at once put before the House a picture drawn by an able hand;—Captain Miller, the valuable superintendent of the police at Glasgow, writes thus: "In the very centre of the city there is an accumulated mass of squalid wretchedness, which is probably unequalled in any other town in the British dominions. There is concentrated every thing that is wretched, dissolute, loathsome, and pestilential. These places are filled by a population of many thousands of miserable creatures. The houses in which they live are unfit even for stys; and every apartment is filled with a promiscuous crowd of men, women, and children: all in the most revolting state of filth and squalor. In many of the houses there is scarcely any ventilation; dunghills lie in the vicinity of the dwellings; and from the extremely defective sewerages, filth of every kind constantly accumulates. In these horrid dens the most abandoned characters of the city are collected; from whence they nightly issue to disseminate diseases, and to pour upon the town every species of crime and abomination."—Will any man after this tell me that it is to any purpose to take children for the purposes of education during two hours a day, and then turn them back for twenty-two to such scenes of vice, and filth, and misery? I am quite certain this statement is not exaggerated, I have been on the spot and seen it myself; and not only there, but I have found a similar state of things existing at Leeds, at Manchester, and in London. It is impossible for language to describe the horrid and disgraceful scenes that are exposed to the sight in these places, and I am sure no one can recollect, without the most painful feelings, the thousands and hundreds of thousands, who ought to be the subjects of any system of education, that are hopelessly congregated in these dens of filth, of suffering, and infamy.

Turn, then, to the invaluable report of Mr. Chadwick on

the sanitary state of the population, which has just been presented to the House. He shews clearly how indispensable it is to establish some better regulations with regard to the residences of the people, if you wish to make them a moral and religious race, and that all your attempts at their reformation will be useless, if steps are not taken to promote their decency and comfort. He says, amongst the conclusions at which he arrives towards the end of his report:—"That the formation of all habits of cleanliness is obstructed by defective supplies of water; that the annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death or wounds in any wars in which the country has been engaged in modern times; that of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage, relieved from the poor's-rate in England alone, it appears that the greatest proportions of deaths of the heads of families occurred from the above specified and other removable causes; that their ages were under forty-five years—that is to say, thirteen years below the natural probabilities of life, as shewn by the experience of the whole population of Sweden; that the younger population, bred up under noxious physical agencies, is inferior in physical organization and general health to a population preserved from the presence of such agencies; that the population, so exposed, is less susceptible of moral influences, and the effects of education are more transient, than with a healthy population; that these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, improvident, reckless, and intemperate, and with habitual avidity for sensual gratification; that these habits lead to the abandonment of all the conveniences and the decencies of life, and especially lead to the over-crowding of their homes, which is destructive to the morality as well as to the health of large classes of both sexes; that defective town-cleansing fosters habits of the

most abject degradation, tending to the demoralization of large numbers of human beings, who subsist by means of what they find amid the various filth accumulated in neglected streets and by-places." Now, Sir, can any one gainsay the assertion that this state of things is cruel, disgusting, perilous?—indifference, despair, neglect of every kind—of the household, the children, the moral and the physical part—must follow in the train of such evils; the contemplation of them distresses the standers by, it exasperates the sufferer and his whole class, it breeds discontent and every bad passion; and then, when disaffection stalks abroad, we are alarmed, and cry out that we are fallen upon evil times, and so we are; but it is not because poverty is always seditious, but because wealth is too frequently oppressive.

This, Sir, completes the picture I desired to lay before the House: it has been imperfectly, and I fear tediously drawn. There is, however, less risk in taxing the patience than in taxing the faith of indulgent hearers. I have not presumed to propose a scheme, because I have ever thought that such a mighty undertaking demands the collective deliberation and wisdom of the executive, backed by the authority and influence of the Crown. But what does this picture exhibit. Mark, Sir, first, the utter inefficiency of our penal code—of our capital and secondary punishments. The country is wearied with pamphlets and speeches on gaol-discipline, model-prisons, and corrective processes; meanwhile crime advances at a rapid pace; many are discharged because they cannot be punished, and many become worse by the very punishment they undergo—punishment is disarmed of a large part of its terrors, because it no longer can appeal to any sense of shame;—and all this, because we will obstinately persist in setting our own wilfulness against the experience

of mankind and the wisdom of revelation, and believe that we can regenerate the hardened man while we utterly neglect his pliant childhood. You are right to punish those awful miscreants who make a trade of blasphemy, and pollute the very atmosphere by their foul exhibitions; but you will never subdue their disciples and admirers, except by the implements of another armoury. You must draw from the great depository of truth all that can create and refine a sound public opinion—all that can institute and diffuse among the people the feelings and practices of morality. I hope I am not dictatorial in repeating here, that criminal tables and criminal statistics furnish no estimate of a nation's disorder. Culprits, such as they exhibit, are but the representatives of the mischief, spawned by the filth and corruption of the times. Were the crimes of these offenders the sum total of the crimes of England, although we should lament for the individuals, we might disregard the consequences; but the danger is wider, deeper, fiercer; and no one who has heard these statements and believes them, can hope that twenty years more will pass without some mighty convulsion, and displacement of the whole system of society.

Next, Sir, observe that our very multitude oppresses us; and oppresses us, too, with all the fearful weight of a blessing converted into a curse. The King's strength ought to be in the multitude of his people; and so it is; not, however, such a people as we must shortly have; but in a people happy, healthy, and virtuous; "Sacra Deûm, sanctique patres." Is that our condition of present comfort or prospective safety? You have seen in how many instances the intellect is impaired, and even destroyed by the opinions and practices of our moral world; honest industry will decline, energy will be blunted, and whatever shall remain of zeal be perverted to the worst and

most perilous uses. An evil state of morals engenders and diffuses a ferocious spirit; the mind of man is as much affected by moral epidemics, as his body by disorders; thence arise murders, blasphemies, seditions, every thing that can tear prosperity from nations, and peace from individuals. See, Sir, the ferocity of disposition that your records disclose; look at the savage treatment of children and apprentices; and imagine the awful results, if such a spirit were let loose upon society. Is the character of your females nothing?—and yet hear the language of an eye-witness, and one long and deeply conversant with their character; "They are becoming similar to the female followers of an army, wearing the garb of women, but actuated by the worst passions of men; in every riot or outbreak in the manufacturing districts the women are the leaders and exciters of the young men to violence. The language they indulge in is of the most horrid description—in short, while they are demoralised themselves, they demoralise all that come within their reach." People, Mr. Speaker, will oftentimes administer consolation by urging that a mob of Englishmen will never be disgraced by the atrocities of the Continent. Now, Sir, apart from the fact that one hundredth part of "the reign of terror" is sufficient to annihilate all virtue and all peace in society, we have never, except in 1780, and a few years ago at Bristol and Nottingham, seen a mob of our countrymen in triumphant possession. Conflagration then and plunder devastated the scene; nor were they forgotten in the riots of last year, when, during the short-lived anarchy of an hour, they fired I know not how many houses within the district of the Potteries.

Consider, too, the rapid progress of time. In ten years from this hour—no long period in the history of a nation—

all who are nine years of age will have reached the age of nineteen years; a period in which, with the few years that follow, there is the least sense of responsibility, the power of the liveliest action, and the greatest disregard of human suffering and human life. The early ages are of incalculable value; an idle reprobate of fourteen is almost irreclaimable; every year of delay abstracts from us thousands of useful fellow-citizens; nay, rather, it adds them to the ranks of viciousness, of misery, and of disorder. So long, Sir, as this plague-spot is festering among our people, all our labours will be in vain; our recent triumphs will avail us nothing—to no purpose, while we are rotten at heart, shall we toil to improve our finances, to expand our commerce, and explore the hidden sources of our difficulty and alarm. We feel that all is wrong, we grope at noonday as though it were night; disregarding the lessons of history and the Word of God, that there is neither hope nor strength, nor comfort, nor peace, but in a virtuous, a "wise, and an understanding people."

But, if we will retrace our steps, and do the first works—if we will apply ourselves earnestly, in faith and fear, to this necessary service, there lie before us many paths of peace, many prospects of encouragement. Turn where you will; examine the agents of every honest calling, and you will find that the educated man is the safest and the best in every profession. I might quote the testimony of distinguished officers, both military and naval, and they will tell you that no discipline is so vigorous as morality. I have here the earnest declaration of various manufacturers, that trustworthiness and skill will ever follow on religious training. You have heard the opinions of the judges at the late special assizes, more particularly the charge of that eminent lawyer and good man, Chief Justice Tindal. I have read

correspondence of the clergy in the disturbed districts, and they boldly assert, that very few belonging to their congregations, and none belonging to their schools, were found among the insurgents against the public peace; because such persons well know that, however grievous their wrongs, they owe obedience to the laws, not on a calculation of forces, but for conscience' sake.

Nor let us, Sir, put out of mind this great and stirring consideration, that the moral condition of England seems destined by Providence to lead the moral condition of the world. Year after year we are sending forth thousands and hundreds of thousands of our citizens to people the vast solitudes and islands of another hemisphere; the Anglo-Saxon race will shortly overspead half the habitable globe. What a mighty and what a rapid addition to the happiness of mankind, if these thousands should carry with them, and plant in those distant regions, our freedom, our laws, our morality, and our religion!

This, Sir, is the ground of my appeal to this House; the plan that I venture to propose, and the argument by which I sustain it. It is, I know, but a portion of what the country requires; and even here we shall have, no doubt, disappointments to undergo, and failures to deplore; it will, nevertheless, bear for us abundant fruit. We owe to the poor of our land a weighty debt. We call them improvident and immoral, and so many of them are; but that improvidence and that immorality are the results, in a great measure, of our neglect, and, in not a little, of our example. We owe them, too, the debt of kinder language, and more frequent intercourse.—This is no fanciful obligation; our people are more alive than any other to honest zeal for their cause, and sympathy with their necessities, which, fall though it often-times may on unimpressible hearts, never fails to find some that it comforts, and many

that it softens. Only let us declare, this night, that we will enter on a novel and a better course—that we will seek their temporal, through their eternal welfare—and the half of our work will then have been achieved. There are many hearts to be won, many minds to be instructed, and many souls to be saved: "*Oh Patria! oh Divûm domus!*" —the blessing of God will rest upon our endeavours; and the oldest among us may perhaps live to enjoy, for himself and for his children, the opening day of the immortal, because the moral glories of the British empire.

The following TABLE, showing the state of parts of London, which it was intended to quote, was accidentally omitted.

The London City Mission Report of two districts just examined, 1842:—

In a small district immediately contiguous to Holborn Hill, found, families	103
Consisting of, persons	391
From six years and upwards, could not read	280
Of these, above twenty years of age	119
In five courts and alleys in the Cow-cross district:—	
Heads of families	158
Cannot read	102
Young persons, between seven and twenty-two	106
Cannot read	77

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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. I.—1. *Exposé des Motifs et Projet de Loi sur l'Instruction primaire, présentés à la Chambre des Députés.* Par le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de l'Instruction publique. Séance du 2d Jan. 1833.

2. *Rapport fait à la Chambre des Députés, de la Commission chargée de l'Examen du Projet de Loi sur l'Instruction primaire.* Par M. Renouard, Député de la Somme. Séance du 4 Mars, 1833.
3. *Rapport fait à la Chambre des Pairs*, par M. Cousin, *au nom d'une Commission Spéciale chargée de l'Examen du Projet de la Loi sur l'Instruction primaire.* Séance du 21 Mai, 1833.
4. *Idem; amendé par la Chambre des Députés.* Séance du 22 Juin, 1833.
5. *Bulletin Universitaire.* Juin 28, 1833.
6. *Rapport au Roi sur l'Etat d'Instruction primaire, et sur l'Emploi des Fonds Votés sur le Budget de* 1832, *en faveur de cette Instruction.*
7. *Rapport au Roi*, par le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au Departement de l'Instruction publique; *sur l'Exécution de la Loi du* 28 *Juin*, 1833, *rélative à l'Instruction publique.* Paris, Avril 1834. Impriméríe Royale.
8. *Das neue französische Unterrichtsgesetz, als Seitenstück zu dem Berichte des Herrn Staatsrathes Cousin über das öffentliche Unterrichtswesen in Deutschland.* Von T. C. Kröger, Dr. der Philosophie, &c. Hamburgh.
9. *Report from Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Education, &c. &c.* August, 1834.

The English public has been put in possession of the details of that remarkable and complete code of public instruction in Prussia (in its two primary stages, schools for the lowest class, and those for the lower middling class,) which may be regarded as consolidating all those widely diffused principles and elements

of popular education which have for ages been current and operative all over Germany; but which Prussia has had the glory of reducing to a system, uniform, complete, and harmonious in all its parts, and which, we venture to predict, will become the parent and the model of whatever efficient systems of national education the world is destined to see.

Its first-born offspring we are now about to contemplate. It cannot be unimportant to England to see how the facts and the principles imported into France by M. Cousin have fructified, and what is the fruit they have brought forth. The materials for our article are, as will be seen by our title, of an official and historical, rather than of a speculative, nature. Our long list of documents will suffice to shew that the French government has set about its great work with all the gravity and deliberation that becomes it. We flatter ourselves, that the time of our readers will not be misemployed in following step by step, though with as much condensation as possible, the discussions of the distinguished men to whom France owes this important measure. Many of the points which come under debate are those which are still contested here: many of the difficulties which have been surmounted are those which remain to be conquered here. In most respects we are happy to look to the acts of the French government as examples; on one extremely important point we regard them as a warning—if, indeed, that word be not improperly applied to an inevitable concession to popular prejudice. But on this head our opinion will meet with few adherents. It is the more imperative a duty to enforce it on every occasion, which we shall continue to do.

The work of Dr. Kröger, which stands nearly at the bottom of our list, is little more than a translation of the first four documents, with a preface and notes. We notice it chiefly to honour the generous alacrity with which Germany reflects back the light which France had borrowed from herself; the eager interest with which she watches the progress of her mighty neighbour, and so late bitter foe. The good which mankind may hope to derive from this active sympathy in each other's best and highest interest—this common zeal for instruction—this generous emulation in promoting the dignity of man—cannot be contemplated without a glow of hope, and of thankfulness to the Inspirer of all humane and generous thoughts and purposes. May England alone not shew herself cold and lifeless in this noble competition! May she not suffer the waters that roll between her and her sister nations to arrest the course, or chill the fervour, of this divine spirit! We have one common burden of want, and error, and sin, to bear; one common interest in its dimi-

nution; and we must combine our forces against "that brood of vices, born of undisciplined and lawless thoughts and dispositions, which are the only real enemies man has to combat; moral fortitude in which warfare is the greatest and the only true glory of man, and is called in an especial and practical sense, *wisdom;* since its end is the same as that of the very existence of man upon earth. In the possession of her is man alone free, healthful, rich; a king whom neither fortune nor fate can dethrone,—since he possesses himself, and the virtuous can in no wise be dispossessed of his virtue."* This, then, is the true and glorious battle-field on which the nations are to meet—not face to face, but side by side—animated by a religion stronger than that which led them to die together on the burning sands of Syria. France, England, and Germany, combining their respective gifts and virtues to eradicate their respective vices, to supply their respective defects—what might they not effect? Before entering on the combat, however, each must first lay on the altar a propitiatory sacrifice—its own vainglory, scorn, and hate.

But from the wishes and the visions into which these dawnings of a better day have led us, we must return to facts; and if our readers may be inclined to smile at the impulse they have given to our imagination, the soberest among them will at least agree with us, that there is much to encourage the friends of education, and, therefore, of humanity. The result of the legislative discussions which head our article, and the subsequent operation of the law to which they gave birth, are embodied in the great Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the king, which is got up with a *luxe* of statistical detail that leaves no point of the subject questionable. Following the sequence of events, we shall begin with the consideration of the *Exposé des Motifs.*

"The character of the law we have the honour to lay before you," says the minister, addressing the Chamber of Deputies, "is essentially practical." It was abundantly necessary, in speaking to Frenchmen, to set out with this assurance; for the revolution, along with other schemes impossible to be fulfilled, had put forth pompous laws for universal education, which never were, and never could be, obeyed.

"The law of the 13th and 14th September, 1791, decided, that nstruction *should be gratuitous as regards those parts of instruction which are indispensable for all men.* What the Constituent

* Kant, *Tugendlehre.*

Assembly said, the Convention did, or, at least, tried to do; it decreed an universal elementary education, with a fixed salary of 1200 francs to each schoolmaster, to be paid from the public treasury, as well as a proportionate retiring pension;—a magnificent promise which did not produce one single school!"

"From the principle of gratuitous primary instruction, considered as a debt of the state, let us pass," continues M. Guizot, "to the opposite principle, which has still so many partisans; that of instruction considered as a mere trade or profession (*industrie*); and, consequently, given over to the only sound law of all trade, free competition, and to the natural solicitude of parents, without any intervention on the part of the state. . . . But the places where instruction is the most wanted are precisely those which offer the least temptation to industry; and thus the most sacred demand of a people remains without any security for its supply."

This, we are proud to confess, by no means covers the ground as far as England is concerned. There remains the very powerful and active principle of the voluntary combination of the wealthy for the provision of instruction for the indigent. What are our objections to that, as the *sole* principle to be relied on, we may probably find occasion hereafter to state. In the meantime we pray not to be misunderstood. We honour and reverence the persons, of whatever sect or class, who have so employed time and money; we are far, indeed, from wishing to see their useful and admirable labours relaxed or rendered superfluous; nor should we approve a system that took all supervision out of their hands. We think it can be shewn that a national system would but harmonise and direct their efforts; and that a larger and more united combination would, with the same expenditure of time and money, bring forth fruit a hundred-fold. We cordially assent to the remark of the Bishop of London, in his evidence, as to "the important moral benefit which flows from the voluntary exertions of charity."* The contrary view of that subject seems to us narrow and one-sided; for it is certain that actions are no less the parents of dispositions, than dispositions of actions. "He who often exercises beneficence," says Kant, in the admirable ethical treatise above quoted, "at length comes really to love those whom he has benefitted." And he shews *how* we are to learn to obey the injunction, to love our neighbour as ourselves. "Do good to thy neighbour, and this will create in thee love to thy neighbour—the fulfilment or completion of the inclination to do good." Let us not, then, be supposed to desire to make education the concern of mere official functionaries; or to imagine that any thing could compensate for a general indifference to it on

* Report from Select Committee, &c., p. 191.

the part of those who understand its value, and have done so much to promote its spread.

The minister goes on to argue that primary instruction must not be left exclusively chargeable on the *communes* (or parishes); that they could hardly support the expense of an effective system of education; that you then fall upon this alternative,—either the poorest children go uneducated, or the master is ruined. Another reason for not leaving each *commune* to provide instruction for its own poor is of the greatest weight with us:—

> "Nothing is more wise than to call in the local authorities to the superintendence of primary instruction; but it is not good that it be left entirely to them, for then primary instruction is given over to a local spirit and all its littlenesses. *If we wish that schoolmasters should be useful, they must be respected;* to be respected, they must have the character of *servants of the state:* under the eye, unquestionably, of the parish authorities, but not exclusively in their power. They must be dependent on a more general authority."

It is impossible to deny that nothing can be on a worse footing than the station of schoolmasters in this country, unless it be their education: indeed, *as schoolmasters,* we utterly deny that they have either education or station; and, while this remains as it is, we shall continue to hear with very moderate satisfaction of the increased number of schools.

Such is the importance which reflection and experience have led the Germans to attach to this matter, that we find, out of only four objections made by Dr. Kröger to the French law, two go exactly to these two points. He would diminish the facility of entering the profession, and he would make a more secure provision for those who have entered it.—While we admit that it may have been prudent in the French government to do what it has done, and no more, we agree in principle with Dr. Kröger. We are for the utmost rigour of qualification; the utmost practicable liberality of pay; and, still more, the utmost consideration and honour. This, it is true, must rather follow than precede a general improvement in education; but we might at least expect a greater sense of its importance in the classes calling themselves educated.

Next follows the discussion of that most serious and awful difficulty which it has required all the firmness and the conciliation of the French government to overcome—if, indeed, it be overcome; and which will form the main, we fear the insuperable, obstacle, to any all-embracing system here: we mean the degree to which National Education should be under the direction of the clergy of the established church.

"Let us suppose a government," says the minister, "which would attempt, like the Restoration in its worst days, to commit the education of the people exclusively to the clergy: this culpable concession would at once have the effect of depriving of instruction the children of all those parents who reject, and with reason, ecclesiastical domination; as, on the other hand, by substituting in schools what is called civil morality for morality based on religion, we should not only be guilty of a great fault towards the youthful population, but should excite most formidable resistance; we should render primary education an object of suspicion, perhaps of antipathy, to a multitude of parents who enjoy a well-deserved influence."

It is true that the difficulty in this country is different, and far more complex. The question is not religion or no religion, but what sort of religion? And here the divarications are so numerous that it seems impossible to arrive at any unity, without concessions which we fear it is useless to ask. Not, however, to insist on the often-repeated argument, that in the years of childhood it is of far more importance to cultivate religious dispositions, and to connect with devotional feelings the largest sentiments of humanity and the most exact sense of justice, than to command the assent to any point of doctrine whatever; we venture to believe that the difficulty is greatly overstated, and that a *very little* concession on each side would enable all sects to concur with the established church in a system of instruction eminently beneficial to the children and satisfactory to the parents. By a reference to the evidence of the Bishop of London and of other witnesses, before the committee of the House of Commons, it appears distinctly that the instances of objections made by dissenting parents to their children joining in the religious instruction given at the National Schools, are extremely rare; that they are satisfied that they *have* religious instruction, and trust to their own or their pastor's influence to correct those points of belief in which they differ. At the same time, it is difficult to say how much of this is owing to the discretion of the teachers. "The practical working of our national system," says the Bishop of London, "*in judicious hands*, is such that no offence *need* be given to Dissenters."* We are most ready to believe this; but we anticipate, from the growing liberality and practical soundness of his lordship's views on the subject, that he will see that if a very little *security* were given to Dissenters for this absence of offence, the Church might stand in a much more advantageous position with regard to national education than she does now; and might put in the wrong those who obstruct the formation of a comprehensive scheme, for the

* Vide Report of Select Committee, &c.

sake of distinctions of which they exaggerate the importance to the parents. The truth is, the mass of the people care little about the nice and "vermicular questions" which divide their betters; and we suspect that the conscientious and excellent men who compose the committees of the British and Foreign Schools suppose in them scruples of which they have not even an idea. We humbly suggest, that if, by removing some stumbling-blocks out of their brother's path, the clergy would facilitate union, and if the Dissenters would be content also to make some slight concessions which would be little felt by those who are really interested, a complete system of secular instruction might be given to all the children in the country, based upon a religious education very nearly satisfactory to all. In short, let the Church make her schools universal; let her make them as little afflictive to tender consciences as she conscientiously can; let her make them pre-eminent in the extent, and excellence, and obvious utility, of their *moral and secular instruction*, and she will stand in the relation in which she ought to stand to National Education. At present, her best friends must feel her position to be sectarian. At the same time, we confess that we wish this result more than we hope it.

This, however, is matter of opinion; and if the various sects which divide this country are determined upon segregating their several children, the Prussian law of 1819, and its child, the French law of 1832, shew that perfect latitude may be allowed to each sect for giving that portion of education, while a rigid conformity is enforced in all secular branches of knowledge. But if any one church or sect should go the length of maintaining that children not born within its pale, or conforming to its doctrines, are to be left uneducated, it then becomes the paramount duty of the state to interfere. In the eye of an enlightened government, the more absurd or pernicious the doctrines of any sect, the more intense the demand for the largest possible quantum of instruction for its infant members. "La dette étroite du pays envers tous ses enfans," as M. Guizot well expresses it, then acquires its highest possible degree of cogency. It is impossible not to perceive, both in the tone of M. Cousin's *Report on the state of Education in Germany*, and in all the documents to which we now refer, that the persons to whom France owes this immense benefit anticipated considerable resistance to the interposition of the clergy on any terms. In Germany, which the ignorant among us are always confounding with France in one common charge of irreligion, we are perfectly confident that no such thing as a system of popular education, excluding the ministers of religion, could ever have been thought of.

Dr. Kröger speaks of the "hostile disposition towards the clergy, and the contemplated exclusion of the ecclesiastical authorities from all superintendence of public instruction (happily, however, prevented)," as of ill omen for the cause of education in France. This would be the general sentiment in Germany. Too much cannot be said in praise of the French minister and council, who disdained to compromise the safety and usefulness of their work (we speak of them now only as statesmen), for the sake of a little short-lived and clamorous popularity in certain quarters.

We think it hardly necessary to go into the arguments for what seems to us a necessary condition of the existence of any SYSTEM in this country—the intervention (not the domination) of the clergy in public instruction. We frankly confess, however, that the relation in which the clergy of the Church of England stand to that very large portion of the community which has seen fit to secede from it, and the dispositions too commonly evinced by them towards those with whom such a system as we contemplate would necessarily bring them into contact, render us altogether doubtful of the experiment here being attended with the same thorough and assured success which it has met with in Germany.

Nor, on the other hand, are we in better heart about the Dissenters. The bad seed of contempt has brought forth an abundant crop of its usual bitter fruits. No class of men can be long degraded and despised with impunity. It is evident that the language and conduct of many of the Dissenters (there are honourable exceptions) towards the Church, are the effect of exasperation, antipathy, and the desire inherent in man to retaliate mortifications and offences.

We look around us with an anxious but almost a desponding eye for that bond of peace which is to bind together these conflicting powers; and our anxiety is sharpened by seeing how numerous and potent are the elements of good, floating about chaotically in this land of ours, hindered from fructifying combination, thwarted of their beneficent operation, by sectarian antipathy. What unmatched zeal, activity, exertion, talent, benevolence! How much is doing for the instruction of the people! How much more is there the will to do! how infinitely more are there the means and the capacity to do! "A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity, might win all these diligences to join and unite into one general and brotherly"* labour of light and love.

Alas! for this inestimable treasure, this talisman, which opens

* Milton.

adamantine gates and lulls fire-breathing monsters; whose gentle compulsion works the most improbable fulfilments—this "generous prudence,"—where is it? and who shall teach it us? Far removed from lip-courtesy, and uncandid reticences, and shallow expediency; the wisdom that cometh of love—the patient indulgence—the solicitude of a consciously erring being for his brethren in error.

But we have already suffered ourselves to be betrayed into far more of general observation than we had intended. We will endeavour, as we proceed, to confine ourselves more strictly to detail, and to the task of presenting our readers with the sum of the opinions contained in the various documents before us.

The (proposed) law reduces the whole subject of primary education to three fundamental questions:—

1st. The subjects of instruction which it ought to embrace:

2d. The nature of the schools to which it ought to be intrusted.

3d. The authorities which ought to be set over it.

As to the first question, the law divides primary instruction into two degrees, elementary and superior. The first may be regarded as the *minimum*, below which it must not descend, "the strict debt of the country towards all its children. This must be common to town and country—to the poorest village, and the stateliest city; wherever, in short, there exists a human creature on the soil of France: it is what is strictly necessary to the dignity of human life, and the protection of social order."

The minister proceeds to discuss the mode of payment. After the strict application of all endowments, bequests, and donations, the burden is distributed thus: one portion to be raised by the commune; another by the monthly pay of the children, excepting such as can be proved to be entirely without means; and, if these be insufficient, the deficiency to be made up by the public treasury. This distribution, as our readers will see, is borrowed from Prussia. We are glad to see that the French legislature has also adopted the rule that the monthly pay of the children shall be collected by a person appointed by the Municipal Council; a rule enforced by the Commission of Peers, as tending "to give that stability and dignity to the master and the school, which is of itself an attraction."

As to the admission of schoolmasters to their office, it seems that in France, as here, much had been said about liberty of teaching; in other words, liberty to teach, without any of the qualifications for teaching. To avoid this absurd abandonment

of a duty, and at the same time to escape the clamour which an exact imitation of the Prussian law would have excited, the minister has steered a middle course.

> "Henceforward," says he, "every citizen eighteen years of age may establish, keep, and direct, any establishment whatever of primary instruction, whether inferior, superior, normal, or other, in any commune, urban or rural, without any other condition whatsoever than a certificate of good life and morals, and a brevet of capacity obtained after examination."

Dr. Kröger calls this *bedenklich* (demanding consideration). We think, too, that the more security the heads of public instruction take for the excellence of their masters, the better. But the French government, no doubt, acted discreetly, and has accomplished what is essential. It invites and challenges all manner of innovations in method, all possible activity in the establishment of schools; but it does not trust to them.

The provision made for schoolmasters in old age likewise differs from that in Prussia. It consists merely of the accumulation of a small portion of the fixed salary paid by the commune, and annually stopped—if we may use the expression: the whole receives interest from the state, and the total product is given to the master on retiring, or to his widow and children on his death. This is, in fact, merely a "compulsory" benefit club. Dr. Kröger thinks it not satisfactory. We have no doubt the French minister would have been happy to propose a larger provision, and one not squeezed out of the earnings of this unduly requited class of men: but, again we say, he probably did what he could. He says—

> "It is expressly understood that in no case can any aid from the public treasury be added to this savings' bank (*caisse de prévoyance*); but it may receive donations or legacies from individuals. Thus will be reconciled the interests of the state, burdened with too many pensions to consent to any addition to that enormous chapter of its expenses, and those of primary instruction, whose servants subsist on a little, but must have some security for the future."

The next point is *the Supervision.*

> "It is necessary that every parish school have a committee near at hand, which has only that school to superintend. We propose, then, a managing committee to each school, and a higher committee to each *arrondissement:* the one charged with the details, the other with the general moral direction; the one with the proposal, the other with the choice of candidates; the one, in case of habitual negligence or grave

misconduct, to act as accuser of the master, the other as judge. These two committees represent, in their combined action, the legitimate intervention of the commune, and of the department."

But this is not enough. There needs, he proceeds to argue, a still higher authority—that authority which, in its turn, represents the power of the state as applied to primary instruction; whose business it is to collect information and opinions from all sources; to diffuse them again through every part of the empire, and to impress upon the whole one uniform and national impulse and direction. This authority, of course, resides with the Minister of Public Instruction aided by his council. Nor is this high officer of state to content himself with mere official reports as to the condition of schools: he must also send, from time to time, delegates into every part of the kingdom to collect information.

And here we come to the very important business of inspectors, and commissions of examination. We wish time and space would permit us to shew how completely, on this as well as on other points, the arguments of M. Guizot are corroborated by the evidence of the most experienced witnesses examined by the committee of the House of Commons. Those of our readers who have attended to M. Cousin's *Report on Prussian Education*,* will remember how strongly he insists on the importance of the appointment of regular and *responsible* inspectors.

We are inclined to think the importance he attaches to this point by no means exaggerated. The following arguments of the minister seem to us unanswerable:—

"It is the business of the highest authority to appoint the members of the commissions empowered to conduct the examinations for granting brevets of capacity, and those at the entering and quitting of the primary normal schools. I beg you to remark, gentlemen, that what we want here is neither mechanical nor moral superintendence; nor the appreciation of the general fitness of a candidate; nor the sitting in judgment on points of conduct nor of discipline: the business in question is entirely special; it is a professional affair (*un œuvre de métier*) if I may use the expression. In the first place, this operation demands, at certain times of the year, much more time, application, and patience, than can reasonably be expected from men of the world, like the members of the council of the arrondissement, and of the department; or

* Not only has the English translation of this work been republished at New York, but, as we learn from the *North American Review* for last April, "the Committee of the Legislature has recommended its distribution to all the towns."—(P. 513.) The reviewer is mistaken in supposing that translation to be an abridgement. The work, as it regards Prussia, is entire. Dr. Kröger says of the original, that it is "incontestably the clearest, most comprehensive, fair, and impartial work which has been written on this subject by any foreigner."

from men of business, necessarily confined to their homes, like the members of the municipal council. In the next place, positive and technical knowledge of the various matters on which the examination turns is absolutely necessary; and it is not sufficient to *have* such knowledge, it must have been proved to exist, in order to give to these examinations the requisite weight and authority. For these reasons, the members of these commissions ought to be, in great part, men specially qualified (*des hommes spéciaux*)—men familiar with the business of tuition (*des gens d'école*). It is evident that primary instruction rests entirely on these examinations. Suppose a little negligence, a little false indulgence, a little ignorance, and it is all over with primary instruction. It is necessary, then, to compose these commissions with the most scrupulous severity, and to appoint only persons versed in the matter. Who is better qualified to do this than the Minister of Public Instruction?"

The common objection or fear excited by the name of a commission in this country is, that it will become a job. But the pay of these commissioners, though enough to remunerate an honest and zealous servant of the public for services so honourable and so satisfactory to his conscience, holds out no temptation to speculators, or to the numerous class of gentlemen whose attainments are of that universal kind, that all they ask is, to be appointed to *something*. The allowance is 15 fr. per day when they visit four communes, 12 fr. when they visit three.

Appended to the *Exposé des Motifs*, the main points of which we have now considered, is the *Projet de Loi*. We have not space to give a list of its provisions, nor, indeed, wculd that be so instructive as the discussions upon the more important of them by the commissions of the two chambers.

The report of the Commission of Deputies,* presented by M. Renouard, begins with these remarkable words:—

"For a long time, gentlemen, to speak in favour of the instruction of the people, and to labour at its advancement, was to act in opposition to the government."

Having traced the progress of public opinion, M. Renouard declares that the principle, that every indigent native of France has a claim on the state for education, is now as generally admitted as that he has a claim for equal justice; the only question is, as to the means of making the practical application.

* This commission consisted of MM. Renouard, Arago, Dubois, Felix Bodin, Las-Cases (fils), Dugas-Montbel, Tixier-Lachassagne, Thabaud-Linetière, Mahul, Eschasseriaux.

"Since the Revolution of 1830, a very rapid acceleration has been given to the progress of primary instruction in France.

"In 1829, of the 38,149 communes of France, 14,230 were wholly without schools; 2,791 less were in this state of destitution in 1832. In the winter of 1829 the number of children receiving instruction was 969,340; in that of 1832, 1,200,715. In the summer of 1829, 543,529; in that of 1832, 696,208. Thirteen primary normal schools existed in 1829, and forty-seven in 1832.

"The budgets of the Restoration gave to primary instruction 50,000 fr. up to the year 1828, when it was raised to 300,000 fr. It was even proposed in 1821, by the commission of the budget, to retrench this miserable sum of 50,000 fr. We have allotted one million."

The Report goes on to discuss the question, what is the matter and degree of instruction necessary to all men. Reading and writing are not knowledge; they are mere instruments for the acquirement of knowledge and for the communication of ideas. Are there not kinds or branches of knowledge at once so general and so necessary as to be properly classed among the indispensable parts of primary instruction?

"If," to use the admirable language of the Report, "there are ideas to which no member of society can serve too strict an apprenticeship; if there is a kind of knowledge which must guide him at every age and under every change of fortune; if there is instruction, the privation of which renders reading and writing a futile or a fatal gift; those who have the power of educating the people ought to take them under its watchful care and guidance, instead of suffering the earliest applications of the arts of reading and writing to wander indifferently over whatever idea may chance to present itself."

The Report proceeds to enforce the necessity of making these mechanical arts subservient to the inculcation of morality.

It is extremely interesting to have the results of the discussions on religious instruction—discussions in which, M. Renouard assures us, the spirit of irreligion had no share.

"Shall we," says he, "decide that religious instruction shall be exclusively reserved for the ministers of every persuasion; or shall we permit (as is proposed in the bill before us) the masters of primary schools to take a share in these instructions?"

This question he determines thus:—

"By intrusting the primary teachers with religious instruction, we in no way interfere with the dogmatical instruction of the clergy, nor with the exercises of religion. Religious instruction, which will be completed by the pious exercises peculiar to each church or communion, rests, in the first instance, on those general notions which can excite

no scruple, and without which, whether in or out of the temple, there is no reasonable language to hold with children. The direction of practical religious exercises will remain exclusively with the ministers of each sect, who thus retain the right of completing or of rectifying the instruction; but the moral and the historical parts of religious instruction form one of the essential branches of all civil education.

"The wishes of parents shall, according to Art. 2, be always consulted and obeyed in all that concerns the share their children take in religious instruction. This guarantee will answer the double end of securing all consciences from alarm, and of preventing any one from attempting to lead children in a direction disapproved by the parents."

The following passage applies to the question of rendering the ancient endowments for education more in conformity with the wants of the people, and, of consequence, with the intentions of the founders; a question on which we deeply regret to see that Lord Brougham has thrown the weight of his great authority on the narrow and unpractical side.* The intention of the benevolent founders of endowments clearly was, to provide for the most pressing wants of society. These wants alter, and will alter, as long as nature and man continue their ceaseless mutations. Are we, by adhering to the letter, to defeat his intentions; or, keeping steadily in view his intentions, to render his bequest not barren and dead, but quick and operative? This is the real question. It is incredible to what fantastical lengths an unreasoning conformity to the letter (which in such cases truly killeth) has led, and leads.

"When," says M. Renouard, "on emerging from dark and barbarous times, establishments for public education were formed, they were under the influence of the class that had then the monopoly of all knowledge. It was to strengthen and extend itself, to recruit its ranks and secure successors, that this class favoured learning. The whole of education was directed towards the preparation for those professions which had government, both public and private, exclusively in their hands, and whose members were the only persons who knew or felt the advantages of instruction."

Thus, he continues to shew, the only schools were at first for the clergy. Then came those for lawyers and magistrates. Afterwards letters were pursued for themselves. The demand is now become coextensive with society; and society requires that the gracious designs of those who gave their wealth that the poor might be taught should be fulfilled in their fullest extent. The question of the misapplication of these precious means of public instruction is far too large to enter

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* *Vide* Report of Select Committee, p. 225.

upon here. Much has been said about it, but not half enough. We ourselves could furnish some curious examples, if time and space served: if, however, the question of universal education should ever come to be seriously discussed, and (as we feel confident it will be) pressed by the more intelligent and virtuous of the people themselves, then will be the time for the most minute and searching inquiries into the employment of every shilling consecrated by pious intentions to this branch of the public service. We doubt not that we shall find more cause to be proud of the munificence and piety of our ancestors than ever nation had.

The Report expresses the satisfaction of the Commission with the project for the establishment of a higher order of primary schools, in which the superior sort of artisans and tradesmen may receive a practical and appropriate education. It remarks, however, that good elementary books for these schools are wanting. It suggests a grant of 500,000 fr. for this branch, exclusive of the million granted to elementary instruction. It further suggests that the instruction in these schools be adapted in some degree to the local circumstances — such as the vicinity of mines, quarries, &c.

The Commission also proposes to leave some latitude as to the matter of instruction in the elementary schools — latitude (always understood) to extend, not to diminish. We entirely approve of this provision; especially as the superior primary schools are compulsory only upon towns having a population of six thousand and upwards. Looking to a part of our own population, the singularly intelligent miners of Cornwall, we should extremely regret that any limits were set to instruction in the smallest towns of that district. Nor is there any reason why a zealous and intelligent master and parish-committee should not succeed in raising the habits and tastes even of the agricultural districts.

Next follows the discussion on the number of normal schools. Some members were for having one in each department; others thought it would be better to have these establishments four in number, and on a more extensive scale. The Commission took the middle course, of keeping in view the principle of one to each department, but allowing two or more departments to combine for that purpose. In England, where the territorial divisions are so variable, this would be manifestly expedient, or even necessary, for the smaller counties. We observe that London, and other large cities, are suggested by Lord Brougham as the fittest places for those institutions. The Prussian government is of a different opinion, as we see from M. Cousin's report. The normal school which may be said to belong to

Cologne is placed at the village of Brühl, and that of Berlin at Potsdam. In like manner the metropolitan normal school of France is at Versailles. We incline to this side of the question. We see much to lose and little to gain by bringing up country schoolmasters in towns.

The manner in which the money is to be raised and expended is next debated. The Commission objected to the sum of 200 francs for a primary schoolmaster as too little; and with great reason. There is much interesting matter on this point in the Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons; and though the demand for, and the influence of, money is greater in England than in France, a sum equal to 8*l*. a-year is not enough, even there, to insure good servants. It should, however, be observed that this is the fixed salary, and that the pay of the children is superadded. The law says that all shall pay who can; and that those whom the parish-committee find, on examination, to be too necessitous to afford even this very small sum, shall be admitted gratuitously. We see considerable objection to this arrangement, at least for this country. In the first place, how difficult to have an exact standard of competency to pay; how much room for trickery and evasion! In the next, we dislike in any school, of whatsoever rank, the having any other mode of classing the children than according to merit. Here would be a little aristocracy of wealth immediately; the "charity children" would be dependent and humbled. It may be said that the fluctuations in the means of subsistence to which the labouring classes are liable would prevent this from becoming a permanent aristocracy. Perhaps so: still, if it were in any-wise possible, we should prefer insisting on some very small pay from all, and leaving it to those who have the management of the funds for the poor (however raised or distributed), to come in aid of the necessity of the parent. This may seem a round-about way of arriving at the same end — a mere hocus-pocus transfer from right-hand to left; but we would have recourse to any expedient to keep out of our schools every thing that can in the least degree endanger the sentiments of Christian humility, brotherly love and union, ignorance of all distinctions but those which each can gain for himself, and honest independence; after all, the most precious acquisitions they can ever communicate.

We have not the presumption to think we understand the circumstances and character of the French people better than the enlightened and benevolent men who have devoted time and thought to the concoction and correction of this law; but we think the principle of making every child pay *something*

rests, in this country, on such multifold and varied experience, that it would be wise in no case to depart from it.

The composition of the departmental-council and the parish-committee is the next topic. We shall pass briefly over this, as affording little matter of practical application. The commission sees no reason for complicating the business by the nomination of any other body than one already existing—the *maire* and the municipal council—"a body chosen by the citizens, and enjoying their confidence; imbued with their spirit, and well-informed as to their interests." We know not how this may be in France; in England we should have small hope of a school, in any degree under the control of mayors, aldermen, and common councils. The *Projet de Loi* recommended that the local committee should consist of the maire, the curé (catholic), or pasteur (protestant), and three municipal councillors chosen by their own body. The commission are for leaving the council to associate to themselves the clergyman or not as they please. For, say they:

"If in some places the clergy shewed so little power of comprehending their divine mission of civilisation and of peace, as to look upon the education of the people with prejudiced or hostile eyes, they would have no ground either for wonder or for complaint if, in those places, no share was allotted to them in the internal management of schools; for no man can inspect schools with any good effect who does not love the work—who has not the deepest and most entire conviction that, in encouraging the instruction of his fellow-creatures, he is labouring for their lasting felicity as well as for the welfare of his country."

There is a great deal, no doubt, in this; since a reluctant or secretly hostile colleague might be a great obstacle both to improvement and to harmony. But we should deliberate long before we should concur in any plan which would not render the clergyman of every parish a necessary and *ex-officio* member of its school committee.

With regard to the composition of the councils, the commission agrees to the suggestion of the *projet,* that it should consist of the maire of the commune which serves as *chef-lieu* to the council, the oldest judges of the peace, curés, ministers of other communions, three notables nominated by the council of the arrondissement, and the resident members of the council-general of the department. It suggests, however, one very important addition which we particularly wish to point out.

"We think," says M. Renouard, "that it would be a happy innovation to introduce a master of a primary school. This honour-

able distinction would raise, in their own estimation, those upon whom it were conferred; it would become a just object of emulation, and would often furnish committees with excellent practical information."

We are not surprised to see that this suggestion was adopted with eagerness by the Peers (*Rapport,* p. 33). Had the commission made no other, it would have sat to good purpose. These are the resources which warm sympathies, enlightened by experience and reflection, can always suggest. We heard it remarked by a philanthropic and intelligent foreigner who came to this country to see our schools, that he had attended various public meetings, where he had heard thanks voted to committees, and chairmen, and visitors, and donors—to every body but the schoolmaster; the one person, without very extraordinary qualities in whom the exertions of all the rest were certain to be null; the man, too, whom it is so difficult to reward. You cannot make him rich nor famous, and you ought not if you could; but you can tell him that his countrymen, high and low, estimate his value, and reverence in him the guardian of the morals and intelligence of his country.

We then come to that most difficult of all problems—that obstacle to popular education—which has made many a zealous labourer in the cause give it up in utter despair; how to insure the attendance of the children of the poor at school. That this is very imperfectly accomplished in England, every body who knows anything of the matter can testify. In France, the case is still worse. The falling-off of the numbers in summer exceeds every thing we have seen or heard of here. It is said, and with justice, that it is a great thing to get children to go to school half the year. Unquestionably "half a loaf is better than no bread;" but if we are told that we must remain satisfied with this state of things, we must steadily refuse to make any such compromise *in principle*, whatever we may be forced to do in practice. We put it to the fathers of the *alumni* of Eton, and Harrow, and Rugby, whether they would think education so pursued could have any satisfactory results? It signifies not what is the matter of instruction; habits of application or of order are broken, and (what is extremely important) education is treated by the parent, and regarded by the child, as a *hors d'œuvre;* something to be taken up at odd times, and when nothing better presents itself.

The French law endeavours to work by shame. A list is made—

"in which are inscribed the names of the children whose families do them the unpardonable wrong of giving them neither domestic education, nor that of the public or private schools. In many

countries the law goes further; it commands parents to send their children to schools,* and punishes those who disobey this order. Your commission is not of opinion that it belongs to the civil power, or that it is in conformity with the actual state of our manners, to convert this moral, into a legal offence. The measure, in some sort censorial, which prescribes the formation of a list of the parents who refuse instruction to their children, appears to us the only one which it falls within the powers of the legislature to adopt."

How efficient this has proved, it will be our business to shew hereafter. We cannot pass by in silence the recognition of the commission, that "both sexes have an equal claim to the benefits of instruction, and that the legislator is bound to extend an equal care and solicitude to both." It is true that words so vague are not worth much; still even this admission marks a great advance in public opinion.

Having noticed the most important comments of the Commission of Deputies, we shall now briefly turn to the suggestions made by the Commission of Peers.† Their report, made to the chamber by M. Cousin, begins with the following striking exordium, which we earnestly recommend to the attention of alarmists on the subject of education.

"A country which will be free must be enlightened, or its best feelings become a source of peril to it; and, its rights surpassing its knowledge, it is to be feared it will err even in the lawful exercise of them.

"A government which, like ours, has loyally accepted, for ever and without any possibility of retracting, the principle of representative government—that is to say, publicity and universal discussion—has no other force than that which it derives from the convictions of the people; and is placed in that difficult yet fortunate situation, in which the propagation of knowledge is a necessary condition of its existence. The public mind repays with interest all that is done for it: it punishes, by its errors and excesses, the governments which neglect it; but it recompenses those who cultivate it by its very progress; by daily spreading through all classes of the population respect for the laws, the honourable sentiments which never fail to accompany just ideas, the love of labour, and the comprehension of the advantages it promises, moderation in the desires, and that enlightened love of order which is now the only loyalty and devotedness of nations."

Happy the government that sees this in time! Happy the

* This, if it alludes to Prussia, is not correct. The law there leaves parents at full liberty to educate their children at home.

† Consisting of MM. Cousin, le Duc de Crillon, le Duc Decazes, le Comte de Germiny, Girod de l'Ain, le Marquis de Jaucourt, le Marquis de Laplace, le Comte Portalis, and Villemain.

people who are thus saved from the consequences of their own rude and ignorant state; from the blind and headlong experiments, the illusions pregnant with disappointment and suffering, the causeless antipathies, the equally unmerited attachment and confidence, the violences and the crimes, into which men of undisciplined passions and uncultured reason are sure to fall!

M. Cousin, in the name of the commission, goes on to express its full assent to the fundamental principle of the law.

On the subject of Article I. of the law, the report insists, more strongly than we should incline to do, on the necessity of keeping elementary instruction (as to matter) within very narrow limits; those, namely, specified in the bill. But even this specification admits of considerable latitude of interpretation. "*Moral and religious instruction,*" might be made to comprise all that we should most desire to see taught; indeed, if it really came up to the ideal of its name, it would comprehend, 1st, the culture of the affections and dispositions, above all of the religious ones; 2d, the culture of the reason; and 3d, the inculcation of a set of rules of conduct which would be felt to be in harmony with affections so disciplined and humanised, and with a reason so exercised. This would really be a "moral and religious education," and would embrace all the most important parts of ethical science; a science consummately important to man as *man,* without distinction of country, or rank, or occupation. All others have their greater or less degree of appropriateness; this alone is common to every human being, who has an obligation to perform, a right to maintain, or a futurity to expect.

Instruction in "*the elements of the French language,*" also admits of great and valuable extension; for as words are the representatives of thoughts, the all-important science we have just mentioned can by no possibility be taught with any efficacy, without a habit of using and understanding language precisely. And here we cannot but remark, that, in spite of some inquiry, we have never yet had the good fortune to hear of a school, high or low, in which the English language was taught; nor among all the schools on improved schemes for the middling classes, have we ever seen a glimpse at any such instruction. Indeed, the established popularity of such books as Lindley Murray's Grammar and its numerous derivatives, in which there are neither any principles of grammar, nor any knowledge of the sources of the English language, is conclusive on this head. A really good course of instruction (which necessarily involves the elements of logic) in the English language, *or in any language,* would go far to secure the requisite *intellectual*

education. The demand for such a thing would soon produce books. Hitherto the want has never been so much as once suggested.

We do not, therefore, quarrel with the limits laid down by the law. Let these be filled out, and we are satisfied. That they ever can be so without seminaries for schoolmasters, directed by the greatest care and intelligence, it is perfectly idle to hope. The remarks on the branches of superior primary instruction are judicious; geometry, geography, history, linear drawing — all these are doubtless not only admissible, but highly useful to the children of the lesser sort of citizens; but we ought never to lose sight of this truth: "Primary instruction ought to be general; it prepares men for all walks of life, without leading to one more than another: *it is not intended to form artisans, but men.*"

With reference to Article 2—

"The commission cannot but applaud the homage rendered to liberty of conscience, and to the sacred rights of parents, by the declaration, that the wishes of parents shall always be consulted and complied with, in whatever concerns the participation of their children in religious instruction."

Article 4. The arguments against leaving the instruction of the people to chance are briefly these: That the poorest communes —*i. e.* precisely those in which education is the most wanted, are those which are almost certain to be deprived of it; therefore, the intervention of the state is indispensable. Popular education being just as necessary to society at large as to individuals, it is the duty, as well as the interest, of the state to secure it against all caprices and casualties, and to give it the fixedness and dignity of a regular branch of the public service.

"Every department must possess a complete system of primary instruction, the different degrees of which are linked one to another, and mutually strengthen and animate each other."

We cannot repeat often enough (for it is continually overlooked or slighted), that no national education is worthy of the name, or has any claim on the support or the sympathy of the nation, which is not, first, *for all,*—without any one exclusion or hinderance; secondly, an *organised system.* These are the two conditions of its existence; and however we may rejoice in the happy accidents which produce a good school here and there, or the zeal which provides instruction for portions or sects of the population, we shall always refuse (and we are certain to have all the intelligence of Europe with us) to recognise these partial efforts as the accomplishment of the duty of the nation.

The following passage touches upon the point to which we

have already adverted, as the one of the greatest delicacy and difficulty, as regards England.

"The ninth article of the *projet* of the government attached at least one public elementary school to each *commune;* and it is evident that to compel a commune to have *one*, was not forbidding it to have *several*, if it could maintain them; and that in this case the children of the commune should be distributed in the best way possible. A vast number of urban communes have several schools; and then, instead of dispersing through them all the children of different communions, it is the constant practice of the local authorities to collect the children of one communion in one school, whenever they are numerous enough to compose a whole school, and the local resources allow it. The Chamber of Deputies has deemed this practice sufficiently important to find a place in the law. This is a fresh homage to religious liberty, to which we subscribe; and we propose to adopt the amendment of the Chamber of Deputies, wording it as follows:—

"'In case local circumstances permit, the minister of public instruction may, after hearing the municipal council, authorise, as communal schools, the schools more peculiarly attached to any one of the modes of public worship recognised by the state.'

"Thus, when there is but one school, all sects will frequent it, and will there receive a common instruction which, without injury to religious liberty (placed under the perpetual security of Article 2), will strengthen the ties which ought to unite all the children of the same country. Whenever there are several schools in a commune, the several sects shall be divided; but *these different schools shall all be established on the same footing, and with the same title:* they shall all enjoy the same dignity, and all the inhabitants of the commune shall 'contribute to their common support: as, in a higher sphere, all the citizens contribute to the general tax which goes to the maintenance of the different churches. This measure of perfect tolerance appears to us conformable to the true spirit of religion; favourable to the public peace; worthy of the intelligence of our age and of the munificence of a great nation.'"

We are aware that many excellent and judicious persons, among whom is Mr. William Allen, are of opinion, that the bringing up children of different sects together is of great importance. There can be no doubt that it *is* of "*immense* importance," as that gentleman says in his admirable evidence, "to bring up children in schools to love one another as schoolboys do, and to feel an interest in one another, though the religious denomination of their parents may differ: it tends to harmony and general peace."

It is curious to see that Mr. Allen and the French legislators propose to arrive at the same end by opposite ways. The contradiction, however, is apparent rather than real. The French government acts wisely and prudently; it considers,

as men who have to *act* must consider, what is practicable rather than what is best. The "peace" they speak of is that outward peace, that negation of strife, which comes more immediately under the cognisance of the legislator,—and this is doubtless promoted by segregating the children of different sects. The peace to which Mr. Allen aspires is something higher than this; it is that catholic peace, springing out of Christian love and lowly-mindedness, respect and tenderness for the judgments of others, and that largeness of heart which overlooks what severs man from man, and Christian from Christian, and dwells with complacency on all that binds them in one bond of a common nature and a common hope. There can be little doubt that we ought to prefer this inward, to that outward peace; yet in this imperfect world we must take what is to be had: and perhaps it might be discreet to follow the example of the French government.*

We must pass to the subject to which we have adverted in page 266 of this article—the share which the clergy are to have in national education. The Commission of Peers says:—

"It is not enough that the *curé* and the pastor *may* be chosen by the municipal council; it must be made impossible that they be not; for they are absolutely necessary to the effective and complete supervision of the school. If we wish that they be chosen, we must say and write it in the law; the silence of the law on this head is unjust and unbecoming. The ecclesiastical authority ought to be officially represented in the education of the youthful population, as well as the civil; it must not be condemned to interfere furtively, as it were, and under another name. The curate and the pastor must not be chosen by the municipal council, as *notables*, but entirely in their quality of pastor or *curé*.

"We are the first to wish, and to wish most earnestly, and with a view to the true interests of religion, that she should remain in the sanctuary; but the people's school is itself a sanctuary, and religion has the same claim to be there as in the church or the chapel. . . . . "On this head, there are two grave errors to avoid: one is to give great preponderancy in the committees to the ecclesiastical authority, as the restored government did; the other, to exclude it altogether."

All this is judicious and true—supposing always, and this

* Since writing the above, we find the following passage in a circular addressed by the Minister to the Prefects, dated July 24th, 1833:—

"It is in general desirable that children whose parents do not profess the same religious opinions should early contract, by frequenting the same schools, those habits of mutual good-will and tolerance which, at a more mature age, will grow into justice and union. It may, however, sometimes be necessary, even with a view to the public peace, that separate schools be opened in the same commune for each faith." The *Rapport au Roi* states that there are thirty-two Protestant and four Jewish schools.

can never be repeated too often—that the ecclesiastical authorities are there to do what the law proposes they should do—to work at the business of education, on sound, enlarged, and enlightened principles; to help and not to hinder, to advance and not to retard, the efforts of their lay colleagues. The clergy, like every thing and every body else in these days must hold themselves prepared to answer the question, *Cui bono?* The people of England will not grudge much more than their Church, wealthy as it is, enjoys, if they are once persuaded of its utility. It would be easy to convince them of the expediency of rewarding to profusion (if that were the only means of attaining the end) a body of men taught their business as guides, friends, teachers of the people; accurately informed as to the sort of intellectual wants which it should be their business to minister to; thoroughly armed with weapons against all popular prejudices and delusions; imbued with so much of the physical, moral, and social sciences, as to keep up a constant and unwearied warfare against the evils that poverty and ignorance engender; superior to all around them in knowledge, intelligence, and virtue, yet the servants of the lowest. We appeal to all who have ever seen some of those rare exceptions which approach to this Ideal, whether the power of such men is not as boundless and absolute as it is salutary and merited? Something very far short of this will give a man an influence, such as no wealth, no rank, no political power, can ever bestow. A parish priest is officially a party to all the most important and touching incidents of the lives of his flock. He is the only person living in whom it is not an impertinent intrusion to inquire into their comings and goings, their works and ways, their joys and griefs; for he is their natural adviser, friend, and consoler; it is through his mouth that all they love or reverence most, speaks. Would to God that they understood their mission! that they saw wherein their strength lay!

People talk of the power of demagogues;—but what could the subtlest brawler oppose to the influence of him who visits the poor man's lowly hearth as a familiar friend; who tells him how to make the most of his small earnings; how to cultivate his field or his garden; who makes peace between him and his neighbour; who watches over the education of his children; who reclaims the one from his wanderings; stands by the sick bed of the other, and instructs its anxious but ignorant mother how to alleviate its pains; and, when it dies, binds up her broken heart, and, after he has blessed the sod where its body is laid to rest, ceases not to direct her thoughts to its spirit in Heaven;—the man who is witness and partaker of the deepest joys and sorrows of his life, and whose vocation it is to hallow them all?

“A parsonage,” says one who felt the duties of his calling,

"should be a place of refuge—a house of mercy. The very sight of it should be pleasing to the poor and desolate."*

Are these too laborious duties that we exact?—say, rather, too glorious privileges that we confer? We hope not. Such, and none other, do we understand the calling of a Christian pastor to be; nor can we abate one jot of the piety or the knowledge required for its fulfilment, in those who take upon themselves the awful responsibility which, in the eyes of God and man, attaches to the teachers of a nation. To talk of danger to a church served by such ministers, is to betray the most pitiable incapacity of comprehending its resources; in other words, its obligations. Blind and slow of heart are they in whom religion has placed the key of men's bosoms, and who know not how to use it—nay, know not that they have it!

We beg pardon for this digression. Our excuse for it is, that, when we speak of the intervention of the clergy in education, it is extremely important to have it distinctly understood what *sort* of clergy we mean. And we mean one able and willing, trained and bound, to fulfil these duties.

We come now to the much-contested point of "compulsory education;" in other words, the affixing a legal sanction to the moral obligation of parents to give education to their children. On this subject a great quantity of very unnecessary and very suspicious zeal has been expended in this country. It is usual to speak of the Prussian system of national education; as if it presented no remarkable feature but "compulsoriness." There is either bad faith, or strange confusion of ideas in this. One would really think the sole peculiarity presented by the Prussian system were, that the reluctant children of reluctant parents were marched, under a corporal's guard, to some dreadful place of confinement and torture, called a school. We must protest against such gross misrepresentation—such a falsification of the question—such an endeavour to disgust Englishmen, by a repulsive word, from looking into a plan framed in the spirit of wisdom, conciliation, and benevolence; not that sort of conciliation which fosters people's pernicious prejudices, but that real benevolence which shews them their true interests, and provides the means of furthering them.

We have too high an opinion of our countrymen not to repel, with all our might, this constant assumption that the most salutary, the most reasonable, the most necessary institutions, become hateful in their eyes the moment they receive the sanction of law;—that they cannot or will not see that it is

* Life of the Rev. H. Venn.

for the good of the whole, that a refractory minority be compelled to perform its duties. We subjoin, however, an extract from the valuable evidence of Professor Pillans as to the working of the Scotch law.

A. "I think the exceptions to the habit (of sending children to school) are very rare indeed, and can only exist in Scotland *among the most depraved part of the population.* In the country districts, I should say, there is no such thing: a man would be looked upon as a monster who could keep his child from the means of instruction within his reach.

Q. Is there any compulsion used?—A. None."

Certainly not; and why? Because the "habit" Professor Pillans speaks of, has grown out of the law, "compelling" the Scotch people to have parochial schools. It is melancholy to hear *legislators* talk as if the habits of a people were the effect of chance—something which admits of no control or modification. Law is the educator of nations; and if the habits of a people are bad, it only proves that they have been governed badly. Men who have not the sense to discern the means of influencing the habits of a people, nor the rectitude or the courage to apply those means, are disastrously misplaced as rulers. We cannot bring ourselves to doubt that firmness, united to perfect frankness and good faith, and to the skill, patience, and fertility of resource, required to modify, to temporise, to adapt,—would enable government to introduce any law *really* beneficial to the people.

One word more as to Prussia. So far is the government of that country from dragooning its children into education, without respect to prejudices or habits, that in the Rhine provinces, where, from the backward state of the people, it had reason to apprehend some indisposition to such a law, it has waived it for a time; contenting itself with nursing the taste for education by creating schools, and reserving to itself to take such measures hereafter, as will prevent the small and degraded minority of parents who would deny education to their children, from doing those children and society that wrong: an example which France has imitated throughout her empire.

One would think that evidence is not wanted to convince us what is the description of persons to whom such a law would be a grievance. To those who have any doubt on the subject, we beg to recommend the important evidence of Mr. Braidley, a gentleman very conversant with the state of the poor in Manchester.

"It has been my opinion for some time that the most degraded portion of the children never come near any of our schools. There

cannot be fewer than from ten to fifteen thousand, who are of a suitable age to attend Sunday-schools, but who do not attend them, and who, to all appearance, cannot be supposed to attend any school whatever. If we are to bring these ten or fifteen thousand children, who are now uneducated, under the means of instruction, it must be by something like a compulsory method."—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 177.

But, again we say, this shifting of the subject on the question of compulsion or non-compulsion is not fair. The real questions are these :—

First—Whether schools shall be provided in such number, and on such terms, as that every parent *may* send his children who will?

And, secondly (which is far more important)—Whether the system of instruction and of education therein pursued shall be as large, as appropriate, as beneficent, as (with the aid of whatever the experience of this and other countries may suggest) it can be made?

These, we repeat, are the two points which the friends of national and systematic education insist upon. Those who attempt to get off, by turning the attention of the public from the merits of the system which answers these two conditions in a higher degree than any other we know of, upon a third condition, which (though we approve it) we are content to waive, distort the matter to the public eye.

But we have detained our readers too long from the text. We beg them to consider with attention the following opinions of the Commission of the Peers of France on this subject.

"The *projet* of the government went a little further; it implied the principle of an appeal and invitation to the children and their parents. The Chamber of Deputies thought they saw in this appeal as it were the shadow of the principle which renders primary instruction a civil obligation; and, under the conviction that the introduction of this principle into the law is beyond the powers of the legislator, it has regarded with suspicion even the humble right of invitation which the *projet* conferred on the communal committees; and has left them only that of publishing a list of the children who, to their knowledge, do not receive primary instruction in any shape whatever. Your commission has thought completely otherwise. . . . . Is a certain degree of instruction useful, or even necessary, to society? That is the question: if we answer it affirmatively, we, in so doing, arm society with the right of providing that the small degree of instruction necessary to all may be denied to none. *It is a contradiction to proclaim the necessity of universal education, and then to refuse to adopt the only means that can procure it.* Nor is it much more consistent to impose a school on every commune, without imposing on the children of that commune the obligation of attending it. Take away this obligation—by dint of efforts and sacrifices you may found schools, but

those schools will be little frequented, and *precisely by those to whom they are the most necessary; I mean by those unhappy children of the manufacturing districts who stand so much in need of the protection of the law against the avidity or the negligence of their parents.* No fixed age for entering or for leaving school; no security for assiduous attendance; no regular course of studies; no permanency secured to the school. True liberty, my Lords, cannot be the foe of civilisation; on the contrary, it is its instrument; indeed, this is just its greatest value; as that of individual liberty is to conduce to individual improvement. Your Commission, then, would not have shrunk from any prudently concerted measures which the government might have proposed to this end; it would, perhaps, even have suggested them, had it not feared to provoke opposition, which might have delayed a law impatiently desired. If it has not defended the right of invitation, vaguely implied in the *projet*, it is because this right, stripped of all penal sanction, has little more force than the purely statistical one which is left by the amendment of the Chamber of Deputies. That right is worth very little: indeed, several of us thought it wholly inoperative for all useful purposes, and convertible only to those of vexation; but the majority of your Commission thought it important to preserve in the law a germ, feeble, it is true, but which, fertilised by time, by the progress of public intelligence and morality, and by the true love of the people, may one day become the principle of an additional clause which would render this law completely efficacious."

It is impossible not to see that the opinions of the Peers on this head are wiser than those of the Deputies, exactly in proportion as they are more withdrawn from that popular influence which it is so much the fashion to regard as an unerring guide.

Meanwhile, if it is at present true that the people would vehemently oppose a law ordaining that competent instruction should be provided for every child in the kingdom, and that no child in the kingdom should be suffered to be debarred from it, it is at least the duty of every man, calling himself their friend, to lay aside all these cajoleries about "invasion of freedom" and the like; to tell them plainly and earnestly that they are wrong;—to entreat them to look at things, not at words; to examine the supposed wrong done them on every side, to see *whom* it would injure, and how much—whom it would benefit, and how much. But who is there that will speak to the people thus? Who is there that will appeal at once to their reason and to their best affections? If there were but a handful of men uncorrupted and untrammelled by that curse of England, the spirit of sect and party, who would address them in the language of truth and kindness, how easy were it to induce the vast majority to surrender a liberty useless to the conscientious, valued only by the

heartless and the depraved. There is abundance of zeal for making partisans and proselytes; but for making men and Christians, beings led by reason and conscience, nobody cares.

It is true, however, that the dispositions of the people will in great measure depend on the *quality* of the instruction or the education we offer. If what we have been pleased to call education continues to be as meagre, unfruitful, and lifeless, as it has hitherto, with few exceptions, been, there will be no results that will, or that ought to, convince reasonable men and good citizens, that it is their duty to insist upon its universal diffusion. It affords no presumption against people that they are not earnest about a name. So long, however, as we persist in leaving the quality of instruction to be determined by the uninstructed, so long must it be deficient in all that makes it most important to the welfare of the community. So long as we leave it to sectarian zeal, to unenlightened benevolence, or to the stimulus of private gain, so long will it be narrow, defective, perverted, bad. To determine the quality and the mode of the education of a nation, requires all the thought, the knowledge, the experience, that can be brought to bear on the subject. There is no department of the public service more imperatively demanding a steady and enlightened guidance, a vigilant scrutiny. Nothing should be left to chance, to caprice, to the indifference of learners, to the incompetence of teachers, to the ignorance of patrons. On this subject all "voluntary principles," and "free trade principles," are absurd. It is ludicrous to assume that the desire for education is like the desire for food or drink—a spontaneous and resistless want, to the calls of which one may fairly trust. The supply must precede, and must create, the demand; and what is more, the consumer is without any means or standard by which to test the excellence of the commodity, when he has got it. The most deplorable illustrations of this truth are to be found *not among the poor;* for the education provided for them, defective as it is, has generally been directed by persons of benevolence, if not of enlarged mind, and has had some tincture of conscience and of sense. To see the trade of education in all its glory, we must go higher—often much higher.

Earnestly as we long for a systematic education of the poor, we are still more eager to see some steps taken towards improving the instruction of those who are quite able to pay for the teaching of their children, and quite incapable of judging whether any thing is taught. We will venture to assert that any thing so disgracefully meagre and vulgar as the great mass of the schools, seminaries, academies, establishments, or whatever they call themselves, round London, and indeed through-

out England, is not to be found in any country. And what is a busy thriving tradesman to do? He has neither the time nor the knowledge requisite for judging of the merits of a school. He takes his chance, or is determined by superior puffing. We have ourselves seen the bitter wrong sustained by parents who subject themselves to privations for the sake of obtaining for their children advantages of which they are thus defrauded. To give one instance. A foreman in a printing-office, feeling practically the want of a little Latin, determined to send his son, a boy of fourteen, to a school where he might be taught as much as he could acquire in two years. At the end of one year he requested his employer to have the kindness to examine the boy, as he had no means of ascertaining his progress. He could not decline *Musa*. Of course he was removed, and luckily, to a better school. But look at the amount of injury sustained. Not only hard-earned money gone for worse than nothing; but a year,—one half of the whole period that remained before the boy must begin to earn his own bread,—irrecoverably lost and gone. These are the blessings and the triumphs of liberty of teaching. Primary instruction has, however, the advantage of being more easily brought under the control of the government. The assertion of the right to be badly taught is not likely to be so clamorous on the part of those who are of necessity dependant on the help of others for any teaching. What we can do, therefore, is to better our schools for the poor.

"For these," as Mr. Simpson in his excellent book "On the Necessity for Popular Education," justly remarks, "two things are wanting—teachers and books." The desire so prevalent in this country to teach a creed, and not religion; the consequent jealousy and alarm with which all sects have watched each other, ended in the disastrous resolution of excluding all books but one far too high and too holy to have been made a primer for schools. The rule laid down in Prussia, that no child shall be permitted to use that Book until he can read currently, marks the truly religious feeling of the nation. The inconveniences here were soon found too grave to be borne. The course of instruction now given at the Borough-Road School is the most curious proof of consummate skill in evading a mischievous rule that it is possible to conceive, and could have been effected only by a man of singular fertility of resource, perseverance, and talent. The want of all elementary books of history, science, &c. is supplied from the lips of the master, and through him of the monitors. A mere list of words alphabetically arranged for spelling is made to serve as text for explanations on all sorts of subjects. A boy

spells or reads the word "atmosphere," or "aqueduct," and the monitor goes off into a series of questions in chemistry, mechanics, history, architecture, hydraulics—any thing. We repeat, the talent and the power of awakening the minds of boys are above all praise. But, in the first place, if the system were good, where are you to find a supply of persons to carry it into effect? It increases tenfold the already great dependance on the master. But the system is *not good.* Nobody is responsible for the accuracy of information so conveyed; and it is too desultory. "A man," says the French minister, in his Report to the King, "may be fully competent to the explanation of a good manual, and yet incapable of framing, or even of choosing one. The choice of a good method is the business of a superior and highly exercised understanding."

Five manuals have already been compiled by order of the minister: 1. Book of Moral and Religious Instruction; 2. Alphabet and first Reading-book; 3. Manual of Arithmetic; 4. Manual of Grammar and Orthography; 5. Manual of History and Geography; "all," as he says, "simple enough for the use of the elementary schools." As we have not seen them, we know nothing of their quality; but, at all events, here is something by which to measure what is taught. Supposing the manuals only tolerably good, on one side or other ideas will find entrance to the child's mind. We by no means mean to affirm that any books can compensate for the deficiencies of the master. But the importance of the master to the school will always be great enough; we need not seek to make his mind the source and depository of every thing. It is also highly desirable that the nation should know what is taught in the national schools; and that the secular knowledge which is useful and needful to man should not be smuggled into them as if it were a forbidden thing.

The objection to imparting general information clearly has its source in aristocratical, and not in religious feelings. For if it were true that varied instruction is incompatible with religious sentiments or religious knowledge, how could so many pious men of the higher ranks justify the education they give their sons? Do they affirm that religion is the sole, or even the main subject of instruction at the schools to which they send them? or that a son brought up to read nothing but the Bible would appear to them more fitted for the business, more secure from the temptations, of life? The instruction given to gentlemen would be useless and inappropriate to labourers:—granted; but there is instruction, and abundance too, which is useful, appropriate, and humanising.

We are tempted to support our opinions by a quotation from

an admirable article "On the Means of Improving the People," which appeared in the twenty-fourth number of the *British Critic;* but our limits compel us to refrain, and we console ourselves with the hope that our readers will give it the attentive perusal it deserves.

It was with singular satisfaction that we read the following passage in the charge delivered by the Bishop of London to his clergy in July last:

> "With respect to the system of instruction pursued in our national schools, excellent as it is, as to its mechanism, I cannot help thinking it susceptible of some improvement, as to the kind and degree of knowledge usually imparted to the scholars. I doubt whether we are doing all that may be expected of us towards meeting the demand for instruction which has of late years so rapidly grown upon us, and which is still increasing, if we strictly confine our teaching to religious knowledge and the bare elements of arithmetic.
>
> "Religion ought to be made the ground-work of all education; its lessons should be interwoven with the whole tissue of instruction, and its principles should regulate the entire system of discipline, in our national schools. But I believe that the lessons of religion will not be rendered less impressive or effectual, by being interspersed with teaching of a different kind. The Bible will not be read with less interest, if history, for example, and geography, and the elements of useful practical science, be suffered to take their turn in the circle of daily instruction. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that the youthful mind will recur, with increased curiosity and intelligence, to the great facts, and truths, and precepts of Holy Writ, if it be enlarged and enlivened by an acquaintance with other branches of knowledge. *I see no reason why the education given to the poor should differ from the education of their superiors, more widely than the different circumstances and duties of their respective conditions in life render absolutely necessary.* One thing is certain, and it is a very important consideration; that if we teach them the methods of acquiring one kind of knowledge, they will apply them to the acquisition of other kinds; if we sharpen their faculties for one purpose, they will be sure to use them for others. *Some* information on subjects of general interest, many of them will undoubtedly seek to obtain: and it is plainly desirable that they should receive it from *our* hands in a safe and unobjectionable form. It is desirable also, that they should not be accustomed to consider that there is any thing like an opposition between the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion, and other legitimate objects of intellectual inquiry; or that it is difficult to reconcile a due regard to the supreme importance of the one, with a certain degree of laudable curiosity about the other."

We regret to differ from a single word in a passage to which, in the main, we so cordially and respectfully subscribe. But we presume to think that his lordship will not long give such entire

approbation to the "system of instruction," or even to the "mechanism" of our so-called national schools.

Before we quit the subject of the quality or nature of instruction, we must advert to that kind or degree of it which it may be expedient to give to girls. In the following passage from the Report of the Peers' Commission, we recognise the good sense which marked M. Cousin's observations on the same subject in his "Report on Public Education in Prussia."

"The matter taught, as it is determined in title 1, is equally suitable to girls and to boys. There is absolutely nothing to retrench in the course prescribed for the elementary schools: and in that of the superior primary schools, it is only necessary to omit the elements of geometry, with its practical applications: all the rest ought to be preserved: we have only to add, for both degrees, certain female works which need not even be mentioned in the law. . . . We do not see why, in the country and the small towns, girls should not frequent the ordinary primary schools, public or private. The master has only to have a sub-mistress for teaching needlework, &c. The education of girls would thus become as universal as that of boys. But if we persist, contrary to the lessons of experience, in the very common error, that girls can only receive education in schools kept exclusively by females, the problem of the education of girls on a large scale is nearly insoluble; for there is no probability that the poor rural communes can support the expense of two distinct communal schools."

We are delighted to see this pure and healthy doctrine issue from such authority. The anxiety to separate children of different sexes, in schools of all degrees and ages, is no good sign. The fathers and mothers of the present generation of the middling classes constantly went to school together. We believe this is still the practice in Scotland; at any rate in the villages. The disuse of it in England is one of the very suspicious refinements of later times. It is certain that these jealous and premature precautions are in the exact ratio of the corruption of a nation or of a class. We feel peculiar respect for men who, in a country where girls are watched with an alarm as degrading to them as it is disgraceful to the other sex, have dared to assert the simplicity and purity which are the privilege and the glory of unspoiled and unconscious childhood.

The Report of the Second Commission of the Deputies is very short, and contains only one important amendment on that of the foregoing Commission of the Peers, which, as we have seen, made the place occupied by the *curé* or pastor in the committee of management elective. The argument of Mr. Dumon against this is, we think, satisfactory. He says that, in ordinary elections, no one is a candidate without his own

consent; but that here, the priest is an involuntary candidate by the intent of the law: that not to be nominated is, in fact, to be excluded, that is, degraded in the eyes of his flock. "We, therefore," he adds, "give a seat in the communal committee to the maire, and to the minister of religion, of right; reserving the presidency to the maire. It does not seem to us possible to restrict the superintendence of the clergyman to religious instruction. In a good system of primary instruction, the intellectual turns to the profit of the moral culture, and the religious instruction enlarges the understanding." This is indeed the ideal of a good education—the combination after which we ought to strive.

The Report of the Second Commission of the Peers contains nothing which it is necessary to advert to here.

Having examined the *projet*, or bill, and the discussions to which it gave rise, we shall give a rapid glance at what has been done since it passed into a law. The report of the minister to the king is dated April 15, 1834. It is contained in a considerable quarto volume, of which the report forms a very small part. The remainder consists of *pièces justificatives*, the mere catalogue of which would occupy far too much of our limited space. We can, therefore, only say, that they consist of circulars to the prefects and rectors of academies;* to schoolmasters; formulæ of certificates or brevets; royal ordonnances; instructions from the Minister; and tables representing every possible fact connected with the subject, to which statistical details are applicable. We regret extremely that M. Guizot's eloquent and masterly Report should not be laid before the English public entire. Our habitual incuriousness about the proceedings of other countries—the child of ignorance and self-sufficiency—affords, however, little encouragement to any such project, and presents a singular contrast to the alertness with which the preceding documents were transferred to Germany.

It was impossible, as the Minister begins by observing, that the law passed on the 28th of June, 1833, could be put into perfect execution in the space of a few months. He, however, begs to lay before the sovereign, "in some detail, the progress up to the present time, the results already obtained, and what still remains to be done to fulfil the conception of the legislator in all its extent." Those who lie under the common misconception that the zeal and ardour of benevolent individuals would be crushed under any regular organisation of education, will see how entirely they have mistaken the spirit in which the French law has been passed.

* For the functions of the *Recteur Universitaire*, see the translation of Cousin's Report, Pref. p. 28.

"It was to the reason, and to the love of good, no less than to the legal obligations of citizens, that we had to appeal. *Their spontaneous, zealous concurrence was indispensable.* . . . . It was even necessary to be able to reckon on the intelligent, energetic, benevolent co-operation of men who, restricted by their humble occupations within a very narrow circle, would, perhaps, not have been capable of rising to the general views of the law, or of feeling the importance of their own efforts in realising them. . . . .
It was urgent that the country should be convinced that the work in hand was earnestly undertaken, and certainly practicable. . . . . .
But if promptitude was necessary, prudence was not less so. In trying to transplant into the soil of France the new law, to introduce new usages and create new circumstances, we necessarily came in contact with existing institutions and old habits. We had, therefore, to choose between conciliation (*ménagement*) and violence. I did not hesitate. . . . . . .

"I shall submit to your majesty, first, the *résumé* of the measures I have prescribed; of the orders which have emanated from the centre, to insure the execution of the law; and, secondly, I shall lay before you the results obtained up to this day, in the different parts of the country, in virtue of those general instructions."

In order to arouse the interest and the zeal of those of whose co-operation he stood in need, the Minister first addressed a circular to all the prefects and rectors of academies throughout the kingdom, explaining the system of the law, and enumerating and classing the several schools, the aggregate of which constitutes primary instruction:—

1st, Infant schools (*Salles d'Asyle*).

2d, Primary schools, elementary and superior.

3d, Schools for adults.

The demand for the latter, M. Guizot remarks, we may hope to see continually decreasing; "but," he adds, "we cannot conceal from ourselves that at present it is considerable; and that, for a long time to come, the indifference of parents, the profound ignorance of the poorer classes, and the moral apathy which almost always accompanies it, will prevent a great number of children from receiving the instruction which we are eager to offer them." M. Guizot's next step was to send a circular to the prefects, from which we extract the following admirable passage:—

"But this great work would remain sterile if it were not seconded by the animated, zealous, persevering co-operation of the true executors of the law—the primary schoolmasters. Called to a sort of priesthood, as humble in its form as it is elevated in its object, it is in their hands that the fate of this important law—we may say the fate of the country as regards popular education, rests. Nothing can be accomplished unless the village teachers, as well as those placed on a wider sphere

of action, are profoundly impressed with the importance and the gravity of their mission.

" Yet we have but too much reason to expect nothing from them but coldness and indifference. Deprived hitherto of all common and general direction, neglected, left to themselves, the schoolmasters of the people had reason to regard themselves as isolated labourers, whose toils no man thought of encouraging. Hence, they could but mistrust themselves and their work, and misconceive its importance and its dignity. Men who, feeling themselves daily disowned by the general apathy and recklessness, can yet find, in the testimony of their own consciences, and in the depth of their own convictions, a motive and a reward sufficient to make them persevere in obscure toil and silently prepare for distant results, are most rare.

" It was therefore necessary—urgent—to raise, in their own eyes, this respectable class of men, devoted to the public service; to make them feel that, henceforward, however humble their station, their country has its eyes upon them; that the government does not forget them, but, on the contrary, seeks to connect them with itself, by an uninterrupted chain of powers, to direct, encourage, and protect them.

" But we should mislead and deceive them, if, in the view of animating them, we excited their imagination and their hopes; if we directed their eyes towards an impossible future. This would be to substitute artificial and fragile springs of action for that steady and intense sense of duty, which alone can give to the teachers of the people the requisite energy and perseverance. A lofty soul and a calm sedate imagination; energetic action in a narrow sphere; the capacity to comprehend a vast end, and a sincere resignation to an obscure lot,—such are the qualities required in primary schoolmasters. To inspire them with these sentiments, to make them understand these conditions of their noble mission, is the aim of the circular which I have addressed to them, together with a copy of the law."

Though we have already exceeded our limits, we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of laying before our readers a part of this remarkable missive, the rather as the Report, being an official and unpublished document, is not likely to fall into their hands. The circular was sent to 39,000 masters. M. Guizot requested them to acknowledge the receipt of it directly to himself: 13,850 answers reached him. These answers were, as might be expected, of a very mixed character.

" Frequently," says the Minister, " I met with proofs of singular intelligence; frequently I discovered a moral sentiment—a desire to do well, so lively and so conscientious, that I cannot but see the elements of a power which only wants to be organised and encouraged."

The Minister begins by impressing the class of persons whom he addresses with a due sense of the nature of their functions:—

" But, Sir, although the career of a primary schoolmaster be

obscure; although his life and labours are generally spent within the narrow circle of a village, his labours interest society at large, and his profession partakes of the importance of public functions. It is not only for the sake of a village, nor with a view to any merely local interests, that the law wills that every Frenchman may acquire, if it be possible, that kind and degree of knowledge which is indispensable to social life, and without which stupidity and apathy, if not brutality, generally take possession of the human mind. It is also for the sake of the state itself—it is for the interest of the public at large. It is because liberty can never be secure and regular except among a people enlightened enough to listen, in every conjuncture, to the voice of reason. Universal primary instruction is henceforth one of the guarantees of social order and stable government.

"Let the importance and utility of your mission be ever present to you amidst the unremitting labours which it imposes upon you."

After stating what has been done to raise and improve the condition of schoolmasters, the Minister adds: —

"Yet, Sir, I am well aware that all the foresight of the law, all the resources which lie at the disposal of power, can never succeed in rendering the humble profession of village teacher as attractive as it is useful. Society can never repay to him who devotes himself to it, all that society owes to him. There is no fortune to be made, there is scarcely any renown to be acquired, by the fulfilment of the weighty duties which he takes upon himself. Destined to pass his life in a monotonous employment, sometimes even to meet with the injustice and ingratitude of ignorance, he would often sink into dejection, or despair, if he did not seek strength elsewhere than in the prospect of immediate and purely personal advantage. He must be sustained and animated by a profound sense of the moral importance of his labours: the austere delight of having served his fellow men, and contributed in secret to the welfare of his country, must become the appropriate and worthy recompense which his conscience alone can bestow. It is his glory to seek for nothing beyond his obscure and laborious condition; to spend his life in sacrifices hardly taken note of by those who profit by them; in short, to work for men, and to await his reward from God."

He goes on to enumerate the duties of a schoolmaster:—

"The education of the heart and the understanding," he says, "depend almost entirely on you. As to what concerns tuition (*enseignement*) properly so called, nothing shall be wanting for your guidance. Not only will a normal school give you lessons and examples, not only will the committees take care to transmit to you useful instructions, but the higher educational authorities will keep up a constant communication with you. The king has been pleased to approve the publication of a journal specially devoted to primary instruction. I will take care that this general manual shall be universally diffused,

with all official acts of interest to you, information of all well-tried methods, of all successful experiments, of all practical ideas applicable to schools, and the comparison of results obtained in France or in other countries.

"But it is to you, Sir, that we look, above all, for the moral education of the children committed to you. Nothing can supply the want of the desire to do well. You are, assuredly, not ignorant that this is the most important and the most difficult part of your mission: you are not ignorant that every family which intrusts a child to you requires you to return him to its bosom an honest man, and to his country a good citizen: you know that virtue does not always accompany information, and that the lessons addressed to childhood may become pernicious if addressed to his understanding alone. Let not, then, the schoolmaster fear to invade the rights of parents by giving his first cares to the culture of the soul of his pupils. In proportion as he ought to guard himself from admitting into his school the spirit of sect or of party, or from instilling into children religious or political doctrines which would set them, as it were, in a state of revolt against their parents, ought he to place himself above the passing discords which agitate society, and strive incessantly to propagate and to strengthen those imperishable principles of reason and of morality, without which the general order of society is in peril, and to plant deeply in the youthful heart those seeds of virtue and honour which age and passion cannot destroy. Faith in Providence, the sanctity of duty, submission to parental authority, respect for the laws, for the government, for the rights of all men, are the sentiments which he must endeavour to implant. He must never, by his conversation or his example, run the risk of lessening the veneration due to virtue. He must never, by words of hatred or anger, inculcate those blind prejudices which create hostile nations in the bosom of one nation. The peace and concord which he maintains in his school ought, if possible, to secure the tranquillity and the harmony of future generations."

The minister then touches on the relation of the master with the parents, and on the kindliness, mingled with discretion, which ought to regulate them; then on those with the authorities civil and ecclesiastical.

"By the success of his school he must disarm prejudice; by his prudence he must rob intolerance of every pretext."

We have been the more liberal of our quotations on the subject of the duties of a schoolmaster, because we observe with regret and surprise the pertinacity with which the enemies, and even the friends, of education misconceive and mistate its province. It is lamentable when those who ought to aid in correcting the depravations, and restoring the purity and utility of language, help to perpetuate its most vitiated forms. We had hoped that the radical and pregnant error of confounding *edu-*

cation with *instruction* was in a way of correction; that a confusion which the lowest German peasant does not make, would no longer disgrace the speeches and the writings of the most distinguished men in England. From numerous passages throughout the evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, it appears that our hopes are premature.

We are astonished to see that even Lord Brougham replies, to an inquiry as to the effect of education on the morals of a country, that "reading and writing will not prevent crime." And a little further on, his lordship says, "This supposes the nature of man to be changed by reading." We are among those who believe that *education will* greatly diminish the mass of crime and of misery; and this belief is the source and spring of all our intense anxiety for it. We profess to care comparatively little—less, perhaps, than his lordship—about the diffusion of technical arts, or of that general information, as it is called, which *does* leave the "nature of man" pretty nearly untouched; and we beg, once for all, to disclaim for ourselves, and for the advocates of *education*, what his lordship justly calls, "so fantastical and unsound an idea."

Our readers will, we are convinced, have found no trace of such fallacious expectations in the extracts we have laid before them, nor in the expressions of the framers of the Educational Law of Prussia.

We said, at the beginning of this article, that on one important point we regarded the French law of 1833 as defective. We are far from reproaching the framers of the law with this defect; they have but yielded to a resistless pressure: but we do not the less look upon it as deplorable, and as exactly subtracting half the good which the law was otherwise calculated to produce—we mean the absence of all obligation to attend the schools. On this point let the facts speak.

Table XXIV. appended to the Report, contains the numbers of the boys who frequented the schools in the summer and in the winter of the years 1832 and 1833, in every department of France.

The total difference is—

Year	Season	Number	Year	Season	Number
1832	Winter ..	1,200,715	1833	Winter ..	1,654,828
	Summer..	695,698		Summer..	792,741

Now this we look upon to be an enormous evil. The bad effect, in degrading a sacred duty in the eyes of parents, in breaking up all settled habits in the children, in disheartening and chilling the masters, can hardly be calculated. Far wiser would it be to shut up the schools altogether for three or four months, than to suffer this relaxation of discipline, this irrever-

ence towards public instruction. Let full time be allowed for the labours of the harvest and the vintage; but let it be done by authority, and not left to caprice.

But, alas! how are we to get out of this circle? The importance of national education can be appreciated only by an enlightened people; and we are to wait for the appreciation which supposes the possession of what we want to confer. Popular Education emanating from an ignorant people is the problem the nations are now called upon to solve. Appearances are not encouraging. Of the 37,187 communes of France, called upon to deliberate on primary instruction, only 11,029 deliberated on all the matters submitted to them; 11,036, on a part of those matters; leaving 15,122 who refused to deliberate at all. In short it is clear that education has been forced upon the people; to the eternal honour of the government, which has consulted their interests rather than their inclinations.

"We must neither dissemble nor conceal," says M. Guizot, "that the country is, in this respect, less advanced than has often been asserted; its wishes are not on a level with its wants; the expense frightens, the trouble repels: and, for a long time to come, the government will have to surmount the ignorance and indifference of a part of the population by its activity and its wisdom."

An immense deal, however, has been accomplished in the teeth of these obstacles. Most thankful should we be to see half as much attempted here. The mere recognition of the duty of the state is, indeed, a point gained from which it is impossible to recede. We regret to have no space for the statistical details which prove the advances made. We find, for instance, that though, at the date of the report, only forty-five superior primary schools existed, fifty-four communes were on the point of opening them.

Above all, the increase in the number of normal schools* affords the best promise. In 1832, there were only forty-seven of these establishments; at the date of the report, there were sixty-two in full activity. These sixty-two were supported by seventy-three departments.

As some attempt at training masters will, we doubt not, speedily be made in this country, we earnestly recommend a suggestion contained in the Report of the Commission of Peers. Things here are apt to be ruined by the ignoble taste for finery and expense. What we have to dread is, that the

* We deprecate the transplantation of this French misnomer into this country. The schools in question are in no respect normal. The French *have* normal schools, which they call *écoles modèles*.

money which should go to the making of excellent schoolmasters (which is impossible without men of first-rate merit as instructors and directors) will be spent in building handsome school-houses, with such internal luxuries as would not be dreamed of abroad; for this is our way of proving our national superiority. The experiment might be made at very little expense, if it were discreetly set about.

"It is a mistake," says M. Cousin, "to think that a normal school is necessarily very expensive. In the poorer departments, a normal school may be established on the humblest footing, and may begin by being a mere appendage to some excellent primary school. It may consist of a small number of day pupils only, without any domestic establishment; of the easiest discipline, and easily, indeed by the very nature of things, imbued with that spirit of simplicity, I was going to say of poverty, necessary to the lowly estate of a village schoolmaster."

As we look upon the education of schoolmasters as the surest criterion of the state and prospects of popular instruction, we have infinite satisfaction in adding, that we have just learned from unquestionable authority, that the École Normale Primaire established at Versailles in 1831 is in a most flourishing condition. As it was the first institution of the kind founded in France, its success affords a cheering encouragement to the other normal schools which are rapidly multiplying in that country; and to the projects which will, we trust, ere long be realised in our own. The novelty of the establishment, and the obstacles which it has so recently surmounted, render it peculiarly interesting to the English visitor. The school now contains about 120 *élèves maîtres;* the course of instruction lasts two years, during which time, in addition to the lessons of reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic, the daily religious exercises and instructions, the higher studies of history, geography, design, and the elements of agriculture, land-surveying, music, &c. the pupils are enabled to acquire a practical knowledge of the art of teaching in the École d'Asyle, or infant school, in the boys' schools (two of which are attached to the establishment); and in the Écoles d'Adultes, which are held in the winter evenings. The boys' schools are conducted on the two systems of mutual instruction, and instruction by the master; the *élève maître* is thereby qualified to follow the plan which he deems preferable, after having taught in both. In the course of this winter, 691 workmen and soldiers of the line, besides eighty cuirassiers, have frequented the Écoles d'Adultes: these willing scholars were divided into twelve classes, and each class was instructed by

four of the pupils of the establishment. The rapidity and the extent of their progress have amply rewarded the zeal and talent of their young teachers. In the different branches of the École Normale of Versailles, it is impossible not to be struck by the harmony of purpose, and the general devotion to the great ends of education, which pervade all ranks and ages of scholars and teachers. When the novelty of the institution is worn off, it may be possible and advantageous to simplify the habits of the pupils, and to render them more conformable to the lowly, though beneficent station, these men are intended to occupy; but for the present their zeal and industry is a sufficient guarantee of their utility. The school has been able from the first year to furnish thirty schoolmasters and upwards annually to the country.

We only regret that the French government has found it necessary, or thought it expedient, to cut off a year from the period fixed by the Prussian law. Three years seem to us not an hour too much for the forming of a schoolmaster, who, as M. Guizot truly says, "ought to know much more than he will be called upon to teach, in order to teach that well." But what chance have we for a hearing on this head, when we see that the Rev. Wm. Johnson, clerical superintendent of the National Society's Central School, affirms in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, that *five months are more than sufficient!** We want nothing beyond this fact to illustrate the state of national education in England. For this is not the hasty expression of an unauthorised individual, but the deliberate opinion of a high functionary set over the schools under the immediate direction and patronage of the Church of England.

We must now hasten to conclude our long, yet very imperfect account of what has been done, and is doing, in France for national education. We are far from holding up either the French or the Prussian system as perfect models. We entirely agree with the author of one of the best works on education that has lately come in our way,† that beautiful as is the mechanism of the Prussian system, it does not accomplish half what it might and ought; and that though the *how* is admirably pro-

* This gentleman stated that *five months* was the average period of training of the last fifty masters and fifty mistresses who left the establishment; and on being asked (Q. 122) "If a man were sufficiently well skilled in writing, reading, and arithmetic, could he learn the difficult art of teaching?" answered "Yes, decidedly, and *it may be learned in three months*, if he has tact!!" (*Minutes of Evidence*, *p*. 10.)

† *The Necessity of Popular Education, as a National Object*, by JAMES SIMPSON, Advocate. Edinburgh, 1834.

vided for, the *what* of education (to borrow his expression), is defective. But we confidently believe that, could we but obtain this mechanism, we should outstrip all other countries in the application of it. Without it, the efforts which zeal and intelligence are every where making around us, will, we are persuaded, continue fruitless, or lead only to desultory and partial results. Let the friends of education, therefore, direct all their wishes and their efforts to this fundamental point. Let them disregard all clamours about tyrannical interference, and remember that it is not ~~the~~ *vox populi*, but ~~the~~ *salus populi*, which is *suprema lex*.*

In no possible case can the rulers of a nation hold themselves excused from this first of duties. If the people are torpid and indifferent, they ought to rouse them; if they are eager for instruction, they ought, with equal eagerness, to meet their demands. Whenever education shall have done its work—whenever the people shall be sufficiently enlightened to see all that the business of legislation demands—then, and not before, will they cease to struggle for a power they will see it is impossible they could wield; then, and not before, will the grand conflict that now agitates the world cease—cease, not by the destruction or the subjection of a party, but by the stedfast and enlightened will of convinced men.

Let us conclude with the noble appeal of Milton, on behalf of his and our countrymen:—

"Lords and Commons of England! consider what nation ye are of, and whereof ye are the governors. A nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent; subtle and sinewy to discourse; not beneath the reach of any point, the highest that human capacity can soar to. . . . . What could a man require from such a nation, so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there more to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?"

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* We are indebted to M. De Tocqueville's profound and admirable work on "Democracy in America" for the following singular corroboration of our opinions, by the principles and the practice of men who were ready to sacrifice every thing to freedom and to conscience.

"In the code adopted by the little state of Connecticut as early as the year 1650, the duties of public education and the right of compelling the attendance of children were formally recognised. Schools were established in every parish; a rate was levied for their support; the municipal authorities were bound to enforce the sending of the children to school by their parents; they were empowered to inflict fines on all who refused compliance: and in cases of continued resistance, society assumed the place of the parent, took possession of the child, and deprived the father of those natural rights which he used to so bad a purpose."—*De la Démocratie en Amérique*, p. 40.

Art. II. — *Geschichte von England*, von J. M. Lappenberg. Erster Band. Mit einer Karte. (History of England, by J. M. Lappenberg. First volume, with a Map). Pp. lxxviii. and 631. Hamburg, 1834. 8vo.

To write a History of England, says Bishop Nicolson, it is necessary that the author be not only a soldier, a statesman, and a philosopher, but he must also be a divine, a lawyer, an orator, a poet, and a downright honest country gentleman. How many of these qualifications are united in the person of Dr. Lappenberg we know not, and probably he himself is ignorant; but a sufficient proportion of them appears to have existed to enable him to produce the first volume of a History of England, which, when completed, will probably be the best which has hitherto been written.

Prior to the appearance of Hume as the historian of England, little had been done by those who had trodden in the same path except to supply libraries with heavy folio volumes. Annals, not history, were produced; and the object of the writer seemed rather to distract and perplex the reader, by laying before him the various and contradictory modes in which the same facts might be narrated, than to deduce truth from conflicting testimony. The volumes of Stowe and Speed, of Brady, Tyrrell, Rapin, and Carte, are valuable storehouses of material, and creditable monuments of patient and persevering research, and as such they are prized and consulted; but here the praise must end. It was reserved for Hume to advance higher. Remembering that human nature, however it may be influenced for a time by education, or warped by acquired sentiments, is the same in all ages and under all circumstances, he viewed the performers upon the stage of history as actuated by passions and principles similar to those which he saw in daily operation around him. Sitting as a judge upon the merits of the different causes which passed in review before him, he weighed in an impartial balance the evidence of witnesses who appeared upon opposite sides of the question. He detected the secret springs of actions which had previously appeared disinterested; he traced to their latent causes events which it had been state policy to represent as originating in circumstances totally different. He seems to have possessed the instinctive faculty of detecting imposture through all the various disguises which it might assume; and, like the master in the German tale, he could shew the hollowness of the phantoms which, till then, had appeared to the beguiled admirer as beings of reality and

beauty. With such qualifications, the History of England under him assumed a different character. And yet, amidst the praise which the splendid talents of Hume must wring from even his most ungenerous adversary, justice demands that his faults should not be passed over in silence. A constant trifling with the truths of revealed religion, an anxiety to undermine the foundation upon which is reared the hope of an hereafter as exhibited to us in the Scriptures, a wish to teach us to doubt upon subjects which do not admit of hesitation, until an habitual suspicion steals over our hearts as well as our understandings,—these may be considered as a part of the objectionable tendency of Hume's writings. The apparent candour with which the argument is conducted, and the tact with which positions are assumed which should have first been proved, place the unwary reader at great disadvantage; and in too many cases he rises from the perusal of the volume, if not a defendant, certainly no longer an opponent of the author's principles; if not an avowed convert, at least a tacit apologist. It is an accusation generally urged against Hume's History that it is not founded upon a sufficiently careful and critical examination of original authorities; and the accusation is perfectly just. It may be doubted, however, if the author himself considered this a very radical imperfection. From the general tone of his mind, it is not difficult to perceive that philosophical inquiry rather than historical accuracy was the end he had in view, and it is probable that even a more moderate degree of the latter would have satisfied him. Few readers, we apprehend, now consult Hume's History as a book of accuracy or research, or would venture to quote his pages as authority for names or dates; but it will always retain its character of pre-eminence for beauty of style, originality of thought, and acuteness of observation.

The only other history produced during the last century to which we think it necessary to allude is that of Henry. In plan, in style, in spirit, it is the very opposite of Hume's. It is distinguished by no graces of diction, unmarked by any depth of thought; and its reputation is founded chiefly upon the novel system which the author adopted of introducing at limited periods digressive chapters upon the religion, literature, dress, &c. of our ancestors, which, however useful they may be as detached essays upon these subjects, destroy, beyond recovery, that connexion between cause and effect which constitutes the principal charm experienced by an inquisitive mind in the perusal of the history of any nation. It is founded upon as careful an examination of the historians and documentary remains of the middle ages as the distance of the author's residence from extensive public libraries would admit. Although

in it we encounter instances of narrowness of thought, which are to be referred to the circumscribed sphere in which the author moved, and the severity adopted by that class of religious persuasion of which he was a member, yet, upon the whole, it is a creditable production; and the purity of its sentiments makes it particularly calculated for the perusal of the young, before the mind is sufficiently developed to encounter with safety the sophistry of Hume.

Our own day has seen the commencement and completion of several histories of England. Of these, the labours of Sharon Turner first demand our attention; and we cannot do otherwise than characterise his work as the production of an honest and upright man, anxious in his investigation of truth, laborious in collecting evidence, and an advocate of men and measures only when they appear to him worthy of his support. The apologist of no sect or party, he can see the merits of each, and the errors of all. His writings are pervaded by a spirit of candour and sincerity, and we seldom can deny him the credit of an implicit belief in all the facts which he lays before the reader. Upon these recommendations Turner's History has attained the popularity with which it has been deservedly rewarded. Its chief fault consists in the frequent absence of even a moderate clearness of mental vision, in the short-sightedness of his deductions, and, occasionally, even in their palpable fallacy. It sometimes happens that the proofs which Turner advances would lead, one would think, with certainty to one only obvious deduction; but the historian, after giving us fact after fact, and testimony after testimony, jumps to a conclusion no less startling than erroneous. We do not mean that in these leaps the author is guilty of an attempt to mislead the incautious; on the contrary, we firmly believe that such *non-sequiturs* are unpremeditated, and, if noticed, would be rectified.

Lingard is a writer of another stamp. He has produced a work of much research, much originality of thought, and much genius; but which exhibits, on the other hand, marks of a system to be upheld and a party-spirit to be gratified. We wish to write of Lingard with respect, and, in the discharge of our duty, to preserve undiminished the admiration which we feel for him both as a writer and a man. It is well known that he is a member of the priesthood of the unreformed church of our ancestors; he is thus placed under many disadvantages, and his reader — the Protestant reader we mean — under more. There is a want of that confidence which we wish to place in the testimony of our instructor; we cannot abandon ourselves with implicit reliance to his guidance; we have the continued fear that he is either about to present us with partial statements

of facts, or that the conclusions to which he leads us may not be warranted by the premises. The utter dissimilarity existing between the constitution, both civil and religious, of our own time and that of the Saxon or Norman dynasty, is one of the safeguards in which we feel a security in other historians against any attempt at partiality of statement. When the vices or follies of the priesthood of a period so remote have to be discussed, we believe that no Protestant writer of the present day would refrain from doing so from the fear that he might be supposed to cast an imputation upon the clergy of the Church of England. But it is not so with a Catholic historian. In the pontiffs, whose ambition and tyranny have more than once adjudged the throne of England to an invader and a foreigner, he sees only the immaculate successors of St. Peter; in the clergy, whose ignorance demanded instruction in the rudiments of religion, and whose vices called for the chastening power of constitutions too gross to be translated, he recognises the anointed ones, from whom it is incumbent on him, if possible, to remove such imputations. When the church interfered with the political affairs of the nation, it is necessary for him to shew that such interference was a duty. He must exert himself, from the commencement of his task to its close, to apologise for the conduct of some grasping or hot-headed ecclesiastic, who, if he had been a layman, would have been handed over to merited censure, or dismissed with silent contempt. Of such imperfections there are many instances in Dr. Lingard's volumes, more, probably, than he is aware of; for we can perfectly understand how a man of quick feelings and enthusiastic temper, educated in the tenets of a Church now shorn of its former grandeur, and presenting only the shadow of what it once was, may, when employed in historical discussions, be insensibly led to screen the imperfections and to magnify the beauties of a system which he has been taught to revere as the one true faith. Without, therefore, judging so harshly as some have done, we think that his work requires to be read with caution, sometimes with doubt; but, at the same time, it would be unfair to ascribe the instances of partiality which we must frequently observe, to any thing but the habitual bias of sentiments which we cannot perfectly approve, and yet not wholly condemn.

Sir Francis Palgrave has recently presented to the world two goodly quarto volumes, embracing the Constitutional History of England to the period of the Norman conquest. The information contained in this work is very great; and it shews its author to be a man of immense research and familiar with all the sources from which illustrations of his subject can be gleaned. It exhibits more clearly than any prior work, the

connexion existing between the constitution of our own country and those of the collateral nations of Germanic origin. The political institutions of the Saxons are traced with that extreme acuteness and research, which the author's intimate acquaintance with constitutional history entitled us to anticipate. A chronological sketch of the history of the greater states and lesser provinces is exceedingly valuable; Dr. Lappenberg, who justly applies this epithet to it, proves the sincerity of his admiration by constantly referring to it, and he appears to consider it the only work the statements of which he deems worthy of an examination, when they are opposed to his own. Sir Francis, however, has his hobbies like all ingenious men, and it must be admitted that he sometimes rides them a little too hard.

The history of England which the late Sir James Mackintosh had commenced, he unfortunately did not live to finish; so far as he proceeded with it, it must be pronounced a failure. Its author was gifted with clearer ideas of constitutional and political history, with greater depth of thought, with acuter insight into character, and with greater command of language, than would be attributed to him by one who formed an estimate of the capacity of his mind from this, his favourite production. It is not for us to inquire into the causes of his failure; it may be that his mind had lost somewhat of its vigour, or that circumstances, over which he had no control, prevented him from bestowing upon it that consideration which, at an earlier period of his life, it undoubtedly would have received. It is enough for us to know that the reputation which Mackintosh had earned for himself is too firmly established to be permanently affected by it.

We are now led, in the progress of our subject, to a discussion of the merits of the work which is more immediately the subject of the present article. We have already expressed a favourable opinion of it in general terms; we shall now proceed to enter more minutely into an examination of its peculiarities. Dr. Lappenberg's object has been to produce a new history of England from a careful comparison of the best authorities, to reject all party views, and to condense his information into as small a compass as is consistent with accuracy of detail, and intelligibility of narrative.* We immediately perceive that he has made himself a complete master, by previous research, of all the subsidiary helps necessary for an adequate discharge of his arduous duties; he is familiar with our literature, ancient and modern, and there is scarcely a printed book bearing upon his

* The work forms a part of the series of European histories, edited by MM. Heeren and Ukert.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

WORKING OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN LONDON.

TWO years ago we were all rejoicing over what we rather presumptuously called the settlement of the National Education question. Although the scheme then carried through Parliament was avowedly a compromise, it was considered to be one which would be supported by an overwhelming majority. Setting aside the few bigots who insisted upon secular education pure and simple, and the few bigots who would have none but an exclusively clerical scheme of education, it was hoped that we should all agree to work the machinery as energetically as possible, and then all kinds of desirable results would follow. All the neglected population of our streets would be forced into familiarity with the three Rs. England would, like Prussia, be thoroughly drilled into education. The schools provided by the official boards and the schools provided by the various denominations would coöperate harmoniously, and there would be at worst a sufficient degree of emulation to stimulate all persons concerned to the fullest exertion of their energy. These roseate expectations, like most others of the kind, have been doomed to disappointment. If not altogether abandoned, we are compelled to admit that the day of realization is further off than we had originally supposed, and that, in short, we had immensely underrated the extraordinary difficulty of the task which lies before us.

Thus, for example, in London a controversy has recently arisen which strikingly illustrates the various perplexities which are not yet cleared up. In the early days of enthusiasm, men of unusual distinction allowed themselves to be nominated for the board. Lord Lawrence and Prof. Huxley—to mention no others—were amongst the first members, though both of them have since been compelled to retire from ill health. The debates of the board were anxiously watched, and it was hoped that we should speedily witness unmistakable results of their labors. The debates, however, prolonged themselves after the fashion of most parliamen-

tary performances, and a certain degree of impatience began to be manifested. Most people became rather tired of watching the course of affairs, and we had sunk into comparative indifference, when, at last, the board, having made elaborate preparations for its campaign against ignorance, began decidedly to take the field. New schools are being built; some have actually come into operation; and an attempt has been made to put in force the provisions for compulsory education. A certain number of previously neglected children have been forced into the schools. Straightway there arises a sudden shock of indignation, showing that jealousies which were supposed to be extinct are still in full force, and that the whole battle, which occupied Parliament for a session, is to be fought over again in the petty parliament of the school-boards; and that questions which Parliament evaded by committing their decision to the local bodies, are now pressing for a solution. The immediate cause of the explosion occurred at certain schools in the North of London. The visitors appointed by the board had succeeded in sending to a school already established some thirty children, who had hitherto been completely neglected. Well, one might have thought, here was a cause for rejoicing. The school would certainly welcome these little outcasts, at any rate, if their fees could be paid by the school-board. On the contrary, the children were summarily dismissed, and the managers of the school were indignant at the burden thrust upon them. Their reason was that these unfortunates belonged to the class variously designated as "waifs and strays," "street Arabs," or "gutter-children." They were poor little hangers-on upon the lowest fringe of society, who had learnt the worst of language if they had learnt nothing else, whose clothing was not even decent, and who were suspected of bringing with them physicial as well as moral contagion. They were therefore received much as a sweep would be received in a first-class railway carriage. If you force these children to school, it was urged, you ought to provide a separate place for them. There are lines of demarcation amongst the London poor just as deep and wide as those which separate the aristocracy and the middle-classes. The child of the decently-clad artisan alto-

gether refuses to be mixed up with the child of the poor beggar or crossing-sweeper. The spirit of caste, in short, raises difficulties as great as those raised by the spirit of religious bigotry.

But other complications speedily arose. The school-board naturally does not wish to open the doors of the new schools to this social refuse. It desires to make its own education a model; if its system is to be weighted by having all the refuse, a slur will be thrown upon it, and it will not be able to compete on equal terms with the denominational schools. There is nothing, it may be, which the denominational schools would like better. If the schools founded by the board are left empty, the advocates of the old system declare them to be useless; if they are filled, the same persons maintain that they are filled by draining the old schools, and that no real addition is made to the educational resources of the country. The representatives of the denominational party on the board are strongly inclined to hamper its efforts in every way that occurs, in order to prevent its competing effectually with the schools now established. The clergy, indeed, all over the country look askance upon school-boards generally, and are only too ready to denounce them as useless and expensive incumbrances. Meanwhile, if the board tries to set up an inferior class of schools for the poorest children, in order to draft them off from the better schools, it meets with a new set of difficulties. In the first place, there is the obvious difficulty of enforcing a system to which Englishmen are so little accustomed, and especially of enforcing it in the case of children whose earnings form a considerable part of the resources of the family. If a boy picks up a few pence a day by selling newspapers or matches, and you force him into school, it may be that his family will not be able to support him. And thus arise all kinds of delicate questions, which the board is scarcely able to answer. They have no sufficient machinery for deciding upon the degree of poverty of the parents and of knowing whether or not they can afford to pay school-pence, or afford even to be deprived of the services of their children. And here again comes in a conflict of authority with the system of poor-law relief. The

workhouses have already large schools, at which the children of paupers are educated. Should the guardians or the school-board deal with the lowest class of children, or how should the limits of their duties be defined?

These difficulties are suggestive enough of the complexity of the problem. There is no reason to suppose them insuperable, or even to suppose that they are not in the way of being overcome. But it is clear that the school-board has to organize a system of compulsion for which our habits have not in the smallest degree prepared us, and that in so doing they have to encounter not only the prejudices of the parents but the jealousies of numerous religious bodies already in possession of the ground, and ready to contest every inch of the way; and, moreover, to solve a variety of intricate social and economical problems. Meanwhile, public interest in the matter has rather flagged; people are unreasonably disappointed because their unreasonable anticipations were not fulfilled; and there are plenty of parish politicians who are only too ready to get up an agitation against any system which involves a pressure upon the rates. There are loud assertions that the whole thing is a failure, and suggestions that our old comfortable way of letting things alone had its advantages. How far greater results might have been fairly anticipated is a question which I am not qualified to answer; perhaps no one could. It was certainly natural enough to expect some more tangible fruits of two years' legislation; but, on the other hand, the outcry seems to prove that the board is really getting to work at last; and the complaints themselves demonstrate, if there were any necessity for such demonstration, that they have an ample field for labor. This vast disorganized mass of houses presents, of course, the most aggravated case; and it is here more than anywhere that social difficulties have outrun all attempts to grapple with them. It must be a work of many years to bring anything like order out of such a huge fragment of chaos. In other towns the work is apparently further advanced; and we may hope that more real impression is being produced on the appalling masses of ignorance and poverty. Meanwhile, the process must be slow, and moreover a good deal of heat will be generated while it lasts.

One question which seems pretty certain to arise in the next session will probably illustrate the intensity of the religious animosities which at present exhaust themselves chiefly in school-board questions. Mr. Gladstone can hardly avoid longer proposing some settlement of the Irish University question. It is idle to speculate on the nature of the solution which he will propose. He is watched by several parties, whose antipathies are so marked that it will indeed be a feat of statesmanship if he succeeds in removing them all. The Roman Catholics, who insist upon the endowment of their university; the Protestants, who will be scandalized by any kind of concession to Catholicism; the Radicals, who object to any encouragement to the denominational system, whether Catholics or Protestants are to reap the benefit, have the materials for a very pretty triangular duel; and when we consider that the question has to be fought out upon an Irish topic, and is therefore in no danger of being treated with coldness, or confined within strictly logical limits, we may anticipate a lively session. The leaders of both parties have complicated matters by flirtations with the Irish bishops and their opponents which will give ample opportunity for personal recrimination. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that this may be the shoal on which Mr. Gladstone's government will be finally wrecked, in spite of the skill with which he has hitherto frustrated the predictions of his opponents. Such speculations, however, are as yet premature; for we have been treated to no foreshadowings of policy from which the keenest of political prophets could infer the future.—*Correspondence of the Nation.*

JOSH BILLINGS ON SILENCE.

SILENCE iz a still noise.

One ov the hardest things for a man to do, iz to keep still.

Everybody wants tew be heard fust, as this iz jist what fills the world with nonsense.

Everybody wants tew talk, few want to think, and nobody wants to listen.

The greatest talkers among the feathered folks, are the magpie and ginny hen, and neither ov them are of mutch account.

If a man ain't sure he iz right the best kard he kan play iz a blank one.

I have known menny a man tew beat in an argument by just nodding his head once in a while and simply say, "*jess so, jess so.*"

It takes a grate menny blows to drive in a nail, but one will clinch it.

Sum men talk just as a French pony trots, all day long, in a haff bushel meazzure.

Silence never makes enny blunders, and alwuz gits az mutch credit az iz due it, and oftimes more.

When i see a man listening to me cluss i alwuz say to miself, "*look out, Josh*, that fellow iz taking your meazzure."

I hav heard men argy a pint two hours and a haff and not git enny further from where they started than a mule in a bark mill, they did a good deal ov going round and round.

I hav sat on jurys and had a lawyer talk the law, fakts and evidence ov the kase all out ov me, besides starting the taps on mi boots.

I hav bin tew church hungry for sum gospel, and cum hum so phull ov it that i couldn't draw a long breth without starting a button.

Brevity and silence are the two grate kards, and next to saying nothing, saying a little, iz the strength ov the game.

One thing iz certain, it iz only the grate thinkers who kan afferd tew be brief, and thare haz been but phew volumes yet published which could not be cut down two-thirds, and menny ov them could be cut clean back to the title page without hurting them.

It iz hard tew find a man ov good sense who kan look back upon enny occasion and wish he had sed sum more, but it iz easy tew find menny who wish they had said less.

A thing sed iz hard tew recall, but unsed it kan be spoken any time.

Brevity iz the child of silence, and iz a great credit tew the old man.

known from the visible effects of their power.* With regard to the famous reference to the Christians, in the passage where he says that the prepared soul should be ready for extinction, or for continuance upon its dissolution from the body, and that this preparedness should proceed from individual judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as is the case with the Christians, but reasonably, solemnly, in a manner calculated to persuade others, and not with tragic display;† there appears to be some doubt whether the clause mentioning the Christians, be not an interpolation;‡ at all events, the allusion forms too slender a thread upon which to hang any argument. If it is genuine, it would only confirm the correctness of the position towards the Christians which we have already assigned to the emperor.

In Aurelius, expired the last effort of Paganism and Grecian Philosophy to realize the ideal of a perfect man; and obvious as are the defects which we detect in the result, we cannot deny that the long line of so-called Christian emperors who filled the throne of the Cæsars, presents no one who, compared in all respects with the man we have been considering, would not suffer by the comparison. And if we find this, moreover, to be the case with regard to the majority of even the princes who have reigned in modern Christian Europe, we may read in the history of Aurelius, an additional lesson of the important truth that God never suffers real nobleness and earnestness of character to be lost; but that where it has been faithfully cultivated and exhibited, according to one's light and opportunity, Providence honours it in the records of history,§ and will even dignify the noble and earnest pagan by presenting him in those records as a reproof and example to the negligent Christian, who is the more unworthy in proportion to the magnitude of his privileges.

* XII. 28. † XI. 3.

‡ This is the conjecture of Eichstädt.—*Exercit. Antonin. III.*

§ Conf. August. De Civ. Dei. L. V. c. 12. "Quibus moribus antiqui Romani meruerunt ut Deus verus, quamvis non eum colerent, eorum augeret imperium."

Art. V.—English Universities.

Five Years in an English University: by Charles Astor Bristed, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. New-York: 1852.

Oxford and Cambridge—venerable names! How many associations do the very words conjure up! Their remote antiquity—(your true Oxonian is content with no later origin for his beloved Alma Mater than the times of Alfred the Great, and your genuine Cantab will not yield a jot on the score of age for his); their venerable piles of buildings, which look as if they never could have been new; the host of worthies who, generation after generation, have mused and studied within their walls—who have there achieved an immortality of fame, or, at least, there laid the foundation upon which, in after life, they have raised a structure of world-wide reputation and renown; all seem to invest them with a dignity and interest which the further lapse of time will but increase and deepen. To an American, particularly, these features of the two great English Universities must be very impressive. Accustomed to the stir and bustle that pervades every corner of his own country—to the glare, the spruceness and newness of everything at home—where old buildings are constantly being pulled down, or (as the phrase goes) "done up"—and where, amidst the rumbling thunder of railway trains and the hoarse-panting of steam engines, Literature, like Truth, "hath little say"—the profound air of academic repose which marks these ancient seats of learning, must strike him with a sort of solemn awe, somewhat akin to that which one would experience who should suddenly turn from a hot, crowded street, into "the long-drawn aisles" of some cool, dimly-lighted Gothic temple. Here trade, commerce, manufactures, machinery and steam—valuable and essential, but still unlovely and unæsthetic elements of civilization—the prose back-ground of life—have no place; there is nothing for them to do here. Here is the empire of mind—of pure intellect—in its widest range and most unfettered condition; not "practically applied" to the performance of feats of political jugglery—the framing of blundering and needless statutes, or reckless tinkering with the con-

stitution of a country ; nor to the striving, heart and soul, to make the worse appear the better reason in the science of law, (" whose throne is," &c., &c., but we will spare our readers the quotation, which they can get from any young lawyer who has just made his first speech at the bar in support of some cause, of the *real justice* of which he has more than misgivings ;) nor in " the divine art " to the administering of drugs of which we know little, for diseases of which we know less ; nor to the manufacture of calico ; nor to shrewd gambling in cotton bales ; nor in any branch of trade to the " turning an honest penny " into, not unfrequently, a dishonest shilling. No—your practical man " will turn with contempt from the cloistered shades of the Isis and the Cam. Here,

> " Never comes a trader, never floats a European flag."

Here Knowledge and Learning sit enthroned ; here Reason and Philosophy hold their court ; here Genius is fostered and trained ; and here the humblest charity scholar, possessing himself of the rich legacies which have been bequeathed us by the master-spirits of the world, may exult in the noble and inspiring sentiment,

> " I the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time."

Here, too, is the true Republic of Letters—for here " the poor man and the son of pride " struggle together, with a fair field and no favours. It is a striking feature in these Universities, in the midst of the most aristocratic and socially exclusive institutions in the world, that the palm of honour is bestowed on merit alone ; that each one's individual talents and exertions are the only means of success. Partiality in awarding prizes and distinctions is never charged on the " Dons," as the Masters, Fellows, &c., are termed by the undergraduates. Each one is convinced that he will receive his due, and therefore, if he fails in attaining the object of his ambition, he is not apt to feel bitterness ; because he believes that the claims of all the academic aspirants have been thoroughly sifted, by men thoroughly competent and just, and that he has been properly " placed " in the race. How different in this last particular is it with us. We will venture to say that an award of college honours has scarcely ever been made in America, which did not produce murmuring, dissatis-

faction, and loud charges of "partiality." Much of all this may be owing to the democratic spirit which is always disposed to kick against legitimate authority, and to the cool self-confidence of our youth, who usually consider themselves quite as able to decide the question of their individual ability and acquirements, as their instructors. And this disposition, or rather *predisposition*, on the part of our young men to dissent from and quarrel with the decisions of "the Faculty," is fostered in most cases, strange as it may seem, by parents. These are naturally anxious that Tom should take a high position. They never question but that he *can* do it; and when, at the final placing, Tom is put *low*, instead of high, both they and Tom feel slighted and aggrieved, and are disposed to take umbrage at it as a personal affront. "Tom *certainly* is superior to Jack so-and-so"—(*certainly* meaning by Tom's and Sam's particular friends' estimate or "calculation;") *ergo*, the Faculty have acted "shamefully"—have been guilty of "gross injustice," &c., &c.,—and frequently a spite and temper are exhibited by Master Tom, which would be very provoking, if it were not entirely ridiculous. But, seriously, this is a great evil—this want of cheerful concurrence in the decisions of the Faculty. The only hold which the latter have upon the students under their charge, and the only standing influence which they can exercise over them, is through this very apportionment of honours. They may keep the *very* indolent and the disorderly within certain bounds, as regards scholarship and conduct, by holding out *in terrorem* certain punishments and inconveniences, in the shape of "suspension," "conditions," degradation to a lower class, &c.; but they can only stimulate those whose scholarship is above mediocrity, by holding out to them the college honours and distinctions, as the goals to be won by their talents and application. Now, if the student has no confidence in the justice or the correct judgment with which these will be awarded, he is deprived of all inducement to strenuous effort—except the desire of self-improvement, which, with the young, is too vague and fluctuating, too variable a motive power, to press them to their full pace. Rivalry and competition are absolutely requisite in almost all the pursuits of men to develope the latent energies. But how are we to render the decisions of our Faculties more

sure and received evidences of the talent, scholarship and attainments, generally of graduates? How are we to give them more light, and better criterions for the true and accurate performance of their difficult and delicate task? For we will not and cannot suppose that anything else is wanted to render their decisions authoritative and satisfactory, at least to the public, and thus make the distinctions they confer worthy and valuable objects of the student's ambition. To suppose as some,—we trust and believe not many,—seem to suppose, that men, upright and honourable in every other relation of life, can, when assembled in solemn conclave to decide upon points of scholarship—a subject upon which their very position assumes their special competence to decide—be actuated by any other motive in making up their decisions than the strictest and most impartial sense of justice, is too absurd, not to say monstrous a notion, to be entertained for a moment. Moreover, how are we to afford facilities of instruction to the students in our colleges, so as to make them as thoroughly versed as possible in the various departments of knowledge they are pursuing?—the great and important point, after all. For we presume that very few will be found to contend that our present College system accomplishes this anywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land. Could any of the graduates with the highest honours of our Colleges compete successfully with those about to graduate from the English and German Universities, for the highest honours—we believe we might safely say for *any* honours—of those institutions? We believe the most prejudiced American would hesitate to answer in the affirmative. It is true that the imperfect system pursued in our Colleges is not the only, nor perhaps the greatest cause of this difference in the attainments of the American and the English or Continental B. A. National character has much to do with it. We are a "fast" people. We are unwilling to go through a very toilsome course to gain anything, however valuable. We are always for striking out new, ingenious and short methods. Now it is a very trite, but a very true remark, that there is no royal road to knowledge. Patient, slow, laborious, long-continued effort, can alone conquer sound and accurate scholarship. This alone would deter most young men in our country from seriously attempting to

make themselves scholars* in any high sense of the term. Besides, the thing itself is not sufficiently valued to induce any great sacrifice of time or effort for its attainment. What is the reputation for scholarship worth in this country? Of what earthly advantage is it to its possessor, except in the sense of being, like virtue, its own reward. Without the incitement of literary society and literary sympathy—isolated, scattered few and far between—they must be content to live in the midst of a hard, "practical," dollar-coining generation—among them, but not of them—"without a fellow and without a judge." In this country, everything has its market value, and the principles of supply and demand regulate politics, as well as pork—letters, as well as lumber. Let "popular sentiment" call for a particular shade of political opinion, and *presto!* you will have a dozen presidential candidates starting up with the "real, genuine, warranted article." And so if we had sufficient bribes held out, there is little doubt but that really a very respectable article in the way of learning and scholarship, would soon be produced—for we are a clever people, and can turn our hands to anything we have a mind to.

But, on this point, more anon. At present we are merely considering some of the causes of the low standard of Scholarship in our Colleges. We have said that it is owing, in part, to the low estimate in which scholarship and learning are held in the country at large—and this, no doubt, is the great, underlying, primary cause. But let us look at some of the proximate and secondary causes. And first and foremost, we must place *defective preparatory training at school.* It is utterly impossible for the professor to supply deficiencies arising from the neglect or incapacity of the teacher, or the long course of previous indolence in the school-boy. The youth who leaves school ill-grounded, is very apt to leave College as ignorant as he came. Nor is this surprising. Neither is it a matter for which his Alma Mater ought justly to be held responsible. Every one who has ever been at College will, we think, be willing to admit this. The professor

* We beg leave, once for all to say, that we use the words scholars and scholarship in their wider and more liberal sense, and not in the somewhat technical and narrow one which makes them refer to Latin and Greek—or *languages* generally, *as such.*

must address himself to a class composed of various orders of intellect, trained under various methods of instruction. He must endeavour, of course, to suit his teaching to the average capacity and attainments of the individual members—but still addressing himself rather to the highest than the lowest minds. For, certainly, it is preferable that the most promising and proficient should be pushed up to the highest mark they can attain, than that they should be held back in a state of almost mental inaction, while the dullest and most backward are being dragged up to a position, perhaps, after all the most painful efforts, below mediocrity. The consequence is, that the laggards in the rear are soon left so far in the distance, that the march and evolutions of the vanguard are as absolutely incomprehensible and unintelligible to them as if they were not (nominally) pursuing the same road. And we again repeat, that this is an evil for which, with our present College system, no remedy can be provided. An illustration or two will make clear, and, we think fully establish, our position. Suppose a class are reading the Medea with the professor of Greek, and they meet with some unusual form of a tense—or, some word, the peculiar force and significance of which depend upon its composition from two or more primitive roots. Here is a nice little bit of interesting scholarship, to which the professor is desirous of calling attention, and upon which he would take pleasure in dilating. But alas! his enthusiasm is checked—his *collation* of Bentley, and Porson, and Dindorf, and Bekker, is almost forgotten in his mortification at discovering that perhaps three or four of the class in succession to whom he may put, at random, the mere preparatory questions, "What is the ordinary rule for the formation of this tense?" or "What changes of consonants do the laws of euphony require in the composition of this word?" remain mute—unable to answer questions requiring but the slightest acquaintance with the rudiments of Greek Grammar. Now, is the professor to stop not only his explanations and comments, but the reading of the play, to teach an ignoramus the formation of an aorist, or the rule for the change of a soft mute (not the "soft," mute youth, but the Greek letter) into an aspirate? (Happy would he be could he change the "soft" youth aforesaid into anything having even the slightest aspiration.) If so, what

degree of acquaintance with the masters of the Greek drama—in the eloquent language of another, "the enthroned triad of action and passion"—would the class ever acquire? Truly a mere "speaking acquaintance," as some one calls it—certainly not an acquaintance worth speaking of. Or, suppose a professor is expounding to a class the Binomial Theorem, or the Theory of Logarithums, and it becomes necessary to add together certain fractions which may occur in a formula. A student is requested to step to the black-board and do it—but he blunders, and thus balks the full-tide of explanation, because he has unfortunately forgotten (because he never thoroughly knew) the rules of fractions. Can the lecturer stop the class, perhaps on the eve of an examination, and pressed for time, in order to instruct the miscalculator in the elementary principles of arithmetic? No, he must either "cut" the figures, assuming the result without working it out, and go on with the more important matter of explaining the principle—developing the fundamental idea of the subject—or else the class, when the algebraic work of the session comes to be summed up, will themselves cut but a sorry figure. Let it not be supposed that we exaggerate—we pledge our honour that such very occurrences have come under our personal observation. But independently of defective training at school, there are, without doubt, intrinsic defects and imperfections in the College system itself in this country, which would be sufficient to account for the low standard of scholarship attained by our graduates. And a clear perception of these defects and imperfections is requisite, before we can enter upon the required reform implied in the questions which we propounded a little way back, and which for the sake of clearness we will here recapitulate. They are—1st, How are we to render College honours, objects of greater ambition to undergraduates, or, what is the same thing, more certain, reliable, and therefore more valuable and desirable evidences and testimonials of talent and acquirements; and, 2d, How are we to teach the student more thoroughly, and render him more familiar with the various branches of knowledge pursued by him during the comparatively brief period of his College career? Now, in considering these points, we naturally turn to the great and famous schools of learning in the Old World, and enquire how they manage

to secure these objects there—for secure them they certainly seem to do. And, particularly, our attention would be drawn to the Universities of England—our own mother country—upon whose general system of education we have, in almost every instance, moulded our own. The book, whose title stands at the head of this article, would seem to be the very thing to give us all the information we desire. "Five Years in an English University" must give one a thorough insight into the practical working of its system of education, and render one a competent authority, as far at least as facts are concerned. We propose, therefore, to give our readers an outline of the academic life of an undegraduate at Cambridge, as detailed in Mr. Bristed's book. In doing so, we shall quote or condense his language, as may best subserve our design.

The various Colleges or halls at Cambridge, as well as at Oxford, most of our readers are no doubt aware, are distinct and independent corporations. They are said to be on different foundations, i. e. are supported from different sources and are governed by distinct officers. The subjects taught in their lecture-rooms are not precisely the same, although of course having a general resemblance; their academic gowns even are different. "The confederation of these independent corporations," says Mr. Bristed, "constitutes the University, which may, in its relation to the Colleges comprising it, be compared to [with] our Federal Government in its relation to the separate States—with this important historical difference, however, that the Colleges sprang into existence *subsequent* to the founding of the University." The undergraduate's only practical connexion with the University, in its corporate capacity, is at his examination for admission, and his final examination for a degree. When a youth "goes up" to the University, therefore, he necessarily goes to some particular College—(Mr. B. went to Trinity, which is considered "the crack College")—and the first academic personage with whom he comes in contact is the College Tutor. This is a gentleman who, for the most part, has taken high honours in classics or mathematics, and one of his duties is to lecture upon one or the other of these subjects? He attends to all the money affairs of the students; sends in their accounts every term; settles their tradesmen's bills; assigns them their rooms, &c.; and he is supposed to stand

generally *in loco parentis*. The larger Colleges have two or even three tutors, and the students are equally divided among them without distinction of year or class. The examination for admission to many of the Colleges is almost nominal; any Master of Arts being qualified to admit. At Trinity, however, there is a regular test. "The candidates for admission are examined in the first book of the Iliad, the first book of the Æneid, some easy Greek and Latin prose, Arithmetic, the elements of Algebra, two books of Euclid, and Paley's Natural Theology. Any one fitted for the Sophomore Class, at Yale, could pass here without trouble. The candidates are generally well prepared, and the examiners lenient; out of one hundred and thirty, or more, who offer themselves, there are seldom more than four or five rejected. The principle seems to be, 'let in every one, and if they cannot keep on that is their look out.'" The undergraduates consist of fellow-commoners, pensioners and sizars. The fellow-commoners (answering to the 'gentleman-commoners' at Oxford) "in consideration of their paying twice as much for everything as anybody else, are allowed the privilege of sitting at the fellows' table in hall, and in their seats at chapel; of wearing a gown with gold or silver lace, and a velvet cap with a metallic tassel," and some other little privileges in the way of absenting themselves more frequently from chapel, than the main body of the students, or unprivileged class who constitute the "pensioners." The sizars receive pecuniary assistance from the College, and dine gratis after the fellows. They correspond with the "beneficiaries" of our Colleges. Among the fellow-commoners are included the honourables *not* eldest sons—who from the circumstance of wearing a hat, instead of a cap, are termed "hat fellow-commoners." Our author says there are never many noblemen proper, or eldest sons, at Cambridge, as Oxford has, for this class, greater attractions. A fellow-commoner of economicnl habits spends about £500 per annum—"for the generality of them £800 is not too much." The College authorities (in University phrase "the Dons,") are the master and fellows. The master of the College, or "head of the house," is a D.D., who has been a fellow. He is the supreme ruler within the walls of his College, and "keeps at an awful distance" from the students. The fellows consist of the four or five

bachelor scholars in each year, who pass the best examination in classics, mathematics and metaphysics. From the numerous and severe examinations through which they must have passed before reaching this dignity, they may be fairly presumed the most learned of the College graduates. They have a handsome income, whether resident or not, and if resident enjoy a good table for nothing and good rooms at a very low price. They retain their fellowships on the conditions of remaining unmarried and taking orders after a certain time—in Trinity College, we presume, after seven years, (p. 50, vol. 1)—though laymen may then hold them for seven years more without residence, which affords young men a support until they get fairly underweigh in their professions. The Dean is the presiding officer in chapel—and the only one whose presence there is indispensable. He overlooks the markers' lists—(the markers are servants stationed at the chapel door, who mark the names of the students with pins as they enter)—" pulls up the absentees and receives their excuses." The undergraduate is expected to " keep eight chapels a week "—two on Sunday, and one on every week day—morning or evening, at his option. A pensioner may get off with six and a fellow-commoner with four, if he is quiet and orderly in other respects. The other officers are the Vice-Master, the Burser or College Treasurer, Lecturers, assistant Lecturers and assistant Tutors, to the number of nearly twenty—some of whom are non-resident however, and only appear at examinations—four Chaplains, and the Librarian. With the exception of these last five, all the officers are Fellows.

So much for the *dramatis personæ.* Let us now see the everyday life of the students. At seven o'clock in the morning the bell rings for chapel, the services of which occupy about half an hour. The students breakfast in their rooms.

"At nine, lectures begin and continue till twelve. There are some ten or eleven going on at once. The established length of each lecture is one hour. For the Freshmen there are two, a classical and a mathematical, both which they are required to attend; the second and third-year men have their choice of one lecture among three or four. The lecturer stands and the lectured sit, even when construing, as the Freshmen are sometimes asked to do; the other years are only called on to listen. The practice of taking

notes is very general; there is plenty of stationery ready provided on the desks, but the students usually bring their own note-books and pens.

"Having mentioned *second and third-year men*, it may be well for me to state at once that there are no such beings as *Sophomores* at an English University. The undergraduate course is three years and a third, and the students who have completed their first year, are called successively *Junior Sophs*, (abbreviated for *Sophisters*,) *Senior Sophs* and *Questionists;* or, more popularly, *second-year men, third-year men,* and *men who are just going out*." (vol. 1, p. 24.)

Between twelve and one o'clock, the student goes to his private tutor, "an ordinary and almost absolutely necessary feature in the College life of every student, rich or poor." He is either a fellow or a bachelor trying for a fellowship. With him the student reads a portion of some author he has prepared, or undergoes a written examination, (all examinations at the University are conducted in writing,) or something he has not prepared for the purpose.

"The student reading with a classical tutor translates to him from some (prepared) author, brings him composition prepared at home, and writes out in the tutor's rooms, examination fashion, both translations and compositions, which, after being corrected, are compared with the tutor's models. As much of the pupil's reading must be done by himself, the great object of the tutor is the composition, but he also serves as a general commentator and last resort in difficulties; it is also his business to makes selections of hard passages from authors, whom the student may not have time or inclination to read the whole of, and to point out proper books for 'cram,' and philological information.

"In mathematics, examinations—that is, working examples and problems—are the principal exercise, most 'book-work' difficulties being sufficiently explained in the books, though some tutors consider their own manuscripts better than any of the books, and make their pupils copy them. The men are continually writing out book-work, either at home or in their tutor's rooms; they practice it to get pace as well as accuracy.

"An ordinary tutor takes five or six pupils a day, giving an hour to each. One of great celebrity will have twice as many, if a classic, or four times as many, if a mathematician. A mathematical tutor can drive a much larger team than a classical; the latter cannot well have more than three men construing to him at a time, nor can he look over and correct the compositions of more than ten in a day with the care and accuracy desirable; the former can be ma-

king explanations and setting examples to a squad of eight or ten together." (vol. 1, p. 204.)

From two to four, P. M., caps and gowns are laid aside, and that period is *universally and invariably* devoted to hard exercise—walking, (or *constitutionalizing*, as cantabs and Englishmen generally term it,) rowing, cricket, &c. At four o'clock, the cap and gown are resumed, and all, students and fellows, assemble in the hall for dinner. The table of the noblemen, fellows, and fellow-commoners, is on a raised dais at one end—and their fare is more sumptuous than the rest—"three courses, with port and sherry, in addition to the malt liquor, and abundance of orderly and well-dressed waiters." The bachelors, "most of them scholars reading for fellowships, and nearly all of them private tutors," sit by themselves at a table against the wall next below the fellows. This table "has less state" than that of the fellows, but "more mirth and brilliancy; many a good joke seems to be going the rounds." After hall is lounging time—some stroll in the grounds—some resort to the reading room to look over the papers and periodicals, and "many assemble at wine parties to chat over a frugal dessert of oranges, biscuits and cake, and sip a few glasses of not remarkably good wine." These entertainments are the most common, being cheap and convenient, and taking place at a time when no one ever pretends to work.

"At six, P. M., the chapel bell rings again. The attendance is more numerous now than it was in the morning. On Saturday evenings, Sundays, and saint's days, the students wear surplices instead of their gowns, and very innocent and exemplary they look in them. It must be owned that their conduct in chapel is very orderly and proper, considering the great opportunities afforded for subdued conversation by the way in which they are crowded together in kneeling. After chapel, the evening reading begins in earnest. Most of the cantabs are late readers, so that supposing one of them to begin at seven, he will not leave off before half-past eleven, thus clearing more than four hours' consecutive work, his only intermission being to take a cup or two of tea, sometimes, but not often, accompanied by a slice of bread and butter. One solid meal a day is the rnle; even when they go out to sup, as a reading-man does perhaps once a term and a rowing-man perhaps twice a week, they eat very moderately, though their potations are sometimes of the deepest. Some students go to their private tutors in the evenings;

not unfrequently two or three meet in one anothers' rooms alternately, to read some classical author or talk problems together—a very sociable way of acquiring learning.

"Such is the reading man's day; as to how the rowing-man passes his, I say nothing for the present. He is the abnormal development of the type, and the consideration of his pursuits need not now be dwelt upon." (vol. 1, p. 28.)

Such is the daily routine of College life. Let us now look a little at the work that is done, and the manner in which it is accomplished. It is perhaps needless to remind our readers that at Cambridge great stress is laid upon mathematical studies; so much so, that in all the Colleges, (in Trinity, however, less than the others,) proficiency in mathematics is essential to success in everything. The candidate for the highest classical honours, (the classical tripos as it is termed,) whatever be his distaste for such studies, "is obliged, as a preliminary, to obtain a place in that mathematical list which is headed by the senior wrangler, (the first mathematician of the graduating class,) and tailed by the wooden spoon." This "preliminary" is of course a terrible bore to the classical men—who, when they fail in it, "claim to be considered victims and martyrs."

"The question," says our author, "has often been put to me, 'why did you, with your classical tastes, go to Cambridge rather than Oxford?' To which I always reply that there is more classical learning to be picked up at Cambridge than I could ever hope to acquire. The truth is, that the cantabs are just as good scholars as the Oxonians, the former excelling in Greek, and the latter in Latin;* only at Cambridge you are dosed with mathematics into the bargain." (vol. 1, p. 95.)

And in another place he says—

"The Cambridge men read classics and *mathematics*, the Oxford men classics and *logic*. This is the great pervading difference."

But let us proceed to the Freshman's first examination. This is the College Easter term examination—familiarly

* It might also be said that the Oxford scholarship was more ***elegant***, the Cambridge more *accurate*. The mutual banter of the Universities will illustrate both these distinctions. The Oxonians used to say that the Cambridge men never could write good Latin prose; the latter retorted that there never was an Oxford man who knew the difference between οὐ and μή." (vol. 1, p. 187, note.)

called "the May"—at which all the classes are examined upon the lecture-room subjects of the year immediately preceding. And with the author we say, we "can't give you a better idea of it than by copying the first page *verbatim et literatim.*"

THUCYDIDES. LIB. IV.

TRINITY COLLEGE, JUNE, 1841.

"I. (1,) What do we learn of the life, station, and character of Thucydides, from his own writings? (2,) What is assigned as the date of his birth? (2,) What account is given of his first vocation to write history, and with what probability? (4,) Is it probable that he survived the end of the war? (5,) What opportunities had he of acquiring information? (6,) What period of time is embraced by his history? (7,) By whom was it continued; and from what writers do we derive our knowledge of the history of Greece, down to the time when it became a Roman province? (8,) How far do you concur in the opinion expressed by Thucydides in the words *δοκεῖ πολλὰ χαρίζεσθαι μὲν Λακεδαιμονιοις κατηγορεῖν δὲ 'Αθηνάιων?* (9,) Quote from this book instances of the *ἐναῤγέια*, the *λέξεις ποιητικαι*, and the *παρονμοιώσεις, παρισώσεις, ἀντιθέσεις* and *παρονομάσιαι*, attributed by Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, to the style of Thucydides. (10,) What writers have imitated Thucydides? Quote instances of imitation.

"II. (1,) Give an account of the Athenian Constitution, as it existed at the period of the Peloponessian war. (2,) How did it differ from that established by Solon? (3,) What were the principal political measures introduced by Pericles? and what was their effect upon the Athenian character and polity? (4,) What were the principal parties at this time in Athens, and by whom respectively led? (5,) What is meant by *ἡ δημαγωγία?* Whom do we hear of as filling that station?

"III. (1,) What is the date of Aristophane's play of Ιππεῖς? Give a brief account of its plot. Translate the following lines, and refer to the passages in this book, which illustrate them.

(2,) *και πρώην γ' εμοῦ*
μάξαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικὴν
πανουργότατά πως περιδραμὼν ὑφαρπάσας
αὐτὸς παρεθηκε την ἐπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην.

'Iπ. 54, 599.

(3,) *ἐλθοῦσά φησιν ἀυτομάτη μετὰ τὺν Πύλῳ*
σπονδῶν φερουσα τῆ πόλει κίστην πλέαν
ἀποχειροτονηθῆναι τρὶς ἐν τῃ ἐκκλησιᾳ.

Eἰϛ. 665, 899.

(4.) Quote any other passages from Aristophanes which have reference to, or illustrate events recorded in this book. (5,) Mention

any instances in the tragedians of such allusions to the political events of the day. (6,) Quote the lines in Euripides, supposed to have reference to Cleon, and the passage in Plato relating to the battle of Delium.

"IV. Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Ἀτροιζῆνα καὶ Αχαιὰν, ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον [δι Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προτερας ξυμβάσεως. Cap. 21.

"(1, What was the situation of Νίσαια and Πηγαί? Explain their importance to the contending parties, and refer to any passages of Thucydides which illustrate it. (2,) What was the political condition of Ἀτροιζὴν and Αχάια? (2,) What is meant by ἡ προτέρα ξύμβασις? Give its date and the circumstances which led to it. What was its effect upon the Athenian empire?" (vol. 1, p. 89.)

What would the *Seniors* in our American Colleges say to this *Freshman* examination paper? And this, be it observed, is but a portion of a single examination. Our limits forbid our extracting *in extenso* the entire examination papers of the Freshman "May," (of 1841,) which our author gives in the Appendix to his second volume. They occupy thirty closely printed pages (276–306.) The specimen given above will convey a general notion of the thorough and accurate knowledge which is required of the subject matters. It may be well, however, to give an abstract of the contents of these papers. The first is upon Euclid, and consists of twenty-two questions—(theorems and problems)—in plane trigonometry. Then comes a paper upon the Agamemnon of Æschylus. In this twenty-two lines are given to be translated into English; then follow certain questions upon the passage; then twenty-three lines more for translation, with questions upon them; then twenty-eight lines more; then about thirty lines, which it is required to "translate into English verse or Latin lyrics;" then fourteen lines of Milton to "translate into Greek iambics." The next paper consists of *six pages* of questions upon the Agamemnon, interspersed with illustrative quotations from other Greek authors, which are to be translated and explained. We give a short specimen.

"(2,) What view does Æschylus take of the duty incumbent upon Orestes of avenging his father's death? Quote any passages from the Choephoræ or Eumenides, illustrative of this point. (3,) Under what form was the duty of vengeance for the death of a kinsman retained in the Athenian laws? What was the legal form of

proceeding in cases of manslaughter or accidental homicide?" (vol. 2, appendix, p. 284.)

The next paper is upon Thucydides. It is required to translate about a closely printed 8vo. page of Greek into English, and not quite a page of English into Greek prose —with such trifles as the following thrown in. "Translate accurately the following sentences, pointing out the difficulties, and stating briefly the different translations which have been proposed and the ground for that which you adopt." Then follow the four passages referred to. (p. 290.) The next paper is a series of questions upon Thucydides, occupying *over six pages*—a portion of which we have already quoted *ante.* (p. 19.) The next paper comprises the Latin examination. It is required to translate Epistles X. and XI. of Cicero to Atticus, (about two pages 8vo.,) and to answer some historical questions upon them. Then follows one of Horace Walpole's letters, which is to be translated into Latin. The next paper is composed of about *four pages* of questions upon the letters of Cicero given in the preceding. The general character of these questions may be gathered from the following specimen which we take at random.

"4. Describe *municipium, colonia, præfectura.* What was the origin, and what the success of the social war? How was it connected with the civil troubles of Sylla's time? 'Negat, ex fœderato populo quemquam potuisse, nisi is populus fundus factus esset, in hanc civitatem venire.' 'Civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum, sive exsilio, sive postliminio, sive rejectione hujus civitatis.' Explain all these terms. What was the object of the law of Crassus, and Scævola, and other similar ones? Mention the several steps by which the Roman citizenship was communicated to the whole empire. What was the history of Cæsar's colony at Como, and how did it help to bring on the civil war? Who was Cornelius Balbus, and on what occasion had Cicero spoken in his behalf?"

The next paper is on plane trigonometry—solutions of problems as well as demonstrations of theorems.* The

* We have given no specimens of the mathematical papers, both for the purpose of economizing space, and also because at a University so famous for mathematics as Cambridge, the examinations upon this subject, it will be taken for granted, are thorough and searching. Besides, as we are writing for the information of the general reader, rather than the scholar or the scientific mind, we omit what, from its entire technical nature, would be unintelligible to him.

algebra paper for this year, the author tells us, is wanting. Having thus given at some length, and, we fear, to the majority of our readers, more tediousness, a detailed account of the Freshman examination we will merely give a list of the various subjects upon which the *second* and *third year men* are examined at the same time. But to form a complete idea of the minute, critical, and searching nature of the questions, the reader must turn to the Appendix (vol. 2, p. 307) and read for himself.

Second Year Examination.—The Phædo of Plato; the Four Gospels; Mechanics; Differential and Integral Calculus; Conic Sections and Newton; Paley's Natural Theology; Butler's Sermons; Stewart's Outlines (of the Philosophy of the Human Mind;) Euclid; Optics; Hydrostatics; and two papers on the theory of Equations and Problems.

Third Year Examination.—Astronomy; Newton and Dynamics; Problems; Miscellaneous Questions; Butler's Analogy; Paley's Evidences; Acts of the Apostles; Herodotus; Virgil's Georgics; Aristotle's Ethics.

"Examinations in our [American] Colleges," says Mr. Bristed, we fear, with too much truth, "are seldom considered very important affairs to either party concerned in them. But at Cambridge, the College and University examinations are the staple and life of the whole system. They are the only recognized standards of merit, except a few prizes for essays and poems; their results are published in all the London papers, as regularly as the English Queen's last drive, or the Spanish Queen's last revolution—their rewards are not only honorary but pecuniary, coming to the successful candidates in the shape of books, plate, or hard cash, from the value of five dollars to that of five hundred or more; and in extent of reading requisite, accuracy of execution demanded and shortness of time allotted, they are surpassed by no examinations on record. At the detail of the requisites which they exact, and the performances which they elicit, I have seen grave divines and professors on this side of the water shake their heads doubtingly; so I do not startle you too much at first, but begin gently with the first year's one, ranking, as you might suppose, among the easiest examinations, for it is limited in its range, and you have a general idea of the work before you, whereas in a Tripos the only thing you can be certain of is that there is nothing which you may not be asked." (vol. 1, p. 92.)

But let us look a little into the mode in which the undergraduate trains and prepares himself for these severe trials. We will let our author give his own account.

"During the three terms of your collegiate year, extending from the twentieth of October, or thereabout, nearly to the end of May, you have been lectured on three classical subjects, a Greek tragedy, a book or speech of a Greek historian or orator, and a ditto of a Latin ditto. Of course you are able to translate them anywhere, and explain all the different readings and interpretations. But this is not half the battle—scarcely a third of it. You will require a vast heap of collateral and illustrative reading after this fashion.

"Our play was the Agamemnon of Æschylus. Now for the question paper, or, as it is often called, the 'cram' paper; you must first make yourself master of everything connected with the Greek stage arrangements, and the history of the Greek drama, for which you make large draughts upon *Donaldson's Greek Theatre*, *Müller on the Eumenides*, (translated,) and *Müller's History of Greek Literature*. Next, you get up all you can find relating to the *dramatis personæ;* then all the parallel passages collectable, wherein Greeks, Romans, or English, may be supposed to have imitated old Æschylus. Then you fortify your Greek geography, make maps of the signal fires' route from Troy, &c. Finally, you ought to have read the other two plays of the Trilogy, for you are likely to be asked something about them; perhaps there may be a nice little bit of the Eumenides set, which is not to be understood by the light of Nature. Similarly for the fourth book of Thucydides, you cram up everything you can about everybody mentioned in Thucydides generally, and this book particularly, taking in much of Thirlwell, and Böckh, and Müller's Dorians, and the like. And for the tenth and eleventh books of Cicero to Atticus, (that was our Latin subject,) all your knowledge of the great men of that period, and of the legal matters incidentally brought in, (e. g. marriage, inheritance, *Comitia*,) will be put into requisition. One little bagatelle I had almost forgotten. You will have to turn English prose into Greek and Latin prose, English verse into Greek Iambic Trimeters, and part of some chorus in the Agamemnon into Latin, and possibly also into English verse. This is the 'composition,' and it is to be done, remember, without the help of books or any other assistance.

"Now either of the three subjects opens a pretty wide field before you, quite wide enough to bewilder a tyro, and here it is that the genius of your private tutor comes into play. Private tuition is nowhere alluded to in the University or College statutes; it is entirely a personal and individual matter; yet it is, after the examinations, the great feature of the University instruction, and the public lectures have come to be entirely subordinate to it. The English private tutors, in many points, take the place of the German professors; true, they have not the same explicit University sanction, but an equivalent for this is found in the final examination for degrees which they have all passed, and no man, who has not taken a good

degree, expects or pretends to take good men into his 'team.' Of course inferior 'coaches' will do for inferior men—πολλοὶ for πολλοί. Of late there has been some out-cry against private tuition; but if not absolutely a *vital*, it is certainly an *important* element in the whole system, nor should it be suffered as a necessary evil, but admitted as a positive good. One effect of doing away with it would be to throw all classical honours into the hands of the public-school men. Your 'Eton boy' is a *young man* of nineteen, at least two years in advance of a Yale or Harvard valedictorian in all classical knowledge, and in all classical *elegancies* immeasurably ahead of him. The only way in which you can bring up an inadequately prepared man to 'hold a candle' to such competitors, is by diligent personal attention to him. Travis certainly put more into me in seven months than I could have acquired by my own unassisted labours in two years; and of his exertions in my behalf I shall always retain a grateful memory. But even with the best tutor—and it is not every man who can get a Travis to coach him,—you must make up your mind to read six times as much as you can make use of on the papers, since you can only calculate the general run of the questions in them without being able to make sure of any individual one."* (vol. 1, pp. 92–94.)

The examinations are conducted in the hall—" the tables decked with green baize instead of white linen, and the goodly joints of beef and mutton, and dishes of smoking potatoes, replaced by a profusion of stationery." At nine, A. M., they begin.

" At one, 'close your papers, gentlemen,' says the examiner, who has been solemnly pacing up and down all the time. (This examiner is never your College lecturer or tutor, and of course never your private tutor.) At two, the hall assumes its more legitimate and welcome guise, dinner being thrown back two hours; at four, the grinding begins again, and lasts till eight; at night, there is a supper put on specially for the occasion. How that supper is demolished! what loads of cold beef and lobster vanish before the examiners! Young ladies sometimes picture to themselves students as delicate, pale youths, who live on toast and tea. Never was there a greater mistake. Men who study in earnest, eat in earnest. A senior wrangler sat opposite me one summer at the scholars' table, and to see that man perform upon a round of beef was a curiosity.

" Thus passed four days; eight hours a day thinking and writing together at full speed; two or three hours of 'cramming' in the

* " All examination papers are printed at the Pitt Press in the most mysterious way, and only leave the printer's hands about five minutes before they are submitted to the students, when they are sent to the examiner in a sealed packet, by a trusty messenger." (p. 95, note.)

intervals, for though the principle and theory is never to look at a book during an examination, or indeed for two or three days before, that your mind may be fresh and vigorous, few men are cool enough to put this into practice; and long lounges at night, very different from the ordinary constitutional." (vol. 1, p. 98.)

And now, lastly, as to "the marks" which are given for these *thirty-two hours* of full speed writing.

"All the papers together are worth 3000, (three thousand,) but no one gets full marks. This is owing partly to the great extent of the 'cram' papers, which are purposely made to cover as much ground as possible, that every one may find something in them he can do; and partly to the fact that the same man is seldom (I may say never indeed) first both in classics and in mathematics. The best man in the year has from 2000 to 2400. The ordinary limit of the first class is 1200, but this standard is sometimes raised, for one feature of Cambridge examinations is, that they go by *breaks*, rather than by the actual number of marks, that is, by relative rather than positive merit; and it is this which makes it so difficult to predict your place with any thing like certainty. As the greatest accuracy is required by all the examiners, and the greatest elegance by most of them, you must not only be solicitous for how much you have done, but for how you have done it. A little well polished up is worth more than a great deal turned off carelessly; and you often find in the fourth or fifth class, unfortunates who have covered as much paper as the head man. There are, say one hundred and thirty Freshmen, who are arranged in nine classes, the first class varying from twenty to thirty. Fifty marks will prevent one from being 'posted,'* but there are always two or three too stupid, as well as idle, to save their 'post.' These drones are posted separately, as 'not worthy to be classed," and privately slauged afterwards by the Master and Seniors. Should a man be posted twice in succession, he is generally recommended to try the air of some small College, or devote his energies to some other walk of life." (vol. 1, p. 101.)

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers a tolerably full account of one of the ordinary College examinations at an English University. Our limits forbid our doing more. *Ab uno disce omnes.* The examinations for scholarships, which are generally open to *second* and *third-year* men, are of course much more severe. For some idea of them, we must refer the reader to our author's

* "Plucked" is applied to those who at the Senate House or *University* examination are refused degrees.

Appendix. (vol. 2, p. 367.) The Senate House examinations for University honours—the mathematical tripos (generally spoken of as "the degree examination,") and the classical tripos (termed "the tripos")—the first men in which are called respectively "senior wrangler" and "senior classic"—are absolutely appalling, (Vide Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 399 and 428;) and when we are told that it is not *very unusual* for men "to floor" these papers (i. e. answer fully and correctly all the questions) within the time assigned, it really appears almost incredible. Then there are the examinations of Fellowships, which are of a wider range, and, consequently, proportionably more difficult. We give the author's enumeration of the different examinations and trials of all kinds which exist at Trinity.

"*Trinity.*—Annual examination of Freshmen in Classics and Mathematics; of Senior Sophs in Classics, Mathematics, and Divinity; *two* examinations annually of the Junior Sophs in Classics, Mathematics, and Divinity; prizes for English declamations, Latin declamations, and English Essay, open to third-year men; prizes for reading in chapel, (the scholars who read the lessons of the day;) English essay prize for Bachelors. Annual examinations for scholarships, open to Junior and Senior Sophs; ditto for Fellowships, open to all Bachelors."

Thus it will be seen that the great and distinguishing feature of the English University, is the rigid examination—not a mere matter of form, as is too often the case with us—but a thorough and accurate *sifting* of the student's acquirements. And it is here that we must commence the work of reform in our American Colleges. That a thorough reform in this particular is very much needed, we think no one who is acquainted with the mode in which examinations are conducted in our colleges, will be disposed to deny. We believe, for the most part, that written examinations are very little resorted to in our Colleges—*in most, perhaps, they are entirely unknown.* Now, as to the question, whether written examinations are preferable to oral—we are not disposed to enter upon it. Much may be said in favour of both methods, and we believe a proper mixture of the two would be preferable to the exclusive use of either. But the great practical advantage which the written examination has over the oral, is *in the economy of time.* To examine each student *orally*, eight hours a day, for four days, is impossible.

True, the same questions which require so many hours to answer fully in writing, might be answered in a very much shorter time *viva voce.* But, supposing that they could be answered in a tenth or a twentieth of the time—it would still be more time than could be possibly devoted to each student. In the written examination, all being examined together, it consumes no more time than would the *thorough* oral examination of a single student. But, practically, what is the "examination" to which the students in our Colleges are subjected? As a general rule, each member of a class is examined in each department for from five to ten, or, at the utmost, fifteen minutes. If he happens to get something simple, or something which he may chance to know, well and good;—he escapes "posting," perhaps comes off with flying colours; if, on the contrary, however well prepared he may be, generally, on the subject, he should get something with which he is not familiar, and so balks and blunders, he necessarily gets a low mark from the professor examining, and "his standing" in his class is lowered thereby. It is very true, what is often urged by the defenders of our system, that examinations have not the same weight with us in determining scholarship and awarding College honours, as they have in the English Colleges, because they are merely supplementary to the daily examinations in the recitation room, where professor and student are thrown together in a manner unknown to the institutions of the old country—that our professors stand more in the position of their private tutors—that they therefore have, from their constant intercourse with the students during the term, ample means of accurately weighing their rival claims, and determining their relative positions. This is all very true, and very well, *so far as it goes.* But it does not go far enough. The professor may be able to say with tolerable certainty, that such and such students have worked best and most uniformly during the session—that they have been the best prepared upon the limited tasks daily assigned for recitation;—but in order thoroughly to sift a student's knowledge of any subject—to determine the real amount and accuracy of his acquaintance with any special department of study—*a thorough, searching, and continuous examination upon it is absolutely essential.* A good memory and habits of plodding industry, may enable one,

day by day, to answer questions, even with precision, upon a few pages freshly conned over, and yet at the end of a few months there may be an infinitesimal quantity retained and assimilated. And this suggests another defect in our College examinations. For the most part they are confined strictly to what the student *has been over and reviewed in the text book.* This renders the examination a mere recitation, and a few days hard "cramming" will enable one, whose standing during the term has been indifferent, to rank at the examination among the first—perhaps (as we have sometimes known) even ahead of those who have been faithful and diligent throughout the whole session's work—who have "borne the burden and heat of the day." The principle indeed seems to be, "Did I not agree with thee for a penny;" and every one's penny worth of knowledge, though scraped together at the eleventh hour, is allowed to pass him over free—to pay his toll and ferryage from one academic stand-point to the other. Now we do not wish to be understood as imputing the least blame to *the Faculty* on this account. It is simply and inevitably the result of the imperfect system which they find in operation in all our Colleges, and which they cannot change or materially modify without running the risk of losing their students, and keeping off applicants from their doors. In illustration of this, we will mention a fact, for the accuracy of which we can vouch. One of our Colleges a few years ago adopted a system of *grading* the members of each class after every general examination, not unlike the method of classification employed at Trinity, which has been already mentioned *ante.* Those whose general average (i. e. the mark expressing their standing *generally*, and which was compounded from their *average recitation mark* during the term, and *examination mark*,) exceeded a certain number, were put in *the first grade*, (in alphabetical order;) those whose general average fell short of this number, but exceeded a certain other number, were arranged (also alphabetically) in *the second grade;* those below these were, in a similar manner, put in *the third grade;* while those below the last, but still above a certain moderate number (termed *the requisite average*) were not classed or named—they constitute the οἱ πολλοί, who were "allowed to pass;" lastly, those who fell below the requisite average were either not allowed

"to rise" (to the next higher College class,) or were required, as a preliminary, to stand a satisfactory examination, at such time as the Faculty might appoint (usually at the commencement of the following term) upon the departments in which they were deficient. The system was simple, beautiful, just. At first it worked admirably—it excited ~~admiration~~, increased interest and effort. But the novelty wore off. Students, having once attained the first grade, relaxed their efforts—perhaps unconsciously to themselves—and so lost place. The almost invariable effect of this was to discourage hopelessly or irritate outrageously. The eternal song was, either "I've *tried my best*—and failed," or "I've done as well as so-and-so, and been unjustly put below him." The consequence was, frequent applications for dismission—and the College thus lost some of its best students. It was therefore found necessary to abandon the system, so far as its most important feature was concerned—*the public announcement of the grades.* And so no doubt the institution of such rigorous and searching examinations, as those which exist at Trinity, would very speedily thin out, if not actually depopulate, our American Colleges. Our young men will generally be found frequenting those Colleges where they can have the most "fun"—i. e. least work and the largest possible indulgence. Attempt to "work them hard," or draw the reins of discipline too tightly in one College, and they immediately migrate to another, where, as they themselves confess, they hope "to have an easier time." This constitutes one of the greatest difficulties in the way of a thorough reform in College education with us. Young men in this country have a greater liberty in the selection of the institution where "they will prosecute their studies," (whatever those may be, whether Greek or gambling, mathematics or tippling,) than anywhere else in the world. Being for the most part very young, it is a prime object of their ambition "to be men" as soon as possible —i. e. as much their own masters as possible. They are, therefore, naturally guided in their selection by the consideration that at one place they will be less under observation and control than at another. Plausible, and not always scrupulous arguments, are ingeniously arrayed to beguile the indulgent parent, who sends the youth on his way, rejoicing, to the Alma Mater of his own choice,

laughing in his sleeve, perhaps, at having "sold the governor;" at having really made him believe that "*he* was going to waste *his* time on 'crabbed mathematics' or 'useless' Latin or Greek, instead of 'taking his fun out,' and 'going it while he is young.'"

But to return to the subject of our College examinations, from which our malcontent and "fast" youths have drawn us aside. The imperfections of our examinations consist in their being too hasty, and therefore necessarily superficial, and in being for the most part too exclusively confined to the text book. To remedy the first objection, we ought to resort more extensively to the written method—devoting at least an entire day, morning and afternoon, to each department—and, in addition, give each student at least half an hour's *viva voce* examination on the same department. To remedy the second, the questions set should *not* be all taken from the text-book, but should, *at least one-half of them, be things the student has never seen before.* This will test his knowledge of *principles*, his acquaintance with the *subject*, as well as the *lesson*. For instance, follow the Cambridge method of giving him equations to work in algebra, and problems in geometry, and trignometry *not* in the text-book; give him portions of Latin and Greek to translate *other* than those which he has been conning over during the term; above all, require him to translate portions of English into those languages—the only true test, after all, of one's acquaintance with them; call upon him to show that he has been acquiring something more than *words*; require him to make draughts upon his reason and judgment, as well as his memory. But alas! what is the use of making such suggestions? The first College that attempts it will only reap the honour of martyrdom. Certainly none of our smaller and more local Colleges dare act fully upon them. A College must have authority, reputation, *prestige* such as these can scarely hope to acquire, before it can attempt such sweeping changes in "the good old way." Let our great institutions, like Yale and Harvard, which possess a wide-spread and national reputation, set the example, and the rest will be compelled in time to follow. But although much cannot be affected at once in the way of rendering the ordinary undergraduate examinations real tests and trials of scholarship, there is one improvement in our sys-

tem which we would suggest, which is not only practicable, but, we think, imperatively demanded as an act of simple justice to all parties—Faculty and students—and the adoption of which, we doubt not, would be universally hailed as a great improvement. At the final examination for degrees, let the *competitors for College honours* be examined *by themselves*, apart from those who merely wish "to pass through College"—the πολλοι. Let this competition be voluntary—but let it be *a real struggle*. Let the first in the class be thoroughly and severely sifted. Let every means be employed to discover accurately *what* and *how much* each one knows. Let there be no room for the operation of *chance* in the matter. Let every one be so effectually sounded and pumped that the Faculty may be assured—that his friends may be assured—that (hardest point of all) he himself may be assured that his stored up cistern—his waters of knowledge—his stream of learning—much or little—deep or shallow—clear or muddy—has been drawn out, analyzed and carefully measured. We will then have no more complaints of "unlucky portions," "unexpected questions," "momentary embarrassment," "partiality," &c., &c. Let the examination, in short, be such as to satisfy every one as to how much each competitor knows, or—how little. When this is done in our Colleges, and not until then, will College honours be awarded with unerring justice and precision, and become worthy of the most strenuous and untiring efforts of the ambitious youth. It is impossible to elevate the standard of scholarship in our country until there is some more certain mode of settling one's pretensions to it. With us, at present, there is absolutely no test of one's attainments in any department of knowledge. The mere fact of having taken "an honour" at College, is none. The honours are supposed, it is true, to be given to "the best" in the class. But independently of the uncertainty of this being really the case, from the very hasty, imperfect, and superficial nature of our examinations, as we have just been endeavouring to show, it is not very clear in what respect the honour men are "best." Is it in mathematics, classics, mental or moral philosophy, or in composition and declamation? It may be said the "best" are those whose *average standing* in all departments is best. But we need some nicer discrimination. Many of our graduates with

honours become teachers. Their recommendations are, that they have taken such an honour, or such "an appointment," (to deliver an oration in public,) but what is their knowledge of the various subjects which they undertake to teach? We believe this difficulty, which we regard as a really serious one, is only to be obviated by the institution of the prize system—by holding out a certain specific reward for certain specific excellence. And of course it must be obvious that the mere pecuniary value of the reward will not always—perhaps not generally—be the chief stimulus to exertion. The honour of surpassing others in some distinct struggle—when there is a certain issue made—and where success will depend solely and entirely upon one's acquaintance with a specific subject—will always be the great incitement. Moreover, to attain high excellence, men must have some *specialité*. One of the great errors in our whole system of education —school as well as College—is the attempt to cram so many subjects down the student's mental throat, that he either rejects them all through nausea, or, at any rate, neither digests nor assimilates a single one of them. To have "taken the prize" in Latin, in Greek, in mathematics, in mental philosophy, in logic, in history, in any of the natural sciences, or in whatever the subject may be, would, generally speaking, be a greater distinction, and be therefore more coveted and striven for, than (at least under our present system) to have graduated with even a high honour. Not that we would wish to weaken the already feeble hold which College honours have on the desires of our undergraduates—(feeble, however, partly in consequence of their vagueness already alluded to)—but because in our *almost* despair of ever making our examinations for honours so thorough as to be an infallible test of merit, we would institute certain partial examinations which, as far as they went, might at least be made so. We say we almost despair of ever making our examinations for College honours so thorough as to be an infallible test —and we say so advisedly. The genius of our people, we fear, will not admit of it. How many competitors for the place of senior wrangler would any of our senior classes furnish—even assuming (though this might almost seem assuming everything) that they were profoundly read in mathematics, classics, &c., if they were to be sub-

jected to *six days* examination in *mathematics alone*—five and a half hours a day? Thirty-three hours of unintermitted writing—of strained effort! But we *might* tempt some of our students to try their hands at a bit of Latin or Greek prose, (perhaps, in time, a copy of Latin hexameters or Greek iambics,) or an historical essay—or a mathematical solution.* But the truth is, in the English Universities, College and University honours and distinctions *are* the great prizes—they really possess a high value, not only with respect to fame, but pounds, shillings, pence. Let us see what it is which makes it so well worth a man's while to train for and pass through the fiery ordeal of these literary *experimenta crucis* in old England. Let us hear Mr. Bristed.

"The publicity given to College and University honours, and the importance assigned to them, have been already more than once alluded to. They exceed anything of which we have any conception in our academical institutions. True, the publicity does not come in the same way; there is no crowding of Commencements to hear the young men make speeches; but if a comparatively small number of the public come to gaze at the successful student, his name goes forth to all who read the papers—for in every newspaper not only the results of the degree examination and the University prizes, but all the College examinations and College prizes are conspicuously reported. When I was elected scholar of Trinity, Dr. Whewell thought it worth while to write express to Mr. Everett, announcing the fact in advance of the press, as if our minister would be justified in regarding it as a sort of national matter. When an

* With reference to these prizes we would further suggest that the examinations for them should be conducted not exclusively by the Faculty, but by them conjointly, with a committee of examiners chosen by the Board of Visitors (*Query*—While upon the subject of reform may we not most respectfully venture to ask whether it is so called on the *lucus a non* principle?) from their own body. This would not only give the affair more *eclat*, but would be more satisfactory to our students generally, who being for the most part very young, cannot altogether divest themselves of a certain school-boy distrust of the teacher, and sensitive jealousy of authority. The Alumni in one of our Colleges, several years ago, instituted a prize (of fifty dollars we believe) for the best essay (English) upon a given subject, to be contended for by the Senior Class. We believe, however, no subject has ever been announced. The fact is, it has been found almost impossible to bring the Alumni together. Why do they not keep up the good old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon custom of dining together once a year (on Commencement day) and inviting the new batch of B. A.'s to meet them. They would then be sure of a meeting for the transaction of business, and the *esprit de corps* which such gatherings would awaken and cherish, would, in itself, do much towards increasing the prosperity and usefulness of their Alma Mater.

acquaintance of mine, who was related to a member of the cabinet, wished for a start in the diplomatic line, the statesman's first advice to him was, 'be sure to get a wranglership.' As to the first men of the year, they are no end of celebrities for the time being. A small biography of the senior wrangler is usually published in some local paper near his native place, thence transferred to the Cambridge papers, and from them copied widely into other journals; while the school which sent up the University scholar and senior classic, generally takes care that something shall be said about him. But the honour is far from being the only point of the temptation. All these examinations, except the two triposes,* bring with them some solid testimonial in the shape of books, plate or money—more generally the last, and sometimes to a very considerable amount. A Trinity scholarship is worth £60 a year, if the holder remains constantly in residence—£40 to most men, according to the extent to which they usually avail themselves of it. Some of the small College scholarships are worth £100 per annum. A Fellowship gives an income of from £200 to £400. A friend of mine was, during his third year, between 'school exhibitions, College scholarships and prizes, and the University scholarship, in the receipt of more than *seventeen hundred* dollars; and as his expenses did not exceed half that sum, he was a gainer to the amount of the other half by receiving his education. Indeed, it is a common saying, and hardly an exaggerated one, that a poor student, by taking a high degree, supports not only himself, but his mother and sisters for life." (vol. 1, pp. 201, 202.)

Now, if the importance attached to College distinctions in England is not overrated, and their value to those who attain them not exaggerated, it is not surprising that the struggle for them should be as keen and earnest as it is. Now, it is true, that in our country they never can have the same importance and value. In the first place, none of our Colleges can ever have the *prestige* that attaches to Oxford and Cambridge. They are too modern—too numerous—too local. None of them have anything like *a great national reputation.* The greatest honours, therefore, won in them, are things done in a corner—utterly unknown beyond a very small circle—not attracting the attention of even the very small number of scholars or men of letters of whom the country may boast. Nor do we believe that this state of affairs will ever be very much changed—at any rate, for many generations to come. But

* "And even these indirectly, as they lead to small College Fellowships."

because our examinations cannot have the importance and *eclat* which attaches to those of the great Universities of the old country, that is no reason why we should fold our arms, and with the oft repeated "Ah! such a system does very well *there*, but it can never be made to work here," rest contented with the imperfect and almost farcical proceedings which, in America, are called "College examinations."

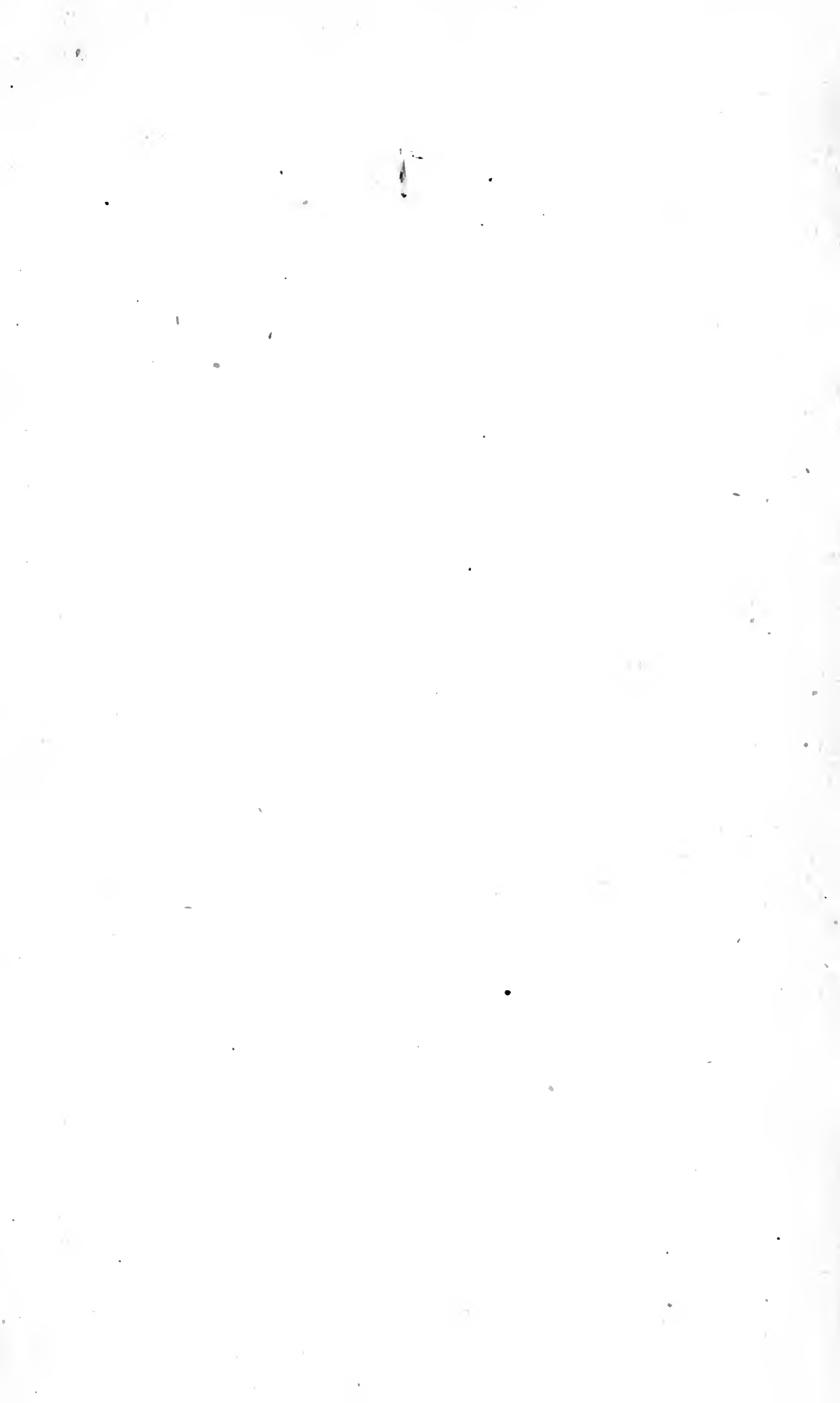
ART. VI.—SIR J. STEPHEN'S LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Lectures on the History of France. By the Right Honourable SIR JAMES STEPHEN, K.C.B., L.L.D. Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. New-York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff-street. 1852.

WHEN we first took up the work which we propose to make the subject of this article, and glanced over the table of contents, we hoped to find that the author had added something material to a subject so little known to English readers as the history of France. Of chronicles, memoirs, letters, and historical fragments, we have enough, and more than enough; but if, except Sismondi's great work, we have, properly speaking, no history of France in the French language,—for we do not except the labours of Nicholas Gilles, or Bernona Girara, or Merzeray, or Father Daniel, or Velly, and his continuator Villaret, or Anquetil. In the English language we have no history of France. Robertson, in his history of Charles V., occasionally glances at it; Hallam has devoted the first chapter of his work on the Middle Ages, to the early history of France; and Russell, in his history of modern Europe, brings up France, with the other states of Europe, in a sort of chronological way. Of the others, who have written of France, assuredly, we need make no mention. The selection of France, therefore, as the subject for his historical lectures, was, we think, wisely made by our author.

Guizot, in his "Cours D'Historie Moderne," informs us that in selecting for the subject of his lectures, a state whose history would best illustrate the progress of civilization, he adopted France, because in that country the social and intellectual condition was most fully developed. That he did not select England, because English civilization has been more particularly directed towards social perfection—to the amelioration of the exterior condition of man—that the development of society has been more extended, more glorious in England than that of humanity—that social interests have taken a higher position, and exercised greater influence than general ideas—that the nation has appeared greater than the individual—that even the English philosophers, the men who seemed wholly devoted by their profession to the development of the intellect, Bacon, Locke and the Scotch writers, belong to the philosophical school, which may be termed practical—that even the great political and religious fermentation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced no great philosophical system, no great general doctrines, that have since been adopted by Europe—that although that great movement has been followed by great and admirable results; although it has established rights and usages; although it has acted powerfully, not only on social relations, but on the minds of men, it has not elevated nor increased, directly at least, the horizon of the human mind—it has not lighted up one of those great intellectual flambeaux which illuminate a whole epoch—that in no country did religious belief exercise greater influence over the conduct, the happiness and the sentiments of individuals, but that it did not produce any general and rational results—results which address themselves entirely to the human intellect—and he concludes, that under whatsoever point of view English civilization may be regarded, it will always be found essentially social and practical.

He further informs us that he did not select Germany, because in that country the development of civilization has been slow and tardy; and that the brutality of German manners has been proverbial in Europe for centuries—that, however, when under this gross appearance, we search for the comparative progress of the two fundamental elements of civilization, we find that the intellectual



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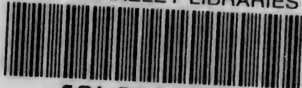
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