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The University of Chicago

A Study of the Moral and Religious
Elements in American Secondary
Education up to 1800

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION)

BY

ADRIAN AUGUSTUS HOLTZ

A Private Edition

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MENASHA, WISCONSIN

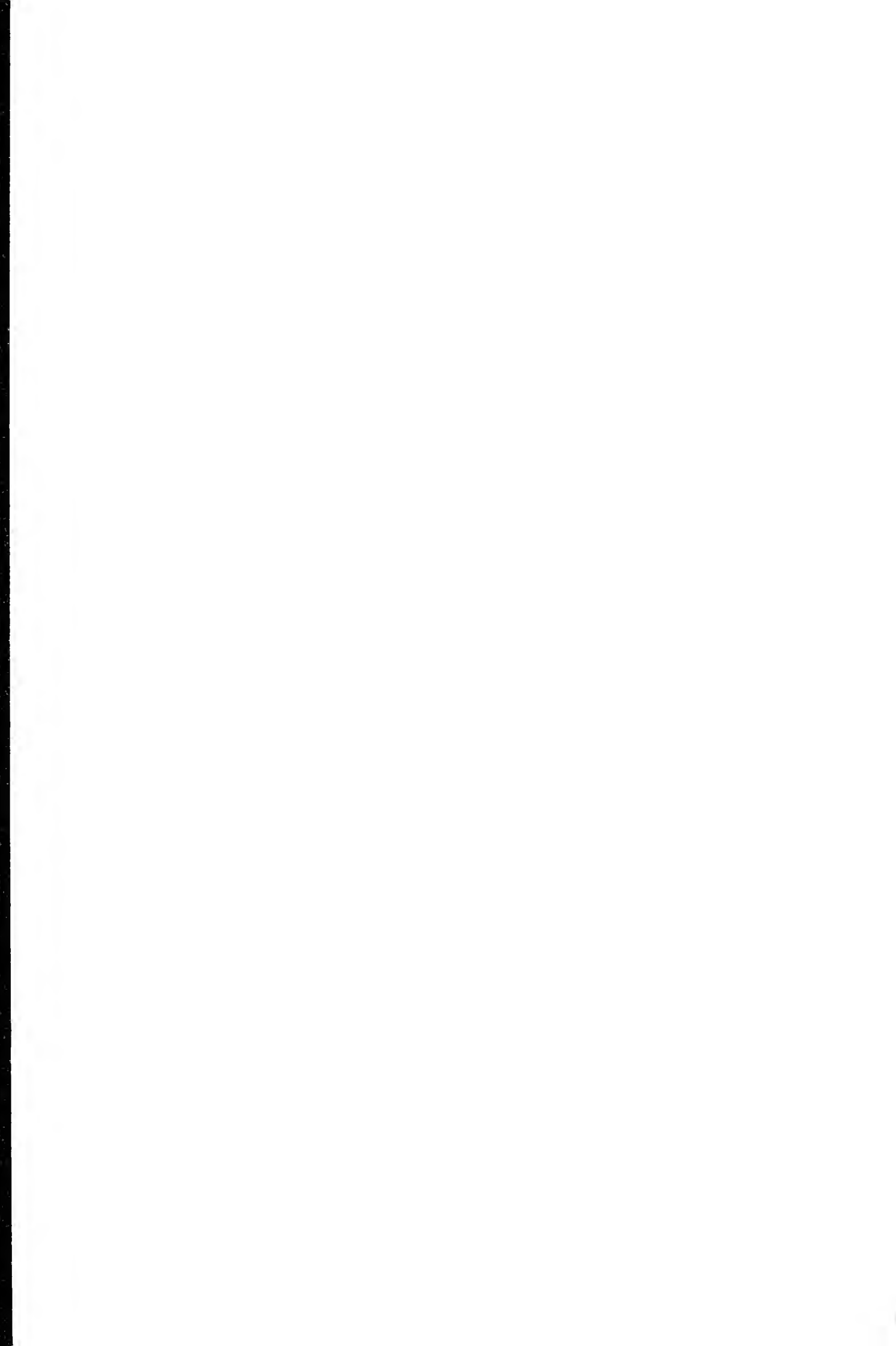
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PREFACE

Many assumptions have been made of the religious motives back of American educational activities, but no historical study has been made to determine the actual participation of religious bodies and of the presence of religious incentives as a dynamic of our educational advancement. The purpose of this thesis has been to find out to what extent religious motive was present in the founding of the American educational system. The field opened up so large that it was found advisable to limit the scope of the investigation to the elementary and secondary schools. The study of the universities would be a work for a separate investigation.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan of the University of Chicago, under whose supervision this thesis has been made possible. Dr. Theodore Soares of the University of Chicago has been ready at all times to give advice and has reviewed the manuscript with care. At this time the author desires to thank both Dr. W. H. Kilpatrick, Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Dr. Frank P. Graves, University of Pennsylvania, for helpful counsel and advice. Many avenues of fruitful research were pointed out by these men.

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PART I

THE EDUCATORS OF ENGLAND

In no period of history has there been a time when the educational system was equal to the idealism of the educators, but the fact that the educators were recognized as such and in many cases were the masters of one or more large schools gave opportunity for their ideas to find expression in the methods employed. In studying the writings of some of the leading educators of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries in England, and the principles of educational practice given by eminent schoolmasters we find that they built their educational structure on a religious basis. The branches were to be so taught as to be instrumental in instilling knowledge which directly or indirectly had a religious value. The religious element of instruction was the hub, and all the other branches were those which aided in strengthening the hub. In studying Latin, or Greek, for instance, the text used was often the Bible, or portions of it. Exercises in Latin were often the translation of the English catechism into Latin and then back into the English again. In taking up a lesson in Greek, the master at first had a portion of the Bible translated each morning before going on with one of the Greek authors. It was thought that by translating a section of the Bible or catechism into Latin or Greek or from the Latin and Greek back into the English, a keener insight into the religious implication of the words would be obtained.

Definite periods each day were set apart for religious practices such as praise and prayer. Definite periods were set apart for the direct religious instruction. This instruction was at first memory work such as memorizing the catechism, the Ten Commandments, the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and certain portions of Scripture. Expositions of the catechism were given by the schoolmaster. Histories of the biblical books and helps of a kindred nature were used. Having made several generalizations we will now give references to substantiate them.

Richard Mulcaster was the Head Schoolmaster of the Merchant Taylor's School from 1561-1586. This leading educator writes:

“ . . . to see youth well brought up that waye, to learne to discern that which is well from ill, good from bad, religious from profane, honest from dishonest, . . . that they may honour God, serve their countryman, comfort their friends, . . . The ende of our being here is to serve God and our country, in obedience to persons, and perfourmance of duties. . . .”¹

¹ Mulcaster, *Positions*, pp. 28, 29, 127.

We find that the educational theories and practices advised by Brinsley cover even more completely the generalizations made at the beginning of this section. Brinsley was one of the recognized educators of his period. In his book, "Ludus Literarius," or the Grammar School, he devotes a chapter to a discussion, "Of Knowledge of the grounds of Religion and Training up of Schollers therein." It is given in the form of a dialogue, a method commonly used at the time it was written.

" . . . for there should be suffered no day to pass over wherein there should not be some short exercise or lesson of religion; which is both the chiefe end of all our other studies; and also, that whereby all the rest are sanctioned. . . ."²

They often attempted to unite with the teaching of a subject, Latin principally, a lesson in religion. The custom was followed of translating portions of the Bible or catechism into Latin and from Latin into English. This is borne out in the Dialogue.

Spond. But I could thus teach them Religion; and Latin all under one; it were a most happy thing . . . Phil. (responds) I will show you how you may doe it. Cause your schollers to reade you a Chapter of New Testament, or a piece of a Chapter, as time will permit, . . . One might reade it out of the Latine into English; . . . and next night to reade the same over againe forth of an English Testament, into the same Latine book againe.³

Charles Hoole, a prominent educator of the seventeenth century outlined an educational scheme from the Petty School through the Grammar School, religion being the center. He would use the religious elements from the beginning, starting as soon as the children have been taught their letters. He marks out a course in reading for the Petty School which is of special value for our problem.

"But to hold still to the sure foundation, I have caused the Lord's Prayer, (section 20), the creed (section 21), and the ten commandments (section 23) to be printed in the Roman character, that a child having learned already to know his letters and how to spell may also be initiated to read by them. . . ."

And when he can read any whit readily let him begin the Bible and read over the Book of Genesis.

And instead of the Accidents, which they do neither understand nor profit by, they may be benefited in reading orthodoxal Catechism and other books that may instruct them in the Duties of a Christian such as, The Practice of Piety"⁴

² Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, pp. 258, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁴ The Petty School. *Am. Jor. Ed.* XVII, 194.

A book entitled *The Education Especially of Young Gentlemen*, also takes the position that the religious elements were the basis of education.

1. "Let the Educator in the very first place endeavour to plant in his charge a true sense of Religion. To explain to him the mysteries of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Commandments, his obligations in Baptism"⁵

In the *Christian Schoolmaster* published in 1707, we find that the writer has devised a reading course very similar to the one devised by Hoole. Even before the child can read, the author would have him instructed in the first essentials of Christianity and as soon as he becomes able to distinguish his letters he is to be given the catechism, this to be followed by the Psalter and the Psalms of David. As soon as he is able he is to read the New Testament, and then the Old Testament.⁶

The same line of educational thought is advanced in a book published in 1712 by George Munro, in which he hopes to show "the necessity and advantage of reading Christian authors in Grammar Schools." Education has for its aim, "to educate youth according to the maxims of Christianity," and this is to be obtained by reading religious books and such authors as deal with moral and virtuous material. The reading of Heathen Poets, Munro would have deferred till the scholars were advanced in years.⁷

An Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools continues this point of view. When the students know enough of the grammar they should at once be given to reading the New Testament and when they are able to take up Virgil or others they should read the others in turn with the reading in the New Testament. They are also to read in the septuagint when they are able. When occasions arise the master is to point out the religious value of the passages and to show the contribution of the thought of the authors.⁸

A book published in 1742, entitled, *Observations upon Liberal Education, in all its Branches*, has the following sentence,

"In fine, the rational instruction of children in the genuine principles of Christianity, cannot be neglected by Christian parents and preceptors without sinning against what they know and believe to be their indispensable duty."⁹

⁵ Education Especially of Young Gentlemen. Anon. p. 49.

⁶ Talbott, *The Christian Schoolmaster*. pp. 80-82.

⁷ Monro, *An Essay upon Christian Educ.* Preface.

⁸ Clarke, *Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools*. p. 147.

⁹ Trumbull. *Observation upon Liberal Education in all Branches*. p. 389.

In an attack on the educational theories of Rousseau published in 1765, the author believes in giving the child religious instruction, and attacks Rousseau for claiming that the child should be 15 years or over before given the fundamentals. The author writes,

“What! shall we, in the bosom of Christianity permit children to arrive at the age of fifteen or eighteen years without making them acquainted with their beginning and their end, without teaching them that they have a soul to save?”¹⁰

In *A Treatise on the Education of Children*, we find the position held that the reading course is to instill pious thoughts and knowledge of the Christian duties and practices. The books to be used are the Bible, the catechism, the creed, and expositions of religious material.¹¹

From all the books referred to here and others examined by the writer, it is safe to say that the leading educators of England recognized religion as the motive for education. This was true in England all through the Eighteenth Century. At first the religious instruction was to be the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Bible, its history and its heroes. Later there seems to be more emphasis upon the doctrinal side of the instruction. The catechism was to be followed by certain expositions recommended by the church.

The doctrines of the church were to be taught to the children, their state of natural depravity being impressed upon them. The aim seems to have changed from a general religious conception to a denominational conception—that of the Church of England.

THE CHARITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT*

The conditions of England in the seventeenth century were deplorable, the poor were many and little was being done for them. Their children were growing up with no training which enabled them to engage in any gainful trade or profession. To meet the needs a society was organized. The leaders of this movement were the public spirited men of the time among whom was Dr. Bray who was to figure so largely in the S. P. G. The first meeting of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge was held March 8, 1698-9.¹² The purpose of the society is shown in the name itself and in the first circular

¹⁰ Gerdil, *Reflections on Education Relative to Theory*. II, 97.

¹¹ Watts, *A Treatise on the Education of Children*. Second Ed., 1769.

¹² Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years. The Hist. of the S. P. C. K.* 1698-1898. p. 13.

* Unless otherwise stated, all quotations and statistics in this section are taken from the appendix to sermon preached before the S. P. C. K. at Parish Church of St. Sepulchre in corresponding year.

letter which was sent out to the clergy of the counties of England and Wales.

“ . . . for the Instruction of such poor children in Reading, Writing, and in the Catechism, whose Parents or Relatives are not able to afford them the ordinary means of Education . . . ”¹³

Isaac Watts, who was one of the promoters of the Charity Schools, states in an essay dated 1728:

“How much happier it would be for the poor, if the Season of Leisure could be employed in Reading the Holy Scripture for their Improvement in Account with God or in conversing with any useful Books that might furnish their Minds with solid and profitable Knowledge?”¹⁴

The Bishop of Lincoln, in a sermon preached in 1716, under the auspices of the Charity School Movement, states the purpose in these words:

“To teach them their Duty to God, their neighbor and themselves; . . . To instruct them carefully in the Nature of the Gospel, Covenant, and above all in the Whole Work of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ. . . .”

In a sermon (1723) Daniel Waterland, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, makes the following assumption:

“As to teaching them the Church Catechism it is a Duty so well known, and I presume so punctually observed, that it may suffice barely to have mentioned it . . . They are to be taught likewise to say their daily prayers morning and evening.”

Among the Orders to be Observed by the Schoolmaster or Mistresses of the Charity Schools, are the following:

“4. That they make it their chief business to instruct the Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion, as professed in the Church of England and laid down in the Church Catechism; . . .

7. That they bring the Children to Church Twice each Lord's Day and Holy Day; . . .

8. That they Pray Morning and Evening in the school and teach the children to do the same at Home, when they rise and go to Bed; as also to say Grace before and after Meat.”¹⁵

The books used in the Charity Schools were written on religious topics, often an *Exposition of the Catechism* or possibly of the Gospels, *A History of the Bible*, *The Christian Scholar*, *Pastoral Advice before and after Confirmation*, etc. There is not a book in the lists, of a purely secular character if one can fairly judge from the titles.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴ Watts, *Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools.* p. 21.

¹⁵ *A Particular Account of the London Charity Schools, 1706.*

The number of Charity Schools, their growth, and the number of children show that this movement was one of the principal educational agencies in England. Starting with the year 1706, when the movement had become a vital force in the education of the children of England we find:

“Within the Cities of London and Westminster and within ten miles thereof, there be Sixty-four Charity Schools, in which there be constantly maintained above 1500 Boys and near 1000 Girls. 2. In other remoter parts of this Kingdom . . . there be about 140 Charity Schools of like Nature, wherein above 3000 Poor Children have been taught . . .

3. In Wales, the Governour, and Company of the Mine Advanture of England allow within several counties 20£ per Annum in each for Charity Schools to instruct the Children of the Miners and Workmen belonging to the said Company; and 30£ per Annum to a Minister to read Prayers, Preach and catechize the children, . . .

4. In Ireland there is publish'd an Account of some Charity Schools set up in the City of Dublin, . . .”

By 1720 there were 1483 schools in all with an attendance of 30,086 and there were 55,133 children who were put out as apprentices. After a period of five years the figures show that the growth of these schools continued, for there were 1597 schools with an attendance of 32,810.

Coming to the year 1733 we find there were 1732 schools with an attendance of 35,277 scholars.

From these figures we are able to form some idea of the far-reaching effects of this movement. The one thing of interest to us is, that no such movement would have prospered if the instruction given was not sanctioned by the people at large.

THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND

In turning to the Endowed Schools of England we find that they, too, show the presence of a religious motive. This is found in some cases in the charter, sometimes in the expressed wishes of the Founder, sometimes in the constitution or the laws of the school, and not infrequently do we find that there is some specific statement as to the subjects to be taught, which include in some cases the religious subjects, in other cases only reference emphasizing the religious purpose without mentioning the subjects.

The Free School at Childry was founded 1526. In the deed is the following:

“He shall teach the children the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation to the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles Creed, and all other things which are necessary to enable them to assist the Priest in the act of

the Mass, together with the Psalm de Profundis, and the usual prayers for the Dead:—

Also, he shall teach them to say Grace as well at dinner as at supper; . . . Also he shall teach them good manners; but above all things to fear God and keep his commandments, and especially to refrain from lying, to honour their Parents, and to serve God devoutly in his church.”¹⁶

The Free Grammar School at Oundle was founded 1556, and in the statutes of the Founder we find:

“. . . and also shall prescribe unto them such sentences of Holy Scripture, as shall be most expedient to endure them to Godliness; . . . to teach in the Second form Mr. Nowells little catechism; and in the third form his larger catechism.”¹⁷

The Free School and Alms-House, at Haupton-Conquest, was founded by Sir Francis Clerke, who died in 1632. The children are

“instructed in reading English and spelling and in the Church, Church Catechism, by the particular desire of the Founder.”¹⁸

The Free School in Lucton was founded in 1708. A year later the Founder gave a list of rules “for the instruction of Children in Religion, Grammar Learning, with Arithmetic and Mensuration.”¹⁹

So far we have given only illustrations from the expressed will of the Founder. In some of the following cases the rules or ordinances were drawn by a board or a company showing the attitude of several men on the question of the religious motive of education.

The school at Saint Albans was founded in 1553. Orders and regulations were drawn up 1570.

“It is also ordered, that the said School master and Scholars shall every Sunday, and Holy Day repair unto St. Albans Church . . . it is ordered that the said School master and Children shall every working day upon their knees in the school, in the Morning . . . the Lord’s Prayer, . . . and in the Evening before they depart the school, The Ten Commandments, The Lord’s Prayer, and The Creed.”²⁰

The statutes and ordinances of the Saint Bees Free Grammar School which was founded in 1583,

“These books only shall be read in said school (Master) except it shall be otherwise appointed by those who have authority;—The A. B. C. in English, The Catechism in English, the Psalter, the Book of Common

¹⁶ Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales. I, 32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 215.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 504.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 515.

Prayer, and the New Testament in English, the Queen's Grammar, with the Accidence, the Smaller Catechism in Latin, etc."²¹

Rule number ten of the Free Grammar school at Lynn founded in 1698, is "10 . . . that the Master and Usher shall spend a reasonable time every Saturday in catechising."²²

In some cases we find that representatives of the people also had the conception that the religious element should be an essential element in schools. The Hartlebury Free Grammar School in its charter granted by Queen Elizabeth has the statement, "shall instruct them in true knowledge of God and his Holy Word as much as in them lieth."²³ Free Grammar Schools of Elizabeth and Blencour founded as far down as 1775 in pursuance of an Act of Parliament in 1773, which act contains the following:

"The Vicar of Kirkland, for the time being twice in the year at least to examine the scholars instructed in the school, as to their proficiency in such parts of Learning as they shall be taught, particularly as to the Rudiments of the Christian Religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of England and in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose."²⁴

In the first years of the nineteenth century, we find that the schools in England still retained the old ideas of instruction in religious elements and that, in some, the old idea of Saturday morning being the time for such instruction still existed.

The Free School of Appleby Parva near Atherstone had among its rules in 1818,

"Saturday morning is allotted to Divinity; the younger boys in learning the Church Catechism, with an explanation; the elder, in translating the catechism, and the 39 articles with Nelchman's notes into Latin, in reading the Lessons . . ."²⁵

A note given by Carlisle has double value, for in stating the custom at one school he implies the custom of one of the better known and more representative of the English Endowed Schools. In regard to the Free Grammar School at Ovesty, "Friday is devoted to Religious instruction following the plan at Eton."²⁶

The plan followed at Eton to which reference is given is of value. Eton has possibly exerted as much if not more influence on the secon-

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 158.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 115.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 759.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 182.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 738.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 372.

dary educational history of England than any other institution. The plan referred to is as follows:

"That those that can write take notes of sermons and those under the Master read them to him and those under the Usher to him, the morning notes after dinner, the evening notes on Monday morning. That they meet in the school on the Lord's day at seven of the clock in the morning for prayer and catechising to be performed by the Schoolmaster."²⁷

The Free Grammar School at Lancaster had in its rule under the date of 1802 the following:

"II. That some part of each Saint Day, and other times occasionally, be set apart for the instructing the Scholars in the Church Catechism, Morality, and the Principles of the Christian Religion."²⁸

From the above illustrations and an examination of others of similar nature, we may conclude that the religious motive and aim of education remained in the Endowed Schools of England into the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a result of this study we affirm the generalization made by A. M. Stowe in his book covering in part this same field.

"The character of this instruction was doctrinal and dogmatic. The chief text book appears to have been Dean Movell's Catechism. The English Catechism was required in some for admission to the school, while in others it was taught by the usher. In the higher forms the Latin and Greek translations were learned, and in some instances the Greek New Testament and the Latin translation of the Ten Commandments were read. The character of the texts used indicates the methods of instruction were chiefly catechetical, the pupil in some places being examined not only in his catechism, but also on the sermon preached in the parish church the preceding Sunday."²⁹

STATE AND CHURCH REGULATIONS

In addition to the rules and practices of individual schools and the theories of the leading educators, it would be well to add the rules laid down by the Church and State in regard to religious instruction. Henry VIII was responsible for two decrees which have value for our problems. In the year 1536, he ordered "that the clergy take care that children be taught the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments in the mother-tongue." He further issued an injunction in connection with the celebrated Primer of Henry VIII,

²⁷ Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660.* p. 44.

²⁸ Carlisle *op. cit.*, I, 667.

²⁹ Stowe, *Eng. Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 149.

“For the avoiding of the diversity of primer books . . . every schoolmaster in bringing up young beginners in learning, next after their A. B. C., now by us also set forth, do teach this primer or book or ordinary prayers unto them in English.”³⁰

The Canons of the year 1604 contained some instructions to schoolmasters. The children should be given, “such sentences of holy script as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness” and “All schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to learn the longer or shorter catechism heretofore by public authority set forth.”³¹

These few citations help to show that not only was religious instruction a part of the rules and practices of the Endowed and Charity Schools of England, but also the two great institutions, the Church and the State had their regulations concerning religious instruction in the schools of England.

THE SCOTTISH BACKGROUND

Although English theory and practice exerted the greatest influence on American education, yet a study of Scottish educational conditions reveals that the aims were essentially the same as existed in England. Scotland, however, was jealous of her public schools and pupils were encouraged by the state and church to attend.

“Just as monopolies were granted for the sale of ordinary commodities so prohibition of sending boys to any but public and music schools, . . . was prevalent all over Scotland from the early times and continued till near the beginning of the 19th Century.”³²

The officers of the Kirk were given both power and authority in the affairs of the schools and naturally would emphasize religious instruction and make such instruction a vital and prominent part of the educational scheme.

“It is beyond question, that from the Reformation to the passing of the Act of 1872, the appointment of masters to parish schools was entirely in the hands of the church. It is probably safe to say that this has never been disputed.”³³

In the year 1567, an act of Parliament was passed giving “the church power to appoint superintendents, to whom was committed the duty of deciding as to the qualifications of teachers.”³⁴ The masters’ duties were not confined to the week days but were extended to the Sabbath.

³⁰ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 74.

³² Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 84.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Again referring to Kerr we find this statement which evidently is the summary of much study and research.—

“The kirk then, as now, laid great stress on the importance of the religious element in education. An act of Parliament in 1567, declares that if this is neglected, instruction shall be ‘tinsell baith to thair bodyis and soulis.’ Burgh records abound in proofs of the universality of this attitude on the part of the kirk. The lesser catechism for the younger and the shorter catechism for the older pupils were constantly in evidence. Saturday was to a large extent occupied in hearing and repetition of these and other memory tasks. Sunday was no day of rest for pupil or teacher. Attendance at church was no formal function. In the session records of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Peebles, Elgin, and elsewhere, we find that the masters of the grammar schools were bound to obtain from their pupils notes of the sermon they had heard, and hear them repeat the shorter catechism.”³⁵

Grant bears out the statement just quoted in the following words:

“But at whatever cost to the comfort, feelings, dignity, and character of the parties concerned, our forefathers were resolved that the youth attending the burgh schools should be thoroughly instructed in the principles of religion and will not hesitate to adopt any measures, however rough or tyrannical, in order to attain this end; and they utilized the Lord’s Day to the interest in the training our youth in the paths of virtue.”³⁶

The action of two councils will show the attitude which these bodies assumed in the matter of religious instruction. A statute of the Provincial Council No. 189 passed in 1549, contains the following:

“Churches whose annual incomes are small and in which the number of clergy and people is insufficient to allow the teaching (lectro) of theology, to be carried on in them to advantage must at least have a master appointed by the bishop, with the advice of his chapter, to teach the clergy and other poor scholars the art of grammar free of charge, so that in due course, God willing, they may be able to proceed to the study of the sacred scriptures.”³⁷

In the burgh records of Aberdeen we find the action of the council in the year 1659 in which the visitors were ordained, “to try how the scholars profited in the grounds of religion, by asking some questions of the short catechism and their meaning.”³⁸

In the records of Elgin we find that the public officials considered it a duty of the schoolmaster to include religious instruction in the curriculum. On May 13, 1600, they passed the following resolution,—

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³⁶ Grant, *Hist. of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 425.

³⁷ Edgar, *Hist. of Early Scottish Education*, p. 226.

³⁸ Grant, p. 418.

"It is appointed fra this furth that the master of Grammar Schole his schollares says the Lords prayer the believe and the ten commandments two dayes to gidder, the musick schollaris one day and Robert Lesleis Scholaris two dayes."³⁹

On February 26, 1612, there was a contract drawn up between the town officials and William Dunbar, who was to be the schoolmaster for Elgin. Among the duties it stated,—

". . . and als to upbring the youth afoirsaid in the heidis and grounds of religion and to instruct thame their deminical lessoun and teiche thame Calvenis Catecheis euerie Sondag baith in Latine and Greik."⁴⁰

Grant gives a reprint of the Sunday Program of Elgin dated 1649.

"Upon the Lord's Day, masters and scholars shall convene in school at eight o'clock in the morning and after prayer in the English tongue and several classes shall be exercised—the seniors in the exposition of a sacred lesson which has been taught betwixt one and two o'clock of the preceding Saturday out of Buchanan's paraphrases of the Psalms or Ursius or Calvin's catechism, and the juniors in getting by heart some select English psalms, or the ordinary catechism, they shall return to the school in the afternoon at the first bell after sermon, and be exercised till the second bell in reading, their sacred lesson; after the second service they shall return in continent to school, when, after short prayer by the master . . . shall according to his discretion, call up some of every class and require their observations of both sermons . . ."⁴¹

One finds in Grant twelve similar examples given.

At this juncture it may be well to refer to a few of the many burgh school records which show the action of individual schools in regard to religious instruction and training. These illustrations are typical of many.

"In 1592 it was reported that the schoolmaster of Musselburgh was careful in training up the youth not only in letters of humanitie, but also in catechising them according to Caluigne and teaching of Buchanan's Psalms. In 1595, it was ordained that the master of the grammar school at Ayr should teach the youth weekly a lesson introducing them to the principal heads of religion."⁴²

James Melville, who was born in 1556, gives an account of his own education in a diary which is reprinted in part in Edgar's *History of Early Scottish Education*.

"There we learned to read the catechism and prayers by heart, also notes of Scripture after the reading thereof. We learned there the rudiments of Latin Grammar . . ."⁴³

³⁹ Rec. of Elgin, II, 80.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 400.

⁴¹ Grant, p. 427.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁴³ Edgar, p. 304.

The preparation of the pupils before they were to enter the burgh schools seemed to have been confined to instruction in the psalm book which was obtained in schools kept by women. "As a rule as soon as they could read the psalm book they had to remove to the public school."⁴⁴

Without going further into detail we find that the religious element received much emphasis in Scottish education and that the conditions prevailing were very similar to those in England.

THE GERMAN BACKGROUND

It would be well to consider in this survey the German background. Many of the great educators were Germans. Their influence extended far beyond the confines of the present German Empire and even today their doctrines are still vital in pedagogical circles. Germany was the battle ground of the Reformation. Luther not only translated the Bible into the German language but he desired that all children should be educated in the Bible. In his *Appeal to the Nobility of the German Nation*, we find the following:

"Above all things, let the Scripture be the chief and the most frequently used reading book, both in primary and high school; and the very young should be kept in the gospels. Is it not proper and right that every human being by the time he has reached the tenth year should be familiar with the holy gospels, in which the very core and manner of his life is bound?"⁴⁵

In direct participation Melancthon had more to do with educational reform than Luther. That Melancthon played an important rôle is testified to by Frederick Paulsen in these words:

"The man had already stepped forth into the arena of public life, to whom the thanks of the German nation are due for the rescue of its whole educational organization from this catastrophe. This man was Philip Melancthon."⁴⁶

With this statement by the eminent historian of the German Schools it may be well to give here a digest of Melancthon's *Book of Visitation*, published 1528. It gives us his point of view as to the conduct of the schools and their curricula.

"The First Group . . . They are first to be taught the child's manual, containing the alphabet, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and other prayers . . . The Second Group . . . However, one day for

⁴⁴ Kerr, pp. 885.

⁴⁵ No. 25 of the "27 Articles Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate."

⁴⁶ Paulsen, German Education. p. 54.

instance, Sunday or Wednesday, should be set apart, in which the children may receive Christian instruction . . . And he should impress upon the children the essentials, such as the fear of God, faith, and good works . . . On this day, too, the teacher should give a grammatical exposition of Matthew, and when he has gone through with it, he should commence it anew. But when the boys are somewhat more advanced, he may comment upon the two epistles of Paul to Timothy, or the First Epistle to John and the Proverbs of Solomon."⁴⁷

Another educational reformer whose influence in educational history is not to be questioned is Comenius. He strongly advocated the scriptures as the fundamental element of the curriculum, to which all other instruction was to be secondary. A few excerpts from his writings:

"X.19. From the beginning of life they should learn to find their chief occupation in those things which lead directly to God; reading of the holy scriptures, religious ceremonies, and similar good works . . . XI. 20. From which it follows that the holy scriptures should be the Alpha and Omega of the Christian schools . . . XV. 24. All that is taught with the holy scriptures to the Christian youth, (sciences, arts, languages, etc.) should be taught subordinate to the scriptures."⁴⁸

Augustus Francke founded in 1695 a school to which children of the citizens came. It was called the German School. At first the course included

"religious instruction, reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which were afterward added, natural history, history, geography, . . ."

In the Latin School he continues:

"mathematics, history, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, and music were also taught. Classic Greek was much neglected for the constant reading of the New Testament."⁴⁹

There are several instances where in the writings of these educators we find the words "besides religious instruction" there is to be taught whatever subjects the individual wishes to add. It is taken for granted that there is no question as to the religious element.

Turning our attention from individuals we may give two references which show the position taken by those in authority of provinces. As far back as 1527, we find the regulations of Saxony requiring that

"the old foundations of the faith had first of all to be committed to memory, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the Commandments, together with a few psalms and a simple interpretation. Then followed the grammatical expositions of one of the Gospels or some other book of the New Testament."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Barnard, *German Educational Reformers*, pp. 169-171.

⁴⁸ Comenius, *Grosse Unterrichtslehre*.

⁴⁹ Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁵⁰ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

The other of the two actions is that of Duke Ernest, the founder of the House of Saxa-Goths. He had called to his assistance Andrew Reyler, rector of a gymnasium in Schleusinger. Together they produced a book called "School Method." It was first published in 1642, and then later in 1648, 1653, 1662, 1672, and 1685. The book contained thirteen chapters, a digest of which is here given.

I. Nature of the schools in general.

II. It is laid down as a rule, that the beginners should learn Bible verses, the Lord's Prayer, the articles of faith, the ten commandments, and morning and evening prayers.

III. Instruction in the intermediate class. Here, too, we find extravagant demands made upon the children in the lessons in religion, Luther's catechism to be committed to memory, so also a number of psalms, prayers in rhyme, etc. . . .

IV. Instruction in the upper class. The subjects of study are religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, etc. . . .

V. For every school hour a lesson is prescribed, thus: Monday morning, first hour catechism, then recitation of hymns, then examination about Sunday's sermons, . . .

VI. Method to teach the catechism understandingly.

VII. Manner in which the sermon is to be remembered and examined. The remaining six chapters deal with the sciences, discipline, etc.⁵¹

The quotations illustrate that in Germany we have a background which gives proof of the religious incentive of educational reforms. Their reforms were carried on in a way that allowed for a religio-centric educational system. This grew out of the Reformation and the influence still prevails, making the religious content and instruction a vital part of German education.

THE DUTCH BACKGROUND

Lastly we come to the Dutch background. The discussion will be limited in scope owing to two reasons: first, the material at hand is so interwoven with the operations in the colony in this country and these operations will be taken up and discussed in other sections, and secondly, the inaccessibility of the original material. The principal citations which will be given are those of the actions of church councils and of the West India Company. "As early as 1568 the National Synod of the Dutch Church held in exile at Weyel had seen the strategic value of the parochial school and it declared . . . 'Schoolmasters as well as parents must train the children in the catechism.'"⁵² This

⁵¹ Barnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 389-393.

⁵² Kilpatrick, *Dutch Schools of N. Netherlands and Col. N. York*, p. 19.

position was further emphasized at Utrecht in 1612. They decreed that the schoolmaster should teach the pupils "with all diligence in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic (rekenen) etc., the Our Father, The Creed, and the Ten Commandments."⁵³ An even more elaborate position is that taken by the Synod of Dort on Nov. 30, 1618.

" . . . The schoolmasters shall instruct their scholars according to their age and capacity, at least two days in the week, not only by causing them to commit to memory, but also by instilling into their minds an acquaintance with the truths of the catechism (an elementary small catechism, the compendium, and the Heidelberg catechism are those specified to be used by the different grades of children and youth.) . . . The Schoolmasters shall bring one to the hearing of the preached Word and particularly the preaching on the catechism, and require from them an account of the same."⁵⁴

Another action taken by one of the representative church bodies of the Dutch Reform Church is that of the Classes in 1636 which adopted certain rules for the schoolmasters who are going to the East or West Indies.

"He is to instruct youth in reading, cyphering, and arithmetic, with all zeal and diligence; he is also to implant the fundamental principles of the true Christian religion and salvation, by means of catechizing; he is to teach them the customary forms of prayers, and also accustom them to pray, he is to give heed to their manners and bring these as far as possible to modest and propriety."⁵⁵

The schoolmasters were often examined by the church bodies and the recommendations of these bodies were adopted by the Company. The fact that these two bodies, the Church and the Company, coöperated will come out more fully in the main part of the thesis, but we give one illustration which shows how parallel is the action of the Company with that of the church bodies just given. The Directors of the West Indies Company placed themselves on record in the following resolution:

" . . . Whereas, we have deemed it necessary to promote religious worship, and to read to the inhabitants the Word of God, to exhort them, to lead them in the ways of the Lord . . . an expert person was sent to New Netherlands in the city of Amsterdam, who at the same time should be chorister and school master, . . .⁵⁶

The references so far have been general in nature and have been concerned with the position of the church bodies and the West Indies Company in regard to the schoolmasters and their duties. But we must

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵⁴ Dunshee, *Hist. of the Schools of the Col. Ref. Church*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵ *Eccl., Rec.*, I, 98.

⁵⁶ Pratt, *Annals of Public Ed. in the state of N. Y.* p. 18.

not lose sight of the fact that these same ideas were actually in practice in the system of schools then in operation in Holland. Some in fact have even gone so far as to claim that the American school system is really an outgrowth of that in vogue in Holland rather than a growth and modification of the English school system. It is not our purpose to go into the truth or falsity of that assertion but we find that in Holland they had at this time a free public school system. Kilpatrick cites a list of the textbooks in use in Utrecht in 1650. The original language is used for one can with ease understand the titles given.

“Het groot on Kleyne A. B. C. boeck;
De Heydelberche Catechismus;
De Evangelien ende Epistlen;
De Trap der Jeugt;
De Historien von David;
Proverbia Salomonise;
De spiegel der Jeugt vande Nederlandse corloggen;
De sendbriesen van de nieune editie met eenige
stichtelyke dichten daar achter.”⁵⁷

From this list of the texts used one finds the amount of religious material and its proportion to the other material included in the school curricula. Further, a generalization by Brodhead deals with the extent of education in Holland.

“Schools were everywhere provided at public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes in the moral branches of education; and the Consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the catechism and the Articles of Religion.”⁵⁸

We find, therefore, that in all these countries the religious element was evident in the school curricula and that the religious forces were watchful and zealous that the schools gave religious instruction. We have shown that the political authorities were of the same opinion as the church bodies in regard to education and made laws and rules for religious instruction. New England and Virginia were largely settled from England.

In the New Netherlands we find that the Dutch put into operation the same principles which had governed the educational system of Holland; changed and modified to be sure, nevertheless substantially the same.

The German immigrants settled largely in Pennsylvania and though our knowledge is limited as to their educational activities, yet what

⁵⁷ Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Brodhead, *Hist. State of N. Y.*, I, 462.

knowledge we have demonstrates that they, like the other nationalities, put into vogue practically the same educational principles that prevailed in their Fatherland before migration.

In the countries studied we find there was one element common to all. Whether it be a Charity School or an Endowed School, whether it be the influence of the Lutherism in Germany, Calvinism in Holland, Presbyterianism in Scotland or the Established Church and the Dissenters of England, they all considered the catechism fundamental in their educational scheme, and not only the catechism, but the creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Bible were considered essential. They agreed on the religious motive of education and that true education demanded a religious content.

PART II

Passing from the background of our American education we have now the task of establishing the extent of religious purpose in the foundation of our educational system up to 1800. The amount of material is such that it is advisable to limit ourselves to the elementary and secondary schools. In this thesis, the term "religious" or "religion" is used in the sense in which it was used in the period of our study. All instruction concerning God, from the Bible itself or books which dealt with the Bible, or the teaching and learning of the catechism or other books which dealt with the Articles of Faith, etc., all such instruction was "religious" to our forefathers and such material used in schools gave them a "religious" content. With these explanations we are better able to understand our problem.

SURVEY OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY BY COLONIES

The first step will be to show what reasons the colonial legislative bodies assigned for building up an educational system within their domain. We will find that the religious incentive was prominent during the first two centuries.

The first colony to act was Massachusetts in 1642.

". . . and of their children concerning their calling and employment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion, and the capital laws of the country, and to impose fines upon all those who refuse to render such account to them when required."¹

We find an action of May 3, 1654, which is as follows:

". . . the selectmen in the severall towns not to admitt or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating, or instructing of youths or child, in the colledge or schooles, that haue manifested ymselves unsound in the fayth or scandelous in their liues, and not giuering due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."²

Coming down to the act of 1712, we find in Chapter Six, Section XVI

"and for as much as the well educating and instructing of children and youth in families and schools are a necessary means to propagate religion and good manners; . . ."³

In the Acts and Resolves of Massachuestts for 1788, we find the following:

¹ Mass. Bay Col. Rec., II, 8-9.

² *Ibid.*, III, 343-4.

³ Clews, Educ., Leg., & Admin. of Col. Governments, 66.

“Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be and it is hereby made the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the University of Cambridge, preceptors and teachers of academies, and all other instructors of youth, to take diligent care and to exert their best endeavours to impress upon the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice and a sacred regard for truth, love of their country, industry, frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are an ornament of human society, and the basis upon which the republican constitution is structured.”⁴

New Hampshire

“When New Hampshire resumed its independent character as a province, the Massachusetts Act of 1647 was copied upon its statute books and constituted the statute law with slight changes for 100 years.”⁵

The constitution adopted June 2, 1784, fails to mention religious instruction although it emphasizes many of the virtues as the aim of education.

Connecticut

Turning to Connecticut we find that the laws of the state were influenced in some degree by the acts of Massachusetts. The law of 1650 copies almost verbatim the opening paragraph of the Massachusetts law of 1647. Later in 1690, the General Court of Connecticut passed an Act which states,

“ . . . it is hereby ordered that all parents and masters shall cause their respective children and servants as they are capable, to be taught to read distinctly the English tongue, and that the grand jurymen in each town do once in the year at least visit each family they suspect to neglect this order. . . .”⁶

In 1714, another Act for the encouragement of schools shows the continuance of the same attitude,

“ . . . And they are hereby further required to give such directions as they shall find needful to render such schools most serviceable to the increase of that knowledge, civility, and religion, which is designed in the erecting of them. . . .”⁷

Coming down to 1742, we find the following as the preamble to an Act:

“Whereas, by sundry acts and laws of this assembly, they have founded, erected, endowed, and provided for the maintenance of a college at New Haven, and inferior schools of learning in every town and parish, for the education and instruction of the youth of the colony,

⁴ Acts and Resolves of Mass. C. 19, Sec. 4, p. 417.

⁵ Bush, Hist. of Educ. in N. H., p. 11.

⁶ Rec. Col. Conn. IV, 30-31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 462.

which have (by the blessing of God) been very serviceable to promote useful learning and Christian knowledge, and, more especially, to train up a learned and orthodox ministry for the supply of the churches;”⁸

Maryland

A letter of Oct. 18, 1694, addressed to the Bishop of London sets forth the view of the legislators of Maryland in regard to education:

“. . . We have therefore in assembly attempted to make learning an handmaid to devotion, and provided free schools in Maryland to attend on their college in that country . . . we are confident will favor our like pious designs in this province wherein, instructing our youth in the orthodox religion. . . .”⁹

In an Act of 1696, this sentiment seems to be suppressed but it is reiterated in the Act of 1723.

Delaware

In 1642, the governor was given instructions among which was one pertaining to his duty toward education.

“Before all, the Governor must labor and watch that . . . all men, and especially the youth, be well instructed in all parts of Christianity, and that a good ecclesiastical discipline be observed and maintained.”¹⁰

New Jersey

The reference here is of like nature with that of Delaware being part of the royal instructions. Governor Bernard was instructed in 1758,

“And it is further our will and pleasure that you recommend to the assembly to enter upon proper methods for the erecting and maintaining of schools in order to the training up of youth to reading and to a necessary knowledge of the principles of religion.”¹¹

On March 17, 1664, was enacted the only general measure which dealt with education during the time the province was under Dutch control. The act states:

“Whereas, it is most highly necessary and most important that the youth from childhood up be instructed not only in reading, writing, and arithmetic but especially and chiefly in the principles and fundamentals of the Reformed religion. . . . They have deemed it necessary . . . to recommend and command the Schoolmasters as we do hereby, that they shall appear in the Church, with the children committed to their care and instruct them, on Wednesday before the commencement of the Sermon, in order, after the conclusion of Divine

⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 500-1.

⁹ Steiner, *Hist. of Educ. in Maryland*, p. 20.

¹⁰ Penn. Archives, II series, V, 773.

¹¹ New Jersey Archives, I Series, IX, 69.

Service, that each may, in the presence of the Reverend Ministers and the Elders who may be present, examine his scholars as to what they have committed to memory of the Christian commandments and Catechism. . . ."¹²

On Feb. 28, 1668, Governor Nichols, the English governor, submitted to a convention at Hempstead certain laws, which were confirmed by the delegates. Among them was one, "Children and Servants," which stated that, "The Constable and overseers are strictly required frequently to admonish the inhabitants of instructing their children and servants in matters of religion and the laws of the country."¹³

Pennsylvania

The Second Assembly at Philadelphia, March 1683, passed the following:

" . . . Be it enacted that all persons in this Province and Territories thereof having children, and all the guardians and tutors of orphans, shall cause, such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the scripture, and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age."¹⁴

In 1753, a Charter of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania was granted, stating:

"Whereas the well being of society depends on the education of their youth as well as, in great measure, the eternal welfare of every individual, by impressing on their tender minds principles of morality and religion, instructing them in the several duties they owe to society in which they live and one towards another, . . ."¹⁵

In the Charter of the Friends Free School granted in 1711, it is stated:

"Whereas, the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in a great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early instruction in the principles of true religion and virtue. . . ."¹⁶

Virginia

We will give some references which show that in Virginia there was evident the same fundamental cognizance of religious incentive for educational activity as in the other colonies. In the Register of Bristol Parish we find an action which had some result. The date of this action is Feb. 23, 1757.

"This committee having taken under their serious consideration the unhappy and indeed miserable Circumstances of the many poor Orphans and other poor Children, Inhabitants of the said Parishes

¹² Clews, *op. cit.* p. 222.

¹³ Col. Laws of N. Y., I, 26.

¹⁴ Wickersham, A. Hist. of Education in Penn., p. 39.

¹⁵ Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

whose parents are utterly unable to give them any Education and being desirous to render the said House as Beneficial as possible and that such poor Children should be brought up in a Religious, Virtuous and Industrious Course of Life so as to become useful members of the Community, Have Resolved earnestly to recommend it to their respective Vestries that they should join in a Petition to the General Assembly to procure an Act to enable the said Respective Vestries to erect a Free School. . . .”¹⁷

There seems no evidence at hand as to just how the recommendation given was worked out. However, some years later, there is a reference which seems to indicate that something as proposed had come to pass.

“Ordered. That the Church Wardens (after the Church is in Order) have all pews Numbered, Reserving two for the use of the Studien’s and four for the use of the Poor. . . .”¹⁸

The schools which existed in Virginia in the Colonial period, seem to be few and were generally private schools. In the Isle of Wight County Records it is stated “There were then private schools in the parish—no public.”¹⁹ Meade in referring to Henrico Parish, gives a quotation that, “There were no public schools for youth.”²⁰

In the Annals of Augusta County, we find it stated that there was no classical school west of the Blue Ridge until 1749.²¹ Meade states that

“Private schools at rich gentlemen’s houses, kept perhaps by an unmarried clergyman, or candidate for Orders, were all the means of education in the Colony and to such the poor had no access.”²²

McCabe claims,

“Throughout the whole colonial period, such secondary education as existed was almost entirely in the hands of the ‘parsons’ who on their glebes, or, if unmarried, at the houses of the great land owners, conducted what were long known as ‘Parsons Schools.’”²³

A comparison of this quotation with the one given last in the preceding paragraph shows that they agree, using practically the same words. If one examines the two books by William Henry Foote in regard to Virginia in which he gives original material dealing with the clergymen of the colonial period, one will find that a large per cent of the men mentioned in these two books opened and conducted schools in connection with their pastoral duties.

¹⁷ Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish, pp. 165-166.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁹ William & Mary Quarterly, VII, 210.

²⁰ Meade, Old Churches, Ministers & Families of Va. I, 137.

²¹ Annals of Augusta Co., p. 42.

²² Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 190.

²³ McCabe, Virginia Schools, Before and After the Revolution, p. 9.

"Mr. Todd superintended a classical school for many years. Mr. Davies, while in Virginia, greatly encouraged the effort to educate youth with the hope of supplying the church with the necessary ministers. One of his assistants was James Waddell, who read divinity with Mr. Davies while thus engaged."²⁴

The inference that the ministers connected with the schools of Virginia would bring in the religious theory of education is borne out by references which will be given. Foote, in referring to Washington Academy, claims that

"Some pleasing instances of careful attention to the moral and spiritual concerns of the youths under their care are remembered by surviving pupils."²⁵

Meade gives the recollection of a person regarding his teacher which contains the following:

"He was faithful as a classical teacher, heard us our catechism once a week, and for sometime opened the school with prayer."²⁶

We have also some insight into the method used in Liberty Hall about 1793. It is written,

"The Greek Testament was a manual in acquiring the Greek language, and was read in a manner to cultivate the habit of critical investigation. The time not occupied in the usual studies of the regular classes was given to those historical works, and other volumes that could be obtained, illustrating the sacred Scriptures."²⁷

However, we must not think that the action of the parsons in carrying on the schools was entirely an individual affair. There is evidence that at least one Presbytery interested itself in the educational activities of its district and took definite actions in regard to the promotion of education and building of schools. In the Annals of Augusta County we have the following:

". . . the Presbytery of Hanover, about the year 1773 determined to establish 'Augusta Academy' and it was at first proposed to locate the institution at Staunton. . . . In May, 1776, the Presbytery determined to locate the school on Timber Ridge. . . . At the same time Rev. William Graham was elected Rector, and a young man named John Montgomery his assistant . . . in 1779, the school was removed to Lexington and called, 'Liberty Hall.' "²⁸

Later this school became Washington College.

²⁴ Foote, Sketches of Virginia, II Series, pp. 47-48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

²⁶ Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 21.

²⁷ Foote, II Series, p. 296.

²⁸ Annals of Augusta County, p. 184.

The same Presbytery interested itself in a general state agitation and presented in 1784 a memorial to the General Assembly in support of a bill advocated by Patrick Henry,

“who thought that support should be given to the public instructors in religion of whatever denomination, under the sanction and provisions of law.”²⁹

There appears no record of the successful passage of the bill, but the fact that such a bill was presented by such a recognized leader as Patrick Henry, gives decisive proof of the presence of religious teaching in Virginia. For, why should such a bill be introduced in the General Assembly if there were not instructors who were giving religious teaching in their schools? The action of the Presbytery of Hanover itself, shows that the bill aroused sentiment in Virginia. We have shown from various activities by diversified interests that there were present in Virginia the same general educational ideals as elsewhere.

North Carolina

North Carolina was like the other southern colonies in that it did “practically nothing till the University was projected; and this was at the close of the century, it being chartered December the 11th, 1789 and opened February, 1795. At this time there was not a single public school; nor did any public system come about for a long time thereafter.”³⁰

Although there may have been no colonial or state action, yet as in the case of Virginia, there were educational advantages. These schools were the result of the belief of the churches that they needed to have schools in which they might teach the growing youth. Nor are the educational activities to be limited to any one sect. There seems to be good evidence that the same enthusiasm for educational advantages was indulged in by sects of nearly opposite types. Raper tells us that,

“While the Church of England furnished some, still, taking the whole colony into consideration, it was the Presbyterian who preached and governed the school room. In almost every case when a church was organized a school soon became a permanent fixture; and the preacher was the teacher.”³¹

The same facts are shown in the writings of Foote who states,

“Almost invariably as soon as a neighborhood was settled, preparations were made for the preaching of the gospel by a regular stated pastor; and wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school.”³²

²⁹ Foote, *op. cit.*, II Series, p. 204.

³⁰ Raper, *Church and Private Schools of N. Carolina*, p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 513.

In the first statement given in the preceding paragraph, reference is made to the fact that the Presbyterians were the ones who governed the school rooms. Foote states,

“Public opinion in the Presbyterian settlements demanded that all children should be taught to read; and as Dr. McRee tells us, not to be able to repeat the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly was a mark of vulgarity among the people who claimed a natural equality.”³³

And in another passage the same author, in speaking of the Scotch-Irish who composed the large majority of the Presbyterians in the colony, writes that, “that Bible has been their textbook on all subjects of importance.”³⁴ In another reference we have it stated that “the children and youth at school recited the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism* once a week, and read parts of the Bible every day.”³⁵

In passing from direct consideration of the educational activities and ideals of the Presbyterians, we find that the Lutherans also brought to North Carolina the same educational practices as we found to prevail in Germany. In speaking of the schools which this sect had in North Carolina we have Raper writing that

“Inasmuch as these settlers located themselves so gradually it was some time before they were sufficiently numerous to have a pastor located . . . ; sermons, and prayers were usually read on Sundays by their German school teacher . . . They had parochial schools whenever a teacher could be obtained. In these schools the catechism and other departments of rudimentary knowledge were taught. The Bible was, as a rule, the text book in reading.”³⁶

In addition to these denominational schools, we shall refer in a separate section to the S. P. G. which conducted schools in this colony.

We find that although North Carolina did not take any definite state or colonial action in regard to public education, yet the bodies which did carry on educational activities within the state were religious bodies included in the instruction religious elements.

South Carolina

The legislature in the granting of charters to individual schools, placed themselves on record as believing in religious instruction as part of the school curricula. The “Act of the Incorporation of the Charlestown School” Dec. 12, 1712 begins:

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 517-18.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁶ Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

"Whereas it is necessary that a Free School be erected for the Instruction of the Youth of this Province in Grammar, and other Arts, and Sciences and useful learning, and also in the Principles of the Christian Religion;"³⁷

Later on April 9, 1734, there was passed an Act of Incorporation,

"for the founding and erecting, governing, ordering, and visiting a Free School, at the town of Dorchester in the Parish of St. George, in Berkley County, for the use of the inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina."³⁸

It continued to state that the schoolmaster was to be capable of teaching Latin and Greek, and of instructing and catechising youth in the principles of the Christian religion.

Governor Nicholson appealed to the S. P. G. to help in the educating of the inhabitants of South Carolina.

". . . they sent out teachers; money, and books for the instruction of the inhabitants, and also supplied the province with clergymen. . . ."³⁹

There seems to be no definite material at hand as to the number of schools in South Carolina but we are told that

"The teachers were almost all from England, many of them clergymen and Masters of Arts."⁴⁰

In so far as the S. P. G. was concerned, this will be developed in the section devoted to a study of the activities and purposes of the Society in America.

CONTRACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLMASTERS

Passing from the study of state legislation, we may now take into consideration the action of local communities in their agreements with individual schoolmasters, in order to show the emphasis which was given in these contracts to the religious requirements to be enforced in the administration of the school affairs.

The Director-General and Council under date of May 2, 1661, passed the following resolution concerning Evert Pietersen:

"Whereas, we have deemed it necessary to promote religious worship, and to read to the inhabitants the word of God, to exhort them, to lead them in the ways of the Lord, and console the sick, that an expert person was sent to New Netherlands in the city of New Amster-

³⁷ Dalcho, *An Hist. Account of the Protestant Church in S. Carolina*, p. 95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

³⁹ Ramsay, *Hist. of S. Carolina*, I, 97.

⁴⁰ McCrady, *Hist. of S. Carolina under the Royal Government*, I, 23.

dam, who at the same time should act there as chorister and schoolmaster . . . appointed the aforesaid person as consoler of the sick, chorister and school master, at New Amsterdam, in New Netherlands"⁴¹

We have in addition to the above the instructions given by the authorities to Evert Pietersen of New Amsterdam.

“. . . III. He shall teach the children and pupils the Christian prayers, commandments, baptism, Lord's Supper, and the questions with answers of the catechism, which are taught here every Sunday afternoon in the Church. IV. Before school closes he shall let the pupils sing some verses and a psalm. . . ."⁴²

In Roxbury, Massachusetts, on the 25th of the twelfth month, 1668, we have the following resolution:

“. . . have covenanted and agreed with John Prudden to keep a school in the town of Roxbury, for the space of one full year, . . . whereupon the said John Prudden doth promise and engage to use his best skill and endeavors, by both precept and example, to instruct in all scholastical, moral, and theological discipline,"⁴³

In the Annals of Salem we find under date of 1677, that the Selectmen

“agreed with D. Eppes, Jr., to teach all such scholars as shall be sent to him from persons in town in English, Latin, and Greek tongue so as to fit them for the University, if desired and they are capable;—also to teach them good manners and instruct them in the principles of the Christian Religion;"⁴⁴

The Records of Watertown show that in 1679 Mr. Norcross was sought,

“. . . to teach as many as shall be sent unto him from the inhabitants, and once a week to teach them their catechism;"⁴⁵

The Articles of Agreement with Hohannes Van Eckkelen, the accepted schoolmaster and chorister, were in part:

“. . . II. When the school begins, one of the children shall read the morning prayer, as it stands in the catechism, and close with the prayer before dinner; in the afternoon it shall begin with the prayer after dinner, and end with the Lord's prayer, and close by singing a psalm. III. He shall instruct the children on every Wednesday and Saturday in the common prayers, and the questions and answers in the

⁴¹ Clews, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209 Footnote.

⁴² Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

⁴³ Dillaway, A. Hist. of the Grammar School or the Free school of Roxbury, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Felt, Annals of Salem, p. 434.

⁴⁵ Watertown Rec., p. 137.

catechism, to enable them to repeat them the better on Sunday before the afternoon service, or on Monday, when they shall be catechized before the congregation. . . ."⁴⁶

The terms of a contract made with Barnt DeForest, Jan. 5, 1726, are as follows:

“. . . The school was to be opened and closed with prayer and singing, and the children, according to their capacity, were to be taught to spell and read and write and cipher, and also the usual prayers with the catechism. On Saturday morning they were to be prepared to repeat to the Minister the Lord's Day portion in the Catechism, which was to be subject of Discourse the following day, so as to be able to recite it in church. Every Monday the scholars were to be publicly catechized—and on Wednesdays, when there was preaching, he and the scholars were to come to church in a body. . . ."⁴⁷

The fact that the schoolmasters were subject to the approval of the ministers and, therefore, owed their position to religious influence may be seen in part in the following action in New Amsterdam, Dec. 31, 1645.

“Andreas Hidde appeared before the Director-General and Council, and solicited a license to keep a school received for answer that the Council shall ask upon his proposal the opinion of the Minister and the Consistory.”⁴⁸

An illustration from Pennsylvania is that of John Hoffman,

“On the 4th day of May, 1747, I, the undersigned, John Hoffman, parochial teacher of the church at Lancaster . . . In summer I promise to hold catechetical instruction with the young, as becomes a faithful teacher. . . .”⁴⁹

The illustrations given testify that the local bodies in entering into agreements with schoolmasters considered it necessary to emphasize the religious element as necessary in the curricula of the schools.

SCHOOL RULES AND REGULATIONS

In the foregoing section where reference was made to the contracts with schoolmasters, we notice that the dates are in the earlier part of the period which we are studying. The references which will be given in this section come in the latter part of our period, and give evidence of the fact that as far as these schools are concerned most of them still emphasize and enforce religious instruction. This is especially worth noting,

⁴⁶ Thiry, *Hist. of the Early Schools in Long Island*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Dunshee, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴⁸ Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Dubbs, *Hist. of Ref. Church German*, p. 242 Footnote.

owing to the fact that many writers claim that as the states in their general laws seemed to omit special reference to the religious element and to the religious incentive that such religious elements and incentives were lacking after the Revolution. Though this is true in regard to state legislation it is hardly borne out by studying the histories of the various schools prominent in the period following the revolution.

Among the rules adopted in 1645 in Dorchester, Massachusetts, we find the following:

“ . . . Fourthly, every second day in the week he shall call his scholars together between twelve and one of the clock to examine them what they have learned on the Sabbath day preceding. . . . Seventhly, every sixth day of the week at two of the clock in the afternoon he shall catechize his scholars in the principles of the Christian Religion, either in some catechism which the Wardens shall provide and present or in defect thereof in some other. Eighthly, . . . it is to be a chief point of the schoolmaster's religious care to commend his scholars and his labors among them unto God by prayer, morning and evening taking care that his scholars do reverently attend during the same.”⁵⁰

Coming as far down as June 27, 1810, we find among the rules and regulations for Dorchester the following:

“II. As the scholars are divided into classes, it is recommended that the following books be made a part of their studies, viz., for the fourth class, *The Child's First Book*, and *Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons*, for the third class, *Temple Child's Assistant*. *Perry's Spelling Book* (new edition), *Bingham's Young Lady's Accidence*, *The New Testament*, and *Bingham's Geographical Catechism*, for the second class, *Bingham's Columbian Orator*, *Morse's Abridgment of Geography*, and the Bible. For the first class, *Temple's Arithmetic*, *Miss Hannah Adam's History of New England*, and the Bible. Also *The American Preceptor*; and the book directed to be used in the schools by the General Court. . . .

IV. A part of Saturdays shall be spent in the recitation of the catechism; and the Master shall hear the children in that catechism which they shall severally bring with a written request from their parents; and they shall repeat, also Hymns, or other lessons tending to promote Religion and virtue, at the discretion.”⁵¹

The rules which were adopted by the trustees of the Hopkins Grammar School, Connecticut, under Mr. Herriman, who was schoolmaster between the years 1684-1687 has the following two:

“V. Prayer to be offered every morning . . . X. Boys to be exa-

⁵⁰ Orcutt, *Narrative Hist. of Good Old Dorchester*, pp. 298-299.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

mined Monday morning on the sermons, and Saturday afternoon, to be catechized."⁵²

Another reference to this is found in Mr. Davenport's letter concerning Governor Hopkins' Donation.

"Sixthly, that certain orders be speedily made for the school and when the college shall proceed for it also that the education of youth may be carried on suitably to Christ's ends by the council of the teaching elders in this colony:"⁵³

In 1734 there was passed an Act of Incorporation for a Free-School in Dorchester, Berkley County, for the use of the inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina.

"The master was to be capable of teaching Latin and Greek and of instructing and catechizing youth in the principles of the Christian Religion."⁵⁴

At New York, under the date of July 29, 1765, a proposal was made by Mr. Jakobus Van Zant:

". . . . to establish a Latin and English Grammar School under the direction of our consistory, in which together with the languages our religion should be taught. On the question being put this was agreed to by a majority."⁵⁵

The Bethlehem Female Seminary was founded in 1785. The historian claims:

"The cultivation of the mental powers, the forming of correct habits, and instruction in religion, were regarded as constituting the aim of true education; The Principal instructed the pupils in the important truths of Christianity—one hour in the week being devoted and the so-called Bible instruction or lesson in Catechism."⁵⁶

In Franklin's Academy, Philadelphia, the rules required that in the senior year the Holy Bible was: "To be read daily from the beginning and now to supply the deficiencies of the whole."⁵⁷ This is evidence of the fact that biblical instruction was part of the curriculum of the lower grades.

The Court of Alderman for Norfolk Academy adopted March 26, 1787, rules of which are the following:

⁵² Bacon, Hist. Discourse on the 200th Anniversary of Hopkins Grammar School, p. 56.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵⁴ Dalcho, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁵⁵ Eccl. Rec. VI, 3999.

⁵⁶ Hist. of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, 1785-1855, p. 36.

⁵⁷ Hurt, The Curriculum of the Academy, p. 26.

“ . . . X. That all the pupils be taught the Catechism of the Episcopal Church, unless otherwise directed by the parents or Guardian. XI. That all pupils of the Academy attend Divine Service with the principal, the ushers, and that they assemble at the school in time to answer to the call of the roll, and go in procession to the Church at a timely hour, . . . XII. That the principal or Usher read prayers Morning and Evening, and have a Chapter read in the Holy Scriptures, the liturgy to be read through with the proper Lesson and Psalms on Wednesday and Friday morning, and also at every saint's day, and festival usually observed . . . ”⁵⁸

In the rules of the Board of Trustees drawn up Nov., 1788, for Erasmus Hall Academy we find the following:

“Chap. VII. Sec. 2, calls for attendance at public prayers both morning and evening, and Sec. 10 states that the students shall attend prayers on Sunday or attend Church. There is no reference to Biblical or religious instruction as such.”⁵⁹

The rules of Haverhill Academy under date of Oct., 1790 contains:

“VII. The second class were to bring one or more questions ‘out of such Catechisms as shall be directed by their Parents and Guardians,’

IX. The schools were to be ‘opened in the morning and closed in the evening, by the schoolmasters with an Act of Religion, reading a portion of the Bible every morning, accompanied with an Address to God in Prayer, and closing every evening with Prayer.’ XIII. Saturdays, in the forenoon, the master was to instruct his scholars in some catechism, and address them on moral and religious subjects, . . . ”⁶⁰

When this Academy was founded it was stated that,

“The end and design of said institute is and shall be to promote religion, piety, virtue, and morality, . . . ”⁶¹

The Oxford Academy rules of 1794 give no direct mention of religious instruction, but the Greek Testament is to be studied and “it is enjoined on the master in particular, and the trustees in general that the scholars do not abuse the Sabbath.”⁶²

In the Act of Incorporation of Phillips Academy founded in Andover, 1780, we find as the first section:

“I. Be it therefore enacted . . . and is hereby established in the Town of Andover, and County of Exeter, and Academy, by the name

⁵⁸ Lower Norfolk Co. Virginia Antiquary, pp. 25-27.

⁵⁹ Boughton, Chronicles of Erasmus Hall Academy.

⁶⁰ Chase, Hist. of Haverhill, pp. 455-457.

⁶¹ Pike, Cen. Anniversary of Haverhill Academy, pp. 35-36.

⁶² The Oxford Academy Jubilee, p. 45.

of Phillips Academy for the purpose of promoting true piety and virtue. . . .'⁶³

In the Constitution of the Phillips-Exeter Academy it is stated that, . . . the instructors are therefore directed to point out the pupils under their direction the beauties of virtue and the evils of vice and to impress them with the truths of the Bible.⁶⁴

An example from North Carolina is that of the school first known as Queen's Museum, which was founded about 1767. This is the school of which Mr. Samuel Brown later became master, when it was known as Liberty Hall.

“. . . ‘it is especially interesting to Presbyterians as being one in a series of effort made by the people in this region to establish a literary institution, not only of high order, but on Christian principles, and under Christian influence.’ ”⁶⁵

A school in Virginia which became quite influential in the last years of our period was Washington Academy. Of this school Foote states, “Some pleasing instances of careful attention to the moral and spiritual concerns of the youths under their care are remembered by surviving pupils.”⁶⁶

In the circular of Bradford Academy it states,

“. . . The Bible is read daily, and made a study in the schools, and all are required to attend public worship on the Sabbath.”⁶⁷

In the History of Miss Sarah Pierce and her Litchfield School we find many interesting statements to show that the religious elements were retained after 1800. In the diary of Lucy Sheldon dated 1801 we find the following:

“Saturday 2nd. Painted and heard Miss Pierce tell our faults, . . . She also read a sermon from Blair particularly addressed to young people which recommended the necessity of being pious and industrious, . . .”⁶⁸

As late as 1816, we find in the diary of Eliza Ogden the following:

“Dec. 4th, . . . Miss Pierce asked us all questions from the first six chapters in Acts. Dec. 21st, Saturday. After the rules were called

⁶³ Taylor, *Memoirs of Judge Phillips*, p. 361.

⁶⁴ Cunningham, *Familiar Sketches of Phillips-Exeter Academy*, p. 12.

⁶⁵ Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁶ Foote, *op. cit.*, II Series, p. 267.

⁶⁷ Bradford Academy, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Barney, *Chronicles of a Pioneer School, 1792-1833*, p. 46.

Mr. Beecher came in and gave us a lecture from the third, fourth, and fifth question of the catechism."⁶⁹

In this section we have seen that not only was the religious incentive present in the founding of the schools but also the religious element continued to be a part of the curricula even after 1800.

THE POSITION OF SCHOOLMASTERS

The most famous of colonial schoolmasters was Ezekiel Cheever. Cotton Mather in his "Corderius Americanus" indicates that it was the custom for this schoolmaster to give attention to the inculcation of religious ideals.

"Cotton Mather still further tells how his beloved master prayed with them every day, and catechized them every week, how he 'let fall such Holy Counsels' upon them, took so many occasions to make speeches unto them 'that should make them afraid of sin, . . .'"⁷⁰

Christopher Dock was another of the famous colonial schoolmasters. He was born in Germany, and came to Pennsylvania some time between 1710 and 1714. He opened a school at Skippack in what is now Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. He wrote "Schul-ordnung" in 1750, which was published in *Geistlicher Magazine*, also a hundred Christian rules for children in the *Spiritual Magazine*, No. 41. In his writings he states:

". . . They are given a chapter which they read at sight consecutively. Meanwhile I write copies for them. Those who have read their passage of Scripture without an error take their places at the table and write. . . . When all are together, and examined, whether they are washed and combed, they sing a psalm or a morning hymn, and I sing and pray with them. As much as they can understand of the Lord's Prayer and the ten commandments . . . I exhort and admonish them accordingly."⁷¹

Dr. William Smith later Provost of the College at Philadelphia under date of Dec. 13, 1753, advanced his ideas of education of which the following forms a part:

"The English language, together with writing something of figures and short system of religious and civil truths and duties, in the Socratic or catechetical way, is all the education necessary to the people."⁷²

Those who were opposed to Dr. Smith's ideas had a committee appointed to find what manner of man he was and his method of teaching. This committee reported,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ Gould, Ezekiel Cheever, p. 35.

⁷¹ Brumbaugh, Life and Works of C. Dock, p. 105.

⁷² Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

“. . . he readily embraced every opportunity of applying Morality to the sublime Truths of Religion and Christianity—on which subjects he always dwelt with a peculiar and affecting warmth, cautiously avoiding all Party Distinctions and controverted Subjects”⁷³

In Sauer’s English Almanac of 1758, there was an article entitled “Some Useful Remarks on the Education of the Youth in the Country Parts of this and the Neighboring Provinces,” Section 2 of the articles, states,

“That endeavors be used to make them read with proper Emphasis, and punctuality; to which Purpose it will be necessary, besides the Bible, to make use of Historical and Religious Authors, of which the school ought to be furnished with proper sets.”⁷⁴

Benjamin Franklin in 1749 wrote “A Sketch of an English School for the consideration of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy” in which he suggested methods of teaching and the studies to be taught. For class Four he advises:

“Dr. Johnson’s Ethics, Elements or First Principles of Morality, may now be read by the Scholars and explained by the master, to lay a foundation of virtue and piety in their minds.”⁷⁵

George Whitefield founded a school in Georgia and for many years was responsible for the policies of the school. This was the only really successful school that we know of in Georgia before the Revolutionary period. He sets forth his views under date of 1741.

“. . . I constantly instruct them out of the Church of England’s Articles which I turn into catechetical questions. . . .”⁷⁶

Whitefield drew up a set of rules in 1770 for his school which show that he was still more deeply impressed with the need of religious content.

- “1. Morning prayer Evening prayer.
2. Great care to be taken, that all read, write, speak, and behave properly. . . .
10. All orphans and students to learn and repeat the 39 articles. . . .
11. The Holilies to be read publicly, every year, by the students in rotation.
14. The following divinity books to be read. . . .”⁷⁷

⁷³ Smith, Life and Times of W. Smith, I, 127.

⁷⁴ Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁷⁶ Tyerman, Life of the Rev. G. Whitefield, I, 442.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 582-83.

Boucher, to whom Washington sent his stepson to be educated, stated in a letter to Washington,

"The aim of education should be not only to form wise but good men, not only to cultivate the understanding but to expand the Heart, to ameliorate the Temper and fix a generous Purpose in the Glowing Breast. "And what I am more particularly pleased with, is the ardent Desire you express for the Cultivation of his moral, as well as his Intellectual Powers. I mean that He may be made a Good as well as a learned Man."⁷⁸

In the Diary of Philip Fithian, covering 1767-1774, we find two entries which show his method:

"Saturday, the 6th, Catechized in school till twelve the Children. And dismissed them. . . . Monday, the 8th. Busy in school—Finished reading in the First, and begun to read the Second Book of Pictet's Theology."⁷⁹

Muhlenberg, who was a schoolmaster for some time in Pennsylvania, wrote in his diary during the year 1743,

"Some young fellows came to the school who wished to learn the English. This also affords me an opportunity to do some good. I read with them the New Testament in English."⁸⁰

Another illustration is that of Gottlieb Mittelberger, who taught in Pennsylvania in 1750,

". . . I endeavored to shake their unbelief by quoting Nicodemus' conversation with Jesus and thus brought many young people to a recognition of the necessity of holy baptism. . . ."⁸¹

John Harrower, an indentured schoolmaster of Virginia, writes in his diary several facts which show that he also regarded the religious element a necessity and that he used the Bible as an important textbook in his school.

On Dec. 6, 1774, he writes:

"The Colonel's children come on pretty well. The eldest is now reading very distinctly in the Psalter according to the church of England and the other two boys ready to enter into it."⁸²

On March 5,

"This morning Bathurest Daingerfield got don reading through the Bible and New Testament. . . ."

"Billie ende reading through his Bible."⁸³

⁷⁸ Ford, Letters of J. Boucher to G. Washington, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁹ Fithian, Jour. & Letters, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Mann, Life and Times of H. Muhlenberg, p. 131.

⁸¹ Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania, pp. 69-70.

⁸² J. Harrower Diary, Amer. Hist. Review. VI, 88.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Judging from the many references made to Mr. Samuel Brown by persons quoted in the works of both Meade and Foote, he must have been one of the better known schoolmasters of Virginia. We first find him as pastor of the church at New Providence and at the same time the schoolmaster there. We are told,

"The excellence of his teaching and discipline drew pupils from the counties east of the Ridge and kept his numbers complete."⁸⁴

Foote tells us that

"As a teacher he stimulated youth to seek excellence; and through life he encouraged the young to strive for mental as well as moral culture."⁸⁵

Although Judge Phillips was not a schoolmaster, yet owing to his great interest in education and also that he was the founder of Phillips-Exeter and Andover Academies, it will be well to give his position. He stated:

"The Latin authors were pagans, and their works all contain more or less of the foolish and stupid religion of their times. I think they ought not to be read until a person is established in our pure and holy religion. It is a pity that the best six years of youth should be spent in studying heathen writers. . . . The object in educating youth ought to be to qualify young persons as ornaments, as blessings, and as comforts in the vineyard of the Lord."⁸⁶

John Adams was Master of Phillips Academy during the first years of the nineteenth century and it is interesting to note the attention he was accustomed to give to religious emphasis in the conducting of the school. We are told,

"For morning prayers the scholars assembled in the academy, . . . Mr. Adams rose and pronounced the invocation, a selection from the Scriptures was read with some of the notes from Scott's commentary, the hymn was given out, . . . a most impressive prayer was offered and the discipline of the school attended to, . . . every Monday morning a class recited in Mason's Self-Knowledge."⁸⁷

In a letter to William Pierson dated April 4, 1814, he makes the following comments:

". . . . The exercises at the Academy are delightful. They are introduced in the morning with prayers, reading the Bible, and singing one of Watt's psalms or hymns, and are concluded in the same manner in the afternoon. Every scholar must learn to sing and those of the

⁸⁴ Foote, II Series, p. 65.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸⁶ Park, Early Annals of Phillips Academy. (Andover) p. 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

senior class to comment on scriptural text . . . religious and moral studies. It is not only a useful exercise for the memory, but it is an excellent method of bringing us to an acquaintance with God, with mankind, and with ourselves."⁸⁸

Thomas Cushing in "Reminiscences of School and Teachers in Dorchester and Boston, Looking Backward for Sixty Years," which was published in 1882, stated:

"On the last Friday afternoon of each month, we were duly marshalled in procession and led by our teachers to the neighboring First Church of Dorchester to hear the lecture preparatory to the communion preached by the excellent and venerable Unitarian divine, Dr. Thaddeus Harris."⁸⁹

In this section we have attempted to show the viewpoint and the practices of some of the more prominent schoolmasters and educators of the colonial period. We have seen that schools called for religious instruction and that the individual schoolmasters considered it a part of their task. The references given in this section are scattered from New England to Georgia and it is evident that the religious motive was prevalent over this entire area.

SCHOOL SOCIETIES

It would be well to take into consideration some of the school societies in various sections of the colonies. The activities of these societies are confined largely to Pennsylvania, New York, and New England.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, there was a large migration of Moravians to the center and eastern portion of Pennsylvania. Comenius was a Moravian and when they came to this country they brought with them a conception of education which they had obtained largely from him. Zinzendorf had been a student at Halle and Wittenberg, which were centers of the Pietistic movement and he was a leader among the Moravians. It would be natural then that when he visited Pennsylvania in 1742, he would endeavor to found schools among his people, and this he did.

"In Germantown he inaugurated a school where his daughter, Countess Benigna, taught for a time. Removed to Bethehem in June of that year, after sundry migrations this school has remained there since 1749. . . . A school for boys was founded at Nazareth 1743, but was two years later transferred to Frederick Township, in Montgomery County. There were schools at Oley, near Reading, at Germantown,

⁸⁸ Hurt., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁸⁹ Cushing, *Reminiscences of Schools & Teachers in Dorchester and Boston*, p. 179.

at Heidelberg, at Tulpehocken, at York. In fact, during the next year fifteen schools of various grades were maintained in Pennsylvania."⁹⁰

For various reasons few of these schools became permanent, most of them disappearing after 1750. Whitefield inspected and admired some of the Moravian schools during his visit in 1746, at which time there were "at least fifteen schools supplied with teachers."⁹¹

The historian of the Moravian Church in this country has been unable to discover very much material upon the subject of their schools. For the continuation of the schools we find this list given in 1790,

"At Oldmanscreek. Few children attend the school. Nazareth, Elbert Coorsten schoolmaster. But there are 58 children, a feature which gives the school special importance. . . .
York school is small.
Bethel, Brother Reizenback is pastor. He has a large school.
Mountjoy, the school is poorly attended."⁹²

However, this list is not inclusive for we know that two schools were very successful and extended down into the nineteenth century, Nazareth Hall, a school for boys, and Bethlehem Seminary, a school for girls. Moreover, the seminary had a waiting list for it was unable to accommodate more than the 365 girls who were enrolled. In 1797, they had to give notice that they were, "Unable to receive students for a year and a half due to waiting list."⁹³ With the exception of these two schools, the other schools no doubt soon disappeared for no record of their existence seems to be discoverable.

In the section of this thesis in which we take up the rules and regulations of the individual schools we found that the religious was emphasized in both the rules and regulations of Nazareth Hall and Bethlehem Seminary. Of the Moravian schools Hamilton tells us that "unobtrusively and in a way free from sectarian bias, religious instruction was imparted as a matter of course."⁹⁴

Society for the Relief and Instruction of Poor Germans Settled in Pennsylvania.

Another society whose efforts were confined to Pennsylvania was that of a *Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in London for the Relief and Instruction of Poor Germans and their Descendants settled in Pennsylvania*. On Dec. 10, 1754, Dr. Smith, the Secretary of the Trustees-

⁹⁰ Hamilton, *Early Moravian Contributions to Lib. Educ. in E. Penns.*, p. 4.

⁹¹ Hamilton, *Hist. of the Church Known as the Moravian Church*, p. 138.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 257-258.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

General read before the Trustees a pamphlet devoted to the history, rise, and progress of this Society in which he states the purpose and methods of the Society. A digest of this pamphlet will be given.

“first, it is intended that every school to be opened upon this Charity, shall be equally for the Benefit of Protestant Youth of all Denominations; and therefore the Education will be in such Things as are generally useful to advance Industry and true Godliness. The Youth will be instructed in both the English and German Languages likewise in Writing, Keeping of common Accounts, Signing of Psalms and the true Principles of the holy Protestant Religion. . . .”⁹⁵

Schlatter who became one of the leading promoters of these schools made an appeal to Holland for relief and the Synod took action.

“That Rev. Schlatter has been commissioned . . . and to solicit . . . in order that forty-six feeble congregations might be adequately provided with ministers, schoolmasters, and books inasmuch as about 30,000 Reformed members are found in that religion.”⁹⁶

In London in 1754 we find that the Society there added Schlatter to its list of employees appointing him “to be their supervisor and visitor of the schools they have agreed to erect in the following places.”⁹⁷ There follows a list of places where they have planned to found schools, but we have a list of the schools which Schlatter founded and it does not exactly harmonize with the list decided upon by the society.

We are informed that eighteen petitions were received, but Weber states that the records show that not more than twelve schools were ever established and that all these were for boys. We have a report of the society for 1759 which gives the total enrollment as 440.⁹⁸

The year 1760 seems to have been the high water mark for these schools. At that time we are told,

“these schools frequently contain 600 pupils; and, before the massacres and butcheries of the Indians, when those of Easton and Codorous were in a flourishing condition, the number rose as high as 750.”⁹⁹

Among the minutes of the Trustees there is a letter dated April 12, 1746, written by Dr. Samuel Chandler in which he states, “As the schools . . . are now at an end.”¹⁰⁰ Although the movement was short-lived it is worthy of note that religious instruction was a prime factor.

⁹⁵ Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Col. Penn.*, p. 41.

⁹⁶ Harbaugh, *Life of Rev. M. Schlatter*, p. 227.

⁹⁷ Smith, *Life and Correspondence W. Smith*, I, 41.

⁹⁸ Good, *Hist. of the Ref. Ch. in the U. S.*, p. 452.

⁹⁹ Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

¹⁰⁰ Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

S. P. G.*

We will turn our attention to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* which played an important part in the colonial education of this country. It is to be noted the activities of the Society were largely confined to the Northern Colonies. As we proceed we will show from the yearly records the number of schoolmasters in the employ of the Society in the American Colonies. We will also give the general location of the schoolmasters in the employ of the Society. We do not consider it necessary for the purpose of this thesis to take into consideration those who were employed simply as catechists or those who were missionaries giving their time to the conversion of the Indians and Negroes.

The instruction set forth by the society for the schoolmasters is as follows:

“First, that they well consider the end for which they are employed by the Society, viz., the Instructing and disposing Children to believe and live as Christians. II. In order to this end, that they teach them to read truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and useful Books. . . . III. That they instruct them thoroughly in the Church Catechism. . . . VI. That they daily use, Morning and Evening, short and proper Prayers with their Scholars in the School, and teach them Prayers and Graces to be used by themselves at home. VII. That they oblige their Scholars to be constant at Church . . . and examine them afterwards as to what they have heard and learned.

VIII. That when any of their Scholars are fit for it, they recommend them to the Minister of the Parish, to be publicly catechized in the Church. IX. That they take especial care of their Manners, both in their Schools and out of them, warning them seriously of those Vices which Children are most liable . . . and all this from a sense and fear of Almighty God, endeavoring to bring them in their tender Years to that sense of Religion which may render it the constant Principle of their Lives and Actions. . . .”¹⁰¹

In 1714, at the end of the sermon there is given the list of distributions of the Society including the salaries paid. The list mentions seven schoolmasters.

In 1730, David Humphreys, the secretary, was author of “An Historical Account of the Society” in which he had a list of schools then in operation. He states:

¹⁰¹ A Collection of Papers of Society printed in 1706, pp. 33-35.

*Unless otherwise stated, all quotations and statistics in this section are taken from the appendix to sermon preached before S. P. C. K. at Parish church of St. Sepulchre in corresponding year.

"The Society have from their first Establishment, paid Salaries to several Schoolmasters in this government. Mr. Gildersleeve at Hempstead in Long Island, and Mr. Taylor in Staten Island have been mentioned already. Mr. Huddleston was appointed Schoolmaster in New York City in the year 1709; he taught 40 poor children for the Society. Allowance only; he publicly catechized in the Steeple of Trinity Church on Sunday in the afternoon, not only his own Scholars, but also the children, Servants and Slaves of the Inhabitants, and above 100 persons usually attended him. . . . Mr. Glover was appointed Schoolmaster at West Chester in the year 1714 and afterwards Mr. Foster: he teaches between 30 and 40 children. Catechizes on Saturday and Sunday, . . . Mr. Cleator was settled Schoolmaster at Rye in the year 1704; he teaches about 50 children to Read and Write, and instructs them in the Catechism. And Mr. Denton hath lately been appointed Schoolmaster at Oyster Bay in Long Island."¹⁰²

He continues that the City of New York was divided into three precincts and a teacher had been appointed for each.¹⁰³

"The Society have also maintained a Schoolmaster for several years at Boston, to teach the poor children to read, write, and cypher, and have lately appointed Mr. Delpech to be at Naragansett."¹⁰⁴

The list for 1739 includes four schools in New England, eight schools in New York, and one in Pennsylvania. In 1743 we find a marked decrease, the list having only two schools in New England, six in New York and none in Pennsylvania. In 1747, New England and New York have the same number as the year before but New Jersey has a school again. Coming to the year 1755, we have listed in New England two, in New York four, and in New Jersey one.

In 1764, there are mentioned four schools in New York, one in Rhode Island, one in New Jersey, and one in North Carolina. In 1770, we have given New Hampshire one, Rhode Island one, New York five, and New Jersey one. In 1780, New Hampshire has one, Rhode Island one, New York three, and six years later the list contains no mention of schools in the United States.

We have already given the rules which the Society adopted for its schoolmasters to follow. A report was called for from the schoolmasters, stating their methods, number of pupils, etc., and it may be well to give the substance of two reports. Mr. Brown, Richmond, under date of April 10, 1713, informed the Society,

"That he had continued to keep school in the South Precinct of that country; that he had taught this year 35 Children to read, write, and

¹⁰² Humphreys, *An Hist. Account of the Incorporated S. P. G.*, pp. 228-9.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

cypher, and the Catechism of the Church, and explanations thereof, to such as were capable; that he had 24 of these Scholars publicly catechized in the Church, who answered so readily to all Questions, that it was admired by all who heard them; that he taught them the Use of the Common Prayer. So that children could join with the Congregation in the Divine Service. . . ."

Mr. Huddleston at New York reported, "That he teaches 50 poor children of that only what he is allowed by the Society, to read and write and also instructs them in the Church Catechism." Mr. Cleator at Rye reported "that he had taught 55 children the last year to read and instructed them in the Church Catechism." As the Society was formed for the " . . . erecting and encouraging of Charity Schools in some of the most populous Towns in America, according to the noble Examples given of late years in England,"¹⁰⁵ or as Kemp states it, "The correspondence of the Secretaries and other officers of the Society clearly indicate the design to have the colonial schools patterned after the schools of the S. P. C. K. in England."¹⁰⁶ We refer to our discussion of that movement for the essentials which they were attempting to propagate.

There are many reasons why heed should be given to the material given in regard to the S. P. G. in this section in order that no misconception arise. We are interested in the Society only as it maintained schools and schoolmasters for educating the children. For that reason we do not consider catechists whose sole duty it was to catechize children, slaves, negroes, etc., nor those who were missionaries, and further those who were sent as assistants to pastors.

The chief aim of the Society was not that of mere education, but the converting of persons to Christianity. We may go still further and say their purpose was to influence persons to join the Episcopal Church. Their attention was given largely to missionaries, to catechists, and at first to assistants to rectors of churches. This practice of paying assistants, however, did not last long for we are told Mr. Humphreys informed Rev. Mr. Jenny that the Society,

" . . . had resolved to dismiss all Assistants from their service, in the number of which he was included; also a Letter from his Lordship, the Bishop of London, who also mentions the Society's having withdrawn the Allowance made by them, and no longer in a condition to furnish it, and had recommended him to the Governor of Virginia to put him in some vacant parish till the society could provide for him."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Humphreys, *op. cit.*, 83.

¹⁰⁶ Kemp, Support of Schools in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G., p. 276.

¹⁰⁷ Berriam, Hist. Sketch of Trinity Church in N. Y., p. 37.

Kemp in his work does not attempt to distinguish in the lists between those who were employed as missionaries, those employed as simply catechists and those whose duty was that of schoolmasters. However, quotations from his work will show the distribution of the employees of the Society to be practically as indicated by the tables just given. "The first missionaries were sent over in 1702, going to the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and New England. From then until 1785 the Missionary Roll shows a list of 309 men employed in that field of the Society's service. New York received the largest number for any single colony, namely, 58, Pennsylvania, including Delaware, 47, and New Jersey 44. Thus nearly half of them labored in the Middle Colonies. The southern colonies were assisted to the number of 107, of which South Carolina got 54, North Carolina 33, and Georgia 13. The New England colonies received 84."¹⁰⁸ "The Society supported only 2 missionaries in Virginia and 5 in Maryland."¹⁰⁹

It is to be noted that in the above quotation, Kemp claims that New York received the largest number of those in the employ of the Society, namely 58, and he states in another place, referring directly to the schools in New York that ". . . . from 1710 to 1776 continually the society supported between five and ten elementary schools."¹¹⁰

Also note Kemp's statement that North Carolina received 33 employees of the Society. In contrast it is well to note two statements from Oliver, the historian of the S. P. G. in North Carolina.

"From the time of the coming of its first Missionary into North Carolina in 1703 until the beginning of Governor Tryon's administration in 1765 the Society accomplished very little in North Carolina. It merely lived. There were times when the Society had not a single missionary in North Carolina; and at no time during this period did it have more than half a dozen. When Tryon became Governor of North Carolina, there were only four missionaries of the Society in the province."¹¹¹

But as our interest is centered in the educational activities of the Society and its representatives the statement of Oliver in regard to the schools of the society has value. He writes as follows:

"The Society sent out a great many Tracts to North Carolina, and about six hundred bound volumes. With the exception of this, the schools of Mr. Griffin, Mr. Mashburn, Mr. Moir, and Mr. Earl, none of

¹⁰⁸ Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32. Footnote.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

¹¹¹ Oliver, *The S. P. G., Province of N. C.*, p. 10.

which were of much importance, seem to be about the only educational efforts of the Society until Mr. Tomlinson's school was established in New Bern in 1764."¹¹²

Raper in his study of the church and private schools of this same province agrees with Oliver as to the educational activities of the Society. His statement gives the same names as used in the quotation taken from Oliver.

"These schools of Griffin, Adams, and Mashburn are the only ones under the proprietors of which there is any record . . . For some time after the Province went back to the Crown local schools were unknown; . . . The next school is found in New Hanover. Rev. James Moir, a representative of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, at Brunswick in 1745, used the downstairs of his house for a chapel and school room."¹¹³

The mere statement of those employed by the Society, while of some value, fail to show just how long those appointed served. On the other hand our study of the lists of schools show that some times schools mentioned one year, disappeared by the next, and this constant changing would lead us to think that many of those appointed for service in the work of the Society's propaganda failed to remain long in that service.

In the book 1763, in which Jonathan Mayhew attacks the Society for the method which it follows, he gives a partial list of the schools and missions which the Society are supporting. The list contains, Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Marblehead, Newberry, Portsmouth in New Hampshire, Braintree, Scituate, Bristow, Newport in Rhode Island, New London, Startford, Fairfield, and Middletown.¹¹⁴

Some of these mentioned we know had schools from the lists in the appendix to the sermons which should be considered as primary source material. We have direct reference to some of these others as missions and we are justified in assuming that those not mentioned as schools in the list are missions. Granting this, it allows us to draw the conclusion that the chief activity was not that of education but of propagating the gospel. In so far as the Society aided and supported such schools would be conducted from the standpoint of the religious aim and incentive. Indirectly the society by means of its catechists exerted a large influence on the schools, but there is no means of forming any definite conclusion as to the extent of that indirect influence.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹³ Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹⁴ Mayhew, *Observation on the Charter and Conduct of S. P. G.*, p. 46.

CONCLUSION

A summary of the material covered in Part II, clearly demonstrates the presence of the moral and religious incentive in the educational activity of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. We found that in those states and colonies in which the legislatures had taken any action regarding the building up a school system, they emphasized the religious motive.

In such colonies as Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Pennsylvania, the schools were largely conducted by religious organizations and would consequently have the religious aim prominent in their undertakings. The study of the Moravian school movement in Pennsylvania, and the society which was formed for the educating of the poor Germans, considered the religious elements as a necessary part of the school program. We found that the activities of the S. P. G. covered practically all the colonies. We noted that instruction in the catechism, creed, etc., was considered vital.

In our study of the contracts with schoolmasters we found it stated that these men were to give definite religious instruction. In a study of school rules and regulations we were able to give quotations from the rules of seventeen colonial schools scattered in eight states.

We have given the positions of several individual schoolmasters in regard to the religious content of educational programs. We found that they also voiced an educational doctrine that gave emphasis to religious elements as needed content of the educational program.

PART III

In this section we will aim to make a study of the books which were used in the schools during the period under discussion. What content was there in the books of the period which could be called religious? Were the secular books much in vogue in this period? Taking into consideration the spellers, primers, etc., used in our period of investigation, what did their contents consist of? These and similar questions bring out what it is that we will endeavor to cover in this section. We will make a study of the books used to determine the contents, in order to find what portions of the books were strictly religious and if there was any tendency evident during the period under discussion to change the content of the books used. To do this we have first to find out what were the chief books used in the schools down to 1800.

REFERENCES FROM INDIVIDUALS

We will take up at this time references of individuals and also school reports and like quotations to show the subjects taught in the schools at various times during our period and in some instances we shall have the title of the books that were in use. Meriwether tells us, "that practically the only book that younger students used was a 'Vade Mecum' of religions, the little Bible of New England."¹ The historian of the Dedham school gives us the following:

"Reading was learned by the beginners from the English Primer which contained among other things a prayer by Edward VI; verses by John Rogers, the Martyr; and the Westminster Catechism. This book cost four pence. After the Primer, the Psalter was read and by the older scholars the Testament and the Bible. The intense desire of the Puritans that their children should be able to read and understand the holy scriptures caused the Bible to hold a prominent place in the school. It was not only Read but carefully studied."²

A reference to the school at Medford states, beginning 17th century,

"The course of instruction was narrow and partial. . . . The New England Primer was the first book, the spelling book the second, and the Psalter the last. Arithmetic found special attention. Grammar and geography were thought less needful. The school was opened and closed with reading the Scripture and the offering of prayer."³

¹ Meriwether, *Our Colonial Curriculum*, p. 19.

² Slafter, *The Schools and Teachers at Dedham, Mass., 1644-1904*, pp. 36-37.

³ Brooks, *Hist. of the Town of Medford*, p. 280.

In the schools at New London about 1690 we are told:

“The children of both sexes were taught to read through the spelling book and the Psalter, the girls to work a sample and all to make their manners to any respectable person or stranger and to pay peculiar reverence to the minister by never laughing in his presence or within his hearing.”⁴

The same author in speaking of the several school mistresses states: “They kept the typical school of the period in which all were sufficiently instructed to read the psalter.”⁵ Dillaway gives a list of the scholars in the Roxbury school in 1770, and their division into classes:

Scholars Latin	9
Cyphers	20
Writers	17
Testament	10
Psalter	10
Spellers	19 ⁶

This allows us to draw conclusions as to the interest of the scholars in the subjects offered.

In addition to these references concerning the schools, we may give several statements of persons in their reminiscences or otherwise. Dr. Swift in 1753, at the time he was aiding in the agitation for the founding of a college in New York City, states in a pamphlet that, “The Books read at School are full of Incitements to Virtue, and Discouragements from Vice, drawn from the wisest Reasons, and strongest Motives, and the most influencing Examples.”⁷

From reminiscences of the period and into the decade following our period, we may show what the schools taught at the time certain individuals attended them. Samuel Welcher, who was born in Kingston, New Hampshire in 1710, was asked in his old age to name the books which were used in the schools and he answered the Testament and the Psalter. He was asked if they had a spelling book to which he answered “No.”⁸ Another reminiscence concerning the early schools was that of Samuel Thurber who was speaking of the schools in Rhode Island,—

“As respects schools previous to the year 1770, they were but little thought of, there were in my neighborhood three small schools perhaps about a dozen scholars in each. Their books were the Bible, spelling book and primer. Besides these there were two or three women schools.

⁴ Stark, *Hist. Sketch of the Schools of N. London*, II, 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁶ Dillaway, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁷ Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁸ Bouton, *Hist. of Educ. in N. Hampshire*, p. 15.

When one had learned to read and write, and do a sum in the rule of three, he was fit for business."⁹

In the school days of A. Bronson Alcott, "it was customary to read the Testament, and Preceptor, (the principal reading books) generally in course."¹⁰ Another reference is that given by Noah Webster who refers to education before the Revolution. "When I was young, the books used were chiefly or wholly Dilworth's Spelling Books, the Psalter, Testament and Bible."¹¹ Rev. Herman Humphrey states in a letter to Henry Barnard, "Our school books were the Bible, 'Webster's Spelling Book' and 'Third Part' mainly."¹² The Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham writes, "According to my best remembrance my school days began in the spring 1783 . . . The upper class in the school was formed entirely of females . . . such as could read in the Bible. The lower classes read in the spelling books and the New England Primer."¹³ Miss Elizabeth Montgomery writing of the period just following the Revolution states, "The Bible was used for the Senior Class."¹⁴ Professor Sillsman of Yale claimed that during his school days, which were in the Revolutionary Period, "the Assembly's Catechism was in those days not only taught in the schools but . . ."¹⁵

Passing into the decade beginning the nineteenth century we have Dr. William Alcott writing of the period of 1804-1812 stating:

"County Cross Roads Schoolhouse was near Wolcott. . . . Writing and spelling were leading studies every day, and on Saturday the old Assembly Catechism, in the Congregational order and the Episcopal order, were regularly repeated. Webster's spelling book, the American Preceptor, and the New Testament were the principal books used. . . . Those of the first class who were present read in the Testament. The time allotted to this exercise was from twenty to thirty minutes, or until most of the pupils had arrived."
 "When this exercise closed, writing was attended to. . . . In the midst of all this the second class took their Testament for reading. . . ."¹⁶

General Henry K. Oliver stated regarding his schooling in Boston about 1790:

⁹ Tolman, *Hist. of Educ. in R. Island*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Amer. Jour. of Educ.*, XVI, 133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 123.

¹² *Ibid.*, XIII, 127.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 129.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XVII, 187.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 277.

¹⁶ Sanborn & Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott*, pp. 12-14.

"Each read one verse from the Bible or a sentence from Webster's Spelling Book. . . . Then followed some easy pieces for reading."¹⁷

An interesting side light is gained from the opening lines of a poem on the Country School, published in a collection of American poetry in 1794.

"Put to the door—the school's begun—
Stand in your places every one,—
Attend,—"

"Read in the Bible—tell the place—"

"Job twentieth and the seventeenth verse—"¹⁸

The report of the Visitation Committee of Boscawom and Webster gives a comprehensive view of the schools, their curricula, and the books used. Under date of May 16, 1809, they report their visit to School No. 1 followed by reports of other schools.

"Tuesday the committee according to public notice visited the school district No. 6, Little Hill under the care of Miss Mary Gerrish, 32 children. Books, Spelling Book, Preceptor, Geography, Grammar, Bible, and Catechism.

"May 23, No. 2. Tuesday—visited the School in No. 2 Water Street under the care of Mrs. Sally Martin, 35 children, Books, Spelling Book, Preceptor, Geography, 1 in Grammar, 1 Writer, The Bible not used and catechism not yet introduced. This school under disadvantages.

"May 30, No. 7. Tuesday A. M., visited School at White Plain under the care of Miss Sally Pillsbury, 25 children, Books, Spelling Book, Testament, and Catechism. The scholars young but ambitious and very observant of order.

No. 3. Same day, A. M., visited School on Corser Hill under the care of Miss Phebe Thurston, 59 children, 35 girls. Books, Columbian Orator, Geography, Testament, Catechism, some writers, but none in grammar.

May 31. Visited the School on King Street under the care of Miss Eunice Morrill; 37 children, 24 girls, Spelling book Preceptor, Geography, Grammar, Bible catechism, some writers.

June 5, No. 5. Visited the school on Fish Street under care of Miss Apphia Gerrish, 13 children. Books, Three in Geography, one in Grammar, Rest in Spelling, Catechism used but none in the Bible. This school is young and backward.

No. 4. Same day visited High Street School under the care of Miss Bersey Worcester, 26 children, Books, Spelling Websters Third, Preceptor, Geography, Bible, Catechism, 1 in Grammar. Mostly young.

June 13, No. 9. Visited Long Pond School under the care of Miss Mary Parker. 37 children. Books, Spelling Book, one in Webster's

¹⁷ New England Magazine, VII, 632.

¹⁸ Columbian Muse, "The Country School."

Third, and one in the Bible. No Grammar, Geography or Catechism or writers. . . .

Same Day, P. M. No. 8. Visited Bashan School, under care of Miss Abigail Allen, 13 children. Books, Spelling Book Webster's Third P, and Catechism. None in Grammar, Geography or writing, the School well governed and the children ambitious."¹⁹

This gives evidence of the passing out of the Bible as part of the curriculum and even the catechism is not receiving the attention that it formerly did.

It is generally admitted by writers on colonial education that the Bible or parts of it, together with the catechism and psalter were the chief books of the early period. As the printing of textbooks in this country and their importation from England became more common they began to drive out the Bible; not entirely from the school but as the chief textbook used. Meriwether makes a statement which is very positive on the content of colonial education.

"To-day science dominates our schools. Our colonial ancestors studied and taught in an atmosphere of religion which they had inherited from the Middle Ages. For centuries the pedagogic aim had been to point the road to Heaven."²⁰

In the advertisement to the second edition of a book dated 1801 it is stated,

"Children usually learn the Religion of their parents; they attend public worship and both at home and at school they read the Bible and various religious books which are of course put into their hands."²¹

Giving one more reference of the first decade of the nineteenth century, concerning the Bible, we will pass to the criticism of other books.

"It ought not be omitted that the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, was the reading twice a day, generally for all the classes adequate to words of more than one syllable."²²

The above references simply are to give proof of the generally accepted view that the Bible was the one book of colonial education.

THE CATECHISM

In many of the references given under other sectional heads we found that the teaching and explaining of the catechism was required and in many places the children were to appear in public for the minister to

¹⁹ Coffin, *Hist. of Boscawen and Webster*, pp. 286-87.

²⁰ Meriwether, *op. cit.* p. 1.

²¹ Edgeworth, *Essays on Practical Education*, Intro. XI.

²² Burton, *The District School as it Was*, p. 55.

catechise. This was especially true of New Netherlands. In many instances Wednesdays and Saturdays were to be devoted in part to instruction in the catechism. The schools conducted by the S. P. G. were called upon to instruct the children in the Westminster catechism. The catechism used depended on the character of the people, if predominantly Episcopalian, the Westminster Catechism was used, in New Netherlands, the one approved by the Synod of Dort.

The schoolmaster was to give instruction in the catechism but the scholars were often to be examined by others than the schoolmasters. In New Netherlands the pupils were to be taken to the church where the pastor, or the elders could catechise. The schoolmasters reporting to the S. P. G. often refer to the fact that their children had been publicly catechised and the older people had been much pleased.

We find that even before landing the Puritans were instructed in the catechism.

“During the voyage of the *Arabella*, the Puritans were catechised by their clergymen on Sunday, while no sooner were they landed than the citizens of Massachusetts Bay made a contract with many sundry ‘intended ministers’ for catechising, as also in teaching and causing to be taught the Company’s servants and the children and also the savages and also their children.”²³

As early as 1641, the Massachusetts Bay Colony went on record as follows:

“It is desired that the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion.”²⁴

This reference has a double value for it points out a fact which will later be emphasized that many localities had their own catechism.

Cotton Mather, a leader among the early colonial fathers, wrote what was practically a catechism, though he called it “Milk for Babes”! In advocating the teaching of the catechism, Cotton Mather stated: “The souls of your Children made a Cry in your Ears O parents a cry enough to break the Heart of Adamant. They are Born Children of Wrath; and when they grow up, you have no way to Save them from the Wrath of God, if you do not catechise them in the Way of Salvation. They cry to you; O our dear Parents; Acquaint us with the Great God and His Glorious Christ, that so Good may come unto us! Let us not go from your Tender Knees, down to the Place of Dragons. Oh! Not Parents but Ostrichs: Not Parents but Prodigies! What, but more cruel than the Sea Monsters are the Parents, who will not be moved by such Thoughts as these, to Draw out the Breasts of the Cate-

²³ Ford, *The New England Primer*, pp. 19-20.

²⁴ Mass. Bay Col. Rec., I, 328.

chism, unto their Young Ones! One would think, Parents, Your own Bowels of you have not Pleasant Labours of the Catechism."

Judging from this quotation one might think that the writer would produce a catechism of little real value. The fact is as Ford says,

"While by no means as popular as Mr. Cotton's metaphorical title would lead one to expect, it must be confessed that it is a decided improvement on the Shorter Catechism, if not in soundness on doctrine, at least in length. In place of one hundred and seven questions there were but sixty-four and instead of replies ranging in length from eight to one hundred words, one answer was a single word, and the longest only contained eighty-four."²⁵

One wonders how it was possible for even the *Milk for Babies* to be taught to children. Certain it is that most of it could only be memorized and not understood, much less the Shorter Catechism. Such words as justification, sanctification, atonement, and other theological terms were used. The theology was a hell fire and damnation type and the child was considered as born of the Devil and inherently evil, the curse of Adam being visited upon each child.

The catechism used differed in the various sections of the country and also many of the localities had their own special catechisms. Eames, who has written a history of the "Early New England Catechisms" found many references where the town ordered that the minister should prepare a special catechism. Such a catechism is that of Mr. James Noyes, who served as teacher of the Church of Christ in Newbury.²⁶ Samuel Stone wrote a catechism for Hartford, Connecticut, in 1684.²⁷

In some instances the parents were allowed to select the catechism. This is true especially of the later colonial period when the various religious bodies were represented in the schools of the town. The Connecticut records state it thus: ". . . in some orthodox catechism provided for them by their parents or masters."²⁸ The Dorchester record states:

". . . he shall catechise his scholars in the principles of Christian religion, either in some catechism which the Wardens shall provide, and present or in defect there in some other."²⁹

In taking the oath of office those chosen Wardens of the parishes of Virginia had by action of assembly Feb. 27, 1631, to swear,

²⁵ Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁶ Coffin, A Sketch of the Hist. of Newbury, Newburyport, and W. Newbury, pp. 287-91.

²⁷ Stone, A Short Catechism.

²⁸ Conn. Col. Rec., III, 65.

²⁹ Dorchester Town Records, p. 56.

“they shall present such maysters and misstresses as shall be delinquent in the catechisige the youth and ignorant persons as help you God.”³⁰

Littlefield tells us that “catechisms with the A. B. C. prefixed were very common,” and that in the schools, “a certain day of the week was devoted to studying the Catechism, which was to be committed to memory and on which the children were to be examined by the minister.”³¹ David McClure in his diary covers the last half of the eighteenth century. In speaking of the people west of the Appalachian mountains he writes they are chiefly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. “The young people are taught by their parents and schoolmasters, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms”³²

The catechism as part of the instruction continued into the nineteenth century. As late as Dec. 12, 1903, in Robury they chose, “the Rev. M. E. Porter a committee to provide a catechism for the school, who was desired to request the assistance of Master Prentiss.”³³ In the town of Westhampton, Massachusetts, we are told, “The catechism . . . for half a century was as thoroughly taught and as regularly recited there as Webster’s *Spelling Book*, or Murray’s *English Grammar*.”³⁴ In the report of the visitation committee of Boscawen and Webster for 1809, given in a previous section, the catechism was still forming a part of the curriculum of the schools. The illustrations might be multiplied of the use of the catechism into the nineteenth century.

Owing to the fact that the Primers contained the catechism it necessarily remained a vital part of the curriculum. In the discussion of the Primers a great deal more light will be thrown on the catechism in early American education.

THE HORN BOOK

It is generally conceded that one of the chief books used by beginners was the famous horn book. Tuer tells us,

“The Pilgrim Fathers knew their horn book, and when they left these shores in the Mayflower and settled in New England, they must certainly have taken it with them. There can be no doubt whatever that the horn book been extensively used in America.”³⁵

³⁰ Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 156.

³¹ Littlefield, *Early Schools and School Books of N. England*, pp. 106, 94.

³² *Diary of David McClure*, p. 112.

³³ Dillaway, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

³⁴ Clarke, *Saying the Catechism*, p. 18.

³⁵ Tuer, *Hist. of the Horn Book*, I, 132.

Many of the horn books were in the form of a cross. In the upper extension of the Cross were given the numerals 1, 2, 3, and across the arm was given the alphabet preceded by a small cross. The alphabet was given in two rows the first being the capitals and the second the small letters. In some of the cross horn books only the alphabet was given starting at the upper extension with A and ending with Z at the end of the lower arm or extension.

In the later horn books additions were made to the contents. The shape of the horn book became in outline like a square or oblong-shaped hand mirror with a handle which generally had a hole in the end so that it could be hung up. The more common of these gave first the capitalized alphabet followed by the small letters and then was given, "In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, So be it," which was followed by the Lord's Prayer.

The horn book was for the beginner's text; from it they were taught their letters and the ability to count. The shape of the horn book was to impress them with a significance of the Cross of Christ. Even after the horn book came to have the shape of a hand mirror, there was usually given at the beginning a figure of the Cross. On some the Lord's Prayer was given and the child's first lessons in spelling or reading were centered upon the prayer. Others had the creed and biblical sentences.

THE PSALTER

The psalter may be called the primer of religious instruction. In fact, it was the book generally used in the elementary education of the children. Littlefield writes, "Besides the various primers the children used for readers the Psalter, which contained the Psalms, Proverbs, and Nicene Creed. As they grew older, the Testament and Bible were substituted."³⁶ A letter under date, March 25, 1728, Elem. Pierpont, schoolmaster, asks of the Feoffees if he shall receive scholars before they can read tolerably well in their Psalters. The Feoffees answer that he, "shall not be obliged to receive any children for his instruction . . . until such time as they can spell common, easy English words either in the Primer or in the Psalter in some good measure."³⁷

In Connecticut, when the two free schools were founded by the court, it was stated,

"This court . . . do order and appoint that there shall be two free schools kept and maintained in this colony, for the teaching of

³⁶ Littlefield, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³⁷ Dillaway, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

all such children as shall come there, after they can first read the psalter.
³⁸

In 1784, the town of Dorchester noted "that such Girls as can read in a Psalter be allowed to go to the Grammar School from the first day of June to the first day of October."³⁹

BATTLEDORES

It is hard to know just when the transition of the horn book into the battledore took place. One writer states it as "About 1770, a new departure was made by Benj. Collins of Salisbury, printer, and energetic helper of Newberry in his publications for children."⁴⁰ (The quotation refers to England and the new innovation is that of the battledore.) Reeder claims,

"Thus, in England, at least, the immediate successor to the horn book was the battledore. We have found no trace of this apparatus in our American schools, due, no doubt, to the fact that the game of battledore and shuttlecock was never extensively introduced into America."⁴¹

If the position of the first writer is correct as to the date of the origination of the battledore it does not seem justifiable to conclude as does the second writer that the battledore was not introduced into this country. Most of the books used in the colonial period were imported from England and it is likely that the battledore was included among them. That the battledore never gained the popularity of the horn book is no doubt true, for Dilworth's spelling book had been introduced about 1740 and became extensively used. Yet the fact that children were generally introduced to their letters and numbers before beginning in a spelling book would no doubt leave room for the use of a battledore.

The battledores were generally a mere imitation of the horn book as far as contents were concerned. This was true also of the shape. Later they were changed from the mirror shape of the horn book to a paper which was divided into two parts. These parts were sometimes folded over. The specimens examined by the writer were on heavy fancy paper, divided and folded so that the two sides were bent over and met in the center of the main section of the battledore.

THE PRIMERS

The *one* book of the later colonial period was the New England Primer which has been called the "Little Bible of New England." No

³⁸ Conn. Col. Rec., IV, 31.

³⁹ Orcutt, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁴⁰ Field, *The Child and His Book*, p. 121.

⁴¹ Reeder, *Hist. of the Dev. of School Readers*, p. 25.

text book has been so popular and had so many editions published as the New England Primer. Editions of the Primer date down to 1887. However, to have a comprehensive estimate of the Primer it may be well first to discuss the earlier primers.

The first primer of real importance was one set forth by the order of the King of England in 1546 as the book for all people to be instructed in. It was the primer of the new established Church of England. Its title page reads,

“The Primer. Set Furth. By the Kinges maistie and his Clergie to be taught lerned and red; and none other to be used throughout all his Dominions. 1546.”

The contents of the primer were as follows:

- The Kalende
- The Kynges Highness injunction
- The Praies of our Lord
- The Saluation of the Angel
- The Crede or Articles of Faith
- The Ten Commandments
- Certain Graces
- The Martyrs
- The Even Song
- The Complin
- The Seven Psalmes
- The Litany
- The Dirige
- The Commendations
- The Psalmes of the Passion
- The Passion of our Lord
- Certain godly Praises for Sunday purposes

Another primer which exerted great influence in England and which was introduced into this country was the famous *Royal Primer*, authorized by King George II. They were not intended for the beginners in educational institutions. The content of this primer will also be given for purposes of later comparison.

- The Absolution or Remission of Sins
- Psalmes 1, 2, 3, 4
- The First Lesson, taken from the third Chapter of Proverbs
- Te Deum Laudamus
- The Second Lesson, taken from the fifth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew
- Benedictus
- Jubilate Deo
- Morning Prayer
- The Creed

The Litany
 Versicles
 The Penitential psalms
 Prayers

Thus we see that the primers in their historical development started as mere compendiums for religious purposes and for the use of the churches more than for educational purposes. Later the primers became elementary text books.

The transition which was marked by the publication of the New England Primer was somewhat prepared for by the issuing of the book, *The Protestant Tutor*. The title page continues, "instructing Children to Spell and read English, and Sounding them in the True Protestant Religion and Discovering the Errors and Deceits (of the papacy)." The content is of value to show the new material which was introduced, the real beginning of the innovation in the primers. Portrait of reigning sovereign, Roman small letters, Syllaberium, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the John Rodgers biography and verses, of the two to seven syllables, bigger names, and a catechism with material for the benefit of youth and the injury of the papacy.⁴²

The introduction of the alphabet makes it a book to be read by the beginner. It is not a text book. It is still religious in content but the introduction of some regular material starts the wedge which in time will divide further the two elements.

The Protestant Tutor started a movement which other primers were to enlarge. The evolution of the primers was slow. Some of them always retained a strictly religious content, while others became more secular than religious. The development of the *New England Primer* will illustrate this movement.

The date of the appearance of the first edition of the *New England Primer* is not exactly known. The oldest known copy of the Primer is one in the possession of the New York Public Library dated 1727. In comparing the contents of this copy with that of "The Protestant Tutor" one at once finds a similarity and the fact is evident that the primer is an outgrowth of the Tutor.

Alphabets
 Syllables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
 Doggerel
 A, In Adam's Fall
 We sinned All

⁴² Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

Dutiful Child's Promise
 Lord's Prayer
 The Ten Commandments
 The Creed
 The names and order of the books in the Old and New Testament
 The numerals and figures which serve for the ready finding of
 any Chapter, Psalm, and Verse in the Bible
 John Rogers . . . His Exhortation to his children
 The Shorter Catechism

A development is evidenced by an examination of the twelve editions of the Primer appearing before 1880 in the New York collection. The edition of 1761 is practically as the original with the addition of some of Dr. Watt's hymns and prayers and a list of questions and answers of a biblical nature, i.e., Who was the first Man? The editions of 1760 and 1767 have on the first page a history of creation but otherwise have the contents of the original edition. In the year 1775 the edition published had an addition of the lists of names of men and women, and also *Milk for Babies* and the *Dialogue between Christ, Truth, and the Devil*. In 1784, the *Story of the Birth of Christ* finds a place in the contents.

The real modification of the contents from the strictly religious to the moral and even secular is first evidenced in the edition of 1777 under the title of *The New England Primer Improved*. We give its table of contents to show the new elements which have entered in.

Picture of John Hancock
 One Song and two prayers of Dr. Watts
 Alphabet syllables
 A lesson for children
 Pray to God
 Take not God's
 Play not with bad boys
 Speak the truth
 Be not a dunce
 Doggerel
 Questions and answers, i.e., Who was the first man?
 Infants grace before and after meat
 An alphabet of lessons for youth
 The Lord's Prayer
 The creed
 Verses for children. (Decidedly religious)
 Rogers' advice to children
 Shorter Catechism
 Spiritual milk for Babes

Here we find that the strictly religious has given way in part to the moral, such sections as "Play not with bad boys" creeping in and others

of similar nature. The presence of the picture of John Hancock is another of the notable changes for it foretells that the political is to enter with ever more emphasis.

The changes became many, and after the edition of 1800 the *Milk for Babies* disappeared from the contents of the later editions of the primer. These changes seemed to have been made in many instances simply to add local color and to appeal to local pride in order to add to its selling power. Then the changes were due largely to the changing conditions that were arousing hostility between England and the colonies. After the Revolution, the primers no longer needed sections which called for loyalty to the King, or which were to prove the Divine Rights of Kings. After 1776 all such sections were left out of the primer. Ford, the historian of the primer, makes the generalization,

"About 1790 a very marked change was made by printers taking some mundane rhymes from an English publication entitled the 'Royal Primer,' describing the various animals with pictures of them. From this source were also taken a 'Description of a Good Boy,' a 'Description of a Bad Boy' and poems on the 'Good Girl' and the 'Naughty Girl.' Their insertion marked the beginning of the end, for no longer salvation promised to the good and unending fire to the bad, but 'pert Miss Prat-a-pace was to have none of the Oranges, Apples, Cakes or Nuts' promised to 'pretty Miss Prudence' and the naughty urchin was only threatened with beggary while the good boy was promised 'credit and reputation.' Worst of all was the insertion of a short poem which should have made the true Puritan turn in his grave, for instead of teaching that letters were to be learned, that the Bible might be read, and that the figures were to be acquired for the purpose of finding chapter and verse in the Word, it is said:"

He who ne'er learns his A. B. C.
Forever will a blockhead be.
But he who learns his letters fair
Shall have a coach to take the air."⁴³

The changes proved popular and in the following editions the secular material crept in and came to take the major portion of the space. When one comes to consider the popularity of the Primer one at once recognizes the influence this one book exerted in changing the emphasis from the strictly religious to the moral and ethical emphasis.

The editions of the Primer did not end with that of the edition of 1800, but continued down as late as 1887. Editions of the Primer in the New York Public Library have the dates of 1806, 1810, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 (5 different editions), 1820, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1835, 1839, 1840, 1842, 1844 (4 different editions), 1846,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

1849, 1850 (2 editions), 1854, 1880, 1886, 1887. One finds from this list that nearly every year there was an edition and how many editions there may have been not represented in this collection no one definitely knows.

There were many primers published under other names which were in reality the *New England Primer*. The changes were slight, many times bringing in a few local references which allowed them to substitute another name. A few of these primers were called:

A Primer for the Colony of Connecticut.
 The New York Primer.
 The American Primer.
 The Columbian Primer.⁴⁴

In the collection of primers in the New York Library there are twelve editions published by 1800, while Ford claims that there have been over fifty editions of the Primer published. The firm of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall show that between 1749-1765 they sold over 37,100 copies. Fowle printed in 1757 one edition of 10,000 copies.⁴⁵ From these facts together with a knowledge of the population of the colonies at that time, one realizes the influence the primers must have had.

The *New England Primer*, though by far the most popular, was not the only primer which exerted influence. The *Franklin Family Primer* came in for a share of the sale and use as a textbook. The purpose of the book was stated in the following words:

“Considering it of primary importance in the education of children, to endeavor to inculcate upon their tender minds a sense of morality and piety, a due observance of the lessons imposed on them by their instructors the honor and respect due their parents—love to their play-mates; but, above all their duty to their Creator, has induced the compiler to issue this publication as a substitute for the Old Primer, which has of late almost become obsolete. . . .”

In the year 1807, there was published the Eighth Edition of this primer which gives proof that it had received a reception from the public. The place given to the homilies of Franklin illustrate how the purely religious material has been forced out by material which was moral or ethical in its purport.

“The English Primer” under date of 1810, is absolutely devoid of religious material until one reaches the last page on which is given the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45-48.

ten commandments and a poem entitled "Duty to God and our Neighbor."⁴⁶

No longer was the religious allowed to absorb the moral and ethical, but the moral stories like the "Description of the Good Boy" came to give to the child a more direct insight of what the world demanded of him and how he was to meet that demand. He was no longer filled with the terrors of hell and the wrath of God, but he was told how to be a good boy and how to be moral in this world with which he came in direct contact.

THE SPELLERS

There were other types of books which sprang into existence during the later portion of the first half of the eighteenth century which aided in the change from the purely religious emphasis in education to the more ethical and moral. The spellers were at first religious in their content but they evolved even faster than the primers into books which were of value to prepare the child as a social creature living his life here and now and not as a mere preparation for the great beyond. Nor were the spellers at first merely what their title would suggest, but they also contained reading matter and many were textbooks for the study of geography.

There is no evidence to show that the speller was not a creation of the early eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Up to this time spelling had been taught mainly from the Bible, Psalter, or catechism and after the introduction of the horn book and battledore these were used for the simple beginning in letters and they had a few syllable exercises. The primer served at first as a speller.

Of the early spellers Meriwether states, "The first prosaic 'spelling books' were composed of extracts transferred bodily from the Bible." He adds, "Later came regular books for that purpose, one of the most widely used being Dilworth's, about the middle of the Eighteenth Century. They were all a jumble of the Bible, morality, and religion luxuriously interlarded with the alphabet and with words of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and more syllables."⁴⁸

Reeder states: "The early speller combined in one book, alphabet, primer, spelling and reading and sometimes geography. It was altogether the most important book in the school."⁴⁹ Littlefield gener-

⁴⁶ A. B. C. The English Primer, 1810.

⁴⁷ Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

alizes as follows: "The early speller therefore was horn book, primer, speller, reader, arithmetic, and sometimes geography, combined in one book. For more advanced reading resort was had to the Psalter and Bible."⁵⁰

The first speller to attract wide attention was Dilworth's "A New Guide to the English Tongue." It was first published in 1740. It was "the most popular speller of the Eighteenth Century."⁵¹ An edition stated to be the "98" was printed by Francis Bailey at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the year 1778.⁵² This testifies to the wide circulation of the book and the influence it had in changing the conception of education. This book was almost entirely made up of biblical and religious materials but the first step makes others easier. It was written to aid in the religious training of youth and not merely for the educational value of being able to teach youth to spell.

"The English Instructor, or the Art of Spelling Improved" had some popularity as is evidenced by the fact that in 1746 there was published an Eighth Edition. The table of contents may be of value for comparison.

Lesson	1.	God and the Work of Creation
"	II-VIII.	(Missing)
"	IX.	Of fearing God
"	X.	Of loving God
"	XI.	Of trusting God
"	XII.	Of praying to God
"	XIII.	Of praising God
"	XIV.	Of oaths and promises
"	XXIV.	Future Judgment ⁵³

Fables with Morals

Selected proverbs

"The only speller to seriously rival Dilworth's in circulation during the remainder of the colonial period was Fenning's which appeared in 1755."⁵⁴ The title of the book is, "The Universal Spelling Book, Daniel Fenning. Enlarged Edition." This book is composed of so-called tables, the first fifteen being given to exercises in spelling and Table XVI "Proper Lessons to exercise the young Learners in all the foregoing rules."

⁵⁰ Littlefield, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁵¹ Johnson, *Old Time Schools and School Books*, p. 50.

⁵² Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁵³ Dixon, *The English Instructor*.

⁵⁴ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Lesson	I.	Part of 3d Chapter of Ecclesiastics
"	II.	Part of 112th Psalm
"	III.	Part of 136th Psalm
"	IV.	Part of 139th Psalm
"	V.	Of moral, relative, and religious Duties
"	VI.	Of advice
"	VII.	First chapter of John
Table	17.	Contains 4 fables with morals ⁵⁵

Though the author gives considerable place to material we may call strictly religious, on the other hand the fables with morals are of a nature that do not show the old type of theology, of damnation, but a more social view of life. As this speller rivalled that of Dilworth's, it must have been influential in forcing out the purely religious in favor of the moral and ethical.

"The Penn-Speller, or Youth's friendly Instructor and Monitor" has in its preface,

"The religious and moral sentiments, contained in the latter part of this work, though rather above the capacity of children, being extracted from good authors, are most likely to perfect the more grown scholars in good religion as well as excite in them a sense of necessity of piety, and the excellency of virtue."⁵⁶

Here we have the author recognizing in this preface the need of the moral as well as the religious. He includes the story of the Good Samaritan which though biblical material has a social as well as a religious purport. It ends with the Sayings of William Penn.

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was the author of a spelling book which was first published in England in 1674, later in Philadelphia in 1701, Boston in 1743, and in Newport, R. I. in 1769.⁵⁷ The title of the Newport edition printed in 1769, is "Instructions for Right Spelling, Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English." The first lesson for reading is suggestive of the book.

"Christ is the Truth
 Christ is the Light
 Christ is my Way
 Christ is my Life
 Christ is my Saviour
 Christ is my Hope of Glory."

Then follows the proper scriptural names and their significance in English the reasons for the names of the books of the Bible, weights, measures

⁵⁵ The Universal Spelling Book, D. Fenning, Enlarged Edition, 1755.

⁵⁶ Benezet, The Penn-Speller, 2 Ed., 1769.

⁵⁷ Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

and coin mentioned in the Scriptures reduced into English valuation, the catechism and proverbs. This covers the first fifty-four pages of the book while the other forty-nine pages are given over to miscellaneous matter. Though the first part of the book is given over to biblical material it is of a nature that might well be called educational, it is not doctrinal and theological with the exception of the catechism.

Another Fox, this time Francis Fox, was the author of a spelling book which reached at least its tenth edition. The title is "An Introduction to Spelling and Reading." The value of this book lies in the attitude of the author in his preface when he writes:

" . . . Some are of opinion, that children would sooner come to read English well, if they were not constantly kept to read the Bible, but were some times put to read other books."⁵⁸

But an examination of the contents of the book shows that his material is practically religious, no moral material being included.

The most important book to be discussed is that speller issued by Noah Webster of which it was said, "It taught millions to read, and not one to sin."⁵⁹ And another writer claims, "which next to, if not indeed, surpassing *The New England Primer*, has been the greatest inanimate force in American education."⁶⁰ The real popularity of this book did not come till after our period of study. However, the preface of the edition of 1822 claims that since its first publication in 1785, the sales amount to more than 3,000,000 copies and they are annually increasing. The preface continues:

"The American Spelling Book, or first Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language when first published, encountered an opposition, which few new publications have sustained with success. It, however, maintained its ground, and its reputation has been gradually extended and established until it has become the principal elementary book in the United States. In a great part of the states it is the only book of the kind used; it is much used in the middle and southern states; and its annual sales indicate a large and increasing demand."⁶¹

In the preface of the first edition it stated that the reading lessons which were interspersed and also were given in the last part of the book had for their purpose: "To combine, with the familiarity of objects, useful truths, and practical principles." There were discussed in the reading lessons, the good child, the five stages of human life, and one

⁵⁸ 10th Edition.

⁵⁹ Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁶⁰ Dexter, *Hist. of Educ. in the U. S.*, p. 215.

⁶¹ Edition of 1822.

section was "Precepts concerning the Social Relations." Advice was given to the young man, the young women, and the married people. There were also fables which ended with morals. At the end there was "A Moral Catechism" which included topics such as, Of Humility, Of Mercy, etc. The influence of this and other books of Noah Webster was in time to be prominent in changing the substance of American education. We will return to more definite discussion of Webster's position when we take up his books which come under following sectional headings.

We have in this section a study of spellers which show that the religious element entered largely into their contents and that towards the end of the period the biblical was being forced out by the more moral and ethical elements. Even the political and social was being introduced. The beginning of a transition which was to mature in the next century was inaugurated just prior to the Revolution and at the close of the Revolution the movement to secularize education was given a momentum, which was not to stop until the biblical and the religious was to be entirely eliminated from American schools.

READERS

The use of readers in the schools of the colonial period was not very extensive. It was due to the fact which we have so many times had occasion to mention, that the Bible was the one book of Colonial Education and it was from the Bible that reading was taught. If not the Bible it was parts of the Bible which were published separately for purposes of convenience.

Even after the spellers and primers came into use the real reading lessons were given from the Bible and the last stage in the transition was in the slow adoption of the readers. The earlier readers were but the compilation of biblical selections. The book entitled, "Reading Made More Easy; or a Necessary Preparative for the Reading of the Bible," consisted chiefly of sentences taken from the Holy Scriptures.⁶²

The one book which marks the definite transition was that of Noah Webster which he named, "An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking." Webster states his position in the preface in these words:

"In the following work, I have endeavored to make such a collection of essays as should form the morals as well as improve the knowledge of youth. In the choice of pieces I have been attentive to the political interests of America. I consider it as a capital fault in all our schools,

⁶² 7 Ed., 1759.

that the books generally used contain subjects wholly uninteresting to our youth. . . . Several of these masterly addresses of Congress, written at the commencement of the late revolution, contain such noble sentiments of liberty and patriotism, and I cannot help wishing to transfuse them into the breast of the rising generation."⁶³

Owing to the influence exerted by Webster on American education it would be valuable to give here more of his position than already cited. In the preface of Part III, of the "American Grammatical Institute" he writes:

"The want of some small book of this kind has confined most of our schools to the use of the Bible, and the size of which and the smallness of the type, has occasioned distinct portions of it, particularly the Psalms and the New Testament to be printed separately in a larger type. But to the common and sole use of the Bible or any part of it in schools, there are two capital objections. In the first place, the style is so uniform and so different from that of the present age, that children who are confined to it, never acquire a complete knowledge of words and of the modern manner of writing, to read other books with tolerable propriety. In the second place, it has often been observed by men of piety that such a common use of the Bible is a kind of prostitution of divine truth to secular purposes—that children are insensibly led by a habit of familiarity to consider that sacred work or at least to treat it as a book of no more importance than any human performance."

The contents of the third part of his Grammatical Institute is interesting to note. With a short section at the beginning and end given from the New Testament the rest is entirely secular. The first eleven chapters are a collection of sentences from great men. Many selections are from Shakespeare, and writers of that class.

A book which was published near the close of our period and which came to have a great influence and popularity lasting well down into the Nineteenth Century, was the "Columbian Orator." It was published in Boston in 1797. Out of 73 selections only 8 are religious in their implications, the others are patriotic and moral. Most of the selections are speeches given either in Parliament or in Congress.

"A New American Selection or Lessons In Reading and Speaking, Consisting of Sacred, Moral and Historical Extracts" is the title of a book published by Joseph Dana.⁶⁴ In this book there is a total of 81 selections of which only eight can be called religious in their import. The selections have to do with the "Sincerity of Truth, Modesty, and Docility," etc.

This is the type of book which came into use late in our period. Their reception as textbooks at once exerted a radical influence in bringing

⁶³ 4 Ed., 1788.

⁶⁴ 3 Ed., 1799.

into the school material that was not religious, but dealing rather with political and social questions. The popularity which the books came to enjoy was instrumental in driving the Bible out of the schools as the one book for the reading classes. However, the Bible and religious instruction were not at once forced out of the schools. The Bible long remained a reading book, even beyond the limits of our period of study.

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTBOOKS

We have given a digest and discussion of the more popular books which were used in our period of study. The colonial curriculum was limited in the public schools. As we have attempted to show, the religious was given the main emphasis and all subjects taught were merely to enable the children to master the Bible and other religious material. The broader conception of education did not become evident until the closing years of our period.

Arithmetics.

It is historically true that the prime reason offered for the study of arithmetic in schools was that thereby the students were able to gain a knowledge of figures and numbers which would allow them to gain more ready access to the chapters and verses in the Bible. The reason for giving figures and numbers in horn books and primers was stated, as we have quoted, merely to enable the child to be better able to handle his Bible.

The problems given were generally of a nature which was thought to give religious instruction. "Even the arid elements of arithmetic were made to yield spiritual profit that would have surprised Colenso," writes McCabe and he gives illustrations similar to many found by the writer. The children of Israel, the manual went, were given to idolatry, in spite of all they knew of God. Moses was obliged to have 3000 men put to death for this sin. What digits would you use to express this number? And the Biblical success of the following problem likewise was more obvious than its moral stimulus:—"Of Jacob's four wives, Leah had six sons, Rachael had two, Bilhah had two, and Zilpah had two also. How many sons had Jacob?"⁶⁵ Such were the methods used to sanction arithmetic as an element in the school curriculum and the method used to make it a servant to religious instruction.

Later when such comprehensive arithmetics as those published by Dilworth, Cocker, Hodder, Ward, etc., failed to have such examples as given above, they attempted to justify the subject of arithmetic by

⁶⁵ McCabe, *The Truth about Secular Education*, pp. 35-37.

stating in their preface, that all knowledge would aid children in gaining a better foundation for religious faith and understanding of the great universe which is the manifestation of the work of God.

In the preface of "The Young Gentlemen's Arithmetick" by Edward Wells, published in 1713, we find this statement,

"For as it is one Branch of the Transcendent Excellency of God, that He is the infinitely Wise Creator of all Things; so it is one Branch of the Excellency of Man that He is able to contemplate and apprehend the infinite wisdom of his Creator, manifested in the Works of Creation; Whereunto nothing contributes more than the Knowledge of Mathematicks."⁶⁶

Fisher's Accountant was one of the most popular used, which is shown by the fact that the edition examined was the Fifty-Sixth, published in 1767. In the preface the author gives three reasons for the study of the science of arithmetic, the third reason being:

"For you, the ingenious offspring of happy parents, who will willingly pay the full price of industry and exercise for those arts and choice accomplishments, which may contribute to the felicity of your future state; for you, I say, ingenious practitioners was this work composed, which may prove the pleasure of your youth, and the glory of your age."⁶⁷

Possibly the most striking illustration that can be given is one from Dilworth's, "The Schoolmaster's Assistant," as it was one of the better known and enjoyed a wide usage. The author has an essay in the front of the book, "On the Care of Youth, An Essay," from which the following quotation is taken.

"The right Education of Children is a Thing of the highest Importance, both to Themselves and the commonwealth. It is this, which is the natural Means of preserving Religion and Virtue in the World. And the earlier good Instructors are given, the more lasting will be their impression. . . . And happy are those, who, by a religious Education and watchful care of Parents, their wise Precepts and good example have contracted such a Love of Virtue and Hatred of Vice, as to be removed out of this Way of Temptations."⁶⁸

Latin Grammars.

Latin held the central place in the secondary schools of the Colonial Period. But when one examines the books on Latin Grammar used in this period and those previous to our period in England, we find that their contents often were passages of Scripture. A very frequent exercise, on which we commented in the first section, was to have the

⁶⁶ Wells, *The Young Gentlemen's Arithmetic*.

⁶⁷ Fisher, *Accountant*, 56 Ed., 1767.

⁶⁸ Dilworth, *Schoolmaster's Assistant*; London, 1764.

children translate portions of the Scripture or of the catechism into Latin one day and the next back into English. Even when the Latin exercise had to do with the writings of Cicero, Caesar, etc., they claimed that it had their place because the pupil gained a broader conception of moral and ethical principles and of how God dealt with other peoples.

Blackwell in his book entitled, "An Introduction to the Classics," gives several reasons for the study of the writings of the ancients, number 9 of which is,

"The sacred Books themselves receive Illustrations from the Classics, which have numerous parallel Places and enlarge upon many customs and Practices to which they allude. The Learned St. Paul was well acquainted. . . ."⁶⁹

Upton, who corrected and revised "The Schoolmaster" by Roger Ascham, makes the statement in the preface that:

"In writing this Book, I have had earnest Respect to three special points, Truth of Religions, Honesty in living, right Order in learning."⁷⁰

One book published in 1679 entitled, "A Short Introduction of Grammar," has as its first selection a prayer which is given in both the Latin and English.⁷¹ Another book has as its subject matter a series of dialogues between the Master and a Scholar, etc. Examples from these dialogues are as follows:

"God is very angry indeed with stubborn children but if they beg Pardon of him he will forgive their sins. . . ."

"I told them how necessary it was that besides Family Prayer, and the Prayers which they are present at in School, each Boy should privately pray to God. . . ."

"Two days ago thou desirest of me a Repetition of some instruction of mine. . . ."

- I. First, Therefore, be of a Catholick Spirit
- II. Think no evil
- III. Learn Good of every one
- IV. Abuse not the Sabbath⁷²

A book with the title, "Corderii Colloquiorum, Centura Selecta, or a Select Century of Corderius's Colloquies" seems to be but a catechism of religion and things pertaining to virtue and honesty. One example,

⁶⁹ Blackwell, Introduction to the Classics, London, 1718.

⁷⁰ Roger-Ascham, The Schoolmaster, 1709, Preface p. 12.

⁷¹ Anon. A Short Introduction of Grammar, 3 Ed., Oxford, 1679.

⁷² English and Latin Exercises for School Boys, N. Bailey, London, 1744, 11 Ed., pp. 196-204.

"A. Why should God have it so?

B. Perhaps that thence I may learn to bear more grevous Things when they shall happen.

A. As if God regarded the Playing of Boys.

B. He doth regard them indeed moreover nothing is done in the Nature of things without the Divine Providence."⁷³

The author of "A Compendious Way of Teaching Ancient and Modern Languages" writes in the introduction,

"The Prosperity of Church and State depend very much upon the Expedition, as well as Christian Education we give our Children . . . and more especially in giving our Youth a fuller View into all Parts of the Christian Religion, by imprinting, as much as possible upon their tender Minds a Sense of Divine Things."⁷⁴

English Grammar.

Not only was the bringing in of religious material true of Latin Grammars but the same was true of the English Grammars. The fact that it was a subject that could be used to teach morals, virtue, and religion is shown by the contents of the various books.

In "The British Grammar, or an Essay in Four Parts towards Speaking and Writing the English Tongue Grammatically," there are exercises filial and parental duty, concerning marriage, on parental duty, and on our duty to God.⁷⁵ Another with the title, "A Short Introduction to English Grammar with the Critical Notes," contained at the beginning of the book sixteen sermons which covered many phases of doctrine and religious teaching.⁷⁶ One of the popular books was Dilworth's "A New Guide to the English Tongue" which reached at least its thirty-first edition. In a summary of the five parts contained in the book the author states:

"Part IV. A useful Collection of Sentences in Prose and Verse, Divine, Moral and Historical, together with a select Number of Fables adorn'd with proper Scripture for the better Improvement of the Young Beginners. Part V. Forms of Prayer for Children on several occasions."⁷⁷

Another illustration is taken from "A Short but Comprehensive Grammar, rendered Simple and Easy." This may be called an American textbook for it was published in Boston,

⁷³ Clarke, *Corderii Collequiorum Centuris Selecta*, 19 Ed., 1765, p. 106.

⁷⁴ Faber, *A Compendious Way of Teaching Ancient and Modern Languages*, 2 Ed., 1723.

⁷⁵ *The British Grammar*, Boston, 1784.

⁷⁶ Lowth, *A Short Intro. to English Grammar*, 1775.

⁷⁷ Dilworth, *A New Guide to the Eng. Tongue*, 31 Ed., 1773.

"The greatest blessing of all is, the Knowledge of Holy Scripture, wherein God hath appointed his servant, in ancient times, to write down the discourses which he has made of his power and justice. . . ."78

Greek.

This study centered around the New Testament. The same practice as mentioned above, that of translation from the Bible into Greek and then back into English, or the reverse, was much in vogue. As we found with Cheever and other schoolmasters, their classes in Greek were confined largely, if not entirely, to the Greek New Testament.

Geography.

Even this subject was advanced as necessary from the religious point of view. In the book entitled, "Geography Anatomized; or a Geographical Grammar," which was published in 1737, the writer states his purpose of offering the book in part in the following words:

"For having considered in it the Spiritual State of Mankind through all Nations of the Known World; and finding by a modest Calculation that scarce 5 of 25 Parts thereof are Christians; who can refrain from wishing, That the thick Mists of Pagan Ignorance and Error were dispelled by the radiant Beams of the Son of Righteousness."79

Astronomy.

The subject of astronomy furnishes us with still another illustration of how the sciences were justified from the religious viewpoint. Isaac Watts published a book entitled, "The Kingdom of the Heavens and the Earth made easy, or, The First Principles of Astronomy and Geography." In this book he states in his preface,

"But I am free and zealous to declare, that without commending some acquaintance with the Mathematical Sciences, I could never arrive at so clear a conception of many things delivered in the Scripture; nor could I raise my Idea of God the Creator to so high a Pitch."80

History.

It would be well in passing to give one quotation from a text book on history to show the attitude of the author to the religious motive of education as prevalent in the period under discussion. In the text, "Ductor Historicus: or a Short System of Universal History," we have as the opening sentences of the preface:

78 Stanford, A Short but Comprehensive Grammar rendered Simple and Easy, Boston, 1797, p. 59.

79 Geography Anatomized: Dedicatory Epistle, 15 Ed., 1737.

80 Preface, 2 Ed., London, 1728.

“The Learned and Thoughtful Part of Mankind do in nothing more agree than in this one Maxim, That Moral Philosophy and History are the two Parts of Knowledge which in a more eminent Degree respect the Common God and Conscience of Mankind. The former giving us the Precepts, and the latter showing us the Practice of those Great and Noble Actions that not only perpetuate our Manner here, but carry us, indeed, to an Immortal State of blessedness hereafter; . . .”⁸¹

Dictionary.

Even in the preface of a dictionary published in 1773, we find that the author thought it necessary to emphasize the religious motive of education and to dwell upon the fact that the end of education was an understanding of the Holy Scriptures. Of the rules given for the guidance of the instructors number 14 states:

“. . . Teach them, therefore, above all things to have the highest veneration for the Holy Scriptures; instruct them in every moral and relative Duty, and endeavor to inspire them with an universal charity.”⁸²

These illustrations could be multiplied of writers who justified their text books on the grounds that somehow it enlarged the religious ideas of the students. It seemed to them necessary to justify their works on such grounds in the preface, even if no material was given in the contents which might be termed religious. An examination of some four hundred colonial textbooks, including all subjects and various editions, convinces the writer that it would seem to have been regarded as poor policy, by the writers of books, not to justify their writings on the basis that they would help the students to appreciate the greatness of God and his wonders wrought for man.

⁸¹ Ductor Historicus: 2 Ed., London, 1705.

⁸² Fleming, The New and Complete Spelling Dictionary, 2 Ed., London, 1773, Preface, p. 6.

CONCLUSION

In Part I of this thesis we endeavored to show the amount of attention given to religious instruction in the schools of England, Scotland, Germany, and Holland. We found that the schools were founded, maintained, and conducted upon strictly religious bases. The content of the curricula was largely biblical. It was the duty of the schoolmasters and ushers to ground the children in the fundamentals of religion, to instruct and explain the catechism, and to familiarize them with the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and religious material of like nature.

In Part II we made a study of the legislation of the various states. We found that in this legislation the motive given for the interest in the schools was for the religious instruction of the children. In those colonies where no direct legislation had been taken we found that the schools were generally under the auspices of some society or religious body. In the cases of the societies studied we found that they were religious in purpose and that religious material received a prominent place in their program. This we found true of the schools conducted by the Moravians, and also the society which was formed for the carrying on of educational work among the poor Germans. These two societies were neither large nor influential outside of Pennsylvania and their term of activity was limited.

In our study of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, we gave evidence that the society conducted schools in the colonies for practically the same purpose as the S. P. C. K. conducted schools in England. As we had covered the school movement in England fostered by the S. P. C. K., in our study of the background of American education, we know that the schools were conducted for religious purposes. The schools of the S. P. G. extended from the northern to the Southern Colonies and played a large part in colonial education.

In those colonies and states in which we found no definite action of the legislative body in regard to the building up of an educational system we made a study of the schools to find who conducted them and for what purpose. We discovered in Virginia and the Carolinas especially, that the schools were fostered by the denominational bodies. We were able to give actions by parish bodies and presbyteries showing their attitude and their activity in fostering schools from a religious motive and in having as part of the curriculum religious material.

In our study we then passed on to a survey of the requirements of nine contracts between communities and schoolmasters. These contracts were from three states, namely, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York. In these contracts definite religious instruction, the teaching of the catechism and due explanation of the teachings of the catechism was called for.

Our next method of approach was to study school rules and regulations. In this section we were able to quote the rules and regulations from seventeen schools located in eight colonies or states. The states or colonies being Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. In this study it was found that religious and catechetical instruction was required. We found also, this instruction continued to be emphasized into the nineteenth century.

Continuing our attack we came at our problem by taking up what writings and references we could as to the position of individual school masters in regard to their opinion and practice as regards religious instruction and content in the school program. We were able to quote from fifteen schoolmasters, many of them recognized as the leading educators of the colonial period. These fifteen schoolmasters represented seven colonies or states, namely, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. In all of these schoolmasters' writings, or in direct reference to their practice, we found the religious motive was present and that religious material found a prominent place in their school program.

It is to be noted that these schoolmasters are distinct from those reviewed in other sections, as for instance those whose contracts were given.

In Part II, by approaching our problem from the many angles which we did, we have been able to offer direct proof and quotations from twelve of the original thirteen colonies as to the fact that the religious incentive for educational activity was present. And in addition to the presence of the religious incentive that the curriculum consisted largely of religious material.

We found that in those colonies where there was no general legislation in regard to the up-building of a public school system that educational activities were carried on by religious societies, churches and church bodies, and individuals associated directly or indirectly with the church. These agencies, because of their association with church and church bodies would necessarily have the religious incentive, and

be participants of the educational doctrine which sanctioned religious content of the curriculum.

In our study we have found that the moral and religious elements remained an integral part of the instruction down into the nineteenth century. The evidence found in our study of these schools does not allow us to conclude, as it has been done by some writers, that the biblical and religious elements were taken out of American education after the revolution. On the contrary, we found that the religious emphasis and religious instruction remained in these schools beyond the limits of our period.

We found in studying the textbooks used in colonial education that those used before the Revolution were made up of biblical, religious, and moral elements. We found in tracing the history of the primers that they at first contained almost entirely biblical and religious material. In the case of the New England Primer we found that at first it was practically a book devoted to religious material. We found in the case of this book especially, and also, in the case of the other primers that slowly but surely the biblical material gave way to the moral and ethical. By the time of the Revolution, we found that instead of the old time theology of infant damnation the emphasis was being given to the instruction of the youth as to truth, honesty, virtue, chastity, etc. Following the Revolution we found that there began to be brought in material which was political and even social.

In the study of spellers we found that they underwent practically the same transformation as that of the primer. At first they were simply intended as preparatory to the better reading and understanding of the catechism, psalter, and Bible. Later they added material which was moral rather than religious, and at the end of the period we found that the secular had come to claim a large portion in the content of the spellers then published.

In the case of the readers we found that they did not become popular until about the time of the Revolution. In the readers we found that they were the chief champions of the introduction of political and social material in place of the strictly religious and biblical material. The transition in American education was largely due to the introduction of readers into American schools. This was due to a great extent to the influence exerted by Noah Webster. In his speller he had already introduced secular material and when he published his selections for reading he gave little space to religious material. His influence had more to do with the transition in American education from

the biblical and religious to the moral and political than that of any one individual. His example was followed by the authors of other readers.

Even in the case of arithmetic, we found that the promoters of that science claimed that its value lay in giving the child a more ready ability to find the chapters and verses of the Bible. We found that the examples and problems given were often based upon biblical material. Even after the biblical type of problems had disappeared the writers held that arithmetic was a necessary science as it helped to develop the mental capacity of the child so that he was better able to comprehend religious truths.

Even in the case of books on astronomy, geography, logic, and many other subjects, the writers found it necessary to state in the preface of the book that it would allow the youth to gain a better understanding of God and His workings in the world. The idea that these various subjects were worth knowing for their own worth did not seem to enter into the minds of the authors in the colonial period.

From our study of the textbooks and their popularity, we must not conclude that they immediately forced out the Bible, the catechism and direct religious instruction. The Bible, or parts of it, remained the chief reading book of American education up to 1800. The catechism remained in American education as one of the elements of instruction up to 1800. The introduction of the textbooks marked the beginning of the transition from the religious to the secular, but this transition was but gradual and the popularity of textbook instruction did not drive out biblical and religious instruction until after the first decade of the nineteenth century.

It is not to be taken for granted when we say the Bible was the one book in the colonial schools, that this meant that the instruction from the Bible was entirely religious. The Bible was used as the reading book and often we can suppose the students simply read from the Bible without in any way receiving definite religious instruction. This can also be said of the use of the Psalter and the Catechism. It is evident that these books could be used in order to teach spelling, reading, and for exercises in grammar, without the scholar's being in any way influenced by the content of their lesson just as we often sing hymns without paying any attention to the meaning of the words.

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